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LITERATURE AND CULTURAL STUDIES

From 'Strumpet' to Craftsman: The Construction of the Author in Britain, 1700-1800

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Abstract

This article highlights the controversial status of the author and the evolution of authorship between Ned Ward's late seventeenth-century description of the Grub Street author as "strumpet" (1698) and Samuel Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" (1779), where originality and creativity were necessary qualities for an author who became the owner of the work he produced. In this period, authorial identity underwent major changes and the portrait of the author evolved from "strumpet" to craftsman, from hack writer to tradesman, and from mercenary to original genius. In this case, not only did periodisation contribute to ensuring a sense of *temporal* order, but it also provided a sense of *spatial* order, within which historical changes occurred. The present study will illustrate how the figure of the modern author was moulded by such circumstances as the system of literary patronage, the world of print as profitable trade, the transformation of the literary marketplace, and the emergence of booksellers.

Keywords: authenticity, authorship, booksellers, copyright laws, literary ownership.

Introduction

Samuel Johnson's nomination of the eighteenth century as *The Age of Authours* referred not only to the overwhelming number of writers that assaulted Britain at that time, but also to the quality of their productions. In *The Idler* (1759), Samuel Johnson complains about the fact that most of the books published during his time were compilations of previous works: "But such is the present state of our literature, that the ancient sage who thought 'a great book a great evil,' would now think the multitude of books a multitude of evils" (1963: 266). We know from Samuel Johnson that the eighteenth-century literary market was mostly invaded by second-hand authors who produced what he called in *The Rambler* "the comedy of romance" (1750: 64), a form of fiction which could "keep up curiosity without the help of wonder" (64), written "to the young, the ignorant, and the idle, to whom they serve as lectures of conduct, and introductions into life" (65). Johnson's definition of what we now label as the modern novel sums up the fact that this new type of writing describes ordinary events that happen to ordinary people and, according to him, readers are easily deceived when they take for granted what they read, without mulling over the ideas expressed in a book.

Shortly after the author gained independence and rejected patronage, controversial problems started to revolve around the status of the author and literary property. In Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, the author becomes an individual with a strong sense of autonomy, which shows the decline of authorial patronage (Van Horn Melton 136). Indeed, after the copyright law of 1709, the author gained

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a new statute, that of the creator and owner of his work. The conception of intellectual ownership originated in John Locke's ideas of property. Authors became the owners of their works due to the fact that they put in their creation a lot of intellectual effort and energy. Also, eighteenth century writers were gifted and endowed with a creative talent, which granted them authorial powers.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, terms like literary property, authorship, originality, and copyright were not legally defined. Ian Haywood accurately speculates that literary forgery became an issue when capitalist laws regarding authorship and intellectual property were issued, which is true, considering that the copyright system is a modern institution. In addition, Mark Rose observes that "Copyright is founded on the concept of the unique individual who creates something original and is entitled to reap a profit from those labors" (2). Copyright as a recent institution stemmed from a melange of factors that contributed to the emergence of regulations regarding authorship and ownership: the printing press, the particularization of authorship during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the weakening role of patronage, the contribution of John Locke's writings, and the expansion of the book trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The Rise of the Author

It was the eighteenth century that welcomed Macpherson's forgery of the poems of Ossian, or Chatterton's 'Rowley' poems. It was the Royal Society that appreciated the Formosan disguise of the fair George Psalmanazar and it was Edward Gibbon who used as an authentic source Charles Bertram's invented medieval account of Roman Britain.

As early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, debates around the status of the author, as deriving from the medieval term "auctor," raised questions about authority. The author as a modern invention was defined as "the product of the rise in the eighteenth century of a new group of individuals: writers who sought to earn their livelihood from the sale of their writings to the new and rapidly expanding reading public" (Woodmansee 426).

The medieval "auctores" were those who represented God's word on earth, and thus, they established and promoted the rules and principles for the different disciplines, assuming authority on the basis of divine revelation. In other words, the "auctores" established what was later to be labelled as "the canon." In the fifteenth century, the discovery of the New World required new means of representation, which could not be found in the traditional books of the "auctores" (Pease 106-7). In order to be able to represent the inhabitants of the New World and their customs, the British discoverers borrowed words from the natives or even made up some concepts of their own. The influence the discovery of the New World had on the Old World as well as the "improvement" in the English language resulted in the loss of cultural authority for the "auctor:"

[...] these new cultural agents were 'authors,' writers whose claim to cultural authority did not depend on their adherence to cultural precedents but on a faculty of verbal inventiveness. Unlike the medieval *auctor* who based his authority on divine revelation, an author himself claimed authority for his words and based his individuality on the stories he composed (Pease 107).

There is a clear-cut distinction between the medieval *auctor*, who possessed *auctoritas* and whose inspiration came from divine sources of knowledge, and the modern *author*, who is endowed with creative abilities and who has authority over his own work. In *Leviathan*, Thomas Hobbes makes the distinction between a "Naturall Person," who owns his words, and a "Feigned" or "Artificial" Person, whose function is to represent someone else's words and actions (217). The 'actor' is someone who represents the author's words by the right of the latter's authority: "So that by Authority, is alwayes understood a Right of doing any act; and done by Authority, done by Commission, or Licence from him whose right it is" (218). A person is the owner of his own words and actions and thus, he has the right to commission someone else to represent him or to act on his behalf. By extension, an author owns his words and phrases, which gives him the right to *authorize* someone to act on his behalf. The concept of 'auctoritas' is always in relation to such notions as 'producing,' 'originating,' and 'creating' a work, that is, whenever these notions are introduced into discussion, there is always an author responsible for them.

The early modern period witnessed an individualization of authorship and the conversion of the medieval *auctor* into the Renaissance *author*. It was this transformation that generated the publishers' concern to avoid distributing an author's work without his permission.²

From the late Middle Ages, when Chaucer was still ironic about his poetic persona, until well into the eighteenth century, when the name of most writers did not appear on the front page of the book, the figure of the author remained controversial. According to Roger Chartier, in the English-speaking countries, histories of the book tended to omit the author from being studied in the evolution of the printing world (25-8). They focused more on the mechanisms involved in book production and circulation instead of attempting to reconnect the text with its author. When Chartier identifies a return of the interest in the author on the part of literary criticism, he points to the various forms of reception in this respect: a historically constructed dialogue between the text and the reader; a dialogue between the literary work and 'ordinary' texts (27); a dialogue between the material form of a text and the reader's construction of the meaning of the text. All these approaches share the same feature, that of reconnecting the literary text with its author (28).

² See Rose (1995), pp. 16-19.

The problematic issue of the return of the author and its multifarious consequences was taken over by Michel Foucault, who, in his widely-read essay, "What is an Author?" discusses the construction of an 'author-function' as fundamental in classifying discourses (29) and distinguishes between two registers, the scientific and the literary. As far as medieval writings are concerned, Foucault differentiates between unattributed texts, or what we would now identify as "literary" texts (stories, folk tales, epics, and tragedies) and attributed or "scientific" writings. According to Foucault, unlike the Middle Ages, when a text was signed and thus, authenticated by an author, in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries the value of scientific texts was recognised irrespective of the fact that these were written anonymously, while a literary text was authentic only if it contained an author's name: "Authentication no longer required reference to the individual who had produced them; the role of the author disappeared as an index of truthfulness [...]" (131). Thus, the author acquired a double function: on the one hand, the author was a mechanism responsible for the circulation of texts and for investing the text with authority, while on the other hand, the same author was considered the source of the work, since he authorized the text.

During the Renaissance and the neoclassical period, the author was regarded less as a creator and more as "a craftsman who manipulated preexisting forms in a manner pleasing to a cultivated and often courtly audience" (Van Horn Melton 137). At that time, the author was economically and morally dependent on his patron, originality was not a significant quality to consider, book diffusion was poor, and the author served a small and educated public. The author was "master of a body of rules" and an instrument of knowledge who perfectly handled motives inspired by traditional, usually oral, literature so as "to achieve the effects prescribed by the cultivated audience of the court to which he owed both his livelihood and social status" (Woodmansee 426).

Harley, Cotton, Pepys founded great libraries and collections of MSS and the job of the eighteenth-century historians was to assess their value: "the more revered the MS, the more the right of literature to be regarded as a potential source for the historians" (Haywood 21). However, not all these manuscripts were authentic and the desire for the original source resulted in the forgery of other texts, which eventually led to an increasing fabrication of manuscripts. The historian made use of authoritative documents, but the problem these documents put forward was related to their authenticity. This obsessive search for authenticity and legitimacy in a manuscript as the true witness of the past was misunderstood and even taken advantage of. Ian Haywood observes that "Locke's plea for more ancient MSS found an answer in the forgeries" (20), which is an exaggerated statement, but might be a possible response to the change in the perception of historical reading.

Julie C. Hayes estimates that, from a historical point of view, "the eighteenth century has been considered the pivotal period in which classical

traditions of imitation gave way to a new valorization of originality and sincere self-expression" (115). According to Buelow, during the Renaissance, imitation of the classics was the creative impulse in the English arts, while in eighteenth-century England originality became the main "standard of evaluation" (118) which characterised the intellectual productions of the age. What mattered most in the eighteenth-century were inspiration and 'original genius,' the essential attributes in an author who produced and became the owner of his work.³ Originality and creativity as distinctive qualities in a writer overlapped with the requirements regarding an author's intellectual rights⁴ and both permeated the eighteenth century discourse on original genius.⁵ As Dr Johnson accurately put it, "The highest praise of genius is original invention" (1858, I: 294). The notion of original genius was another issue that went hand in hand with concepts of authorship and ownership. This notion turned the neoclassical perception of the writer as influenced by external sources of inspiration into the modern figure of the author as taking inspiration from inside his creative genius. The writer was no longer to be seen as a vehicle dominated by divine inspiration, but as an autonomous individual, a creator endowed with a special talent.

Early in the eighteenth century a new theory regarding authorship and literary ownership emerged and "the ideal of independence and autonomy became increasingly central to authorial identity in the eighteenth century" (Van Horn Melton 136). But most authors could not stay away from dependence on patronage and state censorship, the laws of censorship being made in such a way as to allow the state to restrict publishing houses to only a few. Hence, the battle between those like Samuel Johnson who insisted that the law of limited copyright should be adopted and those who believed that without perpetual copyright, authors would not be motivated to produce valuable works. Had it not been abolished in 1774, the law of perpetual copyright would have meant a higher cost in books, which, in turn, would have prevented knowledge from being properly difused among the larger public. Besides, perpetual copyright gave the booksellers and printers absolute rights over an author's publication, propagating what Kernan describes as "legalized piracy":

³ According to Thomas Carlyle's 1840 lecture on "The Hero as Man of Letters" the author is an autonomous individual who is defined by his "originality," "sincerity," and "genius" (150) and who is able to see beneath the surface of things. He contends that the true heroes are Johnson, Rousseau, and Burns, whom he considers genuine, and not spurious Men of Letters. Carlyle institutionalises the *belles lettres* when he compares books with the Church and literature with the British parliament and is of the opinion that the author as hero, "with his copy-rights and copy-wrongs" (149) who lives after his death in the consciousness of future generations is undervalued, while he should have authorial independence.

⁴ See M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971

⁵ On the concept of the original genius, see Samuel Johnson (1858), Buelow (1990); Van Horn Melton (2001), Rose (1995).

Once entered and printed, however, *perpetual* rights under common law were vested in the bookseller or printer who made the entry, and any unregistered manuscript or book that fell into the hands of a member of the Company could be claimed by him as his property by entering and printing. This kind of legalized piracy seems to have troubled almost no one [...]" (98-9).

In 1637 the Star Chamber ordered that only twenty printers should be authorised in London, whereas the Act of July 17, 1649 considered an act of treason any piece of printed writing written against the Commonwealth. It was only after the huge increase in the production and consumption of books and other printed materials (second half of the eighteenth century) that the author became an important and representative figure of his age. Robert Darnton identifies a strong link and interdependence among authors, printers, booksellers, and readers. His concept of the 'communications circuit' implies that the more books readers buy the more copies will come out in print, which means a profitable trade for printers and booksellers (Jackson 1043). Similarly, David Saunders argues that by adopting the 1710 Statute of Anne

[...] the English legal apparatus was not attempting to recognise the presence of the writer's subjectivity in the work but regulating a novel and unstable sphere of cultural, commercial, and technical activity by delineating and attributing a right to trade in mechanical duplicates of the work (12).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, this law was enacted to protect the booksellers, and not the rights of an author.⁶ It appears that any legal statement regarding an author's property rights aimed at supporting the printers, and not at acknowledging the rights of authors. Both the issue of culture as public property and the concept of intellectual property were products of the European Enlightenment. When people ceased to believe that knowledge was something that came from divine revelation and transmitted through the ancient texts, and when the eighteenth-century *philosophes* promoted the idea of knowledge as coming from the human mind in the form of original and new ideas, the questions of originality, creativity, and intellectual property became essential for literary production.

It was quite difficult for an eighteenth-century writer to refrain from imitating the classics or from creating when "adapting" or "rewriting" in the mock-heroic form as long as piracy was the only prohibited form of copying at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Moreover, there is a very strong argument that could be used in order to explain why the beginning of the eighteenth century was not concerned with legal documents regarding literary property. People like Voltaire, Condorcet, or Rousseau in France rejected the existing social and

⁶ Apart from Saunders (1992), for the same idea see Feather (2006).

religious arrangements and considered that progress could only be achieved by breaking off with the past and traditional values. 'The Enlightenment Project' which promoted 'the advancement of learning' should have been accomplished at all costs in order to keep to the intellectual and political programmes that developed in Britain between 1650-1700.⁷

To put it bluntly, it can be inferred that in the name of emancipation and rational knowledge, the law of copyright was not considered necessary as it could have prevented education and instruction from being imposed on all social classes. Even if some books imitated or even plagiarised other volumes, as long as they instructed and entertained the public, according to the classical principle of *utile dulce*, they were accepted and even promoted by the learned men of the time.

In an age "crowded with remarkable literary hoaxes" (Lynch 602), an age recognised as "the golden age of charlatans" (Downing 46), the print business produced a flood of authors, most of whom were mere hackers or writers-for-pay. These were best described by Alexander Pope in his *Dunciad* and the same type of writers made someone like Samuel Johnson define the eighteenth-century in Britain as *The Age of Authours*:

[...] for, perhaps, there never was a time in which men of all degrees of ability, of every kind of education, of every profession and employment, were posting with ardour so general to the press (*Adventurer* 115).

Contemporary literary criticism sees in this abundance of authors an invitation to the production of worthless writing, works of dubious authorship, and pseudo-translations: "Unexceptional quantity, not individual quality marks Johnson's Age of Authors" (Paku 98). In other words, the more access to information was within reach, the poorer the quality of information.

The Statute of Anne, the first copyright act ever was enacted in 1709, and it entered into force on April, 10, 1710, under the name of *An Act of the Encouragement of Learning, by Vesting the Copies of Printed Books in the Authors or Purchasers of such Copies, during the Times therein mentioned*. The 1710 Statute of Anne was rather restrictive, as it "prohibited piracy, but did not regulate imitations, condensations, adaptations, anthologies, indexes, and similar partial copies" (Stern 69), which meant that the questions of literary property and originality were still very difficult to grasp or distinguish. A contradiction should be noticed in the intention stated in the title of the Act, on the one hand, and the content of the Act, on the other. The title encouraged the spread of knowledge, but, according to the content, this should have been done at all costs, including imitations, adaptations, and the reprinting of the same book by another author and

⁷ For further comments on "The Enlightenment Project" and the War of Religions, see J. G. A. Pocock (1998).

under a different publishing house, usually located in Dublin,⁸ where the 1709 Copyright Law did not apply. The fact that there was no proper copyright act which applied to Ireland resulted in a "spectacular rise in the fortunes of booksellers during the eighteenth century" (Kennedy 76). Accordingly,

[...] for the whole of the eighteenth century Irish printers were entitled to reprint any book first published in England, Scotland, or Wales, without having to pay for copy, or to pay royalties. London booksellers, for whom the Irish market, then as now, was substantial, were very resentful, and levelled charges of piracy against Irish booksellers" (Kennedy 76).

Once a successful book came out in London, it was immediately reprinted in Dublin, for instance, in a smaller format, which considerably reduced the printing costs and increased the profits of the Irish booksellers. As a result, book piracy flourished in Dublin and Irish booksellers made large fortunes out of this illegal practice. For example, John Locke's works came out in print in London, but were reprinted many times in Dublin and elsewhere without the consent of the author. In Dublin, there was no distinction between a bookseller and a printer. In 1729, a marginal writer, Richard Savage wrote in his pamphlet, *An Author to be Let*, that

I abridg'd Histories and Travels, translated from the *French*, what they never wrote, and was expert at finding out new Titles for old Books. When a notorious Thief was hanged, I was the *Plutarch* to preserve his Memory; and when a great Man died, mine were his Remains, and mine the Account of his last Will and Testament (262).

In this passage Richard Savage - one of Samuel Johnson's bizarre friends - apparently speaks in the name of all early eighteenth-century hack-writers. The pamphlet alludes to, and is an attack on, the bookseller Edmund Curll, who commissioned a large number of authors to write whatever he pleased.⁹ Curll's literary ill-habits represented a common practice in the eighteenth-century literary world, being a form of imposture that attributed spurious works to outstanding authors, encouraged false translations, increased the number of numerous illegal reprints, and made up "instant biographies of the dead" (Robertson 88). Dexterity was employed in the service of imposture and it created a whole industry of fakes, forgeries, and frauds. During his life, Richard Savage never ceased to search for the financial protection and support of patrons and subscribers, due to the fact that

⁸ John Locke's works came out in print in London, but were reprinted many times without the consent of the author in Dublin and elsewhere: "The reprint industry in particular was almost entirely a Dublin industry, emanating from the bookshops clustered at the eastern edge of the old medieval city" (Johns 147). In Dublin, there was no distinction between a bookseller and a printer. Usually, many booksellers were printers, and printers also sold and printed books.

⁹ See Robertson (2009), pp. 87-89.

he lacked both the sense of entrepreneurship and the literary talent. Unlike Pope, for example, who was able to shape the public opinion of his time, Richard Savage remained an obscure author, despite having high class relations and having been rewarded a pension.

Not only Britain, but the whole of Europe witnessed an excessive market of authors, the author being considered an eighteenth-century invention¹⁰ in the sense that this newly created profession was possible due to the creation of a bourgeois literary market which allowed the author to earn a living from writing without depending on a literary patron. The reverse of the medal was that the same bourgeois market permitted anyone who called himself or herself an author or an authoress to produce less valuable works. In this respect, Van Horn Melton cites Rochus Friedrich Graf zu Lynar, a German observer, in order to strengthen the idea of an Europe flooded by the so-called authors:

[...] we live generally in an age when [...] almost everyone is afflicted by a passion to be an author. From the throne down to the shepherd's hut, anyone who knows how to hold a pen writes books (123).

This statement sounds derogatory and it points to a decrease in the quality of the publications. Van Horn Melton explains that the subscription system introduced in the eighteenth century marked the shift from patronage to "that of a public willing and able to invest in literary culture" (127), but subscription could have been considered a form of patronage or charity as well (Jackson 1048). As long as readers paid a substantial sum of money for a particular work which was going to be published, subscription became an unreliable source to draw the portrait of the eighteenth-century reader. Rather than being "willing to invest in literary culture," Melton's reader could have been more interested in becoming the patron of that particular writer or having a private interest in that work, given the high cost of books at that time.

The subscription system represented not only a financial benefit for the talented writers of the day and an alternate strategy, but also "a vehicle for the mobilization and articulation of an enlightened public opinion" (Van Horn Melton 127). The Marquis de Condorcet observed that through printing public opinion was created and people were able to receive instruction and information in a direct way.

¹⁰ For an exact account of writing practices and the idea of authorship in eighteenth-century Europe, see Van Horn Melton (2001), pp. 123-159. Van Horn Melton offers a precise statistics concerning the increasing number of authors in Europe in the late eighteenth century. For instance, the number of the German authors more than doubled in this period, since it increased from approximately 3,000 during the 1760s to 7,000 in 1791. In France, there were 1,187 authors in the latter half of the eighteenth century and by the end of the century, their number rose up to 2,819 (123). They are all mentioned as authors, not as writers, since the modern idea of the author emerged as a new liberal profession, being coexistent with the system of ownership and literary property.

He thus welcomed this unproblematic means of education, but failed to see the subsequent disadvantages that the multiplication of copies was to bring about.

Indeed, as Susan Stewart also underlined and Barbara A. Babcock emphasized, the crisis that authenticity experienced in the eighteenth century resulted from the commodification of the literary discourse (Stewart 44-45; Babcock 91). In England, the increase in printed material created many possibilities and even pirated editions or literary forgeries were taken for granted as public vehicles to transmit knowledge. As long as any text could increase literacy among people and was able to teach its readers anything about their cultural and social environment, it little mattered if that text was a pirated edition or a fraud. Knowledge became accessible to anyone and it was perceived by the intellectuals as "[...] essentially public, rather than esoteric; essentially progressive, rather than fixed; and essentially important because of its social utility, rather than as an end in itself" (Popkin 204).

In their efforts to advance learning and promote "Real Knowledge" the Royal Society "embarked upon a quixotic cultural quest" (Motooka 76) and by imposing on themselves and others impossible rules in order to attain a high intellectual performance, they soon appeared "ridiculous in the eyes of their contemporaries" (Motooka 76). Paradoxically, their high intellectual standards allowed some figures of doubtful moral quality to popularize their ideas and enter the front door of the literary stage.

In the eighteenth century, the distribution of various forms of knowledge in the shape of printed material, including periodicals, imaginary voyages, fiction narratives, pamphlets, biographies, and others brought about a crucial transformation in European intellectual thought. In 1698, Edward (Ned) Ward, another mediocre writer who "admitted to being a member of the literary underclass" (Briggs 77), compared pamphlet writing to working as a prostitute, a condition an author should have been ashamed of. Both were performed out of financial necessity:

The condition of an Author, is much like that of a Strumpet, [...] and if the Reason by requir'd, Why we betake ourselves to so Scandalous a Profession as Whoring or Pamphleteering, the same excusive Answer will serve us both, viz. That the unhappy circumstances of a Narrow Fortune, hath forc'd us to do that for our Subsistence, which we are much asham'd of (Ward 3).

