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"Things which don't shift and grow are dead things": Revisiting Betonie's Waste-Lands in Leslie Silko's *Ceremony*

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the socio-political background that led to widespread Native American urban relocation in the period following World War II – a historical episode which is featured in Leslie Marmon Silko's acclaimed novel *Ceremony* (1977). Through an analysis of the recycling, reinterpreting practices carried out by one of *Ceremony*'s memorable supporting characters, Navajo healer Betonie, Silko's political aim to interrogate the state of things and to re-value Native traditions in a context of ongoing relations of coloniality is made most clear. In Silko's novel, Betonie acts as an organic intellectual who is able to identify and challenge the 1950s neocolonial structure that forced Native American communities to either embrace hegemonic practices and lifestyles or else be condemned to cultural reification and abject poverty. Through his waste-collecting and recycling activities, Betonie develops alternative solutions that go beyond a merely spiritual or epistemological dimension of life and materially intervene in the social text. The margins of 1950s urban sprawl functioned as repositories of indigenous cultural and intellectual capital that was being consciously, actively transformed by Native agents such as him. Thus, through *Ceremony*'s medicine man, Leslie Silko criticizes disempowering attitudes of victimhood and Native self-shame while vindicating indigenous historical territories and unconventional political strategies. She also anticipates the liminal practices of material and cultural recycling we see in

countless Western cities today, in the aftermath of the most recent world economic crisis.

Keywords: Leslie Marmon Silko, *Ceremony*, urban Indians, neocolonialism, cultural recycling

1. Introduction

Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony* hardly needs an introduction. After its publication in 1977, her debut novel soon became one of the most widely read works of fiction by a Native American author and is now part of the U.S. national high school curriculum and of hundreds of university syllabi in the United States and abroad.

Although there now stand over two hundred scholarly articles indirectly or directly addressing the wide variety of issues tackled in this novel (storytelling and myth, mixedblood alienation, trauma, homing-in, ecology, and Native healing practices, among others), the greater amount of these papers primarily focus either on Silko's innovative transference of Keresan traditions and stories to the novel form, or on *Ceremony*'s protagonist, Tayo, a socially alienated and psychologically broken mixedblood Pueblo Native American. At the beginning of the novel Tayo returns home from World War II's Pacific front to the Laguna reservation in New Mexico with a kind of posttraumatic stress disorder known as 'battle fatigue' or combat stress reaction. In most scholarly analyses of *Ceremony*, all other characters in the novel are generally read in relation to Tayo's progress as he tries to overcome his withdrawal from life and community, or are identified as diegetic counterparts or symbolic helpers in his epic journey, in the rather mythic sections of the story. Such is the case of Betonie, the Navajo/Mexican healer whose unexpected advice and iconoclastic ceremony trigger Tayo's return to consciousness and ultimate quest towards recovery.

In this article I specifically delve into Betonie's narrative scenes and do so independently from Tayo's own journey, in order to explore the post-war context of socioeconomic 'development' and urban relocation that transformed life in Native American communities during the 1950s-1960s, a context which serves as *Ceremony*'s historical backdrop.[1] Stubbornly settled in a waste-land of sorts, a garbage dump located in the outskirts of the city of Gallup, New Mexico, where he has built his hogan, Betonie's creative and critical waste-recycling practices will establish him as a *postindian* warrior, as someone who has resisted in the face of colonial and neocolonizing forces, as someone whose active presence is imbued to the bone with the very concept of *survivance*, as defined by Native American writer and scholar Gerald Vizenor (1998).[2]

Betonie may not blatantly fulfill the role of public political agitator and leader that early critics such as Jack Forbes (1987: 22) and countless other readers might have wished for *Ceremony*'s charismatic shaman. As Forbes posited in 1987 (*ibid*):

> Can problems faced by Silko's characters be solved in a 'shamanistic' manner alone? (…). (W)hat if she were to have envisioned a more political conclusion? What if she were to

have identified the colonial network surrounding her people and developed a solution which challenged that network?

Silko's novel does not end with a radical political revolution at the social or institutional level. However, in this article I contend that Betonie functions as a true organic intellectual that is able to "identify the colonial network surrounding [his] people" – one who has developed creative solutions that go beyond the *shamanistic* dimension of life and intervene in the social text.[3] Throughout his memorable appearance in the novel, Betonie sharply interrogates the state of things, "reoriginalizes" and re-values Native traditions (Quijano's term, 1999: 99) in a context of ongoing "relations of coloniality" between hegemonic and subaltern cultures in the United States, and shares strategies for *survivance* that are not merely spiritual, but also epistemological, and material. For example, Betonie will identify and address one of the most important causes of contemporary Native disenfranchisement: a disempowering sense of self-shame, commonly manifesting itself in an attitude described by Gerald Vizenor (1998:50) as an "aesthetics of victimry" –a fundamental component of most Eurocentric representations of Native Americans. This internalized discourse of victimhood and debilitating apathy has been partly responsible for Native American tribal councils and individuals too often lying dormant or, worse, becoming directly or indirectly complicit with colonial powers, while territorial theft, assimilationist policies, cultural genocide, and other atrocities were being conducted in the name of progress and development.

Like a trickster rag picker, carefully collecting, studying, and archiving cultural/material artifacts from Gallup's garbage dump, Betonie reinterprets both traditional Navajo gnosis and contemporary Western practices of consumption and waste management, while he actively questions the new development-bound and uneven "relations of coloniality" (Quijano, 1999) Native American communities faced during the post-war period. Through Betonie's chapters, then, we can see how *Ceremony*'s political stance was not only ground breaking in 1977 but remains relevant today, considering its strategic uses of material and cultural recycling in pauperized societies and disenfranchised collectives at a g/local scale.

2. Culture and Development in the Native American Southwest

The European colonization of the Native Americas in the territories that later became the United States is usually divided by contemporary historians into 5 phases of federal policy which, in different ways and under different guises, aimed at land theft and either destruction or assimilation of the Native body into the American mainstream. These historical periods are: treaty-making (17^{th}-18^{th} centuries), removal (1830s), allotment (1880s), reorganization (1930s), termination (1950s), and self-determination (1970s-on) (Emmons, 2013).[4]

This article focuses on the two decades immediately following World War II, the period generally known as *termination*, which covers the years portrayed in Leslie Silko's narrative. It was during this time that federal protection of Natives, and also

federal funds and services officially ended; that is, Native American communities were considered fully emancipated tribes and judged able to survive without any federal aid. With the implementation of termination policies, Native tribes soon fell prey to state control and taxing, and also to the corporate exploitation of their remaining natural resources. Ultimately, it is this period of time, the 1950s and 1960s, when close to one hundred thousand Natives were relocated to cities (Fixico, 2000), that is key to understanding the Native American Literary Renaissance of the 1970s that Silko is a central part of.

Ceremony vividly illustrates the impact that the new concept of 'development' (first introduced by U.S. president Harry Truman in his inaugural presidential speech of 1949) had on Native American communities of the Southwest. Post-World War II developmental policies, also known as the Truman Doctrine, supposedly aimed at strengthening intellectual and technological solidarity with less privileged foreign countries characterized by massive poverty, at a time when all remaining European empires were quickly becoming decolonized as their former colonies had gained independence (Escobar, 1995). Clearly, such a philanthropic campaign on the part of the United States sought to increase direct economic and cultural control over these now free and vulnerable 'developing' nations and, therefore, contributed to strengthening the expansive American Empire of the Cold War years by increasing its area of political influence (Escobar, 1995; Churchill, 1997; Rist, 2002). These 'philanthropic' foreign policies, which were soon implemented over many geographical areas across the globe, had already been rehearsed in the very 'backyards' of the United States: in Latin America (Salvatore, 1998) and *also* in Native American reservations throughout the 20th century (Jacobson, 1984; Churchill, 1997).

In 1947 the U.S. government completed a survey of all its mineral resources and discovered that many mineral-rich areas were located on reservation land. In the Southwest the Hopi, Apache, Laguna Pueblo, and Navajo shared a great percentage of the U.S. uranium, coal, oil, and gas reserves, which were part of the Grants mineral belt (Nies, 1996: 351). Then in 1949, Herbert Hoover, who had previously worked as a mining engineer, became president of the United States. Curiously, one of his first political decisions was to recommend termination as a federal policy affecting all Native American communities; this entailed the abrupt discontinuation of all federal aid and protection. Furthermore, termination involved cancelling Native tribes' trust status, which resulted in Native communities having to pay taxes for all federal and state services used. Hoover also managed to eliminate some tribal constitutions and to neutralize the Indian Reorganization Act, the so-called Indian New Deal, which had enabled some reservation self-management in the 1930s. Termination ultimately aimed at 'emancipating' Native communities, liberating them economically so that energy corporations could have easy administrative access to all of these available mineral resources (Nies, 1996: 352). Termination would become official federal policy in 1953 after rich uranium deposits were discovered under Navajo territory, and once Dillon Meyer sat as Commissioner of Indian affairs.[5]

One of the most immediate consequences of federal termination policies was urban relocation. Many Native families were promised employment and price-protected housing if they left the reservation and, consequently, in an effort to escape utter poverty and disenfranchisement, over 200,000 Native Americans moved to cities between 1950 and 1968 (Nies, 1996: 253). According to the U.S. Census of 2010, 5.2 million people identified themselves as Native American (2.9 million or 0.9%) or Native American of mixed descent (2.3 million or 0.7%) (Norris, Vines, and Hoeffel, 2012: 1-3). Approximately 45% of this Native population live in urban areas today, a designation which does not include smaller border towns (National Urban Indian Family Coalition, 2007; Fixico, 2000).[6] Many of these Natives are third and even fourth generation urban Indians.[7]

'Developmental' repercussions in Native territory would include urban relocation, labor exploitation, ecological devastation, and irrevocable cultural loss. Additionally, this drive for internal development would bring on a whole new set of psycho-social pathologies and traumas, many of which affected Native war veterans who already suffered from combat stress reaction. This is the case of Tayo, Silko's well-known protagonist (Brígido-Corachán, 2012).

3. Mixed Heritages and Liminal Space: A Navajo Healer in the Urban Frontier

In *Ceremony*, published in 1977 but set in the early 1950s Southwest, Leslie Silko was one of the first Native American authors to vindicate indigenous intellectual traditions and ways of knowledge as successful sources of psychological and social healing (Mitchell, 1979; Blumenthal, 1990). However, and unlike many nationalist-oriented Native American scholars who currently favor tribal theories based on autochthonous epistemologies that turn away from Western theory and thought,[8] mixedblood healer Betonie is presented as the ultimate collector and *recycler* of Western refuse.

Betonie's grandfather, Descheeny, was a Navajo medicine man who defiantly took in a Mexican captive with hazel green eyes – a powerful cross-cultural union that brought about the strategic reconfiguration and strengthening of his rituals and gave rise to a new genealogical line of mixedblood healers. His Mexican grandmother thus played a key role in the development of Betonie's own healing philosophy and idiosyncratic practices: "'This is the only way', she told [Descheeny]. 'It cannot be done alone. We must have power from everywhere. Even the power we can get from the whites'" (*Ceremony* 150). Betonie thus gathers, safeguards, and creatively reinterprets discarded methods and artifacts that may contain some healing potential, regardless of their ethnic origin or prior function.[9]

At a turning point in Silko's novel, when everything else has failed (white doctors, counselors, and hospitals, traditional Pueblo medicine), Tayo is sent to meet this eccentric medicine man and ask for his advice.[10] Betonie's Navajo family lives nearby, in the Chuska mountains North of Gallup, but Betonie himself has chosen to leave the Navajo reservation and relocate to the outskirts of this border town between New

Mexico and Arizona: Gallup, or Na'nízhoozhí, as it is known among the Diné, and which, incidentally, was built on stolen Navajo lands.

Kimberley Blaeser (1996: 158) has pointed out that most mixedblood characters in contemporary Native American novels are able to overcome their alienation and marginalization when they move back to a 'center' that may be of a geographical, spiritual, communal, and/or epistemological kind. Betonie willingly positions himself in the geographical and cultural margins, outside of both city and reservation. Imbued in epistemological and historical liminarity, he proves that such a 'center' can be built anywhere.[11]

Today, Gallup is a small border town with a population of about 21,700, 43% of which is of Native American heritage.[12] When many of these Native American families relocated to Gallup in the 1950s they had to endure extremely harsh living conditions. As Silko briefly describes in *Ceremony*, most relocated Natives lived in the colored quarters by the banks of the river to the North of the city, in "Little Africa, where blacks, Mexicans, and Indians lived" (108) in shacks, and under bridges. Once again, federal promises of work and housing were broken and most Native men soon fell prey to undignified salaries, unemployment, psychological alienation, and alcoholism; women were often forced to resort to prostitution. Police raids would become common under these bridges, and children were often taken from their mothers to foster homes and shelters in the area. Silko's novel suggests that one such child, born under a bridge in Gallup of a dissolute, perhaps prostitute, mother was Tayo himself, an urban Indian, before he was left in Laguna at age four with his grandmother and uncles.

Betonie lives in a house "built into the hill" (*Ceremony* 119), yet close enough to the colored quarters. His living space, with a roof made of sand and dirt, resembles an underground Kiva or Navajo ceremonial chamber, a kind of cliff dwelling. As he himself explains, his hogan was there first, on Navajo grounds, before the whites arrived. Now he uses its point of elevation and its proximity to the dump and to the shacks, where relocated urban Indians pile up, as a panopticum of sorts, as a privileged position from which to observe and reflect on this newest social 'development': the urban sprawl of Indian disenfranchisement. In such a manner, Betonie actually inhabits a unique frontier space characterized by transculturation, tricksterism, fluidity, and multidirectionality. Just as an ordinary territory is fixed, *imagined* and *mapped* by colonial powers, the dynamic space of the frontier refuses such containment and "carries with it such a heavy burden of colonial discourse, it can only be conceived as a space of extreme contestation" (Owens, 1998: 26).[13]

By relocating his personal 'center' to this hill, Betonie escapes the "clearly demarcated reservation space" (Owens, 1998: 27) and also the organized urban grid where Indians are allocated very specific geo-social whereabouts. These two 'urban territories' or scenarios imagined by neocolonial powers for Native Americans in the 1950s are in plain view from Betonie's hogan: the arroyo embankment, where Natives are condemned to the invisibility of disenfranchisement and abject poverty, and the Ceremonial Grounds, where the Inter-tribal Indian Ceremonial takes place once a year, and where Indians are condemned to the simulation of a performance on stage, mainly

aimed to entertain tourists.[14] As Owens has pointed out (1998: 27), Indian territory "transcends geographical location," and Betonie constantly reminds the reader that such is his case:

> "You know, at one time when my great-grandmother was young, Navajos lived in all these hills" (…) "It strikes me funny," the medicine man said, shaking his head, "people wondering why I live so close to this filthy town. But see, this hogan was here first. Built long before the white people ever came. It is this town down there which is out of place. Not this old medicine man. (*Ceremony* 118)

In his *Dirty Wars. Landscape, Power, and Waste in Western American Literature,* John Beck (2009: 152) also contends that Betonie fulfills a clear political function. Both Betonie's defence of adaptability and change as key to Native survival and his conscious re-location to the urban waste-lands make him a "politically configured (…) figure of engaged opposition to both ossified tradition and capitalist development," where commercialized traditions are displayed as a tool of neocolonial domination. No other symbol illustrates such reified cultural subservience to hegemonic culture as much as the Gallup Ceremonials where Indians perform simulated *Indianness* while white tourists watch "from the grandstand" (*Ceremony* 116).

And so from this privileged position on top of the hill, at the intersection between the Chuska Mountains, Gallup's garbage dumps, "Little Africa," and the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Grounds, Betonie "can keep track of people" (*Ceremony* 117). He can also experience first-hand the contradictions that lay in the simultaneous coexistence of what anthropologist Bonfil Batalla (1989) has called the *Mexico imaginario* (*imaginary* hegemonic Mexico) and the *Mexico profundo* (*deep* indigenous Mexico), which, applied to Gallup, translates as the tension between a commodified, unthreatening Indian presence (the pow wow dancers performing for whites and tourists on a stage) and the invisible yet conspicuous absence of real Natives living in abject poverty under bridges, and temporarily hiding during the Intertribal Ceremonial week. We could thus say that Betonie lives at the interstices of the modern and the traditional, the rural and the urban, between the neocolonial cultural industries and capitalist waste. He actively criticizes the uneven development blatantly displayed in post-war American society where Natives inhabit a "small world" when compared to "the world of comfort in the sprawling houses [Betonie]'d seen in California, a world of plenty" (*Ceremony* 127). Betonie himself had been a full urban Indian a few decades back, when he was sent by his Navajo family to study and learn the English language at the Sherman Institute in Riverside California so that he could carry the ceremonies in the new language and also to study the 'enemy.' As he points out to Tayo, change is key to survival, for "things which don't shift and grow are dead things" (*Ceremony* 126).

4. Lessons from the Dump: Betonie's Recycling Practices

To negotiate these utter contradictions, forms of social injustice, and uneven developments, Betonie devises his own 'ceremonials,' and for them he uses a wide

variety of mixed ingredients that pile up in his eclectic, eX-centric house in the outskirts of Gallup. These include cardboard boxes and plastic shopping bags containing dried sage, mountain tobacco, and willow twigs in bundles, together with all sorts of recycled Western artifacts: piles of newspapers, telephone books from distant American cities, Coke bottles, unused calendars, and much more.

> (Tayo) wanted to dismiss all of it as an old man's rubbish, debris that had fallen out of the years, but the boxes and trunks, the bundles and stacks were plainly part of the pattern: they followed the concentric shadows of the room (*Ceremony* 120).

Tayo considers this impossible collage of broken commodities and old herbs a "medicine's man paraphernalia," but for Betonie they are simply new medicines for new times, and all of these objects have "stories alive in them" (*Ceremony* 120-121). Betonie's "recycler" role (Snodgrass, 2011: 63) is key to understanding Silko's criticism of the neocolonial network that kept disenfranchising Native communities in the 1950s. Like many behavioural scientists today, Betonie acts as a pioneer of waste-analysis, a collector and recycler who reinterprets and transforms the refuse and byproducts of Western development while challenging its former commodity function.[15]

Historically, garbage scavengers were social agents who became particularly visible in the early days of modernity and capitalist development. The growing industrialization that took place in the West during the late 18th and 19th centuries would give rise to an unavoidable vast accumulation of industrial waste and also to the emergence of this new social figure: the rag picker or *chiffonier* (Benjamin, 1999: 349; Assmann, 2002: 73).

As described by the French poet Baudelaire, the *chiffonier*:

> collects and catalogues everything that the great city has cast off, everything it has lost and discarded, and broken. He goes through the archives of debauchery, and the confused array of refuse. He makes a selection, an intelligent choice, like a miser hoarding treasure, he collects the garbage that will become objects of utility or leisure when refurbished by Industrial magic (qtd. in Benjamin, 1999: 349 and in Assmann, 2002:73).

Above all, 19th century rag pickers would soon become, according to Aleida Assmann (2002: 73), new types of collectors, or archivists who, gathering the broken fragments of a civilization, diligently surveyed living history to produce an eclectic assortment of counter-memories. Thus, in *Ceremony*, scavenger Betonie is not merely "a figure of social misery but the agent of a cultural counter-memory"– his "archive of waste" is used to remember forgotten stories, which, in turn, become powerful materials for new ceremonies (Assmann, 2002: 74). In *Ceremony*, this so-called 'Industrial magic' becomes a transformative healing practice that takes into account the Navajo tradition, wherein Betonie's incorporation and mixing of new elements, products, and refuse of contemporary Western society enable him to successfully tackle modern pathologies and preoccupations affecting Native American communities. The medicine man's self-made industrial magic actually takes us back to the original meaning of the

word 'industry' in the English language: an "intelligent or clever working; skill, ingenuity, dexterity, or cleverness in doing anything" (*Oxford English Dictionary*). Betonie's defining creative skill is his ability to transform broken materials into new powerful artifacts by way of recycling, as well as his openness to imagine new uses for old things.

Recycling practices such as these are not a new phenomenon for Native American communities. Acoma Pueblo clay pots show how Pueblo Natives often recycled materials to extend their life and use. Clay pots were engineered and molded so they would last for many years and then, when they finally broke, they were "crushed down to a fine clay powder (…), then soaked to soften it to a workable clay consistency" so that new pots could be made out of it (United States Environmental Protection Agency, 1995). Recycling practices among Native Americans were not aesthetic but mostly practical and based on material need. Native American hunters used all parts of an animal prey including bones, hides, tissues, and inner organs to transform them into purses, sacks, or tools. Similarly, hand-woven quilts are traditional examples of textile recycling in many tribes.

Furthermore, after the arrival of Western colonizers, European gunflints, kettle pendants, and chipped glass were often turned into scrapers and other tools by Native tribes in Connecticut (Lavin, 2013), while tribes in the Northeast found a variety of functions for wampum bands, revealing how recycled Native and Western products soon became part of Native American cultural technologies and economic practices in colonial America.[16] Nevertheless, as Pueblo philosopher Gregory Cajete emphasizes, Native incorporation of Western technologies "is conservative and based on intrinsic need, and care is taken to ensure that technologies adopted and applied do not disrupt a particular ecology" (1999: 69, qtd. in Cheyfitz, 2009: 142).

Thus, just like Native children looking for food as their primary means of survival, "prowl[ing] for garbage in the alleys behind the houses" in the Gallup of the 1950s described by Leslie Silko, Betonie looks for spiritual, cultural, and also physical *survivance* in the dumps, ironically located next to the commodified Ceremonial Grounds. In fact, when Tayo first arrives in Gallup with his uncle, he describes Gallup's Indians as "walking survivors" who "by the time they realized what had happened to them, they must have believed it was too late to go home" (*Ceremony* 115).

For quite some time now, cultural critic Jesús Martín Barbero (1999) has studied the phenomenon of urban relocation of rural, mostly indigenous communities, and the cultural recycling they have carried out in the marginal *guettos* or *favelas* of large Latin American cities:

> (…) en la actualidad, mucha de la gente que vive en la ciudad lo hace sobre la base de estratagemas ilegales y la mayor parte de esa gente no ha nacido en la ciudad en la que se encuentra, procede del campo y habita en la ciudad, una ciudad que no es capaz de proporcionarle trabajo (…) La mayoría de la gente vive del **rebusque,** se rebusca la vida rehusando saberes, lenguajes, destrezas que la vida moderna ha dejado desfasadas.

Rebusque as an activity or way of life implies the creation of a system of search and classification of objects found in garbage cans but also, and just as importantly, the search for and reincorporation of old skills and practices that, once quite common, have since been abandoned and/or considered useless because their value was no longer appreciated. *Rebusque* practitioners rescue, transform, and use anything, however small or simple, that may contribute to their survival in the city. For Martín Barbero (1999), in fact, Latin American cities were, at the turn of the 21st century

> (…) ante un mapa cultural bien diferente de aquel al que nos tiene acostumbrados la maniquea retórica del desarrollismo. El mapa real se halla tejido de continuidades y destiempos, de secretas vecindades e intercambios, entre modernidad y tradiciones (…) *La periferia o el suburbio -nuestros desmesurados barrios de invasión, favelas o callampas- se ha convertido en lugar estratégico del reciclaje cultural: esa cultura del rebusque* (Y.Campos/I.Ortiz,1998) en la que se mezclan la complicidad delincuencial con solidaridades vecinales y lealtades a toda prueba, una trama de intercambios y exclusiones que hablan de las transacciones morales sin las cuales resulta imposible sobrevivir en la ciudad, del *mestizaje entre la violencia que se sufre y aquella otra desde la que se resiste*.

The hidden economy of material and cultural recycling practiced by many relocated indigenous groups has been a recurrent reality in the peripheries of many Latin American cities since the 1990s and is now also visible in many cities of the West, as in the case in Greece and Spain, due to the current global crisis which is disenfranchising all kinds of social and ethnic collectives. This was also the reality in the developmental context of Native American relocation of the 1950s in the United States. Recycling, re-using, and reinventing in each of these contexts became not only a matter of physical survival but also constituted a whole reimagining of one's social experience and, as such, Betonie establishes these practices as a kind of resistance to the violence of developmental territorialization.

Any object, even those that may be identified as junk, has a dynamic value that is contextual, that may be lost and recuperated, or that may grow or disappear overtime (Thompson, 1979). Thus, waste can poignantly help us to understand the meaning of "cultural value" (Hawkins and Muecke, 2002), and Betonie's actions and reflections can reveal how the value of things and ideas truly depends on one's own needs.

Assmann's (2002) analysis of Betonie's "waste archive" as a vindicative site of counter-memories is very compelling but it does not fully address *Ceremony*'s political context, that is, the impact that industrialization and developmental policies had on Native communities during the post-World War II era. Assmann (2002: 75-76) suggests that Betonie is interested in waste recycling from a purely metaphysical perspective – with Betonie's garbage collecting practices primarily intended for shamanistic ceremonies aimed at healing traumatic experiences. Similarly, Patricia Yaeger's (2003: 111) interpretation of Betonie's trash as a "site of self-healing" and of his archive as a place where "pain becomes epistemological, a source of perverse enlightenment" is cogent but does not take into account the political drive that *also* lays behind Betonie's actions. Things that have been disposed of, set aside, forgotten about, or rejected by

dominant society are reminiscent of the whole history of Native American communities in their violent relationship with white hegemonic society. The broken commodities and junk collected by the Navajo healer echo many past "cycles of loss and debris" in the Americas and their cyclical nature recalls native conceptions of circular time and history (Yaeger, 2003: 111); but once they become part of Betonie's archive these objects are not just re-valued or imbued with epistemological or healing powers. Rather, phonebooks and calendars, coke bottles, and newspapers remain, literally, material data from a very concrete historical period: the 1950s, characterized by termination policies, urban relocation, mass-consumerism, and internal development. Recycled refuse is, on the other hand, also reminiscent of core characteristics in Pueblo history and worldview: adaptability, resilience, resistance.[17]

From his elevated observant position on the hills, watching "the land which was stolen (…) its theft being flaunted" (*Ceremony* 127), Betonie acts as an organic intellectual reflecting on colonial history, considering this new social experience, seeking ways to reimagine it, counter-hegemonically, on the Natives' behalf, stirring in Tayo the "desire (…) to make things right, to take back" (*ibid*). Betonie's role as *vigilante* of the fringes, unwilling to limit himself to the colonial confines of the Navajo reservation or to any other institutionally allocated urban Indian scenario, must be understood as a political statement that aims to vindicate the real, boundless extension of the Navajo territory, a persuasive reterritorialization of land and culture that will open up Tayo's path in the second half of the book.

Thus, in addition to the holistic and epistemological dimensions that permeate Betonie's archive (Assmann, 2002; Yaeger, 2003), the shaman's interventions in Tayo's narrative clearly manifest Silko's interest in exploring and denouncing the neocolonial context of poverty, disenfranchisement, and commodification endured by Native communities during the 1950s. It is for this reason that Betonie's appearance in the story is preceded by a striking series of seemingly disconnected episodes set in Gallup's arroyo where Native survivors endure conditions of utter economic pauperization, alcoholism, alienation, and institutional abandonment. Betonie's metaphysical recycling cannot be considered separately from his socio-political role as an organic intellectual. In his quest to find effective solutions to "challenge (…) the network" of hegemonic power (Forbes, 1987: 22) Betonie observes, interrogates, and shares his revelations, while the causes and agents responsible for such post-war realities are easily summoned up in the reader's mind. Betonie functions as a liminal *persona* who lives in the intersections between tradition, spirituality, mass-marketed commodities, and reified cultures (the Ceremonial Grounds), his recycling practices ultimately seeking new meanings and new strategies for safely "entering and leaving modernity" at will, as García Canclini (1995) would say.

According to Mary Ellen Snodgrass (2011: 63), "(i)n an era of advanced capitalism, garbage becomes a token of planned obsolescence, sterility, and death," but Betonie is able to turn this refuse into creative thought, cultural *reoriginalization* (Quijano, 1999), and, above all, physical and spiritual *survivance*. As Pueblo philosopher Gregory Cajete points out, a ceremony is, after all, "both a context for transferring knowledge and a

way to remember the responsibility we have to our relationships with life" (1999: 70-71).

For Tayo, Betonie's garbage-collecting practices stir an anger that has slowly accumulated in him, a rage that has accrued from broken white promises, from the deterioration of his community away from traditional historical landscapes, from injustice, frustration, and guilt originating in his own *undignified* birth and childhood. Facing Betonie's collection of refuse, the leftovers of the 'developed' society of Gallup, is cathartic for Tayo in that it will soon move him towards a position of pride, self-awareness, and responsibility. These are all the lost qualities that Tayo will have to pursue in his epic journey through the rest and most well-known parts of the novel. Tayo's reconstitution starts with some grilled mutton ribs that are cooked by Betonie on the recycled front of a wrecked car he rescued from the dump, the ultimate re-invigorater.

By going urban, both Betonie and, briefly, Tayo (who was perhaps born in Gallup himself) become paradigms of the Native American Renaissance intelligentsia of the 1960s and the 1970s, who was able to creatively appropriate all this eclectic refuse when building their 'centers'. In fact, most Native American writers and scholars remain urban Indians in the frontier, albeit with strong ties to their places of origin.

As Judith Nies points out, "(u)rban America made Indian America more aware of what reservation life had that greater American society did not –land, continuity, roots, a shared sense of community" (1996: 354). These urban Indians would become the activists, writers, artists, intellectuals, and scholars to revitalize Native cultures and traditions in the 1970s.

5. Conclusions

In this paper I briefly explored the context of urban relocation of Native communities in the post-World War II period, which occurred as a direct consequence of federal termination policies and developmental campaigns. Through Betonie's recycling, reinterpretive practices, Silko builds a ground breaking political and epistemological framework that powerfully challenges the Eurocentric developmental model in the Southwest. The outskirts of the 1950s urban sprawl also functioned as repositories of indigenous cultural capital that was being consciously, actively transformed. Thus, through *Ceremony*'s medicine man, Betonie, Leslie Silko questions Native stoicism, self-shame, and the disempowering "aesthetics of victimry" (Vizenor, 1998) favored by dominant society. Leslie Silko also vindicates indigenous historical territories and unconventional socio-political strategies, and anticipates the liminal practices of material and cultural recycling we see in countless cities today, in the aftermath of the most recent world economic crisis.

As John Beck has pointed out, Betonie "overturns received definitions of value and waste" (2009: 152). His compilation of an archive of counter-memories and the myriad of strategies of epistemological, psychological, social, and political *survivance* he introduces turn him into a *postindian* warrior characterized by active presence,

resilience, and tradition-based critical re-invention. Indeed, as Michael D. Wilson contends, "(f)or most characters in *Ceremony*, the indeterminate hybrid space is uninhabitable, treacherous, even fatal" (2008: 35), yet Betonie and later Tayo, following his footsteps, show how cultural margins, often characterized by fragmented and re-configured rubble, can be a powerful site from which to rebuild life and culture – digging into the debris of the modern to reinvigorate tradition.

Notes

1. For a more in-depth analysis of Tayo as cultural epic hero who rises to confront neocolonial pathologies affecting Native American communities see my article: "Patologías del desarrollo: Historia y cosmovisión indígenas en la novela de Leslie Silko, *Ceremony*" (2012). "Patologías del desarrollo" specifically delves into post-war reconfigurations of witchery and war, explores New Mexico's uranium mines as sites of evil associated with internal colonization processes, and identifies g/local healing practices among the Pueblo Indians. Research for both articles was carried out under the auspices of the R&D&i project "Culture as a Resource of Development: Practices, Discourses and Representations in Contemporary Modernizing Processes", funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (FFI2011-2014).

2. According to Anishinaabe scholar Gerald Vizenor (1998: 63; 2008: 19), *survivance* can be described as a powerful intertwinement of two concepts: survival and endurance or continuance. This term, which he associates with contemporary *postindian* warriors, emphasizes a sense of active presence that questions the practices of "dominance, tragedy, and victimry" (Vizenor, 2008:19) that have been so detrimental to Native communities since their first encounter with European invaders. *Postindian* warriors must confront the "aesthetic ruins of *indian* simulations" (Vizenor, 1998: 15). To these core meanings of *survivance,* which are evoked by the suffix *–ance* (survival and endurance), Helmbrecht Breinig adds those of remembrance and resistance, both of which nicely supplement Vizenor's original definition (2008).

3. 'Organic intellectuals' were first described by Antonio Gramsci in his *Prison Notebooks*. According to him, they voice subaltern preoccupations and ideas and favor the interests of a specific class or collective, whereas traditional intellectuals, although seemingly autonomous, are still tied to hegemonic institutions and discourses. Organic intellectuals thus play a crucial role in the articulation of counter-hegemonic discourses.

4. When tackling Native American *colonial* history, scholars tend to focus on pre-20th century and early 20th century colonization processes, although, obviously, forms of internal colonization continued to take place throughout the 20th century, while Native communities were striving for sovereignty (Churchill, 1997; King, 2003; Bruyneel, 2007; Brígido-Corachán, 2012).

5. Dillon S. Myer, who had been in charge of the Japanese American internment or concentration camps during WWII, became Commissioner of Indian affairs in 1950 (Nies, 1996: 352).

6. This percentage rises to 63% urban Indians, that is, to two thirds of the Native American population today, if we include these smaller towns located near reservations. According to the

2010 U.S. Census, a total of 1.7% of 308.7 million Americans in the United States identified as American Indian or Alaskan, including mixedbloods.

7. We should also bear in mind that there were once Native cities, and therefore pre-colonial urban Indians, spread throughout the Americas prior to the arrival of the European colonizers. Some of these cities, such as Cahokia (East of St. Louis), were located in what is now the continental United States.

8. See, for example, works by Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, Craig Womack, Robert Warrior, and Jace Weaver, with whom I share an aim to bring non-Eurocentric paradigms and tribal frameworks of analysis into play when engaging Native American literature. This effort can prove impractical, however, when considering Native American texts as inherently international and also as inter-connected and open to transformation and change. Native texts are produced by a wide variety of indigenous tribes that had already established networks of cultural exchange prior to European arrival, and some, such as Pueblo Indians, have been historically characterized by cultural diversity and an openness to incorporate other traditions into the communal body (Silko, 1997; Allen, 1998). Some Native works are, therefore, more open to intercultural conversations and analyses.

9. Several critics have examined Betonie's (and Tayo's) mixedblood peculiarities and potential. Such analyses became most frequent in 1990s literary criticism, when hybridity and mixing became staples of postcolonial theory and were considered key features for analyzing culture (Riley, 1992; Owens, 1998: 35-36). However, very little has been said of Betonie's status as an urban Indian, located at the spatial outskirts of several Southwestern cultures. In his essay, "Blue Medicine", Kenneth Lincoln delves more deeply into Betonie's mixed ancestry and on the implications of reconfigured rituals and change to "counter racial divisions" and to "unify people" (2002: 53). On Tayo's and also Leslie Silko's mixedblood heritages as liminal sources of communal transformation see Owens (1992: 35), Silko (1997), and Nelson (2005: 245-247). On Descheeny's story and its role in Tayo's own homing-in ritual see also Silko's *Ceremony*, pp.145-152.

10. Before visiting Betonie, Tayo had already been assisted by Laguna healer Ku'oosh who, although unable to cure him, is first to relate Tayo's sickness to something greater than 'battle fatigue': the loss of balance between the community, its landscape, and traditions, all of which are disintegrating. On the pivotal role of ceremonies and traditional Native American medicine in *Ceremony* see Mitchell (1979) and Lincoln (2002).

11. Both Betonie and Uncle Josiah's Mexican lover, Night Swan, have, in fact, built a kind of spiritual and physical dwelling characterized by "peaceful isolation" (Wilson, 2008: 35), at a remove from their own communities of origin.

12. Located near the Four Corner region, between the Navajo and Pueblo reservations, and founded as a railroad town when some of the first train tracks uniting the Atlantic and Pacific were laid in the 1880s, today 20.9% of Gallup's population remains below the poverty line. 35.2% of Gallup's citizens are white, while 43.8% identify themselves as Native American, and remaining groups are Latino, African American, and others (2010 U.S. Census Bureau). According to historian Donald Fixico, there were more than 50 liquor shops in Gallup in the late 1960s (2000: 88).

13. For a full definition of 'frontier space' and its intrinsic features in Native American fiction see Louis Owens (1998: 26).

14. The Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial is a festival supposedly honoring Native American cultures that features pow-wow dancing, rodeos, horse races, and an Indian market. The festival has however been co-opted by whites, who have been managing it and making most of the

profit, for decades. In such tourist scenario, where sacred ceremonies and traditional practices are reified and decontextualized, Indians are displayed by the city council as a spectacle of the past, "simulations of Indianness" (Vizenor, 1998: 160) from the official colonial archive.

15. For an in-depth account of waste and refuse as core data to analyze and understand modern societies see the *Encyclopedia of Consumption and Waste* (Zimring et. al., 2012).

16. For further examples of recycling practices in pre-colonial and colonial America see Marshall J. Becker's "Small Wampum Bands Used by Native Americans in the Northeast: Functions and Recycling" (2008), Lucianne Lavin's *Connecticut's Indigenous Peoples. What Archeology, History, and Oral Traditions Teach Us about Their Communities and Cultures* (2013), or selected articles in Michael E. Harkin's and David R. Lewis' edited volume: *Native Americans and the Environment. Perspectives on the Ecological Indian*. (2007).

17. On the trans-cultural inclusiveness and adaptability typical of Pueblo worldviews see Silko's essay collection *Yellow Woman and a Beauty of the Spirit* (1997) and Paula Gunn Allen's *Off the Reservation. Reflections on Boundary-Busting, Border-Crossing, Loose Canons* (1998). On the adaptability and ceaseless transformations of Navajo culture see Peter Iverson (2002) and David. A. Rice (2005: 139).

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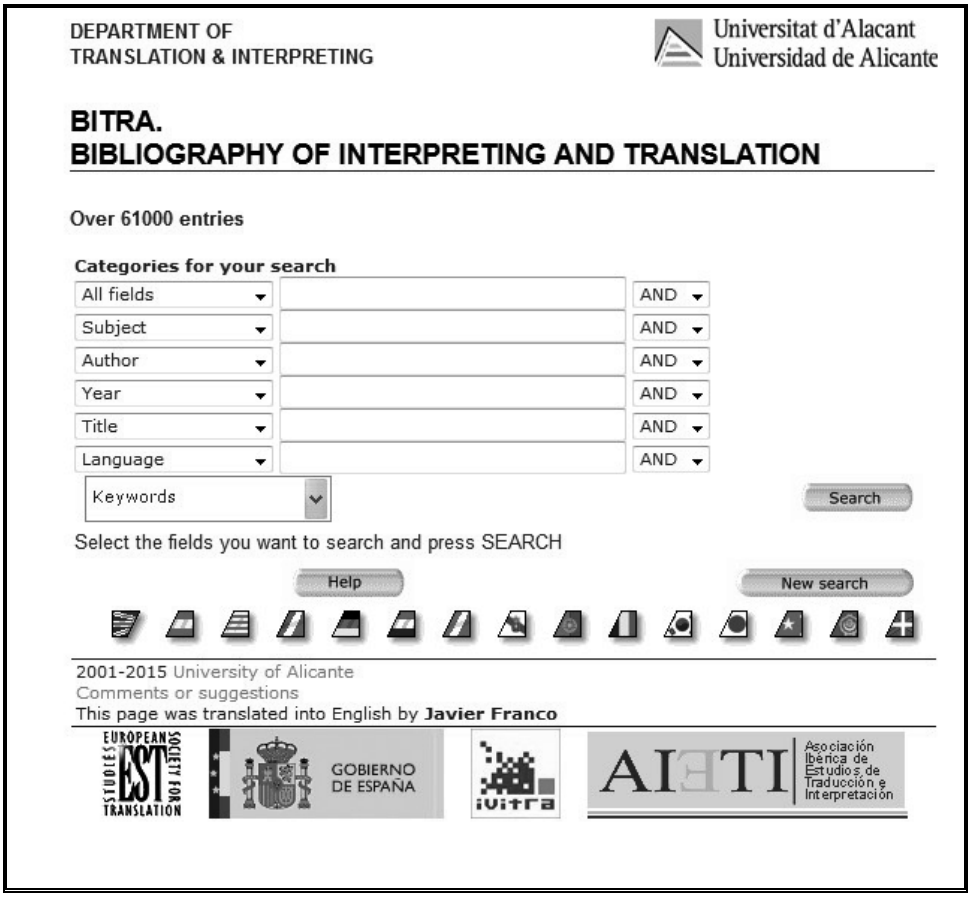

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A young lord passes judgment: National characters in the letters, poems and other writings of Byron's Mediterranean tour (1809-11)

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ABSTRACT

On July 2nd, 1809, Lord Byron and his Cambridge friend John C. Hobhouse embarked on their peculiar *Grand Tour*. With most of Continental Europe in the hands of Napoleon, Byron and Hobhouse's destination was Constantinople, the capital of a powerful Ottoman Empire which still controlled much of Eastern Europe, North Africa and the Middle East. The travellers took a year to reach the Porte. Previous stages in their journey included Portugal, Spain, Gibraltar, Malta, Albania and Greece. Unlike Hobhouse, Byron was never to publish a travelogue based on his Mediterranean and Levantine experience. However, throughout his tour he did write many letters and occasional poems, not meant for publication, in which he repeatedly passes judgment on the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Greeks, the Albanians and the Turks as national characters –and also on fellow countrymen abroad. In this paper, young Byron's judgments on said national characters, as manifested in his letters and poems home, are located, grouped together and analysed, for the first time in the literature, in a comprehensive way –thus bringing into question a number of commonly-held misconceptions on the issue. Byron's own *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (the poem and its notes which, published soon after his Mediterranean experience, famously won him instant recognition in Britain) and Hobhouse's *Journey to Albania* and unpublished diary are, in the light of this essay, used as paratexts that enrich the analysis with added, sometimes diverging perspectives. In the light of such corpus, the essay closes with a

classification, an explanation and a summary of the consequences of young Byron's Mediterranean judgments.

Keywords: Lord Byron, travel writing, Romanticism, Imagology, Orientalism

George Gordon, Lord Byron, during his Mediterranean and Levant tour of 1809-1811, wrote a total of 92 letters, 28 occasional poems and 7 varia.[1] Although not intended for publication in most cases, the texts are in reality travel writing and, as happens so frequently in texts of that kind, the young Byron often passes judgment on the national characters he comes across during his journey.[2] Byron's early judgments on national identities have traditionally been associated with their echoes in various stanzas of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (cantos I and II), the poem which, as part of the aftermath of his Mediterranean experience, was published in London, 1812, making its author, according to legend, instantly famous.[3] However, the main contention in this essay is that in order to gain a greater insight into Byron's early vision of foreigners we should rather turn our attention to the letters which he wrote to various correspondents all along the tour. Less well-attended by the critics, these letters boast a wealth of interesting comments on the various national characters with whom the young lord came in touch. His comments are, at the least, as interesting as the opinions expressed in texts meant for publication. This is only logical: while Byron was at first unwilling to tell anyone about *CHP*, probably because he felt it revealed too much of himself [4] (and we have plenty of evidence of censorship or suggestions to that effect during the editing process of *CHP*),[5] the letters which Byron wrote to his mother and his friends during the tour had, of their own nature, been more spontaneous and less guarded than the later literary re-creations of the tour.

An initial point of interest is the fact that the national characters commented on by the traveller are not in this case the French or the Italians –as was common amongst the "grand tourists"– but the more exotic Portuguese, Spaniards, Maltese, Greeks, Albanians and Turks. The main reason was that at the time of Byron's tour practically the whole of Western and Central Europe was directly or indirectly in the hands of Napoleon. This meant that the canonical grand tour, with its itinerary across France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany and the Low Countries was simply out of the question for any traveller from England, not to mention a young lord who had just left Cambridge.[6] Byron had turned 21 in January, and his decision was to embark with his close college friend, John Cam Hobhouse (later Lord Broughton) on a "tailored" Grand Tour, with an itinerary (basically by sea) which went along the very borders of Napoleon's Empire and as far away as the territory of another empire, the Ottoman, which at the time spread over much of South-Eastern Europe, including present-day Albania and Greece. So we have our travellers, Byron, and the slightly older Hobhouse, who will be Byron's faithful if somewhat fastidious companion during the first year of the tour, embarking on a journey which would actually last two years and 12 days, from July 2nd, 1809 to July 14th, 1811.[7] The first stop was Lisbon, and they then proceed overland to Seville and Cádiz in Spain. From Gibraltar they continue sailing East and, after calling at

Sardinia and Sicily, they enter the harbour of La Valetta in Malta at the end of August. Less than a month later the two friends are already in Greece, first in Patras and then in Preveza. Next they carry on North by land into the territory of present-day Albania. After this and other excursions, the travellers arrive in Athens on Christmas Day, 1809. They visit numerous places in Continental Greece, and, with the coming of spring, Byron and Hobhouse sail again, now bound for Asia Minor and Constantinople, where they stay for two months. From July 1810 until April 1811, Byron will settle again in Athens, while Hobhouse returns to England.[8] Finally, it is Byron himself who, very reluctantly, sails back to England, where he arrives on July 14th, 1811. One of the most significant Byronic icons, often printed in editions of his works, is a portrait by George Sanders representing Byron and his page Rushton, posing as voyagers, which was actually commissioned by the poet before he left for his Mediterranean tour. It was meant to hang in Newstead, his family home, for as long as he was abroad.[9]

The first stop was Portugal, where Byron's judgments, not only about the Portuguese but also about the English themselves, begin. And they are quite negative in both cases: according to Byron, "anything is better than England", a country he only regrets not having quit "sooner".[10] With the exception of the village of Sintra, "which is perhaps in every respect the most beautiful in Europe", Portugal is none the better: "Lisbon contains little but filthy streets & more filthy inhabitants", and is "nearly as bad", in Byron's contention, as Gibraltar.[11] The negative tone is kept in *CHP*. In the original MS, we get these lines about Lisbon:

> 'Mid many things that grieve both nose and ee:
> For hut and palace smelleth filthily.

In the published version, these are slightly mollified:

> 'Mid many things unsightly to strange ee;
> For hut and palace show like filthily.

The Portuguese continue to fare no better with the nation as a whole, "swol'n with ignorance and pride" or its nationals, "poor, paltry slaves!".[12] While Byron's impression of the Lisbon filth seems to be justified, his strong judgment on the Portuguese is probably the product of negative personal experiences while in the country, combined with his sharing in an anti-Portuguese current of opinion not uncommon in contemporary England.[13]

Spain is different, and the young lord, who is "enamoured of the country", finds the Spanish men "far superior"[14] to the Portuguese —and the Spanish women "far superior to the English women", as he writes in the paragraph which most clearly summarizes his Spanish sympathies:

> Seville is a fine town, and the Sierra Morena, part of which we crossed, a very sufficient mountain ... Cadiz, sweet Cadiz! —it is the first spot in the creation. The beauty of its streets and mansions is only excelled by the loveliness of its inhabitants. For, with all national prejudice, I must confess the women of Cadiz are as far superior to the English

> women in beauty as the Spaniards are inferior to the English in every quality that dignifies the name of man. ... I shall return to Spain before I see England, for I am enamoured of the country.[15]

While Byron's negative perception of Spanish men finds no apparent justification, his positive view of Spanish women must without doubt have been influenced by his well-known flirting episodes with young females like the Beltrán sisters in Seville or Señorita Córdoba in Cadiz, details of which can be read in a letter to his mother[16], while "The Girl of Cadiz", written when sailing from Gibraltar to Sardinia, stands as his *impromptu* poetical tribute to women of a description who, apparently, "none abroad, and few at home, / may match."[17] In *CHP* however, Byron no longer tones down his admiration for the Spanish (men) by comparing them unfavourably with the English. The "Spanish section" of Canto I (stanzas 35-93) is an all-out display of sympathy for "lovely Spain! renown'd, romantic land!", seen as "the victim" of the French she fights gallantly "on Talavera's plain", in Albuera which became a "glorious field of grief", in Cadiz whose "walls have stood" firmly the Imperial siege, or in Zaragoza where the Maid leads "in Glory's fearful chase."[18] At the same time, "the feast, the song, the revel here abounds", without forgetting the Spanish "black-eyed maids of Heaven, angelically kind".[19] A remarkably sympathetic attitude for someone who tended to admire Napoleon as much as despise Wellington, only to be explained (I suggest) because Byron, consciously or unconsciously, saw himself reflected in contemporary Spain —a peculiar mix of rebelliousness and *joie de vivre*. It is not by chance that Seville, "a pleasant city", will be the birthplace and home of Byron's Don Juan.

Byron visits Gibraltar before leaving the Peninsula. A huge and busy Army and Navy barracks at that time, Byron dislikes the Rock, and all he has to say about the British colony on Peninsular soil is that it is "the dirtiest [and] most detestable spot in existence."[20] This negative view leads to a simple lack of interest in *CHP*: there is a passing reference to "Calpe's straits"[21] as the hero is sailing East at the start of Canto II, but Gibraltar as such is never mentioned in the poem.

Malta's capital, La Valetta, is the beginning of the second and more substantial part of Byron's tour, the Eastern Mediterranean. The Maltese are "hospitable and pleasant", the traveller writes a few days after having landed in Malta.[22] In *CHP*, Malta (and the neighbouring Island of Gozo) deserve special treatment: they are sublimated into "Calypso's isles, / The sister tenants of the middle deep", complete with references to "fair Florence", the celebrated Constance Spencer Smith in the real world, with whom Byron had a brief affair while staying in Malta.[23] Their later break-up, together with unpleasant experiences in the island on his way back home, arguably explain another change of mood –the cynical tone of "Farewell to Malta", a poem where the island is seen in a negative light, as a queer mixture of "merchants", "mob", "fools", "females" and "red coats", all confused and confined in a "little military hothouse" newly seen by the traveller in a way not unlike Gibraltar.[24]

Byron's first impression of the Greeks, after having landed at Patras some weeks later, is very similar to his still recent impression of the Maltese, and worded in a similar way: the Greeks are "polite and hospitable" according to the poet.[25] Parallelism

with Malta likewise obtains in *CHP*: sublimation is here produced when, on reaching Greece "in a Grecian autumn's gentle eve", what Harold actually hails is "a spot he longed to see", namely "Leucadia's cape afar" which, as the scene of Sappho's tragic death, is paid due homage by the poet.[26]

The young lord's true encounter, however, is with the Albanians. "I like the Albanians much", he writes from Preveza, and this also included the famous (or infamous for many) Ali Pasha, the Albanian leader, very kind and polite to Byron, even though the young lord does not fail to recognize that he was also "a cruel tyrant."[27] Later in the same letter, Byron focuses on Viscillie, his newly-acquired Albanian servant and bodyguard, which in turn leads him into making general judgments on the Albanians. In his own words,

> His name [Byron servant's] is Viscillie, and, like all the Albanians, he is brave, rigidly honest, and faithful; but they are cruel, though not treacherous, and have several vices but no meannesses. They are, perhaps, the most beautiful race, in point of countenance, in the world; their women are sometimes handsome also, but they are treated like slaves, beaten, and, in short, complete beasts of burden; they plough, dig, and sow. ... The men are all soldiers, and war and the chase their sole occupations. ... I like the Albanians much; they are not all Turks; some tribes are Christians. But their religion makes little difference in their manner or conduct. They are esteemed the best troops in the Turkish service. I ... never found soldiers so tolerable, though I have been in the garrisons of Gibraltar and Malta, and seen Spanish, French, Sicilian, and British troops in abundance.

Byron's sympathy towards Albania is likewise reflected and reinforced in *CHP*. The "land of Albania, where Iskander rose" is allotted no fewer than 35 stanzas complete with the "Tambourgi!" song, based on Albanian folklore, plus a long final note on the then exotic country and his unique experiences there.[28] Although "no nation are so detested and dreaded by their neighbours as the Albanese", since "the Greeks hardly regard them as Christians, or the Turks as Moslems", our author contends that as far as his "own experience" goes, he "can speak favourably" of a people whom he calls "turbulent and bold" and reminds him "forcibly" of "the Highlanders of Scotland, in dress, figure, and manner of living."[29] Albania, where very few Englishmen had been previous to Byron's visit, struck him as a complete surprise, the cultural alternative he had been looking for when embarking on his Mediterranean tour –and that, in a sense, he himself was becoming: exotic, remote, different. Significantly, he began writing *CHP* while in this country. In this light, it comes as no surprise that he would further express his identification with Albania by, back in London, having himself famously portrayed in the "'magnifique'Albanian dresses" he had himself bought there.[30]

Byron spent the next four months exploring continental Greece. Then in the spring of 1810 he sailed to Asia Minor, visiting Smyrna, Ephesus, the Troad and finally staying for two months in Constantinople, the Easternmost limit of his tour. Finally, on his return from Constantinople the young lord lived quite happily for nearly a year in Athens, at the Capuchin Convent, in a cheerful atmosphere of young boys. On his first arrival there he had resided with the Macri girls and had been very happy –allowing for

the fact that, on the way back, there was no agreement to bring away one of them![31] It is in any case remarkable that, the more he settles in Greece, the more he looks down on Britain, which he increasingly refers to as "your country", as when he writes to his lawyer John Hanson,

> I have no intention or wish to return to your country & necessity alone will compel me to do it ... I do not think of my return except for mere necessity, I dislike England, & the farther I go the less I regret leaving it.[32]

The fact that, at long last, the young lord had recently been made to realize that he was "ruined" surely added to his dislike of Britain.[33] And the fact that in the Levant Byron could develop his own sexuality –the "old Horatian way" crucially included– much more freely than at home probably added in direct proportion to his liking of the local peoples.[34] At this stage of his life Byron is fairly sympathetic to the Turks: "I find Turkey better than Spain or Portugal though I was not displeased with them", as his contention is.[35] This sympathy, however, has its limits. The only direct reference to "Stamboul" in *CHP* is made in order for the narrator to state that "turbans now pollute Sophia's shrine", which sets the tone for a series of allusions to "the scourge of Turkish hand" that keeps the Greeks subjugated or, as our poet writes, "from birth till death enslav'd".[36] In this respect, one should not be misled by the longish "Additional note, on the Turks" which Byron inserts at the back of his poem. At first sight the note is highly flattering to the Ottoman Turks:

> The Ottomans, with all their defects, are not a people to be despised. Equal, at least, to the Spaniards, they are superior to the Portuguese. If it be difficult to pronounce what they are, we can at least say what they are not: they are not treacherous, they are not cowardly, they do not burn heretics, they are not assassins, nor has an enemy advanced to their capital.[37]

However, when it comes to illustrating this "negative catalogue" of virtues, *all* the examples given refer to the "provincial" Turks (as he himself calls them) with whom he had been so much friends in Albania, the Morea, Thebes or Athens itself.[38] On the whole, Byron's experience of Constantinople, the *nec plus ultra* of his Mediterranean and Levant tour, had not been so pleasant as he had imagined. Having witnessed what daily life was like under an arbitrary and often brutal regime which disdained human life, he also realized how hard it was to socialize with Turkish men ("it is possible to live amongst them twenty years without acquiring information, at least from themselves"), not to mention with Turkish women ("the Turks take too much care of their women to permit them to be scrutinized ... female society is out of the question").[39] Significantly, while his reception by Ali Pasha in the (after all) provincial Albania had deserved a wealth of enthusiastic comments in letters to family and friends[40], the much more splendid (albeit probably less friendly) reception by Sultan Mahmud II in the Porte, which he attended on July 10th, 1810 with the British Ambassador, seems to have left no lasting impression on him and the audience is actually never mentioned in *CHP*, and just in passing in two letters.[41]

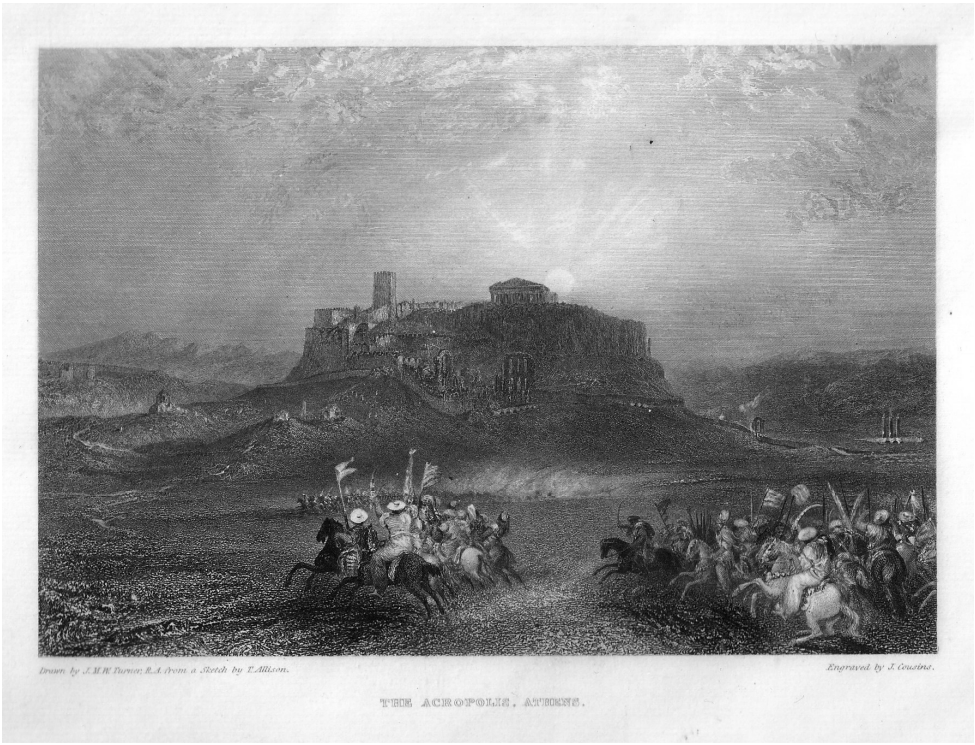

Fig. 1 'The Acropolis, Athens', by J.M.W. Turner, 1832.

The place where Byron stays longest (practically one full year) was Athens, which is also the one he likes best. At the times of Byron's visit Athens was just a small and not very pleasant village: a well-known contemporary print of Athens represents hardly anything other than the Acropolis standing alone, in the middle of a practically empty ground, and the Turkish cavalry riding on the plain.[42] But he likes the Greek capital well: "I am at Athens again, a place which I think I prefer, upon the whole, to any I have seen."[43] The tone is, however, different in *CHP*. Here, the expression of personal pleasure gives way to more serious thought. Practically all references to Athens, and to Greece and the Greeks in general, are elegiac in tone:

> Ancient of days! august Athena! where,
> Where are thy men of might? thy grand in soul?[44]

In addition, criticism is levelled at Lord Elgin's predatory habits ("of all the plunderers ... the last, the worst, dull spoiler"), the ruthless Ottoman rulers of the country ("the scourge of Turkish hand") and even those Greeks who shamefully indulge in the situation (a "degenerate horde").[45] Byron appears to be becoming conscious of the

emerging Greek national identity, and of the ruthless and long-standing Turkish oppression. Always interested in languages, during his second stay in Athens Byron took lessons in modern Greek with Ioannis Marmarotouri, a leader who supported independence, and, significantly, soon translated a poem "written by Riga", the proto-martyr of Greek independence, "who perished in the attempt to revolutionize Greece."[46] Trapped between his relative sympathy for the Turks, and his relative antipathy for the Greeks, at this stage Byron's Philhellenism manifests itself as a compromise position between the two allegiances:

> The Greeks will never be independent; they will never be sovereigns as heretofore, and God forbid they ever should! but they may be subjects without being slaves ... There seems to be no great obstacle ... to their becoming a useful dependency, or even a free state with a proper guarantee.[47]

Some of the letters that Byron writes during his second stay in Greece are very clear in their cross-comparisons and judgments. On one occasion he compares the four main national characters he has come across during his Mediterranean tour:

> I have also passed some time with the principal Greeks in the Morea and Livadia, and, though inferior to the Turks, they are better than the Spaniards, who, in their turn, excel the Portuguese.[48]

Naturally, Byron's own personal mood is not always the same, and it actually tends to grow worse with time, as he receives more and more disturbing news about his financial situation in Britain. This naturally affects his judgments on national characters. Once, when still in good mood, he produced this 'naughty but funny' comparison:

> Albania, indeed, I have seen more of than any Englishman ... for it is a country rarely visited, from the savage character of the natives, though abounding in more natural beauties than the classical regions of Greece ... I see not much difference between ourselves and the Turks, save that we have foreskins and they none, that they have long dresses and we short, and that we talk much and they little.— In England the vices in fashion are whoring & drinking, in Turkey, sodomy & smoking, we prefer a girl and a bottle, they a pipe and pathic.—They are sensible people ...[49]

In a more serious vein, he wrote in a note to his first fair copy of *CHP*:

> It must be understood that the Albinese [sic] in common with the Turks and Greeks are addicted to Pederasty though I must say in their favour what must be said for the Turks, that I believe they prefer women, however in Albania their number is small in proportion to the male population.[50]

Other writings include sceptical and gloomy thoughts, as when he contends, "I have seen mankind in various countries and find them equally despicable", or "I'm returning

home without a hope, and almost without a desire."[51] One of his most devastating paragraphs to this respect is the following:

> I will trouble you no more at present, except to state that all climates and nations are equally interesting to me; that mankind are everywhere despicable in different absurdities; that the farther I proceed from your country the less I regret leaving it, and the only advantage you have over the rest of mankind is the sea, that divides you from your foes; your other superiorities are merely imaginary. I would be a citizen of the world, but I fear some indispensable affairs will soon call me back; and as I left the land without regret, I shall return without pleasure.[52]

This pessimistic attitude becomes more conspicuous when Byron realizes that he has to return home, if only for a period, to try and manage his "unmanageable affairs", as he himself writes.[53] But all in all, he now considers himself "a citizen of the world", as he also contends and, showing this is not just palaver, before he leaves Athens in 1811 he writes to his mother the precious text which can be chosen as a model for any declaration of educational cosmopolitism. After summarizing and exemplifying the vices of English parochialism in the figure of his servant Fletcher, Byron writes:

> I am so convinced of the advantages of looking at mankind instead of reading about them, and the bitter effects of staying at home with all the narrow prejudices of an islander, that I think there should be a law amongst us, to set our young men abroad, for a term, among the few allies our wars have left us. Here I see and have conversed with French, Italians, Germans, Danes, Greeks, Turks, Americans, etc., etc., etc.; and without losing sight of my own, I can judge of the countries and manners of others. Where I see the superiority of England (which, by the by, we are a good deal mistaken about in many things), I am pleased, and where I find her inferior, I am at least enlightened. Now, I might have stayed, smoked in your towns, or fogged in your country, a century, without being sure of this, and without acquiring anything more useful or amusing at home.[54]

With all the evidence above in mind, if we were to set a tentative classification of Byron's national preferences as expressed in his writing of the period, the Albanians and the Turks would attain the top score on the positive scale, followed by the Greeks and by the Spaniards, in that order. On the negative side, the English would get first position, followed by the Portuguese.

Is there an explanation for this? As hinted in previous paragraphs, I think there is, in fact, a *multiple explanation*. It is common knowledge that the first impression, the initial experiences when visiting a place, often leave a permanent imprint on the visitor. In Portugal, Byron and Hobhouse were mugged by ruffians in the streets of Lisbon.[55] In Spain however they made friends with local ladies and gentlemen, including a popular idol like general Castaños, the victor of Bailén.[56] Byron's first impression of Albania and the hospitable Albanians could not be more favourable, and the same happened with the Greeks. The fact that the Greeks, all the same, are considered inferior to the Turks may be related to wider issues of cultural prejudice. In Byron's time and well before (and after!) many "Northerners", including British travellers, thought that the

present-day Greeks were a degenerate race who could not match the feats of their illustrious predecessors, and in a sense deserved to be under the yoke of the more decisive and deserving Turks.[57] And of course, there is Orientalism as a cultural issue in its own right. For more than a century in 1809 the Orient had been attractive and fashionable in Christian Europe, with such major works as the French and English translations of the *Arabian Nights*, Mary Wortley Montagu's enthralling letters from the Embassy in Constantinople, Montesquieu's *Lettres Persannes*, Johnson's *Rasselas*, Beckford's *Vatheck* or the mighty Napoleonic *Description de l'Egypte*, which first appeared in 1809.[58] In a letter to Davies from Athens, halfway through his tour, Byron wrote: "I feel happy, I feel free, I can go and I can fly."[59] This is the third reason, or set of reasons, why young Byron likes the Mediterranean. This freedom and happiness he talks about while in Athens he associates with being as far away from Britain as possible. Financial problems, sexual worries, a literary establishment who had yet to admit him, even a conservative government which he hated and, by and large, an English society which as we know he considers full of "narrow prejudices", all combined to produce this attitude which he expresses many times throughout these writings: "I have no wish to return to England", "I will never revisit England", "I will never live in England", "I dislike England",[60] etc. National sympathies in Byron tend to correlate with the physical and cultural distance with respect to England of the countries concerned.

Whatever the reasons, the consequences of those sympathies with the Levant and the Mediterranean he knew –Turks, Greeks, Spaniards...– are really major ones. On the personal side, when, as he predicted, Byron could not stand Britain any longer, he left the island for good, and went to live for the rest of his life, in what was a voluntary exile, first to Italy (his major pending Mediterranean subject) and then again to Greece –where, even allowing for his frustration at the Greek leaders' internal conflicts and treacherous attitudes, his support of their cause cost him his life. At that mature stage, Byron's Mediterranean preferences had already changed: he may still have been cosmopolitan at heart rather than nationalist, but supporting the Greeks against his formerly admired Turks had been his undeniable choice. It is difficult not to assume that the later expatriate, Philhellenic Byron had its origin in these early Mediterranean experiences.

And of course there is the literature. For some decades before Byron's journey, travel writers had been exploring the fringe Mediterranean areas of the traditional Grand Tour –Robert Southey or William Jacob in the Iberian Peninsula, James Boswell in Corsica, Patrick Brydone in Malta and Sicily, Richard Chandler in Asia Minor– and, significantly, writing their impressions in overtly 'autobiographical' forms such as letters, journals or diaries.[61] As for Byron, it is clear that without having known and liked the Greeks and the Spaniards he could not possibly have written his captivating *CHP*, especially cantos I and II, the fictionalized version of his Mediterranean tour. Without having been on the spot, and loved Athens so much, he could not possibly have denounced Lord Elgin's plunder of the Acropolis marbles in *CHP*, Canto II and in *The Curse of Minerva*. Without having been so enthusiastic by then about the Albanians and

the Turks he could not possibly have written his series of "Turkish Tales" in verse that were produced in quick succession between 1813 and 1816: *The Giaour*, *The Bride of Abydos*, *The Corsair*, *Lara*, or *The Siege of Corinth* –to which must be added the *Hebrew Melodies* and, above all, his masterpiece *Don Juan*, with its starting point in Seville and in "Cadiz, sweet Cadiz". With all these works, which constitute a substantial proportion of his artistic output as a whole, and which were hugely successful with a devoted public, first British and then Pan-European, Byron crucially contributed to prolonging Orientalism in the Western world. Devoted literary disciples like Benjamin Disraeli and Alfred Tennyson would actually travel across the Mediterranean following Byron's steps of 1809.[62] Well supplied by the Orientalist literature of other great authors like Goethe, Chateaubriand, Victor Hugo, Flaubert or Fitzgerald, Byron's work would thus link up with the sophisticated new wave of literary Orientalism which arrived in Europe one hundred years later with Modernism and Pierre Loti, T.E. Lawrence or Forster in the novel, Tagore and his Nobel Prize, Ezra Pound and many others in poetry. It is difficult not to exaggerate the short, the mid- and the long-term importance of those apparently casual judgments that young Byron made two centuries ago now, about the peoples of what he would rightfully once call "my Mediterranean", with its "cloudless climes and starry skies".[63]

Notes

1. The canonical editions of those writings are respectively George Gordon Byron, *Letters and Journals*, vols. 1, 2 and 13 [additional letters], edited by Leslie A. Marchand (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1973, 1975, 1994), *The Complete Poetical Works,* vol. 1, edited by Jerome J. McGann (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980) and *The Complete Miscellaneous Prose*, edited by Andrew Nicholson (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991). From this point on I will refer to said volumes as *BLJ* I*, BLJ* II*, BLJ* XIII, *CPW* I and *CMP* respectively. This paper is related to the Spanish I+D+i National Research Project MCI FFI2011-23532.

2. For theoretical aspects as well as different illustrations of the emergence of national stereotypes, see *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*, edited by Ruth Wodak et al., 2nd. ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1999), and *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters: A Critical Survey*, edited by Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (New York: Rodopi, 2007). The journal *National Identities* (Routledge) regularly publishes interesting contributions on the topic.

3. The canonical edition of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* [hereafter *CHP*] is *The Complete Poetical Works,* vol. 2, edited by McGann (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980). For the reception of *CHP*, see Peter W. Graham, 'Byron and the Business of Publishing', in *The Cambridge Companion to Byron*, edited by Drummond Bone (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), pp. 27–43, especially pp. 30–33.

4. Marchand, *Byron: A Portrait* (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1970), p. 102; Fiona MacCarthy, *Byron: Life and Legend* (London: Faber, 2003), pp. 139-140.