The new profession required a new terminology, which was strongly connected with the bourgeois economic system and the financial world. Authors played a cultural and also a political role in the society, acting as educators and instructors, forming people's opinions and contributing to the emergence and the development of the public sphere. They were becoming 'proprietors,' 'owners' of their work, they had to find means of 'subsistence' and sell well on the 'literary market.' They witnessed the expansion of the literary market and they had to adapt to the world

of the book trade. Before the eighteenth century, the ideal image of a writer was impersonated by "the gentleman amateur" (Van Horn Melton 124), a cultivated and talented poet who would consider it a disgrace to write for money or publish his work for a large audience. Manuscripts circulated among a few friends and close acquaintances and handwritten material was considered the privilege of the elite. John Donne wrote out most of his poems by hand and his work was circulated mainly in manuscript. However, as soon as the age of literary patronage gradually died out, other issues became common, such as payment to the author and profit from the sales. Some eighteenth-century authors preferred to circulate their work in manuscript and have it published anonymously or pseudonymously in order not to be paid an insignificant sum of money for their publication:

An author who presented a manuscript to a patron received as much as one who dedicated a printed book, and the work could then in turn be presented to other patrons as well. Scribal publication also eliminated the bookseller/publisher as middleman, for once an author had paid the scribe(s) who copied his manuscript, he profited directly from all sales (Van Horn Melton 125)

Authorship was disregarded; the publication itself, and not the author represented a matter of importance for the world of the book trade. Even Oliver Goldsmith, himself a Grub Street writer, admitted that an author's reputation was alive as long as "his name will ensure a good price for his copy from the booksellers." (qtd. in Kernan 75). However, it would be unmerited and incorrect to dismiss the novel as a genre and other eighteenth-century writings as copies, frauds, and label "all novelistic discourse" of an "imposturous nature" (16), as Margaret Russett does in her study on Romantic authenticity¹¹. The novel was initially considered a minor genre, as compared to the epic, for instance. Lennard J. Davis defines the novel as a genre which "historically has answered the needs of the lower class to be informed about public events" (37). The novel focuses on what is recent and factual and Samuel Johnson differentiated between the modern "comedy of romance" and the "heroic romance" of the past (*The Rambler* 4: 27). Therefore, it is important to focus on how a specific literary form appeared, where and when it did, and why. This way, an emphasis is placed on the relation between places and practices, between one historical period and another, and between temporalities and topologies.

Conclusion

One major aspect of these relationships analysed here is related to the crisis of authenticity in literature that the eighteenth-century letters confronted. Such an aspect would not be fully ripe without complementary references to the role of the

¹¹ According to Russett, "the notion of forgery provided the conceptual measure against which the epistemological nature of the novel could be understood" (14).

author, the production and distribution of books, numerous laws of copyright and how they contributed to the publication of illegitimate editions of books. In the eighteenth century, copyright laws were needed in order to free the writer from the need of patronage, while the world of letters became profitable business and books had to be made interesting so as to sell well: "the closed patronage of Court and Church fragmented and eventually palled before the advance of broader markets" (Raven 2). As a result, the role of the market in the production of books became so important that it created the perfect soil for sowing the seeds of false attributions, disguised authorship, and doubtful authenticity: "True authorship, and market dissemination, were economically at odds: the market inevitably corrupted texts" (Baines 45).

In the eighteenth-century book trade, the publisher was considered the central figure, because "it is he who selects, organizes, and above all, finances the manufacture of books" (Feather 409). Following the rise of finance and commerce, the prominent figure of the printer as the only one who had access to technical facilities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was gradually replaced by the eighteenth-century publisher and thus, "the printer had become merely the agent of the publisher" (Feather 409).¹²

The original works of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Locke, and others were reprinted in various editions in London, Amsterdam, Dublin, Paris, or Leipzig and translated "into Italian from a French rendering manufactured in the Netherlands" with or without the consent of the authors, but this episode does not diminish the significant role that these authors had in the European and world cultural arena. It was the receivers of enlightened knowledge that would make victims to this danger: "Knowledge therefore spread through chain reactions of reappropriations, generally unauthorized and often denounced" (Johns 50). Similarly, John Feather states that "the transmission of European thought in the eighteenth century [...] operated at several levels, both legal and illegal" (410).

The moral duty of an author who was expected to enlighten and entertain his reading public overlapped with personal needs concerning financial interests, property rights, and the increasing commercialization of literature. Traditional genres, such as almanacs, fables, romances, and adventure tales were still popular in the eighteenth century, but theological and devotional works lost their popularity and, despite the huge number of printed editions of the Bible, interest in reading theological works had seriously dropped by the middle of the eighteenth century. Religious hostility to the rise in the production of novels had definitely a significant role to play in this dramatic decrease of interest in theological publications. In addition, the vernacular was slowly, but surely replacing Latin, and by the end of the eighteenth century, private libraries had been founded and a

¹² Feather point out the fact that the term "publisher" was not used with the modern meaning before the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth-century there was no distinction between a publisher and a bookseller, and it was only in the 1780s that the two functions separated (409, n.18).

greater variety of texts was published.¹³ There was extensive reading of newspapers and journals and new forms of advertising journals developed, thus stimulating consumer demand while keeping the readers informed about the latest news. As Van Horn Melton points out, this process of commercialization was more successful in England, where censorship was not as harsh as in the rest of Europe and the literary market was rather flexible.

Until the Act of Anne, the right to print was a royal privilege in England, subject to royal censorship. The rise of the author as a profession imposed a need for regulations regarding literary property, as deceiving practices were rather common. It appears that any legal statement regarding an author's property rights aimed at supporting the printers, and not at acknowledging the rights of authors. Both the issue of culture as public property and the concept of intellectual property were products of the European Enlightenment. When people ceased to believe that knowledge was something that came from divine revelation and transmitted through the ancient texts, and when the eighteenth-century *philosophes* promoted the idea of knowledge as coming from the human mind in the form of original and new ideas, the questions of originality, creativity, and intellectual property became essential for literary production. The secularization of knowledge and thought dismissed the connection with the authority of the divine Word, and hence, with the word of the monarch. The social world in the eighteenth century sought for an organisation on horizontal terms, and this denial of hierarchy and authority changed the literary world to the extent that the author gained the status of original genius; he was recognised as the unique proprietor of his work having a full-time profession, even if publishers and editors played a more significant role on the literary market; he became the enlightened creator who shaped the minds of his readers; he gained autonomy from literary patronage; and above all, the author-function was supported by mercantilist economic regulations.

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¹³ See James Van Horn Melton's statistics in the subchapter "The Reading Revolution" in *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, pp. 86-92.

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Metaphors of Crossing in Nella Larsen's *Quicksand*

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Abstract: Nella Larsen's *Quicksand* brings about an in-depth character analysis of a biracial, binational protagonist in her attempt to negotiate issues of historical, cultural and spiritual freedom. The author examines the way in which race, gender, and nationality interfere in a liminal space epitomized by main character Helga Crane. By employing the journey metaphor, Nella Larsen builds upon the interconnection between physical migration, psychological space, and individual identity. To fulfil her identity quest, Helga travels from southern to northern America, and then crosses the ocean to Denmark, only to return back to the American South. During her crossings she is driven by a desire to fathom her destiny and place in the world but proves to be unable to circumscribe within any distinct social category. In Helga Crane's case, traveling stands for crossing, with its multiple meanings: geographical relocation, transgressing of boundaries, hybridization, alterity. This is mainly due to the fact that she is a hybrid herself - the result of biracial marriage - and, much like her creator, continually crosses geographical lines, finding herself in the position of both migrant and immigrant, without ever attaining a clear sense of her own identity

Keywords: *self-consciousness, identity, race, class, Harlem Renaissance*

Nella Larsen first novel, *Quicksand* (1928), begins with an apparently static description of twenty-two-year-old Helga Crane's room in Naxos boarding school campus where she works as a teacher. The school accommodates only African American students and Helga comes from a mixed-race family, her mother being white and her father black. Even if the reader is not yet aware of Helga Crane's extraction, the tension is making its presence felt. The fact that Helga later admits her unwillingness to leave the room and resume her teaching duties only highlights the author's insistence on the introspective value of these opening lines, with the room functioning as Helga's internal universe.

We are told that the main character is alone and it is almost the end of the day, in other words a symbolic completion of a stage. Although Helga Crane admits the room was comfortable and dear to her, she insists that it was also rather large and too much exposed to the flooding Southern sun-light during daytime, which makes her feel like "a small oasis in a desert of darkness". She is caught between two worlds, between light and shade, between her physical community - dictated by the colour of her skin - and her spiritual community - given by her cultural inheritance.

The opening scene is not merely a describing passage but it strongly relies on a chromatic scaffolding and a nuanced insight into the protagonist's psyche. A close reading reveals Nella Larsen's propensity for building the description of the room on the contrasting chromatic of her inner life. It is inundated in soft gloom

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with only reading lamp that projects black and red shade to its proximity, producing a "pool of light" on the blue carpet and on the bright covers of the books scattered on a low table, out of which one is opened and reflects the light back from its white pages:

"Helga Crane sat alone in her room, which at that hour, eight in the evening, was in soft gloom. Only a single reading lamp, dimmed by a great black and red shade, made a pool of light on the blue Chinese carpet, on the bright covers of the books which she had taken down from their long shelves, on the white pages of the opened one selected, on the shining brass bowl crowded with many-colored nasturtiums beside her on the low table, and on the oriental silk which covered the stool at her slim feet. It was a comfortable room, furnished with rare and intensely personal taste, flooded with Southern sun in the day, but shadowy just then with the drawn curtains and single shaded light. Large, too. So large that the spot where Helga sat was a small oasis in a desert of darkness." (Quicksand 1)

The pool of light is thus in clear contrast with the "desert of darkness" in which Helga feels like an oasis. What the novel soon unfolds is that Helga has already decided she could not continue to endure either her African American college's paternalistic "policy of uplift" or its "intolerant dislike of difference":

"Helga Crane had taught in Naxos for almost two years, at first with the keen joy and zest of those immature people who have dreamed dreams of doing good to their fellow men. But gradually this zest was blotted out, giving place to a deep hatred for the trivial hypocrisies and careless cruelties which were, unintentionally perhaps, a part of the Naxos policy of uplift. Yet she had continued to try not only to teach but to befriend those happy singing children, whose charm and distinctiveness the school was so surely ready to destroy. Instinctively Helga was aware that their smiling submissiveness covered many poignant heartaches and perhaps much secret contempt for their instructors. But she was powerless." (Quicksand 5)

Helga is also resolute in breaking up with her fiancé, a colleague from school, whose family she believes to be rather discontent with her mixed-race roots. In the same manner in which she finds her room pleasant but rather uninhabitable Helga questions her affiliation to the community of Naxos or the African American society in general:

"Negro society, she had learned, was as complicated and as rigid in its ramifications as the highest strata of white society. If you couldn't prove your ancestry and connections, you were tolerated, but you didn't "belong." You could be queer, or even attractive, or bad, or brilliant, or even love beauty and such nonsense if you were a Rankin, or a Leslie, or a Scoville; in other words, if you had a family. But if you were just plain Helga Crane, of whom nobody had ever

heard, it was presumptuous of you to be anything but inconspicuous and conformable.” (Quicksand 9)

Her self-identification as a “despised mulatto” makes her give up her teaching job and seek comfort in Chicago where she hopes will find solace with her uncle's family. This sets in action an entire saga for finding peace of mind and a place where she could feel at home and not constantly under the gaze of the white people, whom she considers her relatives, or the black people, whom she sees as her folks. As Thadious A. Davis maintains, Helga “cannot articulate the severity of her deprivations, her sense of herself as an illegitimate child and a social orphan. Therefore, Helga is silenced; she can neither voice her innermost reality to others nor express that reality in her own story” (Davis 2002: xxvi).

What Helga experiences her entire life is anger towards her parents for making the racial compromise but not accepting the consequences. This extremely heavy burden is amplified by her dread of being treated by both white and black people as her parents treated each other:

“As a Bildungsroman interrelating psychological and social forces in Helga Crane’s search for definition, Quicksand relies on each phase of a spatial journey—Naxos, Chicago, Harlem, Denmark, Alabama—to represent a stage in Helga’s developing consciousness. (...) [T]he episodic narrative structure depends upon the physical transformation of scene to converge action and meaning in Helga’s spiritual quest for growth, emergence, and identity.”(Davis 2002: xvii)

According to Davis, Helga's entire existence in the South “ends her self-development, in favor of her new racially and communally derived subjectivity.” (Davis 2002: xxix).

It is also in the beginning of the novel where Helga describes a sermon delivered to black community of students and teachers in Naxos by a white preacher. Hinting at institutional segregation, Helga goes against the current and places herself in contradiction with the preacher's encouragement for the young students to be satisfied with their situation:

“This was, he had told them with obvious sectional pride, the finest school for Negroes anywhere in the country, north or south; in fact, it was better even than a great many schools for white children. And he had dared any Northerner to come south and after looking upon this great institution to say that the Southerner mistreated the Negro. And he had said that if all Negroes would only take a leaf out of the book of Naxos and conduct themselves in the manner of the Naxos products there would be no race problem, because Naxos Negroes knew what was expected of them. They had good sense and they had good taste. They knew enough to stay in their places, and that, said the preacher, showed good taste. He spoke of his great admiration for the Negro race, no other race in so short a time

had made so much progress, but he had urgently besought them to know when and where to stop.” (Quicksand 3)

In Helga's view, the unjustified tolerance of the audience towards the preacher's dehumanizing sermon speaks of the general attitude of the school administration. Her desire to remain affiliated with the institution diminishes significantly upon her realization that it is actually an “exemplification of the white man's magnanimity, refutation of the black man's inefficiency.” (Quicksand 8)

Her disapproval of her people's suppression of individuality plays an instrumental part in her outcome as a “Tragic Mulatta”. Her efforts to adapt to the Southern race-impregnated environment succumb to anger when she decides to throw all her teaching paraphernalia to the wastebasket. The recipient functions as a metaphor for knowledge, connoting to the same efforts that she put into teaching the young students of Naxos the real human values while the administration of the school tacitly allowed their alleged spiritual and cultural dissolution.

“Yes, it was like that; a few of the ideas which she tried to put into the minds behind those baffling ebony, bronze, and gold faces reached their destination. The others were left scattered about. And, like the gay, indifferent wastebasket, it wasn't their fault. No, it wasn't the fault of those minds back of the diverse colored faces. It was, rather, the fault of the method, the general idea behind the system. Like her own hurried shot at the basket, the aim was bad, the material drab and badly prepared for its purpose.” (Quicksand 4)

Helga places herself in opposition with the subservient and mimicking attitude of black people in Naxos towards white people's ideals and behaviors. She claims that a more unique stance is required as a means of identifying themselves with their past, their traditions and their present. In this regard, Hazel Carby claims that Nella Larsen:

“did not feel that the middle class were the guardians of civilized behavior and moral values. Harlem intellectuals were criticized for two major acts of hypocrisy: their announced hatred of white people and deprecation of any contact with white society while imitating their clothes, manners, and ways of life, and the proclamation of the undiluted good of all things Negro which disguised a disdain, contempt, and amusement for the actual culture and behavior of the majority of black people. Larsen used Helga, who was both black intellectual and member of the middle class but stood outside both, as a figure who could question the limits of middle-class intellectual pretension.” (Carby 1987:171)

Helga loses her identity and becomes part in a big machine, defined by consumerism and uniformity:

“[Naxos] had grown into a machine. It was now a show place in the black belt, exemplification of the white man's magnanimity, refutation of the black man's inefficiency. Life had died out of it. It was . . . only a big knife . . . cutting all to a pattern, the white man's pattern. Teachers as well as students were subjected to the paring process, for it tolerated no innovations, no individualisms.” (Quicksand 9)

Students are presented as mere mechanical products. This lack of imagination is symbolic of their lack of will to express identity and individuality. Helga becomes thus a supporter of the Harlem Renaissance, placing herself on the same line with Zora Neal Hurston in stating that black people should consider building their life on universal human values instead of remaining captive in the racial dichotomy:

“But I am not tragically colored. There is no great sorrow dammed up in my soul, nor lurking behind my eyes. I do not mind at all. I do not belong to the sobbing school of Negrohood who hold that nature somehow has given them a low-down dirty deal and whose feelings are all hurt about it. Even in the helter-skelter skirmish that is my life, I have seen that the world is to the strong regardless of a little pigmentation more or less. No, I do not weep at the world—I am too busy sharpening my oyster knife.

Someone is always at my elbow reminding me that I am the granddaughter of slaves. It fails to register depression with me. Slavery is sixty years in the past. The operation was successful and the patient is doing well, thank you.” (Hurston 1928: 258-59)

Helga is appalled by the black people's appetite for the race subject and finds herself trapped in the metaphor of the quicksand:

"Consider the metaphor of quicksand; it is a condition where individual struggle and isolated effort are doomed to failure. Helga's search led to the burial, not the discovery, of the self. The only way out of quicksand is with external help; isolated individual struggle ensured only that she would sink deeper into the quagmire. The question that remains is, to what social group does Helga attach herself in order to be saved?(Carby 1987:173)

Life in Naxos and later in Harlem, convinced Helga Crane that black people are unable to help her in her quest for identity as they contradict themselves in their attitude towards whites. This is the main reason why, Helga sets out for Denmark in the hope that she could find her true self in the company of her European kinfolk. Hazel Carby believes that Helga consolidates her position as a tragic mulatta essentially by positioning herself in this dilemmatic situation:

“The mulatto figure is a narrative device of mediation; it allows for a fictional exploration of the relationship between the races while being at the same time an imaginary expression of the relationship between the races. One mode of representing this social tension is the "passing" novel, in which the protagonist pretends to be white, exemplified by Fauset's *Plum Bun* and Larsen's second novel, *Passing*. But in *Quicksand* this option was refused. Larsen's particular use of the mulatto figure allowed her protagonist to be both inside and outside contemporary race issues.” (Carby 1987:171)

The Copenhagen episode in which Helga is painted by a Danish artist is relevant to the European gaze thrust upon a black subject viewed merely as "exotic" and "primitive", ending up in becoming nothing else but an object for white consumption. In the end, Helga is unable to find peace of mind while the readers are left to reflect on the meandering ways of the self. George Hutchinson considers that the mulatto character is typically “either destroyed (or spiritually diminished) by inner conflicts caused by his/her alienated condition in a racially bifurcated society, or becomes “whole” by becoming wholly “black”.” (Hutchinson 18 1995:418).

Helga Crane strives for four years to find her place within either the black or the white societies but fails to connect herself to neither of them. Eventually, she marries a black preacher and appears to have given in to her black ancestry. Her life in the rural South destroys her and her search for self remains tragically unsatisfied.

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Whither *Transitio*? The Many Faces of *Transitus*, or Playing with Markers of Civilisation at Amsterdam Airport Schiphol

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Abstract

This paper explores, with the tools of psychogeography, cultural sociology and anthropology, the complex sense of transit (*transitus* and *transitio*) which I experienced at Amsterdam Airport Schiphol in June 2008. However, I am concerned here with less obvious because (silently) less decorous sights/sites of transit than regular departure lounges, transfer areas, etc and their signalling: toilet facilities. At Schiphol, this Cinderella of urbanity does not vex its better-offs, relaxation and entertainment facilities, despite their topographical proximity, but rather reintegrates an embodied experience within the larger socio-cultural circuit of practices, values and attitudes associated with western civilisation. Through the juxtaposition, within toilets, of the act of excretion, alongside broader refreshing pursuits, with high art as represented by Rembrandt (reproductions) or cognitive practices elicited by the pseudo-ethnological histories of the toilet, Schiphol reconfigures the transitional space of the airport in even more liminal terms to suggest that the airport as a miniature city can also become the fleeting epitome of life (experience) as perpetual transition from one kind of experience to another.

Keywords: *Amsterdam Airport Schiphol (AMS), Rijksmuseum, Rembrandt, toilet, civilising process (Norbert Elias)*

The airport appears to be, by silent consensus, the space–time–experience of transition from ground to air, or from home (alternatively, transfer destination, in stop-over flights) to destination. Even so, it definitely feels like *terra firma* for the traveller and incidental visitors alike by comparison with the actual flight experience. The state of in-betweenness which anthropologists typically assign to vastly different experiences, like birth, marriage or death, could therefore also describe the airport’s beneficiaries. During this modern experience of *liminality* the airport passenger is more of a mass citizen than an individual with a distinct identity beyond mere name and citizenship, diplomats or celebrities apart. A figure of transition by comparison with airport personnel, s/he now enjoys an enriched status due to the past two decades’ sore experience: from a benign passenger whose travel needs the airport facilities and staff cater, to an object of the authorities’ “rightful” suspicion, hence of strict surveillance and control. The erstwhile traveller-turned-passenger has thus been refigured into a *passenger* worth scrutinising through surveillance cameras and scanners (some of the latter obnoxiously intrusive) – yet another rite of passage *staged* by the airport of late.

It would be facile to invoke here, in support of my argument, any airport experience which points to transit, stop-overs or discreet elements: passageways and signs that indicate entrances, exits, stairs, escalators, lifts, transfer areas and

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transit lounges, gates and departure lounges. It would also be facile to mention such pre-ordained *transitio* (passage) devices as the clock installation in the airfield courtyard of the Airline Terminal at the Santa Barbara Airport, California, even as George Rhoads's iconic audio-kinetic sculpture *Good Time Clock IV* (1984) – with its the balls' chime-marked course along the roller coaster-like mechanism and through “gates” – does transcend pedestrian understandings of predictable passage of time and “measurable” space.²

Airport experience is precisely what this paper explores from the perspective of *traseol/transitio* and with the tools of psychogeography, cultural sociology and anthropology. Inspired by the practices of psychogeography³ made famous by the likes of Georg Simmel, Michel de Certeau and Iain Sinclair, I will try to map the complex sense of transit which I experienced at Amsterdam Airport Schiphol (AMS) in June 2008, “according to paths, movements, desires and senses of ambience” (Pinder 389) yet also astonishment which I felt then or can recollect now, often enhanced by the memory of photographs. However, I am concerned here with less obvious because (silently) less decorous sights/sites of transit at the airport than transfer areas and their signalling: public toilet facilities. At Schiphol, this Cinderella of urbanity does not vex its better-offs, relaxation and entertainment facilities, despite their topographical contiguity, but rather reintegrates an embodied experience, excretion, within the larger socio-cultural circuit of practices, values and attitudes associated with western civilisation.

My own discourse here will freely, disinhibitedly pass from one piece of evidence or argumentation to another, however incongruous, from solidity to fluidity and back, from one locale to another. It is, after all, in the etymological

²*Good Time Clock IV* is “just one of Rhoads' experiments with physical sources of energy, light and sound, in order to expand the possibilities of art” (“Popular Airport Sculpture”). The very photo of Rhoads attached, alongside an explanatory note, to the plexi-glass encasing the rolling ball machine, frames the American sculptor as a white-coat lab worker who arguably experiments with the porous boundaries between art and science, aesthetic-intellectual and technological pleasure, life practicalities and leisurely loitering, the maker and the loafer – separations that work by twos as well as together. Like other contemporary artists, Rhoads has *devised* his artworks to transcend strictly delimited venues and experiences: his large audio-kinetic sculptures attract and entertain people through “[b]alls [which] roll and percussion devices [which] clatter and chime in airports, hospitals, art museums, science museums, shopping centers and other public places (“Popular Airport Sculpture”).

³ Guy Debord defined psychogeography, in 1955, as “the study of the effects of the geographic environment on the emotions and behaviour of individuals” (qtd. in Pinder 286). As Pinder (388, 398) argues, given the exploratory nature of practices of psychogeography past and present, there is an unmistakable political charge which owes to exploration being coterminous with the colonial project. Psychogeography is therefore imbricated in relations of power/knowledge in its “production of imaginative urban geographies [as] remains evident in the colonial present” (Pinder 388). However, due to the inspiration the letterists and situationists, psychogeography's first practitioners, found in Dadaism and Surrealism, a ludic dimension has also permeated such explorations of the city (Pinder 388–9).

“nature” of discourse⁴ to run in all directions, and in this particular case both topic, airport toilet units, and the deeper matters it references, bodily relief through excretion, should constrain the form less, lest we digest the topic poorly.

Concerns with what Bakhtin names *the lower material bodily stratum* as an object of discursive practices and restraint may have started early in history. Let’s see a twelfth-century point, raised by Pierre Abélard in his Seventh Letter to Heloise:

If he had wished to do so, our Redeemer could have assumed his body from a man, as he willed to form the first woman from the body of a man. But he turned this singular favor of his humility to the honor of the weaker sex. He could also have been born of another and worthier part of the woman’s body than are other men, who are born of that same *most lowly part [uilissima portione]*⁵ in which they are conceived. (Abelard 119–20, Letter VII [31], emphasis added; trans. McLaughlin)

Abélard was not alone in describing the Incarnation as the deity’s birth from the typically abject(ed) female genitals and in the proximity of the excretory organs.⁶ Nonetheless, what concerns me here is neither the Christian dogma of kenosis and Incarnation – a spiritual passage – nor the abjection of the female body, especially in connection with parturition, indeed underplayed in Abélard’s Epistola VII. Nor will I dwell upon Christianity’s *fundamental* (viz. *grounding*) denial of the body, a body paradoxically extolled in the Incarnation doctrine and reviled in most Christian discursive practices. Rather, I will address, with reference to Schiphol, some of the modern social ramifications of the discourse of pollution which abjects the human body, if silently elided with the female body and with all things feminine.

For Julia Kristeva, *the abject* is the non-object whose reification into that “opposed to *I*” (Kristeva 1, original emphasis) is being played out at the *border* of being, itself reified in the process of abjection (3-4). Anthropological and sociological studies – informed by Mary Douglas’s and Kristeva’s theories of pollution and the abject – have examined the social extrapolation of the corporeal abject, couched as the *repudiation* of the other qua defilement from the symbolic system (Kristeva 3-4, 65; Butler 170). Either “expulsion of alien elements” *conceals* its constitutive operation, i.e. how “*the alien* is effectively *established*

⁴ The Latin *discursus* (*OLD*, s.v. “currō”; “dis-”; “discurrō”; “discursus”) denoted the action of running (*curro*) off in different directions (*dis-*, signifying separation or dispersal).

⁵ Abélard’s superlative – referencing worthlessness and contempt – was associated, in social terms, with people of inferior station (*OLD*, s.v. “uīlis,” sense 5).

⁶ In the fourteenth century, Aude of Montailou (qtd. in Bynum 26) resorted to the rhetoric of symbolic pollution when she rejected (actually abjected) the sacrament as polluted by the “afterbirth” (viz. the placenta). Yet the clergy claimed *birthing* the Eucharist, which forestalled any abject connotation by appropriating and repurposing in abstract/spiritual terms – sublimating – a gender-specific corporeal act. See my overview (Ciobanu 90-91) of the medieval and secondary literature on eucharistic birthing.

through this expulsion” (Butler 169, emphasis added). *Abject*-construction is just the other side of *subject*-construction, whether as an individual or a group.

From another theoretical perspective than Kristeva’s, Norbert Elias pursues, in his magnum opus *The Civilizing Process*, the constitution of the civilised elitist self in the West through abjection of the body. Elias historicises the gradual public elimination of practices of and references to bodily processes and functions in genteel society, alongside the class-related ostracism of such functions when displayed publicly. How wide apart sound two sixteenth-century discourses, one penned by Rabelais in *La vie de Gargantua et de Pantagruel* (1532–67), where little Gargantua informs his father on having experimented the efficiency of diverse swabs, and the other by Erasmus in *De civilitate morum puerilium* (1530), which teaches a very young nobleman how to manage his bodily functions politely.⁷ After enumerating the artefacts, animals and plants he has tried (Rabelais 41–2, 44), Gargantua proclaims: “I affirm and maintain that the paragon arse-cloth is the neck of a plump downy goose...” (44). Rabelais’s character’s relish is unforgettable. Erasmus’s teacherly voice, by contrast, emphasises the “decency and reserve” of a well-bred person – “[f]or angels are always present” (Erasmus, qtd. in Elias 110).

The above-mentioned passage from book 1, chapter 13 of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, is used by Mikhail Bakhtin (371–2, 375, 376) to theorise the pre-modern carnivalisation of the grotesque body as demonstrated by Rabelais’s book. Erasmus’s advice has a non-carnavalesque pedigree – although *A Handbook on Good Manners for Children* enjoyed wide dissemination beyond class strictures – and serves Norbert Elias to demonstrate the early modern entanglements of *civilité* (urbanity) with early socialisation and with social class. According to Melanie White, whose “An Ambivalent Civility” (2006) examines the re-conceptualisation of *civilité* around the time Erasmus published his civility booklet, “as social pressures generated by increased literacy rates, heightened urbanization and the rise of capitalism intensified, a new conception of civility and civil society emerged” (White, qtd. in Leece 45). Class-biased and upper classes-originated, civility became “standardized” (White, in Leece 45). Whilst in Erasmus’s conduct booklet this is not apparent, or anyway not in the advice given on digestion-related bodily acts, in other early modern sources investigated by Elias class boundaries are firmly erected around the body to reconfigure it, in Bakhtin’s dichotomous terms, as a genteel *classical body* impervious to the contamination and traffic with the world that the uncouth *grotesque body* relishes. In matters of body regulation, class

⁷ Books of conduct, whether the advice issued from adults to the youth or from the initiated to the novice, became familiar in the Renaissance; they had been preceded, in the Middle Ages, by advice books in matters spiritual, including how priests should conduct confession. Tellingly, the title of a 1729 book of conduct by Jean-Baptiste de La Salle, *Les Règles de la bienséance et de la civilité chrétienne*, explicitly connects urbanity with Christianity. In compliance with its own stipulations aimed to “cultivat[e] feelings of shame” and raise *the shame threshold* (Elias 114), in its 1774 edition La Salle’s book suppresses about half of the early enumeration of prohibited acts (qtd. in Elias 113).

boundaries were already in place by the end of the sixteenth century, as the Wernigerode Court Regulations of 1570 testify:

One should not, *like rustics who have not been to court or lived among refined and honourable people*, relieve oneself *without shame or reserve* in front of ladies, or before the doors or windows of court chambers or other rooms.

(qtd. in Elias 111, emphasis added)

The angel-aware self-restraint enjoined by Erasmus on the young boy,⁸ in 1530, a form of child-conditioning that remained long in use in western Europe (Elias 114), should not, therefore, be taken at face value. As Elias aptly comments, such self-policing of bodily function self-gratification responds to imperatives concerning not so much spiritual *invisibilia* as worldly *visibilia* – “shame and fear of other people” (Elias 114), whether one’s peers or one’s better-offs.⁹

Norbert Elias published *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation* in 1939. His comments often jolt his contemporaries to consider how much could be spoken about the body at various times in western European modern history. He contrasts, for instance, Erasmus’s advice in his conduct booklet of 1530 with mores from later ages. Embarrassing through its “freedom in speaking of natural functions” (Elias 114), or “lack of shame” by Elias’s present-day standards, Erasmus’s treatise nonetheless “had precisely the function of cultivating feelings of shame” (14).

How do such comments jolt us now, nearly a century later? To state it differently, how much silence still shrouds body-related topics and under what social circumstances? If it is customarily agreed that certain bodily practices have successfully been eliminated from certain public spaces in the West, e.g. the rooms specifically allocated to round tables, key speeches, etc, in a conference venue or its printed counterpart, then we here belong indeed with civilised, urbane people as described by Elias’s early modern documents. Then what about *talking (or writing) about* such practices? If it is customarily agreed that we *cannot speak publicly* about certain bodily functions and practices *in certain public spaces* in the West, e.g. the rooms specifically allocated to round tables, key speeches, etc, in a

⁸ I.e. the eleven-year-old Henry of Burgundy, son of Adolph, Prince of Veere, and grandson of Anna van Borssele, Erasmus’s early noble patroness.

⁹ This is not to say that fictional books contemporary with La Salle’s *Les Règles de la bienséance et de la civilité chrétienne* did not mention – with a relish – the characters’ purgation or sexual intercourse. So does Swift in his *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726): in book 1, Gulliver floods the Lilliputian imperial castle with his pee to extinguish the fire; in book 2, he unwillingly witnesses the Brobdingnagian girls peeing; and in book 4, a female Yahoo eyes Gulliver with sexual intent, to his horror – like Hermaphroditus’s when ogled by Salmacis, in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (which Swift replicates detail by detail). Sexuality here is a matter of strict regulation, and certainly not unspeakable: in book 4, the horse-Houyhnhnms mate after a strict calendar and with procreative intent (in Catholic fashion), unlike the libidinal humanoid-Yahoos. Yet class divisions in the acceptance or not of such acts’ *display*, including at the extratextual level of reception, are strongly indicated in Swift.

conference venue *and* in a presentation in the humanities, then am I less than civilised and genteel in addressing precisely this topic? I stand rebuked. Nonetheless, we are all familiar with the euphemism the “call of nature,” but especially with its very imperative urges, even at times of maximum academic suaveness such as a conference. (Let’s politely blame the call on coffee breaks!) How do we manage this “call of nature” with no breach of civility and no damage to our health either?

Let’s reconsider this euphemism: it renders publicly acceptable, through its jocular foregrounding as natural, a bodily process – and attending to it – that although traditionally screened in polite conversation, nobody feels like “transcending” in practice literally on pain of death. How do we reconcile the *jocular* mention of the “call of nature” and *strict* civility in circumstances specifically marked off by earnestness? How do we reconcile the *imperative* of civility, which has typically rendered the mention rather offensive, with the “call of nature” as the *topic* of academic discussion at a conference whose auspices are not medical or, broadly, scientific, but humanistic? My aim here is not to broach this topic conceptually, but to study a case where the practice itself has been given a strange veneer: the toilet units of Amsterdam Airport Schiphol.

Like other international airports, Schiphol caters to the passengers’ needs and gratifies their desires: it boasts shopping areas, relaxation facilities and diverse services, including showers or sleeping facilities for VIP passengers. The transit/transfer of passengers and the transfer/circulation of goods and services are fine bedfellows. Totally different institutions, like museums and concert halls, have also yielded to commodification practices and cater to food hunger and souvenir thirst too. Schiphol’s official website obligingly puts all such facilities on the airport map (<<https://www.schiphol.nl/en/page/airport-maps/>>). Not the public toilets, though, with their fundamental,¹⁰ if discursively *underrepresented*, catering to *transit* needs qua gastrointestinal (GI) transit (*transitus*),¹¹ rather than mere passenger transfer (*transitio*).¹²

¹⁰ Inescapably, our modern sense of metaphorical and conceptual sublimity as enshrined in the term *fundamental*, from *fundamentum* (“foundation, basis”), is undermined by the Latin noun’s etymological polarity: *fundamentum* derives from *fundus* (“basis, foundation; bottom, base [of an object]”), thence also *fundulum*, which the *OLD* sanitises as “the blind gut, caecum,” decorously glossing over the meaning of the human and animal *fundus* (*OLD*, s.v. “fundāmentum”; “fundulum”; “fundus”). To construe the bottom as both derided anus and worthy foundation, and moreover in a language which would come to ground western thought and elitist discourse, is to identify a noteworthy instance of praise–abuse (in Bakhtin’s terms), which also marries alleged incompatibles in accordance with the carnivalesque logic of the grotesque body.

¹¹ The *OLD* entry demurely conceals any reference of *transitus* to what is now identified technically as GI transit, under the neutral description “the movement (of things) through or across anything” (*OLD*, s.v. “transitus,” sense 2).

¹² *Transitio* names “the action of going across or past, passage” and, in concrete terms, a passage-way or doorway (*OLD*, s.v. “transitiō,” sense 1).

Perhaps more than any other airport terminal, Schiphol's transfer concourse¹³ can be construed as a transit space – allowing a transitional experience cognate with the liminal experiences of the rites of passage – where the boundary/separation between spaces (arrival vs. departure; seeing off, expecting, etc) gives way to the fluidity of in-betweenness, that neither–nor of liminal spaces or experiences which anthropologists Arnold van Gennep and in his footsteps Victor Turner have examined. Yet the Dutch transit venue may rightfully boast a very special aura in Europe because it proudly houses the Rijksmuseum Schiphol (opened in 2002), the first art museum at an airport, located on Holland Boulevard (which connects Lounges 2 and 3 used for intercontinental flights).¹⁴ Schiphol's museum becomes therefore a figure of in-betweenness: a far-flung extension of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, hence hardly connected with obvious *transitio*, and the transitional experience of temporary exhibitions, on short loan from Amsterdam's museums, typically the Rijksmuseum; with a placement above ground level in a glass encasement to fully beacon its status as elitist cultural jewel (accessible by climbing *upstairs*), in a venue marked by transit, yet in the immediate proximity of a massage area (situated at the democratic ground level), itself proudly signalling the popular pole of culture, of commercialised leisure. At the time I transited Schiphol, in late June 2008, its Rijksmuseum satellite held a Van Gogh exhibition (*Vincent van Gogh, Nature Close-up*, 9 April – 7 July 2008). What less hurried transfer passengers could not see at the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam at that very moment, I could contemplate charge-free at the airport. The memorable experience includes my realisation what airport charges should be for, apart from access to airport services strictly connected to travel.

Yet, when I thought memorableness at Schiphol had to do with its museum, the call of nature distracted me. (Now I've had to reconsider the issue altogether, including the interplay of individual and cultural memory.) I hurried to the Ladies. As I proceeded through the entrance passage-way to the right, I spotted a reproduction of *The Night Watch (De Nachtwacht, 1642)*, Rembrandt's painting in the Rijksmuseum (and appositely so at Schiphol, considering the airport museum's

¹³ Schiphol is a compact airport whose one main passenger terminal has six concourses.

¹⁴ Apart from various mini-documentaries about its museum (e.g. "Experience the Dutch Masters in the Rijksmuseum at Schiphol"), posted on YouTube by Schiphol TV, AAS's official information channel, the airport devotes, on its official webpage, more attention to pop entertainment and consumerism. Schiphol boasts "a vibrant shopping centre, children's playgrounds *and even an on-site museum*. You can also make use of free Wi-Fi. It's also extremely compact, where you'll find everything under one roof. You can also walk across the entire airport in about twenty minutes" ("About Schiphol"). "First airport library in the world opened at Schiphol in 2010. First airport museum with paintings by old masters have [*sic*] been on display at the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam Schiphol since 2002" ("Airport Facts"). "You can easily move between either [intercontinental flight lounges, i.e. along Holland Boulevard] for a change of scenery, and to explore different shops, bars and restaurants. There is a lot to do, see and experience – for example, an off-shoot of the popular Nemo Museum which is packed with science-based activities for children" ("Schiphol's Lounges and Piers").

auspices), hanging next to the mirror above the sink.¹⁵ The reproduction (Fig. 1) had certain areas highlighted by blue squares, like on smartphone camera displays or in edutainment art documentaries.¹⁶ Graced by *trompe-l'oeil* frames (glued “within”), like those of paintings, the mirror next to it did what mirrors do best: reflect. Unsurprisingly, it reflected the doors of the toilet cubicles. Only, the doors were painted on the outside with reproductions of the Dutch master’s militia characters (and a girl) highlighted in the reproduction hanging by the mirror (Fig. 2)! Picture a Rembrandt *canvas* painting remediated on a *panel*, i.e. virtually transferred to sacred support (like that of church retables and altar pieces), yet on the *toilet* door and in (photoprint) pigments much humbler than the master’s oils for prosperous burghers’ portraits like *De Nachtwacht* itself; and picture these toilet door copies – *vilia* (cheap, lowly, ordinary and contemptible) the Latins would call them, *vile* – framed as if by remote control in the mirror, next to the non-fragmentary replica which they echoed.



Figure 1 Downstairs toilet: Rembrandt reproduction. Photo: Estella Ciobanu

¹⁵ At the time, the Rijksmuseum was undergoing radical renovation and modernisation (2003 – 13 Apr. 2013); in April 2013, a huge electronic display on the museum façade read the number of days, or rather nights, *Nachten Wachten* (wait nights), to await the reopening. It is not inconceivable that the Rembrandt replica in the Schiphol toilet was (also) a jocular re-placement, and reminder, of the painting in the then closed national museum.

¹⁶ See, for instance, <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/monarchy-enlightenment/baroque-art1/holland/v/rembrandt-nightwatch>.



Figure 2 Downstairs toilet doors: Rembrandt characters. Photo: Estella Ciobanu

I laughed and took pictures of the site/sight: it was my first contact with Dutch humour. Noticing my bemused interest in the jocular pictorial ambit of the toilet, the cleaning lady enquired playfully whether I had entered the upstairs toilet. I can hardly recall whether I actually used the downstairs toilet after this surprising encounter. (Were the doors also painted on the inside with Rembrandt's characters?) All I remember is looking frantically for a staircase to lead me upstairs to the VIP area and its toilet – which I did use. (Ouch: I was an E-class passenger, so a trespasser there).

I photographed this toilet too, again for its ludic in-betweenness. In an encased display both outside and inside the unit proper, with at least one revolving exhibit, I could contemplate the history of the toilet stool and its forerunner, the chamber pot (Fig. 3). On the toilet doors, blown-up cut-outs of dictionary entries in several languages documented the toilet's lexicographic representation (Fig. 4). The toilet unit played with its "exhibits" as both stable (the stool as artefact and *civilité* device) and transitory (through diachronic changes), whilst fundamentally (in both senses) related to the lower, *vilius/vile* end of digestion.



Figure 3 Upstairs toilet: history of the toilet. Photo: Estella Ciobanu

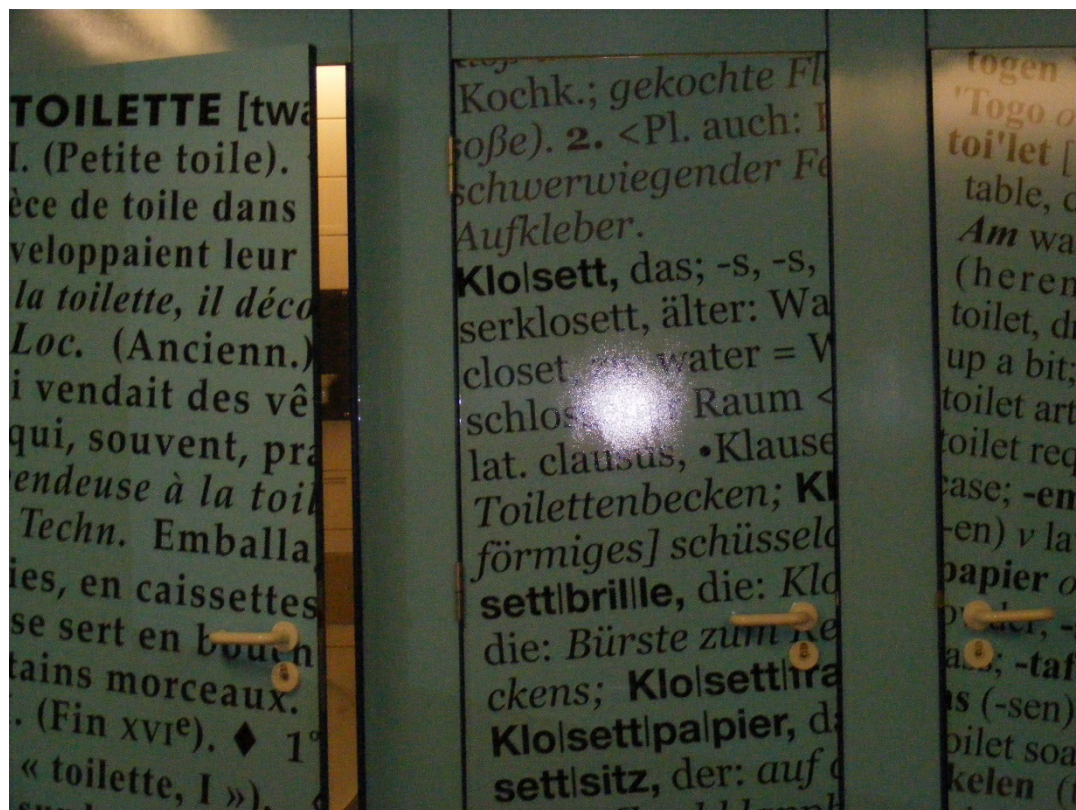


Figure 4 Upstairs toilet doors: dictionary entries. Photo: Estella Ciobanu

Like Michel de Certeau's "walking in the city" to re-map its streets, edifices and names into a personal narrative of the city, my walking across the Schiphol transfer concourse could afford novel readings of both AMS as transitional space and its belonging in a network of social and human cognitive experiences. On the face of it, Schiphol's toilets reinforce social and other distinctions, e.g. of privacy vs. public visibility; or financial, social class and affordability possibilities, e.g. VIP vs. regular passengers. At the very same time, though, Schiphol fluidises some of these dichotomies, for access to the toilet, unlike to other facilities, is ultimately not subject to physical restrictions. The topographical placement of the two toilet units I visited at Schiphol may not have been accidental: the Old Masters and haughty historical-looking topics, actually the prosperous burghers' group portrait as defenders of their city – *downstairs*; the history (fine topic indeed) of the toilet (stools and chamber pots, the latter of fine ceramic, but anti-heroic all the same) – *upstairs*. (The carnivalesque reversal is consistent with the postmodern erasure of boundaries between genres or between high and popular art.) Fragmentary reproductions of celebrated paintings are literally within reach on the toilet cubicle panels and closest to the drain; miniature stools and chamber pots – showcased for out-of-reach display and farthest from the drain. The topographically visible pun on

the sublimation of bodily functions couldn't have found a better display area than the upstairs toilet doors; nor could highbrow activities like reading dictionary entries – indeed, on “toilet” – have elicited a more appropriate emotion if performed elsewhere, perhaps downstairs or not prompted by a toilet door. Likewise, the topographical demotion of Rembrandt's militia downstairs suggests a metaphorical transfer from watchmen (*sic*) of the city and its gateways to companions to one's relief in health(y) self-defence. In both cases, the inner/out and close/far boundaries collapse; so do those having to do with the personal and political bodies, with body and intellect, with ocular and touch experience.

Schiphol erodes many an entrenched dichotomy: that between airport and leisure venue, between public facilities like toilets and museums, between bodily processes and intellectual/aesthetic experience, ultimately between practical and intellectual concerns. What for Norbert Elias is the *threshold of shame* erected, through the civilising process, by the elites, for me was a threshold tenuously poised between the unavoidable end-product of digestion to enable living (Kristeva 3-4) and the onset of voluntary “brain” processes of cultural re-cognition, or living-for. As I have just formulated it, my approach reinforces the time-honoured dichotomy between mind and body in its diverse historical realisations. What my experience of strolling at Schiphol points to, however, is the empirical and philosophical groundlessness of such dichotomies, which our socialisation and school formation nevertheless impose. Why should excretion be deprecated, derided or screened as a shameful or at least unspeakable function of the *lower material bodily stratum*, and aesthetic contemplation be pitted against it and regarded as the commendable, if for many unattainable, function of exclusively a well-trained intellect which, moreover, disavows all other bodily functions? Why shouldn't the Rijksmuseum lend its iconic Rembrandt, *The Night Watch*, through remediation – and ludic transfer – to the downstairs toilet close to the upstairs Rijksmuseum Schiphol?