5. See McGann ed., *CHP,* pp. 265–71 and Graham, pp. 31–33 for details.

6. Standard biographies of Byron include Marchand's monumental *Byron: A Biography* in 3 vols. (London: Murray, 1957) and its abridged version *Byron: A Portrait* (see note 4); Benita Eisler, *Byron: Child of Passion, Fool of Fame* (New York: Knopf, 1999) and (the latest so far) MacCarthy's groundbreaking *Byron: Life and Legend* (see note 4).

7. *Lord Byron's First Pilgrimage*, by William A. Borst (New Haven: Yale UP, 1948), was the first study devoted specifically to Byron's tour of 1809-11, only to be surpassed by later biographies (see above, note 6) in minor details. See also *Byron and the Mediterranean*, edited by Peter Vassallo (Malta: University, 1986) and *Byron and the Mediterranean World*, edited by Marius B. Raizis (Athens: Hellenic BS, 1995).

8. Unfortunately Byron never published a travelogue of his Mediterranean adventure, but Hobhouse did: on arrival to England, he prepared his *Journey through Albania*, which saw the public light in London, 1813. There would be a later edition, with a slightly modified title, in 1855.

9. The painting, oil on canvas (112.5 x 89.5 cm), now belongs to The Royal Collection, RCIN 402411.

10. To Francis Hodgson, Lisbon 16 July 1809 (*BLJ* I, pp. 215–216) and to John Hanson, Lisbon 13 July 1809 (*BLJ* I, 214–215) respectively.

11. To Catherine Gordon Byron, Gibraltar 11 August 1809 (*BLJ* I, pp. 218–222) and to John Hanson, Gibraltar 7 August 1809 (*BLJ* I, pp. 217–218) respectively.

12. *CHP* I, ll. 229–230, 228, 234 respectively.

13. For more details, see J. Almeida Flor, 'A Portuguese Review of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*', in *Byron: Portugal, 1977* edited by F. De Mello Moser (Coimbra: Byron Society, 1977), pp. 59–74.

14. To John Hanson, Gibraltar 7 August 1089 (*BLJ* I, pp. 217–218).

15. To Francis Hodgson, Lisbon 16 July 1809 (*BLJ* I, pp. 215–216).

16. Gibraltar, 11 August 1809 (*BLJ* I, pp. 218–222).

17. *CPW* I, pp. 272-272. The title is editorial.

18. *CHP* I, ll. 387, 445, 448, 459, 874 and 575 respectively. Byron saw Agustina Zaragoza i Domènech in Seville and was struck by her feminine appearance, which he was not expecting: See further Borst, *Lord Byron's First Pilgrimage*, p. 27, and Richard A. Cardwell, "Byron's Romantic Adventures in Spain", in *Byron and Latin Culture*, edited by Peter Cochran (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2013), pp. 346-368. This event may have added to his positive view of Spanish women.

19. *CHP* I, ll. 611, 487 respectively.

20. To John Hanson, Gibraltar 7 August 1809 (*BLJ* I, pp. 217–218).

21. *CHP* II, l. 190. *Mons Calpe*, one of the Pillars of Hercules, is the Latin name for the Rock of Gibraltar.

22. To Catherine Gordon Byron, Malta 15 September 1809 (*BLJ* I, pp. 223–224).

23. *CHP* II, ll. 253, 254, 280 respectively.

24. The poem was first published in *Poems on His Domestic Circumstances ... By Lord Byron* (1816). The canonical edition is in *CPW* I, pp. 338–340.

25. To John Hanson, Preveza, 29 September 1809 (*BLJ* I, pp. 225). It should be remembered that Greece was by then part of the Ottoman Empire and was thus under Turkish rule. Byron will become deeply engaged in the ensuing conflict: see the recent Roderick Beaton, *Byron's War: Romantic rebellion, Greek revolution* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013).

26. *CHP* II, ll. 352, 353, 354 respectively. Byron was, of course, bisexual and, probably, more innately oriented towards homosexuality than towards heterosexuality: See MacCarthy, *Byron: Life and Legend*, pp. xii–xiii, and below, note 34.

27. To Catherine Gordon Byron, Preveza 12 November 1809 (*BLJ* I, pp. 226–231).

28. See *CHP*, pp. 56–68 and, for the note, pp. 192–195.

29. *CHP*, pp. 192-193. No such comparison obtains in the letters and occasional poems of the tour, where the only reference to the Highlands is made *a propos* of Sintra in Portugal, said to combine "all the wildness of the Western Highlands with the verdure of the South of France" (*BLJ* I, p. 218). Massimiliano Demata has studied Byron's views on the Albanians and the Scottish Highlanders in the light of the Scottish Enlightenment: see his "From Caledonia to Albania: Byron, Galt, and the Progress of the Eastern Savage", *Scottish Studies Review* 2:2 (2001), 61–76, and note 38 below.

30. *BLJ* I, 231. Byron posed in 1813 for the portrait artist Thomas Phillips (1770–1835). The oil painting, which Phillips completed next year, is now in the British Embassy in Athens. Phillips himself made a replica of the painting in 1835, which is currently on display at London's National Portrait Gallery (NPG cat. 142). The versions of the portrait in small print format (like Finden's, also preserved in the NPG, cat. D7608) would significantly contribute to increase the popularity of this icon of Romantic Orientalism. See Annette Peach, 'Famous in My Time: Publicization of Portraits of Byron during His Lifetime', in *Byron: The Image of the Poet*, edited by Christine Kenyon-Jones (London: Associated UP, 2008), pp. 57– 67.

31. "I was near bringing away Theresa [Macri] but the mother asked *30 000* piastres!" To John Cam Hobhouse, Malta 15 May 1811 (*BLJ* II, pp. 46).

32. To John Hanson, Patras 24 November 1809 (*BLJ* I, pp. 233–234). He will use exactly the same formula ("your country") in later letters to Robert Charles Dallas and to Catherine Gordon Byron: See below, notes 52 and 54.

33. "Yours arrived on the first Inst. it tells me I am ruined". To John Hanson, Athens 11th November 1810 (*BLJ* II, p. 25). For the financial aspects of the tour, see Doris Langley Moore, *Lord Byron Accounts Rendered* (London: John Murray, 1974), pp. 97–146.

34. "The old Horatian way" (*CPW* I, p. 283) refers of course to homosexual practice (see above, note 26). Byron's letters and occasional poems of the Mediterranean and Levant tour abound in cryptic references to gay love: *BLJ* I, p. 207; *BLJ* II, pp. 14, 23, 27, 29, 50... See further Louis Crompton, *Byron and Greek Love. Homophobia in 19th Century England* (London: Faber, 1985), pp. 107-157 and Agustín Coletes Blanco, "Literary Allusion in Byron's Writings of the Mediterranean Tour (1808-1811)", in *Byron and Latin Culture*, pp. 171-180.

35. To John Hanson, Preveza 12 November 1809 (*BLJ* I, pp. 231–232).

36. *CHP* II, ll. 748, 749, 709, 710 respectively.

37. *CHP*, pp. 209-11, this quotation p. 210.

38. A point overlooked by Demata in his treatment of Byron's Turkish affinities: "Byron, Turkey and the Orient", in *The Reception of Byron in Europe Volume* II, edited by Cardwell (London: Continuum, 2004), pp. 439–452.

39. *CHP*, p. 209 and *BLJ* I, p. 241, respectively.

40. See *BLJ* I, pp. 226–231, 233–234, 249–252, 253–254 among others.

41. To Catherine Gordon Byron, Athens 20 July 1810 (*BLJ* II, pp. 3 and 8), and to Scrope Berdmore Davies (*BLJ* XI, p. 157). As a contrast, it occupies seven pages in Hobhouse's diary: *Hobhouse's Diary*, e-edited by Cochran, <http://petercochran.wordpress.com/hobhouses-diary> [accessed 13/11/2013], entry for Tuesday, July 10th, 1810 (pp. 268–275), and eight pages in his *Journey to Albania* (II, pp. 363-371). See further Cochran, "Introduction: Byron's Orientalism",

in *Byron and Orientalism*, edited by Cochran (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008), pp. 116-120.

42. The cut, "drawn by J.M.W. Turner, R.A., from a sketch by T. Allison", was "engraved by J. Cousins", and "published August, 1832, by J. Murray."

43. To Catherine Gordon Byron, Athens 20 July 1810 (*BLJ* II, pp. 3–4).

44. *CHP* II, ll. 10–11.

45. *CHP* II, ll. 91–94, 709, 791 respectively.

46. Marmarotouri is mentioned in *CHP*, p. 206. The Riga translation is in *CPW* I, pp. 330–32. On Byron's interest in modern Greek language and literature see Alex Grammatikos, "Byron in the Archives: Modern Greek Print Culture and Byronic Philhellenism", *39th International Byron Conference 2013 London e-Proceedings* <http://www.internationalbyronsociety.org> [accessed 7/02/2014].

47. *CHP*, pp. 201–202. Byron's attitudes to Albanians, Greeks and Turks have been commented on by critics in the area of Balkan studies, such as Tatiana Kuzmic, "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage in the Balkans", *Comparative Critical Studies* 4:1 (2007), 51-65; Umut Özkırımlı and Spyros A. Sofos, *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey* (New York: Columbia UP, 2008), p. 48, or Jim Potts, *The Ionian Islands and Epirus: A Cultural History* (New York: OUP, 2010), pp. 227–229. These studies focus on *CHP* and later poems rather than on the letters and occasional poems of the 1809-11 tour. See also Cardwell, "Byron and the Orient: Appropriation or Speculation?" in *Byron and Orientalism*, pp. 155–176.

48. To Catherine Gordon Byron, Constantinople 28 June 1810 (*BLJ* I, p. 252).

49. To Henry Drury, *Salsette* frigate, in the Dardanelles off Abydos, 3 May 1810 (*BLJ* I, pp. 237–240, this quotation p. 238).

50. This was never printed. See *CPW* II, p. 198.

51. "Four or five reasons in favour of a change", Malta, 22 May 1811 (*BLJ* II, pp. 47–48; though included in Marchand's collection, this is a personal note, not a letter, and letter to Francis Hodgson, *Volage* frigate, at sea, 29 June 1811 (*BLJ* II, 52–54) respectively.

52. To Robert Charles Dallas, Constantinople 23 June 1810 (*BLJ* I, 247–249).

53. To John Cam Hobhouse, Malta 15 May 1811 (*BLJ* II, 44–47).

54. To Catherine Gordon Byron, Athens 14 January 1811 (*BLJ* II, pp. 34–35).

55. On a note to stanza 21, Canto I of *CHP*, Byron contends that, had they not "fortunately been armed", they would have "adorned a tale instead of telling one" (*CHP*, p. 188). See further Borst, *Lord Byron's First Pilgrimage*, pp. 6–20.

56. See letter to Catherine Gordon Byron, Gibraltar 11 August 1809 (*BLJ* I, pp. 218–222).

57. See Nigel Leask, "Byron and the Eastern Mediterranean: *Childe Harold* II and the 'polemic of Ottoman Greece'", in *Cambridge Companion to Byron*, pp. 99–117.

58. For more examples and details, see the second part of Edward W. Said's classic *Orientalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 2003); Saree Makdisi, 'Literature, National Identity, and Empire', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1740-1830*, edited by Thomas Keymer and Jon Mee (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), pp. 61-79 and Diego Saglia, 'Orientalism', in *A Companion to European Romanticism*, edited by Michael Ferber (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 467–485.

59. To Scrope Berdmore Davies, Patras, 31 July 1810 (*BLJ* XI, pp. 157–158).

60. To John Hanson, Preveza 12 November 1809 (*BLJ* I, pp. 231–232), and Patras, 24 November 1809 (*BLJ* I, pp. 233–234).

61. For more details, see Elizabeth A. Bohls, "Introduction" to *Travel Writing 1700-1830: An Anthology*, edited by E.A. Bohls and Ian Duncan (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), pp. xiii-xxviii,

xxiii-xxiv especially; James Buzard, "The Grand Tour and After (1660-1840)", in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 37–52, and Leask, "Byron and the Eastern Mediterranean", pp. 102–103.

62. See David Mitchell, *Travellers in Spain* (Fuengirola: Santana, 2004), pp. 58–59 and Saglia, *Lord Byron e le maschere della scrittura* (Roma: Carocci, 2009), pp. 59–63. The latest 'literary disciple' to follow Byron's Mediterranean steps is probably the Dutch novelist Tessa de Loo and her travelogue of significant title, *In Byron's Footsteps* (London: Armchair Traveller, 2011), which focuses on Albania.

63. Letter to Thomas Moore, Hastings, 3 August 1814, and poem 'She Walks in Beauty', from Hebrew *Melodies* (1814).

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Maria Edgeworth for Italian Readers: An Analysis of Bianca Milesi's *Benedetto* (1839)

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ABSTRACT

Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849) was one of the most prominent British writers at the turn of the nineteenth century. In addition to pedagogical essays and feminocentric fiction, this Anglo-Irish authoress produced some tales for children which were quickly translated into a number of European languages. This paper is part of a larger project which considers the reception of Edgeworth's *oeuvre* on the Continent, and analyzes the Italian version of one of her last fictions for children, *Frank* (1822). Bianca Milesi's rendering of the text into Italian will be studied within the framework of translemic studies. For this purpose, we will contextualize Edgeworth's educational work and make reference to the impact of Milesi's books in literary magazines and her relationship with Edgeworth. Though the readers of the source and target texts remain the same, *Benedetto* is conditioned by Milesi's personality and historical circumstances. As a result, there is a balance between fidelity to Edgeworth's *Frank* regarding the main plot and characterization, and the will to adapt the story to a new context through a number of suppressions which affect the macro and microstructure of the text. There are also some additions, these intended to bring *Frank* closer to young Italian readers. This article suggests that, rather than a translation, the changes in the target text point to an adaptation of Edgeworth's narrative.

Keywords: Maria Edgeworth, translation studies, Italian, gender studies, nineteenth-century literature

1. Introduction

The translation of Maria Edgeworth's works in Italy during the nineteenth century has thus far received little attention.[2] The aim here is to study the Italian version of *Frank*, *A Sequel to Frank in Early Lessons* (1822) (hereafter *Frank*, which was translated into Italian as *Benedetto*) by means of a translemic analysis within the framework of gender studies and following the lines of previous research on Edgeworth's reception on the Continent (Fernández, 2008; 2010; 2012; 2013a). We will, then, examine the work of a well-known Italian thinker who was deeply involved in Italian politics at the turn of the nineteenth century.

After a contextualization of the translator and her age, the target text will be analyzed in light of the source text, drawing on Even-Zohar's theory of the literary system understood as a network of relations between elements (*producer*, *consumer*, *market*, *product*, *institution and repertoire*) which are integrated and mutually dependent (Even-Zohar, 1990: 34). Even-Zohar's theory is useful for our purpose since it considers literature within a dynamic relationship with the social context. On the one hand, and as Gideon Toury has noted, translations fill the gaps in the target culture (1995: 27), and become part of a new literary polysystem with the help of the educational system and literary critics (comments, introductions, summaries). On the other hand, to claim that translated literature maintains a central position in the literary polysystem implies that it participates actively in shaping the centre of the polysystem. In such a situation, translation constitutes an integral part of innovatory forces, and it is likely to become one of the means of elaborating a new repertoire (Even-Zohar, 1990: 46-47), which is especially interesting when we deal with a specific section of the polysystem, such as children's literature, and its specific constraints. The descriptive translemic analysis to be performed here cannot neglect cultural factors. It considers macrotextual aspects, such as, the narrative point of view, prologues, footnotes, etc, and microtextual ones, including the study of units of analysis and the segments established between texts, as well as the deviations or modifications that operate within them (Snell-Hornby, 1995).

2. The English text

Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849) was one of the most popular and prolific women writers in nineteenth-century Great Britain. She can be credited with having introduced both the regionalist novel and the Big House novel with *Castle Rackrent* (1800), a text which inspired her great friend Sir Walter Scott, and later, Ivan Turgenev. The former referred to Edgeworth in the General Preface to his *Waverley Novels* as follows: "she may be truly said to have done more towards completing the Union than perhaps all the legislative enactment by which it has been followed up" (1877: 420). Current Edgeworth studies tend to focus on Ireland, Edgeworth's position towards the Union,

the Empire or Edgeworth's enlightened views on education and woman. The Anglo-Irish authoress's corpus is quite complex and comprises Irish tales (*Ennui* [1809], *The Absentee* [1812]), pedagogical essays (*Practical Education* [1801]), and novels of manners (*Belinda* [1801], *Helen* [1834]). In fact, Edgeworth was of primary importance in terms of the novel of manners before the success of Jane Austen in the twentieth century, and soon became popular in the French-speaking world where she was highly praised, to the point that the rationalist philosopher André Morellet explained: "À Paris on lit votre livre sur l'éducation —à Genève on l'avale— à Paris on admire vos principles —à Geneve on les suit [in Paris, they read your book on education —in Genoa they devoured it— in Paris they admire your principles —in Genoa they follow them]" (Butler, 1972: 190). Thanks to the translations of her Swiss friends Charles and Marc-Auguste Pictet in *Bibliothèque Britannique,* versions of Edgeworth's works circulated all throughout the Continent.

Frank is part of *Early Lessons*, a series of stories which also includes *Harry and Lucy, Frank and Rosamond* (1801), *Continuation of Early Lessons* (1814), *Rosamond: A Sequel* (1821) and *Harry and Lucy Concluded* (1825). It developed from Harry and Lucy's stories and was intended as an introduction to science for Maria's half-brother William. After Richard Lovell's death, Maria used the notes her father had left to compose the stories, but she had to consult friends and confessed her doubts in a letter to Walter Scott, dated the 8th of April 1825: "The toil, difficulty, mortification I have gone through in finishing these last volumes without him is not to be described … I have no science; and, as to accuracy, can compare myself only to the sailor who 'would never quarrel for a handful of degrees'. I trust my friends have saved me from public shame" (qtd. in Butler, 1972: 167). Over the years, characters evolve: in *Frank*, the heroes grow from seven to eleven, in *Rosamond* the heroine is between ten and thirteen, and in *Harry and Lucy* the main characters reach fourteen (Butler, 1972: 168). Elizabeth McWhorten is very critical in her assessment of *Early Lessons*. For her, Frank's father is a caricature and is not genuinely concerned with his children's best interests. Children are also forced to learn through encounters which are not only painful and dangerous but also improbable. Furthermore, Frank is a tiresome prig, a miniature Sir Charles Grandison and his experiences are nothing more than a variation on the theme of goodness. According to McWhorten, when a child possesses the virtues that Edgeworth wants to inculcate, he is no longer a child (1971: 37-39).

The idea behind *Early Lessons* is the same as in *Practical Education*: to plant the seeds of science, morality and other areas of thought in the small child's conscious or partly conscious mind (Butler, 1972: 64). In the "Preface to Parents", it is stressed that going to a public school does not necessarily mean becoming a great man. Home education is very important since a parent teaches principles and can control children in a way a schoolmaster cannot. At school, it shows if home education has been appropriate (Edgeworth, 1822: 6). The following volumes are about Frank, a seven-year-old boy whose goal is to become self-controlled and manly. The latter does not mean unruly, but rather "abiding by his conviction, and his resolution; in defying ridicule, and in resisting all that is wrong in every shape" (Edgeworth, 1822: 10). The

mistakes of parents are also dealt with, such as being too anxious and being willing to offer children an unpractical education.

The plot is similar to those of Edgeworth's other fictional works for children. When the story begins, Frank and Mary meet a spoilt schoolboy, Tom, who comes to visit the family with his mother, Mrs. J. The children do not understand his speech and Tom warns Frank that he should learn Latin before going to school or he will be flogged. Frank is terrified at the idea, while also observing Tom's apathy. Frank begins to learn Latin on his own, but, instead of being motivated, he feels bored and is easily distracted. His father brings home a beautiful horse, Felix, which engages Frank's attentions. Gradually, Frank shows more courage. He meets a gardener and his son, a very intelligent boy who is teaching himself mathematics with the aim of being able to earn a living as a teacher when he is older. Frank realizes that even a manual worker needs to know the classics, and indeed he sees that the gardener reads Virgil.

During the autumn, Frank meets an engineer and also a prejudiced country Squire, Rugers. The former shows Frank a telescope and other instruments and the hero begins to use these. The boy's mother tries to make him learn ancient history and the history of England, and also gives him a task to do with Mary: they are to produce a chart representing the historical periods. However, rather than work towards finishing the chart, they continually put it off, and the task is never completed. The engineer gives Frank a month to learn the change of seasons, which he finally manages to do, and hence he is given more material to study. He builds an orrey which he later shows the engineer's son, Lewis, who is Tom's opposite and becomes a good friend. Unfortunately, Frank's desire to attend Lewis's school is frustrated because there is no vacant place for him.

The family pays a visit to the Crepstows and Frank meets Horace Granville, who is being educated at one of the best schools in England. During this part of the story, Frank has contact with several young people who are equally ill-tempered and malignant, and he comes to realize that he will have to decide if he wants to be a fag or a flatterer. After being constantly teased and quizzed (Edgeworth, 1822: 198-200), Frank is persuaded that he would not be happy if he were educated like them. Finally, the family leaves Bellombre and some good news arrives: a position has become vacant for Frank at Lewis's school.

3. Milesi and the reception of her translations in the Italian press

Bianca Milesi Mojon (1790-1849) was an Italian patriot and writer who admired Edgeworth and popularized her ideas in Italy. She belonged to an aristocratic family, the Viscotinis, on her mother's side and was brought up in Milan. Having studied at a convent in Florence, Bianca showed great intellectual curiosity and dreamed of becoming a painter, so she headed for Rome, where she was acquainted with the sculptor Antonio Canova and the feminist Sophia Reinhard (1775-1843), a German artist and follower of Saint Simon. Back in Milan, Milesi was deeply involved in politics and joined the feminist movement "*Le giardiniere*" and the secret society "*I*

federati". She was acquainted with Carlo Cattaneo, Alessandro Manzoni and Carlo Porta, and it seems that the political economist Melchiore Gioja dedicated to her *Delle Ingiurie dei danni, del soddisfacimento e relative basi di stima davanti ai tribunali civili* (1821) after his release from prison, as a mark of gratitude in that Milesi had contributed to his liberation (Maroncelli of Forli, 1836: 57). Not only did she invent the "carta frastagliata [indented paper]", a method to read coded messages, but together with Count Federico Confalonieri and Count Giuseppe Pecchio she founded the *Scuole di Mutuo Insegnamento*, to promote common national and cultural awareness. The schools were closed down by the Church, who had the monopoly on education at the time. In 1822, Milesi left for Geneva, where she had contact with the economist Jean Charles Leonard Simonde de Sismondi and also came to know Edgeworth's works, probably through Étienne Dumont. Following her marriage to Dr. Benedetto Mojon in 1825, her household became a meeting point for Romantic intellectuals, aristocrats and members of the bourgeoisie. Milesi was a feminist *ad litteram* and was kept under police surveillance due to her independent and extravagant character. They called her "*La giovane energumena*" and even interrogated her.

During her lifetime, Milesi wrote letters to Lady Byron and also corresponded with Louise-Swanton Belloc, the daughter of an Irishman and Edgeworth's translator in France (Colvin, 1979: 289-290). Admired by Manzoni and a philanthropist deeply committed to the education of children, the Italian writer appreciated Edgeworth so greatly that the last letter Milesi wrote was to Signora Fulvie communicating Edgeworth's death (Souvestre, 1854: 122). Milesi received one letter from Edgeworth in 1830 after the publication of *Prime lezioni*. The Anglo-Irish writer was thankful to her because *Benedetto* — was more agreeable than *Frank* and the book was beautifully written: "il parle votre langue avec tant de grâce et de poésie, que je ne puis m'empêcher de croire qu'elle est sa langue maternelle. J'ajouterai que son nom italien *Benedetto* promet davantage, est plus conciliant, plus béni (pardonnez ce mauvais jeu de mot) que celui de Franck, qu'il portait en Angleterre [he speaks your language so gracefully that I believed it was his first language. I would like to add that his Italian name, Benedetto, is more promising, more conciliatory, more accurate (excuse me for this awful wordplay) than Frank, which he had in England]" (Souvestre, 1854: 66-67). On that occasion, Edgeworth congratulated Milesi and invited her to Ireland, which she described in positive terms:

> Les libertés civiles et religieuses se joignent aux bienfaits d'un pays fertile en coeurs chalereux, en esprits actifs, en mains laborieuses (je parle sans exaggeration), nous pouvons espérer que les Irlandais s'élèveront sur l'échelle des peuples. Ils montréront qu'ils peuvent supporter la prospérité aussi bien, bien meme qu'ils n'ont supporté l'adversité. Je suis sans inquiétude maintenant pour l'Irlande [Civil and religious liberties gather together in a fertile country of passionate hearts, of enterprising spirits, of labouring hands (I do not exaggerate). We hope the Irish will stand out among people. They will show they can stand prosperity as well as they endured adversity. Now I am not worried about Ireland] (Souvestre, 1854: 66-67).

The close relationship between Edgeworth and Milesi is understandable if we turn to Italian history and the politics of the period. The nineteenth-century *Risorgimento* led in 1861 to national unification and established the cultural foundations for the Italian state: national conscience had been aroused and a series of political events freed the Italian states from foreign domination, in that the desire for freedom was accompanied by a yearning for liberalism and constitutionalism. The opposition to the Austrian Empire coloured all literary writings in one way or another. Along with the education of the citizens of the new Italy and the *italianità*, the idea of the motherland became the main literary topic, and would continue thus even into the twentieth century (Bravo, 1989: 28; Peña, 1994: 115-116). Both Edgeworth and Milesi were deeply attached to their countries. The former had written extensively on the Union of Ireland and Great Britain and its consequences. For Milesi, Ireland was a country to emulate and Edgeworth a writer to sympathize with.

Italian periodicals soon saw the achievement of Milesi, who was behind the translation of other authoresses, including Anna Letitia Barbauld's children's book *Inni sacri in prosa per fanciuli* (Napoli: G. Nobile, 1835). Curiously, when commenting on Milesi's achievement, Edgeworth was always in the spotlight and reviewers attacked Milesi on the same grounds as Edgeworth (Author, 2013b). *Prime lezioni* was reviewed in *Antologia: giornale di scienze, lettere e arti*, where it was said to be "trasunto del sistema della sig. Edgeworth [an image of Miss Edgeworth's system] and a complement of it" (1831: 134). In the review of *Prime lezioni* in *Indicatore*, the reviewer amply reflects on education and stresses that God is never mentioned in the book (1835: 444). Later, in *Guida dell'educatore*, there is a review in the form of a correspondence between two readers about Edgeworth's tales. The first reader expected that *Colazioni della nonna* was an imitation of Edgeworth and feels disappointed: this reader thinks that the story of the cracked eggs in *Prime lezioni* is "un semplice vero insegnamento imitabilissimo da ogni madre assennata, ed è lettura grata ed edificante per bambini [true lessons to be imitated by every sensible mother and a pleasing edifying reading for children]" (1836: 102). The other correspondent sees a problem in Edgeworth's production: "se i libri della Edgeworth fossero un pochino più caldi di sentimento, e pochino più animate dall'immaginazione, non vi sarebbe poi nessun male [if Edgeworth's books were a little warmer and more imaginative, they would be better]" (1836: 104). The second correspondent goes on to defend some German books about the love for nature and pure feelings. If they were combined with Edgeworth's works, as it is argued, children might be able to cultivate themselves; otherwise, they will become sensible, but not natural children (1836: 105). As for Italian children, they love romances and comedies, which should be harnessed by such works to make them more reflexive. The second correspondent thinks that Milesi will be appreciated in the future, not now (1836: 106). *Guida dell'educatore* advertises some translations by Milesi: *Storiette per lettura dei bambini* (second edition 1833) and *Prime lezioni*; the guide highlights Edgeworth's love for truth and candour while some people are "avveze a divertirsi con avventure commoventi [avid to enjoy exciting adventures]" (1836: 39).

Rivista Europea: giornale di scienze morali, letteratura ed arti listed two of Milesi's productions: *Educazione famigliare o serie di letture per fanciulli della prima età sino all'adolescenzia* (Bologna 1833, due volume) and *Benedetto*. They considered the former the best volume for children, together with Marenesi's *Novelliere per giovanetti.* After pointing out the differences between the French and Anglo-Irish authors —mainly that the former focuses on fantasy and feeling—, they regard Edgeworth's tales as "una miniera preziosa di osservazioni morali ma si rivolgono più all'intelletto che all'animo [a treasure trove of moral observations but they address the intellect rather than the heart]" (1846: 240). Italian reviewers could not overcome the traditional image of English people as introvert and melancholic, and admitted that for Italian readers it was difficult to identify themselves with Edgeworth. On the one hand, "I fanciulli da lei prediletti sono piuttosto parvoli rimbambiti, che non piccholi uomini [the children she loves are stupid children rather than little men]" (1846: 241). On the other hand, Edgeworth dialogues were too long and difficult to follow, and she did not believe in children's instinctive mental activity, envisioning children in simple terms.

4. The Italian version

Applying Even-Zohar's model, in the source text, Edgeworth is the *producer* responsible for a *product* (*Frank*) addressed to British readers. She has in mind a *market* composed by a young audience who appreciated didactic fiction. The critics, publishing houses and universities, are part of the *institution*, which generally supported Edgeworth. Finally the *repertoire* establishes the rules and materials governing both the production and use of that product. In Edgeworth's case, this refers to the educative tale represented by Anna L. Barbauld (*Evenings at Home* [1796]).

The *producer* of the target text, Milesi, does not specify the source she is using for her *product* (*Benedetto*). Her readers are clearly defined in the paratext (Genette, 1987: 7) preceding the main text, although she obviously has in mind a broader audience, one composed of the Italian higher and middle-classes as her *market*. For Genette, dedicating a work comprises some ostentation or exhibition: "[la dédicace] affiche une rélation, intellectuelle ou privée, réelle ou symbolique, et cette affiche est toujours au service de l'oeuvre, comme argument de valorisation ou thème de commentaire [the dedication makes public a relationship, intellectual or private, real or symbolic, and that notice is always at the service of the work as an argument of valorization or topic of comment]" (1987: 126). As a matter of fact, *Benedetto* is dedicated to a woman, precisely to one of Honoré de Balzac's friends, the noblewoman Countess Sanseverino Porcìa, and Milesi explains that she aims to offer the Countess "preziose norme per l'educazione de' cari vostri figlioletti [valuable advice for the education of your dear little children]" (Edgeworth, 1839: V). The translator also states that she does not depart much from the original, as it was already indicated in the preface to *Prime lezioni.*

Regarding the *institution* and the *repertoire*, we might consider reviewers' positive response to Milesi's work and her choice of the Tuscan dialect and simple vocabulary, as is common in texts for young readers: "The reason for the high style in children's

literature is connected with the didactic concept of literature and the attempt to enrich the children's vocabulary" (Shavit, 1981: 177). The Tuscan dialect had been the standard for Italian literature since the Renaissance. Manzoni had revised *I promessi sposi* recasting it into the Tuscan dialect, and in this way reflecting the nationalistic project of unifying Italy through its language and literature, and establishing a linguistic model which could be understood by most Italian readers. Nevertheless, Milesi's choice had been previously criticized. When *Biblioteca italiana* reviewed the first edition of *Prime lezioni*, they did so with a philological approach and it was pointed out that translating familiar and specialized language like that which Edgeworth introduces in her works is not easy, and that Milesi had made several mistakes (1829: 278); the result, it is argued, is an opaque text for young readers. There are, for example, orthographic mistakes and a glossary appended by Milesi with comments about archaic language.[3] For the reviewer of *Prime lezioni* in *Indicatore*, it seems that Milesi does not present a literal translation since she substituted some terms for non equivalent ones in an attempt to achieve "propietà di parole [propriety of language]" (1835: 445), which is linked to the attempt to provide children with the best linguistic models. The reviewer states that Milesi is engaged in the attempt to unify Italian, and quotes Milesi explaining that she chose the dialect from Tuscany to "agevolare la cognizione del vocabolario domestico, ed a fortificare così sempre più quei vincoli che legano ogni provincia d'Italia ad una patria comune [facilitate the knowledge of domestic vocabulary and fortify forever those ties which bind every province in Italy to a common motherland]" (1835: 446). Milesi was an innovator in that she translated literature for children in Italy before Carlo Lorenzini, Collodi, Edmundo D'Amici or Pietro Paravicini, and the Italian polysystem did not have a native literature similar to Edgeworth's work.

As a whole, the target text complies with the principles of acceptability and adequacy in that it adheres to the norms of the target and source cultures respectively (Toury, 1995: 56-57). Nonetheless, the target text reveals some carelessness, with omissions and obvious mistakes. Some parts of the preface do not appear in the translation, especially those dealing with "public education": "it would be a sufficient consolation, or quieting to their conscience, to throw the blame upon the negligence of the schoolmaster, and the vices of our public institutions" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 7) or "and by what means they may give to their boys the greatest school chance of securing every advantage to be hoped from public education" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 7-8). There are also typographical errors or slips which are perhaps the consequence of translating too quickly: Sandford and Merton (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 112) becomes "Sandford and Berton" (Edgeworth, 1839: 99) and "Phileros" (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 76) turns into "Fileno" (Edgeworth, 1839: 328).

One of the strong points in Edgeworth's stories is the literary representation of speech. She repeatedly showed her ability to brilliantly reproduce Anglo-Irish speech and children's discourse. Milesi makes an effort to render Frank's ideolect into Italian when he reasons with the horse:

> "My dear Felix, don't be foolish — it's only the turkey-cock. Stand still, Felix — stand still. Oh, Felix! Felix! for shame, Felix : you are a greater coward than I was, when I was — Oh,

> Felix, fie ! you'll throw me on the dunghill, if you don't take care — do stand still. Do hush! turkey-cock ! What a horrible hobble-gobbling you are making — stand still, I say, sir! stand still!" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 91).
>
> "Via, caro Felice, non fare il matto, non temere: non è altro che un tacchino. Sta fermo, Felice, sta fermo. Oh, Felice! Felice! Oibò! Sei ancor più codardo che non ero io, quando fui qui tempo fa. Oh Felice! Oibò! …. Tu mi butterai sul letamaoi se hon hai guidizio: sta fermo. — Zitto, brutto tacchino, col tu glu glu! — Fermo, Felice! Via, signor Felice, vi dico di star quieto [Come on, dear Felix, don't be foolish, don't be afraid: it's only a turkey. Be quiet, Felix, be quiet. Oh, Felix! Felix! for shame, Felix: you are a greater coward than I was long time ago. Oh Felix! Stop!... you'll throw me on the pigpen if you don't use your judgment: be quiet. Hush! ugly turkey, with your gobbling!— Be quiet, Felix! Come on, Mr. Felix, I tell you to be quiet]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 78).

Prior to Even-Zohar, another scholar had focused on the translation of children's literature. Zohar Shavit maintained that the systemic affiliation of a text which enters the children's system is not very different from a text which enters the non-canonized system of adults (1981: 172-173). However, in order to affiliate the original text to existing models, a simplification may be in operation, either changing the function of some elements, the reduction of other functions, or even the suppression of the function of some features (Shavit, 1981: 176). These features are traceable in transition from English to Italian, plus in another sense: first, there are some suppressions and reductions from the source text; second, a good deal of references, as well as the setting and certain linguistic expressions, are adapted to Italian and to the new audience; third, some information is added to facilitate comprehension for the target readers.

4.1. Suppressions and reductions

Shavit states that the target text can be changed by deleting elements in order to adjust it to the model which absorbs it in the target literature (1981: 172-173). Naturalizing the translation implies leaving out unnecessary information from the original. For instance, an explanation about English grammar is logically erased in Italian: "The subjunctive mood differs not in form from the potential, but is always rendered into English as if it were the indicative" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 38). Edgeworth's story relies heavily on references to British culture, which are lost in Milesi's version: a garret at Lichfield (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 113), The Gentleman's Magazine (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 142), Lieutenant George Spearing (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 142), Joyce's *Scientific Dialogues* (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 231), Dr. Priestley (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 64), Bingley (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 69) or the reference to Henry VIII in the squire's speech:

> "Have a care, or the horse will kill you," cried the squire, drawing his horse back, with a look of terror; "Stamper will have his fore paw in your stomach, and knock you down, *dead as king Harry the Eighth*. Ods my life! you frightened me, man, and I'm not easily

> frightened a-horse back ; but, Frank, you're like a boy I lost, that was worth his weight in gold," said the squire, taking off his hat, and wiping his forehead (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 203, my italics).
>
> "Badate, vi farete ammazzare (gridò il cavaliere, ritenendo il suo cavallo, con un'aria di terrore)". "Stampo farebbe più presto a cacciarvi le quatro zampe sul petto, che non io a dir badate. Cospetto di Bacco! che paura mi avete fatto, ragazzo mio; e si che non son facile a impaurire quando sono a cavallo; ma voi, Benedetto, somigliate a un figliuolo che mi è morto, e che valeva tant'oro quanto pesava" ["Be careful, or you will be killed (the gentleman cried as he drew his horse back with a look of terror)". "Stamper would more quickly throw his paws on your chest than I would look after you. For Baccus' sake! you frightened me, my boy: and I am not easily frightened when I am riding; but you, Benedetto, you look like my son who passed away and was worth his weight in gold]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 192-193).

Paratextual elements are related to adequacy. They emphasize the didactic aspect of the work, highlight moral actions or explain difficult terms for the target reader. Thus, neither the footnote about key-stones (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 18) nor the note about the *Edinburgh Review* (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 251) are in Italian. As a result of infratranslation (Newmark, 1995: 285), the target reader is deprived of cultural information and ambiguous passages deserving attention, which is especially important when dealing with children's literature and with an enlightened writer like Edgeworth. The same happens with the disappearance of culture-specific elements and literary allusions, so the lines Frank remembers from "The Peacock at Home" are erased from the Italian version:

> They censured the bantam for strutting and crowing.
> In those vile pantaloons, which he fancied look'd knowing:
> And a want of decorum caused many demurs,
> Against the game chicken, for coming in spurs (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 93).

There are also important reductions regarding cultural references, and intertextuality is not respected: "The officers then began to talk to one another of the different battles in which they had been, in Spain, France, and Flanders. First they spoke with triumph of the battle of Waterloo" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 214) becomes "Gli ufficiali incominciarono a parlare di varie battaglie con un'aria di trionfo [the officers began to talk of various battles with a triumphant air]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 204). The reference to Milton's Samson Agonistes into Latin, and of Herodotus and Sophocles' *Oeddipus Tvrannus* in Greek (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 65) is reduced to "Virgilio, Erodoto and Sofocle" (Edgeworth, 1839: 316). Some lines that Frank repeats from the Iliad (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 225, 227) are considerably reduced (Edgeworth, 1839: 216, 218), two unidentified lines in the original disappear (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 240) while others are preserved in English:

> [...] to come in spite of sorrow,

> And at my window bid good morrow,
> Tbrough the sweetbriar, or the vine,
> Or the twisted eglantine (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 42).

4.2. Adaptation to Italian culture

This is one of the most important features of this translation. According to Göte Klinberg, the adaptation of cultural context involves explaining certain information to the child and assuming his/her lack of knowledge (1986: 65). For Klinberg, "children's literature is produced with a special regard to the (supposed) interests, needs, reactions, knowledge, reading ability and so on of the intended readers" (1986: 7). Shavit points out that the translator of children's literature can permit himself great liberties regarding the text due to the peripheral position children's literature occupies in the polysystem: he is allowed to manipulate the text as long as his adjustments make the text appropriate and useful to the child, in accordance with what society thinks is "good for the child", and that he adjusts plot, characterization and language to the child's level of comprehension and reading ability (1981: 171-172).

In Milesi's version, adapting the text implies changing proper names and measurements, which was paramount in children's literature at that time. Names are translated when there is an equivalent in Italian: "Thom" becomes "Tomasso", "Felix" is rendered as "Felice", "Billy/Willy" shifts to "Guglielmo", "Andrew" is transformed into "Andrea", "George" turns into "Giorgio", "Pompey" is translated as "Pompeo", "Catherine" changes into "Caterina" and "Lewis" into "Luigi". Hypocorisms are retained: "Birch" is translated as "Nerbo [Scourge]", "Blacky" becomes "Moretto" and "Stamper" becomes "Stampo". There is a mistake in the translation of "Mrs. J" as "La signora I". More problems are found when the translator renders other names into Italian: "Headlong" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 159) becomes "scappato [run away]" (1839: 146), "Mr. Cockahoop" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 207) becomes "signor saccentello [Mr. Know-it-all]" (1839: 197) and Mr. Bright appears as "Il signor Britti". On the contrary, Poll is not altered.

In the chapter on animals, children have to choose their favourite ones. Milesi substitutes the English names for familiar ones: "young Little" (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 72) becomes "Enrico Milesi"[4] (Edgeworth, 1839: 324), "Miliken" (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 72) is changed to "Emilio Rossi"[5] (Edgeworth, 1839: 324), "Edgeware" (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 72) to "Cesare Luca" (Edgeworth, 1839: 324), "Joe Thompson" (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 72) to "Genaro Viscotini" (1839: 325) and "young Flaxman" (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 73) becomes "giovane Belloti" (Edgeworth, 1839: 325).

Measurements are also adapted: "a scale of one twentieth of an inch to afoot" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 177) is translated as "Scala d'un ventesimo di decimetro per metro [a scale of one twentieth of a decimetre per metre]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 162) and "foot rule" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 176) is rendered as "il braccio di Milano [Milan's fathom] (Edgeworth, 1839: 164). The conversation "'We will draw it by a scale of a tenth of an inch to a font. Eighty tenths of an inch, how many whole inches is that?' Frank instantly answered, 'Eight'" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 177) is rendered as "'Disegneremo in una scala

di un centimetro per metro. Trenta centimetri quanti decimetro fanno?' Benedetto rispose subito: 'Tre decimetri ['We will draw in a scale of a centimetre per metre. Thirty centimetres, how many decimetres is that?' Benedetto quickly answered: 'Three decimetres']" (Edgeworth, 1839: 164). "Miles" (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 33) becomes "miglia" (Edgeworth, 1839: 281). "Guineas" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 85) turns into "luigi [guinea]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 72). "Pounds, shillings, and pence" (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 12) is rendered as "soldi e in denari, poi ridurla in fanchi e in centesimi [money and deniers, then decreased into francs and cents]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 258).

Madera's story (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 173) preserves the English setting, but cultural references are generally adapted to the context and to Italian readers: "I should like to build one of the London bridges, of which we have a print or Westminster Abbey, or York or Litchfield Cathedral or a Roman triumphal arch" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 16) is rendered with references to Firenze and San Pietro (Edgeworth, 1839: 2), and "what English book do you read?" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 25) becomes "che libro italiano leggete? [what Italian books do you read?]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 11) With the phrase "and fitting for Westminster or Eton, and then we must get on to Oxford or Cambridge" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 28), the translation suppresses cultural words, such as Westminster and Eton: "bisogna entrare in filosofia, per poi andare all'università [it is necessary to enter into philosophy to go to university later]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 15). The English civil wars and Cromwell (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 129) become the Italian civil wars (Edgeworth, 1839: 117). In this regard, a very interesting feature is the transformation of England into Lombardia, a prosperous Italian region:

> […] that he deserved, indeed, to have a spirited horse; and that he would not, for a guinea, that any young gentleman, but himself, should have had Blacky, he looked so well on him; that a fine young gentleman should always have a fine young horse; that he was certain master Frank would, in time, make the finest young gentleman rider in the whole country, or the nest, or in the three ridings of Yorkshire (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 89).

> che egli meritava davvero aver un cavallo vivace, e che en quanto a lui e'non vorrebbe per un luigi che Moretto fosse tocato ad altri che a lui, chi ci faceva una così bella comparsa, e che un gentile signorino come lui doveva anche avere un cavalo gentile. Lo assicurava che col tempo e'sarebbe il più bel giovane cavaliere di tutta Lombardia [that he really deserved to have a spirited horse and that he would not, for a guinea, allow any gentleman, but him, to touch Moretto, which always made him look fine, and that a gentlemen like him should always have a good horse. He was certain that in the future he will turn into the most handsome gentleman rider in Lombardia] (Edgeworth, 1839: 79).

Again, when children go to a farm "trotting through pretty lanes, and cantering across a common, they came to Copsley Farm; a farm which had been lately purchased by farmer Lee" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 90), the scene is rendered as "attraversarono un villaggio, poi giunsero alla cascina del Pero che era stata ultimamente comperata dal fittaiuolo Leone [they went through a village, then arrived to the hampstead of Pero which had been lately bought by Farmer Lee]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 77). "A trigonometrical survey of England" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 126) appears as "catasto della

Lombardia [land register of Lombardy]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 113). England then changes to Lombardy once again: "He was surprised to learn, that an arch and a road, which he now saw, had been made when the Romans were in England" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 128) becomes "era una delle poche reliquie che attestano il soggiorno fatto dai Romani nella Lombardia [it was one of the few remains of the stay of the Romans in Lombardy]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 115).

In English, Frank had his Roman kings, consuls, and emperors on one side of the room and Mary her English kings and queens on the floor on the other (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 137), whereas, in Italian, Benedetto has the Roman consuls and emperors and Maria has the Italian kings and dukes (Edgeworth, 1839: 124). Instead of having Frank's father explain about a legal case (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 227), the target reader is distracted with a long explanation about a tour (Edgeworth, 1839: 227-228). Milesi also concentrates on Roman history:

> This led to an inquiry, which ended in putting a stop to all visiting between the kings and queens of England and the kings and consuls of Rome. The time of Julius Cesar's landing at Deal was inquired into, and, to please Mary, he and the emperor Augustus Caesar were permitted to see Queen Boadicea, though, as Frank observed, this was absolutely impossible in reality, because Queen Boadicea did not live till eighteen years afterwards They went to their little histories of England, France, and Scotland, and found all the kings and queens, and remarkable people, who live at the same time; and they amused themselves with making out parties for these personages, and inventing conversations for them (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 137).

> Questa osservazione condusse a un discorso, il quale interruppe ogni visita fra le regine e le duchesse d'Italia, e fra i re e i consoli di Roma. S'investigò l'epoca in cui i consoli Gneo Cordelio Scipione e Marco Marcello conquistarono l'Insubria e portarono sino a Milano la dominazione di Roma l'anno 221 prima dell'era volgare. Menzionarono i bellissimi avanzi delle terme erculee in Milano, denominate ora le Colonne di S. Lorenzo. Passarono quindi ai compendii di storie del ducato di Milano, della repubblica di Venezia, della repubblica Fiorentina, di Pisa; di Genova; e trassero fuoiri i duchi, le duchesse, i dogi, i gonfalonieri e le persone più notabili che vivevano nello stesso tempo; e si compiacquero nel recitare la parte di que'personaggi, inventando i dialoghi loro [This observation led to a speech, which ended any visit between the queens and the duchess of Italy, and between the kings and the consuls of Rome. The time when the consuls Gneo Cordelio Scipione and Marco Marcello conquered Insubria and took to Milan the Roman domination in 221AD was inquired into. They mentioned the good progress of the Herculean thermal spas in Milan, now called Saint Lawrence Columns. Then they talked about various stories of the dukedom of Milan, the Republic of Venice, the Republic of Florence, of Pisa ; of Genoa; and concluded with the dukes, the duchesses, the doges, the gonfalonieri and the most notable people who lived at that time, and they were pleased to recite the part of each of the characters, inventing their dialogues] (Edgeworth, 1839: 125).

Another change is "and while he was asked some question about a tower on his own estate, which was said to have been built in the time of Augustus Cesar, he said, he thanked his stars he knew nothing at all of any of the Caesars since he had left school,

except his dog Caesar, who was worth them all put together" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 129) translated as

> e quando gli si fecero alcune domande intorno ad alcuni ruderi appartamenti alle antiche stazioni militari romane poste alla guardia dell'Italia, e che si trovavano in un suo podere, vicino alla chiesa d'Agliate, edificata ne'bassi tempi, ove dai materiali impiegativi appartenenti ad antica costruzione si deduce che presisteva colà un tempio dedicato a Nettuno, egli rispose che per fortuna sua, dachè aveva lasciato in collegio, non aveva saputo più altro di Nettuno, se non che del suo cane Nettuno, il quale importava ben più a lui che non il messere dal tridente [and when they asked him about the ruined apartments and the old Roman military stations established to protect Italy, which were in his power, next to the church of Agliate built in the temples where they used materials belonging to the old building, it was clear that there was a temple dedicated to Neptunus. He answered that fortunately since he had dropped school, he had not known about Neptunus, but about his dog Neptunus and that he was worth them all put together] (Edgeworth, 1839: 116).

The explanation of the cake for Twelfth Night is different: in the English text it is said that people play roles which are distributed by taking a piece of paper from a hat (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 96). In Italian, the element of the bean inside the cake determining the King/Queen of the evening is introduced (Edgeworth, 1839: 359). Also, "his next Midsummer holidays" (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 103) turns into "le prossime vacanze di settembre [next September holidays]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 358).

Cultural references are adapted to the Italian context. Pope's translation of Homer's Iliad (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 224) becomes "L'Illiade d'Omero tradotta dal Monti [Omer's Iliad translated by Monti]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 215) and Plutarch's Lives (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 106) is "Vite degli uomini illustri [Lives of famous men]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 361). Tyrannus in Greek (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 88) appears as "Virgilio ed Edipo in Greco [Virgil and Oedipus in Greek]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 342).

The result of such adaptation may cause ambiguity: "The catalogue of Bullock's Museum" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 29) is rendered as "Catalogo d'un museo o d'un gabinetto di storia naturale [catalogue of a museum or a cabinet on natural history]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 15) and the translator locates the museum in Pavia. "Many a one has turned out a mere *fox-hunter*, because he was not allowed to ride when he was a boy" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 67, my italics) becomes "Alcuni hanno preso una passione pazza per *andar a cavallo*, perchè essendo ragazzi, non fu loro concesso di cavalcare, o perchè derisi di tal divieto dai loro compagni [some had turned out to be fox-hunters because they were not allowed to ride when they were children or because they were made fun of their company]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 55, my italics).

Neither sweetbriar nor honey-suckle are translated (Edgeworth, 1839: 292), but, if a cultural reference has passed into universal culture, then it is preserved: "Homer's *Iliad*, Achilles, Hector and Archilochus" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 95) and Giacomo Ferguson's story (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 249) are retained in Milesi's text, as well as Robinson Crusoe, to whom repeated allusions are made. Excerpts in French from a book are not

translated into Italian (Edgeworth, 1839: 45), and "Cabinet des Fées" (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 98) is also preserved (Edgeworth, 1839: 352).

Shavit mentions tone, accepted social norms, and undesirable events as some norms to be taken into account when one writes for children (1981: 172). In this sense, there is one plot shift in Italian, since, in the original text, a letter arrives announcing that Frank is not admitted to the school (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 110) while, in Italian, there is a vacant place for Benedetto, and he must be at school on Monday (Edgeworth, 1839: 366). There is a long story inserted here and we find a literal translation much later (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 249; Edgeworth, 1839: 366).

For Lawrence Venuti, what is translated and the ways it is published, reviewed and taught are part of cultural political practice: "constructing or critiquing ideology-stamped identities for foreign cultures, affirming or transgressing discursive values and institutional limits in the target-language culture" (1995: 19). The opposite of domesticating translation is foreignizing it which signifies the difference of the foreign text and it entails registering the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text (1995: 81). When Milesi wants to approximate to English idioms and collocations, the result is not always successful, and on other occasions, she simply prefers to suppress these. Thus, at a microtextual level, Milesi tries to find equivalent terms for idiomatic expressions: "'You'll never do at school — you'll be sent to Coventry'" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 81) becomes "'Non farete nulla in collegio: ve ne faranno di tutt'i colori [you will never do at school, you will be ignored]'" (Edgeworth, 1839: 68) and "To have another fish to fry" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 22) is rendered as "altre gatte da pelare [to have something better to do]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 8). However, wordplay disappears. Tom says "'you'll be hissed out of the world'" Mary looked frightened, but Frank answered, that he believed he could not be hissed out of the world, because it was round" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 81) but Milesi does not keep this; however, "fagots and maggots" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 124) turns into "fastello e fardello [bundles and burdens]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 111). The wordplay with "apes/apis" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 244) is suppressed and the distinction "Hoarse/coarse" (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 62) similarly disappears (Edgeworth, 1839: 314). Mungo's song (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 164) is translated, but a footnote with Benedetto's new version of the song is added (Edgeworth, 1839: 152). Finally, to "make a Miss Molly of such a fine little fellow" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 206) is rendered as "voglia effeminare un ragazzo [to make a boy effeminate]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 196).

4.3. Addition of new information

Shavit stresses that the translator is sometimes even forced to add to the model elements which do not exist in the original text, but which are considered obligatory in the target model and are thus needed to strengthen it (1981: 172-173). In Milesi's case, this translation procedure makes the text easier for the Italian reader. Thus, Mrs. J. says that Tom is "quite a little bear" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 75) and in Italian he is called "un vero orso e un maiale [truly a bear and a pig]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 62) and "you are positively

quite a little epicure — absolutely a little cormorant" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 75) becomes "sei proprio un leccone [you are really greedy]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 62). There are some expansions, such as "they earned bread for themselves and their families, by teaching French grammatically" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 113), which turns into "insegnado la lingua francese in Inghilterra, in Germania, in Italia, e dappertutto ove si trovavano [by teaching French in England, in Germany, in Italy and wherever they were]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 100). "I had great respect for a poor French nobleman's son, who turned drawing master, and was obliged to work hard" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 113) becomes "pel povero figlio di un emigrato fancese che conobbi in Inghilterra anni sono [for the poor son of the French émigré I met in England some years ago]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 100). "He told another anecdote of a French emigrant; no less a person than the present Duke of Orleans" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 115) is rendered as "il quale era niente meno che il duca d'Orleans, il presente re dei Francesi [who was no less than the Duke of Orleans, currently the King of France]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 102)."It is from a play of Shakespeare" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 120) turns into "Gli è un verso d'una tragedia di Shakespeare [it is taken from a tragedy by Shakespeare]" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 107) and the translation into Italian is added: "Un'ambulante foresta viene a Dunsinane [a crowd of peddlars comes to Dunsinane]". Sometimes more information than in the original appears: "From the little books of history, which he had read, he knew that 'the Romans in England once did sway;' but he had thought of this only as a circumstance mentioned in books" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 128) is "Da quel poco di storia che aveva letto, sapeva Benedetto che i Romani avevano dominata la Gallia cisalpina, nome antico della Lombardia [from the little history he had read, Benedetto knew that the Romans had dominated Cisalpine Gaul, the old name of Lombardy]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 115).

In the change from English to Italian, information can become more specific: "now in the palace of the Duke of Orleans in France" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 116) turns into "nel palazzo del duca d'Orléans a Parigi [in the palace of the Duke of Orleans in Paris]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 103) and "a pair of scarlet worsted cuffs, or bracelets, by some called *wristlets*, by others *comfortables*, by others *muffatees* by others *kitty cuffs*" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 186) becomes "un paio di mezzi guanti a maglia di lana rossa [a pair of pink woolen half gloves]" (Edgeworth, 1839: 174).

According to Peter Hunt, there is a parallel between the emergence of children's literature and other new literatures (national, ethnic, post-colonial). Children's literature had to fight against the academic hegemony of English literature to gain recognition (1992: 2) and the paternalistic attitude to children's literature has a parallel in new literatures. Apart from her commitment to her country, expressed through her choice of the Tuscan dialect, Milesi in some instances reveals other sympathies: "The conversation next turned upon one of those old towers which are called Cesar's towers, and various facts of history were mentioned" (Edgeworth, 1822, I: 128) is rendered into Italian with patriotic overtones:

> e quando gli si fecero alcune domande intorno ad alcuni ruderi appartamenti alle antiche stazioni militari romane poste alla guardia dell'Italia, e che si trovavano in un suo podere, vicino alla chiesa d'Agliate, edificata ne'bassi tempi, ove dai materiali impiegativi

> appartenenti ad antica costruzione si deduce che presisteva colà un tempio dedicato a Nettuno, egli rispose che per fortuna sua, dachè aveva lasciato in collegio, non aveva saputo più altro di Nettuno, se non che del suo cane Nettuno, il quale importava ben più a lui che non il messere dal tridente [and when they asked him about the ruined apartments and the old Roman military stations established to protect Italy, which were in his power, next to the church of Agliate built in the temples where they used materials belonging to the old building, it was clear that there was a temple dedicated to Neptunus. He answered that fortunately since he had dropped school, he had not known about Neptunus, but about his dog Neptunus and that he was worth them all put together] (Edgeworth, 1839: 116).

> Il discorso versò alla scarsezza dei monumenti romani che si rivengono in Lombardia, quantunque Milano sia pure stata lungo tempo sede degli imperatori. Ne accagionavano della distruzione quasi totale l'essere state queste pianure il primo campo sul quale s'era sfogata la cieca rabbia delle orde barbariche, le quali inondarono successivamente *la povera Italia*! [the conversation turned to the scarcity of Roman monuments in Lombardy although Milan has long been the seat of Emperors. Blame for the almost total destruction was placed on the fact that this plain was the first place where the blind fury of the barbaric hordes who progressively flod Italy was vented] (Edgeworth, 1839: 145-146, my italics).

There is a long explanation about the origin of fruits taken from Gallesio (Edgeworth, 1839: 232-233). Sometimes, if a reference to English culture is preserved, another in Italian is added. For instance, Gay is related to Gallesio's *Pomona Italiana* (Edgeworth, 1839: 201) and also to the references to Alexander, General Wolfe and Nelson, the "Price of Victory" in "Evenings at Home" (Edgeworth, 1839: 205), and Franklin (Edgeworth, 1839: 209). When they talk about peaches, the translator not only identifies the variety "biancona di Verona" (Edgeworth, 1839: 231), but she also explains in a note what it is; another footnote is included on added about the types of bats in Colombia (Edgeworth, 1839: 14).

5. Conclusion

Maria Edgeworth's enlightened Utilitarian views were very successful in Great Britain due to her didactic vein and writing style, full as it is with scholarly references. Though this feature might have shocked some continental readers, *Frank* could have been translated more literally into Italian by keeping the setting and allusions in Edgeworth's story, as occurred in France and Spain (Fernández, 2008; 2010). Furthermore, Edgeworth uses neither an innovating pattern nor deviates from conventional literary forms. The content of the story is suitable for young readers and fits perfectly into the authoress's corpus. However, the Italian text concurs with the *belles infidèles* method which privileged adaptation to the target language and culture which prevailed in Europe during the eighteenth century and a good deal of the nineteenth century (Mounin, 1994).

The text produced by Milesi changes the setting from England to Lombardia and there is a quantitative reduction of paratexts and cultural allusions leading to the loss of the original function of certain elements, whose absence reveals much about the

translator's aim. Cultural references tend to be replaced by others referring to Italy, which affects the main plot despite the fact that characters are retained and Milesi makes an effort to accommodate speech and produce a less pedantic and verbose text.

As this analysis has shown, *Benedetto* is poised between foreignization and domestication in that Milesi retains some elements from Edgeworth's story but reduces the text to Italian cultural values. From a twenty-first century perspective, the changes in *Benedetto* point to an adaptation into Italian rather than a translation, and the fact of being "children's literature" is no excuse. Nevertheless, manipulating the source text was common practice and Milesi clearly wants to give a political dimension to Edgeworth's story. With this work, Milesi reveals her allegiances and participates in the formation of national culture, and at the same time facilitates the incorporation of the work of a well-known British writer in the Italian canon for children's stories.

Notes

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2. However, modern translations of Edgeworth into Italian include Pietro Meneghelli's *Il Castello Rackrent* (Roma: Fazi Editore, 1992) and Chiara Vatteroni's *Se nasce femmina* (Milano: Tranchida Editori Inchiostro, 1996).

3. Milesi also wrote *Cenni per miglioramento della prima educazione da fanciulli* (Milano: presso A.F. Stella e Figli, 1830).

4. Milesi had two children, Benito and Enrico.

5. Miliken (Edgeworth, 1822, II: 73) is later translated as "Billy" (1839: 325).

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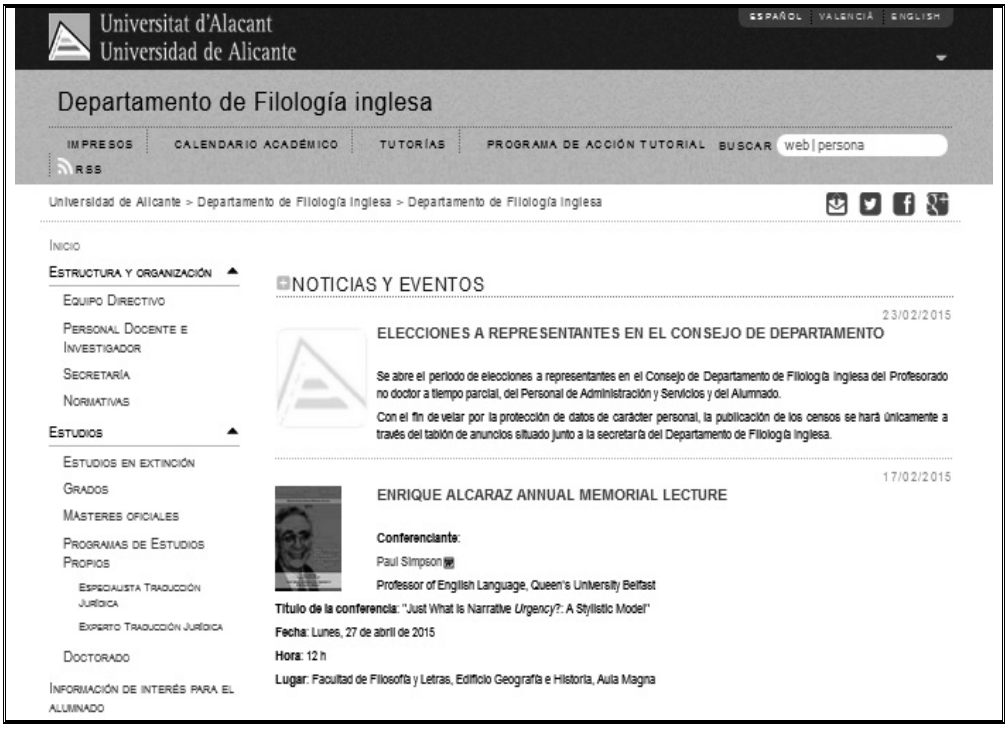

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Women in Nabokov's Russian novels

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the presence of female characters in the Nabokov's novels of the Russian period (1925-1939). There is a pattern in the use of female characters that illuminates the novels studied. It clarifies our understanding of Nabokov's literary techniques and contributes to the comprehension of two major themes seen in all his works: the passionate yearning for his beloved Russia and the satiric perception of an imperfect world. Thus, two categories of Nabokov's women can be distinguished: the bearers of the Russian culture and the unfaithful vamps. The so called bearers of the Russian culture, presented and described in a positive way, function as guiding stars for their lovers: they help them to survive in the hostile surroundings of their exile. These characters represent the nature of the Russian womanhood; they are kind, tender, pure and supportive, and at the same time they are strong and powerful. Their descriptions allude to the heroines of the Russian literature and they share the author's passion for the Russian literature and culture. The so called unfaithful vamps represent the world of the *poshlost'*, vulgarity and deceit. These female characters have common characteristics that make them unpleasant: they are ignorant in the world of art and literature, and they are greedy owners representing passion and lust. After this classification of Nabokov's women we see that his two main modes of presenting female characters reflect his two major themes: they function as the personification of the lost paradise of the past Russia and as an embodiment of human fallibility and weakness.

Keywords: Nabokov, female characters, novels, Russian culture.

This article examines the presence of female characters in the Nabokov's novels of the Russian period (1925-1939). It does not review Nabokov's own attitudes to women in general. Nabokov's literary legacy has been studied from different perspectives. However, despite the considerable amount of criticism that this legacy has produced since 1960s, the studies on Nabokov's female characters seem to be scarce (except the ones on *Lolita*).

Several dissertations, recently presented on this topic, are worth mentioning here. In 2001, Elena Rakhimova-Sommers defended her doctoral thesis "The *Ona* (She) of Nabokov's Hereafter: Female Characters as Otherworldly Agents in Nabokov's Fiction" at the University of Rochester (Rochester, New York). The author studies five categories of Nabokov's otherworldly womanhood: daughter, childhood fiancé, mother, wife and mistress. These women function as otherworldly agents who stay between the two worlds and "fill the vacuum left by indifference and cruelty with their love, tender care, compassion and also sadness" (Rakhimova-Sommers, 2001: 237). The same year, Lara Delage-Toriel presented her dissertation "Ultraviolet Darlings. Representations of Women in Nabokov's Prose Fiction" at the University of Cambridge. Her work is a good starting point to study Nabokov's female characters. The author identifies the following categories of Nabokov's women: vulgar and virtuous, muses, mothers and young mistresses. In 2007, Maxalina Idrisova presented a dissertation "*Kontseptsiya zhenskogo mira v romanaj Nabokova*" ("The concept of the female world in Nabokov's Russian novels"), centred on two types of women: mothers and companions.

The gender question in Nabokov's fiction was the focus of a Nabokov's panel entitled "Feminist Approaches to Nabokov" in the 1991 MLA Conference. There were papers presented on this topic offering different perspectives. For example, Charles Nicol traced a lineage of the lost and the beloved girls inhabiting Nabokov's prose in "Limited to the Male Perceptions: Colette, Lolita and the Wife of Chorb". Susan Sweeny discussed Nabokov's intertext of the feminine in Smoodin's feminist novel *Inventing Ivanov*. Robinson's talked about "Producing Woman as Text: Narrative Seduction in *Lolita*", in which a feminist tries to deconstruct the male discourse in the novel. But although these papers were thought-provoking and interesting, many more things have to be said on the subject of Nabokov's women. Not many articles have been published on this topic. We can mention Ljuba Tarvi's paper presented at the *Kyoto International Conference* and published in the proceedings with the title "Female Protagonists in Nabokov's Russian Novels: No Stars in the Cast?" (2010). Tarvi discusses the negative descriptive metaphors used to describe Nabokov's "unpleasant" female protagonists.

It is also interesting to mention that feminists have kept away from this subject. According to Delage-Toriel (2001: 6), "a noted feminist like Rachel Bowlby does not even hint at the gender issue in her chapter on *Lolita* in *Shopping with Freud*, although her analysis of popular culture has obvious affinities with this question". This is how Brian Boyd (1991: 655) interprets this kind of marginality:

> …intellectual fashions too had changed. With the rise of feminism, novelists like Doris Lessing and Margaret Atwood aroused excited attention. Someone so decidedly male as

> Nabokov, equipped by his up-ringing with gentlemanly notions of honour and more comfortable with woman as muse than woman as writer, seemed a relic of the past. After all, it was he who had created Humbert, for whom Lolita barely exists except as a mere object of his emotion and his imagination. It could be easy overlooked that for Nabokov, Lolita was quite a different creature, a person in her own right, and one of the characters he found most admirable in all his work, or that his boo seethed with indignation of Humbert's manipulation of all the women in his life.

This quotation invites us to find out more about Nabokov's female characters. In the Russian novels we have a starting point for any analysis on Nabokov's women. We should bear in mind that Nabokov's style and education as a writer begin and develop during the Russian years: "…it was in Russian that he served his literary apprenticeship and forged his individual style" (Grayson, 1977: 182). This article shows that in his American novels Nabokov creates the same types of female characters that we see in his Russian novels. In our approach we see how Nabokov shapes his characters. We look at the way in which a particular type of female character appears in various novels in different disguises at various points in Nabokov's literary evolution. We compare similarities and singularities within a group of characters and see the implications of a specific representation, paying attention to the variety of expressions and plurality of Nabokov's representations.

When we study his female characters we have to bear in mind two things. The first one is that in almost all of his novels the focal agent is male (with the exception of his two "German" novels, narrated in the third-person, *King, Queen, Knave* and *Laughter in the Dark*). As a result, women are constantly presented as objects of male perspective, which is often reductive on purpose. Although in Nabokov's fiction women remain strictly within the field of the male protagonist's vision, sometimes we can identify the author's affection towards his female characters. And second, the concept of "type" related to the Nabokov's female characters must be discussed keeping in mind Nabokov's ideology. We cannot forget his comments on *Eugene Onegin* when talking about Pushkin's character, Tatiana:

> Tatiana is a type […] is the mother and the grandmother of a number of female characters in the work of numerous Russian writers, from Turgenev to Chejov. Literary evolution transformed the Russian Heloise – Pushkin's combination of Tatiana Larin and Princess N. – into the 'national type' of Russian woman, ardent and pure, dreamy and straightforward, a staunch companion, a heroic wife – and, in historical reality, this image became associated with revolutionary aspirations that produced during the subsequent years at least two generations of noble-born, delicate-looking, highly intellectual, but incredibly hardy young Russian women who were ready to give their lives to save people from the oppression of the state. This business of 'types' may be quite entertaining if approached in the right spirit (Nabokov, 1964a: 280).