Through the juxtaposition, within toilets, of the act of excretion, alongside broader refreshing pursuits, with high art as represented by Rembrandt (reproductions) or cognitive practices elicited by the pseudo-ethnological history of the toilet, Schiphol reconfigures the transitional space of the airport in even more liminal terms to suggest that the airport as a miniature city can also become the fleeting epitome of life (experience) as perpetual transition from one kind of experience to another. Schiphol re-maps the social body onto the airport compound qua miniature city; passenger transit corresponds metaphorically to the flow of social fluids and likewise bodily ones. Then, doesn't this metaphorical airport body *re-incorporate* the *classical body* (Bakhtin 320) – the well-ordered social organism and well-wrought high art – into the *grotesque body* (Bakhtin 25–6, 316–17) – the body that excretes, that is massaged and fed, that sleeps and often snores – unafraid to be trafficking outside itself, to be opening up to the world in order to process it at its own pace?

In re-embodiment airport experience through the juxtaposition, in analysis, of toilet concerns with what makes Schiphol singularly abstract and elitist, a museum on the airport premises, I have drawn upon Mary Douglas's – however controversial – structuralist anthropological statement that the biological and social/political body mirror one another (1984: 116), indeed through the ruling elite's fiat. According to Douglas, bodily processes that are screened out, such as digestion, are repurposed discursively to connote socio-political processes to be addressed and contained in like manner (1994: 74-77). In such dystopic disembodiment biological/social body metaphor,¹⁷ body orifices and the polity's gateways need to be permanently policed, for they are the *limen* (border) only precariously warding off *danger* – that those elements/ideas better kept separate (again according to the ruling elite) would threaten to mingle together. Speaking about body orifices came gradually, in modernity, to sound as vexing in polite society as openly admitting the polity's precarious gateways (and the precarity of forms of government) before the citizenry. And speaking about either as a construct intended to buttress the position of an elite group would have been inconceivable.

Yet, we should be wary of taking Schiphol's social/biological body re-symbolisation at face value. Experiences, however different and hopefully life-enhancing, are typically classified and organised hierarchically, and at least in the early stages of such conceptualisation they reflect the elite's outlook. Perhaps Schiphol offers us one more lesson: that hierarchies can be undermined, at least temporarily, playfully, but especially with the authorities' sanction. (So did carnivalesque practices unfold in pre-modern and early modern western Europe.) But can they be ousted, or are they merely replaced?

How am I, therefore, to walk about Schiphol's downstairs toilet whose mirror reflects and reframes the toilet cubicle doors' reproductions of Rembrandt's painting, in the Ladies (perhaps in the Gents too), and digest its humour? *Sic transit*

¹⁷ My critical framing of Douglas's theory owes to Moira Gatens and Anne Witz. Douglas seems to have explained away the societal *choices* made to create political metaphors grounded in the body, which Gatens addresses with regard to the related issues of the unacknowledged metaphorical and metonymical uses of the term "representation" in political theory. The metaphorical representation "concerns the way in which this image effects *who* is *represented* by the body politic": "the *artificial man* incorporates and so controls and regulates women's bodies" (Gatens 82, emphasis added). The metonymical representation requires "considering *whose body* it is that is entitled to be *represented* by this political corporation" (81, emphasis added): exclusively "a body deemed capable of reason and sacrifice" (83), i.e. the white, heterosexual, unmaimed, non-enslaved *male* body. Unfortunately, Gatens misses precisely the *de-realisation of corporeality* in the body politic metaphor, an issue cognate with the gender-biased underpinnings of classical sociology. According to Anne Witz, classical sociology focuses on a sociality constructed as male against the foil of a corporeality equally fabricated as female, both instituted by an elite male group. Such a construct is premised on a Kristevan abjection of the very male body: male bodies "slide from view at the boundary between the corporeal and the social" (Witz 11).

gloria mundi (“thus passes the glory of the world”)¹⁸: Everything goes down the drain and will be flushed down, from food for the stomach to food for the eyes to food for thought to personal glory and civic pride? Or, rather, *Non plus ultra* (culmination: “[let there] not [be] more [sailing] beyond”): This is the highest I can reach, to see myself framed – a makeshift portrait – in the mirror next to a Rembrandt (reproduction) to my right-hand side, after leaving *behind* me the toilet cubicles with their art/mess hovering between the visible and the obscured? Ironically, both Latin phrases sound out – in the haughty, if abandoned, language of political and intellectual rulership in the West – an awareness of the symbolic underpinnings of *transeo*, “to come or go across from one place to another” (*OLD*, s.v. “*transeō*,” sense 1), or “to proceed, be in transit (across a region, etc), pass through” (sense 7), thence the Latin *transitus*, thence the English *transit*. One Latin phrase harks back to the biblical *vanitas vanitatum*; the other is allegedly the classical world’s prohibition to transgress the psycho-geographical limit (the Pillars of Hercules, or the Straits of Gibraltar) and reach for the unknown. Thus, the *transeo* metaphor in an airport toilet signals jocularly the transitoriness of life and/or glory as but another take on life as general transit, including digestive transit (*transeo*, to be transformed in nature, appearance, etc (sense 6)).

The civilising process, with its shame threshold, deems it necessary to screen the grotesque body in the toilet by erecting thresholds of art-ful jocularly which enable us to go to the public toilet embarrassment-free. As I look at myself in the mirror in the downstairs toilet – whilst washing my hands, refreshing my make-up or simply taking pictures – I see, if the toilets are vacant, the Rembrandt characters watching me. In a ludic twist on Elias’s (xi) argument that each individual re-enacts psychogenetically the sociogenesis of their culture, at Schiphol Rembrandt’s city watchers watch, not just at night but round the clock, that I remember to wash my hands before re-engaging in social interactions – or else they quarantine me at the city air-gates as pathogenic alien dangerous to the well-being of the body politic?

This role-reversal – I am being looked at, like Lacan by the floating sardine tin, instead of looking myself at the painting (reproduction) – or reciprocity at best, therefore waxes half-amusing. I suggest that Schiphol’s toilet playfulness may obscure another sense of *transeo*, which describes overlooking: “to pass by (a person or place) without pausing, touching, paying attention”; to ignore; (in speech/writing/reading) to omit, to skip; (of events, facts, etc) “to pass (a person) by unnoticed”; (of things) “to leave unaffected” (sense 12). Not at Schiphol, though, where Rembrandt’s burghers police their airport gateway’s most sensible transit areas, the toilets. My face, beautifully framed within the mirror *trompe-l’oeil* frames, doesn’t become ipso facto an artwork; rather, the framing signals my

¹⁸ The Latin phrase, a commentary on the vanity of worldly glory, has been used in the ritual of papal coronation ceremonies at least since 1406 at the coronation of Gregory XII (Richardson 393–4 and n. 35).

visual containment which, alongside the “peeking” characters, thematises the airport’s surveillance cameras and politics. Tongue-in-cheek aesthetics distracts attention from earnest surveillance, or rather that I/the guest am/is always already suspicious to the host, which conceals, in turn, that the host is inhospitable by a priori construing the stranger as hostile.¹⁹ In 2008, this jocular, aesthetically framed game of looking/surveillance seemed unavoidable after the 2001 US experience of seeing passenger airplanes hijacked and repurposed as human–machine missiles. Yet, Schiphol’s playfully artistic veneer of such surveillance renders it tame, virtually acceptable when noticed, and/because of unquestionable pedigree. Surveillance? Forget it! Rembrandt. Terrorist attacks on the city’s gateways (airports, railway or underground stations) or arteries (squares), hence on the body politic; the guest/passenger as threat? Forget it! Toilets. At Schiphol more than at other airports, *transeo* as the verb for transit, for crossing over, cannot fully override (or overwrite) *transeo* as the verb for heedlessness or oblivion.

We may have been culturally hard-wired to *unsee* (worse than *overlook*) and *unheed* (worse than *accept*) the constructedness of culture, value systems, mores, social customs and practices, and life. Rather, we take everything for granted and move on (also *transeo*) to more entertaining topics, or perhaps to a relaxation massage. Yet we should, nonetheless, stop to chew over the less juicy morsels which we encounter daily, and reintegrate them meaningfully within life experience.

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¹⁹ I have taken my cue from J. Hillis Miller’s deconstruction of the etymologically cognate notions of *host* (from Latin *hospes*, “guest/visitor,” “host/entertainer”) and *guest* (from an Indo-European root shared by Latin *hostis*, “stranger,” “enemy”), with their interplay on hospitality and hostility (*OLD*, s.v. “hospes” 1; “hostis”).

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Täterkonstruktionen im deutschen Roman nach 1989. Eine sozialpsychologisch fundierte Analyse am Beispiel von Hanna Schmitz und Hermann Karnau

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Abstract

This article discusses the shift towards the portrayal of Nazi perpetrators in the German novel after 1989 in the context of the public debate over Vergangenheitsbewältigung ('reckoning with the Nazi past'). It focuses on two well-known novels published in 1995, *Der Vorleser* by Bernhard Schlink and *Flughunde* by Marcel Beyer, which offer an ambivalent picture of Nazi protagonists. Hanna Schmitz and Hermann Karnau are depicted as normal people who become perpetrators under certain sociohistorical conditions that the novels seek to investigate. I base my comparative analysis of the factors contributing to this deeply unsettling process on the social psychological perpetrator model offered by the Holocaust and Genocide Studies professor James E. Waller, while also discussing the implications of the fictionally constructed perpetratorship for the contemporary memory culture in Germany.

Keywords: *Flughunde*, Marcel Beyer, *Der Vorleser*, Bernhard Schlink, perpetrator, Holocaust, memory

Mir war von Anfang an klar, dass dieser Karnau an Menschenversuchen beteiligt sein sollte und es war für mich ungeheuer schwierig, ihn rückwärtsgehend zu einem harmlosen Menschen zu machen. Diese Harmlosigkeit bleibt auch während der ganzen Zeit bestehen, zum Beispiel aus der Perspektive der Kinder, die ja von diesen Menschenversuchen nichts erfahren. Aber diese Verdopplung der Person, dass er eben auf der anderen Seite ein ganz normaler Mensch ist, wie ich ihm alltäglich auf der Straße begegnen kann oder wie ich auch einer sein könnte, das hinzukriegen und das auch beim Schreiben auszuhalten, das war eigentlich das schwierige (Beyer, in: Bednarz, 1997: 70-71).

Dass in Hanna Schmitz die Täterin zur Heldin werde und ein inakzeptables menschliches Antlitz gewinne - mit diesem Vorwurf lebe ich, seit das Buch erschienen ist. Aber wenn die Täter immer Monster wären, wäre die Welt einfach. Sie sind es nicht. Meine Generation hat das vielfach erlebt, beim Lehrer oder Professor, beim Pfarrer oder Arzt, beim Onkel oder sogar Vater, über deren Vergangenheit eines Tages offenbar wurde, was ganz und gar nicht zum Respekt, zur Bewunderung oder sogar zur Liebe passte, die das Verhältnis bestimmt hatte (Schlink, in: FAZ, 20.02.2009).

Im gleichen Jahr 1995 erschienen, signalisieren die Romane *Flughunde* von Marcel Beyer und *Der Vorleser* von Bernhard Schlink² einen Perspektivenwechsel

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in der fiktionalen Auseinandersetzung mit der nationalsozialistischen Geschichte in Deutschland, wie auch den oben angeführten Zitaten zu entnehmen ist. Diese neuartige Form des Umgangs mit dem Thema der Nazi-Täterschaft stimmt mit den jüngsten Entwicklungen der Täterforschung überein. Seit Christopher Brownings 1992 veröffentlichter Untersuchung *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, die einen 'turn' in der historiographischen Beschäftigung mit NS-Tätern einleitete, rückte ein verändertes Bild der Täter und ihrer Motive ins Blickfeld, das die in den ersten Jahrzehnten nach 1945 dominierende Vorstellung des 'dämonischen' Täter verabschiedet hat.³ Neuere soziologische und (sozial)psychologische Untersuchungen wie Harald Welzers *Täter. Wie aus ganz normalen Menschen Massenmörder werden* (2005) oder die von Olaf Jensen & Claus-Christian W. Szejnmann 2008 herausgegebene *Ordinary People as Mass Murderers – Perpetrators in Comparative Perspectives* eröffnen eine komplexe und differenzierte Perspektive auf verbrecherische Motivationen und Handlungen, die eine einfache Grenzziehung zwischen 'uns normalen Menschen' und 'ihnen Bestien' nicht mehr zulassen:

The truth seems to be, though, that the most outstanding common characteristic of perpetrators is their normality, not their abnormality; they are extraordinary only in what they have done, not in who they are. [...] In short, the majority of perpetrators of genocide and mass killing are not distinguished by background, personality or previous political affiliation or behaviour as being men or women unusually likely or fit to be genocidal executioners. We are then left with the most discomfoting of all realities – ordinary, 'normal' people committing acts of extraordinary evil (Waller, 2008: 148).

Dies ist, wie der amerikanische Holocaust- und Genozid-Spezialist James Waller betont, eine schwer zu akzeptierende Vorstellung,⁴ worauf sich die umstrittene Rezeption solcher Romane, in denen das Konzept der Normalität der Täter verhandelt wird, gewissermaßen zurückführen lässt. Der Versuch von innen zu verstehen oder/und ein wie auch immer geartetes Identifikationsangebot aufgrund der gemeinsamen Zugehörigkeit zum Menschsein werden oft als Entlastung oder „bequeme Exkulpierungen“ angesehen.⁵ Sowohl Bernhard Schlink als auch Marcel Beyer (Angehörige der zweiten, bzw. dritten Generation) haben

²Beide Werke wurden mit Preisen ausgezeichnet, in zahlreiche Fremdsprachen übersetzt und in den Schulkanon aufgenommen.

³ Für eine detaillierte Übersicht der Forschungsgeschichte vgl. Gerhard Pauls Einteilung der Täterdiskurse in fünf Phasen (2002:33ff.).

⁴ Vgl. auch Wallers grundlegende Studie *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing* (2002).

⁵S. z.B. Durzaks negatives Urteil über den *Vorleser*, das für eine Anzahl von Reaktionen paradigmatisch ist: „Von daher erscheint mir das Bild der NS-Täterin, das Schlink in seinem Roman entwirft, höchst problematisch zu sein und im Übrigen auch –wenn vielleicht auch unfreiwillig– zu bequemen Exkulpierungen der historischen Schuldzusammenhänge einzuladen“ (Durzak, 2000:212).

unterstrichen, sie hätten keinen Holocaust-Roman geschrieben, worüber es in der Forschung unterschiedliche Meinungen gibt. Mit dieser interpretativen Entscheidung (Holocaust-Literatur oder nicht) hängen allerdings verschiedene Erwartungen zusammen, die sich auf die Bewertung der Romane auswirken.

Zieht man Schlinks Bemerkung in Erwägung:

Der Blick auf die Geschichte verändert sich. Er wird zum Blick der dritten Generation. Das Dritte Reich und der Holocaust haben auch für diese Generation eine wichtige Bedeutung. Aber die Verstrickung in die Schuld der Kriegsgeneration, die meine Generation geprägt hat, bis hinein in die Verirrungen der RAF, ist weg. Es gibt in der dritten Generation auch eine andere wissenschaftliche und künstlerische Leichtigkeit im Umgang mit dem Stoff (Schlink, in: *FAZ*, 20.02.2009)

dann dürften sich aus diesem Generationsunterschied heraus zwei wesentliche Entscheidungen Beyers erklären lassen, und zwar erstens, dass in *Flughunde* der Generationskonflikt, den *Der Vorleser* in ähnlicher Manier wie die Väterliteratur der Nachkriegszeit in den Mittelpunkt stellt, vollkommen ausgeklammert wird, und zweitens, dass der Roman die Schuldfrage nicht mehr thematisiert. Liegt der Schwerpunkt des *Vorlesers*, wie Helmut Schmitz es überzeugend dargelegt hat, auf den „Identitäts- und Handlungskonflikt der »zweiten Generation«, ausgelöst durch die Konfrontation mit den verschwiegenen Taten ihrer Eltern im Dritten Reich“ (2002: 299), so ist *Flughunde* in erster Linie der Rekonstruktion der Nazi-Zeit aus der kulturgeschichtlichen Perspektive des akustischen Mediums sowie der Reflexion über Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der medialen Überlieferung von Geschichte gewidmet. Auf der einen Seite hält sich *Der Vorleser* am traditionellen Darstellungsverbot und schildert mit Ausnahme weniger (ausdrücklich von Michael imaginiertes) Bilder keine Lagerszenen,⁶ während das Foltern der Opfer medizinischer Experimente im *Flughunde* detailliert (und konsequent durch die Augen des Täters) beschrieben wird. Auf der anderen Seite wird die Täterfigur Hanna nur aus Michaels Perspektive dargestellt, während in Beyers Roman das Erzählen aus der Ich-Perspektive des Täters detabuisiert wird: eine narrative Wahl mit dezidiert höherem Skandalpotential.

Die zentrale Gemeinsamkeit der Romane scheint in der Schilderung einer ambivalenten Täterfigur als ‚ganz normaler Mensch‘ zu liegen, wie Stuart Taberner es formuliert:

⁶ Herrmann bemerkt diesbezüglich, dass Michael das Undarstellbarkeitsgebot „für die Gegenwart für überholt“ hält, jedoch stehe dies „in auffälligem Kontrast dazu, dass er es selbst unterlässt, vom Holocaust, nämlich von Hannas Taten im Lager und auf dem Todesmarsch zu erzählen“, was „am ausdrücklichsten die Unterschiede zwischen der Erzählgegenwart der neunziger und der Haupthandlung der sechziger Jahre thematisiert“ (Herrmann, 2010:132).

novels such as [...] Marcel Beyer's *Flughunde* and Bernhard Schlink's *Der Vorleser* (both 1995) re-evaluate the motives and choices of "ordinary" Germans – whether bystanders or perpetrators – in both literature and historical writing throughout the 1990s (Taberner, 2005: 109).

Dabei sind zumindest zwei, heute nach wie vor Bestürzung und Ratlosigkeit hervorrufende Fragen von entscheidender Bedeutung: *wer* sind diese Menschen, die zu solchen unmenschlichen Verbrechen fähig waren, um *was für* Menschen handelt es sich also im Falle der Täter, und *wie* kam es dazu, dass sie das geworden sind, was sie sind? Aus dem oben skizzierten Vergleich der Romane wird ein wesentliches Ungleichgewicht in den Darstellungen der Täterfiguren und in dem sich daraus ergebenden Zugang des Lesers zu diesen Schilderungen ersichtlich. Obwohl beide Texte viele Leerstellen hinsichtlich des Lebensverlaufs und der psychologischen Entwicklung der Figuren aufweisen, über die der Leser zu spekulieren hat, um sozialgeschichtliche Kontexte, mögliche Motivationen für die (oft mutmaßlichen) Handlungen und Zusammenhänge zwischen isolierten Episoden zu rekonstruieren, bleibt Hannas Porträt im Vergleich zu Karnaus derart wenig ausgestaltet, dass sie nur die Funktion einer Projektionsfläche für Michaels Versuchs der Vergangenheitsbewältigung und Selbstfindung zu erfüllen scheint. Dem Leser werden jegliche Einsichten in ihre innere Welt verweigert.

Wird Untersuchungen, welche die Motive der Täter zu beleuchten suchen, oft Skepsis entgegengebracht, indem sie für einen „verzweifelten“ Versuch der Forschung gehalten werden, „Erklärungen für etwas zu finden, was mit wissenschaftlichen Mitteln nicht mehr adäquat erklärt werden kann“ (Laube, in: *H-Soz-Kult*, 29.08.2003), stellt sich dann um so eindringlicher die Frage, ob dies nicht eher mit literarischen Mitteln zu erreichen sei. In der Literatur kann ein fiktionaler Raum geschaffen werden, in dem der Leser in die persönlichen Umstände der jeweiligen Situation der Täterwerdung Einsicht bekommen kann. Als Bill Niven in Post-Wende-Romanen, die sich mit der Täter-Problematik beschäftigen, drei Möglichkeiten der historischen Kontextualisierung aufzeigt, unterscheidet er zwischen einer synchronischen, einer diachronischen und einer individualisierenden Erzählstrategie. Während letztere – wie in *Flughunde* – „the context in, and conditions under which individuals exposed to Nazism became criminals“ fokussiert, gehört Niven zufolge *Der Vorleser* zum zweiten, diachronischen Typus, in dem:

the Nazi past is viewed through the lens of later generations, a process which highlights the aforementioned problems adhering to any attempt to reconstruct this past, but also one which reveals continuities and differences between the 1933–45 period and the Federal Republic (Niven, 2007: 128).

Die Analyse literarischer Darstellungen von Tätern kann meiner Meinung nach vom Heranziehen sozialpsychologischer Ergebnisse nur profitieren. Im Folgenden werde ich beim Vergleich der Täterbilder in *Flughunde* und *Der*

Vorleser von James Wallers Erklärungsmodell der Täterwerdung Gebrauch machen, das sowohl kultur- und sozialwissenschaftliche, als auch evolutionspsychologische Elemente integriert. Waller knüpft an Steven Pinkers Unterscheidung zwischen ultimativen und proximativen Ursachen (Fern- und Nahursachen) an und sieht die Evolution menschlicher Natur als Ferneinfluss an, während drei Unterkategorien, die kulturelle Konstruktion der Weltanschauung, die psychologische Konstruktion des Anderen und die soziale Konstruktion von Gewalt, Naheinflüsse darstellen. Der Bezug auf die menschliche Natur als ultimativen Einfluss mag sich für diejenigen, die darin eine Relativierung der Verbrechen und somit die Hervorbringung einer Grauzone im Sinne Primo Levis sehen, wo die Grenzen zwischen Verbrechen und Opfern verschwommen sind, als problematisch herausstellen. In der Tat scheint auf den ersten Blick in der Auffassung, dass:

However deeply buried, the capacities for evil are within all of us. We have a hereditary dark side that is universal across humankind. Acts of evil are not beyond, beneath or outside ordinary humanness. Natural selection has left deep traces of design in our minds and at least some of those designs leave us evolutionarily primed with the capacity for evil – including the perpetration of terrorism (Waller, 2008: 151).

die Möglichkeit zur Exkulpierung eröffnet zu werden, etwa wie Hannas Frage an den Vorsitzenden „Was hätten Sie denn gemacht?“ von manchen als Anspielung darauf interpretiert wurde, dass ihre Schuld als eine allgemeine Schwäche der menschlichen Natur gerechtfertigt bzw. gemindert wird. Richard Crownshaw argumentiert mit Marianna Torgovnick, die die Aussage „Eichmann ist in uns allen“ durch „jedermann könnte Eichmann sein“ ersetzt sehen möchte, dass „the universalisation of the potential of perpetration is the means by which the contingent nature of perpetration is overlooked“ (2011: 78). Tatsächlich vertritt Torgovnick die Ansicht, das Klischee „Eichmann ist in uns allen“ weiche einem ethischen Prozess der Identifizierung und Empathie aus, „which requires not blanket identification with anyone and anything at all, but parsing the possibilities of empathy and identification situation by situation“, während „jedermann könnte Eichmann sein“ das Augenmerk auf die spezifischen Lebensumstände und kontingenten Bedingungen der Täterwerdung richte (Torgovnick, 2005: 61). Doch wenn Waller von „menschlicher Natur“ spricht, so meint er damit etwas anderes als transhistorische, mythisch oder metaphysisch gefärbte Auffassungen universeller menschlicher Eigenschaften.⁷ Er verbindet evolutionstheoretische Thesen, denen zufolge neurobiologische Fundamente allen Menschen gemeinsam seien, mit

⁷S. hierzu Daniel J. Goldhagens Ablehnung solcher Auffassungen: „Because each of the conventional explanations explicitly or implicitly posits universal human traits, the conventional explanations should hold true for any people who might find themselves in the perpetrators' shoes. But this is obviously and demonstrably false“ (1997:389) wie auch Eaglestones Diskussion des Themas (2004:197ff).

sozialkonstruktivistischen, kulturanthropologischen und psychologischen Ansichten, um das komplexe Zusammenspiel von „Ferneinflüssen“ und „the more proximate and immediate cultural, psychological and social constructions that converge interactively to activate these capacities“ aufzudecken. Auf diese Weise wird ein komplexer Erklärungsrahmen geschaffen, in dem die Möglichkeit einer „situativen Ethik der Empathie“⁸ zur Geltung gebracht werden kann. Aus meiner Sicht ist es gerade die Notwendigkeit einer solchen Ethik – anstatt (bloß) normativer Generalisierungen –, auf die Michaels Kommentar über die unzulängliche Antwort des Richters abzielt:

Es gibt Sachen, auf die man sich einfach nicht einlassen darf und von denen man sich, wenn es einen nicht Leib und Leben kostet, absetzen muß.“ Vielleicht hätte es genügt, wenn er dasselbe gesagt, dabei aber über Hanna oder auch sich selbst geredet hätte. Davon zu reden, was man muß und was man nicht darf und was einen was kostet, wurde dem Ernst von Hannas Frage nicht gerecht. Sie hatte wissen wollen, was sie in ihrer Situation hätte machen sollen, nicht daß es Sachen gibt, die man nicht macht (V, S. 107).

Die kulturelle Konstruktion der Weltanschauung

Die kulturelle Konstruktion der Weltanschauung wird in Wallers Modell entlang drei relevanter Erklärungslinien herausgearbeitet: kollektivistische Werte, Orientierung an den Autoritäten und soziale Dominanz. Sowohl Karnau als auch Hanna stellen gewissermaßen den Typus des Mitläufers dar, dem keine überzeugte Anhängerschaft und keine ausgeprägte Identifikation mit der Nazi-Ideologie (im Sinne des von Goldhagen postulierten „eliminatorischen Antisemitismus“) zugewiesen werden können.⁹ Sie fühlen sich durch einen eigenen, als Scham empfundenen Mangel von der Gemeinschaft ausgeschlossen, nämlich durch Karnaus fehlenden Stimmbruch bzw. das verstörte Verhältnis zu seiner eigenen Stimme und Hannas Analphabetismus. Demnach führen sie eine vereinsamte Existenz, die im Falle Karnaus deutliche Merkmale eines höchst asozialen Verhaltens aufweist. Die identitätsprägenden Schamgefühle können in beiden Fällen als wesentlicher, (bei Hanna sogar zentraler) bestimmender Faktor ihrer psychischen Entwicklung und somit ihres Verhaltens angesehen werden. Hannas Entscheidung, Aufseherin zu werden, wird als Fluchtstrategie geschildert: „Sie hatte sich gegen die Beförderung bei Siemens [die sie als Analphabetin bloßstellen

⁸S. hierzu auch Crownshaw, der für eine situative Ethik der Empathie argumentiert: „Put otherwise, it is the scale of the crime that makes it a fantasy of the impossible and which relieves us of ethical responsibility for considering the personal, quotidian, local and normative circumstances by which we might be implicated in perpetration. However, that ‘anyone could be Eichmann’ suggests the historical contingencies of perpetration, by which one becomes a perpetrator, and which any act of empathy should negotiate – in other words a situational ethics of that empathy“ (2011:78).

⁹Manchmal äußert sich Karnau sogar kritisch zum Nazi-Regime (insbesondere zur „Herrenstimme“ und zur Kultivierung der soldatischen Männlichkeit), worin manche Literaturwissenschaftler das Zeichen eines zumindest „anfänglichen“ Widerstands gesehen haben (vgl. Beßlich, 2006:45).

würde, Anm. d. Verf.] entschieden und war in die Tätigkeit als Aufseherin hineingeraten“ (V, S. 128).

Bei Karnau ist das Zusammenspiel zwischen Gruppenidentität, Feigheit, Eigennutz und Gehorsam gegenüber autoritätstragenden Hierarchien¹⁰ in Bezug auf seine Selbstidentifikation als Wissenschaftler zu erläutern. Karnau verschreibt sich dem Ethos der Wissenschaft, dessen Normen (Distanzierung, Objektivitätsanspruch) er internalisiert und ad absurdum führt. Hinzu kommt, dass seine Wissenschaft durch rassenideologische Grundannahmen ohnehin pervertiert ist. In seinem Aufsatz „»Flughunde«. Ein Roman über Wissenschaft und Wahnsinn ohne Genie im »Dritten Reich«“ liefert Roman Pliske eine detaillierte Analyse von Karnau als Wissenschaftler und stellt dabei fest:

Neben der Hingabe an eine a priori abstruse Idee [sein Projekt der Aufzeichnung aller menschlichen Stimmen, Anm. d. Verf.] ist er von absoluter Wissenschaftsgläubigkeit besessen, seine utilitaristische Sicht entspricht der seiner realen Kollegen, wie man sie im Nürnberger Ärzteprozess vernehmen konnte (Pliske, 2001: 116).

Karnaus Unfähigkeit zur interpersönlichen Kommunikation und die aus der Eigenartigkeit seines Verhaltens und seiner wissenschaftlichen Beschäftigungen resultierende Isolation tragen dazu bei, dass er sich nie in ein „Uns“, ein Kollektiv von Wissenschaftlern integriert fühlt.

Im *Vorleser* kann Hannas Orientierung an den Autoritäten nur aus ihren Aussagen während des Prozesses inferiert werden: Sie habe „gemeinsam mit den anderen“ gehandelt und alle hätten gewusst, dass sie die Gefangenen in den Tod schickten. Als die anderen Angeklagten versuchen, ihr allein die Verantwortung zuzuschieben, beruft sie sich wiederholt auf das „Wir“ und auf kollektiv geteilte Werte: Ordnung, Disziplin, Gewissenhaftigkeit gegenüber den Arbeitsaufgaben usw.¹¹

Faktoren, die mit der sozialen Dominanz zusammenhängen, sind in beiden Fällen von Bedeutung. Sowohl Karnau als auch Hanna nutzen ihre privilegierte Autoritätsposition, um durch die Ausbeutung der Opfer ihre persönlichen Ziele zu erfüllen und ihre Macht- und Kontrollbedürfnisse auszuleben. Karnau entwickelt sich zu einem „Stimmenstehler“, der die anderen durch die Aufnahme ihrer Stimmen in seinen Besitz zu bringen sucht. Ebenfalls ist er am ‚wissenschaftlichen‘ Projekt beteiligt, den Opfern durch chirurgische Eingriffe („Modifikationen des

¹⁰Er akzeptiert z.B. eine Position in der Sonderforscherguppe Dr. Stumpfeckers, des Begleitarztes des Reichsführers-SS, um seiner Einberufung zu entgehen.

¹¹ „»Sie haben gesagt, Sie hätten gewußt, daß Sie die Gefangenen in den Tod schicken –das gilt nur für Sie,nicht wahr? Was Ihre Kolleginnen gewußt haben, können Sie nicht wissen. Sie können es vielleicht vermuten, aber letztlich nicht beurteilen, nicht wahr?« Hanna wurde vom Anwalt einer anderen Angeklagten befragt. »Aber wir alle wußten...«“ (V, S. 106), auch: „»Keine von Ihnen hat sich entzogen, Sie haben alle gemeinsam gehandelt?«»Ja«“ (ebd.).

artikulatorischen Apparats“, FH, S. 143) eine ‘arische’ Stimme einzupflanzen. Zwei von Machtverhältnissen geprägte Handlungskonstellationen lassen sich in Schlinks Roman aufzeigen: In der Vergangenheit übt Hanna ihre Autorität als Lageraufseherin aus, während in der Nachkriegszeit ihre Beziehung zu Michael eine Missbrauchssituation darstellt.

Die psychologische Konstruktion des Anderen

Um den Einfluss der psychologischen Konstruktion des Anderen auf die Täterwerdung näher zu bestimmen, sind Waller zufolge folgende Mechanismen zu berücksichtigen: Wir-gegen-die-anderen-Mentalität („us–them thinking“), moralische Loslösung („moral disengagement“) und Opferbeschuldigung („blaming the victims“).¹² In Karnaus Konstruktion des Anderen spielt die auf die nationalsozialistische Rassenlehre gestützte Vorstellung der Minderwertigkeit von Nicht-Ariern eine nicht unwichtige, allerdings begrenzte Rolle: Seine freiwillige Teilnahme an der Entwelschung im Elsass bietet hauptsächlich den Anlass dafür, bei der Erweiterung seines persönlichen Stimmenprojekts unter „hervorragenden“ Bedingungen weiterzuarbeiten (FH, 84).¹³ Sein polarisiertes Denken ist eher auf seinen Wissenschaftswahn und seine psychologische Ich-Bezogenheit zurückzuführen. Karnau, der sich zur Durchführung seines wissenschaftlichen Projekts aller (sogar menschen-unwürdiger) Mittel bedienen darf, stellt sich „den anderen“, die nur als Versuchspersonen, als Objekte von Untersuchungen oder, in seinen eigenen Worten, als „Schallquellen“ wahrgenommen werden, entgegen.¹⁴ Das Wir-gegen-die-Anderen-Gefühl wird demzufolge zu einer Ich-gegen-die-Anderen-Denkweise, die mit seinem Bedürfnis nach sozialer Dominanz einhergeht. In diesem Zusammenhang verwendet Schönherr den treffenden Begriff des „monadischen Selbst“, das in der paranoischen Angst vor den anderen wurzelt:

Except for his contact with the Goebbels children, Karnau embodies a monadic self to which the external world only has access through the filter of the recording machine that he alone controls. Listening to voices, therefore, has less to do with attention to others than with confirming a narcissistic ego trapped in fantasies of omnipotence. The artificially erected borders between interior and exterior, subject and object are nevertheless constantly threatened with collapse, as signaled by

¹² Waller (2008:155): „Implied in these cultural models, and certainly inherent in a genocidal worldview, is the obliteration of a common ground between perpetrators and victims. How do victims simply become objects of the perpetrators’ actions? How do perpetrators define the target of their atrocities in such a way as to ‘excommunicate’ them from a common moral community?“

¹³ „Die Klanglandschaften zu Hause sind ausgekostet. Ich habe einsehen müssen, dass es, um mein Kartenprojekt vorwärtszutreiben, notwendig wäre, auch Stimmen anderer Regionen aufzunehmen“ (FH, S. 83).

¹⁴ „eine Schalquelle, nicht etwas ein Mensch mit Schmerzen, dem es zur Hilfe zu eilen gilt“ (FH, S. 29). Sogar Hitler wird von ihm ständig nur „Patient“ genannt.

Karnau's paranoid fear of the other, which questions his own fragile identity (Schönherr, 2010: 336-337).

Neben der sich in der Verwendung eines euphemisierenden Vokabulars widerspiegelnden Verdinglichung kann aus Karnaus Schilderungen der medizinischen Experimente auch eine Tendenz zur Animalisierung der Opfer hergeleitet werden, die sich mit der nationalsozialistischen Ungeziefermetaphorik im Feindbild des Juden teilweise deckt.¹⁵ Darüber hinaus erfolgt die moralische Loslösung entlang zwei weiterer Argumentationslinien: Das Foltern der Versuchspersonen wird von ihm entweder als unangenehme, jedoch unvermeidliche Nebenwirkung des wissenschaftlichen Experiments aufgefasst¹⁶ oder als Handeln im Interesse der Menschen, d.h. im Dienst der Perfektionierung der Welt, ethisch gerechtfertigt (vgl. auch Pliske, 2001: 120). In der Forschung wurde unter Bezug auf das vom amerikanischen Psychiater Robert Jay Lifton in seiner Studie zu Lager-Ärzten diagnostizierte Phänomen der „seelischen Doppelung“ (doubling) auch eine Parallele zwischen Karnau und Josef Mengele gezogen (vgl. Schmitz, 2017: 134-136).

Hannas Denken im Hinblick auf die Anderen muss wie vorhin angesprochen aus Bruchstücken, meistens zweideutigen Indizien heraus rekonstruiert bzw. imaginiert werden. Auch in ihrem Fall lässt sich allgemein eine Ich-gegen-die-Anderen-Denkweise feststellen, da sie sich durch ihren Analphabetismus in der Gesellschaft isoliert und der ständigen Gefahr der Bloßstellung ausgesetzt sieht. Psychologische Merkmale wie Kälte, Gefühlsarmut und ein gewisser Hang zur Brutalität, der Michael gegenüber in der Gürtel-Szene zutage kommt und aus der Opferperspektive der jüdischen Überlebenden unmittelbar bestätigt wird,¹⁷ tragen zu ihrer Unfähigkeit bei, sich in andere Menschen einzufühlen. Sie scheint Michael ausschließlich zum Erfüllen ihrer sexuellen Bedürfnisse, die das Vorlesen-Ritual miteinbeziehen, zu benutzen. Während des Gerichtsverfahrens wird es ersichtlich, dass sie sich der Lage der Opfer (Leiden, Selektion für die Todeskammer, Tod im Kirchenbrand) bewusst war, diese Erkenntnis jedoch aus ihrem Blickfeld, das ausschließlich auf die Erledigung der ihr zuerteilten Aufgaben gerichtet war, ausklammerte.¹⁸ Zu dieser völligen Gleichgültigkeit hinsichtlich der Opfer, die auf den Status von möglichst effizient zu lösenden Problemen reduziert werden, trägt auch ihr fanatisches Pflichtbewusstsein bei, das, so wie in ihren Gerichtsaussagen deutlich erkennbar wird, mit einem ausgeprägt mechanistischen Denken und

¹⁵Vgl. diesbezüglich Helmut Schmitz' Analyse (2004:135-137).

¹⁶„als Gegenleistung dafür muß ich unvorstellbare Anblicke über mich ergehen lassen: Verhöre, furchtbar, Prügelstrafe bis auf das Blut“ (FH, S.84).

¹⁷„Was ist diese Frau brutal gewesen“ (V, S. 202).

¹⁸„Wir hätten sie doch nicht einfach fliehen lassen können! Wir waren doch dafür verantwortlich... Ich meine, wir hatten sie doch die ganze Zeit bewacht, im Lager und im Zug, das war doch der Sinn, daß wir sie bewachen und daß sie nicht fliehen. Darum haben wir nicht gewußt, was wir machen sollen. Wir haben auch nicht gewußt, wie viele Frauen die nächsten Tage überleben. Es waren schon so viele gestorben, und die, die noch lebten, waren auch schon so schwach...“ (V, S. 122).

Handeln in Verbindung gebracht werden kann.¹⁹ Hannas Worte zielen auf ein subtiles In-Frage-Setzen des gesamten Justizmechanismus ab, indem sie denjenigen, die in die geschichtliche Lage der Täter-Opfer-Konstellation nicht verstrickt waren, das Recht abspricht, über sie moralisch zu urteilen:

Ich hatte immer das Gefühl, daß mich ohnehin keiner versteht, daß keiner weiß, wer ich bin und was mich hierzu und dazu gebracht hat. Und weißt du, wenn keiner dich versteht, dann kann auch keiner Rechenschaft von dir fordern. Auch das Gericht konnte nicht Rechenschaft von mir fordern (V, S. 187).

Ebenfalls als Zeichen für die moralische Loslösung fungiert in beiden Romanen die Tendenz der Täterfiguren, sich selbst als wehrlose Opfer der Umstände und nicht als verantwortungstragende, aktiv mitwirkende Subjekte zu sehen bzw. zu inszenieren. In der Forschung wurde die Auswahl unpersönlicher, passiver Formulierungen unter Vermeidung des Ich-Pronomens in Karnaus Folter-Schilderungen wie auch Hannas Neigung, keine Verantwortung für ihre Taten zu übernehmen, beleuchtet. Unter Bezugnahme auf Hannas Figur haben die Ethikwissenschaftler Max Bazerman und Ann Tenbrunsel den Begriff „motivational blindness“ für diese Verhaltenstendenz vorgeschlagen, die in Wirklichkeit verbreiteter ist, als man annehmen möchte.²⁰

Die soziale Konstruktion von Gewalt

Die soziale Konstruktion von Gewalt bezieht sich auf den sozialen Kontext, in dem Gewalttaten befürwortet, gefördert und belohnt werden. Die zur Entstehung dieses Kontextes beitragenden Faktoren sind nach Waller berufliche Sozialisation, Gruppenidentifikation und Bindungselemente innerhalb der Gruppe. In den vorangegangenen Ausführungen konnte die Bedeutung dieser Aspekte für die Figuren Karnau und Hanna deutlich gemacht werden. Wichtig ist dabei zu unterstreichen, dass sowohl Karnau als auch Hanna eine allgemeine Veranlagung zur Aggression aufweisen, die sich in dem spezifischen historischen Kontext auswirken konnte. Dies scheint eher einem Klischeebild zu entsprechen, da sich – Waller zufolge – die Annahme einer angeborenen, vorhandenen Brutalität der Täter nicht bestätigen lässt:

¹⁹ In den Worten des Fahrers, der Michael zum ehemaligen KZ-Lager mitnimmt, gibt sich die gleiche Täterperspektive zu erkennen: „Er tut seine Arbeit, hasst die nicht, die er hinrichtet, rächt sich nicht an ihnen, bringt sie nicht um, weil sie ihm im Weg stehen oder ihn bedrohen oder angreifen. Sie sind ihm völlig gleichgültig. Sie sind ihm so gleichgültig, daß er sie ebenso gut töten wie nicht töten kann“ (V, 146).

²⁰ „[...] a core finding of behavioral ethics: that people who have a vested self-interest in a situation have difficulty approaching the situation without bias, even when they view themselves as honest. [...] the common failure of people to notice others' unethical behavior when seeing that behavior would harm the observer“ (Bazerman&Tenbrunsel, 2012: 81).

[...] the egregious brutality of terrorists does not automatically indicate an inherent, pre-existing brutality; not everyone playing a brutal role has to have sadistic traits of character. Rather, brutality can be a consequence, not only a cause, of being in a duly certified and legitimised social hierarchy committed to evil. [...] It may be a vicious social arrangement, and not the pre-existing viciousness of the participants, that leads to the cruel behaviours exhibited by perpetrators (Waller, 2008: 158).

In beiden Romanen werden Hinweise auf die psychosozial bedingte Entstehung dieser Aggressionsneigung geliefert, die bei Karnau auf seine traumatischen Kindheitserlebnisse zurückgeführt, bei Hanna mit ihrem Analphabetismus in Zusammenhang gebracht werden kann.

Vor dem Hintergrund des von Waller herausgearbeiteten Explikationsmodells habe ich den multifaktoriellen Prozess der Täterwerdung dargelegt, den *Flughunde* und *Der Vorleser* mit unterschiedlicher Akzentsetzung thematisieren. Wie in der Sekundärliteratur angedeutet,²¹ teilen Karnau und Hanna mit Adolf Eichmann, der vor dem Gericht darauf bestanden hat, er sei nicht das Monster, als das er bezeichnet wurde,²² eine Anzahl von Eigenschaften, darunter insbesondere die Blindheit gegenüber dem eigenen verbrecherischen Handeln, den aus der Fähigkeit zur moralischen Loslösung resultierten Mangel an Empathie und die Neigung zum Ausnutzen einer vom Nazi-Regime eröffneten „opportunity for unpunished inhumanity“.²³ Anders als Eichmann stellen sie jedoch keine Familienmenschen dar, sondern Individuen, die gerade durch ihre Vereinzelung auffallen. Ihre menschliche Seite wurde in den Romanen durch zwei Erzählverfahren vermittelt: zum einen auf der Ebene der Historie, durch die Schilderung der Liebesbeziehung Hanna-Michael aus der voreingenommenen Perspektive Michaels wie auch der Freundschaft zwischen Karnau und Helga, in der Karnaus fürsorgliche Aufmerksamkeit und Zuwendung den Goebbels-Kindern gegenüber zum Vorschein kommt, und zum anderen durch spezifische narrative

²¹ Vgl. Ostrowicz (2005:85) für Karnau bzw. Hilts Diskussion des Hanna-Eichmann-Vergleichs, der von ihr jedoch als „missglückten Versuch einer Lesart“ bewertet wird (2016:77-82).

²² „Ich bin nicht der Unmensch, zu dem man mich macht.[...] Ich bin das Opfer eines Fehlschlusses“ (zit. in Arendt, 2013:294).

²³ Harald Welzer übernimmt hier Günter Anders' Formulierung: „[...] the individuals concerned took advantage of what Günter Anders called an »opportunity for unpunished inhumanity« that was open to them – that they grasped sexual opportunities, enriched themselves personally and allowed themselves the entirely unfamiliar feeling of unlimited power and command. All this is reprehensible, but not incomprehensible“ (Welzer, 2008: 167). Welzer unterstreicht auch die Notwendigkeit, alle soziopolitischen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Hintergründe des durch das Nazi-Regime bedingten Wechsels des Referenzrahmens zu erforschen. Zum Wechsel des Referenzrahmens, vgl. die grundlegende Studie von Welzer&Christ: *Täter. Wie aus ganz normalen Menschen Massenmörder werden* (2005).

Entscheidungen auf der Ebene der Diegese, die auf die Erweckung der Sympathie des Lesers abzielen.²⁴

Unter den Literaturwissenschaftlern, die den Romanen *Flughunde* und *Der Vorleser* literaturvergleichend nachgegangen sind, widmet Stuart Taberner als einziger seine Analyse ausschließlich der Täterproblematik.²⁵ Im Kapitel „Confronting the Nazi Past II: Perpetrators or Victims?“ seiner Untersuchung zur Literatur der Berliner Republik (2005: 134-164) kommt Taberner zur Schlussfolgerung, dass beide Werke eine ähnliche Erklärung der Täterwerdung liefern, die auf der Konvergenz von persönlichen Eigenschaften (Scham, Charakterschwäche, Hang zur Brutalität) und sozialem Kontext (Beschäftigungsmöglichkeiten im Nazi-Dienst) aufbaut. Die kritische Frage betrifft Taberner zufolge Karnaus und Hannas Porträtierung als Opfer der Umstände, wodurch sich die Romane dem Vorwurf der moralischen Relativierung ausgesetzt sehen können.²⁶ Beide Erzählwerke sind 1995 erschienen – ein Jahr, das nicht nur für die deutsche Gegenwartsliteratur von maßgebender Bedeutung war,²⁷ sondern auch für die deutsche Vergangenheitsbewältigung. Seit 1995, das vom Historiker Klaus Naumann sogar als „Schwellenjahr der Erinnerungskultur“²⁸ bezeichnet wurde, „lässt sich ein allmähliches Anschwellen der deutschen Opfererfahrung im öffentlichen Erinnerungsdiskurs beobachten“, so notiert Aleida Assmann (2011: 184) mit Bezug auf die Wiederbelebung des deutschen Opfernarrativs nach der Wiedervereinigung. Auch in dieser Hinsicht sind beide Romane signifikant, da sie als zu dieser Verschiebung des Interesses von der deutschen Tätergeschichte zur deutschen Opfergeschichte beiträgend angesehen werden können.