We know that Nabokov did not like the use of the word 'type', he preferred "the specific detail to clear symbols, images to ideas, obscure facts to clear symbols and the discovered wild fruit to the synthetic jam" (Nabokov, 1973b: 7). His oeuvre contains a

number of similar types of female characters. If we want to understand Nabokov's characters we have to study the insects of the order *Lepidoptera* and more specifically his definition of species. He wrote that "the idea of species is the idea of difference; the idea of genus is the idea of similarity. What we do when trying to erect a genus, as the saying goes, is really the paradoxical attempt to demonstrate that certain objects that are dissimilar in one way are similar in another" (quoted in Johnson and Coates, 1999: 54).

Nabokov created female and male characters who share features with other cultural types or with each other within his canon and at the same time, who are gifted with particular characteristics of their own. That is why a simple classification of 'good' versus 'bad' characters is not enough when dealing with his literary legacy. His female characters do not deserve this simplification because such a classification makes Nabokov's heroines inferior to his male protagonists. It is problematic when we deal with women who present both positive and negative characteristics (for example, Lyda in *Despair* or Alla in *Glory*). This classification does not conform to his ideology, in which the concept of art is essential. The relation to art and artistic sensibility is a criterion used to characterise Nabokov's male protagonists. As an example, it is worth remembering a fake artist, Herman, from *Despair,* whose mockery on Pushkin and other writers that Nabokov respected leads him to failure; or Fyodor, from *The Gift,* who is a highly sensitive poet and one of Nabokov's favourite protagonists. The relation to art is also a criterion used to draw our taxonomy of female characters.

Thus, when reading Nabokov's Russian novels we can see a pattern in the use of female characters that illuminates the novels studied. It clarifies our understanding of Nabokov's literary techniques and contributes to the comprehension of two major themes seen in all his works: the passionate yearning for his beloved Russia and the satiric perception of an imperfect world.

The theme of Russia functions as a trademark in Nabokov's Russian novels. The topic is presented through references to the Russian culture and literature. "The Russian culture was always, both consciously and unconsciously, his [Nabokov's] guiding star" (Field, 1986: 1). His most beloved characters share with him the longing and love for the lost paradise of Russia. Thus, when talking about the artistic sensibility of his Russian characters we should talk about their relation to the Russian culture and literature. This lets us identify a category of female characters, the so called bearers of the Russian culture. As we have seen in other classifications of Nabokov's women, any of his characters can be assigned a different category; in other words, a mother can be a true companion for her husband or a spiritual supporter for her son or a mistress or can be both a muse and a damaging power. In the same way, our category of bearers of the Russian culture includes women that can be assigned different groups, such as mothers, muses, mistresses and lovers. The common feature they share is that all of them personify the Russian cultural legacy in the Russian novels. This cultural legacy becomes an essential spiritual support for the Russian exiles, since it helps them to survive in a foreign country, far from their beloved motherland.

The bearers of the Russian culture we identify in the Russian novels are Mary in *Mary*, Luzhin's wife in *The Defence*, Fyodor's mother and Zina in *The Gift* or Martin's

mother in *Glory*. They are presented and described in a positive way. In spite of their lack of a striking beauty, these women do enchant the male protagonists. For example, the protagonist of *Mary*, Ganin, outlines his love in this way: "…the strong colour in her cheek, the corner of a flashing Tartar eye, the delicate curve of her nostril alternately stretching and tightening as she laughed" (55), "delicate swarthiness" (60), "black bow on the nape of her delicate neck" (56). He tries to recapture Mary's perfume: "She used a sweet perfume… Ganin now tried to recapture that scent again, mixed with the fresh smells of the autumn park" (*Mary*, 72). Mary is described with positive adjectives.

Another bearer of the Russian culture, who is charming but not beautiful, is Luzhin's wife in *The Defence*. This woman does not have a name but she plays an important role in the narration. She is described as

> …not particularly pretty, there was something lacking in her small regular features, as if the last decisive jog that would have made her beautiful – leaving her features the same but endowing them with an ineffable significance – had not been given them by nature. She was twenty-five, her fashionably bobbed hair was neat and lovely and she had one turn of the head which betrayed a hint of possible harmony, a promise of real beauty that at the last moment remained unfulfilled. She wore extremely simple and extremely well-cut dresses that left her arms and neck bare, as if she were flaunting a little their tender freshness (*The Defence*, 68).

And Zina, although she does not have a striking beauty, Fyodor is fascinated by her appearance:

> …her summer dress was short, of night's own colour, the colour of the streetlights and the shadows, of tree trunks and of shining pavement – paler than her bare arms and darker than her face (164), her pale hair which radiantly and imperceptibly merged into the sunny air around her head, the light blue vein on her temple, another on her long, tender neck, her delicate hand, her sharp elbow, the narrowness of her hips, the weakness of her shoulders and the peculiar forward slant of her graceful body … – all this was perceived by him with agonizing distinctness" (*The Gift*, 165).

The most noticeable feature of these portraits is that they are not simply physical but also psychological; they reveal the subdued personality of these women. Compared to their delicate physical beauty, these female characters have a remarkably rich inner beauty. They share the same artistic sensibility that enables them to function as guiding stars for their lovers. Their descriptions allude to the heroines of the Russian literature and they show a very important feature: they share the author's passion for the Russian culture. For example, Mary (Masha in the Russian version of the novel), whose very name alludes to different Pushkin's heroines, such as Masha Troekurova (from *Dubrovsky*) or Masha Mironova (in *Captain's Daughter*), represents "the Russianness and functions as the centre of the spirituality and the noble Russian values in the novel" (Sergeev 2003: 54). For the protagonist, Mary epitomises his beloved Russia as well as

his favourite poet, Pushkin. He remembers her as being highly poetic: "she loved jingles, catchwords, puns and poems". As we know, Nabokov knew the Russian folklore through the works of Pushkin, who "himself was a connoisseur of Russian songs and tales" (Figes, 2006: 212). In this way, the popular sayings that appear in the memory of some characters become a part of their childhood in the distant homeland. Mary is particularly fond of these sayings. For example, she likes repeating the same song or saying: "Vanya's arms and legs they tied / Long in jail was he mortified" (72). In her letters she alludes to Pushkin's poems: "How everything passes, how things change" (109). This line is taken from "Farewell" (1830): "Years pass by, changing everything, changing us". If we continue reading we find another reference to Pushkin. Mary writes in one of her letters: "It's so boring, so boring. The days go by so pointlessly and stupidly – and these are supposed to be the best, the happiest years of our lives" (110). Oleg Dark (1990: 413) says that this passage alludes to the Pushkin's poem "Day by day passes by". All of Mary's letters are full of poems and literary allusions, as we see in the following examples:

> I think I am feeling rather too depressed today…
> "But today it is spring and mimosa for sale
> at all corners is offered today.
> I am bringing you some, like a dream, it is frail"
> Nice little poem (109).

> Just now I read a poem in an old magazine: "My Little Pale Pearl" by Krapovitsky. I like it very much. … Here's something else I've read – by Podtyagin:
> "The full moon shines over forest and stream,
> look at the ripples – how rich they gleam!" (110)

For Ganin, Mary personifies his beloved Russia, that's why his "parting from Mary [is understood as] his parting from Russia" (*Mary*, 83).

Another woman who alludes to Russian literature is Luzhin's wife. She makes Luzhin read different masterpieces, such as *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina* by Tolstoy or *Dead Souls* by Gogol. She calls her husband by his surname because "Turgenev's heroines did it" (*The Defence*, 89). Quoting Boris Nosik (2000: 240), "she epitomises a Turgenev's maiden, she is an ideal Russian woman who is characterized by her sensibility towards the other being's suffering and who takes pity on unhappy creatures". She is able to "feel constantly an intolerable, tender pity for the creature whose life is helpless and unhappy" (83). After Luzhin's breakdown, "her only care in life was minute-by-minute effort to arouse Luzhin's curiosity about things in order to keep his head above the dark water, so he could breathe easily" (*The Defence*, 150).

Zina is the most elaborated character of these three women in Nabokov's Russian novels. She shares Fyodor's passion for Russian literature: "What was it about her that fascinated him most of all? Her perfect understanding, the absolute pitch of her instinct for everything that he himself loved?" (*The Gift*, 164).

These three female characters represent the nature of the Russian womanhood, they are kind, tender, pure and supportive, and at the same time they are strong and powerful. That is why they become guiding stars for their lovers and they help them to survive in the hostile surroundings of their exile. For example, the image of Mary, recreated by Ganin's memory gives him enough strength to break up with his current girlfriend (whom he does not love, but is incapable of leaving). She brings "happiness and sunshine" to the dull and melancholic life of Ganin in Berlin: "It was not simply reminiscence but a life that was much more real, much more intense than the life lived by his shadow in Berlin" (*Mary*, 66). By remembering and reliving his romance with Mary, Ganin finds out the significance of his life. He breaks up with the daily oppressive life in Germany and heads for another country in order to begin a new life.

Stephen Parker (1984: 180) has stated that thanks to Luzhin's wife "the novel retains human kindness". She tried to isolate Luzhin from the nightmare of chess after his breakdown. She becomes the guiding force Luzhin needs to escape from the play's abyss, as "her being expressed all the gentleness and charm that could be extracted from his recollections of childhood – as if the dapples of light scattered over the footpaths of the manor garden had grown together into a single warm radiance" (*The Defence*, 129). She attempts to transform Luzhin's life, although she understands that Luzhin belongs to another dimension and feels that "she had opened the wrong door, entered where she had not intended to enter" (109). Since Luzhin is condemned to disaster, she can walk by his side, on parallel lines, but their ways will never meet. She is aware of her final failure just before Luzhin's suicide: "she had an aching feeling of impotence and hopelessness, as if she had taken a job that was too difficult for her" (*The Defence*, 234).

The emphasis on the chess theme is so strong that many readers assume that the position of this woman is peripheral. Nevertheless, if we look at this character from Luzhin's point of view, it becomes clear that her interaction with the chess voice is the key figure in the novel, according to Idrisova (2007: 26) "she takes an active part in the plot development, becoming a solution for Luzhin's inner conflict".

Zina concentrated all those qualities of her literary predecessors that make her really outstanding. She becomes not only the guiding force for her lover (as Mary for Ganin), and not only does she take care for him (as Luzhin's wife did), but she personifies an ideal lover. This ideal woman is both a spiritual companion and a muse. She helps him in his daily life, for example when Fyodor gets soaked to the skin in the rain, or when she gives him all her money so that he can pay the rent of his flat. Zina understands Fyodor and his gift and at the same time she inspires him:

> …not only was Zina cleverly and elegantly made to measure for him by a very painstaking fate, but both of them, forming a single shadow, were made to the measure of something not quite comprehensible, but wonderful and benevolent and continuously surrounding them (*The Gift*, 164).

She brings happiness and harmony into Fyodor's life, "without her there would not be any morning mist of happiness" (*The Gift*, 166). She becomes his muse, inspiring

Fyodor to write his poems and a novel. Although Stephen Blackwell (2000: 1) has commented that she is not a "creative partner" in Fyodor's literary enterprise, yet she does participate in his writing. Fyodor praises her reading qualities when he says that "there was an extraordinary grace in her responsiveness which imperceptibly served him as regulator, if not as guide" (189). He also recognises that sometimes he changes words and expressions in his writing, following Zina's advice: "'Wonderful, but I'm not sure you can say it like that in Russian', said Zina sometimes, and after an argument he would correct the expression she had questioned" (*The Gift,* 188). This echoes the role of Vera in Nabokov's real life. Let us remember Nabokov's words in one of his interviews: "Well, after that my very kind and patient wife, she sits down at her typewriter and I, dictate, I dictate off the cards to her, making some changes and very often, very often, discussing this or that. She might say 'Oh, you can't say that, you can't say that'. 'Well, let's see, perhaps I can change it'" (quoted in Schiff, 1999: 52).

Zina is gifted with that sense of observation which so many of Nabokov's positive female characters possess. Fyodor is fascinated because "in talking to her one could get along without any bridges and he would barely have time to notice some amusing feature of the night before she would point it out" (*The Gift*, 164). Zina and Nabokov's wife, Vera, share this quality of observation and keenness. In fact, Zina inherited many of Vera's characteristics. For example, both of them worked as secretaries and translators in law firms and both of them were familiar with their lover's poetry before meeting them in person. Alexandra Popoff's quotation about Vera also describes Zina perfectly: "She began to esteem him as a poet before they were acquainted, attended his readings, and clipped his publications from the liberal émigré newspaper" (Popoff, 2012: 179). Schiff also pointed out several common characteristics. For instance, she noted that "in Vera he [Nabokov] found the odd combination of feminine grace and unfeminine determination that Fyodor so admires in Zina" (41), or "Zina shudders with indignation at the attacks of Fyodor's critics, just as Vera did" (Schiff, 1999: 93).

In the novel, Zina (like Vera in the real life) gives Fyodor the moral and spiritual support he needs to create his literature and to dwell in the exile. As we can see, Zina personifies all those qualities Nabokov appreciated in his female characters as well as in real women too. It is important to mention that in his American novels Nabokov develops this image of the 'woman who inspires' in such characters as Dolores in *Lolita*, Ada in *Ada*, Sybil in *Pale Fire*, Vadim's last wife in *Look at the Harlequins* and Laura in the *Original of Laura*.

Apart from these three women, Mary, Luzhin's wife and Zina, we also identify other secondary female characters who become bearers of the Russian culture: Martin's mother, Sofia, in *Glory* and Fyodor's mother, Elizaveta Pavlovna, in *The Gift*. If we consider that almost all of Nabokov's fictional mothers are described negatively and show a lack of relationship with their children (Margot's mother in *Laughter in the Dark*, Franz's mother in *King, Queen, Knave*, Luzhin's mother in *The Defence*, Yasha's mother and Marianna Nikolaevna in *The Gift*, Charlotte Haze in *Lolita*, Marina in *Ada*, or Mme Chamar in *Transparent Thing*), then, Sofia and Elizaveta Pavlovna are set apart from the others. They cultivate in their sons the love for literature and inculcate in them

the art of memory. For example, Sofia, as well as Nabokov's mother, foster in their sons the love of English literature: "In St Petersburg she was known as an Anglo-maniac… it follows that Martin's first books were in English: his mother loathed the Russian magazine for children *Zadushevnoe Slovo* (*The Heartfelt Word*)" (*Glory*, 14). They share with their sons an intense feeling and longing for their lost Russia, and "this intense nostalgia, which abolishes one type of reality and substitutes it with a more personal one, echoes the character's yearning for a return to Russia, and constitutes one of Nabokov's most recurrent leitmotifs" (Delage-Toriel, 2001: 130). For example, Sofia, like Martin, yearns for Russia and hopes to see her motherland as it were before:

> Sometimes she wondered when Russia would at last snap out of the evil dream, when the striped pole of the frontier gate would rise and everyone return and resume his former place, and, goodness, how the trees have grown, how the house has shrunk, what sorrow and joy, what a smell of earth! (*Glory*, 122).

Both mothers follow the Russian traditions and become bearers of childhood memories and childhood comfort for their sons. We see it when Elizaveta Pavlovna plays memory games with Fyodor, imagining that they are in Russia again:

> They played like this: sitting side by side and silently imagining to themselves that each was taking the same Leshino walk, they went out of the park, took the path along the field, across the shady graveyard where the sun-flecked crosses were measuring something terribly large with their arms and where it was somehow awkward to pick the raspberries, across the river […] to the Pont des Vaches and farther, through the pines and along the Chemin du Pendu – familiar nicknames, not grating to their Russian ears but thought up when their grandfathers had been children. And suddenly, in the middle of this silent walk being performed by the two minds […] both stopped and said where they had got, and when it turned out, as it often did, that neither one had outpaced the other, having halted in the same coppice, the same smile flashed upon mother and son and shone through their common tear (*The Gift*, 86).

According to Idrisova (2007: 75), Fyodor's mother is a model for both, an ideal mother for her children and a spiritual companion for her husband.

As we can see, these five women – Mary, Luzhin's wife, Zina, Sofia and Elizaveta Pavlovna – become bearers of the Russian culture and strong supporters of the male protagonists. These female characters are not frequent in Nabokov's Russian novels but their role is essential in the works because they are powerful enough to bring humanity and compassion into the imperfect world governed by *poshlost'* and vulgarity.

The fictional world of Nabokov's novels is inhabited by numerous 'negative' female characters. The so-called unfaithful vamps (Lyudmila in *Mary*, Margot in *Laughter in the Dark*, Matilda in *The Eye*, Marthe in *King, Queen and Knave*, Alla in *The Glory*, Marthe in *Invitation to a beheading*, Marianna in *The Gift*, among others) represent the world of the *poshlost'*, vulgarity, deceit, "egotism, falsity and hypocrisy" (*LRL:* 239). In all Nabokov's novels the readers find the representatives of *poshlost'*. Let us see Nabokov's definition of this term:

> The Russian language is able to express by mean of one pitiless word the idea of a certain widespread defect for which […] other languages I happen to know possess no special term…English words expressing several, although by no means all aspects of *poshlost'*, are for instance: 'cheap, sham, common, smutty, pink-and-blue', a bad taste, inferior, sorry, trashy, scurvy, tawdry, gimcrack and others under 'cheapness'. All these however suggest merely certain false values for the detection of which no particular shrewdness is required […] but what Russians call *poshlost'* is beautifully timeless and so cleverly painted all over with protective tints that its presence often escapes detection (Nabokov, 1961: 63-64).

In one of his interviews, Nabokov (1973b: 101) offered a further definition of this word: "Corny trash, vulgar clichés, philistinism in all its phrases, imitations of imitations, bogus profundities, crude, moronic and dishonest pseudo-literature – these are obvious examples". Svetlana Boym (1994: 44) summarises the meaning of *poshlost'* in this way:

> *Poshlost'* and its vehement critique are at the core of the definition of Russian identity, both national and cultural. The usage encompasses attitudes towards material culture and historical change, and it determines ethical values, particularly with respect to sexuality and occasionally with respect to femininity, since *poshlost'* is occasionally personified as a *salon madame* of loose morals.

Nabokov's Russian novels present a large gallery of vulgar women, bearers of *poshlost'*, where he encapsulates various shades of vulgarity. All his female representatives of *poshlost'* share the same characteristic: they are ignorant in the world of art and literature. Their relation to art is a criterion used to identify these women as unfaithful vamps. Within this family of female characters, two subtypes can be identified. On the one hand, we find women with unpleasant physical appearance, quoting Tarvi (2010: 81), "Nabokov's Russian female protagonists seem to be unpleasant because the descriptive metaphors used to describe them are predominantly negative". On the other hand, we distinguish beautiful vamps whose superficial beauty seduce the male protagonists and lead them to disaster. Another common characteristic of these women is that most of them are greedy vamps who personify passion and lust.

If we look at these female characters with a close scrutiny we find that the first unfaithful vamp appears in *Mary* with Lyudmila. She does not have a striking beauty that seduces men, yet she does attract Ganin in such a way that he is incapable of leaving her. Although Ganin cannot stand her appearance because "everything about Lyudmila he found repulsive: her yellow locks, fashionably bobbed, the streaks of unshaven black hairs down the nape of her neck, her dark, languid eyelids, and above all her lips, glossy with purple-red lipstick" (*Mary*, 12), he cannot break up their relationship. She represents one of the typical characteristics of the *poshlost'* in Nabokov's works: the smelly body. Ganin repels her smell: "There seemed to him something sleazy, stale and old in the smell of her perfume, although she herself was only twenty-five" (12). He does not feel at ease with her because he is aware of her falsity and her artistic and literary ignorance:

> …the falsity which she trailed around everywhere like her scent, the falsity of her baby talk, of her exquisite senses, of her passion for some imaginary orchids, as well as for Poe and Baudelaire, whom she had never read… (*Mary*, 13).

The reader realizes that they belong to different worlds. One of the passages of the novel shows this when they are at the cinema. Ganin likes the film, but for Lyudmila "it's pure rubbish":

> …Lyudmila talked throughout the film about other things, bending across Ganin's knees towards her friend, every time dousing him in the chilling, unpleasantly familiar smell of her perfume. It was made worse by the fact that the film was thrilling and excellently done… (*Mary*, 24).

Although Lyudmila shows the vulgar characteristics of other vamps, she is quite less harmful than her literary successors. She does not destroy Ganin's life because thanks to the image of Mary, revived by Ganin's memory, he leaves her on time. This character becomes a mere symbol of the vulgar and oppressing life in Berlin for the Russian exile.

Another harmless vamp is Alla Chernosvitova. According to Maxim Shraer (2000: 243), this character is "a kind of half an image and half a myth of Akhmatova and at the same time serves as a caricature of the female writers of the XIX century". Physically Alla Chernosvitova reproduces some features of the poet Akhmatova:

> She was twenty-five, her name was Alla, and she wrote poetry: three things, one would think, that were bound to make a woman fascinating. […] The ladies would copy [her poetry] from each other, learn it by heart and recite it. Married at eighteen, she remained faithful to her husband for more than two years, but the world all around was saturated with the rubineous fumes of sin; clean-shaven, persistent males would schedule their own suicides at seven Thursday evening, midnight Christmas Eve, or three in the morning under her windows. A Grand Duc languished because of her; Rasputin pestered her for a month with telephone calls. And sometimes she said that her life was but the light smoke of an amber-perfumed Régie cigarette (*Glory*, 37).

This description alludes to Akhmatova's life. She was married three times and she almost got married a fourth time. Apart from her poetry, she was famous for having many lovers and for her outstanding beauty. For example, one of her contemporaries spoke of her appearance saying that "Anna Akhmatova was not a beauty. She was more than a beauty, better than a beauty. I've never seen a woman whose face and whole appearance stood out wherever she was in the midst of any beauties, with such expressiveness, such genuine animation" (Adamovich, 2000: 90). She became a famous poet when she was young and her poetry had a considerable influence on contemporary female writers. All these Akhmatova's features can be easily traced in the character of Alla. Martin has a romance with Alla; he is seduced by her appearance more than by her poetry: "Martin did not understand any of this at all. Her poetry left him somewhat

perplexed" (37). Meanwhile Sofia, Martin's mother, feels ashamed of Alla's vulgarity: "she could not ignore the fact that even though Alla was a sweet, affable young lady, she was perhaps a little too fast, as the English say, and, while excusing her son's folly, Sofia did not excuse Alla's attractive vulgarity" (39). Martin's affair with Alla was short, though intense. This vamp did not destroy Martin's life, although Alla's husband almost caught them committing adultery and during the following nights Martin was afraid of Mr Chernosvitov's revenge. Alla became part of Martin's past as soon as he left Greece: "his memory of Alla Chernosvitov had reached its ultimate perfection, and he would say to himself that he had not sufficiently appreciated the happy days in Greece" (*Glory*, 50).

Another vamp, who is keen on sex and lust, is Marthe, Cincinnatus's wife in *Invitation to a Beheading*. This woman personifies adultery as she has relations with her lovers anywhere and everywhere:

> Meanwhile Marthe began deceiving him during the very first year of their marriage; anywhere and with anybody. Generally when Cincinnatus came home she would have a certain sated half-smile on her face as she passed her plump chin against her face as if reproaching herself, and, gazing up with her honest hazel eyes, would say in a soft cooing voice, "Little Marthe did it again today"[…] sometimes to justify herself, she would explain to him, "You know what a kind creature I am: it's such a small thing, and it's such a relief to a man. Soon she became pregnant, and not by him. She bore a boy, immediately got pregnant again – again not by him – and bore a girl" (31).

Marthe is simple and ignorant, her inner world "consists of simple components, simply joined, the simplest cook-book recipe is more complicated than the world that she bakes" (63). Cincinnatus catches her deceiving him with her lovers at his house and even during family meals, that's why when he enters any room he announces his presence and during the dinner he is afraid of looking below the table and seeing "that monster whose upper half was quite presentable, having the appearance of a young woman and a young man visible down to the waist at table, peacefully feeding and chatting, and whose nether half was a writhing, raging quadruped" (64).

Cincinnatus loves Marthe in spite of her constant unfaithfulness, he tries to make her his spiritual companion, but she does not value it, nor is she able to understand him. In the world of deception and falsity where Cincinnatus is trying to survive, this woman becomes the most significant illusion for him. Her character reinforces the central theme of the novel (deception and artificiality) as she is "the embodiment of all the vices and cynicism that govern that world" (Idrisova, 2007: 71). The protagonist realizes that they belong to different dimensions, the very moment when he understands that he is not a part of his surrounding world. Cincinnatus leaves Marthe in the kingdom of *poshlost'* while he is heading for the otherworld, "where stood beings akin to him" (*Invitation to a Beheading*, 223).

Another harmless vulgar character is Luzhin's mother-in-law. She shares similar negative features with Lyudmila: those of unappealing appearance (she is "a stately lady with plump arms"), as well as her artistic ignorance. Instead of longing for the true lost

Russia (as positive female characters do), she substitutes this Russia with corny and vulgar symbols. She and her husband

> … decided to start living in strict Russian style which they somehow associated with ornamental Slavic scriptory, postcards depicting sorrowing boyar maidens, varnished boxes bearing gaudy pyrogravures of troikas or firebirds, and the admirably produced, long since expired art magazines containing such wonderful photographs of old Russian manors and porcelain (82).

She wears Russian typical clothing and shows off her artificial Russianness. Unlike her mother, Luzhin's wife is much more sensitive towards the lost Russia and that's why she is completely indifferent

> …to this gimcrack apartment, so unlike their quiet St. Petersburg house, where the furniture and other things had their own soul, where the icon-cabinet harboured an unforgettable garnet gleam and mysterious orange tree blossoms, where a fat, intelligent cat was embroidered on the silk back of an armchair, and where there were a thousand trifles, smells and shades that all together constituted something ravishing, and heartrending and completely irreplaceable (*The Defence*, 83).

Luzhin's mother-in-law is absent from the world of literature, yet she identifies herself with some Russian literary figures, as she calls "herself affectionately an "enfant terrible" and a "Cossack" (a result of vague and distorted reminiscences from *War and Peace*) (*The Defence*, 82-3). The readers perceive her ignorance as she misinterprets the Tolstoy's novel, confusing its heroines. This woman is a simple representative of *poshlost'*. She does not harm anybody in the novel, yet she does not like Luzhin and tries to separate unsuccessfully her daughter from him. Nevertheless, not all vamps are harmless. If we look at Matilda in *The Eye,* we see that Smurov detests her plump body with fat thighs: "… this plump, uninhibited, cow-eyed lady with her large mouth, which would gather into a crimson pucker, a would-be rosebud" (*The Eye*, 14). He gets bored with her very soon; however, he cannot leave her. He pays a high price for his romance with Matilda: he is humiliated and beaten badly by Matilda's husband. After this humiliation, Smurov decides to commit suicide.

Among these vamps, two women stand out because of their elaborated characters and the significant role they play in the novels. Unlike their literary predecessors, these vamps, Martha (*King, Queen, Knave*) and Margot (*Laughter in the Dark*) are female protagonists who have an active part in the narration. Both of them are German. Delage-Toriel (2001: 26) has said that "it is very possible that the nationality of Margot and Marthe also enabled Nabokov to embody *poshlost'* in its ideal form". This idea makes sense if we think about Nabokov's remark on *poshlost'* in relation to Germany: "among the nations with which [the Russian intelligentsia] came into contact, Germany had always seemed to them a country where *poshlost*', instead of being mocked, was one of the essential parts of the national spirit, habits, traditions and general atmosphere" (Nabokov, 1961: 64).

Martha Dreyer has a leading role in the novel. She attracts both her husband and her lover with her superficial charms. She is beautiful, cold and calculating. We can trace Martha's narrow-mindedness in her interior monologues when she sits with her husband in a train carriage:

> Life should proceed according to plan, straight and strict, without freakish twists and wiggles. …an elegant book is all right on a drawing table. In a railway car, to allay boredom, one can leaf through some trashy magazine. But to imbibe and relish poems if you please,… in a expensive binding… a person who calls himself a businessman cannot, must not, dare not act like that (*King, Queen, Knave*, 10).

Dreyer and Franz are attracted by her superficial beauty and they are not able to see her true nature. Franz's vision of Martha undergoes a dramatic change: "the creamy texture of her neck" and "ivory shoulders" are replaced with "a heavy bottom" and fat thighs; her "ebony sleek hair" appears to be adorned with a chignon; a dark shadow of the lip turns into tiny black hairs. Tarvi (2010: 83) talks about Martha's change, seen by Franz in this way: "By the end of the novel, Martha's most exquisite eyes turn to haggard ones, her snarling laugh into a dry one and her dreadful broad-jawed face reminds Franz of that of a toad. Martha also happens to share some of her descriptive metaphors (hairdo, birthmark, wart) with Franz's mother whom he hates". At the end of the novel he does not love her any more. He does not want to kill his uncle. However, he follows Martha's plan because he is too passive to object. He does everything she wants.

Another man who is under Martha's control is her husband. She succeeds in deceiving him because of his blindness. Dreyer is convinced that "she does not know the first letter of adultery" (175). In fact, she thinks of lovers as customary possessions for a woman of her standing: "she had been given a husband, a beautiful villa, antique silver, an automobile; the next on her list was Franz" (84). Martha "strictly [sticks] to the rules of adultery" (*King, Queen, Knave*, 115) and once she has Franz, she starts planning Dreyer's murder. At the end, she does not succeed in murdering her husband to inherit all his money because she dies of a cold. Her death destroys Dreyer completely, whereas Franz feels relieved.

Another German representative of *poshlost'* is Margot in *Laughter in the Dark*. This is one of the most elaborated of Nabokov's vamps. The multiple points of view in the novel allow him to expose Margot's best developed qualities: those of manipulation and vulgarity. From Margot's point of view we can see that she likes seducing and provoking men, whenever she can. For example, the artist's indifference to her naked body, while she was posing as a model, vexed her; that is why she decided to make up "her face for the sitting, painted her dry hot mouth, darkened her eyelids, and once even touched up her nipples with her lipstick" (19). She begins to prostitute herself whenever she needs money. We see how she considers Albinus's riches, adopting different strategies to seduce him and to use him to get fame and wealth. She plans to destroy Albinus's marriage and she is happy to know that his wife leaves him. Her vulgarity is underlined by Paul's perception of her when he hears her voice on the phone, "a vulgar,

capricious, feminine voice" (51). And later when he meets her in person he takes her for a prostitute: "a little harlot, who ought to be in a reformatory" (62).

Albinus is in love with Margot and he does not see her vulgarity. He is attracted by her superficial beauty: "he stared at her face almost in dread: it was a pale, sulky, painfully beautiful face" (14); "he looked at her face in which everything was so charming – the burning cheeks, the lips glistering from the cherry brandy, the childish solemnity of the long hazel eyes, and the small downy mole on the soft curve just beneath the left one" (32). He likes everything in her: "even that vulgar Berlin slang of hers only enchanted the charm of her throaty voice and large white teeth" (34). Then he recognizes that she is not as perfect as he thought: "perhaps for the first time in the course of the year he had spent with Margot, Albinus was perfectly conscious of the thin, slimy layer of turpitude which had settled on his life" (114). Besides, he is not able to break up with Margot because he is a slave of his carnal desires. We should note that his attraction has mainly erotic connotations. He always concentrates his attention on her body, the body which is compared to a snake: she is described as a "torpid lizard" (57); she shuffles off her swimming-suit "snake-like" (82); she draws "herself higher and higher, like a snake when it uncoils" (139). Dr. Lampert describes her as "a lovely creature, unquestionably, but there is something snakelike about her" (*Laughter in the Dark*, 115).

Margot presents another characteristic of the vamps: her passion for sex. She is unfaithful to Albinus with Rex everywhere and always. She mocks Albinus's blindness and has relations with Rex in front of him. She does not leave him because she likes living at his expense and jeering at him whenever she can. In the following quotation we see her cruelty towards Albinus:

> Margot, as she was being pressed to the blind's man breast, pushing away at his shoulder, would cast up her eyes to the ceiling with a comical expression of resignation or put out her tongue at Albinus – this was particularly amusing in contrast with the wild and tender expression of the blind man's face (*Laughter in the Dark,* 166).

Albinus loses his family, his sight and his life because of the destructive power of Margot. At the very beginning of the novel we read a summary of his life: "he was rich, respectable, happy; one day he abandoned his wife for the sake of a youthful mistress; he loved; was not loved; and his life ended in disaster" (*Laughter in the Dark,* 5). Without any doubt, Margot is one the most harmful vulgar temptresses in Nabokov's Russian novels.

As we have seen, these "pseudo-chosen" lovers, as Victor Erofeev (1988) calls them, seduce the male protagonists and with their destructive power lead them to degradation, despair and suffering. These women usually have a total control of their lover's will and life. Although they are beautiful, their beauty is merely superficial and false. As Delage-Toriel (2001: 32) suggests,

> Nabokov's monochromic portraits of *poshliy* women are a warning against the physical and spiritual traps that beauty may lay for its enchanted hunters; but for those who have

detected them, *poshlost'* may also disclose many rewarding attraction. And Nabokov, for whom 'nothing was more exhilarating than philistine vulgarity', was not only aware of these attractions: he thrived on them.

That is why these unfaithful vamps are much more elaborated than the true spiritual companions and that is why they are presented from different perspectives and have an active role in the narration. Furthermore, in comparison with the number of positive female characters (there are only five), there are more vulgar temptresses in the Russian novels. It is worth noting that almost all minor female characters are presented as representatives of *poshlost'* (for example, Zina's colleagues from the office or Zina's mother in *The Gift*; Martin's lovers in *Glory*, Martha's mother in *Laughter in the Dark*, among others).

After analyzing Nabokov's female characters we see that his way of presenting them shows his two major themes: the personification of Russia as a lost paradise and the embodiment of human fallibility and weakness. He uses this contradictory presentation of female characters to fight the utter degradation, "ridicule and horror of having developed infinity of sensation and thought within a finite existence" (Morgan, 1980: 27).

In Nabokov's American novels, the reader finds a gallery of women who show most of the characteristics of bearers of the Russian culture and unfaithful vamps. Although Nabokov uses the same pattern to create his 'positive' women, he also develops the characters of vamps by making them more appealing and more dangerous. Some of his most famous female protagonists share characteristics of both spiritual companions and vulgar temptresses. Their study is a field of further research.

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On Identity, Place, Dignity, and Honor: *The Madonnas of Echo Park* (2010) by Brando Skyhorse

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ABSTRACT

Brando Skyhorse's first novel, *The Madonnas of Echo Park*, set in Echo Park, Los Angeles, portrays the lives, thoughts and feelings of eight different and diverse characters. All of them expose their direct link to the space they inhabit: the *barrio*. Parting from the premise that the link between space and identity is inextricable, and the fact that the general living conditions and access to different resources is scarce in many U.S. Latino quarters, the aim of this essay is to observe whether the way the characters experience this space affects their personal identity and relation to dignity and honor. Particularly, the way *barrio* life affects and shapes the personality of male characters. For this purpose, we will employ Alfredo Mirandé's conceptualization of Chicano masculinity, characterized by a strong sense of honor, dignity and pride, among other things. We thus will observe whether a tough environment produces tough men.

Keywords: Chicano literature, space, barrio, identity, masculinity

> "For a colonized people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and, above all, dignity."
> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*

The *barrio* is "a part of a large U.S. city, especially a crowded inner-city area, inhabited chiefly by a Spanish-speaking population" ("*Barrio*"). This unambiguous definition

characterizes the social configuration of the *barrio* by its presumed linguistic homogeneity, depicting it primarily as a place whose inhabitants speak Spanish. Moreover, the description of the *barrio* as a "crowded inner-city area" hints at its scarce and inadequate basic commodities, as well as its lower class status; it clearly is defined as a non-suburban, low-class *milieu*.

Echo Park, a mostly Latino neighborhood in Los Angeles, has a population of nearly 44,000 and is one of the densest areas in the city and even in the country. Its average household income and education levels are low compared to the national standard, and half of its residents are foreign born (Mexican and Chinese) ("Echo Park Profile"). Needless to say, this socioethnic configuration marks the lives of its inhabitants and links them with a specific sense of place.

Place and identity, both personal and communal, are inextricably bound. Places (domestic, local, regional, national) shape the identity of the people who dwell in them. However, human beings, as active, socially bound individuals, also construct the specificity of the spaces they inhabit. In this sense, the relationship between place and identity, spaces and people is bidirectional. Diverse psychological studies have confirmed a relationship between space and identity, paying special attention to how space is experienced (Koffka, 1935) and thereby becomes a vital, inner, psychological space (Lewin 1936) —as De Certeau expresses it, space becomes a practiced place (De Certeau, 1988: 117) and thus part of the development of its residents' personal and communal identity.

The Madonnas of Echo Park, the first novel by writer Brando Skyhorse, presents a set of interwoven life stories of different but connected Mexican-Americans/Chicanos who live in Echo Park. The brilliantly constructed novel gives voice to the people of Echo Park and paints a mural of contemporary life in the *barrio*. The novel depicts a likely unconscious but nevertheless present *barrio* collective, eclectic identity; the main link among all the protagonists is that they belong to the *barrio*, the space that inevitably marks their lives and identities. Echo Park becomes the central protagonist of the novel, as its very title suggests, and it is within this specific space that the lives and destinies of the secondary characters are shaped by how they explore and experience the *barrio* and feel the need to identify with or disavow it.

Within this context, the aim of this essay is to determine whether the ethnic and social characteristics of the *barrio* as described in the novel and the way that the characters experience this space affect their personal identity and relation to dignity and honor. Specifically, we will look at how *barrio* life and identity shape the identities of the novel's male protagonists. For this purpose, we will apply Alfredo Mirandé's theorization and conceptualization of Chicano masculinity. Mirandé describes honor, dignity, and pride as the essence of machismo in contrast to the most traditional conception of machismo as related to violence, dominance, and aggressiveness. We thus will determine whether a harsh environment produces harsh men. In Octavio Paz and Samuel Ramos' view which Mirandé calls the compensatory model (1986), historical events have emasculated the Mexican man who, unable to fulfill his dominant role adopts an aggressive, defensive attitude. Therefore, we can conclude that the space

and attendant socioeconomic conditions in which *barrio* men live are conducive to the development of this approach to manhood and masculinity.

The history of most *barrio*s in the United States is linked directly to the history of the Mexican-American/Chicano community and the configuration and delineation of Mexican-American and Chicano identities. The bond between this very specific and ethnoculturally marked space and the community which it inhabits has become an essential, defining ingredient of communal and individual Chicano identities. The formation of these spaces dates to the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the annexation of the northern territories of Mexico, as well as of its residents, by the United States. The subsequent marginalization of Mexicanos and urbanization processes in most U.S. cities since the 1920s initiated a twofold sociocultural process that entailed, on one hand, the *barrioization* or spatial discrimination/segregation (Villa, 2000: 4) of the members of the community and, on the other hand, the formation of a communal identity through the creation of "defensive mechanisms to secure and preserve the integrity of their cultural place-identity within and against the often hostile space regulation of dominant urbanism" (Villa, 2000: 5).

Among these mechanisms, art in general and literature in particular have constructed, produced, and reproduced an aesthetic and conceptual identification of the members of the community with the place to which they belong, thus forging the foundations of a communal *barrio* identity. The literature created by the *Movimiento* authors and artists provided a public voice for the diverse yet complementary voices of the *barrio*, creating an image of the community different than the stereotyped, biased ones present in mainstream cultural production and the media. Similarly, the popular voices of the *barrio* dwellers were inscribed onto its walls through murals and contemporary graffiti, which served as spaces for communal representation/identification and the writing of a collective, shared history. *Corridos*, popular songs in general, and other forms of artistic expression depicted and expressed the becoming of a people through a process of group identification and subsequent disidentification from the powerful, mainstream Anglo group. For Raquel R. Márquez, Louis Mendoza, and Steve Blanchar, "the relationship between Anglos and Mexicans since the US Mexican War of 1846-1848 and the Anglo conquest of the northern area of Mexico now known as South Texas has served to frame both groups and to re-enforce their respective socio-cultural identities" (2007: 290).

These groups have evolved and transformed in the decades since the *Movimiento Chicano*, and although the physical and conceptual gap between the mainstream and peripheral spaces in U.S. cities seems smaller, the reality of life in the *barrio* is still far from ideal. The *barrio* and its socioethnic and cultural configuration oftentimes become the space where old-*barrio* dwellers and newcomers converge, and thus, its cultural and identity characteristics are developing into a more complex, multiethnic milieu in which different sensitivities toward *la comunidad* and community identity are performed. The contemporary feeling of group identification and strength differs significantly from that which emerged during the times of the *Movimiento*, when there existed an obvious target and a clear need for assertiveness and identity formation. *Barrio* Logan and its

communal struggle for the construction of Chicano Park are a clear example of the past feeling of group strength and social cohesion. In this sense, many works by the first Chicano writers and authors reinforced the relevance of the *barrio* as a space and as an idea essential to the development of group and individual identity. The *barrio*, its development, and defense thus became the metaphorical source of the voice of a people, as seen in the works of Rudolfo Anaya, Rolando Hinojosa, and Sandra Cisneros, among many others.

Even a brief review of *The Madonnas of Echo Park* demonstrates that the link between the protagonists of each chapter is their belonging to Echo Park, as well as their sense of place, honor, and dignity. In this context, we get to know Héctor, a man who has grown up in the *barrio* and reveals his thoughts about immigration, work, unemployment, and ethnicity; Felicia, a woman who travels to the rich part of town (Los Feliz) to work for a wealthy family; Beatriz, who has become the Lady of Lost Angles after an encounter with Our Lady of Guadalupe; Efrén, a bus driver who cultivates a remarkable connection with and knowledge of the *barrio* and its residents as he drives around it on a daily basis; and Aurora, a girl who tries to escape the *barrio* only to return. We meet the real Madonnas of Echo Park, a group of mothers and daughters who dress up as Madonna and dance to her song "Borderline" every Friday at the street corner where video for the song was shot. Here, Alma, the youngest Madonna, is killed in a drive-by shooting while dancing with the Madonnas.

For these characters in this space, Mary Pat Brady's statement about Chicana literature and its drive to expose the significance of spatiality in the formation of Chicana subjectivities may well be applied to Skyhorse's text:

> If the production of space is a highly social process, then it is a process that has an effect on the formation of subjectivity, identity, sociality, and physicality in myriad ways. Taking the performativity of space seriously also means understanding that categories such as gender, race, and sexuality are not only discursively constructed but spatially enacted and created as well. (…) Chicanas write with a sense of urgency about the power of space, about its (in)clement capacity to direct and contort opportunities, hopes, lives. (…) These writers also explore the spatialization of subjectivities in process, the efforts to fix or to make subjects through their spatialization, as well as how such efforts get deterred. (2002: 8-9)

The spatial setting of Echo Park thus defines and shapes the subjectivities of all these characters, of *the Madonnas of Echo Park* and others who dwell in the *barrio* and construct their racial, gender, and social identity in accordance to it. Mexican-American/Chicano identity and its formation, conversely, have been inextricably linked to the idea of reclaiming a decent, human recognition as citizens of the United States. The derogatory and discriminatory terms *greasers, spics, pochos*, and even *wetbacks* served as marginalizing labels that not only assigned this community to an utterly inferior status in the sociothenic arrangement of the country but also deprived individuals of Mexican-American descent of any hint of humanity, honor, or dignity. The role of Chicano/a authors and artists has been to erase such negative connotations from the mainstream imaginary and to provide the people of the community with a

voice through with to recover their social esteem and respect. Spatiality and the sense of place/belonging that the *barrio*, as a tool of communal strength, represents then are essential in this "process of becoming/humanizing," as can be observed in novels such as *The Madonnas of Echo Park*. The *barrio*, thus, is the people, and the people live (in) the *barrio*.

The title of the novel's opening chapter, "Bienvenidos," clearly evokes this conception of the *barrio* and its residents and acts as a political manifesto addressing loss and accomplishments, place and honor, belonging and being in the margins.

> We slipped into this country like thieves, onto the land that once was ours. Those who'd never been here before could at last see the Promised Land in the darkness: those who'd been deported and come back, only a shadow of that promise. (…) We run into this American dream with a determination to shed everything we know and love that weighs us down if we have any hope of survival. This is how we learn to navigate the terrain.
> I measure the land not by what I have but by what I have lost, because the more you lose, the more American you can become. In the rolling jade valleys of Elysian Park, my family lost their home in Chavez Ravine to the cheers of gringos rooting for a baseball team they stole from another town. (…)
> What I thought I could not lose was my place in this country. How can you lose something that never belonged to you? (Skyhorse, 2010: 1-2)

These opening thoughts brilliantly convey the sense of place and belonging that many of the novel's protagonists, who live in Echo Park, expose and experiment with in their words and actions. This feeling of non-belonging, of having sneaked in in the place they once possessed, is experienced as a loss of dignity which the characters often overcome by inflicting on others in a socially inferior position, reflecting Paz and Ramos's account of the essence of machismo. In this context, many times do the voices in the novel describe immigrants, contemptuously called wetbacks, as people with no rights, illegal aliens who deserve nothing but deportation to their home country which, in many cases, is same as the speaker's.

A set of examples from the novel illustrate this attitude. One of the clearest instances of this feeling of superiority is provided by Efrén Mendoza, a Mexican-American bus driver who describes East L.A. as an ethnically segregated quarter and defends his superiority by claiming his Americanness. When describing his total respect for laws and rules, his punctuality, and his pride in his job, he explains that he had to go on strike to fight for his salary and depicts those opposing the strike as follows.

> Those socialist Che-worshiping *Reconquistadoras* complained these strikes hurt poor Mexican workers who cannot afford a car the most. You're a Mexican, they say, trying to bond with me by speaking Spanish. How can you turn against your own kind?, they say. But they aren't my kind. They're not Americans. They're illegals, and the benefits to law-abiding Americans like me outweigh whatever inconveniences these people face breaking our laws. (Skyhorse, 2010: 72)

Efrén constructs and deploys his all-American identity with a completely defensive attitude and opposes his honor, respectability, and dignity against those whom he considers inferior, or even "scum."

> These new wetbacks don´t see it that way. They're picky about what jobs they'll do and how much money they'll accept for the "privilege" to come and do half-assed work at your house. A lot of my riders are *mojados* going to MacArthur Park to buy fake IDs, passports, and birth certificates with forged birth dates. Papers in hand, they assemble in fixed meeting areas around the park-in front of the police, who won't touch them—to be picked out for odd jobs and day labor across the city. These aren't Mexicans who've lived in this country for years, looking to legitimize a life they've worked hard to build here. They aren't even Mexicans who, from what I´ve learned about the Mendoza name in libraries, became Americans when the border flipped on us, vanishing years of Mexican heritage with a quill stroke, turning rich landowners into migrant settlers in a new and hostile country. No, these are country hicks, *mojados* who've made no effort to assimilate, learn English, and do the hard work to become a part of American society the way I did. If I had time off from work, I´d be right out there with those Minutemen on the border, bullhorn in hand, screaming at the top of my lungs. These men looking to take our jobs, and their women who pop off babies for free health care, want schooling for their bastards and welfare from my taxes—they're freeloaders who focus unwanted attention on us legitimate Mexicans, who had to learn the rules and suffers the stings of becoming Americans. Get Mexico to take care of fucking Mexicans for a change. (Skyhorse, 2010: 77)

These bitter, hateful words reflect a pattern of self-defensive discrimination among those who consider themselves marked by difference and, thus, subject to discrimination. The idea of belonging to a place which can be stolen by others of a similar condition defies the status quo of the dwellers of Echo Park, and Efrén stands as an example of an uncontrolled hatred to Mexicans arising from his likely unconscious feeling of inferiority within the mainstream North American socioethnic arrangement. He embodies the idea of territoriality, which Robert Gifford defines as "a pattern of behavior and attitudes held by an individual or group that is based on perceived, attempted, or actual control of a definable physical space, object, or idea and may involve habitual occupation, defense, personalization, and marking of it" (1987: 137). In this sense, Efrén's words connect place and territorial property or belonging to social status, and he turns his resentment and hatred against the newly arrived to the extent of depriving them of any dignity and honor, traits which he assumes only he deserves due to his legal status. His idea of achieving the American Dream through personal effort and sacrifice indicates his complete assimilation into the foundational notions of American democracy and the freedom to pursue one's destiny through dedication and work. At the same time, his thoughts reveal a highly derogatory, *machista* attitude toward women, whom he describes as using motherhood and their babies to attain citizenship with no effort.

Efrén's contempt and ethnic discrimination toward others he considers to be of a different level than he are even harsher than those held by the mainstream community. He expresses such thoughts as the following:

> General conversation is not permitted between me and my passengers; however, if I see a wetback staying on past MacArthur Park, I have been known to ask him—in English—if he knows he's heading into the black part of town. If a wetback doesn't *habla ingles*, I punch my hand and fist together and point straight ahead. *Mojados* caught past Washington Boulevard are taking a big chance, whether it's day or night, but they go where the work takes them. When I speak English to them, they look disappointed and offended. Can you imagine that? They've played the fucking *habla español* card from fucking Jalisco to here—that's how they get here so easy—and when they meet a Mexican who won't play that game with them, they have the nerve to challenge me on *my* fucking Mexican-ness! (Skyhorse, 2010: 78)

Once again, Efrén's merciless, ruthless words indicate nothing but his assimilation and reproduction of existing institutional policies, such as those in Arizona Senate Bill 1070, which deprive human beings of their individuality and human dignity and degrade them to an unconceivable extent. Spatiality and national belonging also establish (in a more global sense than the territorial boundaries of the *barrio*) a human hierarchy measured by dignity and honor. Sadly enough, this degradation of those who do not belong to the supposedly superior space/territory is practiced by a person of a similar condition and ethnic background as those whom he profoundly despises.

The *barrio*, Los Angeles, or the United States thus provides for these individuals dignity, honor, and identity they apparently could never find in Mexico, which again is constructed in their minds as a substandard place, lacking the basic resources necessary for human needs. Another character, Héctor, an illegal worker, expresses this view when he is hired to perform a job involving a death. Héctor's manager says:

> "Hec here's going to help 'manage' the problem you created earlier this afternoon," Tenant says.
>
> "Fine with me," Adam says and motions a waiter I don't see for a drink. "As long as he knows how to keep his fucking spic mouth shut. One call to La Migra and he's headed back to Mexico."
>
> I know this, and it terrifies me. It terrifies me because Mexico doesn't exist for me. I have no memory of it. I was a few months old when my mother brought us to Los Angeles from my birth home in Guanajuato. We settled in a Mexican neighborhood called Chavez Ravine but were evicted when the city took back the land to build Dodger Stadium. Mexico is as foreign to me as Mars, Paris, or Florida. I have no heartbreaking story of the journey here; the heartbreaking story *is* here, in this small couple of square miles of land called Echo Park. Running through the desert, trying to stay ahead of the border patrol or the Minutemen or the coyotes or the rats isn't the story. It isn't the *getting* here, it's the *staying* here. (Skyhorse, 2010: 20)

The examples analyzed so far all concern male protagonists who share their thoughts about place identification, personal and communal identity, and their effect on personal dignity and honor. Although the title *The Madonnas of Echo Park* implies the prominence of female characters, the work has an even balance of male and female

protagonists. At this point, it would be interesting to observe the effects of place dis/identification on female honor and dignity and compare them to those of their male counterparts in order to reach conclusions. The first woman introduced in the novel, Felicia, provides a good example. Of Mexican descent, Felicia from the beginning describes herself and her identity as directly connected and tied to the *barrio* and, thus, to the place/space of Chavez Ravine and Echo Park. Her job as an assistant to a wealthy family in Los Feliz (note the semantic game the author plays with the ideas of place, happiness, personal identity, and character names) requires her move daily through public transportation (in Efrén's bus, to be exact) to a wealthier, richer, and thus supposedly happier quarter in the city. However, this travel has not been the first Felicia has endured. The narration of her story starts as follows:

> Spring is here and it makes my joints ache. All those jacaranda blossoms on the walk outside to sweep up. Jacaranda trees thrive in Los Angeles, like blondes and Mexicans. There's no getting away from the, not even in my dreams. They've haunted me from childhood, when I believed a jacaranda tree would save me. Can you imagine such a thing, a tree saving a life? A silly girl thought so once.
>
> I´d been sent to my grandmother's home in Chavez Ravine by my mother whose face I didn't remember and whose cruelty Abuelita wouldn't let me forget. The dirt road outside my *abuelita's* house led to an outdoor Mercado and was covered with an amethyst sea of pulpy jacaranda that felt like old skin and calico under your bare feet. I'd collect sprays of young jacaranda, then run down the road with them petals ranging from my arms.
>
> When the white men came to build a baseball stadium for playing their games, they smoothed the land out like a sheet of paper to bring in their trucks and bulldozers that would destroy our homes. But there was a problem. The land was uncooperative and petty, swallowing contractors' flatbed trucks and, I prayed, the workers themselves into sinkholes and collapsing earths atop surveyors' flags. The jacaranda trees gave them the most trouble. They felled the mightiest bulldozers, which couldn't tear them down without themselves being damaged. I thought that if I grew a jacaranda tree in my room, it would anchor our home to the land and we wouldn't have to leave. (Skyhorse, 2010: 25-26)

The connection to the place that Felicia exhibits differs widely, for example, from that of Efren, who understands it as a means to attain a status superior to others. In Felicia's case, the link seems to be more personal and emotional, and the natural, earthy nature of her discourse clashes directly with the bus driver's more functional, even cartographic one. The vision of a once natural *barrio*, full of jacaranda trees whose roots are older and stronger than any man-made plan, is evident in Felicia's words as she makes a direct contrast between "our homes" and the white men and their games. The contradiction between the white, male, all-American symbol of baseball and the domesticity and femininity of "our homes" reflects the implications of territoriality and belonging for a woman who was born in, raised in, and identifies with a space which has been shaped and reshaped by and against the priorities and needs of those who live in it. Felicia's words and the figure of an ancestral tree that connects the people to the land and brings a little light of humanity to a "concretized" quarter are reminiscent of Cisneros' *The House on Mango Street*'s chapter "Four Skinny Tress:" "Four who do not

belong here but are here. (…) [f]our who reach and do not forget to reach. Four whose only reason is to be and be" (1987: 74-75).

Considering on a more personal level the main subjects of this essay, dignity and honor, it is interesting to note that the female protagonists seem more accepting or, let us say, resigned to the need to lose one's dignity in order to survive in such a hostile sociocultural environment which the unstoppable process of gentrification is devouring little by little. The everlasting patriarchal line which has characterized the Chicano/Latino personal and family environment supports the stereotyped (through symbols such as La Virgen de Guadalupe and La Llorona) but also real image of the Chicana woman as an enduring, submissive individual who accepts being relegated to the domestic space and dares not subvert the established order. In this sense, the strong tie between the Chicana space (generally the household) and the development or entrapment of the Chicana identity has long been studied by scholars and academics, who have proven that the coming out of Chicana women entails abandoning the domestic space and breaking into the public world in order to explore, situate, and place their new identity.

In the case of the novel's female protagonists, most have taken that step but frequently at the expense of losing part of their dignity and honor. Felicia's words are illuminating in this regard:

> Before Rick found me, I was looking for work on a street corner, 5th and San Pedro, near the Midnight Mission. Back then, my English was terrible and Skid Row was where, if you were a woman, needed work, and didn't speak English, you'd gather in a group for the *gabachos* to come and hire you. (…)
>
> The women came from anywhere in the south, some as far away as Uruguay, each with her own Spanish dialect. The men had their own corner, across the street from ours. They weren't there to defend us when we were harassed (or sometimes raped) by the bums who swarmed the area but to keep an eye on us while they drank, laughed and wolf-whistled the gazelles, beanstalky white women in suits and sneakers who parked their cars in the cheap garages nearby. (…) We had the dignity to waiting silence, yawning in the flat gray sharpness of dawn under a mist of milky amber streetlight. Standing in a straight line, arms folded across our chests like stop signs, we prepared ourselves for a long day of aching mindless work by sharing a religious, rigorous, devotional quiet.
>
> When men want relief they hire a whore. When women want relief they hire a cleaning lady. And they did it the same way—first they examined our bodies. Could we reach the high shelves with the lead crystal without a stepladder? Were we able to find into a crawl space and fish out their children's toys? Were our *culos* big enough to cushion accidental fall? They never looked us in the eye because they could see us performing those disgusting chores no decent woman would dream of asking another woman to do. (Skyhorse, 2010: 27-28)

This passage shows clear opinions about female and male dignity and their direct relationship to social status and economic superiority. Felicia describes female dignity as a purchasable item which can be measured in economic exchanges. These terrible

thoughts also convey a very strong feeling of submission and enduring acceptance of this female condition, which ironically, these women bear with incredible dignity.

Returning to the impact of place and territoriality on the lives of women in Echo Park, we can observe that, although the female characters seem to accept their inferior status and concomitant loss of dignity as they are treated as invisible but necessary people, two characters stand out among the rest, representing a total affront to the established order and their predetermined destiny: Aurora Salazar, a woman who the white, male constructors could barely evict from Chavez Ravine, and the Lady of Lost Angels, a woman who wanders the *barrio* and claims to have seen the Virgin at a bus stop. The figure of Aurora Salazar, the last person to be evicted from Chávez Ravine, represents a people's struggle for the dignity and honor which inhabiting a place enhances, along with their identification with the natural (in this case urban) environment. The history of Chávez Ravine is that of the gentrification and whitenization of a Latino quarter for the development of an all-American leisure space, a baseball stadium. Skyhorse's novel thus denounces the eviction of a people from the place that constituted not only their physical dwelling space but also their cultural and social natural environment. The inextricable link between notions of space and culture become evident in this forced evacuation of a quarter, which evokes the physical and spiritual dispossession of a people of their natural landscape as happened to the first inhabitants of the country for the sake of Manifest Destiny.

Aurora's attitude and actions manifest the slogan that *el barrio es la gente, la gente es el barrio*.

> My first name comes from the last woman evicted from the ground that would become Dodger Stadium. In an effort to lure the Brooklyn Dodgers to Los Angeles, the city agreed to construct a new stadium on a large tract of land north of Downtown called Chavez Ravine. Mexicans racially steered from buying houses anywhere else in the city lived here for years in the long shadow cast by the City Hall building, unnoticed and unmolested. Chavez Ravine was immune to time. Dirt trails, along with a paved road or two tossed in like bleached bones, connected backyards where goats and stray dogs roamed free amid houses and shacks with crooked walls, wooden outhouses, and pie-tin roofs that baked your arms and legs throughout the year. Men pushed trolleys and wheelbarrows laden with fresh fruit, ice blocks, and jugs of water from house to house as if Chavez Ravine were still part of old Mexico and not "modern"-era Los Angeles.
>
> (…)
>
> It took more than God's hands to move Aurora Salazar. Four pairs of hands, to be exact, carried Aurora by her wrists and ankles out of her house in front of new reporters and photographers, down a flight of stairs, and onto a swatch of cracked desert floor. Four Mexican officers from the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department with badges and guns to restrain an unarmed, barefoot woman, clad in a sleeves white blouse and pants with large appliqué butterflies fluttering up and down her legs, from ever entering her home again. Four men to contain one woman's fury. (Skyhorse, 2010: 151-152)

This long passage reveals, first, the socioeconomic condition of the quarter, which likely reflects the general situation of similar spaces in similar cities, and denounces the

sense of forgetfulness and neglect that its inhabitants experience. However, the description of Chavez Ravine also conveys the feeling of belonging and an apparent freedom, an illusionary sense soon put to an end by the construction of the stadium. Aurora and her fight, personal and individual, become the symbols of a people's struggle against a system that swallows up those who do not belong/are not allowed to belong and thus become highly political and revolutionary. Aurora's honor and dignity, which she dares defend in front not only of the mainstream authorities but also those who have "sold their souls" to the system (such as the Mexican policemen), take precedence over any economic and political claims, and she becomes the voice of the people. Moreover, Aurora stands out among the rest of the characters in the novel, who fight to find a space within the system and are ready to be swallowed by it. Aurora, a poor, humble woman, instead, emerges as the symbol of a people who incorporate their space into their personal and communal identities and defend their ties to it as a political, spiritual, and cultural issue.

Our Lady of the Lost Angels, who claims to have seen the Virgin Mary at a bus stop and spends her days in that spot trying to convince people of the miracle, symbolizes the spiritual meaning of places for the people who inhabit them, conveying the stories and histories that shape the identity of a community. The lady's static position at the bus stop, as if she were part of the urban landscape, represents the people's belonging to places and their relevance in shaping and giving meaning to those places.

This brief examination of some characters of *The Madonnas of Echo Park* illustrates the indissoluble link between territoriality and personal and communal identity and its effect on individual esteem and the negotiations of identity, honor, and dignity. The male and female characters experience their territorial and sociocultural belonging to a specific place differently. The males tend to be initially more defensive and aggressive but eventually more willing to assimilate, while the females are more (r)evolutionary, I would say. Paz and Ramos' theory of the negative outcomes of colonization on Mexican males becomes especially interesting in this context. For example, Efrén's notion of the possession of the land and its occupation by illegal aliens reveals nothing but a fear of the usurpation of the honor and dignity that the land, the *barrio*, provides to its dwellers. The idea of being colonized again is answered fiercely and aggressively, shaping the identity of the novel's male protagonists into a terrible reproduction of the most negative aspects of the stereotypical concept of machismo. The negative, essentially harsh portrayal of *barrio* life and the few opportunities for upward mobility that it provides shape a masculine identity that is negative and defiant *per se*.

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Lexical innovation: cromulently embiggening a language

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ABSTRACT

In this article I look at the main ways of making new English words, and at the different types of neologisms this produces; consider various categories of people who coin them, including famous authors and television scriptwriters as well as anonymous nonnative speakers of English as a lingua franca, and highlight the similarities and differences in the ways they tend to coin words; consider to what extent the formation of new words by way of established processes or rules or schemas should be thought of as morphological productivity rather than individual creativity; and finally look at the processes by which neologisms can, potentially, be diffused.

Keywords: lexical innovation, neologisms, morphological productivity, lexical creativity, lexical diffusion

For last year's words belong to last year's language
And next year's words await another voice.
(T. S. Eliot, "Little Gidding")

Inventing new words is easy: anyone can do it, and perhaps everybody does. For example, with very little thought, most readers of this journal could rapidly come up with new words ending in *-ness*, *-able*, *-phile*, *-phobe*, and *-itis*. What is more difficult, of course, is getting other people to use your coinages, thereby cromulently embiggening a language. I will begin this article by describing the main ways of making new English words, giving examples of the different types of neologisms this produces. I will then consider various categories of people who coin them, including famous literary authors and television scriptwriters, as well as anonymous nonnative speakers of English as a lingua franca, and look at the similarities and differences in the

processes they tend to use to coin words, before considering whether forming new words by way of established processes or rules or schemas should be thought of in terms of individual creativity or merely morphological or constructional productivity, before finally briefly looking at the processes by which neologisms get diffused – or not.

1. How?

There is a Calvin and Hobbes cartoon, reproduced in Steven Pinker's *The Stuff of Thought* (2008: 15), in which the six-year-old Calvin (who clearly went to a better school than I did) takes a physics exam. Faced with the instruction "Explain Newton's First Law of Motion in your own words," he writes "Yakka foob mog. Grug pubbawup zink wattoom gazork. Chumble spuzz"! Inventing words is as easy as that, but of course most of Calvin's attempts don't sound very *English*: while not phonotactically impossible, *yakka* and *pubbawup* and *wattoom* do not resemble English words, taking 'English' generously to include bits of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, French, Latin and Greek. Unless they are borrowed from afar – *amok*, *bikini*, *gung ho*, *karaoke*, *kow-tow*, *tattoo*, *tycoon* – new English words generally sound much like existing ones, or simply combine parts of other English words and affixes. In fact, given that there are a limited number of English-sounding phonemes and morphemes and syllables to go round, newly coined words often turn out to have existed before. For example, long before Tolkien (1937) invented the Hobbits – hole-dwelling, human-like 'halflings' – *hobbit* was (one spelling of) a small basket for carrying seeds and a local measure of grain (2 1/2 bushels, to be precise) in North Wales. And *halfling*, an adverb meaning "to the extent of a half, half; in part, partially" (*The Oxford English Dictionary*, hereafter *OED*) goes back to 13th century Middle English (as Tolkien certainly knew). Similarly, J. K. Rowling's (1997) Muggles – those of us sadly lacking magical powers – were preceded by *muggle* meaning "a tail resembling that of a fish" (13th century); "a young woman, specifically a sweetheart" (16th century, possibly a corruption of the Italian *moglie*, wife); and in the 20th century in the USA, a joint or marijuana cigarette (smoked by muggle-heads).

Leaving aside Calvin's idiolectal explanation of how objects either remain at rest or continue to move at a constant velocity unless acted upon by an external force, there are seven or eight main ways to make new English words:

- you can simply borrow words from other languages
- you can make compounds, combining existing nouns, verbs, adjectives and prepositions in many of the possible permutations of these word classes
- you can convert words from one class to another – nouns into verbs, verbs into nouns, adjectives into nouns, adjectives into verbs, prepositions into verbs (*down a beer*, *up the ante*), prepositions into nouns (*life's ups and downs*), conjunctions into nouns (*ifs and buts*), etc. If there is no change of form involved, linguists call this "zero derivation"

- you can exploit the standard productive rules or schemas of English morphology or word-formation, using affixes (prefixes and suffixes), as in *embiggen*, *misunderestimate*, *prehab*, *recombobulation area* and *truthiness*, and neo-classical combining forms, as in *hypermiling* and *omnishambles* (I will return to these examples below)
- if trying to amuse highly educated people, you can also play with exclusively Greek and Latin roots, and invent sesquipedalian words like *alogotransiphobia*, *anatidaephobia* and *dontopedology*
- you can abbreviate a string of words into an acronym, for example *WYSIWYTCH*, from 'what you see is what your theory can handle' (Denison 2010: 105), a 'word' that should be brought to the attention of all linguists and scientists
- you can create new meanings by changing part of an existing word as a pun, or make portmanteau words by combining elements and meanings of two or more words into a single one, as in *adorkable, googlegänger, metrosexual, nonebrity* and *refudiate*
- you can invent genuinely new words, preferably *cromulent* ones, using the available sounds of the language.

As indicated by the examples above (most of which readily came to mind when I started writing this article), most people are more likely to notice what Mair (2006: 37) calls "curiosities, coined tongue in cheek and propagated as passing fads, especially in the media" than more mundane neologisms. Words with a 'surprisal' value are salient and easier to memorize and recall, which explains the many amusing words to be found in lists of the most creative words of the year. Other new words, or new metaphorical meanings of old words, which appear in tandem with new objects or activities during a speaker's lifetime – e.g. *app*, *blog*, *broadband*, *browser*, *cloud*, *cookie*, *modem*, *mouse*, *notebook*, *tablet*, *virus*, *website*, *wi-fi*, etc. – are more likely to be taken for granted; *snailmail* is more striking as a lexical innovation than *email*, *googlegänger* than *google*.

Cromulent was coined by David X. Cohen, one of the writers of *The Simpsons*, in 1996. When a schoolteacher learns that the Springfield town motto is "A noble spirit embiggens the smallest man," she says that she'd never heard the word *embiggen* before moving to Springfield. Another teacher replies "I don't know why; it's a perfectly cromulent word." Later in the same episode (*Lisa the Iconoclast*), Principal Skinner says of Homer's audition for the role of town crier, "He's embiggened that role with his cromulent performance." Thus *cromulent* would appear to mean appropriate or acceptable or more than acceptable. *Embiggen* clearly means to make something larger or better, and might be seen as the contrary of *belittle*, which was coined by Thomas Jefferson in his book *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785), meaning to make something seem less valuable or important. Although *embiggen* was invented by Daniel Greaney, a writer for *The Simpsons*, like a great many coinages it had also been invented before, in this case in the antiquarian literary journal *Notes and Queries* in 1884, by a correspondent complaining about ugly new slang, who asks rhetorically, quoting *Acts*

5.13, "Are there not, however, barbarous verbs in all languages? ἀλλ' ἐμεγάλυνεν αὐτοὺς ὁ λαός, but the people magnified them, to make great or *embiggen*, if we may invent an English parallel as ugly." It is not immediately clear why he considers ἐμεγάλυνεν (*emegalynen*) – a word quite widely used in Classical Greek – to be ugly, or why he feels the need to coin *embiggen*.[1] Yet ugly or not, both *embiggen* and *cromulent* were taken up by some *Simpsons*' fans and are currently used here and there. *Embiggen* has even been used by string theorists in serious scientific journals.

I describe *cromulent* as a genuinely new word because its base doesn't hint at a pre-existing meaning – unlike, for example, Rowling's *muggle*, which has echoes of both *mug* – "a stupid or incompetent person; a fool or simpleton; a gullible person, a dupe," and *muggins* or *muggings*, "a fool, a simpleton … a name applied to a person who is duped, outwitted, or taken advantage of, or who has acted foolishly on some occasion" (*OED*). *Cromulent* also *sounds* English: there are a large number of English words beginning with *cro-* (and *crom* turns out to be a Middle English variant spelling of both *cram* and *crumb*, as well as a dialect word meaning *crooked*), a few (Latinate) adjectives ending with *-lent* (including *pestilent, violent* and, more pertinently here, *excellent*), and a lot of adjectives ending with *-ulent*, from the Latin *-ulentus*, usually meaning 'abounding in' or 'full of' (*opulent*, *fraudulent*, *truculent*, *virulent*, etc.).

The other words listed above which use standard English affixes are of various origins. *Truthiness* was coined by the American television comedian Stephen Colbert, and later defined by the American Dialect Society (hereafter ADS) – which made it their "Word of the Year" for 2005 – as "the quality of preferring concepts or facts one wishes to be true, rather than concepts or facts known to be true." The word was immediately picked up by journalists, and widely discussed on political and news programmes. (Unsurprisingly, it is also in the *OED* with a different sense: an obscure variant of *truthy*, meaning truthfulness, used in 1824.) *Misunderestimate* is a famous 'Bushism' from a speech in 2000, which took on a life of its own when it was ridiculed in the press; the President probably just meant *underestimate*, unless he *really* meant to say that people underestimated him without meaning to. *Prehab* – pre-emptive enrolment in a rehab facility to forestall or prevent the relapse of an abuse problem – was the ADS's most creative Word of the Year in 2010. *Recombobulation area* is a joke from Mitchell International Airport in Milwaukee, consisting of a few chairs (and a big sign) just past a security checkpoint, where people can put their shoes, jackets and belts back on and repack their laptops and liquids. It is clearly a back-formation from *discombobulate*, a jokey American verb meaning to disturb, upset, disconcert or confuse, and was chosen by the ADS as the most creative neologism of 2008.

While *-ness*, *mis-*, *pre-* and *re-* are standard, and very productive, English affixes, *hyper-* and *omni-* are better thought of as neo-classical combining forms. *Hypermiling*, meaning the attempt to maximize gas (petrol) mileage by making fuel-conserving adjustments to one's car and one's driving techniques, was chosen by Oxford Dictionaries as its US Word of the Year in 2008. *Omnishambles* was Oxford Dictionaries' UK Word of the Year in 2012, and means a situation in total disorder that has been hopelessly mismanaged, full of blunders and miscalculations. It was coined by

Tony Roche, one of the writers of the satirical television series *The Thick Of It*, and soon picked up by viewers and, importantly, British opposition politicians. It was followed by the short-lived *Romneyshambles*, after the US presidential candidate Mitt Romney tactlessly criticized London's preparations for the Olympic Games.

Alogotransiphobia was invented jointly in 1972 by the novelist George V. Higgins and two friends of his in Washington, a journalist and a publican, and means "the fear of being caught on public transportation with nothing to read." It hasn't really been institutionalized in the language, but it is listed in Dickson (2014: 19), after which it was taken up by many reviewers and bloggers. *Anatidaephobia* is a relatively well-known joke word from Gary Larson's *The Far Side* cartoon strip, meaning an irrational fear that somehow, somewhere, a duck is watching you, using the Latin name for the biological family of birds that includes ducks, geese and swans, and *phobia*, an established English word of Greek origin; as Bauer (2001: 70) points out, "there is a rather fuzzy borderline between neo-classical compounding and affixation in English." *Dontopedology*, meaning to have a tendency to put one's foot in one's mouth, or make embarrassingly inappropriate remarks, is attributed to Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, and is still regularly used by journalists – largely when writing about Prince Philip – though it now has to compete with the equally playful but less classical-sounding *foot-in-mouth disease*. This last example (playing on foot-and-mouth disease, a virus that can affect cloven-hoofed animals) might almost be seen as an example of *recategorization* (Kastovsky, 1986: 595): forming a word as a condensed alternative to a longer syntactic description.[2]

The portmanteau words (a term invented by Lewis Carroll in 1871 in *Through the Looking-Glass*) have had various degrees of success. *Metrosexual*, a noun coined by the British journalist Mark Simpson to describe an overly fashion-conscious, city-dwelling, heterosexual male, was the ADS's Word of the Year in 2003, and gets nearly 1 million Google hits. *Googlegänger*, from *Google* and the German loanword *Doppelgänger*, meaning someone else with your name who shows up when you egosurf or google yourself, was the ADS's most creative word of 2007. *Nonebrity*, a celebrity nonentity, someone who manages to achieve and maintain celebrity status despite having done nothing to merit it, was one of a long list of *Words of the Year* in Susie Dent's (2008) book of that name. *Refudiate*, a verb coined by Sarah Palin, loosely meaning to reject and clearly an accidental blend of *refute* and *repudiate*, became the *New Oxford American Dictionary*'s Word of the Year for 2010 – and the ADS's most unnecessary word. *Adorkable*, a blend of *adorable* and the slang word *dork*, meaning to be socially inept in an endearing way, had been around for a few years when it was popularized in 2011 by the American sitcom *New Girl*, and is now in the *Collins English Dictionary*.[3]

2. Who?

The examples of neologisms above suggest that today it is largely screenwriters and journalists who introduce words into the language, as well as the inventors of technological wonders such as *Google*, *Wikipedia*, *Facebook*, *Twitter* and the like (and

– unwittingly – Republican Party politicians). Thus the entertainment and news media seem to have supplanted Literature with a capital L as the prime source of new words, as traditionally it was words from famous, widely-read, canonical authors that were taken up by readers (and other writers) and diffused in the speech community.

As is well-known, about 1500 words are first recorded in Shakespeare's plays, and as Lukas Erne (2013) has persuasively argued, Shakespeare almost certainly wrote many of his plays with a readership in mind, as well as the theatre audience. He didn't necessarily invent all 1500 – he may just have been the first famous writer to use them in print – but he probably invented *most* of them, by changing nouns into verbs and verbs into adjectives, adding prefixes and suffixes, joining words that had never previously been used together, and coining wholly original words. Nouns first found in Shakespeare include *assassination*, *evasion* and *tardiness*; adjectives include *critical*, *deafening*, *hostile*, *inauspicious*, *laughable*, *suffocating* and *unmitigated*; verbs include *bedazzle*, *dwindle*, *embrace*, *enthrone* and *impede.* Cromulent words found in Shakespeare which did *not* pass into common use include *appertainments*, *attasked*, *conspectuity*, *defunctive*, *dispunge*, *enacture*, *ensear*, *exsufflicate*, *immoment*, *imperceiverant*, *intrenchant*, *irregulous*, *oppugnancy*, *relume*, *reprobance* and *rubious*.

There often seems to be something of a correlation between writers' canonical status and the number of words for which they provide the first evidence. According to the *Online OED*, almost 2000 previously unrecorded words are to be found in the writings of Chaucer (but of course we only have a limited number of Middle English texts), over 600 in Coleridge, over 500 in Jonson, Milton, Sidney and Spenser, over 300 in Donne and Dryden, over 200 in Byron, Dickens and Richardson, over 100 in Defoe, George Eliot, Fielding, Johnson, Keats, Marlowe, Pope, Shelley, Swift and Tennyson, more than 50 in Emerson, Hardy, Joyce, Melville, Poe, Sterne, Twain and Wordsworth, slightly less than 50 in Austen and Charlotte Brontë, and so on; this list of names gives you a large part of the syllabus of degree courses on British and American literature.

There is, of course, some circularity to this argument: it is because the works of these writers are well-known that dictionary compilers read them. But ever since dictionaries began to be written, works of literature have existed alongside many nonfiction books, newspapers, journals, etc., so we can assume that many words may indeed have first been used in writing by the authors in question, at least for the past 200 years. Whether they coined them or merely used words they had heard in everyday speech is another matter; given the relatively formal nature of writing over most of its history, there is often a time-lag between words and constructions being used in speech and appearing in writing. On the other hand, it must also be remembered that the *OED* is a historical dictionary which includes many short-lived words, in particular many Latinate ones, that were only ever used by a single writer, sometimes trying unsuccessfully to replace an existing word. This particularly happened in the 16th and 17th centuries when there was a vogue for Latin-sounding words, supposedly to raise the status of the English language, although these were criticized by plainer folk as "ink-horn terms" (from the inkwells made of horn that writers dipped their quills in).

Another, completely different category of people who frequently coin words (but without getting them diffused and institutionalized) are nonnative speakers. Such speakers have traditionally been described as learners or users of English as a foreign language (EFL) and their coinages have been considered as errors resulting from the imperfect learning to be expected in a second language (L2). There is a huge array of concepts in second language acquisition (SLA) theory designed to explain the existence of such errors: interference, L1 transfer, substratum influence, fossilization, interlanguage, imposition, source language agentivity, congruence, relexification, etc. Speakers carry over features from their L1 into their version of the L2, making erroneous analogical inferences, simplifying, over-generalizing, under-differentiating, and so on.

A more recent concept is that of English as a lingua franca (ELF), which Barbara Seidlhofer (2011: 7) defines as "Any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option." Spoken ELF generally differs from ENL (English as a native language) and contains a huge amount of linguistic variation and nonstandard lexicogrammatical and phraseological forms. As Ferguson (2009: 129) puts it, ELF should be viewed "as a fluid cluster of communicative practices where speakers draw on a wide, not clearly bounded range of linguistic features – some standard, some non-standard, and others not English at all (at least according to the conventional view)."

ELF clearly doesn't *need* to be the same as ENL. It is not part of any native 'target culture' in which particular ways of speaking and behaving are appropriate. Rather than imitating the norms of native English speakers, ELF speakers (are said to, or recommended to) adopt ways of speaking which aid mutual intelligibility and successful communication. The proponents of ELF argue that it is *different from* but not *inferior to* ENL. Thus the difference between EFL and ELF is an *attitude*: EFL learners make *mistakes* (or errors); ELF users show a lot of *variety*. What is intrinsic to ELF is not any specific linguistic forms, but rather what Firth (2009: 150) calls the "lingua franca factor" – "the inherent interactional and linguistic variability that lingua franca interactions entail" – and the "lingua franca outlook" on language that ELF users adopt.

Anna Mauranen describes the variation to be found in ELF in terms of "shaky entrenchment" or "fuzzy processing" resulting from restricted (and varied) input. She states that "the nature of processing is fuzzy in most areas of cognition, including speech perception and production" (2012: 41), and that "a complex environment like ELF" – generally involving different speakers with different English usages in every single interaction – "seems to require stretching the tolerance of fuzziness wider than usual" (2012: 42). L2 speakers have "less deeply entrenched memory representations" (2012: 37) than L1 users, and so produce approximate (or deviant, or creative) words such as *anniversity*, *curation*, *dictature*, *elevative*, *importancy*, *lightful*, *overbridging*, *removement*, *slowering*, and *womanist* (all from VOICE), and *addictation*, *assaultment*, *instable*, *interpretee*, *maximalise*, *plagiate*, *unuseful* and *visiblelise* (all from ELFA).[4] In the two ELF corpora, most of these words are used by speakers showing a high level of competence and fluency in English. As Mauranen puts it, ELF speakers use words and

phraseological units "in ways that do not quite match the target," but – importantly – although they "tend to get them slightly wrong," they "also get them approximately right" (2012: 144).

Unsurprisingly, many of these nonstandard words result from standard word-formation processes, as described, e.g., in Bauer (1983) and Plag (2003). Suffixation, conversion and modification, or what Mauranen (2012: 126) calls the "extension of productive derivational principles beyond their conventional boundaries," can be seen in the approximate or invented verbs *intersectioning*, *resoluting*, *satisfactionate*, *securiting* and *successing*; the nouns *analytism*, *assimilisation*, *competensity*, *controversiality*, *interventing*, *militarians* and *paradigma*; and the nonstandard adjectives *deliminated*, *devaluarised*, *disturbant*, *emperious*, *femininised*, *proletariatic* and *strategical*. In VOICE and ELFA there are backformations such as *colonisators*, *introducted*, *presentate*, *registrate* and *standardisate*, and truncations like *automously*, *categoration*, *decentralation*, *manufacters* and *significally*, as well as what look like borrowings from the L1 (or possibly L3, etc.) such as *dictature*, *instable*, *performant* and *phenomen*.

Most of these nonstandard forms only appear once in ELF corpora (and so are what corpus linguists call *hapaxes* or *hapax legomena*),[5] and are clearly nonce words – spontaneous creations by a speaker, coined for a particular purpose on a specific occasion – rather than neologisms destined to become institutionalized in the language. Of course at the point of utterance no speaker ever knows whether a nonce word will become a neologism, but clearly many of the "slightly wrong" ELF coinages would not be coined, or need to be adopted, by native English speakers because the existence of a synonym blocks the use of a newly derived rival form, according to the constraints of mental processing and storage (see Plag, 2003: 63-68). Moreover, most of these words seem to go largely unnoticed by the hearers, who neither accommodate to them by repeating them, nor attempt to correct them. Given that hearers usually prospect and make guesses about what is coming next, rather than listening carefully to each word, it is quite likely that many of them fail to even notice nonstandard forms, especially if they also use lexical approximations themselves. Indeed, when they encounter a linguistic anomaly, ELF interlocutors are said to "let it pass" or "make it normal": faced with problems in understanding the speaker, they let the unknown or unclear word or utterance go by on the assumption that it will either become clear or redundant as talk progresses (Firth 1996).

Widdowson (2003: 58) points out that the "inadvertent errors" of language learners occasionally resemble "the nonconformist usage" of adventurous authors such as Carroll, Joyce, Cummings and Achebe, which he describes as "evidence of the existence of … the *virtual* language, that resource for making meaning immanent in the language which simply has not hitherto been encoded" (2003: 48-49). Seidlhofer (2011: 120) takes up this concept, describing ELF as "a different but not a deficient way of realizing the virtual language, or playing the English language game," but avoids the notion of error: instead of restricting themselves to the realizations of native English speakers, ELF users exploit unused latent potentialities of English morphology, syntax

and phraseology. Standard Native English "represents what has been encoded, but not what can be" (2011: 117), and "to be creative is to exploit the constitutive rules of the virtual language but to do so without fully adhering to established regulative conventions, quite simply because those conventions are not necessarily appropriate to communicative purpose" in lingua franca communication (2011: 124).

It remains a matter of opinion, however, whether ELF coinages should be described in terms of creativity, or merely involuntary approximation resulting from shaky entrenchment or imperfect learning.[6] It also turns out that a great many ELF 'coinages' have in fact been used before – in the actual rather than the virtual language. For example, a number of words in VOICE which Pitzl *et al*. (2008) classify as "lexical innovations" and "coinages" are recorded in more comprehensive dictionaries than the one they used – as they readily concede (2008: 39). The *OED* includes the following, with the dates of the first recorded uses: *conformal* 1647, *cosmopolitanism* 1828, *devaluated* 1898, *devotedness* 1668, *examinate* 1560, *forbiddenness* 1647, *importancy* 1540, *increasement* (*encreasement*) 1509, *non-transparent* 1849, *pronunciate* 1652, *re-enrol* 1789, *re-send* 1534, and *urbanistic* 1934. While some of these words are wholly obsolete in native English, others are still used. *Forbiddenness*, for example, which gets about 16,000 hits on Google,[7] certainly fills a lexical gap, but it first filled it a long time ago, even if individual ELF speakers (not to mention native speakers) feel that they are coining it online and *ad hoc* each time it is used today.

Yet whether they should be thought of as creative coinages or imperfect approximations, the foregoing lists of on-the-spot nonce-formations by ELF speakers remind me of the following list of words: *curvate*, *familistic*, *habitude*, *producement* and *rememorating*. All of these – along with *dit*, *gloam*, *rummers*, *scrab* and *shippon* – come from Vladimir Nabokov's (1964) English translation of Pushkin's 'novel in verse' *Eugene Onegin*, and were criticized by Edmund Wilson (1965) as the "entirely inappropriate" use of "rare and unfamiliar words," if not "actual errors in English" (see Remnick 2005).[8] Of course, Nabokov *was* a nonnative speaker of English, but he is anything but an unknown user of English as a lingua franca (the adjective *Nabokovian* is in the *OED*, along with his coinage *nymphet*), and in his translation of *Onegin* he knew exactly what he was doing, as can be seen from his replies to his critics (Nabokov 1965; 1966). But the interesting thing about some of the words that Nabokov dredged out of the *OED* (or wherever) – particularly *familistic*, *habitude* and *producement* – is that they look *exactly* like the kind of approximations made by ELF speakers, which once again suggests that many of these 'coinages' may not in fact be new at all, but also that if they were used by an experimental author rather than a speaker of English as a lingua franca they might be admired (though not by Edmund Wilson) as innovative uses of the virtual language rather than dismissed as errors.

3. Creativity and productivity

The question remains whether the coiners of words – both famous and unknown, both native and nonnative speakers – are actually being creative, or whether their usages should be attributed to morphological productivity: to what were traditionally called word-formation rules, but which can also be described as schemas – ways of representing concepts and abstractions stored in the memory, in this case bound morphemes or affixes, conventionalized form and meaning pairings which occur with sufficient frequency for speakers to form a generalization over their instances of use (Goldberg 2006; Booij 2010).[9] Crystal (2003) defines *productivity* as "the creative capacity of language users to produce and understand an indefinitely large number of sentences" (2003: 374), and *creativity* as "the capacity of language users to produce and understand an indefinitely large number of sentences, most of which they will not have heard or used before. Seen as a property of language, it refers to the 'open-endedness' or productivity of patterns" (2003: 116). There is quite a lot of overlap here…

Native speakers of a language like English have internalized (after making generalizations) a number of word-formation processes that allow them to form new words both consciously and unconsciously, or intentionally and unintentionally, although as Plag (1999: 14) insists, unintentionality is a vague and non-operationalizable concept: "Some speakers have a higher level of awareness of the manipulation of linguistic signs than others," so that "what goes unnoticed by one speaker may strike the next as unusual." And as Bauer (2001: 68) points out, a word can be "coined unconsciously, but then picked up in a mental scan of the speaker's own words." Furthermore, people do not always know whether words made by way of highly productive rules or constructions actually exist or not (for a speech community rather than for the individual speaker), and subjects in experiments tend to consider potential words to be actual ones (Plag, 1999: 8).

For example, native speakers of English are likely to know intuitively that *-ize* is currently a very productive verbalizing suffix, and that *-ify* and *-ate* are much more restricted (although in any given case, the productivity or applicability of a rule or process may be constrained by various phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic properties of the elements involved). They will also have a subconscious awareness that virtually every verb ending in *-ize* can be turned into a noun with *-ation*, and that *-ion* can be added to verbs ending in *-ate*. Thus *omnishamb(e)lize* and *omnishamb(e)lization* are more likely than *omnishamblify* and *omnishamblification*, while *omnishamblate* sounds highly improbable. Native English speakers will probably also know intuitively that the prefixes *en-* and *em-* (sometimes accompanied by the suffix *-en*) are now "practically dead" (Plag, 1999: 117), which is why the coinage *embiggen* was striking in the 1990s.[10]

Examples of productive nominalizing suffixes in present day English include *-ness* (for all bases) and *-ity* (for Latinate bases). There will be a number of single occurrences (hapaxes) of words with these endings in any large corpus, some of which are likely to be neologisms, while many others will just be rare or infrequent words.[11] On the other

hand, there will be very few neologisms with the suffix *-ment*, which is hardly ever used today by native speakers to create new nouns, although it was formerly hugely productive, notably with French stems after the Norman Conquest and with both Latinate and Germanic stems until the mid-19th century (Bauer, 2001: 6-8; Hilpert, 2013: 110-154).[12]

This goes to show that the productivity (or indeed the availability) of affixes or schemas (for native speakers) can change diachronically, especially if they are in direct competition with others, and that the productivity of one process can restrict the productivity of another. Contemporary nonnative corpora, on the contrary, show various coinages with *-ment*, and Pitzl *et al*. (2008: 32) argue that some ELF speakers use this suffix not to change the word class of the base form but to *emphasize* the original class and thereby increase clarity: e.g. *assaultment* and *increasement* are clearly nouns, whereas *assault* and *increase* could be either nouns or verbs. Similarly, *characteristical* and *linguistical* emphasize adjectivalness, as *characteristic* and *linguistics* are also nouns. If these uses really are deliberate rather than accidental, the label creativity (rather than productivity) does seem appropriate.

All of this suggests that native speakers have a detailed knowledge of word-formation processes or constructional schemas, which become "entrenched" (Langacker 1987) or routinized or automatized as a result of repeated input, with every repetition strengthening their entrenchment in the mind and leaving a neuronal trace that facilitates their re-use. This implies that frequency of usage is an important part of linguistic knowledge (Bybee, 2007; 2010). Many nonnative speakers, on the contrary, have a shakier or fuzzier knowledge of such processes, and sometimes devise their own (nonnative) word-formation rules. By definition, they lack the exposure to a language that comes from growing up in a specific speech community, and so do not share native speakers' internalized, subconscious, procedural knowledge of the 'rules' or constructions of the language they grew up with, or their awareness of the limits of acceptability and productivity. Nonnative speakers are generally less attuned to the subtleties of (native) constructional schemas. For example, ELFA and VOICE include, among others, the negative forms *disbenefits*, *discrease*, *injust*, *inofficial*, *intransparency*, *uncapable*, *undirectly*, *unpossible*, *unrespect* and *unsecure*, which seems to indicate that many ELF speakers employ the simplification strategy "use the negative prefix of your choice."[13] Nonnative speakers are also less likely to be sensitive to changing patterns in the relative productivity of these constructions, and so may be unaware of the current non-productivity of the *-ment* suffix in native English. Consequently nonstandard ELF usages often appear more creative (or unusual, or just plain wrong) to the native ear than native speakers' own coinages resulting from regular, entrenched productive processes.

Thus native speakers' neologisms wholly formed by way of frequently used constructional schemas would seem to be more a matter of productivity than creativity. The latter term seems better suited for non-rule-governed coinages which clearly go beyond established productive word-formation processes, such as wholly new words, clever blends and portmanteau words, acronyms, novel uses of Greek and Latin forms,

and useful compounds (such as Shakespeare's *barefaced*, *birthplace*, *earthbound*, *even-handed*, *lack-lustre*, *short-lived*, *snail-paced*, *time-honoured* and *watchdog*). There are also the "many journalistic formations which are coined to attract attention" (Bauer, 2001: 23), and "playful formations" (2001: 56), used more for their phonetic than their semantic properties, which tend to occur "only in poetry or poetic and/or highly literary prose" or "in headlines" (2001: 57). Any rule-breaking or rule-changing innovation can in turn be imitated by analogy, after which further coinages exploiting the same pattern are once again more a matter of rule-governed productivity.

4. Diffusion

The last question is how neologisms get diffused – or not. There are occasional cases of words that are not in fact new, but which have a local or technical meaning, that suddenly become known to hundreds of millions of people in a very short space of time. The word *chad*, or more technically *hanging chad* – the incompletely-punched holes in voting cards which falsified the result of the 2000 US Presidential election – and the Japanese word *tsunami*, which dominated the news after the Pacific earthquake in 2004, literally spread around the world from one day to the next. Other words took slightly longer to be disseminated internationally, including the Japanese *sudoku*, which was a global craze in 2005; *slumdog*, a derogatory term for the children living in Mumbai's slums which was popularized by a film in 2008; and *vuvuzela*, the little monotone plastic trumpet that made a horrible noise throughout the World Cup in South Africa in 2010.

These were mostly necessary words for labelling new objects or events. It is usually argued that electronic media are not very instrumental in diffusing less necessary linguistic innovations (Trudgill, 1986: 40; Britain, 2002: 609), but speakers *can* imitate or copy influential individuals on television and radio, in films, etc. Yet the vast majority of new coinages do not leap out at you from newspapers or news programmes, and generally require luck to be diffused throughout a large speech community. The fate of most new words probably depends on their being picked up by influential early adopters – popular people with many contacts and extensive weak ties in large, loose social networks – who introduce new words to large numbers of people, some of whom also begin to use them (Milroy & Milroy, 1985). But while these are *necessary* conditions for the diffusion of neologisms, they are clearly not *sufficient* ones. There is probably a critical threshold for new words or expressions to be recognized and stored in the mental lexicon, after which every repetition strengthens their entrenchment (Bybee, 2007). *Necessary* words, such as the first lexicalizations of new objects or concepts that fill a gap in the language (*browser*, *website*, *email*) are likely to spread and quickly reach this threshold. Whether less necessary neologisms, particularly topical humorous ones, get diffused is essentially a matter of chance; some of them – especially those that are designed to attract attention – do indeed end up embiggening the language, cromulently or otherwise, but most of them do not. Chumble spuzz!

Notes

1. *Notes and Queries: A Medium of Intercommunication for Literary Men, General Readers, Etc.* Sixth Series, Volume Tenth, July-September 1884, p. 135. Online at https://archive.org/details/s6notesqueries10londuoft. I came across *cromulent* in a football blog, googled it, and found most of the information in this paragraph on the Wikipedia page on *Lisa the Iconoclast*. My thanks also go to my Ancient Greek correspondent, Neil Forsyth.

2. A more standard example of recategorization would be *top-scorer* rather than something like "the person who scored more than anybody else," a word that can in turn be converted into the verb *to top-score*, the adjective *top-scoring*, etc. Syntactic recategorizations are often unpopular with the kind of people who like to decry new words as barbarisms or abominations; a notable example in English in my youth was the use of *hopefully* to adverbialize the phrase "it is to be hoped that," a usage that has now hopefully become fully acceptable.

3. Quite a lot of portmanteau words are coined – www.wordspy.com lists, among others, *adultescent*, *anticipointment*, *approximeeting*, *banalysis*, *boomsayer*, *daycation*, *entreprenerd*, *gayborhood*, *nico-teen*, *renoviction*, *scanxiety*, *slanguist*, *testilying*, *trustafarian*, *voluntourism* and *webisode* – but very few of them become institutionalized in the language.

4. VOICE is the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English; http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/. ELFA is the English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings corpus, recorded at the universities of Helsinki and Tampere in Finland; http://www.helsinki.fi/englanti/elfa/elfacorpus.

5. Exceptions to this are some frequently used regularized past tense forms (*losed*, *teached*, etc.), and the widespread use of explicit prepositional verbs, with prepositions that would be considered redundant in native English, such as *contact with*, *discuss about*, *emphasise on*, *mention about*, *phone to*, *reject against*, *return back*, etc. (Seidlhofer 2011: 145ff).

6. Exceptions to this are words that genuinely fill semantic gaps; examples from ELFA include *visiblelise*, meaning to make something visible to other people, and *interpretee*, a person being interpreted; as Kastovsky (1986: 598) suggests – with an interesting use of "literally" – "in this century a critical mass was reached and the suffix [*-ee*] literally exploded." Elsewhere (MacKenzie 2014) I have called the habit of describing *all* nonstandard ELF usages as examples of innovation and creativity the "angelic interpretation" of ELF ... though it is perhaps worth recalling that until the mid-19th century the most common meaning of the German adjective *englisch* was "angelic" (Keller, 1994: 77-79)!

7. Google figures are unreliable, and *forbiddenness* only gets one hit each in the BNC (British National Corpus), http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/, and COCA (the Corpus of Contemporary American), http://www.americancorpus.org/.

8. Among Wilson's "actual errors" is Nabokov's use of what he describes as "the archaic and poetic" form "to listen the sound of the sea" (translating *slushat' shum morskoy*), to which Wilson objects that "in English you have to listen *to* something." Nabokov (1966) riposted with examples from Byron's *Don Juan* – "Listening debates not very wise or witty," and Tennyson's "Ode to Memory" – "Listening the lordly music."

9. Goldberg (2006: 5) included morphemes in her inventory of constructions, or conventionalized form and meaning pairings, but Booij (2010: 15) insists that "morphemes are not linguistic signs, i.e. independent pairings of form and meaning. The minimal linguistic sign is the word. […] bound morphemes form part of morphological schemas, and their meaning contribution is only accessible through the meaning of the morphological construction of which they form a part."

10. There are only seven 20th century neologisms beginning with *em-* or *en-* attested in the *OED*, and two ending with *-en*, compared with 284 *-ize* derivatives, 72 *-ate* derivatives, and 23 *-ify* words (Plag, 1999: 104, 271-3).

11. The larger a corpus, the more chance there is of words appearing more than once, but also the more scope for hapaxes, and indeed in large corpora, approximately 50% of the words (types rather than tokens) are hapaxes, as is predicted by Zipf's Law – a word's frequency is inversely proportional to its rank in the frequency table – and the shape of the curve this gives. The scope of productive rules or constructions is perhaps illustrated by the fact that while the *OED* only contains approximately 500,000 words (including 100,000 obsolete ones), the 100 million tokens in the BNC represent about 940,000 types (Plag, 2003: 50).

12. *-hood* is also now more or less unproductive, apart from witty literary creations like "The sound of the monsters of the river beginning the long journey to handbaghood broke out," from Terry Pratchett's *Pyramids* (1989), quoted in Bauer (2001: 67).

13. This is in contrast to native English speakers' implicit knowledge of remarkably complex word-formation rules for negative prefixes: see Plag (2003: 30-36).

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The Medical Recipes in the *Antidotary* in GUL MS Hunter 513 (ff. 37v–96v)

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ABSTRACT

Many Middle English medical texts contain medical recipes where remedies for various conditions are put forward. Recent scholarly research has characterised the recipe text-type from a linguistic viewpoint and also according to its elements, paying special attention to the writing tradition that the texts they are found in belong to. In this line, the present article explores and characterises the recipes contained in a 15th-century *Antidotary* found in GUL MS Hunter 513 (ff. 37v–96v) according to the two parameters mentioned. This analysis is based on the previous evaluation of the writing tradition where the text should be placed according to its composition.

Keywords: recipe, text-type, writing tradition, Middle English, antidotary, manuscript studies.

1. Introduction

The recipe as a text-type in the English vernacular can be traced back to as early as the 10th century (Carroll, 2004: 175),[2] although the term *recipe* as such to designate this text-type is not recorded until the late 14th century (Carroll, 1999: 28; Carroll, 2004: 190).[3] This does not imply that the features of recipes had to necessarily change over time; rather to the contrary, they have preserved their main features remarkably well (Görlach, 1992: 756).

Recipes have a clear writing purpose (Taavitsainen, 2001: 86; Carroll, 2004: 187), which is that of providing instructions on how to prepare some kind of medicine, meal or utility, as Taavitsainen explains (2001: 86). Different types of recipes may be found (medical, culinary, etc.), but the instructive function prevails in all cases (Quintana-Toledo, 2009: 24).[4] This is a rather broad definition of what recipes — regardless of their end purpose — are, but this article will exclusively focus on medical ones (particularly those in a scientific Middle English text, described in section 2), which were all generally aimed at providing tools or procedures to help restore a patient's condition or the balance of humours.[5]

Medical recipes are frequently encountered in medical and scientific texts throughout the medieval period. Yet, it has been claimed that not all recipes display the same features in all varieties of texts. They have been typically considered to form the basis of so-called remedybooks rather than of surgical or special medical treatises, although the last two could also contain embedded recipes — that is, those that appear integrated within longer texts (Taavitsainen, 2001: 86, 95). The differences between remedybooks and learned texts actually go beyond those regarding recipes, since they represent altogether different writing traditions. Taavitsainen, Pahta and Mäkinen, who work on the basis of the traditional division by Voigts (1986: 322), divide texts into those representing the learned tradition of writing (i.e. surgical and specialised texts), and remedies and *materia medica* (2006: 86). The learned tradition only developed in English during the late 14th century (Taavitsainen and Pahta, 1998: 159), whereas remedybooks had been in use since the 10th or 11th centuries (Voigts, 1986: 322–323). Besides, learned texts were for the most part translations of works originated in the Continent or that had been adapted from Latin sources (Pahta and Taavitsainen, 2004: 14). Each of these traditions was likely to be addressed to a particular specialised audience (i.e. learned treatises for surgeons and physicians, and remedybooks for relatively lay people), although research on the issue of readership still lies ahead (Taavitsainen, 1994: 330).

Recipes in remedybooks and learned writings vary in other two ways. On the one hand, the recipes in remedybooks have been described as relatively standardised as to their format, whereas those in learned texts tend to display a higher degree of variation (Taavitsainen, 2006: 692). These differences might relate in turn to the function of each tradition: remedybooks served as handbooks for quick reference, while learned treatises illustrated healing practices (Taavitsainen, 2006: 692). On the other, Carroll (2004: 184) has pointed out that whereas the recipes in remedybooks may be read individually (and, eventually, the order in which they are read is of little importance), those in learned texts display an organisational principle that must be borne in mind. This revolves again around the idea that remedybooks were normally used as quick reference books, as opposed to the learned tradition, which provided extensive theoretical descriptions in which recipes were embedded, hence the need for a more fixed order.

Different as the two traditions may seem, such a clear-cut division was not always that neat, especially at the end of the Middle English period. It has been widely reported that the two traditions sometimes overlapped, and this may explain, for example, that

remedybooks occasionally contained learned materials (Taavitsainen, 2006: 659). An example of this overlap is the text under study, which will be examined to assess the extent to which the recipes it presents accommodate to the variety of text it is assumed to belong to. For the purpose, its recipes will be analysed from two standpoints: linguistic elements and recipe elements.

2. Description of the treatise

The treatise under analysis is a Middle English *Antidotary* held in Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 513 (ff. 37v–96v) — hereafter H513 —, a 15th-century manuscript.[6] It is peculiar in its composition, as discussed further down, which turns it into an interesting text in which the format and features of recipes may be assessed in the light of the variety of text. Catalogued as an anonymous text (Young and Aitken 1908: 421; Cross 2004: 35), its title seems to indicate that it belongs to the remedybook tradition. Yet, it is only recently that it has been identified as a text that brings together parts of two works by two extremely reputed medieval French surgeons, Henri de Mondeville and Guy de Chauliac (Marqués-Aguado, 2008: 58–64). Compilations of texts from various sources were not uncommon in the medieval period, a practice that "is especially true for medieval English medical writings, since compilation and translation from other sources were the principal methods of textual production" (Getz, 1998: 36).[7] This attribution would then lead to the re-location of H513 under the learned tradition of writing.

The text blends part of the fifth chapter of Mondeville's surgical text (ff. 37v–88v in H513; hereafter, the "Mondeville section"), which was conceived as an antidotary itself,[8] and part of the second doctrine of the seventh (and last) book of Guy de Chauliac's *Magna Chirurgia* (ff. 88v–96v; henceforth, the "Chauliac section"). Both parts can be then safely ascribed to the group of surgical texts. The "Mondeville section" discusses the seven operations of medicines (that is, repellents or repercussives, resolutives or resolvents, maturatives or suppuratives, mundificatives or cleansing medicines, incarnatives, corrosives and ruptories [or caustic medicines], and finally remollitives or emollients) from a rather theoretical viewpoint, whereas the "Chauliac section" provides a series of remedies for several ailments arranged *a capite ad pedem*, that is, from head to foot — the typical organisation deriving from Greek times. This implies that, notwithstanding their similarities as learned texts, the two sections pursue different aims and follow different organisational principles.

It must be stressed that an additional source for certain recipes in H513 has been identified through reading and later comparison to another copy of the text, as found in Nicaise's modern translation into French (1893). This comparison has evinced that the "Mondeville section" in H513 contains certain recipes (see Table 1 below) that are not attested in the copy in French. Additional evidence deriving from the occasional disruption of coherence in the description and/or enumeration of recipes supports the existence of a distinct (and unidentified) source for such recipes. An example will suffice at this point: the added recipes in f. 45v introduce three plasters which come

immediately after a list of five types of ointments, but the link between both sets is not evident or even explained, nor is the link between the recipes themselves. The reader is also left to assume that these served the same purpose, since this is not explicitly mentioned in some recipes. On other occasions, as in ff. 72v–73r, the number of recipes is coherently presented in the Middle English text, although this may entail the addition of one recipe compared to the French copy. The insertion of such foreign or interpolated material was not a rare practice in medieval times, when it was possible to add material from elsewhere to a copy being made, or to conflate texts (as with H513). In the text under scrutiny no overt device marks these recipes as foreign material and no source is ever mentioned, although some of them are also found in the *Leechbook* edited by Dawson (1934). This conflation of material is especially interesting for an analysis of the recipes in H513 from the point of view of writing traditions.

Interestingly enough, there are also recipes in the "Chauliac section" that appear not only in this surgical text, but also in the *Leechbook* mentioned above (Dawson, 1934). However, and contrary to what we find in the "Mondeville section", this material has not been inserted into Chauliac's text from elsewhere, but rather extraposed from it and re-used in another text from a different writing tradition. As a matter of fact, the recipes that have been transferred to the *Leechbook* (e.g. one for the eyes by Master Peter of Spain, or one for head problems by Master Anselme of Janua, reproduced in (29) below) are also preserved in Nicaise's French translation of Chauliac's text (1890), as well as in Ogden's edition in Middle English (1971). This is especially noteworthy, as it implies that borrowing of material worked both ways.[9]

In order to analyse the differences between the recipes in the two sections and in the interpolated material, a linguistic analysis of the recipes, along with a study of their elements, will be particularly helpful with a view to assessing they way in which this "transmission into another tradition" (Taavitsainen, 2001: 94) was carried out in H513. In doing so, the peculiarities and specificities of the text surveyed will be brought to light.

3. Analysis of the recipes in H513

The medical recipes in H513 have been manually extracted from the corresponding transcription of the text.[10] The recipes, which amount to 193, are distributed into the "Mondeville section" and the "Chauliac section" as shown in Table 1 (first column), where the number of recipes per chapter in each section is provided. The interpolated material is counted for the "Mondeville section" — there being no interpolated material into the "Chauliac section":

SECTION	CHAPTER	NUMBER OF RECIPES	NUMBER OF INTERPOLATIONS	TOTALS
"Mondeville section"	Chapter 1	13	2	15
	Chapter 2	19	3	22
	Chapter 3	18	0	18
	Chapter 4	22	0	22
	Chapter 5	31	1	32
	Chapter 6	34	4	38
	Chapter 7	7	1	8
	TOTAL	**144**	**11**	**155**
"Chauliac section"	Chapter 1	8	0	8
	Chapter 2	17	0	17
	Chapter 3	2	0	2
	Chapter 4	2	0	2
	Chapter 5	2	0	2
	Chapter 6	8	0	8
	Chapter 7	8	0	8
	Chapter 8	2	0	2
	TOTAL	**49**	**0**	**49**

Table 1. Distribution of recipes into sections and chapters

Although the "Chauliac section" is shorter (c. 9 folios) than the "Mondeville section" (c. 50 folios), the proportion of recipes it contains is clearly higher. This may be explained by the fact that the "Chauliac section" focuses on remedies rather than on theoretical discussions, as explained in section 2. The second chapter in the "Chauliac section" stands out, as it gathers more than 30% of the total number of recipes in the section. The figures also reveal that the interpolations are not evenly distributed across the chapters in the "Mondeville section", although there are not salient differences either.

The analysis of the recipes in H513 presented below is twofold and focuses on linguistic features and recipe elements.[11] This brings together earlier work on the identification of recipe elements such as composition, application, procedure, etc. (see Stannard 1982 or Hunt 1990), and more recent research on the linguistic elements of recipes (e.g. Görlach, 1992; Carroll, 1999; or Taavitsainen, 2001).

3.1. Analysis of linguistic features

Carroll's and Taavitsainen's proposals have been used as complementary sources of information for this analysis, and the following features have been explored: form of the title or heading, 'telegrammatic' style, verb forms, personal and possessive pronouns, object deletion, temporal structuring and parataxis.

3.1.1. Form of the title or heading

Scholars report that recipes in remedybooks are often introduced by a noun phrase plus postmodification, or else by a phrase starting with 'for'. In turn, in learned treatises the purpose of the remedy must be normally inferred from the context and there are indexing devices other than 'for', such as 'another', 'also', etc. (Taavitsainen, 2001: 99; Carroll, 2004: 181).

As explained above, most of the recipes in the "Mondeville section" are integrated within the theoretical background that discusses the properties and some general remarks of each of the seven operations of medicines, hence the shift from expository to instructive fragments, and vice versa. In each chapter, various groups of remedies (oils, ointments, powders, etc.) are provided. Chapter two may serve as a good example: it includes six oils, five ointments, three plasters and four cataplasms, plus three interpolated recipes that follow the ointments, as mentioned in section 2. The different sets of remedies are introduced by sentences such as "at þis tyme ther ben*e* sixe maner of oyles" (f. 44r) or "Al so ther ben*e* ·5· ruptories | the which bene good to our*e* purpos" (f. 71v), and then the enumeration of the various remedies follows, as shown in (1):

(1) **Ther ben*e* ·4· cataplasmas the whiche ben*e* good to owre purpos** ¶ **The fyrste** take […] ||
¶ **The secou*n*de** take […]
¶ **The thyrde** ~ […]
~~T~~he· 4· is our*e* owne cataplasma […] (ff. 46v–47r)

The interpolated material, however, is introduced by sentences like "A good enplaster for to breeke bones and| for sodeyn*e* goutes for styches *and* sodeyn*e* bollyng| *and* vncome ache", "A| nother Take þe Inner rynde" and "A · good Emplaster for hoot enpostumes" (f. 45v); "A| cataplasma take betoyne" (ff. 59r–59v); "A nother p*re*cious powder", "A nother pouder" and "A wasshing for the same olde sore" (ff. 69v–70r); or "A nother oynement" (ff. 85v–86r). Some of the recipes, therefore, make use of devices that are normally expected for learned texts, like the use of 'another'.

In the "Chauliac section" the theoretical discussion is substantially curtailed so that the heading plays a much more prominent role. Chapters are preceded by rubricated titles that indicate the set of medicines discussed, following the *a capite ad pedem* arrangement. These remedies are introduced with very few linking devices, as shown in (2), extracted from chapter 4. In some cases, 'for' is used to introduce a recipe, a device that scholars link to remedybooks rather than to learned texts:

(2) The 4 chapet*er*
is of helpyng of the sculderis and the bakke
For akþe of Shuldres medle marciatou*n* and
agrippa to ged*er* for gibbosite of þe bakke Aui=
cen preiseth the emplast*er* of Achorus ¶ Take
Achorus Elena campana sauine ana j q*uar*t*er* bdelli=

> um di*m* q*uart* castor*um* ana *ounce·* sethe hem wi*th* wyne
> and oyle tylle þat þe wyne and þe oyle be con=
> sumed and of þe same oyle with wexe make an
> oynement ¶ **Ciragra manu*m* is cured as ben**
> **oþ*er* fleumatik enpostumes** but a speciall Em=
> plaster of Munpellers made of reed cole soþen*e*
> with the lẏe of wode asshen and a lytell vi=
> neger and a litell salte grounden to gedyr / (f. 93r)

3.1.2. 'Telegrammatic' style

Sentences are complete, as explained in Carroll (1999: 29), hence avoiding the so-called 'telegrammatic' style. All the examples in this article, whether extracted from the two learned sections or from the interpolated material, show sentence completeness.

3.1.3. Verb forms

As with present-day English, medieval recipes make extensive use of the imperative (Carroll, 1999: 30; Carroll, 2004: 180–181). This feature is particularly evident in the first word(s) of the recipes, which are normally verbs related to cooking, as remarked by Taavitsainen (2001: 99–100). In turn, modals such as 'shall' or verbs in the subjunctive are typically avoided.

The imperative prevails in both sections, although 'shall' followed by a verb in the passive voice may be also encountered. Likewise, the subjunctive is quite common when presenting hypothetical situations (with 'if'), as in (3) and (4):

> (3) hit
> **shall be made** thus The go*m*mes **shall be temp*er*ed**
> in vinegr*e **and*** **dissolued** w*ith* a lente fire and þe reme=
> n*a*unt **shall be made** as it is saide a forne (f. 71v)

> (4) And **yf þat a man holde** þis drynke it is good
> token*e **and*** **yf he brake** hit vppe a yene it is yuell
> token (f. 88v)

The interpolated material shows a high number of imperative forms, too, although in those cases where subordinate clauses are employed (conditional or purpose ones, mainly), the subjunctive is also used, as in (5):

> (5) and than **do** hit yn a panne over the fyre and **stere**
> hit well **þat it brenne** not to the bothume (f. 40r)

3.1.4. Personal and possessive pronouns

Carroll shows that possessive pronouns may appear (1999: 30), but again the different varieties of texts show diverging patterns, and remedybooks are more likely to include personal pronouns than academic treatises. The alternative is that of articles, which are

reported to be more frequent in learned treatises. Taavitsainen, in turn, is more concerned with the use of either passive constructions or more personal ones (2001: 100–101) and, according to her and in line with Carroll's views, personal guidance is more common in remedybooks (with first and second person pronouns), whereas passive or more detached constructions typically feature in surgical tracts.

In this vein, it is interesting to note that the interpolated material in H513 does show second person constructions — an example is found in (6) —, although passives also appear, as in (7):

(6) And at yche
tyme **þu leyst** it on*e* leẏ a plaster of resolutiue
a bove for it wolle swelle þe flessh (f. 70r)

(7) and stere eu*er*mor*e*
well **tyll þe iuse be consumed** so that ther leve
nothing but as it were the oyle (f. 86r)

In the "Chauliac section" passives and detached constructions presenting either the disease or the remedy as the subject are recurrent, as in (8), although second person pronouns are occasionally found, as in (9). In these cases, active constructions with personal subjects ("su*m*mel men" in (9), the name of a scholar, etc.) are also used:

(8) Vlceraciou*n*s of þe yerde
shalbe wasshen w*ith* water of allu*m*me (f. 94v)

(9) and **þu shalt wonder·manẏ me*n* boyle**
lyterge bẏ hym selfe w*ith* vineger and **su*m*me**
men adde þ*er* to a litell Ceruse (f. 90v)

As for the "Mondeville section", constructions with the second person pronoun are used not only in the recipes, but also in the theoretical discussion preceding lists of remedies, as in (10). Passages such as (11), which shows a persistent use of personal and possessive second person pronouns, are however comparatively infrequent. These examples oppose the tendency described for learned writing. It must be stressed, though, that second person pronouns are mostly found in subordinate clauses:

(10) and yf
þou wylte make it better stampe fresshe herbes as **þu** ||
doyst a fore […]
and seith it and streyne it as **þu** dedyst
a fore (ff. 40r–40v)

(11) medecynes that be co*m*pound ¶ ffor yf **þu** decocte
onẏ sympell medecyns þat fallen*e* to **þi** purpos
þu shalt foment þe place w*ith* þe water of **þyn**
decoctiou*n* tyll þat hit wex reed and swelle *and*
anone after leẏ to **thẏ** medecyns þ*a*t be good to
thy purpos ¶ And yf so be þat whan þu resolues (f. 47v)

3.1.5. Object deletion

According to Carroll and Taavitsainen, object deletion is rare in medical recipes (1999: 31 and 2001: 100, respectively), and this holds true in H513, too, both in the interpolated material (see (12)), and in the two sections, as shown in (13). These examples show, however, that PDE 'to lay' is sometimes found without an object, as opposed to the other verbs:

(12) and **seeþe** hem to the thyknesse
of an Enplaster and **leẏ** to the soor*e* all hoote (f. 45v)

(13) **encorp*er*e** hem vp on þe fyre *and* **make**
an emplaster *and* **ley** ther to (f. 96v)

Nonetheless, the very nature of recipes, in which instructions are provided and imperatives are therefore frequent, makes objects be hardly ever omitted; otherwise, incomplete messages would have been rendered, possibly producing severe consequences on patients.

3.1.6. Temporal structuring

Generally speaking, recipes follow the chronological order to prepare the corresponding remedy, so that the wording reproduces the procedure (see also Taavitsainen, 2001: 98). This usually implies the addition of lexical items (especially 'then') to reinforce the sequencing of the various steps, as in (14), taken from the "Mondeville section". This lexical choice goes hand in hand with the preference for imperatives:

(14) tylle
þ*a*t þe honẏe be thykke **and þan** adde ther
to other honẏe tylle þat it be fluxible ~ (f. 55r)

In the "Chauliac section" there are also temporal linking devices, although they are not as common as in the "Mondeville section", coordination being preferred, as shown in (15):

(15) The ·2·
is putte oþ*er* sette a gommor for to white and
make clene þe visage and Rasis techith hit ¶
Take flour*e* of Chiches of benes of barlye off
almaundes blaunched dragagant ana oone p*ar*tie þe seed Radych half yn one partie **make**
pouder þer of **and distemp*ere*** it w*ith* mylke **and**
anoynte þe visage þer with all be nyght ***and*** ‖
wasshe it in þe mor nyng w*ith* water of bre*n*ne (ff. 90r–90v)

Interpolations also contain certain lexical items to reinforce the sequencing of steps to be followed, such as the conjunction 'when' followed by 'then', as in (16), or a series or coordinated clauses, sometimes reinforced with 'then', as in (17):

(16) **And**
whan þe grece is stamped with the herbes **þan lete** he*m*
stonde infuse (f. 40r)

(17) **and seeþe** he*m* in whi=
te wyne tylle þeẏ be softe **and þan put** þ*er*to
3· *ounce* of brynne **and seeþe** hem (f.45v)

These examples show that, in general, and despite the occasional use of 'then', the temporal structuring of the recipes widely relies on coordination using 'and'.

3.1.7. Parataxis

As also put forward in the relevant literature (e.g. Carroll, 1999: 31), most of the recipes in the text (particularly the section where the procedure is described) contain long series of short coordinate clauses, the majority of which include cooking verbs such as 'seethe', 'boil', 'take', etc., as already shown in the preceding examples, particularly those in section 3.1.6.

In the case of the interpolations, however, juxtaposition is favoured, as shown in (18):

(18) A
cataplasma **take** betoyne violet fenell planteyn
daysie ana a *pound* **stampe** hem smalle **do** ther
to ·2· *pound* and a q*uarter*ou*n* greese and .2· *pound* and a ‖
quart*er* honye **Seeth** hem (ff. 59r–59v)

3.2. Analysis of recipe elements

According to Stannard, the following types of information (also called *Fachinformation*) can be found in recipes: purpose; ingredients, equipment and

procedure; application and administration; rationale; and incidental data (1982: 60–65). Out of these, only the procedure was compulsory (Carroll, 2004: 179).[12]

3.2.1. Purpose

The purpose of a remedy may appear either at the beginning or at the end of the recipe (Mäkinen, 2006: 88–89).

The interpolated material shows a similar number of initial and end positions for the purpose section, with sentences such as "A good enplaster for to breeke bones and| for sodeyn*e* goutes for styches *and* sodeyn*e* bollyng| *and* vncome ache" (f. 45v) or the one in (19), which follows from (18):

(19) Seeth hem all to gedir tyll it be wel
medelyd **This wille hele onẏ soore whan it is cle*n*=**
sid (f. 59v)

In the "Mondeville section", as explained above, the general purpose of a series of remedies is many a time inferred from the general and theoretical discussion at the beginning of each chapter, as in (20). Whenever there is a specific purpose, this is commonly set at the end of the recipe, as shown in (21). This is particularly evident in the recipe for common diachylon: the purposes it may serve are explained at length in f. 46v, after describing its composition:

(20) And **þese maturatiues þat folowen*e* ben good**
in grete hoote furious materis and ther be· 5·
of hem (f. 49v)

(21) The ·4· take the
fylthe of a man*n* medelyd w*ith* honẏe / brenne
hem to gedyr and make pouder þ*er* of and leẏ
hit to **hit corrodith nobelẏ well and grevith**
but lytell (f. 69r)

In the case of the "Chauliac section", which lacks such lengthy expository sections, the purpose is overtly conveyed sometimes through longer sentences (22), and some other times through more concise statements (23):

(22) **Firste for torcions of þe wombe** is preysed
well þat growith a twixe the schepis legg*es* (f. 93v)

(23) Rupt*ur*e ‖
hathe ·3· helpes ¶ The first is an electuarie· (ff. 94v–95r)

3.2.2. Ingredients, equipment and procedure

The length of the procedure varies depending on the recipe and, in most cases, there is a passing comment on the specific equipment required, if any. An extremely succinct case can be found in the "Mondeville section", reproduced in (24), in which only the ingredients are listed for each remedy, along with the purpose. No further explanations are given:

(24) Ther bene poudres and oyneme*n*tis þe which
ben*e* made of these sympel medecines a foresaide
of the whiche ther bene ·4·¶ The fyrst **take smalle**
frank encense aloes sang dragou*n* and it regenderyth
flessh som dele and encarnyth al so¶The ·2· **take**
smalle frankencense one p*ar*tie saunk dragou*n* ·2· par=
ties calce viue ·3· parties ¶ The ·3de· **take 2 parties**
of sarcocolle saunk dragou*n* balaucia ana one ~
partie olibanu*m* di*m* one partie hit streyneth blood
and þer with the flessh ¶ The ·4^{the}· **Take saunkdragou*n***
aloes sarcocol mastik coperos ana (f. 59v)

Yet, the relevant literature reports a difference between the two traditions of writing regarding measurements and quantities, since learned treatises are usually more precise than remedybooks (Taavitsainen, 2001: 103). Nonetheless, the interpolated material in H513 is fairly specific in terms of measures and quantities, as shown in (25), inasmuch as general statements such as 'handful', 'halpennywoth' and so on, are mostly avoided:[13]

(25) A wasshing for the same olde sore
Take · **3 *ounce* of** white wyn **j *ounce*** vinegre **j *ounce*** honẏe
j *ounce* salte boyle hem well to gedyr a litell
whyle and whanne þe sor*e* hath good flessh
wasshe hit eu*er*ẏ daẏe tylle hit be hoole (f. 70r)

By the same token, quantities such as 'a virreful', 'a gobeletful' or 'ana' (which indicates the same amount but at times lacks an indication of the specific amount required, as in the last line in (24)) are occasionally used in the two learned sections, although more specific weights are normally provided (ounces, drams, etc.).

3.2.3. Application and administration

This element comprises information regarding dosage, frequency and time of application, etc. (Mäkinen, 2006: 91).

Whereas the procedure is fairly long and detailed in the interpolated material, information on application and administration is rarely found, with only one case, i.e. "leẏ hit to hoot" (f. 45v).

In the "Mondeville section" there are quite a few indications regarding the application of a remedy (i.e. whether it should be applied hot or cold, whether cotton

should be employed for the purpose, how many times, etc.), although many recipes still lack detailed information on this matter, as (26) and (27) show:

(26) and **leẏ it**
to the place where þou wylte w*ith* cotton wet=
te yn spetill (f. 69r)

(27) ley hit to **twyes on þe daẏe** (f. 69v)

The "Chauliac section" is similar to the interpolated material in that there are few references to the dosage or the time of application, one of which is shown in (28). Many times, the recipe ends with the last step in the procedure (for instance, 'and make a plaster') and omits any reference to the application, maybe because this knowledge was assumed on the part of the reader:

(28) and giffe þe pacient **a gob=**
bet fulle to drinke whanne he goith to bedde (f. 93v)

3.2.4. Rationale

The rationale, that is, the arguments supplied to support the potency of a remedy, is also optional. According to Jones, efficacy phrases are a subtype of tags or phrases which "attest to the value of a given remedy" and in most cases are given in Latin, even if the recipe is entirely rendered in English (1998: 199–200). Her study focuses on the material extracted from a manuscript that seems to conform to the remedybook format and concludes that these elements are frequent. The interpolated material in H513, however, does not contain efficacy phrases.

Statements about the rationale of the recipes in the "Mondeville section" are infrequent, since most recipes come to a sharp end after the procedure is given, as shown in (24). One of the few exceptions is the seventh incarnative powder, which is said to be "þe beste" (f. 61r). This suggests, therefore, that the rationale is probably one of the least important recipe elements in this section.

In turn, the "Chauliac section" shows a certain tendency to present the rationale for remedies featuring short tags such as "and þou shalt wonder" or "for hit is experte and proued", which are nevertheless assumed to be more common in remedybooks (Taavitsainen, 2001: 104).

3.2.5. Incidental data

This comprises anecdotes or citations to other scholars. Taavitsainen's claim that the recipes in remedybooks rarely provide detailed references to the source from which they derive, whereas those in learned treatises are fairly exact (2001: 100–102), is not completely fulfilled in H513. In this sense, only 8 of the 49 recipes in the "Chauliac section" contain the name of the scholar who is credited with a particular remedy; anecdotes are also found, as in (29). There are also some vague references, like the one

in example (9) — "to su*m*mel men" —, which are nonetheless more typical of remedybooks:

> (29) The·5· fourme is an
> emplastru*m* capitale of **Mayster Anselme of Ie=**
> **ne** And it drawith quiture and reyseth vppe
> bones and encarnyth and helyth And **mayst*er***
> **Peers Bonaunte** seyde þat he had preved
> hit in an houndes hede þat was hurte in to þe
> breynes and helyd hym (f. 89r)

The proportion is even more reduced in the "Mondeville section", where only two recipes include the name of an acknowledged scholar, as in (30).[14] Actually, much of the theoretical material in this section suppresses references to the scholars or works that discuss a particular type of medicine or a given remedy, only noticeable when the text is compared to Nicaise's translation into French (1893).

> (30) hit helith oolde canke=
> rẏe soores and þe same kankers yef theẏ be newe
> a malu*m* mortuu*m* and oþ*er* suche *and* **henricus de Amonda**
> **Villa** seieth he fonde noo bett*er* medecyn*e* amo*n*ge su=
> che maner medecines þanne þis **A duche man**
> **þat was cladde all in sky*n*nes w*ith* outen*e* clooþe** þat
> brought þis medecyne fyrst to parys And these
> twoo laste oynementis. a fore saide disceyue þe paci=
> ent for theẏ be not grene (f. 71r)

At the end of the cline we find that none of the interpolated recipes actually mentions any scholar. Therefore, it seems that the "Chauliac section" has preserved this feature of the learned tradition of writing to a greater extent, although with some changes.

4. Conclusions

This study has laid bare the peculiar composition of H513, casting light on the various components that contribute to this *Antidotary* and on the varieties of text that each of them represents. The reasons why they may have come together may be manifold, but they are probably connected with the medieval lack of concern for authorship and the subsequent liking for excision, conflation and blending of texts, paired up, of course, with the utilitarian principle of serving the needs of the user.

Whereas two distinctive sections have been identified as Middle English translations of learned texts, certain material in the form of recipes has been inserted into one of the sections, the "Mondeville section". It must be assumed, however, that these have been placed in the precise points where they serve the purpose of the medicine being discussed, since no clear explanation is given. The facts that this material is also found

in a leechbook and that the same leechbook also renders other recipes in the "Chauliac section" suggest that this text testifies to the flow of material from one tradition to the other.

As for the elements surveyed, the analysis shows diverging patterns for the three sections, both in terms of linguistic features and of recipe elements. The interpolated material does comply with most expected linguistic features, although some parameters (for instance, the use of 'another' in some titles or headings, the presence of passive and detached constructions, the definiteness and precision of measurements, or the lack of efficacy phrases) diverge from the prototypical recipes of remedybooks. At any rate, it seems safe to identify this interpolated material as having been taken from some other Middle English remedybook, rather than a learned treatise. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that some of these recipes come up in the *Leechbook* edited by Dawson. Although no systematic comparison with all the other witnesses of the treatise has been carried out, such foreign material is also attested in Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 95 and London, British Library, MS Sloane 2463, which implies that the interpolated material came to be considered part of the treatise and of its tradition. The recipes in the sections deriving from the learned texts do not always conform to the prototype of this tradition, and even show differences between them. On the one hand, the "Chauliac section" displays some features that would be expected in remedybooks, such as the use of prepositional phrases with 'for' to introduce a recipe, the sporadic use of second person pronouns, the vagueness of certain measurements or the use of short tags for the rationale, even though its authorship — and, hence, its placement under the learned tradition of writing — cannot be questioned. On the other hand, the "Mondeville section" follows the expected conventions to a greater extent, particularly those concerning linguistic devices. For instance, in this section the organisational principle is especially important, inasmuch as the purpose of many remedies is developed in the preceding theoretical discussion. It occasionally departs from the prototypical recipe in learned texts, as with the use of second person pronouns, the vagueness of some measurements and the lack of incidental data. The text under examination is, therefore, a good example of the exchange of traditions at the level of recipe construction and rendering.

There are further differences between the two learned sections that do not seem to relate however to the peculiarities of the writing tradition they are placed in, but rather respond to purely textual preferences. These concern aspects such as the mechanisms used to foster temporal structuring, the preference for parataxis or juxtaposition, the statement of the purpose of a recipe (as well as the position this occupies in the recipe), or the presence or absence of information on the application of a remedy.

Notes

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2. A general definition and characterisation of recipes may be found in Görlach (1992: 738–739). The term *text-type* is used throughout to refer to recipes since this article is primarily concerned with the linguistic features that they display, rather than with their function, which would correspond to the term *genre* (see Carroll, 2004: 178, 186 and Quintana-Toledo, 2009: 23–24, among others).

3. In fact, the entry for 'recipe' in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v.) does not provide any quotation dating to before the mid-16th century.

4. Gorlach's 1992 article focuses on the cookery recipe as a text-type. In turn, Hieatt edits and comments culinary recipes (1996) and Grund accounts for the conventions of alchemical recipes (2003).

5. The theory of humours was first advanced by the Greeks and suggested that the human body was, in a certain way, a microcosm of the universe, so that "[j]ust as the universe was made up of the four basic elements fire (hot and dry), water (cold and wet), earth (cold and dry) and air (hot and wet), so too the body depended for its existence upon four corresponding humours: choler or yellow bile, phlegm or mucus, black bile, and blood" (Rawcliffe, 1995: 31). Good health was the result of the balance of the four humours.

6. Other copies of the same text are held in Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 95 (ff. 156r–184r); London, British Library, MSS Sloane 2463 (ff. 153v–193v) and Sloane 3486 (ff. 3–18); New York, Academy of Medicine, MS 13 (ff. 152r–188v); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1468 (ff. 139–171).

7. The same idea is found in Pahta, who states that "many surviving treatises are not original compositions in the modern sense of the word, but conflated texts assembled from various sources" (1998: 16). Taavitsainen, Pahta and Mäkinen highlight that these borrowing practices applied to learned medical writings and remedybooks alike (2006: 84).

8. This term is used to refer to compound medicines (Mäkinen, 2006: 86), which were formed with simple ones (see, for instance, Nicaise, 1893: 742). The term *antidotary* has been usually linked to collections of medical recipes (i.e. remedybooks).

9. A similar situation has been described by Taavitsainen (2001: 94–95) regarding the famous *Compendium Medicinae*, by Gilbertus Anglicus.

10. This text belongs to the corpus being compiled with this far unedited Middle English scientific texts and which can be consulted at <http://hunter.uma.es>. Since the transcription has been employed, the layout and the orthographic and linguistic peculiarities of the text are reproduced in the examples below (colour excepted), with no correction or editorial intervention. Bold indicates the element under discussion in each section, | indicates a line break and || a page break.

11. A similar proposal can be found in Alonso-Almeida (1998–1999).

12. Carroll also discusses recipes in terms of their prototypicality, according to which they "were based upon short, paratactic, imperative clauses" (2004: 179). Additionally, they "prefaced this procedural component with a heading, included specification of ingredients to be used, and ended with an application component" (Carroll, 2004: 189).

13. Quantities were sometimes omitted either because of scribal lack of acquaintance with medical theory or measures, or else because these were taken to be common knowledge (Alonso-Almeida, 1998–1999: 57–58).

14. These names may have been considered superfluous in the process of subsequent copying, or else no need was felt to add them. At any rate, the lack of references does not reveal a lack of erudition, but rather testifies to the medieval habit of not acknowledging the sources due to the lack of concern for authority.

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From pathology to invisibility: age identity as a cultural construct in vampire fiction

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ABSTRACT

A diachronic analysis of the way the literary vampire has been characterised from the Victorian era up to the contemporary period underlines a clear evolution that seems particularly relevant from the perspective of ageing studies. One of the permanent features characterising the fictional vampire from its origins to its current manifestations in literature is precisely the vampire's disaffection with the effects of ageing in spite of its old chronological age. Nonetheless, even though the vampire's appearance does not age, the way it has been presented in literature has significantly evolved from a remarkable aged look during the Victorian period in John Polidori's "The Vampyre: A Tale" (1819), Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's *Carmilla* (1872) or Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) to young adulthood in Anne Rice's *An Interview with the Vampire* (1976) and Charlaine Harris' *Dead Until Dark* (2001), adolescence in Stephenie Meyer's *Twilight* (2005-2008), and even childhood in John Ajvide Lindquist's *Let the Right One In* (2004), thus underlining a significant process of rejuvenation through time despite the vampire's apparent disaffection with the effects of ageing. This article shows how the representations of the vampire in literature reflect a shift from the embodiment of pathology to the invisibility, or the denial, of old age and how this, in turn, reflects cultural conceptualisations and perceptions of ageing.

Keywords: discourses of ageing, vampire fiction, cultural construct, pathology, invisibility

1. Introduction

As has been traditionally depicted in different cultural manifestations such as literature and cinema, the vampire can be defined as an apparently human being that does not look its chronological age and is not affected by the passage of time or the effects of ageing. In fact, the vampire conceals its blatant old age under the guise of youth, thus subverting any socially and culturally constructed standards respectively attached to youth and old age. In its capacity to deceive as well as in its ability to challenge standards, the figure of the vampire has conventionally been perceived as an abject embodiment of fear, otherness, and evil. Significantly enough, in the domain of literature the vampire mostly began to proliferate in many gothic narratives published during the Victorian period, which was a time when, according to critics such as Teresa Mangum, ageing also became an issue of widespread interest and concern in different fields of knowledge. Consequently, it can be argued that the concern about ageing in the Victorian period seemed to find its reflection in the proliferation of vampire narratives. In fact, it can be claimed that, to Victorians, the literary vampire became the quintessential cultural embodiment of old age, as it personified many tenets related to the discourses of ageing that prevailed at the time.

In the Victorian period, interest in old age was perceived in the creation of the elderly subject as a category in the medical discourse as well as in the increasing need for public provision in old age. In this respect, Karen Chase refers to the Victorian concern with ageing stemming from the fact that, even though "modernisation did not greatly extend the age of mortality […] the decline of mortality rates in childhood and in youth swelled the numbers at the other end" (2009: 4). Consequently, although the age of mortality did not sharply rise throughout the century, owing to the gradual improvement of infant and youth mortality more people could survive past childhood and thus grow into subsequent phases of the life course, including old age. Nonetheless, according to Robert Butler, the social disease of ageism also began to take shape at the time and old age became endowed with judgements of mental or even moral incapability in addition to presumptions of declining health. As a matter of fact, Thomas Cole comments on Victorian ageism through the connection between the scientific 'normalisation' of the aged and the lack of moral restraint that the aged were alleged to exhibit. In this sense, Cole argues that "the primary virtues of Victorian morality – independence, health, success – required constant control over one's body and physical energies," while, conversely, the aged body became "a reminder of the limits of self-control" and "came to signify what bourgeois culture hoped to avoid: dependence, disease, failure, and sin" (1983: 35). Hence, according to Cole, the aged represented a blind spot in the Victorian morality of self-control.

Likewise, public imagination had to contend with significantly contradictory images of ageing as a golden period in life as well as portraits of the aged as a mass of dependent people that began to menace the common welfare of the nation. In vampire fiction, vampires are often portrayed as heroic-antagonists or living-dead people, thus making use of contradictory terms which underline their oxymoronic nature, implying

that they are endowed with a particular centrality while underlining their subversive nature at the same time. In this sense, in vampire narratives there is always a special concern not to trust appearances, as the physique of the vampire is by nature necessarily deceitful and its body does not match its chronological age. The figure of the vampire thus subverts any social need to categorise people according to age by means of their appearance but it also challenges the traditionally established Cartesian dilemma separating mind and body in old age. In fact, in his treatise on *De Senectute*, written c.65 BC, which, according to Karen Chase, still resounded in Victorian times, Cicero already pointed at this difference between mind and body in relation to youth and old age stating that: "I admire a young man who has something of the old man in him, so do I an old one who has something of a young man. The man who aims at this may possibly become old in body – in mind he never will" (2009: 59). Cicero thus already pointed at the differing effects that age may have on the body and the mind respectively, but he also defended the thesis that youth and old age should remain blended in the individual. This argument gave shape to the issue of mind-body schism which has pervaded ageing studies taking into consideration the different impact that, in some cases, age may respectively have on the mind and the body of the ageing individual. In this respect, the dichotomy between mind and body with regard to ageing was transposed and profusely explored in vampire fiction inasmuch as the vampire becomes an embodiment of both youth and age: in body, the vampire has a younger appearance than its chronological age while, in mind, the vampire is often portrayed as haunted by the old memories of an unusually protracted life even if its body remains untouched by the effects of time.

The fact of coming to terms with an individual's age also became quite an intricate matter in the nineteenth-century. As a matter of fact, those authorities responsible for deciding when to give aid to the elderly, as was the case with the Poor Law Guardians, did not label anyone only according to their chronological age. Instead, as Teresa Mangum asserts, individuals were assumed to be ageing when they manifested a set of conditions such as behavioural infirmity and physical deterioration. In this respect, Helen Small has also noticed the disparity existing between chronological age and the individual's physical conditions, which is a basic feature that characterises the figure of the vampire. In fact, to use Helen Small's words, "the age we feel is not necessarily the same as our calendrical age, nor is the same as how we are perceived, or how we register ourselves being perceived by others" (2007: 3). Given the complexity that asserting one's age entailed, medical studies began to focus on specific signs that would aid in categorising somebody as past its prime. In this respect, Stephen Katz has examined the impact of medical studies on the perception of old age in the Victorian period to the extent of considering that these perceptions paved the ground for the establishment of geriatrics and gerontology at the beginning of the twentieth century.