Selbst wenn die Rezeption von Beyers Roman mit dem internationalen Publikumserfolg des *Vorlesers*, dessen Popularität durch die gleichnamige Verfilmung im Jahr 2008 weiterhin zementiert wurde, keineswegs in Vergleich gebracht werden kann, so kann doch konstatiert werden, dass *Flughunde* im

²⁴Zur Veranschaulichung gehe ich hier nur auf zwei Beispiele ein. Am Anfang des Romans erweist sich Hanna als bereit, Menschen in Not Hilfe zu leisten; durch Karnaus Kindheitserinnerungen wird eine Assoziationskette inszeniert, die beim Leser die eigenen Erfahrungen evoziert und somit zur möglichen Identifikationsbrücke wird: „Als Kind war mein Lieblingsfrühstück gedeckter Apfelkuchen, vom Blech, mit zuckriger Glasur“ (FH, S. 41).

²⁵Auch Kylie Giblets Dissertation (2016) untersucht u.a. mehrere Vergleichspunkte zwischen den Täterfiguren in Romanen nachgeborener Autoren (*Flughunde* von Marcel Beyer, *Der Vorleser* von Bernhard Schlink, *Unscharfe Bilder* von Ulla Hahn, *Himmelskörper* von Tanja Dücker).

²⁶„Is Karnau a victim of his circumstances, or, more accurately, of the interaction of circumstances and his innate disposition? Does *Flughunde* promote a form of moral relativism in which the perpetrator's misdeeds appear understandable, to be an inevitable function of human weakness, obsession, and the force of events?“ (Taberner, 2005: 141).

²⁷Vgl. hierzu das Sammelband *Wendejahr 1995: Transformationen der deutschsprachigen Literatur* (2015), das für die Anerkennung des „Wendejahrs“ 1995 als tatsächlicher Epochenzäsur aus literaturgeschichtlicher Perspektive argumentiert (Tommek, „Einführung“, 2015: 1-7).

²⁸Zitiert nach Assmann (2011: 183). Aleida Assmann zufolge erfolgt jedoch der „Dammbruch“ des deutschen Opferdiskurses erst sieben oder acht Jahre später (vgl. ebd., S. 184).

Gegensatz zu Schlinks Werk einen ausschließlich positiven Empfang erhalten hat – und das gilt sowohl für die feuilletonistische Literaturkritik als auch für die akademische Literaturwissenschaft im deutschsprachigen Raum und weltweit. Meiner Meinung nach spielt bei der Begründung dieses Rezeptionsunterschieds die vermeintliche narrative und stilistische Einfachheit des *Vorlesers* eine wesentliche Rolle.²⁹ Allerdings könnte ein weiterer Grund darin liegen, dass *Flughunde*, wie Taberner argumentiert, eine überraschenderweise moralische Sicht fördert: „Far from presenting Karnau as propelled into complicity by his circumstances and his unalterable natural disposition, it warns of the facility with which victimhood may be invoked as a means of masking perpetration” (Taberner, 2005: 145). Dadurch sei die potentielle Kritik der Entlastung entkräftet. Giblett artikuliert eine ähnliche Auffassung, wobei sie meiner Meinung nach ganz berechtigt auf die Diskrepanz zwischen Beyers erklärter Absicht, durchgehend neutral zu bleiben und keine ethischen Urteile zu liefern, und der dem Text immanenten Intention aufmerksam macht – ein Punkt, der in der Sekundärliteratur meistens unbeachtet geblieben ist:

[...] contrary to Beyer’s claim that “es im ganzen Buch keinen moralischen oder ethischen Kommentar gibt und auch keine Ebene dafür”, the novel is very carefully structured to prefigure the reader’s response in the direction of concluding that Karnau is guilty beyond doubt. [...] If it was indeed Beyer’s intention to leave behind the “Klischeebild des Bösen” in his portrayal of Karnau, it is my view that he has been unsuccessful in that aim (Giblett, 2010: 267).

Das ständige Unterminieren der Zuverlässigkeit Karnaus als Erzähler sowie hauptsächlich seine mit der Ermordung der Kinder ihren Höhepunkt erreichende Porträtierung als „Unmensch“ – wie im folgenden Teil dieses Kapitels genauer gezeigt werden soll – haben auch aus meiner Sicht eine richtungsgebende Funktion: Dadurch wird der Leser zum gewünschten Ziel geleitet, nämlich zur eindeutigen Dämonisierung und Verurteilung Karnaus. Daraus ließe sich womöglich auch (zumindest partiell) erklären, warum gegen die Sympathie erweckenden Aspekte in der Schilderung Karnaus in der Rezeption fast keine Vorwürfe erhoben wurden.³⁰

Schlinks Roman bleibt indes, so Taberner, ambivalent „in its questioning of the project of critical enlightenment associated with the generation of ’68 and its

²⁹ Herrmann z.B. betrachtet *DerVorleser* und *Flughunde* in Bezug auf die fiktionale Thematisierung von Geschichte und Erinnerung als diametrale Pole: *Der Vorleser* repräsentiere „konventionelle Erzählverfahren mit den Mitteln der Nachkriegsliteratur“ und bediene sich anders als Beyers Roman keiner „innovativen literarischen Mittel zur Darstellung von Erinnerungsprozessen und zum Erzählen aus der Vergangenheit“ (2010:135).

³⁰ Upchurch deutet als einer der wenigen auf die potentiellen ethischen Implikationen dieser Schilderung hin und bezeichnet den Roman als „tief verstörend“: „In portraying, as he does, a sympathy-inducing, incipient friendship between man and girl, Beyer enters hazardous terrain. How much, exactly, does he want us to feel for these characters, especially Karnau? More than might seem conscionable, perhaps [...]“ (Upchurch, 1997).

related tendency towards the relativization of German perpetration“, was zu einem „all-encompassing and undifferentiated understanding of victimhood“ führen könne (Taberner, 2005: 150). Allerdings lässt Schlink seine Täterfigur zumindest vor Gericht erscheinen und Selbstmord begehen, was als eine Geste der späten Reue interpretiert werden kann,³¹ während Karnau nach dem Krieg sein Leben ungestört weiterführt, seine Menschenversuche in Dresden möglicherweise fortsetzt, sich jeglicher Schuldverarbeitung gegenüber blind erweist und für seine Verbrechen nie zur Verantwortung gezogen wird. Trotzdem wurde in der Polemik um Schlinks Roman die Verharmlosung Hannas heftig kritisiert, während Marcel Beyer gerade dafür gepriesen wurde, aus der deutschen Nachkriegsliteratur gelernt zu haben, dass „ein moralisch gefütterter Realismus dem heiklen Thema kaum gerecht wird“ (Halter, in: *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 7.4.1995). Die Tatsache, dass *Der Vorleser* – im Gegensatz zur Täterdarstellung in *Flughunde* – Hannas Schilderung als „normalen Menschen“ und die einfühlsame Perspektive Michaels konsequent verfolgt, trägt aus meiner Sicht beträchtlich zur unterschiedlichen Einschätzung der Romane in der Rezeption bei. So scheint Bernhard Schlink am nächsten dem Ziel zu kommen, die sogenannten gewöhnlichen ‚Mitläufer‘ darzustellen, doch bleibt auch Hanna Schmitz wegen ihres Analphabetismus eine historisch wenig plausible Täterfigur.

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³¹ „Auch das Gericht konnte nicht Rechenschaft von mir fordern. Aber die Toten können es. Sie verstehen. Dafür müssen sie gar nicht dabei gewesen sein, aber wenn sie es waren, verstehen sie besonders gut. hier im Gefängnis waren sie viel bei mir. Sie kamen jede Nacht, ob ich sie haben wollte oder nicht. Vor dem Prozess habe ich sie, wenn sie kommen wollten, noch verscheuchen können“ (V, S. 187).

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UNIVERSAL HARMONY into INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY: The Transition of Character into Caricature

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Abstract

Hogarth's *Characters and Caricaturas* (1743) was composed on a hypotext known as *Caricature Heads* (c. 1590) which was the work of Annibale and Agostino Caracci. The Italian artists had produced a new genre (*ritratto carico*) as a transition from the classically harmonious and mimetic to the deviated image standing for singular identities. Such visual transposition eventually came to be called *caricatura* and came in the track of *satira*. The Caracci portraits were meant as portraits of pilgrims to Rome and normally circulated as *hieroglyphics*. Their C18 offspring served as a reason to improve their sitters by laughing mankind "out of their follies and vices", as Fielding asserted in his novelistic manifesto, itself a transition to fully modern narratives. Filing was to modernize the connotative meaning of the ancient Greek *χαρακτήρ* as distinctive mark, characteristic, character. During his time the phrase "in character" itself focused on the distinctive status of a person turned personage as itself the modernization of the classic Roman institution of the mask called *persona*. This keynote paper looks at how *caricature* travelled from one culture to another in Early to Classic Modernity (aka the Renaissance, the Enlightenment respectively) and how it embraced the *anglicization* of its images to the benefit of English cultural identity.

Keywords: character, caricature, universal harmony, individual identity, transition and transposition, cultural identity.

When Francis Grose's *Rules for Drawing Caricaturas, with an Essay on Comic Painting* was printed in 1789, a transition year indeed, his readers must have found relevant confirmation of the issues under debate in the plates with which the text was interspersed.

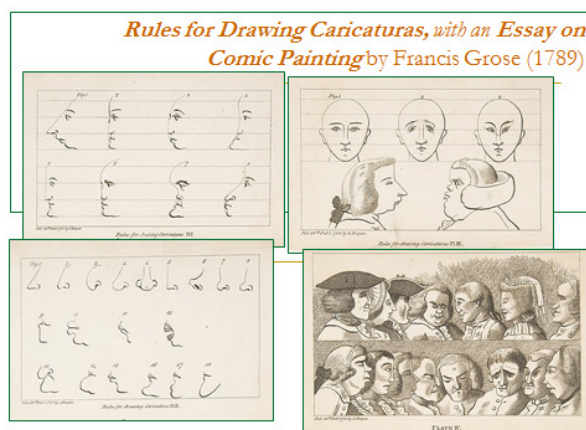


Fig. 1 Rules for Drawing Caricaturas, with an *Essay on Comic Painting* by Francis Grose (1789)

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Most of these showed heads, mainly male heads in their professional wigs and hats. Of the anatomical details of the heads noses held pride of place, profile displays offering an adequate view. Plate II was exclusively profiles: chins, mouths, and the top row all noses. The contemporary literary critic will associate these with more culturally validated samples, whether of authors or characters, such as Cyrano de Bergerac, the real 17th-century man turned dramatic character under Edmond Rostand's quill in the late 19th century, the canonical Roman poet Ovid, whose full name, Publius Ovidius Naso, comprised a telling nickname, or Gogol's character in *The Nose*, Major Kovaljov. The Russian officer discovers that his nose is missing from his face and completed a full transition from the status of anatomical detail to that of independent identity. It, now become he, can walk on his own about the city or enjoy carriage rides, go to balls, court young noble ladies and even engage in duels. This metamorphosed Major Kovaljov corresponds to Bakhtin's evaluation of the human body as a set of grotesque components: "Of all the features of the human face, the nose and the mouth play the most important part in the grotesque image of the body," (316)and, he goes on, "[t]he grotesque face is actually reduced to the gaping mouth, the other features are only a frame encasing this wide-open bodily abyss." (317) Here is the essence of the grotesque and, indeed, of caricature, as manners at once based on *contraction* and on *growth*: as one feature deemed characteristic is *expanded* into excessive size, with deliberate disrespect for the bodily proportions, the rest of the body is *reduced* so as to set the excrescence into conspicuous relief. This amazing transition from a balanced and proportionate to an unbalanced and disproportionate physical make will play a crucial role in the world hosting the weird process. Depicted as a respectable bespecked gentleman, covered in a cloak and wearing a panache on his hat (something Cyrano was famous for in Rostand's play), the Nose alights from a carriage to head to some public place and impress those present.

Grose was only too aware of what the literature has come to call the *canon*, or else right proportion(s) of the body, such as in the head-to-whole-body ratio, or what we call the Vitruvian scheme of 1-to-7.5 ratio. At work in Roman statues, none but copies of the ancient Greek ones, the famous ratio underlay "the European ideas of beauty," (3) briefly, the *right way*. To him a "slight *deviation* from them, by the predominancy of any features" (3) was *character*. Like the *dominant* in the Russian Formalist Jakobson's theory, or, for that matter, like the peculiar *humour*, in the late Renaissance Ben Jonson's view, *character* was perceived as constructive of, and conforming to, *identity* by exerting a leading role. If "aggravated," this "deviation or peculiarity [...] form[ed] *caricatura*." (3) Grose saw character *growing into* caricature by a mechanism of gradual going out of orbit – growth as aberration, a special type of transposition, one not devoid of risks.

Back in 1762 Mary Darly had published *A Book of Caricaturas*, in which she had defined caricature as "the burlesque of Character or an exaggeration of nature, especially of those forms or features which have a striking peculiarity in

them.” (1) The “mother of caricature”, as she was eventually called, was alert to the “comical similitude” which “holds out defects and blemishes in full view” and saw in any *phiz* or *carrick* the “distinguishing mark, whether (...) in the air and outline of the whole face, or in the size and shape of any particular feature.” (1)

There was a historical background to this: since the 1710s, “an orgy of caricature poured out with Rabelaisian effusion, in the midst of torrential laughter.” (Lynch 46) The current conviction among the English nation was that caricature came from Holland, a country famous for engravers and designers transiting its artefacts with down-to-earth savoir and matter-of-fact wisdom. Hogarth’s copies of Dutch prints anglicized for local consumption was evidence of it. A couple of remarks drew the case home with theoretical might. One was that in the early eighteenth century the word *caricature* was little used, satirical drawings of that kind being normally called *hieroglyphics*, owing to the relatively concealed meaning they conveyed, as well as to the “translation” skills required of the viewer invited, in some way or another, to decode them. There was also the labour of pointing to inadvertencies as cogs in the huge wheel of deformity: it could be people turned slaves of fashion, pet owners sharing the traits of their favourite animals, professional duties hardly performed by disabled professionals blind to their physical or/and mental condition, or Biblical scenes of metaphysical crisis solved with contemporaneous tools or weapons, as in a Dutch wood picture of Abraham preparing to sacrifice Isaac with the use of a pistol, which an angel nearby made useless by the same release of liquid as Gulliver’s in front of the Lilliputian palace. Such special transformations implied identity-change in more than one way.

All this deserves special considerations and reference to two fundamental figures of the midcentury: Hogarth and Fielding. In 1743 William Hogarth had produced an illustration to *Marriage a la Mode* which has since circulated as *Characters and Caricaturas*. As a matter of principle, he expressed his admiration for the Italian caricaturists and their work, in which he, “le véritable père de la caricature [anglaise]” (Champfleury xi), saw clever images of people. With his solid classical learning, Fielding was to modernize the connotative meaning of the ancient Greek *χαρακτήρ* as distinctive mark, characteristic, character. He had just completed *Joseph Andrews* the previous year, and was to make reiterated use of the term *character* in *Tom Jones* (1749), e.g. “a short Sketch of the Characters of two Brothers, a Doctor and a Captain”, “the Character of Mr Square, the Philosopher, and of Mr Thwackum, the Divine”, “we may (...) lower the Character [of Mr Jones] in the Estimation of those Men of Wit and Gallantry who approve the Heroes in most of our modern Comedies”, “the Character of Mrs Western, Her great Learning”, “the Character of that House” etc. The phrase “in character” itself focused on the distinctive status of a person turned personage as itself the modernization of the classic Roman institution of the mask called *persona*.

The other term, *caricatura*, as in the sixteenth-century Italian spelling, albeit it entered the English language via the French *caricature*, did justice to its historical etymology: It. *caricare* was the offspring of Vulg. L. *carricare* ‘to load a cart (*carrus*)’ and its adaptation to the sartorial practices and vocabulary of the latest fashion was hard to deny. *Gallerie des Modes* (1778) carried the picture of a French aristocratic lady advertising her delight in Anglomania, while posing in a Marie-Antoinette posture all through: “*Robe à l’Anglaise de Pekin verd pomme, la garniture de gaze unie avec une guirlande de fleurs, un Pouf de gaze d’Italie bordé de fleurs, le parfait Contentement Rose, les Souliers Rose, et la rosette.*” Apparently just mimetic of the real fashion of the day, the presentation was not neutral. For once, it underlined the *saturation* of national provenances put together in a display of opulence. English the dress may have been, its stuff though came all the way from China. Italian the puff may have looked, the *parfait-contentement* could only be French. And the three distinct shows of red (in the hair dress, the shoes and on the border of the deep dress cut) were no indifferent allusion to amorous victim(ization)s. The Marie-Antoinette type of hairdo doubtless renegotiated the bodily proportion to 1-to-4.5, that is, 3 units under the Vitruvian rule, by vertical transposition.

This was a soft version of caricature, the “*enfant terrible*” of art history (Hofmann 7). Henry Fielding himself opted for a mild form of the comic. In his *Preface to Joseph Andrews*, in which he reputedly introduces the definition of a kind of narrative unattempted yet in English as a “comic epic poem in prose”, he looks at the author of such texts in the way in which he would consider the comic history-painter, as balanced between idealized romance and crude burlesque. Fielding, the overtly self-declared father of the English novel, speaks of *comedy* as *comic history-painting*, a category transposed all the way to the other extreme from tragedy and grave lectures and acquiesces that whoever has had the experience of these two high forms of writing will feel much better after “a couple of hours at a farce”.

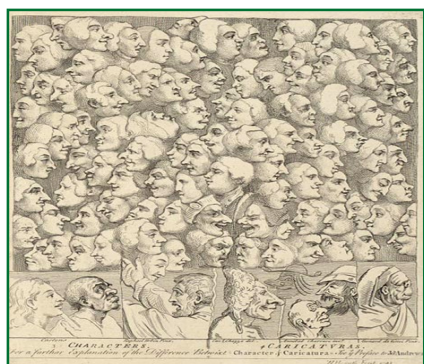


Fig. 2 William Hogarth, *Characters and Caricatures* (1743) and Annibale Caracci, *Caricature Heads* (c.1590)

The strong version, *satura*, very much like Grose's *character* pushed to the status of *caricature*, reminded any author with sensible knowledge of the classics that its logic was that of exaggerated growth, a way of baffling considerate mother nature's sense of beauty and truth. As in the ancient Roman *satura*, it recalled the *lanx satura*, the elaborate dish of fruits and honey, nuts and herbs meant as the coronation of an anyway more than saturating meal. It could also refer to *lex per saturam lata*, or else a law containing several regulations at once and demanding of those in case to abide by all of them at once. It was of the same make as *farce*, that humorous short production placed at the end of a grave and much longer play and meant as entertainment. It, too, recalled culinary delicacies, as in *farcimen*, a kind of sausage abounding in meat mince and spices stuffed to the point of bursting. Satire though was also claimed from Gr. *σάτυρος*, as Defoe himself maintained, which brought in an amount of violent display of strength. It pointed to Dionysos's male companions endowed with horse-like features and always up to lusty endeavours, like the Roman *faunus*. Such was their physical strength that they could make easy use of their bodies to challenge natural identities seen through their "distorting mirrors" (Brilli 9). They could traverse territories of variegated identity and make of transitional, regular halts, and the other way round. Theirs were easy boundaries to go beyond. Their nature of the deep-seated *metaphoric* stock.

There was a noteworthy illustration behind Hogarth's *Characters and Caricaturas*, namely a drawing of *Caricature Heads* (c. 1590) by Annibale Caracci, the very father of caricature in Western culture, if we follow Gombrich's argumentation. Annibale and his brother Agostino were in the business of drawing portraits of pilgrims to Rome and produced images in which likeness was in a certain way distorted, with the weakest features exaggerated in order "to unmask the victim" (Gombrich 1). Deep into the late 1700s caricatures retained this illustrative-informative component as they "evolved into a pastime for the international elite, especially among British Grand Tourists". (Rausser 22) This soft version itself, of which Hogarth was aware, made him complain in his *Analysis of Beauty* (1753) that his critics fell easy prey to the painful confusion made among the illiterate, by the similitude in the sound of the words *character* and *caricatura*. Hogarth's *Characters and Caricaturas* was organized in such a way as to leave the bottom space as a kind of conclusion with an overt direction: the half to the left was filled with *character heads* from Raphael, the half to the right displayed *caricature heads* from Caracci, Ghezzi and da Vinci. The *ritratti carichi*, 'laden portraits', in the caricature category were definitely the effect of physiognomic distortion. There is no denying this in Agostino Caracci's *Mascherone Studies* or in his *Rabbatin de' Griffi and his wife Spilla Pomina*, in which facial deformity is underlined by transparent onomastic references. Not so in *The Chimney Sweep* by Annibale, to which a prefatory note speaks about "perfect deformity," or else the

attitude embraced by the artist expected “to perfect nature through selective imitation, while guided by judgment and the idea of beauty.” ...This was as much as ascertaining that transposing inborn proportions, sizes, colours and any other such physical coordinates into “improved” appearance(s) could be accepted as artistic.



Fig. 3 *The Preposterous Head Dress, or the Feathered Lady* (1770)

Caricatures circulated on the market in the 1770s saw the intertwining of political issues, of which the American Revolution held pride of place, with fashion-gearred subjects. *The Preposterous Head Dress or the Feathered Lady* came two years after an equally comical *Ode to the Ladies* printed in *The New Foundling Hospital for Wit*. Its lines conveyed an undeniable message:

*When he sees your tresses thin,
Tortur'd by some French friseur;
Horse-hair, hemp, and wool within,
Garnish'd with a diamond skewer.*

*When he scents the mingled steam
Which your plaster'd heads are rich in,
Lard and meal, and clouted cream,
Can he love a walking kitchen?*



Fig. 4 *Betty the Cook Maids Head Drest* (1776)

Maids given a symbolic promotion of mere servants grown into fashionably *coiffées* ladies became a fairly familiar sight. Heart-shaped hairdos grown out of any proportion could function as a mobile toilet table strewn with cosmetic instruments, vials and puffs, or proudly display cleaning and cooking tools, by the side of vegetables and the kitchen range on top, where the looking glass would have stood in the boudoir display. The walking kitchen could be plain reality, if translated into monstrous shape and size by typical loading – *caricatura*.



Fig. 5 *The Old Cat and her Favourites going to Dinner*, publ. by I. Langham(1782)

Human-animal relations were cleverly exploited in the late 1770s, with zoomorphic humanity and anthropomorphic zoology placed in a tense rapport with religious issues such as “grace before meat” in *The Old Cat and her Favourites going to Dinner*.