According to these medical studies, as Teresa Mangum further develops, the body gradually became fixed through the description of a set of biological signs that would ultimately be regarded as indicators of health or deterioration. In fact, medical approaches usually entertained two contradictory perceptions of how old age came

about. According to the vitality model, old age was perceived as the gradual draining of energy and ability while, conversely, another theoretical model argued that old age suddenly emerged as a result of a grand climacteric, which involved a considerably abrupt physical collapse, loss of sexual identity, and mental deviance. This dichotomy between gradual or sudden transformation also features in fictional accounts of the vampire's process of coming into being, which varies from a gradual transition such as in the loss of innocence and initiation into vampirism of formerly 'angels of the house' like Laura in Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's *Carmilla* (1872) or Lucy in Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) to the almost instantaneous transformation of the living into the living dead, following baptism by another vampire as is the case with Renfield in Bram Stoker's seminal novel. Likewise, also from a medical perspective, Victorians became fond of perusing accounts which promised eternal youth and revealed ways of prolonging life. The proliferation of vampire narratives mirrored some of the eccentric experimental practices that took place at the time such as injections of crushed animal testicles, which aimed at rejuvenating and improving sexual performance, or the literal transfusion of blood, which again bore close resemblance with vampiric practices whereby the vampire nourishes on blood so as to attain an ever-lasting life, thus echoing contemporary medical practices of blood transfusions that promised to prolong youth and restore an ill body back to its healthy condition.

Likewise, from the perspective of gender, men and women were deemed aged according to different criteria, as men were often perceived as old in relation to their ability to work, whereas women were considered aged according to their reproductive capability rather than their productive potential (Mangum, 2005: 99). Hence, as a cultural reflection, in vampire fiction male and female vampires also come into being as a result of different circumstances which are necessarily conditioned by gender. Male vampires are often transformed into such in order to help other male vampires and increase their number and their power, whereas female vampires are usually transformed once they have gained insight into their own sexuality. As a matter of fact, Dracula chooses Renfield to be his servant and help him to achieve his evil purposes, while early poems and short pieces of literary vampire tradition often portrayed female vampires as temptresses. As cases in point, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's "Die freundin von Corinth" ("The Bride of Corinth", 1797), Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "Christabel" (1797-1800), and Théophile Gautier's "La morte amoureuse" ("The Dead in Love", 1836) are early exponents of women's overt displays of sexuality enthralling young men. Women making advances towards men were necessarily depicted as female vampires, that is, as fallen women who dared trespass moral boundaries that were banned to pious and virtuous 'angels of the house'.

From a sociological perspective, the focus of attention on ageing in Victorian times also responded to the fact that birth rates began to drop while the population of those who were over forty started rising significantly. Even though life expectancy did not really increase during the Victorian period, there was the widespread impression that England was growing old exponentially as the number of aged people began to attract unprecedented attention in legislation, medicine and in literature to the extent that it is

asserted that ageing could be interpreted as an eminently Victorian media event (Mangum, 2005: 102). Nonetheless, this prevalent feeling that the nation was growing aged contributed to an ongoing discourse of ageism in the sense that the elderly were perceived as past the age when society accepted dependency on individuals and, hence, the aged began to be held in contempt in a period particularly characterised by progress and production, scientific breakthroughs, and imperial expansion. Likewise, changes in legislation reduced pensions and pressured families to take care of their elders through private initiatives, while some cultural precepts at the time such as Thomas Malthus' theory of the growth of the population, Samuel Smiles' volume promoting self-help, or Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory also contributed to echoing the prevalent impression of the old as metaphorically draining the energy or the blood of their young relatives and, by extension, of the whole nation, thus drawing a parallel with the pervasive presence of the vampire in the narratives of the time.

Given this situation, there were social and cultural reasons prevailing that help to gain insight into the mistrust on the part of young people toward the old and the resentment on behalf of older people toward young adults. This generational divide remains at the core of nineteenth-century vampire narratives as the youth and the aged became suspicious of one another, given the fact that young people began to feel the aged kept them from what was their due, whereas the aged felt that they were being pushed out by those who were socially considered more 'productive'. It is in this cultural and social context that the figure of the vampire began to consolidate through different literary manifestations setting a precedent in Victorian times that would gradually evolve in subsequent characterisations of this archetype of the gothic in literature and cinema. The Victorian vampire thus arose from the biased view of old age on the part of the youth, since whatever the actual chronological age of the Victorian vampire, its victim is always young or even pubescent.

2. The conceptualisations of ageing and its effects on the portrait of the vampire

Nina Auerbach refers to the elasticity that characterises vampires arguing that, since we project on them refracted images of ourselves, each generation designs and typifies a particular kind of vampire. In this respect, a diachronic analysis of the way the literary vampire has been characterised from the Victorian era to our contemporary period underlines a clear evolution which seems particularly relevant from the perspective of ageing studies. From the generally considered to be the first vampire in English fiction, the Byronic aristocrat Lord Ruthven in John Polidori's "The Vampyre: A Tale" (1819) to the contemporary vampire heartthrobs in Stephenie Meyer's *Twilight* tetralogy (2005-2008), literary and cinematic portrayals of the vampire have shifted significantly from focusing on parasitic personifications of wickedness and alterity that mostly threatened the establishment to the portrayal of heroic antagonists who no longer bear a hideous appearance but rather present a complex personality and a particularly acute sensibility that render them specially appealing to younger generations.

Taking *Dracula* (1897) as a pivotal text, as well as considering a wide range of succeeding vampire narratives, evolving textual readings have enhanced and expanded different readings of the vampire myth from different literary theories such as psychoanalysis, gender studies, postcolonialism, postmodernism, and cultural studies. In the process, the vampire has been envisioned as the incarnation of deviant sexuality, a forerunner of the new woman, the hero of postnational identities, a postmodern existentialist hero, or as a profitable cultural commodity for mass consumption. In this respect, critic William Hugues underlines the evolution of this literary myth outlining the metamorphosis of the vampire from a Victorian displacement phenomenon, inherently negative and repulsive, to an eminently positive enhancement of sensual life which is likely to appear as desirable to contemporary audiences. Nonetheless, the diverse readings of the literary vampire through time have scarcely taken into consideration the importance that cultural conceptualisations of ageing have exerted on the evolution of the fictional vampire and its characterisation, especially bearing in mind the vampire's virtual incapacity to age and its ability to defy the passage of time and its effects.

One of the permanent features characterising the fictional vampire from its inception to its contemporary manifestations in literature is precisely the vampire's disaffection with the effects of ageing. Despite the passage of time, the vampire's appearance never betrays its chronological age, just as the mirror never renders back its actual reflection. Nevertheless, what is significant about the vampire in the context of ageing is that, in spite of the fact that the vampire is untouched by the effects of time, its appearance in relation to ageing has remarkably evolved from its early literary and cinematic manifestations up to now. Even if the vampire does not age in appearance, the way it has been presented has significantly transformed from a remarkable aged appearance during the Victorian period to outstanding youth, adolescence, and even childhood in its most recent portrayals in vampire fiction. It is worth noticing that early portraits of the vampire in Bram Stoker's *Dracula* and its cinematic counterpart in F.W.Murnau's expressionist film *Nosferatu* depict the vampire as an eminently old man who is truly even much older than he actually looks. It is thus significant to notice that, despite its disaffection with the visible effects of time, in early and Victorian portraits the vampire presents a rather aged appearance in comparison with contemporary manifestations in which the vampire looks significantly much younger even in both cases the vampire is precisely characterised by its incapacity to show its chronological age.

In addition to the vampire's disaffection with age, another feature that has traditionally characterised the vampire has usually been its lack of reflection in the mirror. In its origins, vampires did not use to reflect in mirrors because vampires were mirrors themselves, that is, double figures that reflected the darker side of Victorian society: its fears and anxieties. Vampires were thus conceived as mirror images in which individuals either failed or were reluctant to recognise themselves and were thus rejected as pathological as a result of a general fear of the other. As Leonard Heldreth argues, the vampire's traditional lack of reflection involves an absence of soul, thus underlining a loss of physical reality and presence within a morally God-orderly world.

Lacking its reflection, the vampire embodies a mirror itself in which people's most frightening fears and concerns are reflected. The vampire is thus perceived as a Jungian shadow and, as such, it becomes part of the unconscious mind that amalgamates the individual's repressed instincts. In Jungian terms, the shadow remains in sharp contrast with the persona, the latter consisting in a mask that can be defined as the social face that the individual wishes to project to the world. The vampire thus embodies the individual's repressed self and, in Jungian terms, it becomes all shadow while it lacks its persona, that is, its public display, as its absence of reflection in the mirror ultimately shows.

Conversely, in contemporary manifestations, mirrors sometimes render back the reflection of vampires since it corresponds to an image that has been socially constructed and, therefore, is no longer rejected but is actually coveted and socially accepted. Drawing on Jung's terminology, rather than the individual's shadow, in contemporary fiction the vampire often reflects the individual's persona, that is, the individual's social mask and, therefore, its image sometimes even reflects back in the mirror. As a case in point, as Rosemary Guiley admits, Anne Rice's novels, which dismantled some traditional myths of the vampire lore, often feature vampires that have their reflection in the mirror. More recently, in Stephenie Meyer's *Twilight* saga (2005-2008), vampires also reflect in mirrors. As a matter of fact, in one scene of the first novel of the series, Bella Swan looks at Edward Cullen's reflection from the back seat of a car, stating that "he glared at me in the rear-view mirror" (385). In contemporary narratives, the vampire is no longer perceived as an embodiment of fear and anxiety but actually the vampire arises as an idealised self, even moving from villain to actual hero in an important number of contemporary narratives. The central role that the vampire plays in contemporary manifestations necessarily involves sympathy and even identification with this character on the part of the reader or the viewer. In this respect, it is important to notice how the attitude towards the vampire has changed through time, as people used to flee from Dracula or Nosferatu whereas younger generations even feel romantically attracted towards more contemporary vampires such as Louis in Anne Rice's novels or Edward in Stephenie Meyer's tetralogy. In the context of ageing studies, it is of great significance to notice that, as vampires have acquired more centrality in vampire fiction and the approach towards them has drastically changed, they have also turned significantly young in appearance in spite of still being actual embodiments of old age.

This gradual physical transformation of the vampire from old age to youth in appearance was clearly exemplified through the important contribution to the genre that Francis Ford Coppola's *Bram Stoker's Dracula* made in 1992. In this film, in spite of its actual old age as is customary, the vampire is intermittently portrayed as young and old in appearance in different scenes. Significantly enough, it is when the vampire presents an aged appearance that it displays its evilest nature and is consequently treated as an outcast. Conversely, when the vampire is portrayed as a young individual, its most humane side is brought to the fore and the audience can easily sympathise with the vampire. As a matter of fact, when Dracula imprisons Jonathan Harker in his castle, the

vampire presents an aged appearance, while Dracula is mostly depicted as a young aristocrat when he is courting Mina. In this sense, Coppola's film contributes a postmodern paradigm of the vampire who transforms from old age into youth and vice versa, while it clearly influences the audience's changing attitudes towards the vampire depending on whether it looks old or young. Accordingly, Coppola's film involved a turning point that imbibed the legacy of the old tradition, whereby the vampire was depicted as rather aged, but it also paved the ground for subsequent exponents in vampire fiction that would portray the vampire as exponentially young in appearance.

Accordingly, it can be argued that in former times the vampire was a shadow, a reflection of the individual's repressed and utmost fears and the embodiment of the individual's anxiety towards ageing. By contrast, in contemporary narratives the individual projects its own image onto the vampire, who becomes a persona or a social mask, thus transforming the vampire into a personification of an idealised self whereby ageing is rendered invisible. Likewise, in some recent vampire narratives, the vampire might be enabled to look at its own reflection in the mirror precisely because its body rather projects a socially-accepted image as it is the reflection of the individual's idealised self. In this respect, following Margaret Gullette's premise that we are all ultimately 'aged by culture', it can be claimed that the youthful appearance of vampires in contemporary literature responds to the imagined self that the individual constructs on the basis of social demands in an attempt to modulate the self to suit social expectations.

Within the discourse of ageing and drawing on Jacques Lacan, Kathleen Woodward has postulated her thesis about 'the mirror stage of old age' whereby she identifies a point at which the processes of association and disassociation from the effects of old age can affect identity. Following Simone de Beauvoir's premises in *The Coming of Age*, Woodward admits that the individual does not perceive itself as old but it is rather the stranger within, the other internalised, that is labelled as old. In this respect, Woodward admits with Beauvoir that "the recognition of our own old age comes to us from the other, that is, from society" (1986: 104), hence we primarily identify ourselves as old through the social gaze. This premise mainly draws upon Lacan's theory of the mirror stage of infancy and Freud's theory of the uncanny, as Woodward underlines the connection between the individual's first and later stage in life due to both the infant and the ageing person constructing their own subjectivity through their awareness of difference. In this sense, as Kay Heath claims, while the child contrasts a fragmented experience of body with the mirrored whole and fantasises about unity, the old adult compares its image of disintegration in the mirror with an inner sense of wholeness. Consequently, the ageing individual is repulsed by the mirror image reflected in the mirror, the one that the social gaze ultimately renders back, which separates the individual from its inner self.

With regard to this sense of disparity between appearance and self, Simone de Beauvoir defended the need to identify with the ageing subject in order to avoid the sense of difference with which ageing has generally been associated. In this sense, Beauvoir refers to old age stating that "for the outsider it is a dialectic relationship

between my being as he defines it objectively and the awareness of myself that I acquire by means of him, [thus concluding that] within me it is the Other – that is to say the person I am for the outsider – who is old: and that Other is myself" (1973: 420). Ageing is thus socially constructed and, within the social construct of age, Margaret Gullette has argued that the concept of age-as-loss is the premise that has mostly prevailed. Nonetheless, the individual's identification with its aged self should ultimately involve a sense of integrity and of fulfilment late in life that Leslie Fielder calls 'the eros of old age.' In this respect, from Fielder's perspective, while we are ageing, we gradually become what we once desired, thus hoping to attain the reintegration between image and inner self.

In vampire fiction, classical portrayals of the vampire as an aged individual lacking its reflection in the mirror place emphasis on the sense of disintegration as illustrated in Woodward's mirror of old age given the difference existing between self and the image it projects. Likewise, the vampire is incapable of recognising its non-existing ageing image in the mirror as the vampire is itself an embodiment of ageing that is constructed and, ultimately pathologised, through the social gaze. Alternatively, the vampire in contemporary fiction, even if apparently, rather seems to place more emphasis on the reintegration between image and self. Consequently, in some cases, the image of the vampire reflects in the mirror and its appearance rather than repulsive seems appealing and even idealised to others. Nonetheless, this reconciliation between self and image is effected at the expense of rendering ageing invisible as, having internalised an idealised image socially constructed, the individual never truly beholds its aged appearance in the mirror but rather a young, even if artificial, self that endows the individual with a merely simulated sense of reintegration. It can thus be claimed that, although the contemporary vampire appeals rather than repels and does not demand destruction but rather approval, it nevertheless gives rise to a dystopia of age rather than to a utopia of age.

Consequently, it can be argued that, although the paradox of age remains in Victorian as well as in contemporary vampire narratives – since the vampire persists through time without experiencing the effects of ageing – there has been a significant change in perspective. Victorian vampire fiction could be interpreted through the metaphor of the mirror of old age whereby the individual feels unable to identify with its aged reflection and, consequently, the image of the vampire never reflects in the mirror. By contrast, in contemporary vampire narratives, ageing is no longer pathologised but is rendered invisible and, therefore, virtually non-existent. Given its extraordinary youthful appearance in contemporary fiction, the vampire ultimately indulges in a sort of narcissism through its contemplation in the mirror, which arises as the mental corollary to its privileged social and physical condition. Likewise, in terms of sexuality, in Victorian vampire narratives, personal relations were governed by the power dynamics of dominance and submission personified by the relationship between the vampire and its victim, whereas, in the case of contemporary vampire fiction, a different sort of deviant sexuality is shown through total surrender to self-love and narcissism. In fact, in most contemporary vampire narratives, the vampire no longer

feels the need to feed on humans. Hence, instead of indulging in the consumption of others as happens in Victorian vampire fiction, the vampire in contemporary narratives succumbs to self-consumption as a result of having absorbed the other into the self. In this respect, through the figure of the contemporary vampire, it can be argued that the individual has internalised the social gaze to the extent that it actually turns into the self, thus giving shape to an internalised social image that now reflects in the mirror.

3. The evolution of the genre and analysis of examples

In early characterisations displayed in nineteenth-century narratives, the vampire is clearly depicted as an embodiment of difference. As a matter of fact, the vampire was commonly characterised by eccentric habits, aristocratic origins, a markedly foreign accent and, particularly, a remarkably aged appearance in spite of being untouched by the passage of time. Hence, age became another marker of difference that used to characterise the Victorian vampire. Nonetheless, from its inception the literary vampire has undergone a significant process of rejuvenation, displaying a young and alluring appearance in contemporary narratives in spite of its actual age. It can thus be argued that the literary representations of the vampire – basically characterised by its true old age as well as by its great capacity to defy the effects of time – have evolved from presenting the vampire as an aged embodiment of difference and pathology to an exalted and even idealised individual even if at the expense of rendering any traces of ageing totally invisible. Hence, even though at first sight in contemporary fiction the vampire seems to exemplify an attempt at reconciling inner self and body image in old age, the remarkably young appearance that characterises vampires in contemporary manifestations underlines the social need to erase ageing in order to identify with the vampire. In fact, it can be argued that the gap existing between the vampire's inner self and the image it projects is even wider in contemporary portrayals of the vampire in comparison with early depictions whereby the vampire was mostly characterised by an aged appearance even if still being much older than it looked.

The nineteenth-century vampire for the most part projected an aged appearance, even if its image was still deceitful with regard to its true age. As a case in point, John Polidori's narrative "The Vampyre: A Tale", published in 1819, has traditionally been regarded as one of the first portrayals of a vampire in English literature, which laid the fundaments of the genre that would be subsequently cemented in Bram Stoker's novel. Polidori's tale revolves around Aubrey, a young Englishman, who becomes gradually initiated into the world of vice on behalf of Lord Ruthven, an eccentric aristocrat. The sharp contrast separating Aubrey's youth from Lord Ruthven's age is established from the very first pages when they both begin a tour across Europe. As a matter of fact, the following passage underlines the disparity between youth and innocence as opposed to old age and experience, thus underscoring that the experience of a lifetime, if used to immoral purposes, can easily corrupt the innocence of the youth: "[i]t was time for him [Aubrey] to perform the tour, which for many generations has been thought necessary to enable the young to take some rapid steps in the career of vice towards putting

themselves upon an equality with the aged" (9). This rite of initiation into the corruptibility of ageing as a result of the intimate relationship established between Aubrey and Lord Ruthven is also addressed from a female perspective in Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's novel of female vampires *Carmilla*, published in 1872, in which an ageing female vampire, Carmilla, also initiates young Laura into sexuality. Carmilla is middle-aged but, given her condition as a vampire, sometimes she suddenly undergoes a process of premature ageing as her health progressively declines as her pupil Laura notices: "[h]er face underwent a change that alarmed and even terrified me for a moment. It darkened, and became horribly livid; her teeth and hands were clenched, and she frowned and compressed her lips" (85). Hence, in spite of her alleged youthful appearance, Carmilla often falls prey to indispositions that betray her age and, by extension, her true nature.

These two vampire narratives underline one of the most enduring themes within vampire fiction, which is socially-perceived deviant sexuality. In addition to an apparent demonization of sexuality in general terms, vampire fiction, given the fact that the vampire is ultimately an aged individual, particularly appears to address the taboo of sex in old age. According to Herbert Covey, the perception of inappropriateness of sex in old age has traditionally been justified through physical limitations but, especially, through moral dictates. In Victorian times, sex in old age was generally stigmatised because it did not lead to procreation. In this respect, Karen Chase (2014) draws on nineteenth-century medical doctor, John Harvey Kellogg, and his use of the term 'senile sexuality' to refer to sex beyond the period of procreation, which was considered to be abnormal. Hence, the sexual discourse, which pervades vampire fiction, can be related to sexuality understood from the perspective of ageing as the vampire, who is a truly embodiment of old age, drains the life of the youth through an intercourse considered deviant that necessarily eludes the morally strict Victorian discourse. In fact, in the Victorian context, Karen Chase (2014) argues that aged sexuality is social inasmuch as vampires are characterised as old men and women that are starved for the life force of others. The equation of youth with fertility and the association of old age with sterility is essential to nineteenth-century vampire fiction as these narratives discuss the fluctuations between fertility/productivity and infertility/unproductivity through the intercourse between the aged vampire and its young victim. This deviant intercourse takes place through the vampire's use of its phallic fangs, which can be interpreted as a sign of male impotence in old age and betrays the sense of powerlessness and sexual decline with which society has traditionally associated the elderly. Similarly, the advances of some female vampires seem to correspond to a last resort to retain fertility and reject menopause, thus engaging in creating for themselves an alternative sort of menstruation that will allow them to remain young for time to come. Likewise, from a male perspective, through their alternative intercourse, female vampires literally embody the Freudian *vagina dentata* and thus stand for a sign of deviant sexuality on the part of aged women that proves to be particularly threatening to the male.

Although Bram Stoker's novel *Dracula* (1897) cannot be regarded as an early portrayal of the vampire myth, it has generally been acknowledged as the novel that

consolidated the genre since it gave shape to a series of popular features that have often been attached to the figure of the vampire since late Victorian times. Dracula arises as the representative paradigm of the late Victorian vampire as an aged aristocratic man coming from a foreign country with an old regime that decides to settle down in Victorian England. Throughout the novel, even if the vampire's appearance never truly reflects its chronological age, its wrinkled and withered looks are often highlighted as the story unfolds. In fact, Jonathan Harker describes the vampire as follows soon after he first sets eyes on the count:

> Within, stood a tall old man, clean-shaven save for a long white moustache, and clad, in black from head to foot, without a single speck of colour about him anywhere. He held in his hand an antique silver lamp, in which the flame burned without chimney or globe of any kind, throwing long, quivering shadows as if it flickered in the draught of the open door. The old man motioned me in with his right hand with a courtly gesture (15).

As the description above reveals, the vampire stands for an embodiment of difference as Harker's portrait of Dracula highlights its aristocratic manners and its eccentric outfit, which ultimately betrays its foreignness but, of special relevance, particularly given its vampiric nature, is the fact that Harker repeatedly draws attention to the vampire's old age.

The archetype of the aged Victorian vampire, mostly exemplified in Stoker's seminal novel, remains in sharp contrast with the blatantly young vampires that eventually populated twentieth-century vampire fiction. In this respect, as an outstanding turning point, Anne Rice's series following the first novel of the saga, *Interview with the Vampire*, published in 1976, contributed a major metamorphosis of the vampire as its appearance paradoxically transformed from age to youth even if the vampire has always been characterised by its disaffection with age. Much younger than Dracula, Lord Ruthven or Carmilla, to name a few examples of the classic nineteenth-century vampire, contemporary vampires Louis and Lestat in Anne Rice's novels actually look in their mid-twenties. Louis himself gives evidence of this when he admits: "I was a twenty-five-year-old man when I became a vampire" (7). Moreover, Anne Rice should also be given the credit for introducing the figure of the vampire child, personified in the novel through Claudia. It is significant to notice that, as the appearance of the vampire becomes gradually younger, readers are also allowed to gain a deeper insight into the character's motivations, thus ultimately rendering the vampire more humane and prone to sympathy and identification on behalf of the reader. According to William Hugues, this gradual transformation responds to the fact that the vampire must be interpreted as the personification of social neuroses as well as the coded expression of more general cultural fears of which the author is an observer. In this respect, the evolving characterisation of the vampire in artistic manifestations necessarily responds to cultural conceptualisations of ageing throughout time.

Likewise, not only do Anne Rice's novels portray age identity as culturally and historically determined but they also unveil that age identity can be geographically conditioned. As a matter of fact, Louis, together with other vampires, decide to travel

from New Orleans to Europe in order to find their own origins and gain further insight into their own identity as vampires. In this respect, as an important innovation in comparison with former portrayals of the vampire, in Anne Rice's novels vampires are endowed with a remarkable existentialist curiosity that leads them to question their existence and learn about the way of life of other vampires living in foreign countries. The geographic location determines the way vampires should behave and it also conditions the way vampires are perceived. In fact, in *Interview with the Vampire* Louis observes that in New Orleans vampires do not need to hide their need to kill because death appears to be so endemic there – owing to fever, plague, and crime – that the killing on behalf of vampires simply goes unnoticed. By contrast, during their trip to eastern Europe, Louis acknowledges that vampires should disguise the fact that they have to kill since the population in eastern Europe is familiar with the existence of vampires. Hence, not only does this difference condition the way vampires behave on both sides of the Atlantic but it also establishes a divergence in the way vampires are judged by human beings geographically. In Anne Rice's novel it is believed that, since it has been traditionally considered that vampires originated in Eastern Europe, their presence is more easily identified there, thus eastern Europeans are assumed to have more prejudices against vampires and are also less likely to be deceived by the youthful and innocent appearance of these young adult vampires. Given the fact that Europe has traditionally been known as the 'old' continent – where history and age seem to acquire more weight in comparison with the 'new' world – vampires, as actual embodiments of old age, appear to have a more widely-spread presence and, because of that, it is in the 'old' world that seems to prevail a greater concern about the difference between the vampire's old chronological age and its strikingly young appearance. In fact, quite tellingly, it can be acknowledged that the literary vampire, in origin, arose in the old continent.

The geographical difference conditioning the identity of vampires that prevails in Anne Rice's fiction was apparently taken over by Charlaine Harris' novel *Dead Until Dark* (2001), the first book within *The Southern Mystery Series* (2001-2013) – from which the popular TV series *True Blood* ultimately arose – as, in this saga, vampires differ among the four distinct divisions or clans that they populate across the United States. This series of novels revolves around a telepathic human waitress, young adult Sookie Stackhouse, who works in Louisana and solves different mysteries involving vampires, werewolves, and other supernatural creatures. As a postmodern paradigm in vampire fiction, some of the staple qualities that used to characterise the classic vampire are simply left behind. As a case in point, owing to the invention of synthetic blood, vampires no longer feed on human beings and this enables them to disclose their existence to the world while humans have to get used to their mutual coexistence. Likewise, also in sharp contrast with classic vampire narratives, in Charlaine Harris' novels it is actually humans who covet the blood of vampires once it is revealed that vampire blood has some extraordinary effects on humans as they become healthier, stronger, and more attractive. Hence, the tables are turned in this saga as humans drain vampires from their blood and, consequently, even if some humans still seek to destroy

vampires or are reluctant to grant them rights, many humans actually aspire to emulate vampires. In terms of ageing, humans seek to take advantage of vampires in order to retain health and youth and, in this sense, the gap that formerly used to distinguish vampires from humans becomes increasingly blurred.

Hence, a clearly sharp contrast can be established between Bram Stoker's characterisation of the aged vampire and the young adult vampires populating Anne Rice's as well as Charlaine Harris' novels. As Martin Wood asserts, Anne Rice's novels – and one may add Charlaine Harris' saga as well – have forced readers to confront the core truths of the myth itself, finding themselves feeling an uneasy sympathy with the vampire and, therefore, these works have paved the ground for an important revision of our understanding of the vampire lore. In this context, in addition to endowing the vampire with a significant youthful appearance, Anne Rice's contribution to the genre also introduced other important innovations. As a matter of fact, in the first book of the series, *Interview with the Vampire*, Louis finds out that his body reflects in the mirror, which contributes a great change not only in the way the vampire is characterised but also in the way the vampire is perceived. Similarly, in Charlaine Harris' novels, vampires can also be photographed, thus placing emphasis on the vampire's socially appealing image. Consequently, it can be argued that in Anne Rice's novels the vampire begins to attract the readership's attention as the real hero of the narrative so that the reader can easily sympathise and identify with the vampire. In these narratives, vampires tend to subvert Woodward's theory of the mirror of old age as the vampire meets a faked unified reflection in the mirror, a virtual image of youth, which differs from any disintegrated or pathological reflection in old age. The vampire is no longer an embodiment of the fear of ageing – of the disintegration between self and image – but actually an idealised being whereby self and image integrate even if at the expense of concealing any trace of ageing. In this respect, Bryan Turner refers to the 'somatisation of the self', thus arguing that, in a culture in which the surface of the body is perceived as that which carries the signs of the individual's inner moral condition, ageing becomes something that has to be denied (1995: 257). Accordingly, the vampire reflects this 'somatisation of the self' and the social obsession with rendering ageing invisible in contemporary society.

Hence, as the vampire gradually attracts more sympathy and understanding on the part of the readership, it also acquires further importance as the actual protagonist of the story. In this respect, following the tendency initiated by Anne Rice's vampire novels, Stephenie Meyer's *Twilight* tetralogy (2005-2008) features a teenage vampire, Edward Cullen, who confesses he "was seventeen and dying of the Spanish influenza" (287) when his father Carlisle transformed him into a vampire in the summer of 1918, although the action of the novel is set in the year 2005. In Meyer's novels, the vampire is portrayed as a thoroughly sympathetic character to the extent that the heroine, Bella Swan, falls in love with him but, again, if the vampire is to attract the admiration of the audience, it seems to be not only because of its good nature but also because of its outstanding youthful appearance that renders the traces of ageing totally invisible. The vampire is no longer stigmatised, as happened in Victorian times, but it rather arises as

an embodiment of an idealization – of the integration between the self and its reflection – even if that reflection mostly responds to social demands of rendering age invisible.

Likewise, in addition to featuring outstandingly young vampires in their adolescence, contemporary vampire fiction has also often portrayed vampires as children, taking Anne Rice's character of Claudia, the vampire child, as a clear prototype. If portraits of adolescent vampires seem to defy Woodward's theory of the mirror of old age, the figure of the vampire child appears to further transform Lacan's theory of the infant's fragmented self that fantasises about the integrated self as perceived in the mirror. Paradoxically, in the case of narratives featuring vampire children, since the vampire child is aware of its integrated self as an aged individual, it no longer perceives an integrated reflection in the mirror but rather a childish image, which, from its own perspective as an adult, actually becomes a fragmented image, that is, an infantilised reflection that contrasts with its inner self, which is remarkably aged. Likewise, the vampire's childish appearance in spite of its blatant senescence literally brings to mind the well-known metaphor of ageing as a second childhood when two different stages of life join together. The figure of the vampire child that has populated many contemporary vampire narratives further elaborates on the schism between image and self, body and mind, thus uniting the fragility and innocence of a child in appearance and the wisdom and experience that age may bring about. As a case in point, Laurell K. Hamilton's novel *Guilty Pleasures*, published in 1993, which gave rise to her series of novels featuring Anita Blake as a vampire hunter, portrays a female vampire child who happens to be the master of the vampires that populate the city and is described in the novel as follows:

> She had been about twelve or thirteen when she died. Small, half-formed breasts showed under a long flimsy dress. It was pale blue and looked warm against the total whiteness of her skin. She had been pale when alive; as a vampire she was ghostly. Her hair was that shining white-blond that some children have before their hair darkens to brown. This hair would never grow dark. (71)

Similarly, Swedish author John Ajvide Linqvist's successful novel *Let the Right One In*, published in 2004, tells the story of Oskar, a twelve-year-old child bullied at school, who meets the twelve-year-old looking Eli, who, in turn, happens to be a two-hundred-old vampire forever frozen in late childhood. The proliferation of vampire children in contemporary narratives within vampire fiction still further corroborates a significant diachronic evolution from portraits of aged vampires in Victorian fiction to adolescent and infant vampires in contemporary narratives as the figure of the vampire becomes more sympathetic and appealing to younger audiences. The image of the vampire as an embodiment of the aged has moved from a sign of difference and pathology to blatant invisibility as the effects of ageing are totally banished from the picture in an attempt at aiming at a faked integration between inner self and image projected. As ageing remains invisible in the vampire, it no longer becomes a sign of difference and from this follows that the young vampire is exalted as an embodiment of integration with which the audience can fantasise.

4. Conclusions

Following this chronological transformation of the portrayal of the literary vampire as an embodiment of the aged individual, it can be argued that there is a general tendency to move from portraits of pathology to depictions of invisibility in relation to old age, thus showing that age identity is historically influenced, culturally determined, and even geographically conditioned. In Victorian times, the vampire's aged appearance arose as a sign of difference and its image was not reflected in mirrors because it truly became an embodied mirror reflecting people's fears and, among them, people's dread of ageing. Drawing on Woodward's premises of the mirror of old age, the vampire thus became a sign of disintegration, an embodiment of the void between body and inner self, and people's failure at recognising the disintegrated reflection of their own self in the mirror. Progressively, as the vampire grew younger in appearance in its characterisation in contemporary narratives, it also acquired more centrality in the plot, even turning into the hero of the story. The young vampire becomes the embodiment of the integrated image between the body and the inner self and, consequently, its image can have its reflection in the mirror in many contemporary manifestations as the vampire becomes an idealised and a socially-accepted fantasy. Nonetheless, this faked integration between the image and the inner self ultimately renders age invisible. Accordingly, it can be claimed that the contemporary literary vampire does not truly illustrate an integrated image through which the subject is enabled to identify, as it rather seems to respond to a social and cultural dystopia of eternal youth instead of portraying age as a desirable stage in life in which the individual can truly attain self-fulfilment.

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The Emergent Properties of 'Song' as a Metaphor in August Wilson's *Joe Turner's Come and Gone*

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ABSTRACT

Most works on August Wilson's *Joe Turner's Come and Gone* have emphasized its enigmatic African elements that have stunned white audiences since the play was first produced in 1984. Such elements are manifested in characters such as Bynum and Loomis, or in rituals such as the Juba and blood sacrifice (Shannon, 1995; Wolfe, 1999; Elam Jr., 2006; Harrison, 1991; Richards, 1999; Pereira, 1995). These images confront the reader at first glance and produce that feeling of strangeness characteristic of the African world. However, underneath these images is the most subtle element or trope on which the events of the play are anchored – the 'song', which has been described as "that all important quest for self-affirmation in black life" (Harrison, 1991: 309). Applying the Relevance-theoretic framework of inferential pragmatics, this study explores the concept 'song' by examining its salient properties based on reader's inferences or contextual assumptions. The study claims that through an inferential analysis, the metaphor, 'song,' in *Joe Turner's Come and Gone* can be realised as an ontological construct which signifies the individual's quest for spiritual transcendence and personal development and that through this metaphor Wilson privileges the need for the African American to take responsibility for what becomes of his life rather than seeing himself as a victim of the white hegemony.

Keywords: relevance, metaphor, personal song, inference, self-affirmation, personal development

1. Introduction

This study is an inferential account of August Wilson's use of 'song' as metaphor in his *Joe Turner's Come and Gone* (Cited as JT in reference), to encode that ontological construct which signifies the individual's quest for spiritual transcendence[1] and personal development. The aim of the study is to consider how the emergence of the properties of this concept constitutes or creates necessary cognitive effects for readers, and also to show the relevance of Wilson's overriding ideological thrust that privileges personal and cultural affirmation in the pursuit of the American Dream. The approach is interdisciplinary in nature, because it combines insights from literary critical discourse with pragmatic/interpretive analytical procedures. Thus, the paper is situated within literary pragmatics which accounts for literary phenomena as "a specific and socially codified use of language" (Garcia, 1996: 38). Pragmatic enquiry in this area focuses on the inferential processes of readers in exploring meaning. The study claims that through an inferential analysis, the metaphor, 'song,' in *Joe Turner's Come and Gone* can be realised as an ontological construct which signifies the individual's quest for spiritual transcendence and personal development and that through this metaphor Wilson privileges the need for the African American to take responsibility for what becomes of his life rather than seeing himself as a victim of the white hegemony. As Billy Clark (2009b: 8) has argued, "studying the inferences we make when interpreting written or other texts sheds light on the process of interpretation, on the nature of texts, and on the way texts give rise to effects."

Wilson believes that the African consciousness together with individual's recognition of his personal worth is imperative for the cultural health and total emancipation of African Americans. His strategy for this perspective is defamiliarisation, that is, a deliberate use of metaphors. One of such metaphors is 'song'. The character's passion to "sing one's own song" is omnipresent in the plays of Wilson. This philosophical thrust seems to signify as Paul Carter Harrison (1991: 309) puts it, "that all important quest for self-affirmation in black life." To fully appreciate the mechanism by which Wilson imbues this ordinary word with pragmatic significance, we need to draw from Robyn Carston's (2002) notion of enrichment, which according to her, picks up a specific lexical item and strengthens the concept it encodes. In what follows, we examine briefly the relevance approach to figurative meaning, especially, metaphor (section 1.1); the relationship between the author and the reader and the kind of inferences they make (section 1.2); and the play, *Joe Turner's Come and Gone* (section 1.3).

1.1. Relevance and Figurative Meaning

The study is based on the relevance-theoretic framework of inferential pragmatics which claims that the decoded sentence meaning is capable of being interpreted in a number of different ways in the same context; that these interpretations are graded in terms of accessibility; and that hearers rely on a powerful criterion when selecting the

most appropriate interpretation, which ultimately cancels out interpretations that are less relevant in the context (Wilson and Sperber, 2002: 250; Yus, 2009: 854). In the relevance account of communication, *every* utterance involves a search for relevance based on mutual adjustments of context, explicit content and implicatures "in the effort to satisfy the hearer's overall expectations of relevance" (Wilson and Sperber, 2002: 268). Metaphors are not regarded differently. Whereas the Gricean account of figurative meaning, for example, sees metaphor and other figures of speech as cases of maxim violation, Relevance sees them merely as alternative routes to achieving optimal relevance; in fact, as simply "creative exploitations of a perfectly general dimension of language use" (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995: 237).

Relevance theory locates the account of metaphor within "a general account of lexical pragmatic processes of concept modification or adjustment, which include both narrowing and several varieties of broadening that would not standardly be treated as metaphorical" (Wilson and Carston, 2008: 14). This is a fully inferential view of metaphor also supported by Moreno Vega (2004). In narrowing, a word is used in a more specific sense than the encoded one, so that the concept communicated is narrower than the concept encoded, whereas in broadening, a "word is used to convey a more general sense with consequent widening of the linguistically-specified denotation" (Wilson, 2004: 356). Both types of language use are complementary in the construction of meaning (Sperber and Wilson, 2006: 182). This broadening enables the hearer or reader "to go beyond just exploring the immediate context and the entries for concepts involved in the input, thereby accessing a wide area of knowledge" (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995: 236). In a metaphor, the relationship between the lexical concept, say "bulldozer" (in JOHN IS A BULLDOZER) and the non-lexicalized concept that figures in the speaker's thought about John, is that of "non-identical resemblance" (Carston, 2002: 66). In other words, metaphor has an interpretive relation between the propositional form of an utterance and the thought that initiated the utterance. As Sperber and Wilson (2006: 172) have argued "specific uses of metaphor by individual authors or in any given literary genres are indeed worthy of study, and so is the very idea of metaphor as a culturally salient notion with long rich history." Indeed, the various notions of metaphor since Aristotle provide an interesting reading, but such debates are clearly outside the scope of this study. Works such as Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Black, 1979; Steen, 1994; Moreno, 2004, Gibbs and Colston, 2012; Wilson and Carston, 2008; and Sperber and Wilson, 2006) provide excellent readings on theoretical issues and debates about metaphor.

1.2. Reader's and Authorial Inferences

In a number of studies based on the relevance-theoretic tradition, (Clark, 2009a; 2009b; Clark and Owtram, 2012), Clark explains the roles of inferential processes of readers in textual interpretation. This study draws heavily on his notion of 'sophisticated inferentialism' or 'practical inferentialism' as a methodology for analysis (2009a: 182). The basic idea here is that in principle it is always worth exploring all the inferential

processes involved in understanding a text, but it is not practicable to do so. According to Clark, "where analysts notice something marked or unusual about an interpretation, this calls for an analysis of inferential processes... it will be up to the analyst to decide in each case whether and where to develop an account of inferential processes" (2009a: 184). In the production and consumption of texts, there is partnership between the author and the reader.

Mey (1994: 162; 2000: 109) suggests that although the author is the main authority in the world of his art, the role of the reader is also crucial. It is the writer's duty to consciously "alert the reader to the signposts and other indexes placed in the fictional space to enable the navigation process" (Mey, 2009: 552). This whole process is both inferential and also reflexive since both author and reader are involved in the process (Clark and Owtram, 2012). This reflexive nature of the inferential process enables the hearer to make assumptions about what the speaker knows or thinks or better, infers about the inferences the hearer is likely to produce. According to Clark and Owtram, in the Gricean approach to communication, it is generally assumed that addressees make assumptions about what communicators have assumed and in the same way, communicators make assumptions about what addressees will assume.

The same reflexive inferential principle is found in relevance theory in what Sperber and Wilson (1986/95) call "mutual manifestness" and "mutual cognitive environment." They argue that an assumption is manifest to an individual at a particular time "if and only if he is capable at that time of representing it mentally and accepting its representation as true or probably true." All the assumptions which are manifest to an individual or individuals at a given time constitute their 'mutual cognitive environment.' Sperber and Wilson say, "a communicator who produces an ostensive stimulus is trying to fulfill two intentions… the informative intention, to make manifest to her audience a set of assumptions…and the communicative intention, to make her informative intention mutually manifest" (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/95: 163). Communicative interaction is then a matter of adjusting mutual cognitive environments. Fig I below shows this inferential cycle between the writer and the reader and how both depend on the socio-cultural context in which the text is situated.

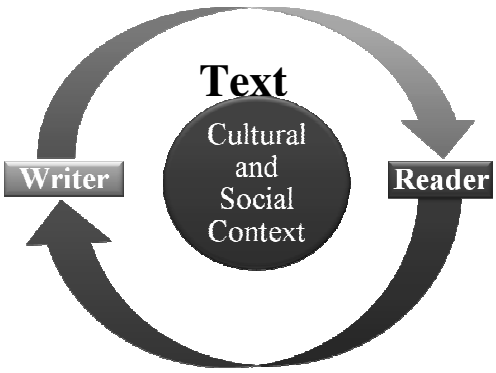

Fig. I: The Inferential Cycle

Clark (2009a: 174) argues that "an account of inferential processes is in principle a vital part of any adequate account of how texts are interpreted…" Such inferences, as he points out, do not begin 'from bottom up' by focusing on linguistic forms and structures, but could be described as 'top down' by considering inferences readers might make in the process of textual interpretation (1996: 163). This cognitive account of textual production and reception is supported by several authors (Torrance, 2006; Aguilar 2008; Owtram, 2010). The next section highlights the play, *Joe Turner's Come and Gone*, aspects of it that have mostly captured critical interests, and the need for an inferential approach to the interpretation of the notion of 'song' in the play.

1.3. *Joe Turner's Come and Gone*

In terms of its chronological setting, *Joe Turner's Come and Gone* is the second in a cycle of ten plays, written by the foremost and award-winning African-American playwright, August Wilson. Wilson's dramatic project spans ten decades of the African American experience – that is, one play per decade and the plays are collectively often referred to as the Pittsburgh Cycle or Century Cycle. Set in 1911, *Joe Turner* tells the story of the wanderings of blacks from the rural South to the North in search of life, following Emancipation. Their temporary meeting place is the boarding house owned by Seth, an ex-slave's son in Pittsburgh. In this temporary shelter, they "share fragmented memories of family members before seemingly being propelled by the desire for adventure, love…to journey further" (Richards, 1999: 92). The poetic focus of the play is Herald Loomis, whose search for his own identity (or song) "symbolizes the quest of an entire race" (DeVries, 1998: 25). In his search for his past, he is guided by his spiritual adviser, Walker Bynum, the conjurer, who takes him through a series of rituals that help him to connect with his ancestors and break from the fetters that have held him in perpetual bondage. At the end of the play, Loomis performs blood sacrifice which leads him and others to self-discovery and self-sufficiency.

Most works on *Joe Turner* have emphasized its enigmatic African elements that have stunned white audiences for many years. Such elements are manifested in characters such as Bynum and Loomis, or in rituals such as the Juba and blood sacrifice (Shannon, 1995; Wolfe, 1999; Elam Jr., 2006; Harrison, 1991; Richards, 1999; Pereira, 1995). These images or what Shannon (2001) describes as 'Africanisms' confront the reader at first glance and produce that feeling of strangeness characteristic of the African world (Soyinka, 1976). Also, these elements have been described either as magical realism or as spiritual realism (Young, 2011:134-135). Reggie Young explains that "spiritual realism often functions as an opportunity for characters to renew or redeem themselves through a process of rituals that allow them to reconnect their values and beliefs with sacred elements of the culture" (2011:135). Also, while Sandra L. Richards (1999) traces the protagonist and Bynum to Yoruba mythology, Samuel Hay traces them to Igbo mythology. According to him, "viewed from Igbo perspective, Bynum would symbolize the collective African ancestors, called Ndi Ndushi, who made sure that people obeyed ancestral traditions of good and evil, and cleansed themselves

of all abominations" (2007: 95). As for Harold Bloom (2009: 2) Joe *Turner* is the best of Wilson's plays because it possesses the qualities of permanence as a result of its profound depiction of African American roots. However, underneath these images or Africanisms is the most subtle element or trope on which the events of the play are anchored – the 'song', which has been described as "that all important quest for self-affirmation in black life" (Harrison, 1991: 309). This metaphor has not been fully explored, at least, linguistically in the literature. This study, therefore, explores this concept by examining its salient properties based on reader's inferences or contextual assumptions aimed at identifying the meaning intended by the author. Such inferences also include intertextual patterns of the concept as it resonates across Wilson's plays. Section 2 provides a detailed analysis of the various aspects of this metaphor, and points out how the author's and reader's inferences coalesce in arriving at the meaning of the concept according to the principle of relevance.

2. The Song Metaphor

In *Joe Turner*, the 'song' metaphor is strongly felt and implicated in the lives of the characters. Wilson, for instance, introduces young Jeremy Furlow by saying *"...he is a proficient guitar player, although his spirit has yet to be molded into a song"* (*JT* 12). So, what is Wilson communicating by the word, 'song'? What are the properties of the concept and how do the properties emerge? How does Wilson intend his audience to understand the concept? And what contributions can relevance theory make to our understanding of the concept in a way that provides new insight into the meaning intended by August Wilson? To answer these questions, we must make inferences – inferences that are based on the principle of relevance. The inferences we can make from the above quote are:

- that 'song' has to do with the human spirit.
- that 'song' is the highest point in a continuum of personal development/ achievement.
- that when one finds his song or achieves song, one has reached a stage of self-sufficiency and complete independence.

One starting point is to identify the salient features of this metaphor in specific terms. Doing that involves making a number of contextual assumptions which should eventually result in some cognitive effects. Thus, the relevance-theoretic account of metaphor adopted here integrates utterance, salience, and contextual assumptions to yield appropriate cognitive effects. The diagram below illustrates this approach.

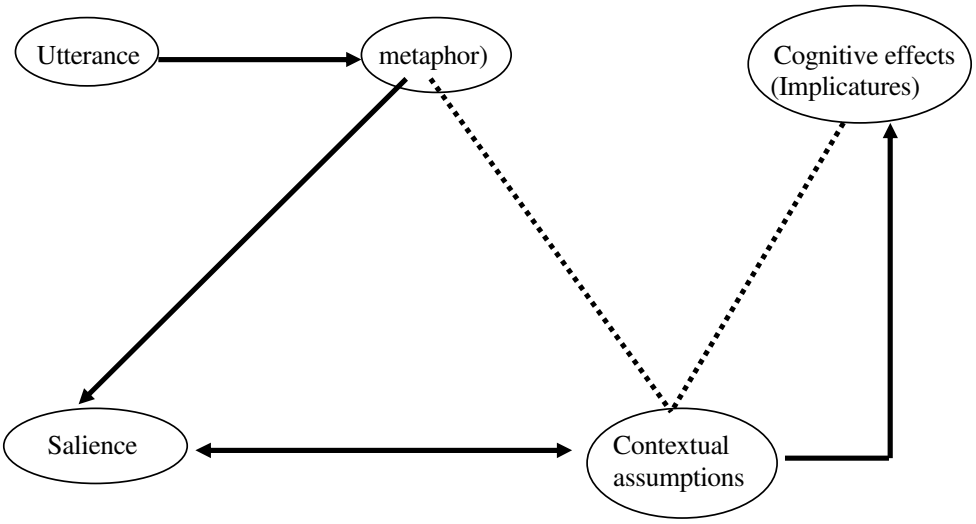

Fig II: A Relevance-Theoretic Account of Metaphor

As the diagram shows, the basic characteristic of metaphor is *salience*. The salient characteristic of a thing is that which identifies it, the distinctive feature of that thing (Bergmann, 1991: 487). For example, the sentence, "John is an Einstein", as a metaphor, (in an appropriate context) means "John is a brilliant scientist." The proposition asserted here is the function of the literal meaning of "John" and of the salient characteristic associated with Einstein. This intrinsic, immanent quality of the concept communicated must interact with the contextual assumptions or the cognitive environment of the hearer. This is indicated by the two-sided arrow. The relationship between the concept communicated (metaphor) and the cognitive effects derivable from it in the comprehension process is indirect – via contextual assumptions, as the broken lines indicate (Ogoanah, 2008: 10-11).

The idea of 'song' resonates in Wilson's drama in various forms. According to Peter Wolfe (1999: 178) it can take the form of a strong passion to control or a vocation (e.g., Ma Rainey in *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom*); a special skill (e.g., Jeremy in *Joe Turner*); an insight into things beyond the view of the ordinary man (e.g., Bynum and Loomis in *Joe Turner*); a stable and purposeful relationship (e.g., Mattie in *Joe Turner* and Rose in *Fences*). It can also take the form of a strong desire to be accepted (e.g., *Risa* in *Two Trains*); or a pursuit of economic independence (e.g., Boy Willie in *The Piano Lesson*); a strong desire to live in truth (e.g., Brown in *Gem of the Ocean*, and Booster in *Jitney*). The "song", in its purest form as Wolfe (1999: 78) puts it, is "a person's ultimate synthesis, bonding with its singer in a crescendo of both self-discovery and self-acceptance." By inference, we can identify three types of song in Wilson's *Joe Turner.*

- the binding song
- the forgotten song

- the song of personal redemption.

2.1. The Binding Song

As we noted earlier, the dominant trope on which Wilson anchors the events of *Joe Turner* is the "song." Kim Pereira (1995: 36) explains it as the music of each person's essential nature and destiny. The poetic focus of the play is Herald Loomis. We are also introduced to Bynum Walker, a conjure man who boasts of a father whose 'Healing Song' cured the weak and troubled. Bynum himself claims to possess a Binding Song used to bind together dislocated lives of displaced families.

> 1. SELIG: Wait a minute, Seth. Bynum's telling me about the secret of life. Go ahead, Bynum. I wanna hear this.
> 2. BYNUM: We got near this bend in the road and he told me to hold out my hands… I wandered around there looking for that road…My daddy called me to him. Said he had been thinking about me and it grieved him to see me in the world *carrying other people's songs* and not having one of my own. Told me he was gonna show me *how to find my song… I had the binding Song.* I chose that song because that's what I seen most when I was traveling… People walking away and leaving one another. *So I takes the power of my song and binds them together.* Been binding people ever since. That's why they call me Bynum. Just like glue I sticks people together. (JT 9, 10 Emphasis added)

Bynum encounters his dead father in a trance-like experience and here, Wilson takes us away from the realm of the physical to the metaphysical, demonstrating the impact of the spirit world upon the concrete aspects of black life. Nearly every statement in the exchange between Bynum and his dead father is metaphorical. In 2, we could recover at least three explicit propositions:

1. You are carrying other people's song in the world
2. I had the Binding Song
3. Just like glue I sticks people together

In relevance-theoretic framework, the speaker is expected, within the limits of her abilities and preferences, to make his utterances as relevant as possible (Sperber and Wilson, 2002: 14) and it is this assumption of relevance that activates in the hearer's memory the new concept of "SONG" encoded in the metaphorical utterances. A few contextual assumptions of the concept of SONG may be activated here.

(1) 'song' as a piece of music with words (folk song, pop song)
(2) 'song' as music for the voice
(3) 'song' as a special inner quality

To arrive at an appropriate hypothesis about the speaker's meaning here, the hearer must in addition to his encyclopedic representation of the concept 'SONG' examine the

situational context – what Joan Cutting (2002: 4) calls the "immediate physical co-presence" of the utterance. . In the situational context, we understand that

(a) everybody has a song
(b) people have to find their song
(c) people can make a choice of songs
(d) Bynum has a song that can bring people together.

This process of enrichment from the context could lead the hearer to the notion of 'song' in (3) above as a special quality inherent in every man.

Moreover, the hearer here can relate with the contextual idea of separation among the Blacks, which made Bynum to choose the "Binding Song" by which he binds the 'broken lives' of Black Americans who experience forced separation as they struggle for survival. In the end of the exchange, Bynum's listener, Selig becomes more confused as to how this experience with his dead father translates to the secret of life.

> SELIG: Well, how is that the secret of life? I thought you said he was gonna show you the secret of life. That's what I'm waiting to find out.
> BYNUM: Oh, he showed me alright. But you still got to figure it out. Can't nobody figure it out for you. You got to come to it on your own.

To "figure out" is to make inferences based on some determinate evidence. Whoever wants to understand the 'secret of life' or find his 'song' the way Bynum did must "come to it on [his] own" by making inferences based on the evidence provided. To understand how Bynum's experience explains the secret of a fulfilling life, the hearer needs to look closely at the metaphorical context. While Bynum was alone on a road in a place he calls Johnstown, he had been led to a mystical reunion with his dead father by an elusive figure he calls the Shiny Man, a godlike being whose body emitted light. He had been led into an environment where every object was larger-than-life. Here he encountered his dead father who gave him the "Binding Song." Now if we assume this "song" to be his ultimate life-goal or destiny, then "carrying other people's song" implies walking in paths destined for others or simply imitating others. For him to achieve full self-authenticity, he must find his own "song." Every character in Wilson's plays strives for his personal song, for self-affirmation. For example, in *Fences*, Cory tells his mother, "I don't want to be Troy Maxson, I want to be *me* (*Fences* 189). The "Binding Song" and "sticking people together" as metaphors have the same propositional content: *Re-uniting people.* As part of a fractured race of wandering people, Bynum knew he had to spend his life healing the wounds caused to the spiritually dislocated-leading them gently toward self-discovery. This is the motivation for his binding song which enables him to play the role of a mender of relationships and broken lives in his community.

2.2. The Forgotten Song

The "song" metaphor continues here. In *Joe Turner* Herald Loomis, the tormented protagonist embodies the pain and disillusionment of the entire black race. Speaking about the name of this enigmatic character, Wilson says, "'Herald' because he's a herald and 'Loomis' because he is luminous" (Hill, 1991: 93). His name thus has a strong Biblical allusion to John the Baptist who heralded the coming of Jesus Christ (Mal 3.1; Mtt 11:10). Moreover, Jesus Christ spoke of John the Baptist as "a burning and shining light" (John 5:35) which also explains the second name, 'Loomis.' But there is some paradox here. While John the Baptist heralded the coming of Christ, Loomis heralds his own arrival and as we shall see shortly, he is both the victim and the saviour. He arrives the boarding house formless; as Harrison (1991: 312) explains, "his identity shrouded in the liminal zone between bondage and liberation." He meets Bynum:

> 1. BYNUM: Mr. Loomis done picked some cotton. Ain't you, Herald Loomis? You done picked a bunch of cotton.
> 2. LOOMIS: How you know so much about me? How you know what I done? How much cotton I picked?
> 3. BYNUM: I can tell from looking at you. My daddy thought me how to do that. Say when you look at a fellow, if you taught yourself to look for it, *you can see his song written on him.* Tell you what kind of man he is in the world. Now, I can look at you, Mr. Loomis, and see *you a man who done forgot his song.* A fellow forgot that and he forgot who he is… See, Mr. Loomis, when a man forgets his song, he goes off in search of it… till he finds out he's got it with him all the time. That's why I can tell you one of Joe Turner's niggers. Cause *you forgot how to sing your song* (*JT* 267, 268, Emphasis added).
> 4. LOOMIS: You lie! How you see that? I got a mark on me? Joe Turner done marked me to where you can see it? You telling me I'm a marked man. What kind of mark you got on?

In the last section Bynum explains his mission in life, how he got the Binding Song, and what he does with the song. But in this section, he meets Herald Loomis and begins to apply that special knowledge in order to help Loomis discover himself. In a manner reminiscent of West African juju priests, Bynum reveals Loomis' past in a way that startles the wanderer as he exclaims "You lie! How you see that? I got a mark on me?" Loomis' spontaneous denials here even reinforce the veracity of Bynum's utterances. We can derive two propositions that are important to Loomis.

(1) Loomis is a man that has forgotten his song
(2) Loomis is one of Joe Turner's captives.

Wilson and Sperber (2002: 254) argue that "our perceptual mechanisms tend automatically to pick out potentially relevant stimuli, our memory retrieval mechanisms tend automatically to activate potentially relevant assumptions, and our inferential mechanisms tend spontaneously to process them in the most productive way". Bynum declares that Loomis has forgotten his song and to help Loomis understand the consequence of that, Bynum adds in the same breath, "a fellow forgot that and he forgot

who he is…" This should trigger off in Loomis memory, his own existential nature. When he arrived the boarding house, he was as strange as a ghost. Wilson describes him as a man who *"is unable to harmonize the forces that swirl around him, and [who] seeks to recreate the world into one that contains his image"* (*JT* 14). The boarding house operator, Seth Holly, looks at him with some suspicion. He tells Jeremy (of Loomis) "something ain't setting right with that fellow" (*JT* 20). And when Bynum asks him where he is coming from, he says, "come from all over. Whichever way the road take us, that's the way we go."

Loomis, therefore, could arrive at the conclusion that his vagrancy and existential living are the results of the fact that he has forgotten his song, that he has lost that internal rhythm which makes life purposeful and worth living. Moreover, the idea of Joe Turner raised in the second proposition activates in Loomis the memory of bondage and suffering that tore his world apart. In his immediate past experience which is also part of the contextual assumptions activated automatically by his memory retrieval mechanism, Loomis sees Joe Turner not just as a name of a person, but as a concept of oppression, captivity and brutality. If we provide that contextual background here, we will be able to fully appreciate the impact of Bynum's utterances on Loomis. Loomis has been a victim of the legendary, Joe Turner, the brother of the governor of Tennessee. Joe Turner blatantly ignores the law and tricks freed black men into extended period of forced labour. In the middle of a roadside sermon in Tennessee, Loomis was captured by Joe Turner and for seven years was in a chain gang working in the farms. Recounting the harrowing experience to Bynum he says:

> Had a whole mess of men he catched. Just go out hunting regular like you go out hunting possum. He catch you and go home to his wife and family. Ain't thought about you going home to yours. Joe Turner catched me when my little girl was born… kept everybody seven years. My wife Martha gone from me after Joe Turner catched me. (*JT* 72)

After his manumission, like others, Loomis was out on the road, looking for his wife. He says, "I been wandering a long time in somebody else's world. When I find my wife that be making of my own" (*JT* 72).

At the height of his crisis, Bynum provides him a therapy. "All you got to do is stand up and *sing it*… It's right there kicking at your throat. All you got to do is *sing it.* Then, you'll be free" (*JT* 91). If the song is every man's essential nature or special inner quality as we suggested earlier, then we can infer that forgetting that song means forgetting one's self. Bynum tells Loomis, "a fellow forgot that and he forgot who he is…" This then is the problem of Loomis: as a result of his encounter with Joe Turner, and his subsequent two years of wandering, he has lost every sense of self and personal identity. He has forgotten his song.

2.3. Song of Personal Redemption

Wilson continues the song metaphor until the last scene when Loomis finally meets his wife, Martha, who left to join the service of the church after waiting for him for five years. She urges Loomis to return to Christianity:

> 1. MARTHA: You got to open up your heart and have faith, Herald. This world is just a trial for the next. Jesus Christ offers you salvation.
> 2. LOOMIS: I been wading in the water. I been walking all over the River Jordan. But what it get me, huh? I done been baptized with blood of the lamb and the fire of the Holy Ghost. But what I got, huh? I got salvation? My enemies all around me picking the flesh from my bones. I'm choking on my own blood and all you got to give me is salvation?
> 3. MARTHA: You got to be clean, Herald. You got to be washed with the blood of the lamb.
> 4. LOOMIS: Blood make you clean? You clean with blood?
> 5. MARTHA: Jesus bled for you. He's the lamb of God who takest away the sins of the world.
> 6. LOOMIS: I don't need nobody to bleed for me. I can bleed for myself.
> 7. MARTHA: You got to be something, Herald. You just can't be alive. Life don't mean nothing unless it got a meaning.
> 8. LOOMIS: What kind of meaning you got? What kind of clean you got, woman? You want blood? Blood make you clean? You clean with blood?
> (LOOMIS *slashes himself across the chest. He rubs the blood over his face and comes to a realization.*) I'm standing! I'm standing. My legs stood up! I'm standing now! (JT 93).

From the above text, we can identify certain inferential paths which the author has made salient and which represent his intended meaning.

1. Loomis has lost faith in religion.
2. Loomis has not profited in religion.
3. Loomis' salvation resides within himself.

2.3.1. Loomis has lost faith in religion.

As a background to this context we understand that before he was captured by Joe Turner into forced labour, Loomis was a Deacon in his church. In fact, his capture took place while he was preaching a sermon to gamblers by a road side. But seven years of captivity has eventually led him to apostasy, resulting in unprecedented blasphemies (JT 91-93). In 1 above, his wife Martha tries to bring him back to faith by urging him to believe: “You got to open up your heart and have faith.” She also attempts to re-establish some intimacy with him by addressing him with his first name, 'Herald' as we find in turns 1, 3, and 7. But Loomis is too far gone to come back to faith. He was not only breaking up with the religion under whose guise the slave owners exploited their victims, he was also breaking from his wife to chart a new course for himself. While Martha addresses him as 'Herald,' he addresses her as 'woman'– a rather neutral term that does not show any close relationship with her, a term that might even be considered

derogatory in this context. This reveals his state of mind; he does not only reject Christianity but also his wife.

2.3.2. Loomis has not profited in religion.

Loomis cannot reconcile his harrowing experiences in the hands of Joe Turner, and his consequence loss of identity with the offer of salvation promised by the religion. He represents his ordeal as *wading in water*, *walking all over River Jordan, baptized with blood of the lamb, choking in his own blood,* and so on. These metaphors express the tribulations of saints in the religion he once embraced, but now he does not see any reason for the sufferings if he had to wait until he is dead to profit from the religion. The implication of this is that Loomis is disenchanted with the religion and is determined to break free from it. For Martha, the meaning of life is located in the salvation which her religion offers: "Life don't mean anything unless it got a meaning." Loomis' predicament is reiterated in a series of questions that reveal his doubts and disappointment: "but what it got me, huh?" "But what I got, huh?" "Blood make you clean?" "You clean with blood?"

2.3.3. Loomis's salvation resides within himself

This is Wilson's ultimate goal, to show that salvation does not reside outside of oneself. He once said that "when you look in the mirror, you should see your God. If you don't, you have somebody else's God..." (Qtd in Shannon, 1995: 137). This is the reason he created a character like Loomis whose search for personal identity culminated in himself, who is both a forerunner and a saviour. In 3, Martha suggests that Loomis is unclean and that he needs to be washed in the blood of the lamb. Loomis does not argue the efficacy of blood sacrifice for personal cleansing. But he does object to a substitutionary sacrifice. So, he says "I don't need nobody to bleed for me! I can bleed for myself!" We can schematise the inferential process here as follows:

Reader's Interpretive Assumptions	**The Basis for the Assumption**
(a) LOOMIS has said to Martha: "I don't need anybody to bleed for me." [anybody = uninterpreted pronoun] [anybody = scalar expression] [bleed for = substitutional sacrifice]	*Embedding of the decoded (incomplete) logical form of Loomis' utterance*
(b) Loomis' utterance is optimally relevant to the reader.	*Expectation raised by the recognition of Loomis' utterance as a communicative act.*

Reader's Interpretive Assumptions	**The Basis for the Assumption**
(c) Loomis' utterance will achieve relevance by explaining why he does not need a substitute. (d) To bleed for someone is to take their place in death in order to save them.	*Expectation raised by (b) given that Loomis is actually responding to Martha's concerns.* *The first assumption to occur to the reader by the use of the words "bleed for", and by the reader's concern about the speaker's need for a substitute. This is tentatively accepted as the implicit premise of Loomis' utterance.*
(e) The idea of a substitutionary death is related to Christ and 'anybody' in Loomis' utterance refers to Christ.	*Assumption activated by the use of the word, 'bleed for' and the encyclopedic knowledge shared by participants that Christ shed his blood for the world. This is also accepted as an implicit premise of Loomis' utterance*
(f) Loomis rejects salvation through the shed blood of Christ.	*First enriched interpretation of Loomis' utterance as encoded in (a) to occur to the reader which might combine with (d) to lead to the satisfaction of (f). This is accepted as an explication of Loomis' utterance.*
(g) Loomis does not need any saviour outside of himself.	*Inferred from (e) and (f) and accepted as implicit conclusion of Memphis' utterance.*
(h) Loomis believes that his salvation lies within himself/ Author discourages blacks from seeking freedom/advancement, their song, etc. from outside of themselves.	*From (g) and the background knowledge. Some of the several weak implicatures of Loomis' utterance.*

Fig. III *A schematic outline of hypothesis formed in interpreting 'I don't need nobody to bleed for me" (based on Wilson and Sperber, 2012).*

The comprehension process here may not be necessarily sequential; that is, proceeding step by step from a-h. As Wilson and Sperber (2002) have observed, interpretation is carried out 'online' and even begins while the utterance is still in progress. In this particular case, the reader , in the process of interpretation, continues to encounter assumptions, filters them, as it were, and adjusts them where necessary until he arrives at the meaning which the communicator had manifestly foreseen, and which

meets the reader's expectation of relevance. For example, the reader assumes in (b) that the statement decoded in (a) is optimally relevant to him. He is interested in knowing why Loomis thinks he didn't need anybody to bleed for him and as such he assumes in (c) that Loomis' response will be relevant to him in resolving the questions in his mind in (d) that the speaker is rejecting a substitutionary sacrifice meant for his own salvation. By combining the implicit premises in (d) and (e) with the explicit premise in (f), the reader arrives at the implicit conclusion in (g) from which other weak implicatures such as (h) may be derived. This overall interpretation should satisfy the reader's search for relevance.

Wilson's idea of self-redemption is heavily implicated in this text as his protagonist, Loomis, slashes his own chest with the knife he has been brandishing and rubs his own blood all over his body as a means of cleansing and atonement. At that moment, Loomis achieves epiphany. Epiphany is usually manifested to the observer or reader, not the object. The reader notices a dramatic change in Loomis' circumstances. His journey to self-discovery comes to an end as he shouts "I am standing… I'm standing now!" And indeed, he stands there, resplendent like a new coin. Through a backward inference, we can recall that at the end of his fit in ACT 1, Loomis was spiritually crippled. There he complained to Bynum after collapsing to the floor: "My legs won't stand up! My legs won't stand up!" as he tries to get up from the floor (JT 56). But at the end of this blood ritual he stands, thus achieving his 'personal song' even as his body begins to emit light. On the other hand, Bynum identifies Loomis as the Shiny Man he has been searching for (JT 9, 11) thus achieving his own life goal as well.

The relationship between Bynum and Loomis is reciprocal. Although Bynum is Loomis' spiritual adviser, and has successfully led him through the dark labyrinths of his spiritual odyssey, "by helping Loomis regain the song of his personhood Bynum receives confirmation of his ministry as a binder" (Young, 2011: 139). Most importantly, by helping Loomis achieve his personal song, Bynum identifies Loomis as his "Shiny Man" – the "Man" he has seen only once in his entire life and whom he has so passionately desired to find some day. At the end of the play, Bynum's spirit is illuminated as he declares "Herald Loomis, you shining! You shining like new money!" (JT 94), and as he transcends the limits of material reality which other participants in the play do not comprehend. In fact, it is Bynum who witnessed the epiphanic manifestation of Loomis.