Fig. 6 *Phaetona, or Modern Female Taste*, publ. by M. Darly (1776)

Phaetona or Modern Female Taste sets the aristocratic lady in indicative contrast with the running horses: her figure grown double in relation to the animal body grows bigger still owing to her huge hairdo and hairdress. An ensuing four-to-one relationship of human-to-animal body results in horses as small as toys whipped into galloping by a determined female hand. Zoomorphic human faces are reduplicated by animal faces displayed in paintings in *The English Lady in Paris*, or borrowed by pets scared out of their senses in *The French Lady in London*.

Symbolic subaltern identities, such as that of colonial subjects were treated similarly. In *And America Also Receives the Latest Styles* racial, natural and cultural identities are assimilated to the metropolitan model, their translation out of commonsensical contours functioning as promotional signs. Francophilia had its say all the way from *coiffures* to republican political emancipation and ongoing highlife manners: high hairdos and/as big hair were the thing from “top to tail”, as in the 1777 caricature of the same name attributed, with the same tools of caricature exaggeration defined by literal punning, to Mr. Perwig as drawer and Miss Heel as engraver.

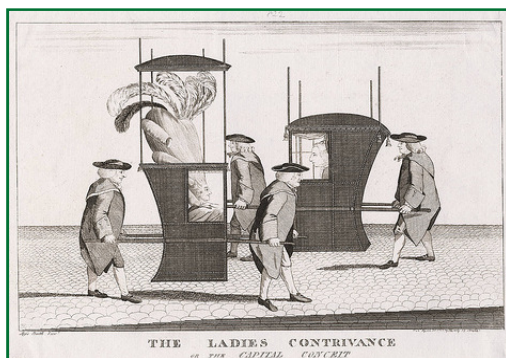


Fig. 7 *The Ladies Contrivance, or The Capital Conceit*, publ. by M. Darly (1777)

Not only were imagological texts produced to titillate the vanity of the centre. Intraimagological illustrations went in the same direction: technology was readapted in order to serve female extravagances, as in *The Ladies Contrivance*, whose subtitle puns on *caput*, -it is 'head' in order to indicate *The Capital Conceit* of the year 1777. *This Is Something New* feigns the novelty of the craze to a certain extent, but, like anything in the realm of extended identity, it juggles the craze into domestic governance: the lady's figure, grown into a one-to-one head-to-body proportion, carries a shy male identity under a huge umbrella, with another two male identities dwindling by her. *The Capital Conceit* places the male head in a discreet, almost invisible corner of the sedan chair, while the female head is indeed capitally capital, so it can enjoy a dislocated sedan top. Order among an all-female company holding – literally – high position at the gaming table could be restored with the instruments of chic indoor pastimes: the use of the candlestick could be such a practice.



Fig. 8 *Caricature Magazine, or Hudibrastic Mirror*, Vol. I, 1808,
G. M. Woodward Esq.

Author of *Eccentric Excursions* “*Quid rides? Mutate nomine, de te Fabula narratur*”

In 1808 *The Caricature Magazine, or Hudibrastic Mirror* started landing on the tea table, gaming tables, toilet tables, coffee house tables and so forth, to please an audience all for satirical and caricature effects and with still vivid memories of Samuel Butler's mock-heroic lines. The periodical advertised G.M. Woodward Esq. as “Author of *Eccentric Excursions*” rather than simply its author. The successive volumes published confirmed the symbolic peripatetic course of the publications – a transition reiterated periodically. Volume I showed on its cover *characters* in the top background separated by curtains held in the middle by the head of Momus, the personification of satire and mockery in ancient Greek culture and the ascertained critic of humankind and of the gods, all flawed and ridiculous irrespective of status. A lady and a gentleman seated in the middle ground seem absorbed by caricatures of their own faces. The foreground is taken by *caricatures* of dwarfish bodies with heads as big as those bodies. The Horatian quote

encapsulates the whole situation: “*Quid rides? mutato nomine, de te Fabula narratur*” (“Why do you laugh? With a name change, the fable is about you.” ... Linguistic preceded and was accomplished by physical transposition.



Fig. 9 *Caricature Magazine, or Hudibrastic Mirror, Vol. II, 1808*

Volume II took its readership to the country, with representative human samples in the left top corner, and to the city, with its own human typology in the right top corner. The two camps are separated by a ribbon each tied up over the medallion of a clown, “us”, with underneath an anthological quote: “To hold the mirror as ‘twere up to Nature, Shakespeare.” Indicatively, while rural humanity can be put down a peg or two by turning into *whimsical characters*, the townspeople in the image are *caricatures* making up a grotesque deputation. The ones are pictured ascending to the Temple of Fame, the other descending from the Temple of Momus. The moral to the show is reinforced by the Genius of Caricature half reclining in the bottom foreground repeating Horace’s conclusion: “*Quid rides? mutato nomine, de te Fabula narrator.*”



Fig. 10 *Caricature Magazine, or Hudibrastic Mirror, Vol. II, 1808*

Very much in tune with late 18th-century caricatures, Volume II comprised such illustrations as *A Long Headed Assembly* tellingly repeated in the middle and background. Here, too, physical and literal transposition worked closely.



Fig. 11 *The Genius of Caricature, and his Friends celebrating the Completion of the Second Volume of the Caricature Magazine in the Temple of Mirth*

The epitome of it all is captured in *The Genius of Caricature, and his Friends celebrating the Completion of the Second Volume of the Caricature Magazine in the Temple of Mirth*. This, too, is a company of over-sized heads at dinner table, this time. A more prominent head than all the other big ones emerges at the head of the table, his identity most likely Thomas Tegg, the Cheapside bookseller and publisher of the early 1800s. The viewer is shown a placard beside him which boasts the accomplishment of the first two volumes illustrated by Woodward and Rowlandson, and there are plenty of those hanging from the walls. Behind the Genius of Caricature Tegg the semi-circular lintel carries a relevant dedication: “Mirth, admit me of thy crew.” There is a conceptual agenda underlying the picture. It contains such terms as “Wit,” “Fun,” and “Frolic,” all three in the service of “drown[ing] every Folly absurd.” A toast is raised by the Caricature Genius who calls his “gay children of Whim” to secure success to the third volume.

Volume III itself sent to literary works of obvious significance, this time Swift’s character’s peripatetic experience in Lilliput. Towering over the picture is again a clown figure, Punch now, introducing *The Follies of the day in Lilliput*, in effect a dozen of caricatures illustrating a walking match, a trotting match and a running match to the left, and a boxing match, a maggot race and pigeon shooting to the right, with, in the middle, a troupe of foreign singers. At the bottom of the frontispiece there is a lady of bon ton in Lilliput keeping open house for the benefit of the foreign singers. “What a happiness it is we have nothing of this kind in England!” is the comic effect brought in by the Punch figure: standing for England

and meant as a fit image of the latter's pettiness, Lilliput had been assimilated in the collective mind as a place of endless absurdity: England transposed/translated as Lilliput.



Fig. 12 *Caricature Magazine, or Hudibrastic Mirror, Vol. IV, 1808*

Under the slogan “Ever changing, ever new: Vive la Bagatelle,” Volume IV placed masquerade – involving city people – at the other end from the country dance – involving the local rural community. The pair was also meant as a contrast between humour and satire, with caricature in the middle, negotiating between them. The attenuation of rough criticism could also be detected in the frowning Momus mask being supported rather gently by a pair of putti. It was a way of keeping the growth of character into caricature for urban and urbane consumption.

“Mr Tegg, Mr Tegg!
You're at home to a peg,
Volume tow is now fairly completed.
The to Cheapside repair
Ye who spurn at dull care,
And with Wit, Fun and Frolic be treated.
With Woodward we'll laugh,
And with Rowlandson quaff,
And drown every Folly absurd.
Here's a toast to the brim,
My gay children of Whim,
Success to their Volume the Third.

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From Democracy to Totalitarian Theocracy in Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale*

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Abstract

Margaret Atwood's science fiction novel *The Handmaid's Tale* represents a prime example of political and religious transition. The democratic American society and all of its liberties is overthrown and a totalitarian theocracy violently replaces it. People are divided into new categories and the Republic of Gilead preaches a form of phoney morality based on an extreme version of the Old Testament. This new order is founded on terror and oppression. Various roles are designated to women. Such women as Offred, the protagonist of Atwood's novel, have no choice but to lend their bodies to the goals of the new regime. Their sole function is to breed. However, this generation of transition remembers the past and is unwilling to blindly embrace the newly established order. Secret acts of rebellion become the norm and people try to keep their memories alive, no matter how much the Republic of Gilead strive at complete oblivion. The text of the novel is interspersed with flashbacks and the chronology is often broken, just as the individuals themselves are physically crushed under the burden of transition and change.

Keywords: Theocracy, science fiction, dystopia, women's rights, totalitarianism

Margaret Atwood's science/speculative fiction novel *The Handmaid's Tale* represents a prime example of political and religious transition. The democratic American society, with all of its liberties, is overthrown and a totalitarian theology violently replaces it.

People are divided into new categories and the Republic of Gilead preaches a new form of phony morality based on an extreme version of the Old Testament. This new order has terror and oppression as its foundation. Various roles are designated to women. Such women as Offred, the protagonist of Atwood's novel, have no choice but to lend their bodies to the goals of the new regime. Their sole function becomes breeding.

However, this generation of transition remembers the past and is unwilling to blindly embrace the newly established order. Secret acts of rebellion become the norm and people try to keep their memories alive no matter how much the Republic of Gilead strive at complete oblivion.

The text of the novel is interspersed with flashbacks and the chronology is often broken, just as the individuals themselves are physically and spiritually broken under the burden of transition and change.

Margaret Atwood's novel is a multi-layered combination of various elements. Although, the plot is non-conventional and the time barriers are broken, there is a clear historical reference to a time when democracy ruled over America. According to Aristotle, "democracy means government of the poor or those less

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fortunate”. (Aristotle, 2009: 12). Starting from a similar definition, Atwood chooses a protagonist who belongs to an ill-favored category, because of her gender. Being a woman in a patriarchal, man-ruled society, Offred suffers from the frustration and powerlessness of the subaltern. She feels marginal, sometimes even less than human, bordering on the animal status.

Therefore, in the past America used to be equally governed by men and women, the rich and the poor and no differences were made amongst human beings. A Marxist, on occasion feminist perspective influenced the way the country was run. However, with a rise in religious fanaticism, things were about to change for good. The delusion of morality created the perfect environment for a “Christian infection” or a “religious neurosis” that quickly took over the ruling classes. (Nietzsche, 2018: 53). This madness is perhaps best explained by the pessimistic, critical tone of Nietzsche’s philosophy on the excesses of Christian religion.

The Christian faith from the beginning, is sacrifice: the sacrifice of all freedom, all pride, all self-confidence of spirit; it is at the same time subjection, self-derision and self-mutilation. (Nietzsche, 2018: 51)

Indeed people in the Republic of Gilead have to forget their true identities and embrace an imposed dogma. Their freedom of speech and action is completely restricted and a complex process of brainwashing and indoctrination starts in the name of the true faith and God. Religion becomes the perfect pretext to manipulate people into servitude and obedience.

Soon the regime is stable enough to generate panic and fear. People perceive it as a new and powerful enemy. Both sides need to be careful: the common people, divided into groups, have to play their parts without questioning the authority of the rulers and in their turn the rulers have to make sure nobody has any freedom of thought or speech, thus preventing any indignation of the slaves at their masters or potential revolt. The Enlightenment of the enslaved citizens of Gilead has to be avoided at all cost. They need to have a limited perspective on reality, so that they are easily kept under control. Tyranny is disguised as strict moral principles and people are encouraged to believe without questioning.

Nietzsche’s conclusion with regard to the effects of a totalitarian theocracy, are quite illuminating in the analysis of Atwood’s novel *The Handmaid’s Tale*. He sums up by saying that:

Wherever the religious neurosis has appeared on the earth so far, we find it connected with three dangerous prescriptions as to regimen: solitude, fasting and sexual abstinence. (Nietzsche, 2018: 52)

All of these are present in the *Handmaid’s Tale*. Offred has no friends, she lives in complete isolation. She doesn’t smile or try to form friendships; that would leave her vulnerable. It’s safer to keep to yourself in a world full of spies. When moved

to a new posting, her confession is heart-breaking: "The threshold of a new house is a lonely place." (Atwood, 1996: 24) Completely alienated and having no roots, Offred lives in fear; there's no comfort in human company.

The fasting in Atwood's novel is not self-imposed; it is rather the regime that dictates what people can eat. Just like in all other totalitarian regimes there's a food shortage and everything is rationalized. The handmaids are allowed their daily walks, shopping for groceries but that proves to be painfully frustrating.

At the shop they need to exchange tokens (given to them by the Marthas - servants) for food. But sometimes all's in vain, as the tokens will buy them nothing. The xenophobia and the hatred wars fought against neighboring countries have brought about poverty. Oranges are a rare commodity and meat is so expensive that not even the Commanders can afford it every day. But why hang onto the material values of the world, when everything that matters in the Republic of Gilead is the spirit. As Aunt Lydia used to preach at the Red Center during the indoctrination process: "you must cultivate poverty of spirit. Blessed are the meek." (Atwood, 1996: 74)

Economizing, rationalizing and poverty become the norm. However, fasting turns into a different matter inside the household, where the handmaid, Offred, has an honorable, special status. Inside the house she has to respect strict rules. She has to eat healthy food to facilitate procreation under the best conditions. She's constantly nagged: "You have to get your vitamins. (...) You must be a worthy vessel. No coffee or tea though, no alcohol." (Atwood, 1996: 75)

Although she's pampered and bathed like a child by the Marthas, the lack of freedom breaks her spirit. She has to eat on command; she can't refuse a meal, even when not hungry. Personal liberty is non-existent and unless she finishes everything on her plate, she gets reported.

Solitude, fasting and food play an important role, alongside with the third element that Nietzsche proposes as being characteristic of any totalitarian theocracy: sexual abstinence. The Republic of Gilead does not allow any Hedonistic method of pleasure-seeking. Pornography and everything else connected to sexual intercourse are forbidden. People have to be prudish and avoid any form of sensual or obscene behavior. Sex is only considered relevant because the country has to be repopulated. The fertile women are sent to postings in order to procreate – in a hypocritical manner the Republic of Gilead approves of adultery and even makes that legal.

To save appearances women have to wear long dresses, covering every inch of their bodies; they're also not allowed to wear jewelry, make-up, put on cream or perfume as that might distract and tempt the pious believers.

The transition from a liberal, democratic society to one ruled by force, hatred, suspicion and religious fanaticism cannot be smooth. Margaret Atwood points out from the very first page that the whole modern text should be analyzed through the various lenses of the narrators but she also proposes building frames

around the text. Her way of limiting the text and offering guidance to the sometimes baffled reader is by proposing frames of meaning: the three epigraphs, to be more precise.

If the stream of consciousness and the lack of punctuation may be confusing at first, the three epigraphs don't offer clarification either. On the contrary, they seem to broaden the scope of analysis even more. The first epigraph is a quotation taken from the *Genesis*, 20:1-3. It provides the main frame of a childless Biblical couple, being ready to sacrifice anything for the sake of an offspring.

The second epigraph comes from Jonathan Swift's pamphlet: *A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People from Being a Burden to their Parents, or the Country, and for Making them Beneficial to the Public* and it hints at a sarcastic reading of the text. Although the cannibalistic, sadistic touch of this text may be recognized in some aspects of the *Handmaid's Tale*, the author's intention is clearly to suggest borrowing a critical, sarcastic eye from Swift and not necessarily taking everything literally.

Based on the first two epigraphs, Atwood would like the reader to analyze the serious matter of infertility and procreation in a sarcastic, perhaps playful way. Then what else could the third epigraph, a Sufi proverb, add to complete the frames of perception. Ironically enough, Atwood uses Islamic wisdom to solve the puzzle of how certain rules are so commonsensical there's no need for them to be written down. What Margaret Atwood is trying to say is that treating women like breeding cows or sexual slaves is so obviously wrong; there should be no need to make actual rules forbidding that.

However, as the reader will soon find out, a new regime requires new rules. The lenses and frames become narrower and narrower.

In Gilead, women have been framed. Framed by their red robes and wide wimples, the handmaids are clearly visible, marked and delimited by their social status. For the wearer within the frame, the wimples serve as blinders; to look through them is to see only straight ahead, a narrowed view of the world. (Stein, 1996: 57)

Therefore, what the readers immediately understand is that the various narrative voices offer only limited, fragmentary perspectives, similar to those of the handmaids themselves. The authoritarian Republic of Gilead wants complete control over these women's minds and it will only allow them one broken, incomplete reality. Even if the transcripts of Offred's confession are debated on at an academic conference on Gileadean Studies in the distant future, the truth is unlikely to surface in its entirety.

What makes the text even more obscure and difficult to follow is the abundance of narrative voices. Sometimes Offred's voice is interrupted by thoughts belonging to the author herself and at the end, in the section entitled *Historical Notes*, Professor James Darcy Pieixoto takes control over Offred's words, puts them in the order he considers to be correct.

Since writing and reading are forbidden in the Republic of Gilead, Offred has to record her thoughts on tapes, which are found hundreds of years later and become historical testimony of the atrocities of the totalitarian regime of the Republic of Gilead. She does not number the tapes, unfortunately, which means unknowingly she gives a man, Professor Pieixoto, the freedom of organizing them according to his own subjective perspective.

Perhaps the hidden message Atwood is delivering is that the feminist cry is not feminist after all, but a reinterpretation, even an amputation, a point of view filtered and censored once again through the masculine frame of mind. The handmaid's tale does not reach its listeners/audience unspoiled; the remains of the once patriarchal Republic of Gilead cannot be completely erased, not even in an apparently liberal future. There is thus suspicion that the text may have been altered according to the Professor's misogynistic views.

From liberty to censorship and then liberty again, the cycle of transitions is complete. The last section is clearly satirical, mocking the intellectual superiority of the academia, their superficiality and academic pretension. The most disturbing implication, however, is that in a future led by make-believe and shallowness, sexism and moral relativism are one step away. Margaret Atwood is raising awareness, warning against monstrous mistakes of the past that could easily be repeated if not careful. Adopting Swift's biting irony, Atwood exposes different forms of phony, egalitarian propaganda and highlights the horrors of a dystopian society in which men forcefully take control over women's lives.

In a cyclical way women are crushed and their voices silenced. Men take every and any opportunity to reassemble and reorganize the fragmentary feminine speech. By presenting her story at the conference, Professor Pieixoto contorts her language and

provides another narrative voice, another layer of interpretation to frame the handmaid's narrative. (...) Moreover, in bracketing her tale, his text reiterates the tension between Offred's words and patriarchal control of her story which forms the crux of her tale. (Stein, 1996: 58-59)

There's no doubt about the complexity of the structure that Margaret Atwood proposes. According to Karen F. Stein *The Handmaid's Tale* is a "dystopian – science fiction – satirical – journal – epistolary – romance – palimpsest text" (Stein, 1996: 59), telling the story of an underprivileged woman, living in a misogynist, highly-religious society. To better understand the narrator and the reactions she hopes to extract from her audience, one needs to have a full perspective on the place she inhabits and how it makes her feel.

Being a dystopian country, the Republic of Gilead is no earthly paradise. Far from it. People have lost all sense of identity and self-esteem. Luxury and excess are condemned as being sinful and the population has to live in poverty. Trust and friendship do not exist anymore. Everybody lives in fear of being

betrayed. Common people live divided. Each category of the population has to fulfill a certain task that is attributed to them by the regime.

There are high standards of morality and certain lines cannot be crossed without immediate punishment. The ruling classes keep everybody in check with the help of a very well organized oppression machinery: the Guards (loyal and violent); the Eyes (duplicitous and clever spies, infiltrated undercover in all structures, at all levels); the Aunts (teaching the dogma; helping to break characters and create weak, obedient believers).

Just like in any other depiction of totalitarian regimes, such as George Orwell's *1984*, people are afraid to act, because they hear stories about rebels being kidnapped, tortured and killed. In *The Handmaid's Tale*, the regime uses the wall of a former college in a savage display of sadism to make examples out of the ones who dare go against the system. The wall becomes a symbol of repression and fear.

The wall is hundreds of years old too. (...) Like the sidewalks, it's red brick, and must once have been plain but handsome. Now the gates have sentries and there are ugly new floodlights mounted on metal posts above it, and barbed wire along the bottom and broken glass set in concrete along the top. (Atwood, 1996: 41)

Consequently the wall has a double function: firstly, to prevent people from fleeing the country and secondly, to keep them subservient through a strategy of terror. There are bodies hanging on the wall at all times, people who must have been informants, traitors, doctors caught performing abortions, enemies of the regime. They are exhibited there for the others to see.

Sometimes they'll be there for days, until there's a new batch, so as many people as possible will have the chance to see them. (...) It's the bags over the heads that are the worst, worse than the faces themselves would be. It makes the men look like dolls on which faces have not yet been painted; like scarecrows, which in a way is what they are, since they are meant to scare. (Atwood, 1996: 42)

The ominous presence of the wall is complemented by yet another threat. In case a Handmaid fails to procreate in three different postings, she becomes useless to the system and will be sent to the colonies where she will lose her status of honor, she'll be labeled as just another infertile Unwoman and mercilessly abandoned to radiation exposure and pollution. She loses the protection and good will of the regime if she fails at becoming pregnant. The propaganda and the false news spread on purpose, create a permanent state of anxiety and tension. The presence of roadblocks, machine guns, patrols, checkpoints, barriers and floodlights everywhere invades people's private spaces, making them feel exposed and vulnerable.

Although in theory a theocracy, the Republic of Gilead relies heavily on brute force to keep the population under control. The Guardians of the Faith are

used for “routine policing”. They are “either stupid or older or disabled or very young, apart from the ones that are Eyes incognito.” (Atwood, 1996: 30) Clearly they are not at the top of the hierarchy but they are feared and dangerous. They have the right to use guns and in order to be promoted to the rank of Angels and be granted the right to marry, they need to prove themselves worthy servants of the regime. That’s why the Guardians have a reputation of being loyal and ruthless in obeying orders.

It is therefore paradoxical that a society that should be ruled by love and Christian mercy is actually a military dictatorship, based on violence and terror. The citizens are asked to lead holy lives of abstinence, pray and be grateful to God and the rulers of Gilead for their modest, but spiritually clean existence. To achieve their rightful place in paradise, people sacrifice their principles, their identity and even their past. Margaret Atwood creates a vivid picture of a paradisiacal world gone sour - a dystopia. Going back to Greek philosophy, one cannot help but notice Plato’s sexist beliefs, as presented in his masterpiece, *The Republic*. According to his theories, “women are communally owned, slavery is taken for granted, and the breeding of children is controlled in eugenic lines.” (Cuddon, 1999: 958)

Margaret Atwood’s fallen world resembles Plato’s principles. Women are assets, national resources. Their purpose is to serve men and their country’s interests respectively. The Econowives in the colonies are infertile, therefore disposable; the Wives are too old and probably barren as well. Then the whole society relies on the Handmaids to produce healthy babies and give birth to a new generation of genetically superior infants. Just like in Plato’s ancient vision of the perfect world, women lose their liberties and become sexual slaves. They are shared among the esteemed Commanders, treated as erotic goods and in the process they lose command over their own bodies.

Offred feels she has reached a level of deterioration that assimilates her to the animal world. She compares her destitute state to that of a pig: “I wait, washed, brushed, fed, like a prize pig.” (Atwood, 1996: 79) Every month she has to survive the Ceremony, which is a legal rape. The Commander has to do his duty, and he does it in a very businesslike manner. The preparations, the vivid description of the three people involved and the actual sexual intercourse are a grotesque representation of how insanity and fanaticism may ruin all human aspects of life.