Explaining this experience, Wilson says of Loomis in the stage direction:

> *Having found* ***his song****,* ***the song*** *of self-sufficiency, fully resurrected, cleansed and given breathe, free from any encumbrance other than the workings of his own heart and the bond of the flesh, having accepted the responsibility for his presence in the world, he is free to soar above the environs that weighed and pushed his spirit into terrifying contradictions. (JT 93-94)*

Thus in the above text, Wilson, himself, provides, in relevance-theoretic terms, additional cognitive effects for the metaphoric concept of personal song. Here, the properties of this song include:

(1) Self-sufficiency (3) Resurrection
(2) Freedom (4) Responsibility

All through the years of slavery, the Negroes were dependent on their masters for survival. There is need to achieve self-sufficiency. They also need true resurrection from the residues of slave life that cling to them. They need total freedom and assertion of their rights, and there is need for them to take responsibility for the choices they make now in their pursuit of the American Dream. These amount to the "personal song" realised as a means of cultural and personal affirmation. This is the path designed by Wilson for his audience. We can put this inferential computation in a table thus:

Hearer's Interpretative Assumptions	**The Basis for the Assumption**
a. Bynum has said, 'I can look at you, Mr. Loomis, and see you a man who done forgot his song.'	*Decoding of utterance by hearer/reader.*
b. Bynum's utterance is optimally relevant to hearer/reader	*Expectation is raised as hearer/hearer recognizes the utterance as a communicative act.*
c. Bynum's utterance will achieve relevance by addressing the concern of the reader/ hearer about the forgotten song	*Expectations raised by (b) given that the utterance addresses the concern of hearer/reader*
d. Since Loomis has been in deep trouble, forgetting his song implies something essential is missing in his life.	*Assumption activated by the use of the words 'you a man', 'forgot', 'song' and by hearer's/ reader's awareness of the plight of Loomis as a troubled soul. This is tentatively accepted as an implicit premise of Bynum's utterance.*
e. Song (in one lexicalised sense of the term, SONG∗) generally can bring the singer happiness and fulfilment. Or can depict that internal rhythm in one's life.	*Implicit conclusion derivable from (d) together with an appropriate interpretation based on the real world knowledge shared by parties in the conversation.*
f. Loomis has forgotten his SONG∗, and therefore his sense of self, identity, fulfilment, personal achievement.	*Interpretation of the explicit content of Bynum's utterance as decoded in (a) which along with (d) would imply (e). This interpretation is to be taken as Bynum's explicit meaning.*

Hearer's Interpretative Assumptions	**The Basis for the Assumption**
g. Loomis has forgotten who he is, and therefore his is unable to overcome his limitations.	*First overall interpretation of the utterance (that is the explicit content plus implicatures) which would satisfy the expectation of relevance in (b). This is accepted as the meaning intended by Bynum or even the author.*

Fig. IV *A schematic outline of hypothesis formed in interpreting 'I can look at you, Mr. Loomis, and see you a man who done forgot his song' (based on Wilson and Sperber, 2012).*

We can provide a summary of this process as follows:

1. Explicit content = Loomis has forgotten his song.
2. Contextual assumption = SONG* is essential for his freedom, identity, and progress.
= SONG** is a way of life, personhood, fulfilment.
3. Contextual implication = Loomis cannot overcome his limitations, and make progress until he finds his song.

As we can see, the contextual assumptions in (2) above is unlikely to be stored ready-made in the encyclopedic entry for 'song' and to that extent the interpretation of (1) involves the derivation of the emergent features of being true freedom, personhood, identity, fulfilment, and advancement based on pragmatic inference guided by the line of interpretation which the author has made manifest to the reader. This line of interpretation is justified because it is the most accessible in the context and also relevant in the expected way. (3) above can therefore be accepted not only as a contextual implication, but also as an implicature of the utterance in (1).

3. Concluding Remarks

This study has adopted an inferential approach to textual interpretation based on Relevance Theory. The inferences are mutual between the author and the reader. The author makes inferences about what he thinks the reader already knows about the lexical item 'song', and then from that take off point he guides the reader through some inferential paths in which the new meaning of 'song' is derived. On the other hand, the reader, following the path of least effort in deriving cognitive effects, makes assumptions based on contextual factors and the background knowledge he shares with the author about the African American experience and the author's critical engagement, which privileges the need for the African American to take responsibility for what becomes of his life rather than seeing himself as a victim of the white hegemony.

The result of this is the emergence of specific properties of 'song' not previously conceived. Thus, 'song' in *Joe Turner's Come and Gone* becomes an ontological

construct which specifies the individual's quest for spiritual transcendence and personal development. We arrive at this conclusion through several inferences based on the Principle of Relevance. For example, when Bynum obtained his 'Binding Song', he discovered his mission in life – that of mending broken lives. It was through this medium he helped Loomis to regain his identity. To Bynum, therefore, 'song' is that special knowledge which enabled him to fulfil his mission in life. In addition, Bynum says everybody has a 'song' and that people can make choices about 'song.' So, 'song' is a way of life; it is ontological. Again, 'song' is a pursuit in life and it can be forgotten; "a fellow forgot that and he forgot who he is." But "when a man forgets his song, he goes off in search of it… till he finds out he's got it with him all the time" (JT 71). The implication here is that 'song' is an indispensible element in life; it is essential to one's being, because by it the individual comes to terms with his greater self as a human being with definite worth.

Finally we come to the climax of Wilson's 'song' metaphor as Loomis rejects salvation from a substitutionary death, opting rather to bleed for himself. As he performs this ritual, he comes to self-realisation, a new awareness of his personhood and identity, thus achieving his life goal – finding his 'song.' In this regard 'song' becomes total freedom, self-sufficiency, self-affirmation, personal advancement, and responsibility. At the end of the play when Loomis finds his song, normalcy is restored as each character including Bynum and Mattie finds their song. From the foregoing, therefore, we assume that understanding Wilson's 'song' metaphor is key to the interpretation of *Joe Turner's Come and Gone.*

Notes

1. The idea of spiritual transcendence here was first mooted by Pereira (1998:66). Our main concern, however, is how to arrive at that construct through pragmatic inference.

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Postcolonial Nation and Matrilineal Myth: Social Construction of Maternity in Michelle Cliff's "Clare Savage" Novels

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ABSTRACT

The aim of my essay is to show how the Afro-American writer Michelle Cliff uses the concept of matriliny in the process of the feminist recovery of the history of Jamaica. I will argue that Michelle Cliff is a writer that honors the anachronistic tradition of essentialism that is based on the notion that cultures and identities have certain innate qualities immutable irrespective of time and place. I will contend that this essentialist worldview, skews the fictive world of Cliff's much celebrated "Clare Savage novels": *Abeng* and *No Telephone to Heaven* by reducing it to facile, Manichean oppositions between the colonizer and the colonized, white and black culture. My essay will particularly focus on how Cliff's project of the affirmation of matriliny is undermined by her deep ambivalence about the institution of motherhood, which in times of slavery and decolonization was implicated in various discourses inimical to the well-being of black women.

Keywords: Black matrilineage, matriliny, female bonding, postcolonial and feminist revision of history, essentialism

Matriliny has been one of the most contentious issues in feminist discourse. The second wave of feminism with its celebration of literary foremothers gave the concept of matriliny a positive valence and a wide currency. Matrilineal narratives, that is, narratives showing how the female protagonist's identity is shaped by her foremothers,

have become a very popular means of feminist expression. In postcolonial criticism and literature, matrilineage and motherhood have been particularly charged concepts. Postcolonial matrilineal narratives have been read through the lenses of both feminist psychoanalysis and postcolonial theories that further complicated the meaning of mother-daughter bonding. Some of these narratives are allegories of decolonization, in which a postcolonial daughter emancipates herself from her mother's colonial mindset. In others, conversely, the recuperation of matrilineal ancestry teaches the uprooted, often diasporic daughter how to embrace her cultural female heritage through her mother, who often remains the daughter's only connection to her homeland. Thus in postcolonial cultures, affected by ruptures of history, forceful dislocation and erasure of collective memory, matrilineal narratives have become one of the most popular methods of reclaiming and reimaging the past. They have helped to create a new communal mythology that, in the words of Edouard Glissant (1999: 70), provides "frames of reference of the collective relationship of men with their environment" and satisfies the uprooted peoples' desire for "the primordial source . . . the explanation of origins, the echo of genesis, that which reorients the evolution of the collective drama" (Glissant, 1999: 79). To put it another way, matrilineal narratives are instrumental in establishing cultural identities based on new "frames of reference" (Glissant, 1999: 79) that can produce a sense of continuity and stability in order to compensate for vicissitudes of the actual history.

The aim of my essay is to show the pitfalls of such an "ethnographic approach" (Glissant, 1999: 14) to historical revisionism; an approach which flies in the face of the recent valorization of hybridity and creolization in both postcolonial and cultural studies. I will focus on the literary output of Michelle Cliff, the African American writer of Caribbean pedigree, who has received significant critical attention for her efforts to establish a female plot of national genesis and recover matrilineal histories of Jamaica. Her two novels *Abeng* and *No Telephone to Heaven* focus on the burgeoning political consciousness of the main character Clare, who struggles to come to terms with the complex history of her family and island. Her narratives were praised by both postcolonial/Caribbean critics for their "lyrical reenactment of lives banished from history books" (*Voice Literary Supplement*) and by feminist critics for their attempt to "re-inscribe the space of the mother into the past, present and future of the colonized island" (Cloud, 2009: 9). In the words of Jennifer J. Smith, in these critiques, "Clare is often posited as an ideal nuanced subject," and as static and exemplary figure, who "is celebrated as Bertha fully realized and Antoinette fully conscious" (2009: 150). To put it another way, Cliff's work appeals to feminist and postcolonial critics —her "Clare Savage" novels are postcolonial counter-discourses that reconfigure the history of the island from the perspective of the colonized, and, the same time, they are manifestoes that "offer feminist modes of political and social action" (Smith, 2009: 142). This explains why most of criticism of Cliff's prose is, as Jennifer J. Smith claims, "unabashedly celebratory" (2009: 142).

Smith is one of very few critics to notice that reading Cliff through the lenses of time-honored discursive moves such as postcolonial feminist revisionism does not

always resolve some inherent contradictions of the novels' plot and characterization. Unlike earlier critics, Smith observes that "Clare's growth remains incomplete and her methods futile" (2009: 150). Rather that read the novels as recuperation of lost matrilineal histories, Smith essay "Birthed and Buried: Matrilineal History in Michelle Cliff's *No Telephone to Heaven*" theorizes them as postmodern "signifyin'" on two myths: the colonial "feminization of the land"—a myth that links the colonial space with the body of the native female, and the postcolonial conflation of woman, particularly mother, with the newly-born nation. According to Smith, Clare Savage novels subvert both myths, showing in the process the "limitations of a feminist recovery of history and tradition that depends on the maternal body" (2009: 150). In other words, Clare's project of feminist recovery of history is a failed one, argues Smith, because Cliff wanted to show the reader that identification of the colonized land with the female body and treating maternity as a site of resistance and empowerment for Black women is no longer a viable strategy. In Smith's view, all the readings of Cliff that uncritically espouse the notion that building matrilineal lineages can be the best hope for resisting oppression impoverish the concept of these texts.

Admittedly Smith's polemical interpretation, which heeds and elaborates on inconsistencies in Cliff's handling of her matrilineal narratives, does Cliff more justice than the earlier rave reviews. However, this study will present another (and not so flattering for Cliff) explanation of the texts' complexities and contradictions. In my opinion Michelle Cliff is a writer that honors the anachronistic tradition of essentialism that is based on the notion that cultures and identities have certain innate qualities immutable irrespective of time and place. In the essentialist worldview, national and gender identities have intrinsic qualities which are natural, permanent and unchangeable and which are passed from one generation to another. I will contend that Cliff's narratives are flawed because of her championing of essentialized female identities. Consequently the fictive world of Cliff's novels is reduced to facile, Manichean oppositions between the colonizer and the colonized, white and black culture, good mothers who pass on the values of their African heritage and bad mothers, who take on corrupted values of European civilization. The novels not only enhance pretty hackneyed clichés and binary oppositions about the colonial encounter and its legacy but also lead to bewildering and paradoxical conjectures about Jamaican culture and the national identity of Jamaican women. My reading is informed by a contending theoretical framework of constructionism, according to which cultures and identities do not have any innate qualities. They are not static and fixed essences to be passed through generations but dynamic social constructs that come from complex interactions among various traditions of a given society and from the society's surroundings. Therefore this article sets to challenge the essentialist premises which Cliff's novels are based on—it offers an ideological and political, rather than textual analysis of the construction of national identification of Cliff's female protagonists, and it investigates Cliff's difficulties with using the concept of matriliny as an identificatory tool for postcolonial Jamaican subjects.

In what follows, I will argue that Cliff tries to reconcile in her writing a valorization of female lineage with her deep ambivalence about "the institution of motherhood," which in times of colonialism and slavery was implicated in "the successful perpetuation of colonizing forces" (Birkle, 1998: 74). Cliff's "Clare Savage novels," *Abeng* and *No Telephone to Heaven*, seem to rest upon an unresolved contradiction–the affirmation of matriliny, which is typical for female authors of African descent, and the not-so-typical elision of motherhood. Whereas matrilineage is seen as a possibility for links between generations, motherhood is rejected as a source of women's vulnerability, subjection and degeneration. Drawing on Belinda Edmondson's reading of Cliff's novels, I will show that Cliff tries to come to terms with her ambivalence about Caribbean matrilineage through a juxtaposition of two models of womanhood: "the invisible image of black woman's as collaborator underwrites the visible image of the black woman warrior" (Edmondson, 1998: 83). Furthermore I will contend that the figure of the childless female revolutionary not only redeems the figure of the collaborationist mother, but also serves another more complex purpose. The figure of a woman warrior not only reverses the image of the black mother as a collaborator, as Edmondson claims, but also provides an anchor for female bonding that is established not as a biological line of descent, but as a woman's heritage through other symbolic or mythical mothers. Consequently, by forging an alliance with these other culture-bearing mothers, Cliff hopes to achieve a reconciliation with the maternal figure, who, in spite of her betrayals, remains the only connection to the place of her birth, the island, which in Caribbean discourse is often pictured as the ur-mother of all.

A part of Cliff's difficulties with restoring Jamaican matrilineal histories comes from her own personal history, which is relevant in any discussion of Cliff's writing because of her overtly autobiographical writing. Cliff's scholars, such as Belinda Edmondson, maintain that Clare Savage—the protagonist of *Abeng* and *No Telephone to Heaven* bears many resemblances to Cliff and can be thus regarded as Cliff's alter ego (1998: 78). This impression is reinforced by Cliff's own comments on her fiction expressed in such autobiographical collections of essays as, for instance, *Claiming an Identity They Taught Me to Despise*, where she elaborates on Clare's situation by drawing comparisons with her own life. What is more, Cliff's omniscient third-person narrators of *Abeng* and *No Telephone to Heaven* put across similar views and ideas as those in *Claiming an Identity*, and their ideological and moral judgments resonate with Cliff's views. In consequence, one can argue that Cliff wholeheartedly identifies with her protagonist Clare Savage and that her all-knowing and authoritative narrators express a point of view that is in line with Cliff's way of thinking.

Indeed a sound knowledge Cliff's biography and her autobiographical essays can help to elucidate some of the paradoxes of her novels, such as the mentioned earlier conflicting relationship between matriliny and motherhood. Cliff defines herself as an "Afro-Saxon," that is, a descendant of the privileged mulatto elite of the Jamaican "pigmentocracy." Cliff calls this elite "white negroes" because they "absorbed the white oppressor's status" (Hornung, 1998: 87). As Cliff (1990a: 265) explains in her essay "Clare Savage as a Crossroads Character," even in independent Jamaica light skin

meant "privilege, civilization, erasure, forgetting." Therefore, as a middle class, light-skinned child, Cliff "received the message of anglocentrism, of white supremacy, and [she] internalized it" (Hornung, 1998: 88). Anglocentrism means striving to "pass for white" and to "attain whiteness or at least those qualities of the colonizer which made him superior" (Cliff, 1985: 72). In Cliff's family it was her mother, who enforced on her "the kumbla of passing" (Hoving, 2001: 252), whereas Cliff was the resistant daughter who tried to forge an affinity with the denigrated black culture of Jamaican peasants—the descendants of African slaves. For that reason Cliff's relationship with her mother was very strained, as the writer frequently and freely admits. Since Cliff has turned her back on her mother, in her fiction she has tried to imagine a mythical maternal figure to provide a connection to the land of her birth and to take root in black maternal culture she reveres so much. As a result, Cliff invents for Clare a matrilineal line that connects her to the spiritual authority of the grandmother, an heir to wise African *griots,* bypassing her compromised biological mother and, in this way, she heals Clare's, as well as her own, antagonistic relationship to the past.

The second source of Cliff's difficulty is that her desire to forge an alliance between her racially mixed female protagonist, Clare Savage and Jamaica's Black heroic foremothers is partially thwarted by the complex legacy of colonialism and national identity formation in the Caribbean. This legacy includes a continued presence of a set of myths that have shaped (or rather warped) the social construction of maternity and the archetype of the Caribbean mother. As Caroline Rody explains, the maternal figure in Caribbean literature and culture is not a monolithic creation, as it can stand for many conflicting cultural affiliations: from the "mother country" England in colonial times, through mother-Africa in the *Negritude* movement, to the mother-island in postcolonial Jamaica. Moreover, when anti-colonialist nationalism appropriated the archetype of the Caribbean mother, the mother figure was conflated with the nation, and she began to be seen as the origin of historical memory and the foundation of the national culture.

The Caribbean nationalist literature from the 1950s to 1970s was dominated by male writers who had a considerable maternal fixation. The work by C.L.R. James, H.G. de Lisser, Roger Mais, Samuel Selvon, Kamau Brathwaite, Earl Lovelace and George Lamming gave birth to many contradictory clichés of Caribbean mothers. In the literature of the three decades of nationalist ascendancy, female characters were either fetishised mothers or prostitutes and shrews. If the nation was imagined as a mother giving birth to a language, a culture and a collective memory, the male texts presented the female character as a strong, self-reliant and nurturing matriarch. If the focus was not on the archetypal mother-nation, female characters were often pictured as un-nurturing and insufficiently loving mothers. These deficient mothers were often accused of complicity with the colonial culture and depicted either as eager slave breeders or mulattoes desiring whiteness through sexual relations with white men. The most famous and controversial account of the black woman's desire for a white lover was provided by Frantz Fanon in his influential and widely-read study *Black Skin, White Masks*, where Fanon takes to task the autobiography of Mayotte Capécia, a Martinican woman who seeks the love of a white man. His discussion of the novel drew angry responses

from feminist critics, who accused Fanon of misogyny, arguing that his unsympathetic account of Capécia is evidence that he holds black women responsible for the devaluing of blackness. As Hortense Spillers argues, such a portrayal of racial and gender relations by male writers and critics explicitly suggested that black mothers should be solely blamed for "the fundamental degradation of an identity inheritance that comes through the female line instead of the male" (qtd. in Edmondson, 1998: 81). Cliff's matrifocal fiction taps into a similar (con)fusion of love and repulsion towards maternity. Speaking to the mother-island of Jamaica in an essay tellingly titled "Love in the Third World," Cliff states: "this is a killing ambivalence. I bear in mind that you with all your cruelties are the source of me, and like even the most angry mother draw me back" (Cliff, 1992: 103).

Cliff's efforts at reconciliation with that Jamaican mother are dramatized in both *Abeng* and its sequel *No Telephone to Heaven*. According to Simon Gikandi, Clare, the protagonist of both novels, is "a schizophrenic and divided subject" (1992: 244) torn between the conflicting worlds of her racially-mixed family, which can be seen as a microcosm of Jamaica's colonized society. *Abeng* is set in the 1950s on the eve of emancipation, and Clare is twelve years old and on the verge of womanhood. *No Telephone to Heaven* traces Clare's development through the post-independence period, during which Clare is mostly displaced in various foreign lands, seeking a substitute mother for her biological mother, who abandoned her. First, she sets off from Jamaica to an adoptive mother country—the United States, then to the imperial motherland, England–only to finally return to her homeland, where she embraces her African heritage and dies as a revolutionary.

Clare's quest for an identity can be seen as an allegory of the process of decolonization. All the characters in the novel are first and foremost products of the colonial society, while Clare is the supreme symbol of the so-called "mulatto angst," that is an anxiety experienced by colored people and created by "the suspension of the white and black traditions that have socially determined them, but they cannot wholly embrace" (Gikandi, 1992: 238). Clare is suspended between the warring worldviews of her racially-mixed parents. On the one end of the spectrum is Clare's white-skinned father, Boy, who sees himself as a descendant of an infamous slave-owner, Judge Savage, who burnt his slaves before emancipation lest he should be forced to set them free. Boy stands for colonial and patriarchal authority. Though he is not completely white, he does his best to pass for white, and he unabashedly preaches the ideology of "white supremacy." Clare's darker mother, Kitty, is at the other end of the spectrum. She sees herself as a descendant of slaves; she cherishes her black lineage and represents Clare's matrilineal legacy, which is denigrated by Kitty's overtly racist husband. Kitty epitomizes all the paradoxes inherent in the African Caribbean motherhood. Though she loves the Jamaican black peasant culture, she assumes Clare will be perceived as white and will stand a better chance in life if she is associated with her privileged paternal lineage. That is why Kitty easily gives in to her husband's wish to teach Clare to act white and does not even try to deliver to Clare her share in her

black maternal traditions. Therefore Kitty can be seen as a deficient and insufficiently loving mother who is responsible for the rupture of the Afro-Caribbean matrilineal line.

Clare, who has inherited her father's looks and her mother's affection for the Jamaican rural culture, is an allegorical figure *par excellence*—she is a daughter caught between the disparate and conflicting identities of her parents. This internal conflict is encapsulated in her very name, as Cliff herself explains in "Clare Savage as a Crossroads Character". Her first name "Clare" connotes the privilege connected with her white skin, whereas her surname "Savage" is suggestive of the wildness and blackness she has been taught to "bleach out." As Cliff explicates, Clare's story is about "blackening" of what has been bleached out: "A knowledge of history, the past, has been bleached out from her mind, just as the rapes of her grandmothers are bleached out from her skin, and this bleached skin is the source of her privilege and her power too, so she thinks, for she is a colonized child" (1990a: 264-265). Clare's allegorical quest takes her from the values of her father's "inauthentic whiteness" to her mother's undervalued but more "authentic blackness and femaleness" (Edmondson, 1998: 79), which Cliff and her narrators obviously favor. Thus, Clare's quest for a black female identity is inscribed, as in other female-authored Caribbean novels, in terms of female bonding and a maternal allegory, which in this particular instance exposes the crippling impact of the insufficiently nurturing mother on the daughter's bourgeoning political consciousness. The daughter is torn by her conflicting emotions for the mother, whose cultural reticence and withdrawal hinder the daughter's self-awareness, but thanks to other surrogate mythical mothers, she finally develops a coherent African-based identity. In other words, Clare exchanges an essentialized white identity for an equally essentialized black identity, thus going against the grain of the postcolonial celebration of creolized identities, which is considered a defining feature of Caribbean literature and cultural theory.

To explain Kitty's defection and betrayal, Cliff's narrators recount the mythical history of the island. They introduce a number of maternal figures: grandmothers and mythical mothers who occupy different ideological positions, indicated by their relation to the meaning of motherhood. The most prominent of them are two mythical sisters who are positioned as the foremothers of the Jamaican nation. The omniscient narrator of *Abeng* informs the reader that: "in the beginning there had been two sisters, Nanny and Sekesu. Sekesu remained a slave. Some say this was the difference between sisters. It was believed that all the island's children descended from one or the other" (Cliff, 1995: 18). Nanny, a half-mythical and half-historical figure, was a leader of the Maroons, runaway slaves living in the inaccessible Jamaican mountains. In Cliff's novels she is often evoked as the quintessentially African *griot*: she is an Ashanti warrior and sorceress from the Gold Coast of Africa. Her name means "wet nurse," and she does not have any children of her own–she is the symbolic mother of that part of the nation that puts up heroic resistance against oppression and assimilation. She is the "magnanimous warrior . . . hunting mother . . . mother who brews the most beautiful tea" (Cliff, 1996: 163). Sekesu, on the other hand, stands for bondage, defeat and resignation. She is a passive victim of slavery, who gives in to the colonial culture that

sees black women as slave breeders, whose motherhood is forcefully imposed on them by the colonizer. Her continuing complicity with the oppressive white world is symbolized by "the foul afterbirth" that "is lodged in the woman's body and will not be expelled . . ." It is a signifier of female betrayal and reproductive loss, "the waste of birth," which evokes nothing but repulsion, as it is "foul smelling and past its use" (Cliff, 1995: 165).

Cliff's morally righteous, all-knowing narrators make it clear which of these two mothers Jamaica's children should love and respect. The narrators put down Sekesu and her female descendants as breeding machines and vessels for reproduction of the colonial mindset. They are bearers of degraded female identity; they compromise their maternal duties through their failure to transmit the genuine black, Jamaican female history and culture. As with Pocahontas, who is briefly mentioned in *No Telephone to Heaven*, they are women who, through motherhood, perpetuated what many have seen as treason. Thus Sekesu's name, like Pocahontas's name, is a synonym for traitor, "a consort of the enemy, a woman who let herself be used, intellectually, sexually against her people" (Birkle, 1998: 72). In contrast, the novels condone "the adamantine refusal of slave women to reproduce" (Cliff, 1996: 93) through abortion, contraception and infanticide. The women engaged in such acts of resistance are pictured as heroic reincarnations of the formidable Nanny. Mma Alli, a slave woman from Judge Savage's plantation, is one of such fetishized icons. She is "a strange woman with a right breast that had never grown. She said she was a one-breasted warrior woman and represented a tradition which was older than the one that enslaved [Africans]" (Cliff, 1995: 34). Like Nanny, she is an heir to cherished African traditions, which she passes on to the next generation: "she taught the children the old ways—the knowledge she brought from Africa—and told them never to forget them. She described the places they had all come from, where one-breasted women were bred to fight" (Cliff, 1995: 34). Mma Alli refuses to surrender to any form of power, including patriarchy, so she "refuses the womb, with all it signifies, like heterosexuality and motherhood" (Hoving, 2001: 265). As a powerful Obeah woman, she uses her knowledge to help other slave women, such as Inez, who is repeatedly raped by Judge Savage, to abort their "mixed-up" unborn "children" conceived in "buckra [white] rape," in a belief that such a child "would have no soul" (Cliff, 1995: 35). In short Mma Alli and Inez's lesbianism and refusal of motherhood are hailed as a form of revolt against slavery and colonialism.

But "the colonized child" Clare is oblivious of the island's history of female resistance and betrayal. As the narrative voice of *Abeng* clarifies, she lives "within certain parameters–which [cloud] her judgment" (Cliff, 1995: 77). Nanny, Mma Alli and Inez are held as exemplars, but their stamina and resilience are completely forgotten by young Afro-Caribbean women. Jamaica is an "island which did not know its history" (Cliff, 1995: 96). Jamaicans "had . . . heard of Maroons," but they "did not know of the wars [Maroons] fought" (Cliff, 1995: 91). They live in "the world of make-believe" (Cliff: 1995, 96) obscured by the official version of history that has erased any mention of revolt or resistance, they "have taken the masters' past as [their] own" (Cliff, 1996: 127). The history of Nanny and other heroic women could have been "kept alive on

tongues, through speech and in song," (Cliff, 1995: 128) but, as it turns out, only the old women still hold on to that memory. The children of Jamaica, laments the narrator of *No Telephone to Heaven*, "have left her. Her powers are known no longer. They are called by other names. She is not respected . . . They have taken away her bag of magic . . . We have forgotten her. Now that we need her more than ever" (1996: 164). The contemporary Jamaican Obeah women are treated with disrespect. They are considered to be "damned witche[s]" (Cliff, 1995: 87) and their ancient knowledge "naïve science, bunga [African] nonsense" (Cliff, 1995: 69). The power is wielded by Jamaican men, who, as the novels suggest, are aligned with the forces of modernity. They would like to rob the women of their exceptional power, which, as the narrators suggest, is granted by Nature, which is "female and the ruler of all" (Cliff, 1995: 53). Mr. Powell, the deceptively well-meaning and benign teacher from a country school in *Abeng,* is an example of the misguided attempts to uproot his own people with Western notions of progress. According to him, ancient African beliefs are "barbarian things" that "should be made of as little as possible . . . These people [Jamaican peasants] had to be taught to rise above their past and forget all the nonsense of Obeah or they would never amount to anything" (Cliff, 1995: 87). He repeatedly warns his pupils against the "false" African knowledge, "which was held in the minds and memories of old women" (Cliff, 1995: 69). Consequently, in contemporary Jamaica old women are confined in almshouses for the mad. The burning of an almshouse in *No Telephone to Heaven* is a symbolic immolation of the ancient African knowledge, as the old women are literally consumed by fire. A sense of recoverable loss pervades the pages of both novels, which at times reverberate as an elegy to these great African matriarchs–the good, nurturing and resisting mothers, whose defamed knowledge had the potential of becoming the site of an oppositional and subversive culture.

Some vestiges of the forces held by the powerful Obeah women of the past reside in Clare's self-reliant maternal grandmother, Miss Mattie. But Miss Mattie is a controversial maternal figure, who brings into focus Cliff's difficulties in embracing her essentialized Caribbean matrilineage. In Miss Mattie, the images of good and bad, beloved and problematic mothers come to a head-on clash; Miss Mattie's charismatic public appearance is at variance with her personal coldness that poisons the life of her only daughter, Kitty. There are two antagonistic aspects of Miss Mattie that make her portrayal completely implausible. As a grandmother she is revered as a repository of an ancient African worldview shared by other wise old women and, to use an expression of Afro-Canadian poet Dionne Brand's, she is "the site of identification." But as a mother, she is as anti-maternal and un-nurturing as all of Cliff's biological mothers. Cliff, who elaborates on her use of the trope of powerful grandmother in her essay "Clare Savage as a Crossroad Character," states that "the powerful aspect of the grandmother originates in Nanny." She adds:

> at her most powerful, the grandmother is the source of knowledge, magic ancestors, stories, healing practices and food. She assists at rites of passage, protects and teaches. She is an inheritor of African belief systems, African languages. She may be informed with ashe, the power to make things happen, the justice (1990a: 267).

Cliff is at pains to show Miss Mattie as a person endowed with Nanny's spiritual authority. Miss Mattie is an imposing figure who establishes and presides over her own church. She is described as a "sorceress" who through her charitable acts performs for the poor "the miracle of loves and fishes" (Cliff, 1995: 5), reminiscent of Nanny's feats. Thanks to her efforts, St. Elizabeth, where she lives and where Clare spends her holidays, is a female environment saturated with an indigenous African culture, in which women—not men—are political and spiritual leaders. However, Miss Mattie's sagacity is a bit undermined by Cliff's desire to show that even this feminized landscape is vulnerable to colonial influences. Therefore this environment is not completely idealized, as it is divided along lines of class and private property. Miss Mattie's family, the Freemans, are landowning peasants who fit themselves into the colonial hierarchies of class and possession without challenging them. Among the women who attend Miss Mattie's church are those who own farms—their social status is indicated by their jewelry and by the fact that they are admitted to Miss Mattie's house. At the bottom of the social ladder are the poor, unadorned women squatting at Ms Mattie's estate, who are recipients of Miss Mattie's bounty but are never allowed to enter her house. Furthermore, though Miss Mattie does not assimilate into the dominant colonial culture, she conforms and passes on to her offspring a selective knowledge of her African culture. Kitty learns from Miss Mattie her knowledge of Obeah, but not about Nanny or Mma Alli.

Miss Mattie's relationship to Kitty also dramatizes the emotional costs of the stigma of motherhood, which Cliff's novels inadvertently advocate. The lesson Kitty receives form her mother is one of coldness and emotional withdrawal, as Miss Mattie does not lavish much affection on her children. Kitty's first moment of intimacy with her mother takes place when Kitty prepares her mother's body for burial, and it is only then that Kitty catches the one and only glimpse of black motherhood as a lived experience: "From somewhere came an image of a slave woman pacing aisles of cane, breast hung over her shoulder to suckle the baby carried on her back" (Cliff, 1996: 71). Kitty never breastfeeds her daughters herself because, applying "Boy's sense of what was right," she thinks that this is "something only animals do" (Cliff, 1995: 53-54). But Clare's biggest desire at the age of twelve is to close her eyes and "suck her mother's breasts again and again" so that "together they would enter some dream Clare imagined mothers and children shared" (Cliff, 1995: 54).

It appears that Cliff's maternal characters, such as Miss Mattie and Kitty, are not only guilty of the breach of matrilineal memory, but, first and foremost, of withholding their affection. Cliff's depiction of the relationships between Miss Mattie and Kitty, and also between Kitty and Clare, reveals the author's deep ambivalence towards motherhood, not only as an institution compromised in times of slavery, but also as a personal experience. The images of emotionally rigid, schizophrenic mothers suffering from dangerous schisms between their "public" and "private" lives, quarrel with images of rebellious but childless national mothers rooted in Jamaica's folkloric history. And while Cliff and her narrators renounce motherhood as a compromised institution, her novels seem to cry out for true and nurturing maternal warmth. The motherless and

childless Clare betrays a deep and unfulfilled yearning for maternal love and is not entirely free of conventional feminine myths that occasionally leave her flooded with "thoughts of missed motherhood" (Cliff, 1996: 191).

Superficial racial divisions separate Jamaican daughters from their mothers and prevent them from claiming the presumably sustaining maternal identity, its cultural codes and histories of resistance. The novels show that identities of Jamaican women are firmly rooted in either white or black tradition, but true "Jamaicanness" can only stem form one principal origin—the African past. Moreover, it is irrevocably connected with the skin color that can effectively bar a person from participating in the life of this genuine African-derived culture. Just as Miss Mattie is "removed from her white mother" (Cliff, 1995: 134) whom she does not love, Kitty cannot love her white daughter Clare, who "would never get admission to [Kitty's] private world" and "the darkness locked inside" (Cliff, 1995: 128). Kitty thinks it is "better to have this daughter accept her destiny and not give her any false notion of alliance which she [Kitty] would not be able to honor" (Cliff, 1995: 129). Although Clare loves St. Elizabeth, the countryside and her grandmother in whose house she goes through all the formative experiences of her life, because of her light skin she is never granted complete admittance or acceptance. In St. Elizabeth, Clare often feels "locked off" (Cliff, 1996: 154); she is not allowed to work, participate in the rituals of her grandmother's church or socialize with the country women. She cannot play with boys and is gradually more and more aware of the unbridgeable gulf that separates her from her only playmate, Zoe, who, unlike Clare, is a daughter of a dark skinned landless proletarian mother. Eventually, she is banished from this rural feminine world, when she breaks gender codes by accidentally shooting Miss Mattie's bull.

Kitty's cultural reticence, her refusal to counter Clare's father's aggressive autobiographical narrative, is the most conspicuous maternal betrayal in the two novels. As Smith argues:

> while [Clare's] Afro-Saxon father extols the history and virtues of the English and participates in the denigration of the African cultural heritage and the people who are darker of body, her mother, even as she identifies emotionally with the poor and dark of body, represents them as victims, powerless ones who require feeding and sympathy, the helping hands of the privileged class. (1998: 48)

Therefore, Kitty's "mistake" is not only in "casting her people in the position of victims, so that her love of darkness became a love conceived in grief" (Cliff, 1996: 128), but also, as Agosto aptly remarks, Kitty's "generosity for the poor . . . her charity [are] an alibi for not making any serious attempt to change the politics that keep the poor disempowered" (1999: 107). Consequently, and in spite of her "private tears" (Cliff, 1995: 137) for the submerged population of Jamaica, she "identifies with the poor from a distance" (Agosto, 1999: 110).

Kitty's lack of resistance and her betrayal are attributed to her own loss of a sense of history and cultural amnesia. The narrator of *Abeng* contends that:

> Kitty should have been the daughter of Inez and Mma Ali and Nanny too—and had she known about the existence of these women, she might have shared her knowledge, her extraordinary passion, using its strength, rather than protecting what she felt was its fragility. The fragility of her people, on this island intent on erasing the past. (1995, 128)

Kitty had wished to be "a Maroon girl," and a teacher, teaching from "manuals she herself wrote" and going "beyond Mr. Powell in her lessons—that was her plan" (Cliff, 1995: 129). But the plan fell through because, to quote one of Cliff's wise grandmothers out of context, Kitty chose to become a "breeder" instead of a "reader" (Cliff, 1990b: 95). In this way, Kitty comes across as a schizophrenic mother, split between her public practice of conforming and passing and her private ritual of supporting Jamaica's poor blacks.

Kitty can also be read as a collaborationist mother, who goes along with the Jamaican custom of "lightening up" (Cliff, 1996: 169). According to it, a white girl is passed into the hands of her whiter parent and then, as the narrator of *Abeng* wryly comments, this parent "would pass his light-skinned daughter to a white husband, so she would have lighter and lighter babies—this after all was how genetics was supposed to work, moving towards preservation of whiteness and obliteration of blackness" (1995: 129). Like her mother Miss Mattie, Kitty is a figure of contradictions whose characterization lacks psychological credibility. Kitty's love for black people is at odds with her loyalty to her "pretentiously whitish husband" (Cliff, 1995: 127), and her marriage to Boy is rather unconvincingly presented as "an attempt to contain colonialism in her own home" (Cliff, 1995: 128). In fact, Kitty advances whiteness by marrying Boy and reproducing him in Clare. As Fanon might put it, she marries white and augments the white family lineage. Thus, as Belinda Edmondson maintains in her essay "The Black Mother and Michelle Cliff's Project of Racial Recovery": "female bloodlines are envisioned as dangerous carriers of infection . . . Menstruation, the onset of womanhood, and the ability to bear children is also the commencement of the history of betrayals" (1998: 77).

It comes then as no surprise that in *Abeng* Clare's menstruation provides a narrative closure to her *Bildungsroman*. Clare thinks of it as "the culmination of a process" (106-107), but Clare still does not know what "it would mean in her life" (Cliff, 1995: 107). In *No Telephone to Heaven*, Clare considers adoption, is made pregnant by a black veteran of the Vietnam War, but due to a miscarriage becomes sterile. This "reprieve from womanhood" (Cliff, 1996: 157) sets her on the course of becoming a revolutionary. In this way, Clare's removal from motherhood becomes a prerequisite for her "restoration," (Cliff, 1996: 93) and, as the logic of the novel points out, Clare would not join the guerillas if she were a mother.

If female possibility has been massacred on the site of motherhood, as Adrienne Rich provocatively argues in her famous study *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution*, Clare's refusal of motherhood creates new possibilities for her. Thanks to her decision not to pursue motherhood, at the end of *No Telephone to Heaven* Clare becomes an incarnation of the ideal self-sacrificing mother Nanny. Clare aligns herself with, what bell hooks calls the radical female tradition of refusal to bear

children—it is the tradition of Nanny the warrior and Mma Alli, the healer and abortionist. Her radical rejection of the motherhood and its historical betrayals started by Sekesu, reconnects Clare to her true mythical mother Nanny and to Jamaica, which is "female as womb, [and has] the contours of [the] female body" (Cliff, 1990a: 266).
Cliff's texts at the same time recuperate and pass judgment on matrilineal ancestry. They explore the ways in which matrilineal history can empower Caribbean women and swing them to action, but they also show the traps inherent in maternal traditions. Whereas the earlier novel retains a degree of optimism for the possibilities in matrilineal identification, *No Telephone to Heaven* complicates this gesture by foregrounding (inadvertently, in my opinion), the limits of female activism grounded in the myth of the revolutionary Nanny. Though Clare reclaims "her grandmother's land" and restores "ties [that] had been broken" (Cliff, 1996: 91, 103) by becoming a revolutionary like her great mythical foremother Nanny, her activism ends in defeat and failure. Clare is killed during a guerrilla assault whose aim is to sabotage the shooting of an American film that purports to appropriate, distort and banalize the history of the great mother Nanny. She dies in the struggle over "a reading of the history of Maroons," and to prevent "a commodification of black bodies and a homogenizing of black identities and histories of resistance" (Moynagh, 1999: 123). Clare, as Cliff puts it in her essay "Caliban's Daughter," is literally "burned into the landscape" (1991: 45) by a barrage of bullets from the Jamaican army intent on protecting the American filmmakers.

Clare's death at the end of the novel provides a troubling closure to this maternal allegory. It unintentionally seems to suggest that the model of resistance relying on the formula of maternal nationalism and militancy is no longer entirely viable. Though Cliff is at pains to convince the reader that, despite Clare's death, the end of Clare's *bildung* is actually quite optimistic, many critics, even those writing accolades for Cliffs novels, find it difficult to accept. Tolan-Dix, for example, argues that the ending seems fatalistic because "the only way Clare can connect with her black matrilineage is by joining her bones with their bodies in the Jamaican soil. Only when color is no longer distinguishable does it become irrelevant" (2004: 35). Therefore one might be tempted to say that in the case of Clare's quest for "blackness," "blackening" of "what has been bleached out" does not seem entirely successful. Then, Toland-Dix goes on to argue that the damage done to Clare, "who has been rejected, abandoned and dismissed by the matrilineage by which she so longs to be acknowledged" (2004: 21) seems to be irreparable: "She does not reclaim the spiritual power that had led Miss Mattie to create her own church and become a spiritual force of her community" (2004: 24). Her death changes absolutely nothing; one might even argue that the ending shows Jamaica overwhelmed by neo-colonial forces. To my mind, that inconclusive ending, can be seen as another drawback of the novel.

Cliff's novels reflect her desire to "identify herself through her female line" (Cliff, 1996: 185). Just as Cliff's alter ego Clare aligns herself with her black matrilineage so Cliff herself longs to be associated with the land and with the dispossessed African culture of working-class black Jamaican society. She rejects the colonial indoctrination

that repeatedly taught her the advantages of passing to reach for what has been "bleached out" form her history. But, as the Clare Savage novels demonstrate, for Cliff "claiming the identity she was taught to despise" is a torturous process that depends on restoring an essentialized concept of identity and culture. In Cliff's opinion, being a Creole means "being neither one or the other," (Adisa, 1994: 275) that is neither black or white. Thus, Creolness is a state of being that Cliff, her narrators and the protagonist Claire ultimately reject. Being truly Jamaican means choosing an African-derived identity and that is a political choice because, as the logic of the novel suggests, one can hold on to the black essence irrespective of the color of the skin, even though the majority of Jamaican society seem to wrongly assume that blackness is determined fundamental phenotype characteristics of race.

All in all, I think that Clare Savage novels do not succeed in resolving the predicament of Jamaican Creole women, such as Clare or Cliff, who wish to find a truly black identity through female bonding with fictive and mythical mother figures. Cliff's narrators lament the failure of most biological mothers to provide such an identification and they are scathing about emotional coldness of these insufficiently loving mothers. On the one hand, they seem to advocate overcoming racial divisions that separate mothers and daughters on the score of their race, on the other hand, however, they make new divisions by essentializing black and white cultures and picturing them as two warring camps. The two novels not only rest on much too frequent and obvious Manichean oppositions between two cultures, which reinforce social hierarchies, rather that tear them down, but also are fraught with glaring contradictions: why "Black" Kitty married her "white oppressor" Boy? Why wise Miss Mattie has not passed her black heritage to her black daughter Kitty? How can the reader reconcile Kitty's love for blackness with her decision to make her daughter pass for white? The most controversial aspect of Cliff's Clare Savage novels is that they seem to introduce a reductive and simplistic division of Jamaican women into either heroic childless warriors or collaborating breeders of slaves. The narrator's claim that Afro-Caribbean women who were forcibly enforced and sexually abused can be "traitors" is one of the most off-putting paradoxes of these novels. As many critics would undoubtedly agree, these women's loss of roots, myths and collective memories makes them victims of oppression, not its perpetrators. The betrayal is on the part of those responsible for the slave trade and slavery, and maybe also those who ignore, like Cliff, the potential of hybrid identities and cultures, insisting on looking back on an essentialized African past.

Cliff's texts strive to outline a possibility for the recuperation of a matrilineal African ancestry but not through the stigmatized institution of motherhood. They might be considered examples of radical feminist texts that have displaced "motherhood as [the] central signifier for female being" (bell hooks qtd. in Agosto, 1999: 168). It seems that Cliff, like Clare, rejects motherhood and chooses, to misquote Adrienne Rich, to be a daughter—therefore a free spirit—rather mother, who is an eternal giver. Maryse Condé rightly remarks that such an adamant refusal of childbearing should be first and foremost seen as a kind narcissism. Condé accuses female writers who reject

motherhood of an anxiety about the future and an inability to find a solution to problems that currently plague their lives. Indeed, there is something deeply disconcerting about Cliff's historical revisionism and her rendition of the relationship between Caribbean mothers and daughters. The world of Jamaica, as Cliff paints it in *Abeng* and *No Telephone to Heaven,* is tragically flawed by the withdrawal of maternal affection and Jamaican children's unfulfilled and unreciprocated longing for their mothers. Full of "light, quiet, clean children *unwanted*" (Cliff, 1996: 126 emphasis mine), Cliff's Jamaica is, as Clare once unintentionally admits, "one of the saddest places of the world" (Cliff, 1996: 89).

Notes

1. These analogies are to the protagonist of Jean Rhys's famous novel *Wide Sargasso Sea.*
2. "Signifyin'" is a theory launched by Henry Louis Gates Jr. It is a strategy of subversion of the dominant culture with the use of irony and indirection to express opposing ideas and opinions. Smith does not use this term in her essay.
3. In Caribbean literary criticism "*kumbla*" means passing for white and assimilation into the dominant colonizer's culture.
4. A *griot* is a wise woman, sorceress, or a storyteller.
5. *Obeah* is one of African-based Caribbean religions.

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Multimodal signs in (non)heteronormative discourse of transnational Hindi cinema: the case study of Hindi film *Dostana*

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ABSTRACT

This article conducts a detailed analysis of multimodal signifiers in a popular Hindi film *Dostana* (meaning friendship) with particular focus on film's (non) heteronormative and sexist system of signification. The signifiers that construct gender and sexual stereotypical worldview of the film are analyzed following Lazar's (2007) conception of feminist critical discourse analysis and Wodak's (2001) framework of Discourse Historical Approach which proposes three simultaneously functioning aspects of discourse, i.e. immanent, diagnostic and prognostic. The multimodal signifiers in the film are analyzed within Indo-Pakistani discursive context where patriarchal discourse does not seem to allow any cognitive pattern and mental model other than heteronormativity and heterosexual love and romance. In such discursive set-up, so-called deviant sexualities and gender roles struggle for voice, signifiers and representation. The prognostic critique of this article can be thought of as Positive Discourse Analysis (Martin, 2004), because eventually film's text offers some examples of how certain multimodal signs can be used to resist hegemonic patriarchal and heteronormative discourses which are considered common sense and natural by mainstream Hindi film audience.

Keywords: multimodal signifiers, Discourse Historical Approach, heteronormativity, popular Hindi film, Indo-Pakistani context

1. Introduction

This article is about deconstruction and need for reconstruction of (non)heternormative and homoerotic discourse in a popular Hindi film *Dostana* (2008), set in a transnational context. It analyzes multimodal signifiers of this popular Hindi film in terms of its inter-semiotic depiction of gender and sexuality. Theoretical approach combines Lazar's (2007) *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis* insights which is considered to be at 'nexus of critical discourse analysis and feminist studies' (2007: 141), Foucault's (1972, 1978, 1980) discursive approach which correlates power, knowledge and meaning in relation to history and historical events and Wodak's (2001) *Discourse Historical Approach* because it takes into account contextual, textual and prognostic aspects of discourse. Under examination is complex interlocking of multimodal semiotic resources employed by filmmakers within discursive struggle of heteronormativity in Indo-Pakistani historic-socio-cultural scenario where homosexual discourses are finding their way stealthily yet gradually.

The representation of homosexuality is not an altogether new and novel idea for Indian cinegoers. Indian cinema has long offered glimpses of alternative sexualities, though in the negative and restricted terms. Bollywood cinema is known for its caricature of gay men and lesbians. There are countless films (such as *Gulam* 1998) featuring effeminate men who lust after the macho protagonists. It is in film *Dostana* that the representation of alternative sexualities seems to deconstruct the normative ideologies about (non)heteronormativity for the first time. Thus the "film can be considered the first film in mainstream Hindi cinema with direct homosexual references throughout as one of the central threads of its narrative while also achieving mainstream global box office success" (Durdah, 2012: 44). Directed by Tarun Mansukhani and produced by Karan Johar, the film associates "non-heteronormative male sexualities (usually coded as gay) with western and diasporic (as opposed to indigenous and traditional) sexualities" (Desai and Neutill, 2013: 238). Two of the protagonists of the film, Sam and Kunal, are heterosexual men who pretend to be gay in order to get an apartment owned by a beautiful straight young woman Neha. This romantic comedy targets homophobic, heterosexual audiences with implied plea for acceptance and tolerance for homosexuality. As rightly put forth by Srinivasan (2013), the film

> may have been a cynical appropriation of an increasing public discourse on sexuality for the purpose of comedy , but the film has an internal mechanism of destabilizing dominant meanings. In this farcical tale of two men pretending to be gay, a queer reading could well mean they are not really pretending. They are straight only for textual purpose: the film speaks a different language as we are constantly asked to take in Sam and Kunal's (Abhishek Bachchan and John Abraham) togetherness. While using stereotypes to draw nervous laughs about the threat of homosexuality, the film also turns them upside down (Srinivasan 2013: 203).

There are multiple overlapping aims of this article. The first is to investigate the way *Dostana* tends to challenge all-pervasive heteronormative and homophobic discourse in

Indian Sub-Continent context and calls for reconstruction of an alternative non-heteronormative discourse. Under the cloak of homophobic characterization, it attempts to portray homosexuals as normal, warm and best friends to heterosexuals. The second aim is to explore discursive reformative mechanism of signifying practices in film's overall discourse paradigm. Thus, following Discourse Historical Approach (Wodak, 2001, 2005), this study explores three interconnected aspects of discourse: Immanent, Socio-diagnostic and prognostic. In this study 'immanent critique' of the text has been connected with signifying practices internal to the film's discourse and text structure. As Wodak (2005: 68) suggests, immanent critique aims at "discovering inconsistencies, (self) contradictions, paradoxes, and dilemmas" in text's signifying practices (see section 6.1 below). The second aspect 'socio-diagnostic' critique (see section 6.2 below) reveals "background and contextual knowledge" of the text and embeds signifying structure of the text "in a wider frame of social and political relations, processes and circumstances" (Wodak, 2005: 68). The third and last aspect, 'prognostic critique' (see section 6.3 below) has to do with overall message of the text which in Discourse Historical Approach's conception should contribute to "transformation and improvement of communication … for example guidelines for avoiding sexist language use" (Wodak, 2005: 68).

In addition to this, the aims go towards Critical Discourse Analysis's aim of analyzing social practices and contributing to social change regarding perception of (non)heteronormative paradigms of gender and sexuality. According to Stibbe (2013), "in conducting research into pressing social issues as this the researcher has his or her own interests and agenda. As Fairclough (2001: 4) points out, these need to be taken into account in the analysis to ensure that it is rigorous and scientifically conducted" (2001: 115). The concern of this research is about homophobic and heteronormative attitude of sub-continent's patriarchal mind set which dismisses anything challenging its hegemonic norms as deviant, ridiculous and unworthy of serious consideration. Hindi films with their all-pervasive socio-cultural influence on general populace (Kasbekar, 2006) presumably have the power to disseminate and popularize certain discourses regarding gender and sexuality to the extent that they appear naturalized and commonsense. This research therefore is interested in counter-hegemonic versions of reality disseminated and popularized through film discourse like that of *Dostana.* Implicitly, this film calls heteronormative and patriarchal values of Sub-continent's socio-cultural set-up into question and opens up alternative ways of conceptualizing gender and sexuality in society. At the same time, it cannot be denied that this film presents women as a sex object repeatedly and portrays many gender and sexual stereotypes. In its defense, it could be argued that this has been done on purpose to ensure wider mass viewership and make this film's message reach out to wider audiences.

Wodak's (2001) notion of prognostic critique is quite apt to describe overall discourse strategy and paradigm of this film. In the end the message of the film becomes very clear. It calls for transformation and improvement of gender and sexuality related attitude. The way this film's discourse attempts to open up alternative ways of

conceptualizing gender and sexuality in society makes it fall in the bracket of Positive Discourse Analysis (Martin, 2004), which functions to bring about hope and change and make this world a better place.

2. (Non)heteronormative and (anti)patriarchal representations in transnational Hindi cinema

Hindi cinema or Bollywood has undergone a metamorphosis as far as representation of gender and sexuality is concerned, especially in the case of narratives set in transnational contexts. Ever since its emergence, Bollywood's distinction from Hollywood remains noteworthy. According to Rosie Thomas (cited in Kaur and Sinha, 2005):

> …Indian cinema has throughout its long history evolved as a form which has resisted the cultural imperialism of Hollywood : the form has undergone a continual change there has both been inspiration and assimilation from Hollywood and elsewhere, but thematically and structurally, Indian cinema has remained remarkable distinctive (2005: 15).

Like any other commercial artifact, the predominant themes and structures of mainstream Hindi cinema have always been mass oriented. From 1948 to the present, Hindi cinema has been formulating gendered and sexual subjects as incommensurability which is represented when a new making of historic-socio-cultural (non)hetero-normative subject is attempted. Though transition in subjectivation in mainstream film representations is not that ground breaking, it is made to emerge when audiences' aesthetics are in tune with it. Thus, the notions of gay friendship were quite unheard of in early decades of Hindi cinema. Though the togetherness of male characters from film *Dosti* (1964) to *Sholay* (1975) provided a gay subtext with a unique dimension of heteronormativity of Hindi cinema, but the interpretative paradigm of the audience perceived it within the limits of their mental modals. It could be argued that through such male bonding in mainstream films sub-continents' general viewership was led to believe that a strong self-sacrificing male friendship could be a viable stand-in for a queer love match (Bhattacharya, 2013).

In the 16th century, the signifier 'queer' used to stand for something strange, odd, peculiar and eccentric etc. Gradually, the sense of the term 'queer' shifted and in 19th century it stood for 'transgression' and more recently by the end of the 19th century the word is taken as a derogatory term for a male homosexual (Cheng, 2014: 155). This negativity still persists in Indian sub-continent's collective consciousness and could be traced in representation of transgressed or alternative sexualities in popular Hindi cinema. Halperin (1997) has said that the term does not refer to something particular. According to him whatever is at odds with the mainstream, supposedly legitimate, and dominant could be regarded as 'queer'. As this study deals with the aspects of gender and sexuality related cinematic representations, it views 'queerness' connected with these particular senses. In the 21st century, deviant, non(mainstream) and repressed gender and sexual identities (or 'queerness') emerge in South Asian diasporic

heteronormative popular Hindi film narratives. "Ostensibly heteronormative films depict love between men in transnational spaces reincarnating South Asian liminalities as viable diasporic masculinities" (Bhattacharya, 2013: 17). Thus, discourse in Hindi films remained strictly adhered to religious ideals of heterosexual masculinities and femininities over six decades. It is only in twenty first century that liminal representations of non-heteronormativity made their way through mainstream Hindi film discourse. Still, such representations were accepted when looked at through a comic lens focused at a diasporic, westernized Indian community.

3. Critical discourse analytical approaches

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is generally considered as one school but one must be aware of the fact that there are considerable differences between various approaches within critical discourse analysis. Generally a critical discourse analyst has to draw on more than one of these approaches. The reason for this multiplicity of approaches is that Critical Discourse Analysis was founded by the insights of five academics (i.e. Teun van Dijk, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak). All of them "saw a role for the critical linguistic analysis of language use in institutional and interpersonal settings to study the interrelation between discourse and society, and to create social awareness and empowerment" (CADAAD, 2014: paragraph 2). The following paragraph gives a brief overview of some of the significant critical discourse analytic approaches presented by above-mentioned analysts.

Fairclough (1992, 2001)'s conception of discourse and the social is poststructuralist and he is interested in the dynamic role of discourse in social change. Against this, van Dijk comes up with a social constructivist approach which has cognitive dimensions (e.g. 1991, 1993, 1997). Unlike Fairclough (1992, 2001) van Dijk does not understand power in Foucault's sense as productive, but he understands power in terms of abuse. On the other hand, Van Leeuwen's (1993) approach aims to provide a linguistic realization of sociological categories of representing people and Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) [as an elaboration and extension of Critical Discourse Analysis] analyzes the change of discursive practices over time and in various genres. Notwithstanding these differences, critical discourse analytical approaches do have important characteristics in common as all draw on Foucault's discourse theory (1972, 1978 and 1980). All of them "see discourse as partly constitutive of knowledge, subjects and social relations. At the same time, they try to do a discourse analysis which is text oriented, that is, they try systematically to analyse language use as social practice – actual instances of language use – in relation to the wider social practice of which the discursive practice is part" (Jørgensen and Philip, 2002: 91).

As mentioned earlier, in this paper (non)heteronormative and (non)sexist system of signification of film *Dostana* has been studied critically in order to unravel certain gender and sexuality related signifying practices. These signifying practices could make sense only if Critical Discourse Analysis's stance of social inequalities and dialectical relationship between language and social reality (Fairclough, 2001) is merged with

Discourse Historical Approach's levels of contexts, i.e. intertextuality and interdiscursivity, the extralinguistic social level and the sociopolitical and historical context of a particular text (Wodak and Meyer, 2009; Wodak and Reisigl, 2009; Richardson and Wodak, 2009a; Richardson and Wodak, 2009b).

This paper brings together these perspectives of critical Discourse Analysis along with feminist perspective. Following Critical Discourse Analytical theoretical stands, feminist model of Critical Discourse Analysis has been proposed by Lazar (2007). Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis shows persistence of gender inequalities in certain heterogeneous forms which make themselves evident in different institutional, cultural and historical contexts. Thus connected with multiple critical discourse analytical approaches, this study is quite relevant in exploring present day structures and ideologies of gender and sexualities in Indo-Pakistani mainstream context. The film under analysis in very significant in this regard because it challenges presumably commonsensical or hegemonic assumptions of gender and sexual identities in sub-continent's context and somewhat persistent limits imposed upon gender roles and (non)heteronormativity. These elements get divergent representations in film's hierarchically gendered discourse order inter-twined with various structures of domination where multiple layers of identifications are discursively (re)produced, negotiated and contested.

4. Multimodal Signifiers in Films

The turn from verbal culture to visual culture saw its rise from the study of static images as an important signifier (Barthes, 1991). This interest kept growing and resulted in the form of further exploration of the 'grammar' of visual design (Kress and Leeuwen, 2006) and the systemic-functional investigation of sculptures, paintings and architecture (O'Toole, 1994). From exploration of static images as a communicative tool, the interests of the theorists (Bateman, 2008; O' Halloran, 2004, 2005; O' Halloran and Smith, 2011) shifted to the study of multimodal texts with multiple semiotic resources and the way both linguistic and non-linguistic signifiers serve the communicative purpose. Film text has always been considered a complex interplay of multiple semiotic resources which according to Baldry (2004) could effectively be studied by the incorporation of computer technology. For this purpose Baldry and Thibault (2001) designed Multimodal Corpus Authoring (MCA) system which provides possibility of analyzing multimodal discourse in a pedagogical context. In this connection O'Halloran (2004), further concentrates on temporal and spatial dimension in visual semiosis in film text and expresses concerns over difficulties in capturing dynamic interplay of various semiotic modes.

As far as this study is concerned, it owes its design from Stibbe's (2013) framework of multimodal metaphor analysis where he delineates different components of a multimodal metaphor in a documentary film *The Corporation*. In this paper, a range of signifying strategies of film discursive structure have been analyzed not for metaphors but for certain multimodal signs which signify (non)heteronormative gender and sexual

representations through the interplay of various semiotic modes. In this film, a range of individual and interconnected multimodal signifiers contribute in constructing larger discourse structures where multiple signifiers end up in particular overtones or undertones and convey a polarized ideological position regarding gender and sexuality. This position moves from extreme sexist and homophobic representations to gradual acceptance for homosexuality and non-sexist representations.

Table 1 on the following pages gives detailed analysis of films' title *Dostana* (meaning friendship) along with description of how film's title is connected with overall discursive structure of the film. Before having a look at Table 1, it is perhaps important to have an overview of Film *Dostana*'s plot.

5. Overview of Hindi film *Dostana*'s plot

Nurse Sameer Kapoor and photographer Kunal Chopra pretend that they are gay lovers because they want to rent an apartment. They lie about their sexual identity because the owner of the apartment, beautiful young woman Neha Melwani, did not want to share the apartment with men. Both Kunal and Neha fall in love with Neha but Neha falls in love with her boss Abhimanyu Singh. Meanwhile, amidst many twists and turns of the plot, Sameer's mother also discovers that her son and Kunal are living as a gay couple and is utterly displeased. Sameer and Kunal try to tell her the truth, but of no avail. Finally, on Neha's plea Sameer's mother accepts her son's gay identity.

When Kunal and Sameer come to know about Neha and Abhimanyu's growing attraction, they plan to sabotage their relationship. They portray Neha in a negative way in front of Abhimanyu's five year old son Veer, and Veer starts hating Neha. Resultantly, Abhimanyu and Neha break up. At the same time Kunal and Sameer also disclose their heterosexual identity to Neha, but they are unaware of Neha's breakup with Abhimanyu. Neha is utterly displeased with them and tells them both to leave her apartment immediately.

Few months later Kunal and Sameer meet Neha at a fashion show and apologize for their lie. Abhimanyu also appears on the scene. Neha still displeased with them, tells them that Abhimanyu broke up with her, because Veer was uncomfortable with her. At this, Kunal and Sam reveal that how they poisoned Veer against Neha. Both Neha and Abhimanyu are infuriated. Kunal and Sameer climb on the stage and beg for forgiveness. Abhimanyu's anger suddenly subsides and he jokingly asks the men to kiss if they wish to get forgiveness for their manipulations. To win Neha's forgiveness, Kunal forcibly kisses Sameer at the last moment.

After two months, Neha is happily married to Abhimanyu. She, while sitting with Kunal and Sameer on the apartment's balcony asks whether they ever felt anything for each other while pretending to be gay. Neha leaves, and Kunal and Sameer think about the kiss.

Other than these characters, there are two minor yet interesting and worth-mentioning gay characters in the film. One of them is M, Neha's Indian boss before Abhimanyu, who is a stereotypical representation of homosexuals with feminine

demeanor and effeminate body language. The second important representation is that of a white gay officer from the US immigration office, where Kunal and Sameer apply for residence permission as a gay couple. The officer comes for a surprise inspection of Sameer and Kunal at Neha's place where M is also invited. Thus all these characters, real homosexuals and fake homosexuals, happen to share screen in one of the most hilarious sequences of the film.

It is pertinent to mention at this point that songs are an important ingredient of a Hindi film and are profoundly integrated in film's texture. Hindi films make use of a number of devices for incorporating songs in a film. Song inclusion in the films is often "non-linear and story usually pauses, though not always completely, while song sequence takes place" (Morcom, 2007: 239). Hindi film songs text is very dense and rich in meaning. The film songs text and signifying practices are not always in sync with film's overall mood and rhetoric structure. Film *Dostana* incorporates six songs into its narrative. Five out of six songs celebrate heterosexual love between male and female characters. One song *Maa da ladla bigad gaya* (Mama's boy has gotten spoilt) is humourous and funny which voices discomfort of a gay son's mother over her son's gay identity. The songs' text has not been analyzed for multimodal signifiers in this paper, because analyzing that amount of text would be out of scope of one paper.

Table 1: Analysis of Film's Title '*Dostana*' as a Multimodal Signifier

Components of a Multimodal Sign	**Description**
1. Immanent Critique	Here, the focus is on diversity and multiplicity of signifieds for signifier *dostana* which (signifieds) seem inconsistent and contradictory at times.
1.1 Signifier	*Dostana* (repeatedly represented visually through togetherness of two male principal characters).
	Throughout the film, verbal representation of signifier 'dostana' happens only once.
1.2 Signifieds	Friendship. Urdu/Hindi word *dostana* is a variant of word *dosti* which after this film is quite often associated with gay relationship by regular Hindi film viewers.
	The verbal manifestation of *dostana* signifies pure and true friendship between men and women, but overall system of signification of the film suggests otherwise and restricts its meaning to gay relationship only.
1.3 Visuals	Two young men who pretend to be gay lovers are forced to stay together in different circumstances.
	At times, men who pretend to develop gay *dostana* try to behave like women through their body language; thus film text also expresses a misogynist undercurrent.
	At times, they (men) really find their relationship stronger than their attraction for the woman in their life.
	When verbal narration (see 2.1 section of Table 1) of sign *dostana*

	happens (1h06m42s), Sameer and Kunal physically push Neha aside and hug each other.
1.4 Music	In most of the *mises en scène*, music has humourous and comic tone implying homophobia except twice where it implies male friendship which is not homoerotic (1h06m42s and 2h05m51s).
1.5 Polarity	From negative to positive:
	Most of the visual representations of male friendship are comic with homophobic undercurrents, obviously with negative connotations.
	When film reaches near climax, the tone changes and suddenly gay *dostana* is eulogized as something positive and good.
2. Socio-diagnostic Critique	Vocalization, meaning range, overtones/undertones and polarity of linguistic sign *Dostana* could occur and make sense only in a transnational Indian context, where characters are free from discursive bondage of their local context.
2.1 Vocalization	Kunal to Neha and Sam: (from 1h06m42s) You know guys, you are right. I am happy and my life is truly perfect. That's only because I have two of you in my life. Think about it, If you (Neha) had married somebody and you (Sameer) had been shooting at a beach in Miami, how would we have met? We three losers? Whatever said and done, this friendship (*dostana*) is much more rocking that any plan we might have had. Right?
2.2 Overtones/ Undertones	Gay relationship
	Dostana entails male friendship, male bonding which is at the brink of homosexuality and is ridiculed and made fun of by straight people.
	A heterosexual woman could be a friend to gay men.
	Straight men and women cannot make *dostana*, because it would eventually result in sexual attraction.
	(Contradiction, inconsistency and multiplicity of signifieds.)
3. Diagnostic Critique	Characters' transformation and improvement of understanding gay relationships happens in the narrative finally.
3.1 Message	Homosexuality is not something disgusting and aversive. It is like other human bonding and not to be scared of.
	Women are not mere sex objects. When the bond of friendship gets stronger, the male perspective to look at the women changes.

6. Interplay of misogynist and heteronormative signifying practices in film's discursive structure

The film opens with a song sequence where viewers are introduced to Kunal with his strictly straight sexual identity. Kunal emerges out of an ocean in yellow shorts at South Beach, Miami, and has some cozy time with women. In the same song, other protagonist Sameer is also introduced having fun in the company of women. After

introductory song, film text keeps using multiple multimodal signs to establish Kunal and Sameer's straight identity for film's presupposed heterosexual viewers who supposedly are hegemonized product of heteroronormativity. Along with this, misogynistic and stereotypical depiction of women as a sex object also continues complementing overall discursive structure of film because film is narrated from male point of view. It is truly in accordance with Rubinfeld's statistics (cited in Rasche, 2006) about romantic comedies' narrative structures which 'are narrated from a male point of view. According to Rubinfield's research (Rasche, 2006) 97% of all "purist plots" are depicted from male point of view and only 3% are depicted from female one' (2006: 8).

Let us consider the following section now which provides the immanent critique of the film's multimodal text.

6.1. Immanent Critique

It is important to mention at this point what immanent critique actually aims at discovering in this study and what aspects of discourse it really stands for. Immanent critique stands for inherent, immediate and internal meaning making potential of an utterance or a discrete linguistic item. The semantic field (of utterance or discrete linguistic item) thus reached at could contain inconsistent and contradictory meaning relations sometimes. Taking insights from Blackledge (2005) it could be argued that immanent aspect of discourse include lexical solidarities, collocational particularities, connotations, implications and presuppositions. A discourse historical and feminist reading of the text reveals a number of multimodal signifiers (see Table 2) in film's immanent structure which would be discussed below in relation to film's heteronormative and patriarchal discourse. Most of these signifiers have negative connotation and contain heteronormative, homophobic and misogynist entailments.

If we have an overview of all the signifiers listed in Table 2, it is quite obvious that most of them exhibit a kind of lexical solidarity. They seem to be closely connected to each other as far their connotations, implications and presuppositions are concerned. The signifiers (nurse, baby, witch) used to signify homosexual men deny them the typical characteristics of manliness and masculinity. As it is evident from the table, the sign 'nurse' happens four times in the narrative, and at all four occasions the characters are unable to grasp the idea of a male nurse. At one point, a white American man who is a patient at Harvard Medical Centre where Sameer works as a nurse asks him again and again why he adopted the profession of a nurse:

> Patient to Sameer (from 09m10s): So you are actually a nurse and you studied five years to become one, a nurse. Why? I mean you could've studied the same and become a doctor. Why a nurse?

As narrative unfolds, it becomes obvious that being a nurse could be an inappropriate profession for a 'man' but not for a 'gay', because unlike straight people Neha's gay boss M, becomes quite excited when Sameer tells him that he is a nurse:

M to Sameer (from 48m00s): Neha was telling that you are new here in Miami.
Sameer: Actually I am from London and work in Harvard Medical Centre.
M: Doctor, Doctor
Sameer: Nurse, Nurse
M: My temperature is rising, maybe because of wine. Let's have some fun.

The excitement of M on hearing Sameer's profession makes 'nursing' an appropriate profession for a gay but not for a 'real man'. Then nurse also collocates with short skirt twice in the text, and at both the occasion Sameer is ridiculed because he is conceptualized working as a nurse in a short skirt. Anything feminine in men's behavior, attitude and practices, reduces their quotient of masculinity and makes them a laughing stock in the eyes of the heteronormative world. Thus, 'nurse' becomes one of the important signifiers in the film, and its potential signified could be reached at only by observing the intersemiotic working of all three modes of its representation. Similarly 'baby' (signifying women, girls) in the text stands in contrast with 'baba' (signifying men, boys). While disclosing his and Kunal's sexual identity, Sameer tells Aunty (17m49s): We are 'babies'. It once again denies masculine identity to homosexuals.

The representation of society's negative attitude towards homosexuals reaches its culmination when Sameer's mother calls M a 'witch' who is bewitching his son to be his partner. Once again it is a female appellation which is considered apt to represent supposedly evil and unnatural effects of homosexuality. Such negativity does not stop here; it continues and is represented in form of multiple multimodal representations such as 'dirty boys', 'bad dream', 'brothel', 'fake life' and 'mistakes'. All these strategies signify gay relationship in a negative light. Thus in mainstream conception, gays are dirty boys; their life is not real life; homosexuals live a fake life; their sexual inclination is a 'mistake' and 'a bad dream'.

Another signifier worth mentioning is 'jiggery poo' [(6) in Table 2]. This term of address has been invented by Sameer in the film, because he does not find terms like 'darling', 'beloved' and 'love' appropriate to address Kunal, his presumed gay partner. Invention of this terms hints at politics of representation and struggle for meaning in a hegemonized discursive social set-up, where un-privileged groups are denied voice and representation. Thus, current system of signification and modes of representation in Urdu/Hindi seem to lack system of signification for homosexual relationship. It becomes obvious with Neha's Aunty's description of homosexual men as 'modern kind of men', the kind which according to her limited perception did not even exist when she was young. So, how could a society whose half of the population was oblivious of the existence of same-sex relationship some twenty to thirty years ago could have evolved signifying structures for the representation of such relationship. This point would be further elaborated in the next section of the paper (see section 6.2).

As Table 2 indicates, at most of the occasions, background music and sound effects do not support different representations. It is use of paralinguistic features and facial expressions which do the needful and make multimodal representations effective. In the

light of Table 2, 'nurse' 'jiggery poo' and 'dirty boys' are strongest signs of discourse's immanent structure because they get multiple representations and are realized three, three and four times respectively.

Table 2: Immanent Critique of Film *Dostana*'s Discourse-Internal Structure

Multimodal Signifiers	**Modes of Representation**	**Polarity**
(2.1) Nurse (09m10s, 14m21s, 26m39s 48m00s)	**Verbal:** Multiple manifestations of signifier in sexist manner **Visual:** Sameer's representation in male nurse uniform happens twice **Music:** Cheerful and suggestive music	Negative
(2.2)ShortSkirt (14m23s, 26m,40s)	**Verbal:** Nurse and short skirt collocate **Visual:** Suggestive laughter and smirks at the idea of male nurse in short skirt **Music:** No music	Negative
(2.3)Baby (Women) (17m,49s)	**Verbal:** Gays referred to as 'baby' implying women **Visual:** No particular visual representation **Music:** comic, suggestive music	Negative
(2.4)Modern Type of Men (22m28s)	**Verbal:** Neha's Aunty (a representative of domestic, not well-educated Indian women) thinks that homoeroticism did not exist in the past, some twenty to thirty years ago in her perception. **Visual:** No particular visual representation **Music:** No music	Negative
(2.5)Girlfriend and Boyfriend (22m37s)	**Verbal:** The gay partners conceived in terms of heteronormativity **Visual:** No particular visual representation **Music:** No music	Neutral
(2.6)Jiggery Poo (Invented Appellation for a Gay boyfriends) (28m53s) (1h17m14s) (1h34s05s)	**Verbal:** Uttered by Sameer in female tone **Visual:** Sameer behaving and talking like a woman **Music:** Funny, stereotypical romantic music	Neutral
(2.7)Dirty boys (15m39s, 37m 50s, 38m16s, 39s07s, 46m04s, 46m26s)	**Verbal:** Each time uttered jokingly by a male voice-over **Visual:** Realized by facial expressions and meaningful smiles **Music:** No Music	Negative
(2.8)*Bura Sapna* (Nightmare) (50m05s)	**Verbal:** Uttered by Sameer's mother **Visual:** Realized by Sameer's facial expression showing disbelief **Music:** No music	Negative
(2.9)*Dayan* (witch) (51m12s)	**Verbal:** Uttered by Sameer's mother **Visual:** Neha's gay boss: A comic figure **Music:** No Music	Negative

(2.10) *Jhoot ki zidagi* (Fake life, living a lie) (50m42s)	**Verbal:** Uttered by M (Neha's gay boss) **Visual:** Comic revelation of gays' life who are unable to reveal their sexual identity **Music:** No Music	Negative
(2.11)*KunjarKhana* (Brothel) (51m02s)	**Verbal:** Uttered by Sameer's mother **Visual:** Sameer's mother in tears while uttering this signifier **Music:** No Music	Negative
(2.12)*Ghaltian* (Mistakes) (52m39s)	**Verbal:** Uttered by Sameer's mother **Visual:** Sameer's mother in tears while uttering this signifier **Music:** No Music	Negative

Summing up it could be argued that Table 1 given above enlists all the important signifiers which have potential to contribute in the immanent critique of the film's discourse. Though these signifiers make complete sense through simultaneous and coordinated working of their multimodal realizations but it is the verbal mode which seems to be the most effective. The inherent negative polarity of the signs is communicated to the audience through the subtle working of visual and aural signs along with verbal signs. Visual signs comprising of gestures, body language and facial expressions of the characters add certain connotations and implications to the verbal signs; and music, if accompanied with verbal and visual signs, serves to create certain presuppositions in the text recipients or film audiences regarding overall semantic content of the discourse. In this way intersemiotic texture of the film operates and leads one to comprehend and decode its discourse-internal structure.

6.2. Socio-diagnostic critique

The overall system of signification of the film's (non)heteronormative and(non)sexist discourse could be unveiled effectively only if manipulative and mystifying character of discursive strategies is exposed in relation to the background and contextual knowledge of certain discourse practices. In this study, the analysis of background and contextual knowledge of text takes into account two levels of context (borrowed from Wodak 2001: 67) which include:

- 'Intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances'
- 'The broader sociopolitical and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to (grand theories)'

Table 3 given below makes an attempt to elaborate interdiscursive and intertextual nature of love and romance related discourse of Indian-subcontinent. This table is quite extensive and provides socio-diagnostic critique of the film taking three aspects into consideration: Vocalization of discourse (which provides an idea about which character uttered the lines in the film and in what manner), Overtone/ Undertone (which provide both obvious and implied/inherent meanings of given discourse instances) and finally the modes of signification (which give a clue about intertextual working of film's text).

Table 3: Socio-Diagnostic Critique of Film *Dostana's* Transnational Discourse

(3.1)

Vocalization of Discourse	*Sameer to Kunal:* (from16m17s): [Explanatory tone] In order to get that house, if we have to lie to an old baby that we are gay, what difference does it make? Voice-Over: (from 20m45s) *Aunty, Aunty You drive me crazy..*
Overtones/Undertones	Voicing of existing taboo against sex for older women To young men, lying about one's sexual identity to older women does not matter at all
Modes of Signification	Linguistic and paralinguistic signs Visualized through caricaturing bad fashion taste of Aunty A song (voice-over) caricaturing aunty

(3.2)

Vocalization of Discourse	Aunty to Neha [confidingly]: (from 22m20s) They both aren't what we are …It was not like that in our old days. In our days guys used to like girls. (from22m20s)
Overtones/Undertones	Homosexual relationship being discussed as a deviation and non-normalcy Celebration and eulogizing of 'good old days' of heteronormativity 'Othering' of homosexuals through their exclusion from in-group
Modes of Signification	Linguistic and paralinguistic signs by Aunty

(3.3)

Vocalization of Discourse	Sameer to Aunty [In confiding, meaningful explanatory tone]: (from18m00s) Kunal and I are together. We are with each other you know. Kunal is my special friend. My most special friend …
Overtones/Undertones	Lack of signifiers to represent gay relationships inoffensively in Hindi/Urdu discourse Underlined word show struggle for representation and lack of signifying for same-sex love
Modes of Signification	Linguistic and paralinguistic signs Subdued, comic music

(3.4)

Vocalization of Discourse	Aunty to Sameer and Kunal [Interrogatory tone] (26m50s) Since when have you been hero and heroine?
Overtones/Undertones	Another representation of lack of signifiers for gay partners in Hindi/Urdu Use of heteronormative signifiers for gay partners (underlined words)
Modes of Signification	Linguistic and paralinguistic signs

(3.5)

Vocalization of Discourse	Sameer to Aunty and Neha: (from 27m20s) [In feminine,

	love-struck tone] We met in Venice. I met Kunal in Venice the first time. In that first meeting, Kunal showed me a thousand dreams. I felt as if I was standing and ground below was moving. My heart beat faster and I gasped for breath. Was this my first love? Next few days fate made us come across each other again and again, at times here, at times there. Finally I gathered courage and said something to him, 'O tormentor, are you following me? 'Gosh, Oh no why didn't my tongue cut into pieces? He left so suddenly that I never saw him again. I searched for him a lot. I didn't even know his name to call out. My (pritam) darling, my beloved (premi), my jiggery poo'??? But he was nowhere to be found. Tired, defeated, yearning for love (pyar ka pyasa), I returned to my hotel where a letter was waiting for me. My first love letter, in which it was written, at seashore my heart calls out to you, Oh. So naughty. Immediately, I put on my Gucci shoes and Armani jacket and set off towards my destiny. Kunal was on other side of seashore. My feet trembled when I moved towards him. Bathed in moonlight, with a rose clenched in his teeth, there stood Kunal, Oh Kunal … Neha: So sweet I think I am gonna cry.
Overtones/Undertones	Narration of falling in love of gay partners in heterosexual romance narrative structural paradigm from a women's point of view (in order to create humour) All the underlined chunks are stereotypical hackneyed, repeated signifiers for description of heterosexual love in Indo-Pakistani heteronormative romantic discourse The underlined signifiers represent woman's point of view who is shy, timid, lacks courage etc.
Modes of Signification	All three modes of signification along with paralinguistic features interact in this sequence to create an exaggerated comic effect. Feminine gestures and colourful cloths and shoes of Sameer. Romantic music continues throughout

(3.6)

Vocalization of Discourse	Sameer to Kunal and Neha: (from34m50s) [Annoyingly] (Mother) is like full on hard core Punjabi ham scene… Tears pour down for the silliest things, film dialogues, everything… Day and night, she keeps harping the same string, 'why don't you get married? Mrs. Khanna's cousin from Amritsar has two daughters. It's a buffet, choose whichever you want'.

Overtones/Undertones	Gay relationship of children inconceivable for Indo-Pakistani parents Mothers' concern about children's marriages Mothers' attempt for match-making of their children In transnational Indian communities children are annoyed with traditional attitude of parents
Modes of Signification	Use of linguistic and paralinguistic clues by Sameer for representation of his mother from a a diasporic Indian child's point of view

(3.7)

Vocalization of Discourse	Sameer to Kunal and Neha: (from 36m50s) [Meaningful, self-confident, explanatory tone] We are no less than other men. We are like regular Gabbars, man. … Come on Kunal, haven't you seen the film, Gabbar was gay. Neha: (Spontaneous laughter) Kunal: Gabbar was not gay.
Overtones/Undertones	Gabbar: An intertextual reference to a Hindi film character famous for his brutality, sadism and terror.
Modes of Signification	Use of linguistic and paraliguistic signs

(3.8)

Vocalization of Discourse	Neha to M: (from39m50s) [Friendly and Lovingly] Darling, You look gorgeous today. M: Only you know what I want to hear in the morning.
Overtones/Undertones	Gays are like women who want appreciation and praise for their looks and appearance
Modes of Signification	Use of linguistic and paralinguistic signifiers…Visually, use of M's femininities for stereotyping gays M's introduction wit cheerful fast music

(3.9)

Vocalization of Discourse	Sameer to Kunal: (47m20s) [confusedly and hurriedly] Think like women, talk about his hair, what shoes he is wearing… Think like a woman, Feel like a man.
Overtones/Undertones	Equating gays with women, The strategies to please gay men: comment on their appearance, Stereotyping women's topics of discussions
Modes of Signification	Paralinguistic features Visuals: Kunal's attempt to behave like a woman

(3.10)

Vocalization of	M to Officer and Sameer: (from 50m40s) [tearful, funny,

Discourse	feminine tone]How would she know? Living a lie, that too for others, it hurts, it really really hurts. Until today, I haven't told mummy and daddy that I, their Murli...
Overtones/Undertones	Gay children try to hide their sexual identity from their Indian parents. A transnational context allows them voice their stress and grief over this issue
Modes of Signification	Visually: Hugging and comforting each other…Silence after underlined utterance

(3.11)

Vocalization of Discourse	Mother: … (from 52m10s) [tearful and loud with great anger and disgust] Oh God, grant me death. What are you punishing me for, God? …(Love) is not too blind to differentiate between a guy and a girl…Stop it. Enough. I am struck with grief… I won't listen to anything now. How would you support me well…
Overtones/Undertones	Stereotypical religious discourse of praying: A typical way of addressing God in Indo-Pakistan context at the sight of utter discomfort and disillusionment Voicing of parents' idea of their children supporting them in old age through marrying and having children
Modes of Signification	Visually: Mother constantly staring at the ceiling while talking to God… Linguistic and paralinguistic clues continue

(3.12)

Vocalization of Discourse	Mother to Sam and Kunal: (from1h02m30s) [In stereotypical, emotional, Indian mother style with exaggerated motherly love and affection] I bought these bangles for my daughter-in-law. Honestly I don't know whether you are my (damad) son-in-law or (bahoo) daughter-in-law? Whatever you are, accepts these bangles as a gift from me. And don't forget to observe Karva chauth fast for my son's long life. I'll send you the (sargi) offerings. I am leaving him in your care. I have brought him up with great love and care. Take good care of him. Now hurry up and seek my blessing.. May you live long and bear children… Okay Forget it.
Overtones/Undertones	A stereotypical household discourse in an Indian family regarding a mother's wish to see her son's bride and

	advising her to carry on family traditions An amalgam of social, domestic and religious discourses The words in brackets have certain religious and socio-cultural connotations which could be valued only in an Indian context. Marriage, fasting, elders' blessings and offerings, children and all the connected rituals are quite important in a traditional Indian household.
Modes of Signification	Linguistic and paralinguistic clues continue The whole linguistic chunk is followed by an emotional tear-jerker Hindi film song about family ties

Twelve given instances (3.1 to 3.12) in Table 3 reveal interdiscursive and intertextual nature of love and romance related Indian-subcontinent discourse, where there is no place for atypical and deviant signs and representations. The whole socio-cultural and religious paradigm of Indo-Pakistan constructs a patriarchal and heteronormative worldview where deviation struggles for voice and representation. Thus prevalent and dominant texts regarding aging, grand narratives of love and romance, religio-socio-historical discursive practices regarding institution of marriage and Indian family life and values all intertwine and weave a social order whose texture would resist anything unorthodox and unconventional. Table 3 shows many representations of this sort where unconventional and unorthodox depiction of characters have been done at the cost of their humiliation and grotesque and outlandish portrayals.

It could be observed in (1) (see Table 3), that young men would lie to Aunty about their sexual orientation only because she is old and not sexually attractive. She has been described as old and fashion disaster again and again in the narrative. Such perception of women is very deep rooted in Indo-Pakistani discursive set-up where 'after menopause a woman is no longer considered a person with sexuality' (Tilak, 1989: 40). Then, mainstream discourse about sexuality of older women, takes turn and Aunty is used as a representative of Indo-Pakistani's general (mis)perception and (mis)conception about homosexual relationships. Aunty thus becomes a mouthpiece (see 2, Table 3) to voice popular myth 'entrenched among the educated Public in modern India' who believe that homosexuality is something alien to Indians and imported to Indian soil from Euro-America (Boisvert and Johnson, 2012: 17).

The reason for such (mis)perception and (mis)conception could be traced from the ignorance of most of the people of the existence of same-sex literature in India (Kidwai and Vanita, 2001). Homosexual love needs to develop its own discourse, metaphorical traditions, terms of address and terms to distinguish it from cross-sex love. It is this void and lack which audiences have been made to observe in film *Dostana.* The film discourse quite adequately represents how stereotypical signifieds of love and romance fail to signify same-sex love and romance (see 3, 4, 5 in Table 3). In Table 3 above, (5) shows Sameer's attempt to narrative a same-sex love story from a woman's perspective

because gay lovers fall short of definition of a real man. Hence, the love story of gay partners thus told creates humour through the recontextualization of cross-sex love terminology.

The intertextual and interdiscursive nature of sexuality related Indo-Pakistani discourse makes it a true representative of patriarchal and heteronormative discursive structure and social order. The discourses of family life, kinship, marriage and children make up its internal structure, fabric and core. This discourse is so naturalized, hegemonized and commonsensical that its makes same-sex relationships simply inconceivable and non-existent. In (6) Sameer gives a sexist description of a typical Indo-Pakistani mother who is emotional, sheds tears at the silliest things, always remains concerned about marriage of her children, is quite well connected with relatives and keeps an eye on all the suitable proposals for her son. Moreover, Sameer's mother's only identity in the film is that "she is a typical Indian mother". She has never been introduced with a name in the whole narrative or with any other distinguishing identity trait. Such product of heteronormative and patriarchal traditions prefers to remain oblivious to all the ideas which would shatter her comfort zone and deconstruct her supposedly natural realm of mainstream ideals and norms. She is so hegemonized that she herself declares how easy it would be for her son to choose a wife. According to Sameer's mother, Indian women are a kind of 'buffet' for her son and he can pick and choose anyone of them. Furthermore, it is also assumed that a middle class girl would not object any proposal selected for her by her elders. Thus, revelation of gay identity of her son is no less than a nightmare for such typical Indian mother (see 11, Table 3). This is why 'the act and concept of coming out as a gay person in the Indian community is for the most part unintelligible… They (homosexuals) do not desire to set themselves apart from their tribal identities and mainstream Indian society' (Gilley, 2006: 66). M seems to lament the same fact in (10) and tells Officer Javier why Indian homosexuals find it almost impossible to disclose their homosexual orientation to their own parents.

Closely connected to this discussion is discourse is (12) (see Table 3) which depicts a whole picture of a common Indian household with its tradition of welcoming son's bride and the expectations about bride's faithfulness and devotion to her husband. Such religio-sociocultural traditions associated solely with heteronormativity are bound to get shattered with the advent of supposedly 'modern' trend of homosexuality among Indian diasporic youth.

Finally, the film's discourse also communicates certain characteristics of homosexual men to its presupposed heteronormative Indian audiences through Sameer and M's exclamations (see 7, 8 and 9: Table 3). Thus as communicated in (7), (8) and (9) Homosexual men:

- Do not truly reach up to the yardstick set for idealized masculinity whose extreme and violent manifestation is Gabbar (a film character who is a dacoit and takes pleasure in killing, looting and plundering), though homosexuals would never accept this general (mis)conception regarding their masculinity (7).

- Homosexual men are more like women and less like men, because they are quite concerned about their looks and appearance (8). Such depiction of homosexuals has been achieved chiefly through effeminate mannerism of M. His body language, cap and handbag signify these characteristics quite appropriately (8).
- Sameer advises Kunal to think like a woman and feel like a man. These lines happen when they want to hide their fear of being caught for faking gay relationship. Thus hiding the fear and showing up bravery and courage is a manly act, whereas gay mannerism is a womanly act. In such womanly act, they would adopt the body language of a woman and talk about hair and shoes (9).

All the interconnected sub-discourses and sub-texts (1-12) within grand text and discourse of film *Dostana* would make sense appropriately only in historical, religious and socio-cultural context of Indian sub-continent. Film's discourse seem to establish this fact that Indian diaspora despite living in foreign territories is connected its motherland India as far as practices of gender and sexuality are concerned. Still, a transnational space gives Indian diaspora liberation and agency to challenge certain cultural norms and to re-invent a system of signification in tune with its changed surroundings and discursive set-up.

6.3. Prognostic critique

As stated earlier, 'prognostic critique contributes to the transformation and improvement of communication' (Wodak, 2001: 64). It could be argued that somewhat similar goals of discourse analysis have also been set by Positive Discourse Analysis (Martin, 2004) which seems to praise and promote the analyzed texts. Furthermore Positive Discourse Analysis attempts to reveal detailed workings of the texts, providing a resource that can be used in the future to help design similar texts (Stibbe, 2012). Though film Dostana's text instances analyzed so far do not seem to preach tolerance for and acceptance of deviation; but film's over all thematic mood suggests otherwise and carries an inherent plea for changing one's outlook towards seemingly abhorrent and offensive ideas like same-sex relationship. This kind of change in outlook and transformation could be observed through the depiction of film's different characters who journey from negativity towards same-sex relationship to positivity:

- When Sameer and Kunal tell Aunty that they are homosexuals, she shows utter disgust at first. She faints, tries to stay away from them and does not let them touch her. After sometime, she hugs them and welcomes them in their apartment.
- Sameer's mother's final acceptance of her son's gay identity is another example of transformation and improvement of attitudes.

- Neha does not mind befriending a gay couple and is entirely satisfied and happy with this friendship.
- Kunal at first was horrified with Sameer's idea of lying about their sexual identity, but then he is convinced living as a gay person has added so many positive things in his life like friendship and family.

- Table 4: Prognostic Critique of Film *Dostana*'s Discourse

Vocalization	**Message**	**Modes of Representation**
(1)Kunal to Sameer and Neha: (From1h06m42s) You know guys, you are right. I am happy and my life is truly perfect. That's only because I have two of you in my life. Think about it, If you had married somebody and you had been shooting at a beach in Miami, how would we have met? We three losers? Whatever said and done, this friendship (dostana) is much more rocking that any plan we might have had. Right?	Through such visual representation (see next section of the same table), modes of representation) the film seems to preach that same-sex bonding is more intense and more sincere than cross-sex bonding.	• When Kunal utters these lines, Sameer and Neha rush to hug him. At this occasion, Sameer pushes Neha aside and hugs Kunal passionately. • Though term dostana uttered here stands for friendship between all three protagonists of the film, but visuals of the film suggest otherwise and restrict it to only male dostana. • Subdued, soft music to represent realization.
(2)Kunal to Sameer: (from2h05m51s) Thanks for making me a gay. This is because I became gay, I found you, I found Neha, found a friendship and a family …	• Gay relationship should not be equated with aberration or immorality, • Homosexual relationship could also ensure good companionship and family life like a conventional heterosexual family.	• Visually Sameer and Kunal hug each other. • Subdued, soft music to represent realization.

Table 4 shows a couple of instances from film's discourse which reflect transformation in Kunal's perception and his appreciation of Sameer's suggestion of faking gay relationship. Though such transformation has not been very overt, it remains implicit and inherent. There is no passionate speech in the favour of gay rights and no change in the sexual orientation of the character. It is only one visual sign (see (1), Table 4) throughout where sax-sex relationship has been given priority over cross-sex relation. Similarly, there is only one occasion where Kunal associates same-sex

relationships with family and companionship. It must be kept in mind that such low-key plea for acceptance has been done keeping in mind mainstream heteronormative way of life of film's presupposed viewership. Still, this film should be taken as a resource that can be used in future to help formulate texts with similar message.

7. Conclusion

Hattatoglum (2011: 143) writes that "discourses and the way they work cannot be analyzed in isolation from the inequalities and division that shape the social space in which discourses emerge, and the power relations that stem from these inequalities and division". Hindi film discourses stem from a particular social space where gender and sexuality related inequalities and divisions are quite overt; and privileged groups are rarely interested in the process of self-examination. Thus those who "break from the fold of privileged herd to support the voices of the suppressed are usually met with great resistance and scorn" (Tarrent, 2013: 302). As this film comes from mainstream commercial genre of Hindi cinema, it attempts to avoid the scorn of mainstream audiences by unfolding the events from heteronormative male perspective. As socio-diagnostic critique of the film discourse reveals, in this film humour has been created either through recontextualization or adaptation of heteronormative religio-socio-historical discourse practices for same sex relationship. Still, diagnostic critique of film discourse connects it with Positive Discourse Analysis (Martin, 2006) paradigm, because finally film's discourse tends to resist mainstream homophobia and inspires both privileged and unprivileged groups to demand change.

The multimodal analysis shows that in commercial or popular Hindi film discourse, heteronormativity and misogyny are common and observable phenomenon and realized through multiple signifying practices. Thus signifying practices align across all three modes (utterances, images, music) to weave film's overall system of signification. The analysis also reveals limitations or unavailability of signifying practices in mainstream Indian sub-continent discourse as for as representation of same sex relationship is concerned. Such inability to reach at the right sign is communicated chiefly through employment of paralinguistic features at important junctures. Thus, we experience confiding tones and pauses from Sameer while revealing the orientation of his and Kunal's relationship, Aunty and mothers' fainting at the discovery of Sameer and Kunal's gay identity and so on. At many occasions, characters struggles to reach some appropriate signifiers and hope that their tone would communicate the intended message. Similarly, derogatory use of feminine tone, female point of view and effeminate body language for narration of gay love story could be understood through experiencing intricate web of film's complete multimodal fabric.

The present study has focused on critique of gender and sexuality related signifying practices of film *Dostana* in relation to discourse's three interrelated aspects, i.e. immanent, socio-diagnostic and prognostic. This is a humble effort to explore some of the aspects and signifying practices of complex multimodal texts like film. There are

still many related and connected questions waiting to be explored by future researchers; for example, how do audiences make sense of interrelated and interdependent signifying practices, and how could Hindi film songs along with their mass oriented verbal and visual content contribute in (re)constructing audiences' mental model regarding gender roles and sexual orientation.

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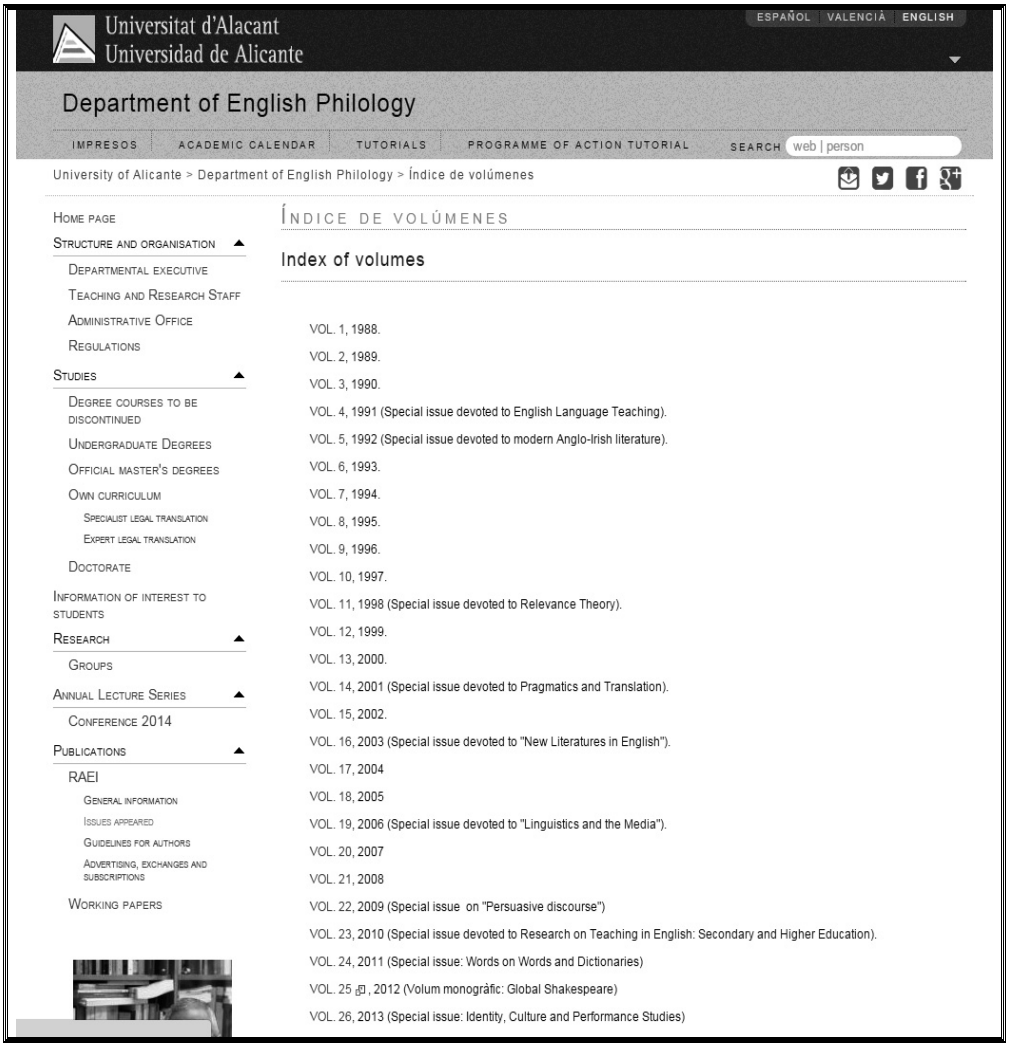

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Polysemy derivation in a multidimensional framework

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to systematise and illustrate the process of semantic network derivation within the multidimensional polysemy framework (Navarro, 1998, 2006) by way of a detailed analysis of the preposition *into*. The theoretical and methodological proposals introduce a series of parameters devised to identify, discriminate and classify network senses that can be applied to any preposition analysed within this framework. The results of the process (based on the manual analysis and classification of corpus examples) are illustrated by a description of the primary and secondary senses with which *into* is commonly associated in discourse as arranged in a multidimensional network.

Keywords: multidimensional polysemy, sense derivation, procedures, prepositions, *into*

1. Introduction

Prepositional semantics has been extensively studied from a number of perspectives; along the past decades, cognitive linguistics has yielded diverse proposals to depicture the *organisation* of spatial meaning in terms of, for example, radial (Brugman, 1980; Lakoff, 1987), hierarchical (Langacker, 1987) and multidimensional (Deane, 2005; Geeraerts, 2007) networks.[1]

Spatial relationships have been portrayed in a variety of fashions along recent approaches to prepositional semantics in terms of three configurational aspects that derive directly from our sensory-motor and functional experience: topology, force-

dynamics, and function.[2] Albeit with a different labelling system, the importance of these three dimensions in the semantic configuration of particles has been attested with psycholinguistic evidence in a series of studies (Cf. for example, Coventry and Garrod, 2004 or Feist, 2000, 2004). From a linguistic perspective, some of the most widely known approaches include, for example, Vandeloise's (1991, 2003) work on Complex Primitives or Tyler and Evans's (2003) Principled Polysemy Framework, which can be integrated into the more comprehensive Lexical Concepts and Cognitive Models Theory (Evans, 2009). The study presented in this paper embraces a slightly evolved model for Multidimensional Polysemy (Navarro, 1998, 2006), which integrates the three construal aspects within multidimensional radial networks (Cf. Silvestre-López, 2009 for a review).

The model proposes that the relationships between Trajector (TR) and Landmark (LM) in a given situation – as perceived by humans – are processed and integrated into a particular configuration of topological, dynamic[3] and functional aspects. This configuration sets the ground for the construal of each situation (it often influences the speakers' linguistic choices within the lexical repertoire) and is, in this model, represented in terms of multidimensional radial networks. The specific conflation of these parameters has a bearing not only on the arrangement of senses along the network but also on the determination of their nature. Navarro (2006: 171) describes each parameter as follows:

> 1- Topology: The visual perception of objects gives the speaker clues for establishing and conceptualising topological relations like coincidence, contact, inclusion, proximity, and the like.
> 2- Dynamics: Human beings have experience of self-motion and object motion, which provides the clues for conceptualising patterns of interaction in terms of dynamics.
> 3- Function: Human beings have experience of the effects of interaction, as well as the consequences of those effects for survival and well-being. This kind of experience may be projected onto other entities –animals and objects– so that the functional patterns conceptualised on the basis of human interaction are also used for the conceptualization of spatial relationships between other entities.

1.1. Construal aspects, senses and semantic networks in the Multidimensional Polysemy approach

Departing from the level of perception, human cognitive processing of perceptual space involves the simultaneous perception and processing of a scene in terms of the three construal dimensions (Navarro 2006); although these three aspects are commonly cut apart for practical analytical purposes, they occur simultaneously in our cognitive reality. Every sense in this framework is defined in terms of a particular configuration of these construal features. This particular *construal configuration*, in turn, is associated with a schematic representation, a *structural layout* portraying the most outstanding relationships between TR and LM in terms of these features.[4]

The primary member within the semantic network proposed for a preposition, that is, that from which other senses can be derived and explained is labelled *protoconcept* (Navarro, 2006: 173). Both protoconcepts and derived senses are multidimensional in that the three dimensions or aspects of construal are always present and play a role in 'construing' every particular configuration. The particular contribution of each construal aspect, however, may vary depending on the of TR-LM relationship inherent in a given scene.

The variety of ways in which the three dimensions may combine to yield a particular construal configuration associated with a sense is coded in terms of the distribution of senses along the regions or dimensions of a network. This can be better perceived with the help of Figure 1, which shows a template of regions for sense distribution upon which a radial network can be built.[5] Each region graphically represents either a *single* construal dimension (topology, dynamics, function) being *emphasised* (its contribution to the whole construal configuration is more salient) or a *combination* of emphasised construal dimensions.

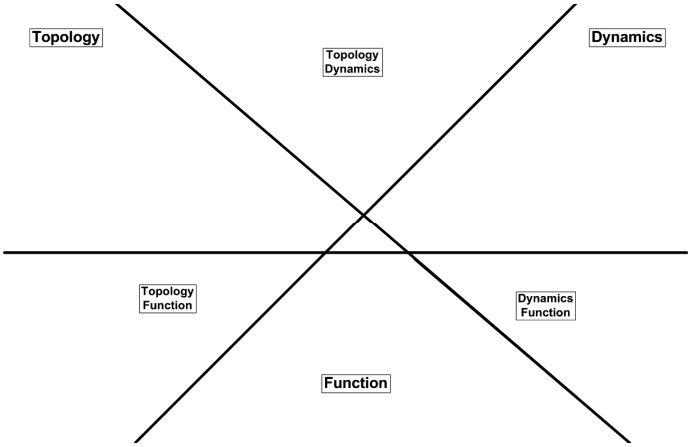

Figure 1. Sense distribution layout for network creation

The three construal dimensions are configured in a balanced relationship (equal importance in terms of contribution) at the very centre of the network. The remaining six regions represent cases where one or two construal dimensions are more salient. Thus, any sense located in any of these areas is assumed to exhibit an 'unbalanced' configuration in such a way that either one or two aspects become more salient than the rest in the construal of the situation.

The role of each of these dimensions is combined with a series of processes involved in the derivation of senses. Navarro (1998, 2006) suggests some of these processes, for example, shifts in the original conceptualisation pattern of the primary sense, profiling of particular elements,[6] metaphoric projections, or semantic bleaching. Although these processes have been identified (Navarro, 1998, 2006), their application

(how they may combine and interact) has not been systematised yet in the process of sense analysis and derivation. The present study intends to refine the multidimensional polysemy model in this respect.

1.2. The contribution of this study

Tyler and Evans' (2003) principled polysemy framework proposes a methodology for sense identification and classification which, albeit intended to be replicated in further polysemy derivation studies, applies under their framework. While acknowledging Tyler and Evans' valuable contribution to the field, the present study – being 'framed' in a different model – proposes likewise a further series of sense discrimination criteria developed specifically from the parameters that drive polysemy derivation under a different framework of multidimensional polysemy.

More concretely, the main purpose of this paper is to describe the process and product of the derivation of multidimensional semantic networks under Navarro's Framework of Multidimensional Polysemy in a systematised way. This description is illustrated through the derivation of the senses with which into is used in discourse.

In this view, the process described (methodology) is as important as the product (results) itself. The method section, on the one hand, sets forth a series of newly systematised procedures[7] (example classification and analysis in terms of a set of contextual parameters and a series of sense identification and discrimination criteria) to be followed so as to 'build' multidimensional semantic networks for any particle under this framework. The results and discussion section, on the other hand, illustrates this process with the case of *into*, presents the resulting multidimensional network, and provides an extended description of the primary sense followed by a sketch of the main features of each derived sense that highlights the variations that allowed their presence in the network

The purpose and considerations mentioned above can be narrowed down into two well-defined methodological aims – that is to say, two aims that drive the methodology developed and the results obtained:

> AIM 1: *Detection of the range of (sets of) uses of* into *in discourse.*
> Once detected, these sets of uses (discursive behavioural patterns of *into*) yield an initial (unpolished) array of sense profiles (see below).
> AIM 2: *Determination of the nature of each sense profile and (proper) sense arrangement within the multidimensional radial network.*

2. Methodology

The procedures followed to derive the semantic network for *into* are presented here as organised in terms of each of the aims above.[8]

2.1. AIM 1: Methodological considerations and procedures

The methodology adopted to detect the range of uses of *into* in general discourse and to identify recurrent usage patterns involves an exhaustive analysis of real examples and their classification into *sense profiles*.

A sense profile, as conceived of in this study, may be defined as a set of uses of a preposition with a series of common features. A sense profile in this respect is based on an *embryonic* set of configurational features that define a *potential* proper sense.[9] The nature of these features is unveiled as the manual analysis of examples proceeds; thus, the more examples analysed, the wider the perspective on the behaviour of *into* in discourse. The construction of each profile involves not only a classification of examples but also an initial determination of the most salient patterns of construal configurations, an initial draft of a structural layout and the identification of a series of associated contextual aspects.

In order to detect the different sense profiles of *into*, a semantic analysis of 1,000 randomly-extracted British National Corpus (BNC) examples was carried out. One previous/subsequent sentence was allowed for each example so as to provide for the necessary contextual information. The examples were then analysed manually and gathered in terms of similarities so as to obtain an initial list of sense profiles.

Context plays a crucial role in the identification and classification of sense profiles. In order to allow for the contextual dimension, the following series of parameters was observed and recorded in the manual analysis of each example:

1. *TR-LM animacy conditions,* coded in a scale from human beings to fixed objects. Animacy conditions (Feist, 2000, 2004) of the participants involved in the relationship may be a hint for possible conceptualisations of dynamic effects and functional consequences, hence their inclusion as the first parameter.
2. *Type of domain* for conceptualisation. The identification of typical domains shows broad areas or general contexts of use, hence allowing a wider perspective where representative TRs and LMs may be predicted.
3. *Literal vs. metaphoric* uses, where this distinction proves important in licensing specific uses and in determining particular kinds of TRs and LMs associated with them.
4. Other outstanding *sentential context features*: e.g. prolific verbal elements.
5. *Construal configuration*: information on the peculiarities of the TR-LM relationship as portrayed in the example, coded in terms of the effects of the combined contribution of the three construal aspects found in the example. This is usually accompanied by a 'sense profile label' (e.g. 'ENTRY') to quickly identify the example with a particular kind of construal configuration that might also be found in other examples.

Although each profile might eventually be considered as a proper sense, at this stage it only seems safe to talk about particular 'sets of uses' that can be gathered under

a profile. In other words, some of the uses identified as such at this point might actually and eventually (after the application of the criteria suggested below) simply rank as *contextual uses or variations* of a particular sense *per se*, as opposed to cases of *proper senses* (primary or derived) with *network node status* (i.e. properly established senses reflected as such on the network).

2.2. AIM 2: Methodological considerations and procedures

Once a set of sense profiles has been identified, the next logical step is to determine the *nature* of each of them. This involves identifying the sense profiles as primary or secondary (i.e. proper) senses or else as contextual variations of a proper sense.

A series of parameters for the identification of senses and establishing objective distinctions among them were set as a methodological aid for the researcher; these involve, on the one hand, a set of features with which the primary sense is commonly associated (section 2.2.1) and on the other hand, a set of criteria involved in the identification and distinction among derived senses (section 2.2.2). The latter were also devised to avoid network overpopulation by preventing sense profiles that conceal mere contextual variations – that is, the examples they encompass show plain contextual effects that actually derive from the structure of a different, properly established sense – from being considered as proper senses.

The discrimination of contextual uses is inherent to the identification of primary and secondary senses and entails a process of *rearrangement* (subsumption) of the sets of examples associated with a 'contextual variation sense profile' as cases of a different – in this case fully-established – proper sense. This process is further developed and illustrated with the case of *into* in section 3.1.

At this point the reader may have noted that determining the nature of the senses of *into* is actually an 'online' process that develops as the methodological procedures proposed for example analysis and classification are followed. The picture of the uses of *into* in discourse therefore becomes more and more complete as the process of analysis proceeds.

2.2.1. Features of the primary sense

The protoconcept is assumed to show an essential configuration along the range of senses associated with a preposition that is semantically rich enough to allow for sense derivation. The primary sense is therefore conceived of as the primigenial one in that it provides the basis for meaning specialisation (i.e. the derivation of secondary senses) and extension (e.g. projections yielding metaphorical uses of an original configuration).

The degree of entrenchment of a linguistic unit has been associated with the frequency with which an individual or a speech community use it as associated with a particular meaning (Langacker, 1987). The frequency with which a unit is used with a particular meaning in a corpus, as compared with the absolute set of alternative meanings with which the unit is used in the corpus, has been proved to correlate with

the degree of entrenchment (onomasiological salience) of that unit-meaning (Geeraerts *et al*., 1994; Navarro, 1998).

In the light of these considerations, an association between the primary sense and the most salient of the whole set of senses may be established. The experience acquired in the derivation of multidimensional networks for different prepositions under this framework (e.g. Navarro, 1998, 2006; Navarro and Gösser, 2011; the present work) points to a tendency for the sense eventually identified as the protoconcept to actually show the most basic schematic layout of the TR-LM relationship, which comes associated with a particular construal aspect configuration. It is precisely its basic configuration – which might in turn explain its salience over the rest of senses – which renders a ready-to-use 'material' from which other senses may develop. A combination of two criteria is thus suggested to help identify the primary sense:

α- The sense profile showing the highest frequency rate among the range of sense profiles with which a unit (preposition) is associated.
β- The sense profile displaying the most basic schematic configuration.

α and β are understood here as complementary features upon which a 'compromise' should be reached. In most cases both of them coincide in the same sense, which can be taken as an indicator of a good 'protoconcept candidate'. If a case is given where α is met by one sense and β is met by another one, this implies that there are two prototypical uses of a preposition, each with one basic feature. The two of them are basic and active at a point in time (current speech), but only one of them (that identified with β) qualifies as the protoconcept.

Once the primary sense has been identified, both its particular *structural layout* and *construal configuration* can be taken as the reference set of features against which the rest of senses (profiles showing significantly different configurations) may be compared. Important variation in these terms can therefore lead to the consideration of a particular sense profile as being *derived* from the primary one. This kind of variation is reflected in the sense discrimination criteria.

2.2.2. Distinction of derived senses

The senses in the network are kept to a minimum and are distinguished by way of the application of the following discrimination criteria:

A. Transformations in the original structure of the primary sense

While sharing some of their structure, criterion A suggests that any transformation in the original schematic structure (basic layout) of the primary sense may yield a different sense. Peña and Ruiz de Mendoza (2009) defend the metonymic grounding of image-schema transformations like path-end-of-path (Lakoff, 1987) by suggesting that instead of a complex transformation the phenomenon can be explained more parsimoniously

through a metonymic focus on one of the path structural elements. This study applies their proposals to protoconcepts. Thus, the transformations described here are often explained via underlying *metonymic projections* upon parts of the schematic structure of the primary sense, resulting in highlighted or downgraded parts or elements.

Additionally, the basic layout of the primary sense may be 'enriched' with additional TR-LM features. In these cases, the transformation is the product of an underlying *metaphorical projection* (criterion C).

B. Modifications in the original configuration of construal aspects

This criterion makes reference to any kind of variation in the original structure whose effects show a *construal aspect configuration* that is *different* from the primary sense (or a mother network node arising from the primary sense). In this view, a different pattern of emphasised (salient) construal aspects may be indicative of a different sense.

C. Metaphoric licensing

One or a combined set of metaphoric mappings – often primary metaphors (Grady, 2007) and/or realisations of the event structure metaphor (Lakoff, 1987) within well-defined contexts of use – *motivate* the existence of a sense in the network. These mappings bring about with them a transformation in A and/or a different configuration in B above, i.e. *the presence of metaphor licenses the application of A or B*. All corpus examples fitting the sense configuration are therefore *necessarily* metaphorical in nature.

Secondary proper senses must meet both criteria A and B. Because of the changes it brings about, criterion C necessarily happens with A and B. C is not as primary as A or B in terms of frequency and application, but it is crucial in determining the status of sense profiles where metaphor is involved (e.g. as metaphorically-licensed proper senses vs. sets of metaphorical extensions of proper senses).

3. Results and discussion

The 'final product' of the procedures described above is the multidimensional radial network of *into*. The network itself is introduced in section 3.3 followed by a detailed description of the primary sense (3.4.) and an account of the main features of secondary senses (3.5). Before diving into the network as such, however, section 3.1. briefly illustrates the sense profile classification process of *into* (resulting from the procedures described under 2.1), and section 3.2 the identification of its primary sense (resulting from 2.2.1). The application of secondary sense discrimination criteria (resulting from 2.2.2.) is provided along with the secondary sense description.[10]

3.1. On sense profiles

9 different sense profiles were identified along the first stages of corpus example analysis, namely**:** ENTRY, ENCLOSURE COLLISION, TR BECOMES A GROUP, LM CONSTRAINS TR'S CONTROL,[11] DIRECTION (e.g. looking/peeping into the LM), TR BECOMES AN INTEGRATED PART OF LM (e.g. 'building' or 'melting' the TR into a larger complex unit (LM) so that it becomes an integrated part of it), FORCEFUL ENTRANCE (e.g. the TR 'breaks into' the LM) and LM CONSTRAINS TR'S MOTION INSIDE (e.g. the TR is forced into the LM in a way that it cannot move within or out of it).

Among them, ENTRY was identified as the primary sense (see below), the next four were found to meet at least criteria A and B, and the rest did not show significant differences (one or no criteria met) and were therefore dismissed as proper senses; the latter set, however, were observed to conceal contextual uses of proper senses and were rearranged accordingly as such into a network-status sense. Providing a detailed account on the intricacies of each rearrangement case falls beyond the scope of this paper, but a brief illustration of two examples may help the reader to get a clearer idea on the process.

The DIRECTION sense profile was found to gather a series of uses where the TR, an animate entity, is located outside the LM and is looking, peeping, or gazing into it. Initially this set had been conceived of as a potential proper sense owing to the presence of a fine-grained series of recurrent elements (e.g. contextual parameters like 'look/peer'-like verbs, no motion implied, etc.); however, *none* of the discrimination criteria were found to apply, which allowed considering this sense profile as a particular set of uses within the ENTRY sense, more concretely as one of the metaphorical *extension*[12] sets of ENTRY motivated by the seeing is entering metaphor (Navarro, 1998: 254) in combination with a metonymic projection of the sense of sight for the whole experiencer.

Along this process, it is rather frequent for a sense profile to meet only one criterion; in this case the differences with respect to a more primary node are not significant enough for it to be granted network status. This is the case of the FORCEFUL ENTRANCE profile, which encompasses senses where the TR '*breaks into*' the LM, a *fully-closed* container. While there is a variation in the schematic layout, the construal configuration pattern of ENTRY is fully kept. These differences, not being significant enough, led the cases included in FORCEFUL ENTRANCE to be subsumed in the ENTRY sense).

3.2. Primary sense identified

Sense	Frequency (%)
ENTRY	75.6
LM CONSTRAINS TR'S CONTROL	11
COLLISION	6,1
TR BECOMES A GROUP	4,6
ENCLOSURE	2,7

Table 1. Proper sense frequency out of corpus examples

Table 1 shows the percentages resulting from the classification of senses after the rearrangement process. Different effects derive from these data. While the highest value shows a clear salience of the configuration associated with ENTRY in the uses of *into*, lower percentages might be hinting at potential overlaps of the uses of *into* with which they are associated with those of a different preposition within the English language system. This seems especially likely for ENCLOSURE, whose configuration may be a borderline use of *into*, but central among the senses of prepositions like *in* – in other words, this configuration is more prototypically coded in English by *in* than *into* (Cf. Navarro, 1998: 227-230).

As for the determination of the primary sense, in the case of *into*, ENTRY was found to meet both primary sense criteria: ranking as the most frequent (α) and also showing the most basic configuration (β) among the rest of senses (Cf. description in section 3.4).

3.3. Semantic network

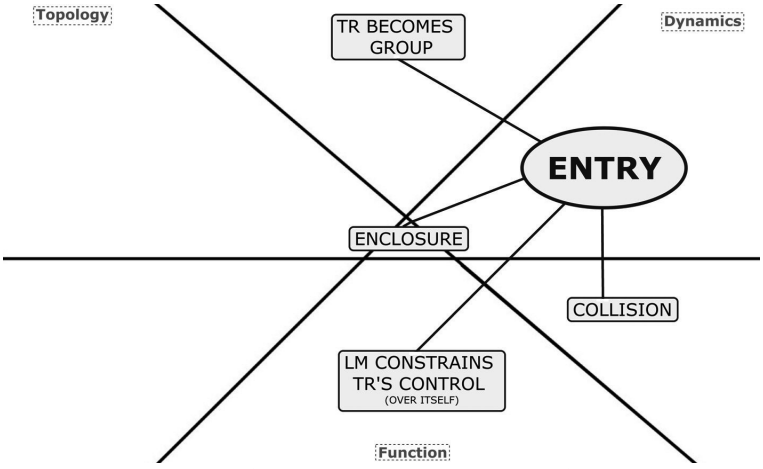

Figure 2. Semantic network of **into**

Figure 2 represents the multidimensional radial network of into resulting from our analysis. The primary sense for into is not placed at the very core of the diagram (a

secondary sense occupies instead this position) but within the dynamics region. This is due to the significant role of the dynamic component (in terms of motion and/or force) of the primary sense (Dewell, 2005).

From the overall distribution of senses, dynamics can also be perceived as a pervasive and salient component (to different degrees) along the network; the fact that the 'heavier' or more populated parts of the network are closer to the dynamics region is no mere coincidence.

Finally, before delving into the description of the primary and secondary senses, it is important to note here that when one specific kind or pattern of construal aspects is emphasised (e.g. dynamics, or dynamics plus function), the rest (e.g. topology and function, or topology) still contribute to the conceptualisation of the scene, only that they are not salient in that particular configuration, as associated with a specific use of *into*. Thus, while the dynamics dimension is also present in, say, the LM CONSTRAINS TR'S CONTROL OVER ITSELF sense of *into*, its contribution to the whole construal configuration is 'less significant' than the functional implications of the relationship.

3.4. Primary sense described: ENTRY

The protoconcept for *into* is here labelled ENTRY after Dewell (2005), as the label encompasses the basic components of the relationship in an utterly *dynamic* configuration. In fact, I share most of my views with this author in terms of stative and active configurations of the elements involved in the notion of containment (Cf. Dewell, 2005: 374-378 for an in-depth description). The label is also appropriate in that it encapsulates a *boundary-crossing* component (Tutton, 2009) inherent in the primary sense.

The description of ENTRY presented here is based on: an account of (i) the main features of the TR-LM configuration, (ii) the multidimensional construal aspects of ENTRY and (iii) contextual information parameters.[13]

It is important to note that the descriptions of ENTRY – as much as those of the rest of senses – provided here are intended to reflect generic features associated with each sense as abstracted out from particular instance analysis. These descriptions are illustrated with a series of examples which, in this light, must be conceived of as representative instantiations (particular realisations) of the more general and encompassing features purported in each sense. The following are some of these representative examples of ENTRY:

(1) C8E 879[14] Later that night she came **into** my room in her kimono, bringing me a glass of champagne and carrying a book.
(2) KS7 479 I've got to go **into** hospital on erm well, tomorrow actually for erm another operation erm...
(3) J1C 1049 I couldn't see it too clearly 'cos it was at the other end of the pitch, but it seemed that Jamie had the ball around the right hand edge of the box and curled it **into** the top left hand corner.

3.4.1. The basic TR-LM configuration

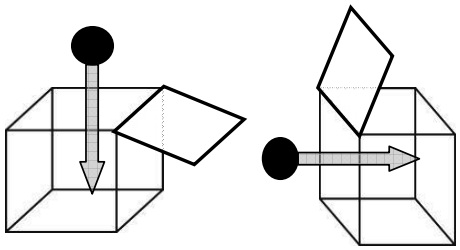

Figure 3. Basic TR-LM configuration of ENTRY

Figure 3 is a schematic representation of the basic configuration of TR and LM of ENTRY. This information can be completed with a series of features that tend to be present in TRs and LMs.[15]

The TR is typically a mobile, finite entity able to be contained within a different entity, the LM. It is canonically smaller than the LM and is to follow path whose endpoint is the interior of the LM.

The LM is typically an entity that defines the boundaries of a three-dimensional region and so determines the limits and capacity of that region. Canonically, it is a container whose boundaries are incomplete. The LM is open on one of its sides (upper or lateral, hence the double schema represented in Figure 3) so that an access exists through which entities (TRs) may enter or exit. The LM's 'access side' might possibly be closed at a previous or later point in time (e.g. at initial or final stages of the relationship, see below).

3.4.2. Multidimensional construal aspects of ENTRY

Owing to the dynamic configuration of ENTRY, the description of its multidimensional construal aspects implies a conceived situation where a change of position or a change of state of the entities involved (LM as much as TR) also entails a period of time where an initial, a middle and a final stage or position can be distinguished and observed. This also applies to other derived senses in a way that different peripheral senses may highlight or describe *only* some of these three specific stages. The reader might like to conceive of the first kind of cases as instantiations of Langacker's (1987) notion of *summary scan*, where the conceptualisation of a middle or final stage also implies a previous series of changes in the TR-LM sequence, and the second kind (e.g. explicit *metonymic focus* on one stage) as *sequential scan* instantiations.

The following is a basic description of the construal aspect configuration of ENTRY. It is actually an indivisible whole, but it has been broken down here into each aspect for the sake of clarity. Each construal aspect, in turn, includes a description of the main traits of the TR-LM relationship in each relevant position or stage.[16]

TOPOLOGY

- Initial position or stage:

Initially, the TR is located outside the LM's boundaries, and, canonically – though not always necessarily – oriented towards an open side of the LM and 'ready' to enter.

- Final position or stage:

At the *final position*, the TR (canonically, the whole of it) is located within the LM's boundaries. A path links TR and LM, the end of which is the LM itself (the series of positions of the TR along the path would topologically mark the 'middle' position).

DYNAMICS

Force and motion are key features in the basic semantic configuration of *into* given that the relationship between TR and LM in this utterly basic sense is dynamic in nature: the TR is conceived of as an actively moving entity entering the boundaries of the LM. In other words, the basic dynamic relationship expressed by *into* is *motion* of the TR through a force axis or path ending inside the boundaries of the LM.

This axis can take any curve, tilt, direction and angle. Canonically, the force axis is *horizontal* or *vertical* (TR upper initial position), as derived from human experience with physical containers – for example, our bodily experience of moving in and out of enclosures on a horizontal axis in the first case or our experience of handling things into or out of containers and preventing them from falling due to gravity forces in the second. However, less prototypically, it may also be conceived of as a vertical axis where the TR is not in an upper, but in a *lower* position with respect to the LM. This includes cases where the LM is open on its base, for example, injecting hot air into a balloon or screwing a light-bulb into its socket.

- Middle stage:

As for *motion* features within this force axis, two variations in terms of agentivity are possible: (A) the TR may exert the *movement force itself* (examples 1, 2) or else (B) be *externally compelled or attracted* towards the LM (3).[17]

- Final stage:

Once inside the LM, the motion of the TR towards the exterior is not completely barred in most cases, given that the LM is open in one of its sides. Nevertheless, the TR's motion within and towards the exterior of the LM may be *limited* to different extents by the size of the LM itself, of its opening, and the open side (upper, lateral, bottom), which – as the rest of the features described above – has functional side-effects.

FUNCTION

Both topological and dynamic aspects have a bearing on functional ones. The basic relationship between TR and LM is redescribed functionally in terms of *influence and control patterns* and *affected* participants. These tend to be understood, more concretely, in terms of notions like intentions or purposes (canonically, of an animate

TR with respect to the LM) and effects like protection, reclusion or concealment (usually associated with these intentions).

- Middle stage

Functionally, different degrees of *self-control* of the TR over the force axis or motion path can be perceived. This control also depends on animacy conditions and can in many cases (when animate participants take a part) incorporate the added value of intention or purpose. Agentivity patterns are tightly related to dynamic aspects but have obvious functional consequences; the two variations described in the middle stage in dynamic terms may be perceived functionally as:

(A) '*Entrance*': Self-control of the TR over the motion path. In this case the TR is canonically an animate entity capable of self-motion and/or self-determination e.g. a human being with some intention as in (1, 2).[18] This relationship is expressed grammatically in intransitive constructions.

(B) '*Insertion*': This case denotes a TR with the least possible degree of self-control over the motion path. The TR in this case is fully compelled or attracted by an external force (which may be physical as well as abstract, for example, an inescapable obligation) towards the interior of the LM, as in the case of (3). This relationship is usually expressed grammatically in (simple and complex) transitive constructions (e.g. human beings handling objects).

- Final stage:

The function attributed to the LM in this final stage has a bearing on its effects on the TR. Once the TR is inside the LM's boundaries, some kind of *partial control* of the LM over the TR may be perceived, the degree of control exerted being strongly dependent upon the limitations (overture size, container size, open side) or restrictions brought in by the LM.

The restriction of TR's movements (e.g. due to the force of gravity, in a container open on its upper side, the TR might find more impediments to exit the LM's boundaries) may be processed functionally as a *restriction* of its potential action within and with respect to the LM (and any other element within), hence the LM's control. This kind of derived consequence or effect may be labelled *reclusion*.

Other functional effects usually expected in the relationship are for example *protection* (the LM may impede the access of other entities) or *concealment* of the TR or any other element within the LM.

3.4.3. Contextual information parameters

Contextual parameters help to establish a more elaborate profile of the kind of TR-LM relationship expressed by ENTRY. Feist (2000) demonstrates the importance of figure-ground animacy conditions in our conceptualisation of spatial relationships. The role of animacy conditions, especially when dealing with animate TRs, proved a key parameter in identifying usage patterns within the different senses of *into*. In the case of ENTRY,

animacy conditions proved crucial in the determination of functional aspects (e.g. control and intention effects described above). Thus, TRs are *canonically* human beings or objects moved by human beings (e.g. physical hand-size objects, tools, vehicles, etc.). Most LMs, however, are identified as non-animate objects; these may be "real" containers (both fixed and mobile: e.g. house, office, kitchen, room, pool, truck, car) or else conceptualised as such, for example three-dimensional areas perceived as enclosed, but with no boundaries (e.g. woods, trees, cities).

The examples of typical TRs and LMs are related to the nature of the conceptual domains involved in the uses matching each sense of a given preposition. While a particular cluster of domains can be easily identified in secondary senses agglutinating few corpus examples, the vast amount of examples classified into ENTRY yielded a number of general sets, none of which could be considered as particularly representative among the rest. In general terms, physical domains were observed to relate mainly to spaces where people move (enter or leave), for example, buildings and parts of buildings or geographical areas (natural landscapes, cities, counties, etc.). A narrow range of abstract domains was also identified along the examples analysed; these reflect recurrent topics of adult speech especially in areas like police inquiry, education or literature (stories as told in novels and films).

This variety was also found to hold for representative sentential context elements; a general tendency was found, nonetheless, for the combination of 'animate TRs' plus 'non-animate container-like LMs' to collocate with verbs describing the physical motion of the animate agent (intransitive motion/action verbs like go, walk, come, run, wander, etc. or transitive ones like put, place, drive, take, lead, push, throw). These include as well different kinds of verbs with the prefix 'in' (e.g. insert, introduce, investigate). The range of verbs was obviously found to change in the extended uses where metaphoric projections are involved, as the case of the 'shape' metaphor ('shape TR into LM') or the translation metaphor[19] ('translate TR into LM'): make, shape, convert, turn, transform, change, translate, code, etc.

3.5. Secondary senses

The description of the secondary senses provided in this section will only highlight the main modifications, with respect to the primary sense,[20] that motivate their presence in the network.

Each sense will be introduced by way of the representation of the basic TR-LM configuration plus a series of examples, followed by an explanation of the criteria met plus the description of the main transformations in terms of each construal aspect.
COLLISION and ENCLOSURE are introduced first, as only two of the three criteria are met. TR BECOMES A GROUP and LM CONSTRAINS TR'S CONTROL, where the three criteria are met and the role of metaphor becomes gradually more important, are described next.

3.5.1. COLLISION

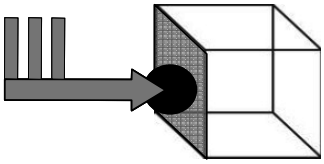

Figure 4. TR-LM configuration of COLLISION

(4) K1B 2906 Fiat's driver was forced to swerve to avoid an on-coming car. As he did so he lost control of the vehicle which rolled over smashed **into** a lamp-post.
(5) A12 218 Other easily recognised Balanchine signatures can be seen in passages marked Stretto where his dancers stab their toes **into** the floor as they travel across the stage in posés attitudes devant or à la seconde .
(6) B0B 247 … they didn't see two boys suddenly come racing round the bend just by Miss Miggs's cottage. The boys, who were bigger than the Brownies, ran full-tilt **into** them.
(7) JY6 3416 She stabbed an angry finger **into** his chest.

Into has been suggested as a prototypical case of *boundary-crossing* preposition (Cf. Tutton, 2009 for a short discussion). This feature, however, is not found in the COLLISION sense and is, in fact, one of the main divergences with regard to the rest of senses. Basically, COLLISION describes a *strong movement* of the TR towards the LM but, *the interior of the LM is never reached by the TR*. The particular variations that COLLISION shows with respect to the primary sense can be systematised in terms of criteria A and B.

Criterion A: The schematic structure of TR-LM configuration of ENTRY has varied in terms of (i) a stronger force-motion component, (ii) a change in the nature of the LM (one of its surfaces receives primary focus, whereas the rest of its structure becomes downgraded) and (iii) the resulting position/state of the TR with respect to the LM. That is, the stage where the TR is expected to be located within the LM in ENTRY does not actually happen in COLLISION; there is therefore a focus on the *middle stage* of the original TR-LM relationship, so that the last position of the TR with respect to the LM in COLLISION coincides with the end of the middle stage in ENTRY.

Criterion B: The original construal aspect configuration has also undergone several modifications so that, while topological aspects are obviously inherent to the relationship, both *dynamic* and *functional* ones become especially salient in this sense. These differences can be redescribed within each multidimensional construal aspect as follows:

TOPOLOGY

Relevant topological features are concerned with the final position of the TR-LM relationship (interior not reached) and the prominence of the LM's contact point (the grey side in Figure 4) over the rest of its structure (Cf. Criterion A above).

DYNAMICS

The dynamic component profiles an *extremely strong movement* of the TR towards the LM (represented in Figure 4 with a strong-force vector marking the path to be followed) that *abruptly stops* when the TR *collides* with the LM.

FUNCTION

The use of *into* in this sense is motivated by the force of the movement itself and the impact of the TR on the surface of the LM, which has obvious *functional consequences* for the whole structure that composes the LM. These consequences, real or perceived by the human being describing the scene, can be measured in terms of affected participants given that, functionally, both TR and (especially) LM *become affected*.

In terms of topological or dynamic aspects, the situation could be portrayed as a typical case of motion ending in contact. The use of *into* here is hence motivated by the salient *functional effects* of the force and motion involved. This use can be considered as *hyperbolic* inasmuch as there is actual contact between TR and LM, which is strong enough to be perceived as *almost trespassing* one of the LM's sides, with derived consequences and effects.

This can easily be seen in examples like (4) where two non-animate entities are involved, and where the moving entity does not have control over its motion, or else as well in examples like (5), where the TR is an animate entity controlling motion. Controlled or uncontrolled motion or the shape and structure of the LM are less important here than the *effects* of motion on both TR and (especially) LM. In both examples the use of *into* is licensed by functional projections from our human experience of collisions onto the series of *real and obvious* effects (as in the case of (4), where physical damage consequences for both TR and LM are obvious) or *hyperbolic* or *perceptually relevant effects* resulting from strong contact (in (5), in contrast, *stab*bing a part of the TR into the LM highlights a series of functional consequences for the TR in terms of potential *damage* of the dancers' toes, but also in terms of the *sound* derived from this contact with the LM)

Other series of consequences are more easily perceived when animate LMs are involved, as in (6) and (7), where the use of *into* clearly denotes the consequences (physical in (6) and both physical and psychological, among others, in (7)) derived from the action of the TR with respect to the LM.

3.5.2. ENCLOSURE

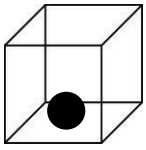

Figure 5. TR-LM configuration of ENCLOSURE

(8) C85 1479 People were squeezing towards the raised pit to get a better look at the fighting cocks. Two were already straining from the hands of their masters, […]. Others were in lidded baskets until it was their turn; more tied in sacks; a few buttoned **into** deep pockets.
(9) K32 2741 Suddenly he was **into** a totally new environment.
(10) H8J 198 'You are so closed **into** your fairy-tale world of happy ever after that you'll never bring yourself to form a relationship with a flesh and blood man.

The ENCLOSURE sense portrays the TR enclosed, in a resting position, within the LM. This sense roughly coincides with the primary sense of *in* described in Navarro (1998: 227-230), where topological, dynamic (force component) and functional aspects yield a balanced construal aspect configuration – hence its location at the centre of the network (Cf. Figure 2).

Functional effects remain basically the same for both prepositional choices; that is to say, both *in* and *into* portray, in the ENCLOSURE sense, a closed container that may conceal, confine or protect the TR in different ways. The choice of *into,* as opposed to *in*, seems in this case to be inherent to the degree of elaboration of the construed relationship in terms of *dynamic and topological aspects*. In other words, by using *into*, the speaker metonymically profiles (and thus emphasises) the *endpoint* of a *previous process of motion*, including a path that continues within the LM. Likewise, *into* further elaborates the *TR's final position* within the LM, especially at its bottom, as opposed to a less elaborated relationship profiled by *in*, which basically construes the TR within the LM's boundaries (Navarro, ibid.).

Both criteria **A** and **B** allow the presence of ENCLOSURE in the network. On the one hand, a significant modification upon the original schematic configuration of ENTRY results as the product of a *metonymic focus* on ENTRY's *last stage*, which entails as well a selection of the closed-container feature.[21] On the other hand, as suggested above, a different construal aspect configuration is involved:

TOPOLOGY

The TR is pictured as already located *inside* the LM, particularly at the bottom of it and in a resting position. The LM is canonically a *closed container.*

DYNAMICS

Previous motion from the outside is implied (although this belongs to a previous stage in the TR-LM relationship not profiled in this sense; in fact, most verbs accompanying this sense profile a static relationship), including a path that continues well into the LM. In the resting position, the forces involved have reached a balance; if the TR is animate, however, there may be potential attempts to break it by reaching the exterior or another location of the LM. There is usually *limited motion* of the TR within the LM.

FUNCTION

Functional consequences meet those found in the final stage described in the primary sense, with *effects* of concealment, reclusion or protection. These may also be perceived as control restriction effects of the LM over the TR if the latter is animate.

The three examples proposed for this sense range from the more concrete to the more abstract, as far as LMs are concerned. While (8) instantiates the typical TR-LM relationship in physical terms, examples like (9) and (10), where the LM progressively becomes more abstract, are also central. In fact, a series of metaphorical extensions associated with contextual uses within ENCLOSURE underlie a significant part of the examples classified under this sense.[22]

3.5.3. TR BECOMES A GROUP

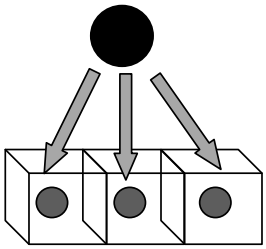

Figure 6. TR-LM configuration of TR BECOMES A GROUP: CLASSIFICATION

(11) EX1 19 Manufacturers were producing bigger and more powerful cars, and the rules, although crude, divided the cars **into** two categories — heavyweight and lightweight

(12) FAJ 1099 The young men split the cattle **into** two groups and head off to find pasture.

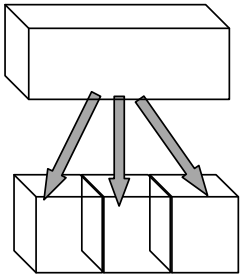

Figure 7. TR-LM configuration of TR BECOMES A GROUP: DIVISION

(13) J13 2320 You take your gram and divide it **into** twenty-five standard hits.

(14) EAA 585 Conversely, lower achievers who do not segment time **into** past, present and future (time is now) will write down only one or two goals.

Criteria **A**, **B** and, as a novelty, **C** apply in this sense. As for criterion **A**, a series of modifications (Cf. Figures 6 and 7) upon the basic TR-LM configuration of ENTRY become apparent in terms of number of motion paths and TR-LM transformations. Criterion **B** also applies given that there is a special focus on *topological* and *dynamic* construal aspects (as opposed to the exclusive emphasis on the dynamic component of ENTRY). Finally, given that a *metaphor* licenses the existence of this sense (both variations), criterion **C** is also met.

Two variations of the TR-LM configuration are possible in this sense: CLASSIFICATION – Figure 6, examples (11, 12) – and DIVISION – Figure 7, examples (13, 14). Both of them depend on the nature of the TR and on the particular application of a basic event-structure metaphor.

Concerning the nature of the TR, in the first case the TR is perceived as an undefined (unclassified) *collection of entities* to be *classified into* different groups or categories. In DIVISION, however, the TR is a *single entity or a mass* that is to be *divided* into different parts that form a whole.

Both variations draw on the changes are movements into bounded regions metaphor, each with a particular set of correspondences. The common ground suggests that *any kind of change in the nature of TR is understood as motion of the TR towards the LM*. In Figures 6 and 7, therefore, each of the multiple motion paths indicates a metaphorical process of change.

These differences are further developed under each of the multidimensional construal aspects below:

TOPOLOGY

- Middle stage

Multiple paths provide the blueprint for metaphorical change into the LM. Each of the multiple positions of the TR along each path is redescribed metaphorically as a part of the process of change in which the TR is split (classified or divided) into different parts that, together, compose a whole.

- Final stage

The TR has become a plurality of entities framed within the LM. In the case of CLASSIFICATION, the TR is perceived as *arranged within* the LM (e.g. cars in categories (11) or cattle in groups (12)). In the case of DIVISION the TR is *identified with* the LM; that is to say, TR and LM are the same entity in two different stages of change (e.g. unsegmented vs. segmented time in (14)). More specifically, the underlying metaphor allows a conceptualisation of the same entity whose nature has changed from one stage to the other. In it, the TR is identified with the 'before' stage – any changes taking place being understood in terms of its motion through each path – , whereas the LM is conceived as the outcome of the process of change, that is, the same entity in the 'after' stage.

It is important to note that the LM is perceived as a *group of entities* conceived as *parts of a whole*. More specifically, the LM may be envisaged as a single entity

composed of different parts – this is typically construed in the case of DIVISION, owing to the identification of the TR with the LM – or else as a collection of individual LMs that, together, are parts of a whole.

DYNAMICS

CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS INTO BOUNDED REGIONS finds its application especially in the dynamic component emphasised by this use of *into*; the description of dynamic features therefore strongly draws on the conceptualisation of *change* in terms of *motion*, which profiles the *middle stage* of the TR-LM relationship:

In basic dynamic terms, in both variations, the movement of the TR – usually caused by an *external force or agent* – results in a *plurality* of entities *within* a group (LM). Thus, the TR's motion 'branches out' into different paths (metaphorically, the TR becomes split into different parts) *yielding to* the LM (a segmented entity or a group of LMs) in the case of CLASSIFICATION, or *yielding* (actively creating) different parts of the LM in the case of DIVISION.

FUNCTION

Although functional aspects remain at the backstage in this sense, the functional rule is that the TR is the *controlled* (and *affected*) entity in the relationship expressed by *into*. One of the dynamic features of this sense is compelled motion, whose metaphorical counterpart is some kind of change imposed by an external agent. In functional terms, the changes in the TR-LM relationship are the product of the *intention* of the external agent, as in (12), for example, where 'the young men' divide the cattle into two groups in order to have more chances of finding pasture.

The lack of control of the TR over the process of motion/change is reflected grammatically in terms of syntactic and semantic roles associated with transitive patterns. That is to say, the TR is usually found as the patient in passive voice elaborations or as the DO in complex transitive constructions. As a consequence, it is commonly identified as one of the affected entities in the relationship; in the case of DIVISION, where TR and LM are identified as the same entity that becomes divided as a result of the process of change, the LM might also be considered semantically as an effected entity given that a series of new 'items' – 'hits' in (13) or 'past, present and future' in (14) – are created as a result.

3.5.4. THE LM CONSTRAINS TR'S CONTROL OVER ITSELF

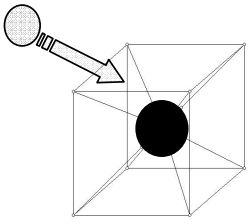

Figure 8. TR-LM configuration of LM CONSTRAINS TR'S CONTROL OVER ITSELF

(15) K2R 153 It was the perfect example of 'the more you do, the more trouble you get **into**'.
(16) KS9 217 Some reasons for non-production in mares: 1 Mare not covered —did not come **into** season; 2 …
(17) FS0 1140 He was a gentle man by nature, but he would suddenly fall **into** a depression and lose all confidence in himself.
(18) JYE 1317 **The little girl** dissolved **into giggles**, …

The three selection criteria are also met in this sense:

Criterion **A**. Variations from the original (ENTRY) configuration can be perceived (Cf. Figure 8) in terms of a *special focus* on the middle and final stages (similar to Langacker's end-path focus summary scan, only that the middle of the path is also focused upon here) of the TR-LM relationship. This focalisation is actually due to the derived functional implications for the TR once it trespasses the LM's boundaries.[23]

Criterion **B**. In terms of the configuration of construal aspects, there is in this sense a variation from the original (ENTRY) with a focalisation as well on *functional* aspects in terms of *change of control patterns* (the LM gradually gains control over the TR as it gets into its boundaries).

Criterion **C**. Two combined metaphors in the shape of a metaphoric amalgam (Cf. Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa, 2011) motivate the existence of this sense, and warrant the application of criteria A and B.

The change of control patterns mentioned above is allowed by the presence of a combination of two instantiations of the EVENT-STRUCTURE metaphor: STATES ARE LOCATIONS (bounded regions in space) and CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS (into bounded regions). This amalgam allows this use of *into* to construe particular states as container-like LMs in such a way that any change concerning a new state, condition or situation of the TR (as in (15-18): trouble, season, depression, laughter) becomes the product of the underlying metaphorical interpretation of its motion towards the interior of the LM.

The particular configuration of construal aspects in this sense, being derived from the factors described above, can be schematised as follows:

TOPOLOGY

The final stage, where the TR is already inside the LM is emphasised.

DYNAMICS

In terms of source-target domain correspondences, any kind of *motion* of the TR with respect to the LM in the *source* domain is conceptualised metaphorically as a *change* in the *target* domain.

- Middle stage:

The TR moves along a path towards the LM (metaphorically, the process of change starts).

- Final stage:

TR enters the boundaries of the LM (metaphorically, a change is taking place). Once inside the LM, there is a *heavy restriction*[24] of the TR's movements, both inside the LM and also towards its exterior

FUNCTION

The functional feature emphasised in this sense is a *change of control patterns*, from the initial to the final stage describing the relationship between TR and LM. This is the functional consequence/implication of the change described under the Dynamic construal above.

- Initial stage:

The TR shows relative self-control over itself or may have some intentionality towards the change itself.

- Middle stage:

The TR's initial relative self-control or volition diminishes progressively as the middle stage develops (the metaphorical process of change into a new state starts).

- Final stage:

The LM constrains the TR's control over itself (the metaphorical change has taken place); as a consequence, the TR becomes overtly *affected* by the *influence* of the LM.

The TR's self-control, intentionality or volition suggested for initial stages can easily be perceived in examples where the TR, being an animate, self-determined being, may have some preconception, intention or volition concerning its entering the LM's boundaries. Although not found in the set of examples randomly extracted from the corpus, it is possible to find examples where the TR, a human being, is *willing* to enter, say, a positive (or at least, *desired*) state of body/mind, for example, calmness, concentration, meditation, etc. In these cases, that individual only controls fully the initial stage, an intention and/or an effort (e.g. calming down, focussing on breath) to become focused or, to get into, say, a meditative state. Once that person is in that mental or physical state, leaving it does not fully depend on them, as some physical and mental changes (the LM itself) have taken place as a result of that prior effort.

(15-18) above illustrate cases of a lower degree of TR's self control especially at middle stages. While the degree of self control is nearly nonexistent at this stage in (16) and (17), it is relative in (15) or (18), as the TR might still be able to take some action. For example, the TR in (16) does not have a chance of avoiding 'getting into season' whereas in (15) it might still have a chance of avoiding getting into trouble – by, say, becoming aware that they are still 'in the process of' getting into a situation that might eventually escape their control. In any case the process of change is not as manageable as in the situations described in the previous paragraph, and the resulting state (final stage) remains the same.

Contextual information parameters are especially important whenever the criterion C applies because it entails the existence of a metaphor licensing or bringing about a new sense, with a very *clear scenario* and contextual elements defined. Thus, a note on the role of context is especially relevant here because all the examples found to instantiate uses of this sense (all of them obviously being metaphorical) occur associated with abstract domains (e.g. time, phases/situations in one's life) or else the domain of the human body (in terms of physical or mental states). As it could be expected, TRs are people or animals (although states or feelings themselves can also stand metonymically as TRs) whereas LMs are identified with physical (e.g. 'mare into season') or mental (e.g. depression) states, feelings, habits, or momentary situations (e.g. 'trouble'). Finally, the typical verbal elements found are causative (grammatically speaking, this use of *into* is a good locus for the caused-motion construction), occurrence or activity verbs (e.g. force, turn, come, sink).

4. Conclusion

This paper has illustrated, by way of the analysis of *into*, the process of the derivation of polysemic units departing from the extraction of corpus examples to their classification and arrangement within a multidimensional semantic network (Navarro, 1998, 2006; Silvestre-López, 2009).

The two methodological aims set for this study have been attained with the help of the methodological procedures proposed. In the construction of the network, the study of *contextual parameters* has helped to learn behavioural patterns of *into* across the pieces of discourse analysed. Among them, the analysis of TR-LM animacy conditions of *into* has proved a key factor in determining the nature of the senses showing highlighted functional aspects. Setting an identifiable series of *features and criteria* for sense identification, discrimination and classification have, on the one hand, proved an important methodological guide in the overall example analysis and classification process and, on the other hand, helped to keep the number of senses in the network to a minimum, while forming a coherent set.

Consequently, the theoretical and methodological considerations presented here are expected to become a valuable tool in the process of derivation of multidimensional semantic networks for any particle (preposition or adverb) *within the model*.

The multidimensional polysemy framework is a descriptive model and its results reflect language use tendencies within a linguistic community. On the one hand, this kind of description allows establishing systematic contrasts between particular prepositions in terms of intralinguistic (e.g. *into* vs. *in* and *to*) and crosslinguistic (e.g. English *in/on/at* vs. Spanish *en* (Navarro, 2006)) equivalences derived from the processes and ways in which languages encapsulate perceived spatial relationships and their effects (Silvestre-López, 2009). This line of research becomes especially relevant for the case of *into*, as a compound preposition; further studies must in this regard analyse the semantic contrasts arising from the use of *into*, *in* and *to* in English. On the other hand, these studies become especially useful when applied the field of translation,

and especially in ESL learning contexts with different kinds of learners, a line of work that is currently being developed by the research group to which the author belongs.

As any linguistic approach on prepositional semantics, the work presented here is not free from limitations. One of them concerns the scope of the analysis of *into*: while the parameters used to derive the network may be applied in different studies (all of them being framed within the multidimensional polysemy model), the scope of the results concerning *into* is more restricted. Although the sample of corpus examples analysed seems wide enough to allow for the whole spectrum of senses and to establish generalisations in terms of use, in strict terms, the results of this study are limited to a closed set of randomly extracted examples from a much wider database, the BNC.

An additional limitation is related to the subjective component that is obviously present in this study. Albeit the methodological tools allow for a series of relatively objective steps, the manual analysis of examples and their classification still relies partially on the researchers' interpretation. In order to reduce the effect of subjective interpretations, the series of decisions on the classification of each of the senses that involve an interpretative component have been made in consensus with a group of researchers trained in the model. Nonetheless, the process of classification might benefit from additional insights derived from cross-analyses conducted by a further series of annotators.

Finally, this study only includes a basic description of the essential components of different senses associated with *into* in discourse. The different kinds of rearrangements derived from the application of the selection criteria and the role of metaphor as a meaning extension device, left unaddressed in this paper for space reasons, will be developed in more detail in other forthcoming works.

Notes

1. Research sustained by the Fundació Bancaixa Castelló-UJI, grant P1-1A2010-14.

2. Because the three dimensions have a bearing on our active perception and construction of spatial concepts, these three aspects might also be labelled *dimensions of perceptual space*. Alternatively, given that they also take a part in construal formation, they may also be referred to as *aspects or dimensions of construal*. In this paper I shall use both terms interchangeably.

3. This label is used by Navarro (2006) instead of force-dynamics.

4. An illustration of the structural layout and construal configuration of ENTRY, the protoconcept of *into* can be found under sections 3.4.1. (Figure 3) and 3.4.2.

5. The reader might like to access the network proposed for *into* (Figure 2 under section 3.3) where senses are already distributed.

6. Navarro (2006: 176) makes reference to processes of "profiling of particular elements" or "partial sanction" of the protoconcept. These processes are considered in this study as particular instantiations of metonymies. Metonymy is an extremely comprehensive tool that can not only embrace these two processes (Cf. section 2.2.2.), but may also become a key element in that metonymic projections (e.g. focalisations) based on the original structure of the primary sense help to avoid network overpopulation.

7. These have implicitly guided sense derivation under this approach, but have not yet been overtly systematised under a coherent set.

8. Owing to the nature and objectives set for this study (especially in terms of methodological repercussion) a series of *theoretical* considerations are also included under the methodology section.

9. 'Proper sense status' depends on the selection criteria devised to attain AIM 2.

10. The research conducted for this study also yielded results concerning a well-defined set of sense profiles that, when rearranged into proper senses, contributed to an enriched variety of context-specific usage tendencies within each sense. It also allowed tracing the behaviour of metaphor along the network in terms of representative metaphorical extensions of ENTRY (meaning extension through metaphor) and metaphoric projections within secondary senses. A brief description of the sense profiles is provided below but, owing to space restrictions, nor context-specific usage tendencies nor metaphorical extensions are treated in this paper.

11. Examples of proper senses are provided in further sections.

12. The presence of metaphor here does not trigger a change in the original structure or construal aspect configuration. This is therefore a case of metaphoric extension, not licensing (criterion C).

13. These parameters were analysed in all senses of the network, but they will only be accounted for under the description of the primary sense and when necessary in the description of secondary senses so as not to exceed the length of this paper.

14. BNC standard notation: [text code] [line number].

15. The schematic representations of the TR-LM relationships presented in this paper are not intended to resemble other kinds of traditional representations like, for example, Johnson's (1987) image schemas or Talmy's (1988) force-dynamics. Any coincidence has been avoided on purpose because the senses described in this study are more comprehensive, that is to say, image schemas and force-dynamics are actually *two of the components* underlying the nature of protoconcepts and derived senses

16. The stages that are not relevant in a particular construal aspect are not made explicit.

17. Reference to examples given will be provided from now on in parenthesised numbers.

18. The reader may note that although the speaker in (2) is a person with an explicit intention (i.e. going into hospital for an operation, so that there is an implicit aim, a function of the LM that the speaker seeks to enter), the use of 'I've got to go' implies, in dynamics terms, a subtle external *compelling element* which, functionally speaking, might be translated into a need to regain good health that triggers the intention itself. The degree of self-control in (2) is, owing to the added compelling force element, lower than that in (1).

19. As suggested earlier, these metaphors are the object of description of a different paper.

20. Although it is common to find different nodes and levels of derivation (Navarro, 1998, Silvestre-López, 2009) the proper secondary senses of *into* were all eventually found to stem from the central node.

21. The exclusive metonymic focus on ENTRY's last stage renders previous stages as the base against which the ENCLOSURE sense (as the last stage focussed upon) is profiled. Thus, while different stages in the TR-LM relationship can be distinguished in the configuration of the rest of senses, only one stage defines the construal aspect configuration described below.

22. The treatment of metaphorically-extended uses falls beyond the scope of this study and will therefore not be addressed here. Nonetheless a brief example is provided here for illustrative purposes: Particular uses include examples of the kind '*to be into* something' showing that a human TR *is interested in* a particular activity (LM). The use of this expression

metaphorically construes the TR within the LM (i.e. eagerly involved with(in), as if physically surrounded or cosily enclosed in it and not willing to change its state by leaving its boundaries), as the result of a previous process (motion through previous stages) in which the TR progressively 'became more interested in' such an activity.

23. This added implication is reflected in the diagram in terms of enriched structure focussing on the final stage of the relationship.

24. The notion of heavy restriction is also represented in the TR-LM configuration layout (Figure 8). This exemplifies one of the cases where the original structure of ENTRY may be perceived as being *enriched*, as new factors that were potentially possible, but not canonically effected, in its original structure come into play in this new sense.

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Dictionaries in the Internet Era: Innovation or Business as Usual? (*Enrique Alcaraz Memorial Lecture 2014*)

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ABSTRACT

This article is the written version of the Enrique Alcaraz Annual Memorial Lecture, given by the author at the University of Alicante on March 26, 2014. After a brief overview of the past and present of lexicography, it presents some of the challenges and paradoxes facing the discipline in the current transition to the digital media. Through examples from lexicographical practice it provides a vision of dictionaries as information tools and presents the core elements of a general theory covering all types of lexicographical work. Upon this basis, the article discusses principles, methods and techniques which can be applied to improve the quality of present and future online dictionaries. Finally, it presents the main concept of an online business dictionary under construction where some of these principles, methods and techniques are used in order to adapt the articles visualised on the screen to the foreseen Spanish and English users' needs in five different situations.

Keywords: e-Lexicography, e-dictionaries, function theory, information overload, lexicographical challenges

1. Introduction

Thanks to the University of Alicante, the Department of English Philology and Professor José Mateo Martínez for the invitation to participate and speak at this Annual Memorial Conference, organised in honour of the late Professor Enrique Alcaraz Varó.

I only met Enrique Alcaraz once, during the Winter University organised in Soria in November 2005. Nevertheless, I remember him perfectly, as a nice and pleasant man with a broad culture who was able to entertain his colleagues for hours due to his big encyclopaedic knowledge. A few years later, I was asked to contribute with two articles to a book about Specialised Dictionaries for Learners, dedicated to his memory and edited by Pedro A. Fuertes-Olivera (Tarp, 2010; Bergenholtz & Tarp, 2010). And now, much to my surprise, and to my great pleasure, I have been invited to address this event, also held in the memory of this respected former Professor of the University of Alicante.

Enrique Alcaraz was a distinguished scholar with a broad academic production within various fields, among them lexicography where he was the author of a number of fine specialised dictionaries, known and respected not only in Spain but also abroad. Hence, it seems quite logical to choose lexicography as the topic of my lecture today.

Lexicography is a several thousand years old social and cultural practice. It has, at least, been practised since the third millennium before our era when Sumerian scribes wrote cuneiform word lists by pressing reed tools into clay tablets and thus producing the first known dictionaries. Since then, hundreds of thousands of different dictionaries have been compiled; nobody will ever know their exact number. Dictionaries with many different names; beloved child has many names. Dictionaries carved in clay, hand-written on papyrus, printed on paper with various techniques, or made available on one of the many digital platforms existing today, notably the Internet. Dictionaries in almost all languages, as well as many dialects. Progressive dictionaries promoting the advance of humankind and, sorry to say it, also reactionary ones trying to stop the wheel of history. Small dictionaries with only a few dozen words; and huge dictionaries with hundreds or even thousands of volumes, the biggest one ever produced with no less than 11,095 volumes (the *Yongle Dadian* from 1408). In short, there are dictionaries for any taste.

One of the most fascinating things about dictionaries is that they, during the millennia, have covered almost any area of human activity. As such, dictionaries constitute a privileged mirror of social and cultural development during the past four thousand years, not only in terms of the development of languages, but also of handy-craft, economic life, culture, education, natural and social sciences, humanities, sport, and even such exotic phenomena as entertainment, pastime, holiday, etc. Just as dogs have been man's best friend for more than thirty thousand years, dictionaries have been man's faithful companion for about four thousand years. If you can see the wood for threes, it is a privilege to work within this field.

2. Challenges

In a few years lexicography has been whirled into what some have called the "information society" and others the "mis-information society" (cf. Robins & Webster, 1983). As a result, this old and fascinating discipline is now passing through a complex process which in a certain sense could be interpreted as a sort of crisis, or even an identity crisis. There is no risqué that the present problems should threaten its existence as such, but they may somehow challenge its role in society. The situation is as follows: on the one hand, dictionaries have reached a bigger audience than ever before thanks to the new media; and on the other, they experience a relative loss of users who prefer consulting other kinds of information tool in order to get the answers they need. There are various reasons for this dual development which will probably accelerate in the nearby future. In the last analysis it is detonated by the new computer and information technologies and techniques introduced into lexicography during the last decades, starting very modestly in the mid-sixties of the last century. This phenomenon has led to a revolution – or at least the need for a revolution – in almost all aspects of practical lexicography. This is not only true in regard to the presentation of the final product to be consulted by the users, a product which is increasingly placed on an electronic platform; it is also the case in most of the operations related to the compilation of this product as well as to the research into its usage.

When a millenarian culture practice like lexicography takes the gigantic step from one platform to another, i.e. from the printed to the digital media, then one would expect this transformation to be much more than a mere change of form. One would indeed expect a revolution also in terms of quality which in lexicography can be translated into a better and more individualised satisfaction of user needs. However, various facts seem to indicate that the "old man" is poorly dressed to confront the current climate change. Lexicography has showed that it is not immune to the new plagues created by the information society. Old habits already problematic in the printed world have been transferred to the virtual universe. A mayor problem is that the extremely rich experiences from this millenarian social and cultural practice have not been summed up with the necessary scientific rigor. In fact, when looking back with self-critical eyes and discovering its real core and essence as the world's probably first information discipline, lexicography is in an advantageous position to provide answers to many problems observed in modern (mis)information society. Let us look at some of the present problems.

3. Paradoxes in modern lexicography

One of the paradoxes in modern lexicography is that the new technologies introduced do not only bear the promise of solutions to many of the problems observed in existing dictionaries, but also themselves add to these problems. In a personal comment on the future of learner's dictionaries, Michael Rundell, the Editor-in-Chief of the Macmillan

family of English learners' dictionaries, writes the following about the eighth edition of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (OALD):

> The current business model is not sustainable. Already, the books have become bloated almost to the point of impracticality, as publishers add more features with each new edition. The latest contender, OALD8, comes in at just under 2,000 pages [...], over twice the size of OALD3. (Rundell, 2010: 170)

One of the main reasons for this complex and contradictory development of printed learner's dictionaries – and, up to a certain point, of printed dictionaries in general – is the introduction and generalized usage of big electronic corpora which allow the lexicographers, in a much easier and quicker way than ever before, to retrieve a lot of relevant lexicographical data which may be helpful to the intended users in one situation or another. As could be expected, the dark side of the picture is that these data have bloated the printed dictionaries "almost to the point of impracticality". Although a passable way out of this blind alley may seem to be the conversion to electronic dictionaries connected to databases with a huge storage capacity, this step is apparently not as simple as it looks. For instance, in the same book as Rundell, Wendalyn Nichols, the Commissioning Editor for Cambridge Dictionaries, writes that "the true advantages of Web-based dictionaries" are "freedom from the space constraints of the printed book and on-demand updatability" (Nichols, 2010: 40).

There is little doubt that on-demand updatability is an advantage of Web-based dictionaries in comparison to their printed relatives. At the Centre for Lexicography in Aarhus, for instance, a number of both general and specialised online dictionaries, monolingual as well as bilingual, are updated almost daily, based on either comments from the users or study of log files showing that users have tried in vain to look after words which are relevant for the dictionary in question though still not treated in it. However, when it comes to the "freedom from space constraints" which Nichols also mentions, then it is worth noting that a printed dictionary may become bloated in two dimensions, vertically and horizontally, requiring very different solutions:

- *Vertical bloating*, i.e. the growing number of lemmata.
- *Horizontal bloating*, i.e. the ever increasing amount of lexicographical data attached to each lemma.

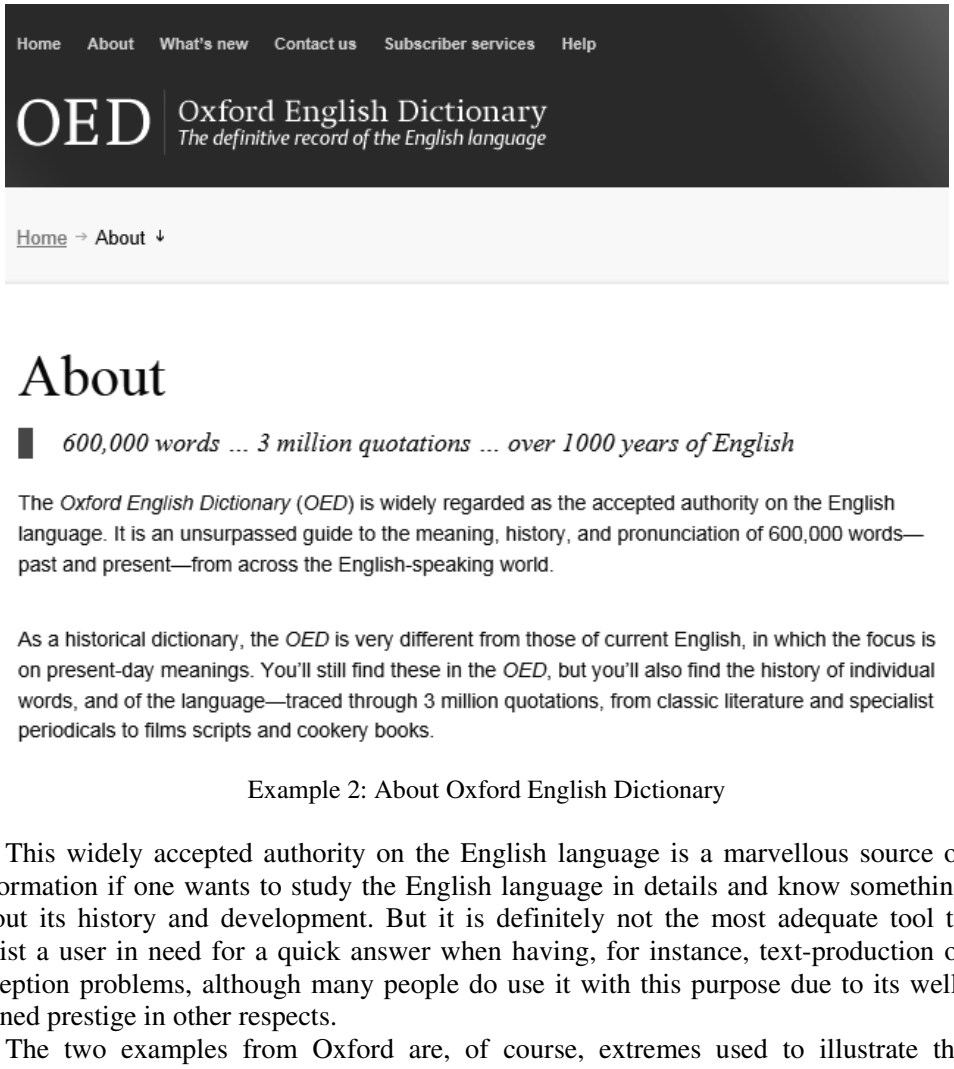
Vertical bloating is a problem related to the printed universe as it can easily be surmounted in an electronic dictionary connected to a database with sufficient storage capacity. Horizontal bloating, however, constitutes a much more serious and complex problem whose solution requires a completely different approach. It is related to the phenomenon known in information science as *information overload*, the famous concept introduced by Miller (1956) and popularised by Toffler (1970). Today, information overload has become an international plague, especially on the Internet. It is sufficient to recall what happens when one uses Google's search engine in order to obtain specific information for whatever purpose and then is referred to thousands of

pages, of which the first ones are often annoying, irrelevant publicity paid by big business. Sometimes you are lucky, but frequently – especially if you are in a hurry – you just get lost in the huge amount of irrelevant data appearing on your screen. In lexicography, this problem expresses itself in the presentation of much more data than required by the user in a given consultation. Such an overload of lexicographical or other kinds of data may delay or even hinder the access to the relevant data as well as the retrieval, from these data, of the information needed. In the following we will look at four examples of how this phenomenon expresses itself in the "real lexicographical world", in all cases acting as the devil's advocate.

The first example is related to Oxford University Press, the prestigious British publisher of a big number of dictionaries of a great variety of types. Many of these dictionaries have been placed totally or partially on the Internet through the web portal *Oxford Reference*. However, from this portal it is very difficult, if not impossible, to get access to the individual dictionaries, meaning that users with a lexicographical need in most cases have to make use of the search engine of the portal. If, for instance, the word *table* is written in the search field, then it will give a result with reference to no less than 12,511 entries in different dictionaries (see Example 1).

Example 1: Search results in Oxford Reference

This is a typical example of data overload in the access phase. The user will either have to spend a lot of time, which could be used for much more productive purposes, before obtaining the required information or will simply get lost and interrupt the search process. And if the user finally gets through to the corresponding article in, for instance, the world famous *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), he or she will find that the article *table* contains about 35,000 words which represent more or less 90 pages in a MS Word document. Example 2 shows the information which OED provides "about" itself.



Example 2: About Oxford English Dictionary

This widely accepted authority on the English language is a marvellous source of information if one wants to study the English language in details and know something about its history and development. But it is definitely not the most adequate tool to assist a user in need for a quick answer when having, for instance, text-production or reception problems, although many people do use it with this purpose due to its well-earned prestige in other respects.

The two examples from Oxford are, of course, extremes used to illustrate the problem of information overload in various phases of the consultation process. In most cases, this problem expresses itself in more "modest" ways, and not necessarily through

data provided directly by the lexicographers. In many free-access dictionaries, publicity is the only way to obtain profits to the publisher and finance the maintenance of the web page and the underlying database as well as the lexicographers' salaries, if any. The *BusinessDictionary.com*, consulted by many business people, illustrates this problem (see Example 3 where the dictionary has been consulted from Denmark).

Example 3: Article from Business Dictionary

In this Internet dictionary, the lexicographical data required by the users in order to retrieve the needed information on the term *environmental economics* is almost hidden in the middle of a big accumulation of other, in this connection, completely irrelevant data. The publicity companies know what they are doing. From their research into user habits they know that the users consulting this dictionary will, although in most cases briefly, have a glance at their publicity with the desired effect. However, from a lexicographical perspective the effect is entirely negative as it complicates the consultation process in terms of data access and information retrieval. The only logical solution to this problem would be that these socially highly relevant tools were socialised and supported by public funding for the benefit of the public. But such a

solution, although lexicographically relevant, is basically a political decision to be taken outside the sphere of lexicography in the narrow sense of the word.

A final example showing the negative consequences of information overload, among others, is that of a professional translator of specialised texts who needs to make, say, 50 dictionary consultations in a normal workday. Such a number of consultations are completely normal, especially when it is a question of translating specialised texts containing subject-field knowledge unknown to the translator. However, if each consultation requires an average of 5 minutes due to access problems, information overload and other difficulties, this means 250 minutes spent in dictionary consultation, which for most people make up more than half a workday. This constitutes some rather expensive production costs for the translators and, as such, a terrible waste of time, cf. Nielsen (2008). If the average consultation time could be reduced considerably, this would immediately lead to higher productivity and less secondary production costs for the translator. In this respect, the time factor – expressed in quick and easy data access and information retrieval – is in itself an important criterion of lexicographical quality.

If we return to the "freedom from the space constraints" emphasised by Nichols (2009), Lew (2014) points to the ambiguousness of the notion of *dictionary space* and proposes a preliminary differentiation between *storage space* and *presentation space*:

> On careful inspection, it appears that the notion of *dictionary space* is not specific enough as a technical term, because it is ambiguous. The suggestion that dictionary space is unrestricted is actually largely correct, but only when space is understood as the capacity to hold the total content of the dictionary – this sense of *dictionary space* could provisionally be called *storage space*. There is at least one more important sense of dictionary space which I will here call *presentation space* … *presentation space* refers to how much can be presented (displayed, visualized) at a given time to the dictionary user. (Lew, 2014)

Lew argues that the visualized dictionary articles should not be too long and this argumentation is, as a rule, correct because it constitutes a first step to avoid information overload. However, this only gives rise to other questions: How much data should be displayed at a time? How can the specific types and exact amount of data be determined? How can it be adapted to screens of various sizes, from big computer screens over the ones used in laptops, tablets and mini-iPads to the various types of screens used in mobile phones? And how can lexicography take into account the growing user demand for still more personalised products?

> The demand among consumers generally is for products that match their individual needs more precisely – an expectation that is already transforming businesses like television and popular music, for example. In dictionary terms, this implies both customization and personalization. (Rundell, 2010: 172)

The big challenge facing lexicography is how to fulfil the transformation of dictionaries and obtain what Rundell calls *customization* and *personalization* and Tarp (2011) *individualization*. This requires undoubtedly highly efficient methods. Although

there are several opinions about the relevance of lexicographical theory, as a starting point it is difficult to see how such methods can be developed without input and guidance from an advanced theory, for instance, the *function theory* upon which this contribution is based (cf. Bergenholtz & Tarp, 2003; Tarp 2008; Fuertes-Olivera & Tarp, 2014).

4. The core of lexicography

So, what prevents lexicography from taking the great leap into the Brave New e-World? The sad answer seems to be business as usual, expressed in ingrained habits, conservatism, stubbornness and lack of visions. Old habits already problematic in the printed world have been transferred to the virtual universe. Two postulates have been repeated so often that they have become a sort of mantra among many lexicographers:

- Dictionaries are compiled in order to describe the language.
- All decisions taken by lexicographers are linguistic decisions.

Rundell (2012: 60), for instance, defines "the core task for lexicographers" as "analysing the evidence of language in use in order to identify what is likely to be relevant to dictionary users". This statement is, in my understanding, highly problematic. The analysis of "the evidence of language" is, of course, a *sine qua none* when preparing quite a number of specific data categories and dictionaries, especially general ones, but it can never be the core task for lexicography as such because there are a big number of other data categories and dictionaries which do not presuppose any analysis of the evidence of language. Let history and practice speak for themselves.

One of the earliest specialised dictionaries published in Britain was John Harris' *Lexicon Technicum* with the eloquent subtitle "*an Universal English Dictionary of Arts and Sciences: Explaining Not Only the Terms of Art, but the Arts Themselves*". In his Preface, the author explains in no uncertain terms that his dictionary does not only treat "the evidence of language":

> That which I have aimed at, is to make it a Dictionary, not only of bare Words but Things; and that the Reader may not only find here an Explication of the Technical Words, or the Terms of Art made use of in all the Liberal Sciences, and such as border nearly upon them, but also those Arts themselves; and especially such, and such Parts of them as are most useful and advantageous to Mankind. (Harris, 1704: Preface)

Another early bird among British specialised dictionaries is Malachy Postlethwayt's *Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, published in various editions in the mid-eighteenth century. The author was a British economist and publicist of certain renown during this époque; the dictionary was originally a translation and adaptation of a similar French dictionary, Jacques Savary des Bruslons' *Dictionnaire universel de commerce*, published first in 1723 and subsequently in various editions and translations. Postlethwayt's dictionary is interesting for various reasons, one of them being that the

author two years before its first appearance published a small essay where he explained his motives for this excursion into the world of lexicography (Postlethwayt, 1749). Here he wrote that the objective of the planned dictionary was to "more particularly accommodate the Fame to the Trade and Navigation of the British Empire"; this was done in the light of a serious problem he had observed, namely, that the relevant people frequently did not have a "satisfactory knowledge of Facts in complicated matters of a commercial nature", and that, in addition, these people had neither time nor the possibility to obtain this knowledge from the existing sources (Postlethwayt, 1749: 2). He argued:

> Foreign and domestic trade admitting of so infinite variety of matter, and the knowledge communicated to the world, by those skilled and experienced therein, being scattered in an infinity of volumes, it is no easy matter to have immediate recourse to what may be occasionally requisite… A subject of this extensive nature therefore being reduced to the form of a Dictionary, for alphabetical reference, seems the most naturally adapted to answer these desirable purposes, and especially so, as the compilers can have no motive to deceive. (Postlethwayt, 1749: 2)

As an example of the practicability of this idea, he referred explicitly to Savary des Bruslons' *Dictionnaire universel de commerce*, a "celebrated work" which had proven "how far an universal knowledge of commerce is capable of being reduced into the like form" (Postlethwayt, 1749: 3). It was these ideas that he himself applied shortly afterwards in his own dictionary. If we bear all this in mind, it seems nothing short of impossible to meaningfully characterise Postlethwayt's *Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* and Savary des Bruslons' *Dictionnaire universel de commerce* as practical results of "analysing the evidence of language". Both authors were subject-field experts within trade, commerce and economics, and their respective dictionaries were compiled as a result of an extensive study of the *evidence of trade*, *commerce and economics* as developed in their life time.

Many similar examples can be found in the history of lexicography. For instance, in a highly interesting article on the development of economic dictionaries and encyclopaedias in the Iberian Peninsula, Astigarraga, Zabalza & Almodovar (2001), three specialists in the history of economics, write the following about two of these dictionaries and their author:

> José Canga Argüelles, a liberal economist and the then Minister of public finance, was the first Spanish economist to embrace the concept. In 1818, in the middle of the Absolutist period, he had been refused permission to publish his *Diccionario económico, estadístico y de hacienda*... but finally the project saw the light of day under the title of *Diccionario de hacienda para el uso de los encargados de la suprema dirección de ella* (1826-1827). He followed this up with the *Diccionario de hacienda, con aplicación a España* (1833-1834). There is no doubt that these two dictionaries contained the most worthwhile articles on economics written by a Spanish economist during the first half of the 19th century. Both works... were intended for use in training senior civil servants in the Spanish Department of public finance... (Astigarraga Zabalza & Almodovar, 2001: 29).

In his Preface to both dictionaries, the author himself confirms this objective of his dictionaries which he describes as a "small library of public finance":

> … el presente diccionario se puede mirar como una pequeña biblioteca de Hacienda. No se hallan en ella largas disertaciones que estarían en contradicción con el estilo de esta clase de obra, ni tampoco las ordenanzas y reglamentos dados para el manejo de las rentas. Generalizar los conocimientos de la Ciencia de Hacienda en todas sus relaciones, facilitando noticias, aunque poco comunes, precisas á los encargados de su dirección, son los objetos que me propuse al emprender la presente obra. (Canga Argüelles, 1826: vii)

This approach to lexicography is not only of historical relevance, but also very relevant in the twenty-first century. For instance, in a recent book which analyses how the concepts of *crisis* and *business cycles* have been treated in economic dictionaries and encyclopaedias during the past centuries, Daniele Besomi has studied more than 650 works published since 1709. The Swiss researcher and specialist in the history of economics concludes the following about their role in society:

> These reference works played an important role in the popularization but also in the systematization of knowledge during the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, and – judging from the continuing exponential increase in their publication – are still widely used in the support of teaching and, to a lesser extent, research. What is recorded in dictionaries is therefore rather influential, in particular for those works recognized by contemporaries to be authoritative. (Besomi, 2011: 4)

So, what are the conclusions which can be drawn from this lexicographical reality? Some lexicographers may claim that the mentioned dictionaries are not dictionaries because they are not like the ones they themselves make, but such a conclusion would represent a very narrow approach to their own discipline and lexicographical practice in general. Others may claim that these dictionaries are only a few and therefore not relevant to lexicography, but this would contradict the fact that specialised dictionaries of various kinds clearly seem to outnumber their general-language relatives in terms of titles:

> In the present-day library, scientific, technical, and other specialized dictionaries greatly outnumber all other kinds, and present special problems for the lexicographer and historian alike. (Hoare, 2009: 47)

All this points to another conclusion which does not ignore present and past lexicographical reality. If all these very different works can be grouped under the category of dictionaries (or similar names), then there must be *something common to all of them*, and this something cannot be linguistics nor any of the other hundreds of disciplines interacting with lexicography in the compilation of dictionaries of whichever type. These uniting elements and aspects common to all types of dictionary can be considered the *real core of lexicography*. If an abstraction is made from all the specific

characteristics in terms of language, topic, users, purpose, media, etc., then the fundamental uniting elements and aspects can be described as follows:

- Dictionaries are utility *tools*
- designed for *consultation*
- and produced with the genuine purpose of meeting *punctual information needs*,
- which specific types of potential *user*
- may have in specific types of extra-lexicographic *situation*,
- by providing access to carefully prepared *data*
- from which the users can retrieve *information*
- which can subsequently be used for *different purposes*.

The above points constitute the basic axiomatic statements of the lexicographical function theory. All human-made tools are produced with a genuine purpose, namely to satisfy different types of human needs. Consequently, immediately after defining dictionaries as utility tools, the function theory establishes the specific category of *human need* (information) to be met by these tools, the *means* (lexicographical data) to meet this category of need as well as *how to use the tools* (consultation).The binomial global-punctual does not represent a relation between big and small, or more or less, but between the whole and the part, i.e. a relation determined mainly by quality, and not only by quantity. This distinction is fundamental for the solution of the present challenges of e-lexicography. Finally, the theory clarifies that the punctual information needs are always closely related to users with specific (lexicographically relevant) characteristics as well as to the type of situation where they occur. The underlying idea is that different types of user may have different needs, just like one and the same user may have different needs in different situations. In this respect, the function theory distinguishes between four fundamental extra-lexicographical situations, each of which can be further sub-divided:

1. *Communicative situations* where a need to solve a communication problem may occur (e.g. text reception and production in the mother tongue or a foreign language, translation from and into the mother tongue, and text revision).
2. *Cognitive situations* where a need for knowledge about any subject may occur.
3. *Operative situations* where a need for instructions on how to perform a physical or mental action may occur.
4. *Interpretive situations* where a need to interpret and understand a non-linguistic sign, signal, symbol etc. may occur.

Most dictionaries are designed to solve needs related to the two first situations, but there are also numerous examples of dictionaries dealing with the two latter. The extra-lexicographical situations are not only crucial when defining the types of information need to be satisfied, but also when determining which of the foreseen users' many characteristics are relevant in each dictionary project. Spanish mother-tongue speakers'

proficiency level in English is, for instance, totally irrelevant when designing a monolingual Spanish dictionary for text production, but it is highly relevant when preparing a dictionary for Spanish learners of English as a foreign language. So, when determining the information needs to be met by a concrete dictionary, first it is necessary to establish the situation(s) to be covered and then the relevant user characteristics.

All this leads to a much broader vision of lexicography than the one underpinning the statement by Rundell (2012) quoted above. In this broader vision, "the core task for lexicographers", or for the lexicographical team as a whole, is four-fold: 1) to establish the exact types of information need for each type of foreseen user in each type of situation to be covered by the dictionary in question; 2) to determine, upon this basis, the exact types of data required to meet these needs; 3) to prepare the corresponding lexicographical data by means of the most adequate methods; and 4) to ensure that these data can be accessed as quickly and easily as possible by the foreseen users.

5. Theory and methodology

A general theory of lexicography should necessarily include *all aspects* of lexicography (including *all types* of dictionaries and other lexicographical works) and *cannot be restricted only to one subset of dictionaries*, e.g. dictionaries where special knowledge of linguistics has been required. Such a general theory cannot ignore that lexicographical works are *multi-faceted* cultural artefacts and utility tools which, during the millennia, have met *a wide range of different needs* detected in society and covered almost all spheres of human activity and knowledge. It should not take its point of departure in the differences that separate all these works in terms of their specific content, structure etc., but in the aspects and elements that are common to all of them. The uniting core elements, which have been discussed above, are the reason why supporters of the function theory consider lexicography to be an independent discipline with a big interdisciplinary vocation, i.e. independent but not isolated from the "outside world".

As an independent discipline, lexicography must develop its own system of theories, methods, techniques, etc. It cannot blindly take over theories, methods, techniques, etc., from other disciplines without submitting them to critical analysis with a view to determining what should be rejected, what can be used as it is, and what can be used only after being adapted to suit the particular nature of lexicography. This is a *fundamental principle of methodology* applied by the function theory in the interaction between lexicography and other relevant disciplines, cf. Tarp (2014). There are numerous examples of how this principle has been implemented. For instance, methods developed within linguistics in order to analyse, describe or normalise language may be perfectly adequate for this purpose. However, they are frequently not sufficiently focussed on the specific tasks to be solved by lexicography and are, therefore, not necessarily the most appropriate when it is a question of solving the concrete types of information need experienced by different types of user in communicative situations.

With this in view, Bergenholtz (2003) has argued that the traditional linguistic and language-political methods of description and prescription need to be accompanied and, in a certain sense, substituted by another method within lexicography, i.e. proscription (recommendation), especially in relation to dictionaries designed to assist users with text-production problems. Similarly, Bergenholtz & Agerbo (2014a) have shown that the linguistic concept of meaning cannot be copied and applied in dictionaries for text reception and production. Tarp (2008) has argued that the traditional linguistic distinction between semantic and encyclopaedic knowledge is completely irrelevant when writing lexicographical definitions. Gouws (2013) has discussed why lexicography cannot uncritically take over the synonymy concept used by linguistics. Tarp (2009) has done the same with regard to the homonymy and polysemy concepts of linguistics. Bergenholtz & Gouws (2014) have argued that lexicography needs a classification of multiword combinations different from the one normally used within linguistics. Tarp (2013) has illustrated how the translation model needed to guide the design of translation dictionaries is different from the models used in translation science, though inspired by these. Bothma & Tarp (2014) have shown that relevance theory, as it has been developed within information science, needs to be complemented with an additional dimension related to the functionality of the tool when applied within lexicography.

It is important to stress that the application of this important principle of function-driven methodology does not represent a rejection of linguistics or any other discipline with which lexicography interacts. It simply aims at regulating the relation between lexicography and these disciplines in the sense that the former should always be in command in order to adapt everything to its specific requirements and, thus, guarantee maximum user satisfaction.

The methods used to prepare data categories in general dictionaries are frequently not identical if these dictionaries have different functions, and neither are the methods used in general and specialised lexicography. Bergenholtz & Agerbo (2014b), for instance, provide a detailed description of a specific method developed with a view to identifying, selecting and distributing meaning elements in a general monolingual dictionary designed to assist users with text-reception problems. By contrast, Fuertes-Olivera (2014) shows how a completely different method is required writing definitions in specialised dictionaries. While the two former authors use text corpora to extract and identify meaning elements, the latter relies heavily on subject-field experts. Similarly, Fuertes-Olivera (2013) rejects the value of text corpora for lemma selection in specialised dictionaries for translation and recommends instead another method. Other differences between methods used in general and specialised dictionaries with different functions could be mentioned.

6. How to detect user needs

When a lexicographer, or a publishing house, starts a new dictionary project, the first thing to do is to determine the concept, i.e. the overall design, of the dictionary and this should, in all cases, be based upon a determination of the types of user needs to be attended. How can this be done? Fuertes-Olivera & Tarp (2014) have argued that there are at least four known ways of doing this within lexicography:

1. Business as usual
2. Personal knowledge
3. User research
4. Deduction

None of these methods are perfect, but one is more realistic than the others. The two authors argue that the first method frequently results in low-quality products without being able to guarantee the needed innovation; that the second may be adequate for certain dictionaries but is too artisanal to solve the complex problems in the current transition to e-lexicography; and that the third method, when based upon scientific principles, may lead to detection of the relevant needs but that it is too costly and time-consuming to be used in each and every dictionary project with its own specific characteristics. They therefore recommend the functional approach.

As mentioned above, the needs which can be met by lexicographical works are not abstract but very concrete needs which – apart from the specific topic in question – depend on the situation(s) where they occur and the relevant characteristics of the users. With this in view, the method to determine the relevant needs is the following: one or several experts, who have a profound knowledge of the topic, situation(s) and foreseen users, make use of their experience in order to deduce the needs to be covered by the dictionary. This is always done under the guidance of a lexicographer.

Let us take the example of a teacher of business communication in a foreign language. If such a person has marked thousands of exercises and essays during the years and read the students' protocols related to this activity, and if this person thereafter has discussed the corresponding problems with the students, inclusive those related to information search and the use of reference works, then he or she will undoubtedly possess a profound knowledge of the problems and needs of this particular group of potential users in terms of foreign-language business communication. Hence, if this person works together with an expert trained in lexicographical theory and practice, then it would be perfectly possible for the two of them together to deduce and typologise these needs and determine which of them are lexicographically relevant. The thousands of marked exercises, essays, protocols and subsequent discussions with students will most often constitute a much better empirical basis than the results of a few dozen observations or the dubious data provided by hundreds of questionnaires.

The whole process can normally be carried out within a few hours. As such, the method is relatively easy and quick to apply. Until now, it has shown very good and

promising results materialised in a big number of dictionaries, both general and specialised, monolingual and bilingual, produced by supporters of the function theory. The method may not be perfect but it is capable of determining the huge majority of relevant user needs, even some occurring only very seldom. The results can easily compete with those obtained by user research but using only a fraction of the time and resources required to base the dictionary concept on such research in each case.

Once the lexicographers have elaborated a detailed list of user needs it is relatively easy to establish the *data categories* which are required to cover these needs as well as the relation between them. However, it is not enough to decide that the dictionary should contain inflection, definitions, collocations, etc. It should also be clarified how these categories should be understood and treated in each case. For instance, should the lexicographers apply the method of proscription, prescription or description when dealing with orthography, inflection or syntax? How should meaning be presented and at what expertise level? What types of collocation, synonym and antonym concepts should be used? In this respect, a large number of academic articles have been published showing how the various categories could be treated in specific dictionaries, some of them mentioned in the previous section.

7. Classification of online dictionaries

Online dictionaries can be classified in five main types according to the technology applied and the final result presented to the users. These five types are: 1) *Copycats*, 2) *Faster Horses*, 3) *Stray Bullets*, 4) *Model T Fords*, and 5) *Rolls Royces*, cf. Fuertes-Olivera & Tarp (2014: 13-18). This exoctic terminology is based on a quotation from Henry Ford who, when introducing his famous Model T Ford, was asked if he had consulted his users before inventing this model. According to the legend, his laconic answer was that if he had asked the users what they wanted, they would have said "faster horses".

The lexicographical *Copycats* are exact copies of existing dictionaries which have been placed on the Internet as PDF files or photos. There are two kinds, historical dictionaries like the ones quoted above and completely new dictionaries. The *Faster Horses* are dictionaries, whether new ones or already existing printed ones, which have been published online making use of various search options in order to provide quick data access, but where the articles visualised are moulded after traditional *static articles* in printed dictionaries with no variation from consultation to consultation. The majority of existing online dictionaries are either Copycats or Faster Horses. All these dictionaries are basically paper or paper-like dictionaries placed on the Internet without applying the available technology in order to improve the functionality of the lexicographical product. By contrast, the *Stray Bullets* have made extensive use of the new technology, but in this case technology has taken the command and sidelined important lexicographical principles in terms of quick and easy data access and information retrieval at the expense of user satisfaction.

As a result, only a few online dictionaries have so far taken the big step into the Brave New e-World. These dictionaries are represented by the *Model T Fords* and are characterised by *dynamic articles* where the data appearing on the screen is adapted both to the type of *user* and the type of *situation* where the needs occur. An example of this type of online dictionary are the *Diccionarios de Contabilidad,* a series of interconnected Spanish, Spanish–English, and English–Spanish dictionaries with various functions and search options. The fifth type of online dictionary is the *Rolls Royce* which is characterised by *dynamic*, *individualised articles and data* adapted to the user's concrete needs *in each consultation*. This type of online dictionary still constitutes an empty category in the sense that no dictionary has yet qualified to this title although there are a small number of dictionaries trying to go beyond the Model T Ford. The present challenge of online lexicography is to completely leave the printed media behind and start the generalised production of lexicographical Model T Fords with a view to take the future step towards the further individualisation in the form of lexicographical Rolls Royces.

8. Principles of online dictionaries

Information overload – or data overload – is not just a problem in terms of quantity, but also of quality. There is no absolute criterion to determine when there is a case of data overload in a dictionary article. It all depends on the user's exact needs as well as the size of the screen where the data are displayed. If there are more data than required to meet these needs, then it is a clear case of *absolute overload*. Similarly, if there are more data than can be visualised simultaneously without scrolling down, or than the predicted type of user can be expected to overview, then it may be a case of *relative overload*, even if the data displayed are all relevant; this may, for instance, occur in dictionaries with communicative functions where users most often demand a quick answer to their problem. Absolute data overload relates both to the needs which a specific type of user may have in a specific type of situation (*functional overload*), and to the needs which a concrete, individual user may have in a concrete situation (*concrete overload*). The solution to functional overload is a lexicographical Model T Ford, whereas the solution to concrete overload is a future lexicographical Rolls Royce. As to relative data overload, the solution, or at least mitigation, of this problem requires a number a special techniques, some of which will be briefly treated in Section 9.

Apart from avoiding data overload, there are other important principles from which the production of future online dictionaries would benefit considerably:

1. Users should be able to access the data required in each consultation *as quickly as possible*.
2. The database should include *as much data as possible*, i.e. as much data as possible relevant to the type(s) of dictionary in question.

3. The specific dictionary should be able to present *as much data as possible* in terms of all possible consultations, i.e. the entire body of hypothetic articles resulting from these consultations.
4. The individual articles, namely, the dynamic data presented on the screen in each consultation, should include *as little data as possible*, i.e. exactly the types (qualitative criterion) and amount (quantitative criterion) of data needed by the user in each situation (Model T Fords) or each consultation (Rolls Royces), neither more nor less.

The underlying idea here is that a necessary distinction should be made between the *database* which stores all the lexicographical data; the *dictionary as such* which should be understood as the totality of lexicographical data (articles) that may be displayed on the screen in the totality of possible consultations; and the *individual articles* which are represented by the lexicographical data displayed on the screen in each consultation. Online and other electronic dictionaries are not databases, but consultation tools based upon databases from which they take in the data required to meet their users' information needs; as such, they may even feed various dictionaries at the same time, cf. Bergenholtz & Bergenholtz (2013).

It goes without saying that a good and well-composed database should contain as much relevant data as possible, and so should the dictionary in question. This is absolutely necessary if the dictionary should be capable of solving the big variety of the user needs in all possible consultations. However, if information overload should be avoided and quick and easy data access and information retrieval guaranteed, then it is just as necessary that the individual articles contain as little data as possible. This principle is of special importance in connection with small handheld devices such as cell phones and tablets. With the study of relevant user characteristics and the social contexts where lexicographically relevant needs may occur, lexicographers have a powerful weapon to determine the types and amount of data to be presented to the users in each consultation. However, in order to achieve this goal it is also necessary to apply a number of special techniques, of which some of the most important will be discussed in the following Section.

9. Techniques used in online dictionaries

There are already various available techniques which, correctly applied, can be used to produce lexicographical Model T Fords and take the first steps towards the future Rolls Royces, i.e. towards the individualisation of user satisfaction. In the following, we will briefly look at some of these techniques based upon the reflections made by an information scientist (Bothma, 2011):

Filtering. The easiest way to produce a lexicographical Model T Ford is to design it with only one function and therefore only provide the data required to assist one type of user in one type of situation. However, most often the overall dictionary project is designed to cover various functions. In such cases, the user interface may include

interactive options where the users can define themselves and the situation where they experience problems or needs (see Example 5). In accordance with the resulting user profile and situation, the pre-programmed system will then filter the data contained in the database and automatically calculate the types and amount of lexicographical data required to fulfil the needs occurring for this specific user type in the situation in question. These data will be the only ones presented on the screen in the concrete consultation. While the user profile can be made once and for all and only needs to be refined when the user's relevant characteristics change, the description of the situation has to be supplied to the system when starting each new task. Although it should always be possible to "re-saddle" in the middle of the process, the important thing is that the user does not need to go through all these time-consuming steps for each consultation. A precondition for a successful application of this and some of the following techniques is that each single data has its own, individual number in the database and that various data are not mixed together.

Adaptive presentation. There are various techniques in terms of adaptive hypermedia but here we will mention only pop-up windows activated by either mouse-moving or clicking. Very often the lexicographer decides that not all data needed in a specific consultation should be presented at first sight. There could be various reasons for this, all of them related to **relative** data overload as defined in the previous section. Whatever the reason, the lexicographer can choose to "hide" some data, which can easily be accessed by moving the mouse over a specific word or area, or clicking on a link. Then a pop-up window will appear with more data. It could, for instance, be additional collocations, an illustration, or a table with the inflected forms of a Spanish verb, which would occupy a large amount of screen space (see Example 10). In this respect, adaptive presentation is not only a technique to provide more data of the already existing types (*quantitative adaption*) but also new data types (*qualitative adaption*). This technique is especially relevant when users are working with small screens like tablets, mobile phones or other hand-held devices, cf. Kwary (2013).

Indexing. A technique very similar to the above one is indexing which is mainly used when the article providing the needed data is very long, i.e. especially in dictionaries with cognitive functions. In these cases, the articles visualised start with a preliminary index which can be further expanded by means of hypermedia (like in *Wiktionary*). The application of this technique immediately provides the user with an overview of the content. In addition, the possibility of expanding an index by means of hypermedia allows the user to go directly to the section of the article which is pertinent in each case.

Article modelling. Another technique is that each individual user of an online dictionary will be given the option to design his or her own master article in terms of the types of data wanted and their arrangement on the screen. The system will then automatically filter the available data and present them as indicated by the user. An online dictionary allowing for article modelling in terms of data types is the Swedish *Lexin* (see Example 4).The design of a master article may be accomplished when the users enter the online dictionary for the first time, but it can also be done when they

begin an extra-lexicographical activity, start a consultation, and even in the middle of a consultation. In this way, it is possible to re-saddle whenever necessary in order to individualize the final data presentation. In order to illustrate the degree of individualisation which can be obtained with this technique, Tarp (2012: 260) has taken the hypothetic example of a relatively simple online dictionary with 10 data types addressed to each lemma. If such a dictionary was designed for fully individualised access and the users was given the possibility to choose only those data that they wanted to visualise, then 1,023 (2^{10}-1) possible data combinations could be displayed on the screen for each lemma. And to this should be added that the amount of possible combinations in each individual article would rise to the gigantic sum of 4,037,913 (1!+2!+3!+4!+5!+6!+7!+8!+9!+10!), i.e. more than four million combinations, if the users were also allowed to arrange the data in the order desired by each of them individually.

Example 4: Pop-up window from Lexin showing options allowing the users to design individual master articles by including and excluding data types

Annotation. In the Web 2.0 environment, users are allowed to add their own data to existing documents without changing the original. When this technique is employed, users can write comments, incorporate supplementary data and recommend the use of certain terms. In this way, annotation may contribute to the future individualisation of lexicographical works and may above all be useful in the framework of predefined user groups such as companies, branches, public entities, research groups, etc.

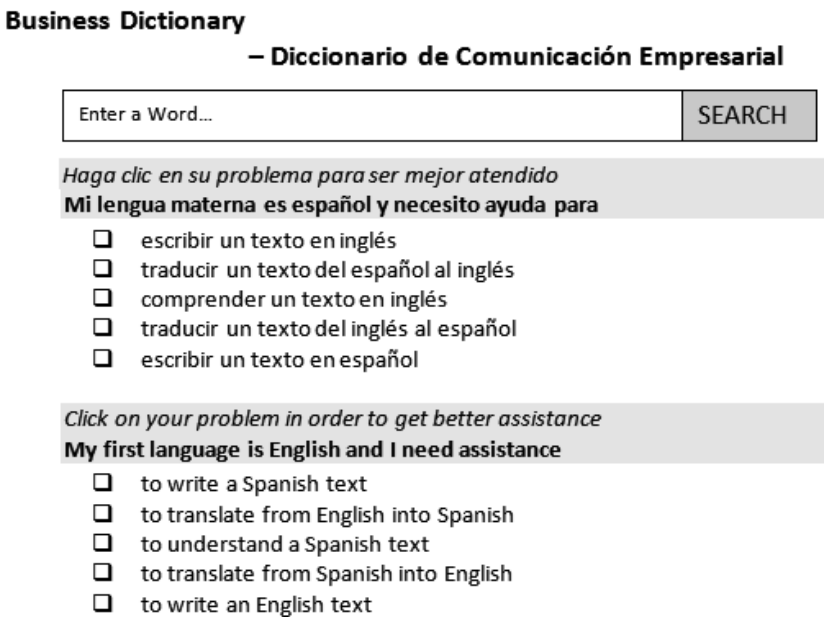
Reuse of data. An online dictionary connected to a database may not always contain enough data to fulfil the user's information needs in a specific consultation. In such cases, it could be advantageous to provide access to additional data stored in external sources such as corpora, databases, and the Internet in general. The data in question could be texts providing supplementary background information, additional collocations, example sentences showing the usage of collocations and other linguistic features, or so-called contextual definitions found in existing texts. This kind of data reuse can be achieved by various techniques. One of these are links to manually selected external texts and data but this technique "requires a tremendous input in terms of time and effort from the lexicographer" (Bothma, 2011: 92). Another techniques is to link directly to external databases with different types of content, for instance "general and specialized corpora, allowing users to search for examples of any word, pattern, or linguistic feature they are interested in" (Rundell, 2010: 174). According to Heid, Prinsloo & Bothma (2012):

> Electronic dictionaries should supply a natural bridge for the user from the dictionary article to a variety of internet resources to enhance access to potentially relevant information. In total, the user should be able to find a wealth of digestible information without being overloaded. (Heid, Prinsloo & Bothma, 2012: 270)

In this respect, one of the visions of online lexicography today is not only to reuse external data but also to *repackage* them by adapting them to the specific information needs of the user in each situation. Some initial steps have been taken in this direction but generally it can be said that the required technique, which involves complex validation problems, still has to be developed and perfected in order to convince.

10. An example

In this section we will discuss an online Business Dictionary which, in spite of its title, aims at innovation instead of "business as usual". The dictionary, produced in international cooperation between lexicographers from Denmark, Cuba, Spain and South Africa, is still in the construction phase and is expected to be accessible on the Internet in 2016. Its main purpose is to provide assistance to English and Spanish-speaking professionals, business people, civil servants, secretaries, translators, students and other potential users engaged in business and other type of professional communication. The situations to be covered by this e-tool are L2 text production, L1-L2 translation, L2 text reception, L2-L1 translation, and L1 text production for users with either Spanish or English as their mother tongue or first language. This makes a total of 10 different lexicographical functions, to each of which corresponds a master article with specific data categories. In order to provide access to the most appropriate type of article, the planned user interface will contain inter-active options where the users, with only one click, can define themselves together with the type of communicative situation in which they need assistance (see Example 5).



Example 5: User interface with interactive options allowing for data filtering

The Business Dictionary is not designed to assist L1 text reception in general as the foreseen target users are supposed to understand most of the L1 words and collocations included in the dictionary. Only a relatively small number of terms considered to be difficult will be defined. The general writing of definitions would considerably delay the compilation process and the moment where the dictionary can be published; it is, therefore, postponed to a later moment if it appears to be necessary. Besides, the main aim of the dictionary is to solve problems related to L2 communication where text reception and production directly in L2 seem to be the two most frequent situations today, rather than translation of full texts in both language directions. The overall concept is based on the function theory as well as a *lexicographical* study of the respective situations and the corresponding phases and sub-phases where potential users may experience *lexicographically relevant* needs (see, for instance, Tarp, 2004, 2013).

If a Spanish first-language speaker is writing a text directly in English (i.e. without translating a previous text or outline in Spanish) and encounter any kind of problem related to the use of an English word, he or she can simply enter this word in the search field and simultaneously click on *escribir un texto en inglés*. The concrete article appearing on the screen will then be based on a master article containing the following data categories:

English lemma (uk/us) part of speech
<Inflection>
Abbreviated form / full form
Definition

Link to external source
(meaning discrimination) **Spanish equivalent**
(meaning discrimination) **Spanish equivalent**
etc.
syntactic properties
mini-rule: Example sentence in English. Example sentence translated into Spanish. (Note written in Spanish)
mini-rule…
etc.
collocations
English collocation (uk/us) Spanish translation. (Note written in Spanish)
English collocation...
etc....
synonyms
English synonym
etc...
antonyms
English antonym
etc...

Example 6: Article assisting a Spanish user writing an English text

Apart from the *English lemma*, *part of speech*, and at least one *Spanish equivalent* (supplied to confirm the meaning of the lemma), the other data categories contained in this master article are optional depending on the characteristics of each lemma. Unfortunately, the limits of this contribution do not permit a thorough description of these categories and the argumentation for the inclusion of each of them. Here it should only be mentioned that all words underlined represent direct links to the corresponding articles.

If the Spanish user instead clicks on *traducir un texto del español al inglés*, an article based upon the following master article will be displayed:

Indication of Spanish search word(s)

(meaning discrimination) **English equivalent** (uk/us) part of speech
(meaning discrimination) **English equivalent** (uk/us) part of speech
(meaning discrimination) **English equivalent** (uk/us) part of speech
(meaning discrimination) **English equivalent** (uk/us) part of speech
etc...

Example 7: In-between page leading to an English article designed to assist a Spanish user translating a Spanish text into English

The master article shown in Example 7 is conceived as an in-between article where the user, if required, can click on one of the English equivalents and be directed to the corresponding English article (as the one shown in Example 6). The underlying philosophy is twofold: 1) if a user just needs a reminder and can solve the problem with

only an English equivalent, then there is no reason to provide a lot of data irrelevant to this user; and 2) if the user do need additional information on the equivalent (inflection, syntactic properties, collocations, etc.) in order to produce a correct English text, then the article would be completely overloaded if the corresponding data were attached to each of the English equivalents furnished (in many cases more than five).

If a Spanish user clicks on either *comprender un texto en inglés* or *traducir un texto del inglés al español*, the article appearing on the screen would be based upon one of the following master articles, respectively:

English lemma (uk/us) part of speech
<Inflection>
Abbreviated form / full form
Definition
Link to external source
(meaning discrimination) **Spanish equivalent**
(meaning discrimination) **Spanish equivalent**
(meaning discrimination) **Spanish equivalent**
(meaning discrimination) **Spanish equivalent**
etc...
collocations (to unfold)
Example 8: Article assisting a Spanish user understanding an English text
English lemma (uk/us) part of speech
<Inflection>
Abbreviated form / full form
Definition
Link to external source
(meaning discrimination) **Spanish equivalent**
(meaning discrimination) **Spanish equivalent**
(meaning discrimination) **Spanish equivalent**
etc...
collocations
English collocation (uk/us) Spanish translation. (Note written in Spanish)
English collocation (uk/us) Spanish translation. (Note written in Spanish)
English collocation (uk/us)…
etc....
Example 9: Article assisting a Spanish user translating an English text into Spanish

The two master articles provided in Example 8 and 9 are in many aspects similar. One could with reason discuss whether English collocations and their Spanish translation should also be provided immediately in the article assisting English text reception (Example 8), but here it has been decided to include them as a unfold option in order to primarily focus on the cumulative Spanish equivalents. (This focus will be stressed by the fact that the remaining categories, i.e. *abbreviated form*, *full form*, *definition* and *link to external source*, will only be displayed in relatively few concrete articles). In this respect, the mayor difference between the two master articles is that problems related to L2-L1 translation do not necessarily stop with the provision of a L1

equivalent, as the **user**s may also experience some production problems in their first language, for instance, in relation to the use of the right collocations. Consequently, the article shown in Example 9 contains direct linking from the Spanish equivalent to the corresponding Spanish lemma.

Finally, if the Spanish-speaking user clicks on *escribir un texto en español*, any article visualised on his or her screen will be based on the following master article:

Spanish lemma part of speech
<Inflection> (to unfold)
Abbreviated form / full form
Definition
Link to external source
syntactic properties (to unfold)
collocations
Spanish collocation
Spanish collocation
etc...
synonyms
synonym
etc...
antonyms
antonym
etc...

Example 10: Article assisting a Spanish user writing a Spanish text

In terms of data categories, this master article is similar to the one presented in Example 6 with the exception of the categories related to the bilingual dimension in the latter. As the use of the right L1 collocations (as well as synonyms and antonyms) is considered to constitute the main problem for a Spanish-speaking user, it has been decided to focus on these data categories and provide the space-consuming inflection and syntax patterns as unfold options. However, if the users activate the latter they will get syntactic data based on the following mini-rule, here exemplified by the verb *rogar*:

mini-rule: Example sentence in Spanish. (Note written in Spanish)

rogar (que) + subjuntivo: Les rogamos nos manden su respuesta a la mayor brevedad posible. (Nota: "que" se omite normalmente en el lenguaje formal)

Example 11: Mini-rule in an article assisting a Spanish user writing a Spanish text

As can be seen, in the design of the "not business as usual" Business Dictionary it is foreseen that the information techniques *filtering*, *adaptive presentation*, and *reuse of external data by linking* will be applied. As such, the dictionary represents an example

of a typical lexicographical Model T Ford taking the first modest steps towards a more personalised tool with individualisation of user needs satisfaction.

11. Conclusion

The example of an on-going dictionary project presented in Section 10 contains the main conclusions of this article. Here, it is sufficient to quote Albert Einstein who in 1938, together with Leopold Infeld, wrote the following about the "real advance in science":

> The formulation of a problem is often more essential than its solution, which may be merely a matter of mathematical or experimental skill. To raise new questions, new possibilities, to regard old questions from a new angle, requires creative imagination and marks real advance in science. (Einstein & Infeld, 1938: 92)

Hopefully, lexicography will be inspired by these words from a one of biggest geniuses of the 20th century.

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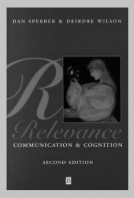

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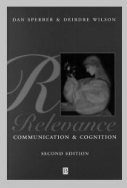

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