Above me, towards the head of the bed, Serena Joy is arranged, outspread. Her legs are apart, I lie between them, my head on her stomach, her pubic bone under the base of my skull, her thighs on either side of me. She too is fully clothed. My arms are raised; she holds my hands, each of mine in each of hers. This is supposed to signify that we are one flesh, one being. What it really means is that she is in control, of the process and thus of the product. If any. (...) My red skirt is hitched up to my waist, though no higher. Below it, the Commander is fucking. What he is fucking is the lower part of my body.” (Atwood, 1996: 104)

The crude language that Atwood uses, the wealth of synecdochic details employed, all hint at a rupture between the body and the actual self of the woman, Offred. The handmaid relates the episode of the Ceremony/rape as if she has experienced it outside the body. She seems to levitate above the helpless limbs. The description of the intercourse is very technical and physical, almost as if she's totally detached. The frivolity and vulgarity of the scene actually disguise her shame. Offred keeps her mental sanity by denying all contact with her body. She escapes the trauma of rape by creating fictitious bonds with pigs and caged rats, which are bored prisoners, just like her.

Consequently, women form a category of underprivileged citizens in an imperfect world. However, their sexual duties to the regime do not amount to the total number of obligations they owe their rulers. The Republic of Gilead does not allow private property and the Handmaids have no money of their own. That makes them even more dependable on their masters. Reading and writing, a proper education and the right to a profession are banned completely. Religious tolerance vanishes; sexual offenses and immoral behavior are turned into capital crimes. All civic rights slowly disappear, being replaced by extreme force of totalitarian repression. The utopia of the American democracy becomes a distant dream and mankind awaits its impending doom.

In the Republic of Gilead reading is a sacrilege. There are no more magazines or books. They have all been destroyed, alongside with films, music, porn, jewelry, clothes or anything else that may remind people of pleasure and independent thinking. Propaganda, false news and fear take over. "The Republic of Gilead, said Aunt Lydia, knows no bounds. Gilead is within you." (Atwood, 1996: 33) The threat within the message is clear – Gilead is all-powerful and it is a swallower of selves. In fact the threat of the ominous, omniscient Gilead is similar to that of Big Brother in *1984*. There is no hiding, there is no privacy, Gilead is a part of one's identity.

On the news the Republic is always victorious, there are no defeats. The regime controls all media and it carefully calculates manipulation campaigns to keep people silent and obedient. The intellectuals have been purposefully annihilated. There are no more doctors or teachers and the universities are shut. In an apocalyptic world, Atwood preaches "against the wickedness of humanity and the imminence of the end of the world." (Cuddon, 1999: 48) Her prophetic tone warns that patriarchal societies may limit women's liberties, up to the point of abolition, which is in itself a serious cause for concern.

In the dystopian world of the Republic of Gilead, Biblical texts are used "to institute and enforce harsh political control" (Stein, 1996: 61) Sermons and prayers help establish a relationship of male control over women. Religion is the perfect pretext to turn women into instruments and gain ascendancy over them. At the same time religion is very restrictive, as only men are legally allowed to read the Bible. Women are treated as inferior human beings, who wouldn't understand the

spiritual content of the Scriptures. Bibles are therefore kept under key. Another source of indoctrination, the prayer machines that print out scrolls of prayers and monotonously recite them to the believers, are presented as being central to the religious control exerted by the Republic.

The place where these prayer machines can be found is called Soul Scrolls and it's a franchise. These shops are everywhere and they return a lot of profit. "Ordering prayers from Soul Scrolls is supposed to be a sign of piety and faithfulness to the regime." (Atwood, 1996: 176) Consequently, everybody does it, even though they are not entirely sure whether their prayers are actually heard by God. In Margaret Atwood's dystopian world, the computer prayers fall upon deaf ears. Her contemporaries will never know her story.

In the oppressive, patriarchal Republic of Gilead women become objectified, and they are denied a voice. Their frustrations and complaints are of no interest to the dominant male population. It is very relevant to notice how Margaret Atwood's frame of the quotation taken from Swift's *A Modest Proposal*, guides the readers towards a colonial or perhaps post-colonial understanding of the text. Both Ireland and women are enslaved. England and the dominant male population are presented as the villains. According to Stein, "Swift's text demonstrates the tragic effects of English colonial policy which reduced Ireland to poverty and famine." (Stein, 1996: 64).

Just like Ireland suffered under the yoke of the British Empire, the women in Gilead had to survive the colonization of their bodies and their minds at the hands of their male masters.

The *Modest Proposal* seeks to solve the problem of Irish overpopulation; the rulers of Gilead are obsessed with resolving their crisis of underpopulation, for industrial pollution and experiments in biological warfare have produced the sterility that led to underpopulation. (Stein, 1996: 64)

In both cases strict measures need to be imposed on the respective societies, in order to control and rectify the balance of the population. If Swift proposes cannibalism as a solution to the Irish famine and overpopulation, Atwood suggests in a similar sarcastic way that fertile women should willingly offer their bodies to the regime for procreation purposes. In an openly hostile and misogynistic environment, "the government of Gilead seek to control and appropriate women's sexuality and to commodify their children." (Stein, 1996: 64)

The Handmaid's Tale repeatedly depicts women as being instinctive, almost animalistic in nature. Women's decay to the level of basic breeding animals is presented in a dystopian, bleak tone. It is indeed disturbing to even consider the probability, even if only theoretical, of women becoming two-legged wombs or attentive pets, ready to serve their colonial, male masters. Parallels are drawn between women and the animal realm on all possible occasions: "Women are compared to brood mares, calving cows or sows in farrow." (Stein, 1996: 64) The

bodies are dismembered and they lose ownership of all the separate parts. Nothing truly belongs to them anymore, as the Republic gains total control. Women are disembodied and they are turned into obedient reproduction tools.

To highlight the community's obsession with procreation, Atwood describes both the male and female bodily parts in a grotesque manner. Offred, for instance, perceives the Commander's penis as a "tentacle", "blind like a slug". (Atwood, 1996: 113) The whole universe acquires new sexual meaning; it is distorted to reveal phallic images and genital organs. The worms, the flowers, everything revolves around the same idea of fertility and successful impregnation. In the sexual process, however, people become just anonymous, featureless bodies, entangled in the fleshly act of creation. The Republic strives to dehumanize and destroy feelings, love, trust and identity.

Names don't exist anymore. The handmaids are obliged to forget their real names and they have to take on their Commanders' identities. When trained at the Red Center, they are told that their privileged status requires certain sacrifices, such as a complete eradication of their initial self. Whenever moved to a new posting, handmaids receive new names that are naturally based on their owners'. Consequently, Offred literally means "of Fred" or "belonging to Fred". Women are treated as private property that can be used or shared according to men's desires. Living in fear and having lost their memories of past lives, women degenerate into anonymous bodies. The flood of recollections from June's happy existence with her husband Luke and their daughter build a strong contrast to the realities of the totalitarian Republic of Gilead. June is unfortunately dead. Her place has been taken by a nameless body, a child-bearing machine.

This apocalyptic world has got only one ideal – pregnancy. It is quite paradoxical that handmaids flaunt their status only to later lose all rights over their own babies. By law, the infants become the property of the Commanders' Wives as soon as they are born. Their biological mothers are immediately removed and sent to a new posting. The pain of the separation dehumanizes women even more, as it leaves no room for emotion, morality or human implication.

Offred feels the urge to scream out in anger. She wants to reveal the horrors of Gilead, but she lacks the courage to do so. However, she eventually finds her voice and tries to escape from her imposed imprisonment by accessing the liberating joy of language. By speaking, by recording her thoughts, she acquires a new position of power. Language helps her reconnect with her identity. She remembers the all-empowering feeling of rebellion and the sweet taste of individual freedom.

In a society in which books are considered a threat to the regime, in a society which forbids both reading and writing, language and storytelling acquire the power of deadly, dangerous weapons. In the hands of an enslaved woman, language has limitless potential of liberation; it kindles a riotous state of mind. Offred fights using words and exposing the unjust treatment they have to endure. It

is precisely the limitation of access to language that keeps women in their state of servitude. Imposed illiteracy and ignorance become synonymous with being a female citizen in a society ruled by men. Illiteracy and lack of refinement make women resemble animals. They are associated automatically to the uncanny, the other, the barbarian, the savage, the animal-like creatures who may be punished or mistreated without any remorse.

Women are dehumanized on purpose in a sexist attempt to justify their lower status. Their voices are silenced, their freedom of thinking and expression are taken away from them. A whole generation of women has to forget about free speech. They swallow their words and their pride, accepting their new status of gender victims. It is, however, a brave act of linguistic rebellion that gives women their self-respect back.

Offred's story is a beautiful warning on how body, mind and language should never become alienated from each other. Ownership of all female parts plays an essential role in the preservation of female identity in a world led by men. Offred's revolution is a revolution of ideas and words. She regains her inner strength once she has control over her story and her narrative voice. In the end the battle is won if she manages to make herself heard, to tell the world about the oppression and injustice women have to face.

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From Fairy Tales to Realist Fiction: Young Adult Literature on the Threshold between Children's and Adult's Literature

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Abstract

Adolescence, the transitional stage in one's life marked by identity crisis, confusion and conflict is a developmental stage that inspired writers in the construction of fictional characters trapped between childhood and adulthood. One can safely say today that the particular subgenre this article focuses upon, Young Adult Literature (YAL), which exists on the threshold between children's literature and adult literature (Trites, 2000, 7) was born not long ago, went through young childhood and adolescence, having already reached its maturity. It is time to look back and see the story of this development and its significance to adults and teenagers alike. Both age groups were once children, and all ages are worth examining, remembering, anticipating their experience. Adolescence, being more than a blessed and wonderful condition to be remembered with nostalgia when one is old, is part of a considerably larger picture. This makes both the transitional condition of adolescence and its literary representations amenable to interpretation in the plurality of their contexts which led me towards theoretical materials that would provide the support for the understanding of a series of cultural aspects involved in the reading and writing of books in a by now thriving genre in America.

Keywords: *adolescence, transition, children's literature, YA literature, problem novel.*

1. Introduction

It is very likely today that a particular aspect related to literature goes unnoticed: many American novels portray children as literary characters. Nonetheless, they are idealistically constructed in literary writings from early time periods, for instance from Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile: or On Education* (1762) to William Blake's *Songs of Innocence and Experience* (1789) or Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876). Rousseau, like Blake and Twain, constructed fictional characters in order to give children the mission to save adults from modern world's degradation, or to criticize their contemporary society through literary constructions. It is challenging to argue for the similarities between these authors and their books, but a resemblance to consider lays at the fictional characters' level; more precisely, there appears to be a progression of the child as literary protagonist from J.J. Rousseau to Mark Twain. The attempt to preserve the innocence, and the idea that it can save modern society from moral collapse is an aspect that can be traced in the above mentioned narrative texts of the two. Even if Rousseau turned his text into an educational discourse for parents and children, while Twain placed the innocent world of children against the corrupt world of adults, they both have contributed to the establishment of a literary genre. Thus,

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eighteenth's and nineteenth's century children's literature became a pillar literature for the subsequent literary genre known today under the loose term of Young Adult Literature (YAL).

The evolution of children's literature, from texts often characterized as lacking any literary value, to novels that started from them, but which approached adults' literature on their subject or themes, led to transformations at the character's level. The adolescent as a fictional character was taken beyond the interests of youth with Mark Twain's novel, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884). While Ernest Hemingway's ideas according to which "all modern American literature comes from one book by Mark Twain called *Huckleberry Finn* (...) There was nothing before. There has been nothing as good since" (Hemingway, 1935: 16) are arguable, surely this novel has influenced American Young Adult literature. To clarify, we take into consideration Shelley Fisher Fishkin's notes, from her study published in 1993, *Was Huck Black? Mark Twain and African-American Voices*. Fishkin identified Twain novel's strong points that transformed American literature:

Twain's innovation of having a vernacular-speaking child tell his own story in his own words was the first stroke of brilliance; Twain's awareness of the power of satire in the service of social criticism was the second. Huck's voice combined with Twain's satiric genius changed the shape of fiction in America (Fishkin, 1993: 3).

The fact that Huck was an adolescent allowed Twain to create dramatic irony, the narrator having the excuse of his innocent age. The author's narrative techniques—the irony, the first person narrator's vernacular speech, his coming of age journey—are to be found in other adolescent novels which are often compared to *Huckleberry Finn*. Twain's narrative genius consisted of the fact that through his novel he set the pattern for American *bildungsroman* (Trites, 2007).

In her investigation regarding the "birth of the adolescent reform novel" in the United States, Roberta Seelinger Trites (2007) develops Fishkin's ideas and claims that adolescent characters metaphorically encompass the potential for the nation to grow in its awareness of social issues. Trites observed that starting with Jo March from *Little Women* (Alcott, 1971) and Huck Finn from *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, the fictional characters gained value, as they functioned as models for adults. "With these novels, Twain and Alcott utilized adolescent growth meaningfully, implying parallels between the need for their characters to develop and the need for the character of their nation to develop" (Trites, 2007: 35). Along with these novels, fictional characters became symbols for their cultural and social contexts, as well as their nations. It is clear then, that the idealized nature of the child or of the adolescent changed into one abounding in social criticism. Huck Finn was American literature's first adolescent character that played the role of an active observer of his nation's changes, offering a critical view of society's

weaknesses. As Trites acknowledges, “Twain employed Huckleberry Finn’s immaturity as a platform from which to write about U.S. race relations” (Trites, 2007: 35). With Huck Finn, the child or the adolescent is no longer a passive observer but gets involved into society’s issues by becoming its reformer, by serving as “metaphor for the need for social change” (Trites, 2007:149), this leading to the partial loss of innocence. As a consequence literary texts that portrayed teenagers that no longer stay aside from problems could no longer be included in children’s literature.

2. Children’s Literature: The Starting Point for Adolescent Novel

In his book entitled *The Hidden Adult: Defining Children’s Literature* (2008) Perry Nodelman reaches the conclusion that children’s literature is not a literature which was written for children by children or, as one may expect, a literature that children like. Adults are the ones who establish what book is for children and what book is not, probably according to their own perceptions of literature from their childhood. Adults decide upon literature written for children, thus “adult perceptions are the key to what children’s literature is” (Nodelman, 2008: 150). These ideas explain why books like Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* or Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*, despite the fact that they were written for adults, were read by children. Adults decided that those books meet standards they agree with. Children are only reading what their parents have already read and reached the conclusion that they contain suitable vocabulary and ideas for children. Children’s literature “is written by adults and it is what it is because of how it addresses its audience, because of what adults believe children are- adult constructions of childhood” (Nodelman, 2008: 151). The fact that adults wrote and chose literature for children is enforced by their idea that children need texts that educate them, teach them to be good, in order to integrate in society. This literature served adults to shape their children according to their moral and religious standards.

When they first appeared, the texts written for children had didactic purposes and were created for middle class children. In the eighteenth century, a large majority of people in England were illiterate so their children also lived in ignorance. In a study dedicated to the history of children books entitled *A History of Children’s Reading and Literature* (1963) Alec Ellis explains how “in the years before a special literature for children appeared, young people adopted books and stories as their own” (Ellis, 1963: 3). They read the romances of the Middle Ages such as the tales of Robin Hood and Bevis of Southampton. Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726) or John Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress* (1678) were very popular books among children. “Young people ignored the morals and innuendoes with which these and similar books were filled, and extracted the delightful stories which have retained their favor for generations” (Ellis, 1963: 3). Although these books were not dedicated to children, adults considered that they contain moral messages and young people have

something to learn from them. "From 1750 literature for children developed, the content of which was beyond the comprehension of the working people, but which was to evolve and play an increasingly important part in the growth of literacy as young people were able to read it" (Ellis, 1963: 13).

An important role in the development of the children's books market was played by publishers. During the eighteenth century their interest was not in the books for young readers. This lack of interest in publishing texts for children or young people was sustained by the fact that children did not have money to buy books. The young public did not have anything to say regarding what they wanted or did not want to read. For these reasons, publishers considered that the adults are the only target readers since they were the ones who had money, so the majority of books on the market were published for them. Since "the availability of children's books was directly dependent upon the willingness of publishers to handle literature for the younger age groups" (Ellis, 1963: 5), in the eighteenth century, literature dedicated to children was absent. It will take the young readers another century to conquer the market and influence its writings.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century children's literature consisted of moral tales, many of them having a religious influence, and it "was challenged effectively by Roscoe's *The Butterfly's Ball* (1807), Mrs. Dorset's *The Peacock at Home* (1807), Charles Lamb's *Prince Dorus* and *Tales from Shakespeare* (1807)" (Ellis, 1963: 10). Besides these stories that influenced children's literature, the Romantic Age changed mentalities and the books written for young people. During this era, children were perceived as pure and innocent souls, and their imagination was considered superior to the imagination of the adults. "Heave lies about us in our infancy/ Shades of the prison-house begin to close/ Upon the growing boy" wrote William Wordsworth in *Ode: Intimation of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood* in 1807. Children's imagination was viewed as more powerful than the adult's and the role of the child in society began to change. From ignored individuals, children were now seen as important for the future of society.

In the nineteenth century the child was seen as an important member of the family. If the idea of the previous centuries was that the child was just a little man, in the Industrial Age s/he is an individual with a different identity, needs and rights. "A growing number of parents began to regard children as innocent, malleable, and fragile creatures who needed to be sheltered. Childhood was increasingly viewed as a separate stage of life that required special care and institutions to protect it" (Mintz, 2004: 3). As responses to these social changes, a new type of novel appeared. The *Bildungsroman* was written partly to criticize child labour and to establish a new social order in English families. Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist* became a classic *Bildungsroman* in which the orphan Oliver is a character created so as to draw attention to the poor life of London's citizens and to criticize child exploitation. Young readers sympathize with the literary character, but adult

readers understood that middle-class children were the ignored human beings of the English society.

As far as fairy-tales are concerned, the only literary texts dedicated exclusively to children, they also used as instruments for educating the young generation. Leaving aside the literary texts written for adults and adopted by children, and referring only to fairy-tales, one might be surprised to find out that they also reflected society and its changes, in more subtle and gentle ways. According to Seth Lerer, in her study *Children's Literature A Reader's History from Aesop to Harry Potter* (2008), from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century fairy-tales appeared and constituted a literary genre. Inspired from the European folk-tales, they had a moral lesson to teach and were dedicated to children starting from the eighteenth century. Even if they were "originally meant for literary salons and aristocratic audiences, they found later readership in households and nurseries" (Lerer, 2008: 211). By the nineteenth century, fairy tales were used for other purposes in changing the society like the study of the etymology of words, folklore, personal and national psychology, national heritage and so on (Lerer, 2008). Fairy-tales were not superficial, childish writings, but a reflection of the English family's life in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The best example is the reflection of the family life and the social changes that occurred encountered in fairy-tales edited by Grimms brothers. "Fairy tales take us back, then, not just to our own childhood imaginations, but to the childhood of language and society themselves. They may also take us back to the childhood of the teller" (Lerer, 2008: 217).

3. From Fairy Tales to Young Adult Literature

The Golden Age of the literature written for children is considered by scholars to be the beginning of the twentieth century. A key point in the evolution of children's literature was the tendency to change its function in society. From the idealized function to comfort children by creating a perfect image of their family or their society, starting from the second half of the 20th century literature presented them the tough reality in which children got isolated from their parents or experienced traumatic difficulties in surviving the war. The changes that occurred were also reflected in the relationship between children and their parents who became more distant. A child was no longer viewed as an innocent, protected soul, like was in the Romantic age, but s/he was seen as a person who has rights and freedom. Spending a lot of time alone, the child got isolated and created a separated world from the adult.

The changes in children's literature from the second half of the twentieth century are signaled by Deborah Thacker in *Introducing Children's Literature from Romanticism to Postmodernism* (2002). "As the social spheres of children and adults become more separate, the creation of distinct children's publishing houses after the war reinforced that separation" (Thacker, 2002: 112). These changes that

occurred in the twentieth century regarding literature written for children, the separation of the publishing houses for children from those for adults, triggered the differentiation of the books market for adolescents, that were situated on the threshold between children's and adult's literature.

Too 'adult' for children's stories, but not yet able to cope with 'adult' realities, teenage fiction from the 1960s challenged dominant social values and portrayed the break-up of the nuclear family. Though adolescent experience was also the subject of adult literature and film, the first-person address in J.D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye* (1951) expressed the spirit of rebellion and adolescent angst (Thacker, 2002: 113).

In *Disturbing the Universe Power and Repression in Adolescent Literature* (2000) Roberta Seelinger Trites comes with a definition of Young Adult literature that is connected with the concept of power, separating it from children's literature. "The chief characteristic that distinguishes adolescent literature from children's literature is the issue of how social power is deployed during the course of the narrative" (Trites, 2000: 2). Literature written for children and read by them aims to provide the sense of security in the family and in the society. If one child reads *Winnie the Pooh* or *Peter Rabbit* s/he learns that family and society are safe environments that offer love and security. But literature for and about adolescents offers new information about the levels of power in the society. In the texts dedicated to teenagers, the protagonists learn that society is more powerful than the individual and that all its institutions aim to shape and transform them following strict patterns.

Adolescent characters exist in a force created by the institutions that constitute the social fabric constructing them. (...) Power is a force that operates within the subject and upon the subject in adolescent literature; teenagers are repressed as well as liberated by their own power and by the power of the social forces that surround them in these books. (Trites, 2000: 7).

Scholars (like Michael Cart or Patricia J. Campbell) agreed that the very first novel written for young adults (and by a teenager) was Maureen Daly's *Seventeenth Summer* published in 1942, and that the prototype of the genre is J.D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951). However, the Golden age of the genre "came with the publication, in 1967, of S.E. Hinton's *The Outsiders* and Robert Lipsythe's *The Contender*" (Cart, 2010: 96). The writings in the late sixties were dealing with the real lives of adolescents in those times, exploring real issues that they confronted, thus opening a new page in the history of Young Adult fiction, known as "the realistic fiction for teens" (Cart, 2010: 96). The seventies was a period in time dedicated to the problem novel, exploring and presenting problems experienced by teenagers: drug addiction, sexual abuse, violence, and so on. The authors of the

problem novel forced society to be aware of the issues, fears, frustrations, crises of its teenagers. They definitely wrote a page in the history of literature for adolescents that impressed the readers, and their texts were categorized as “the new realism” (Campbell, 2010: 11).

With the publication of his *The Chocolate War*, in 1974, Robert Cormier took young adult literature to another level. Although it also explored and presented reality, the novel was different in tone and the approach of the teenager’s issues was more pessimistic and with a darker view than the three preceding novels. Cormier made it possible that

For the first time, a YA novel had confronted a broader human condition beyond the problems of adolescence. He had disturbed the universe of young adult literature with his dark vision and complex ambiguities, and the stunned critical reception of the book led to the realization that fiction for teens could be great literature (Campbell, 2010: 12).

The problem novel functioned in the history of young adult literature as an instrument in the development of young people in their transition to a mature identity. One of the contributions of young adult literature, especially of the problem novel to the solving of existential problems of adolescents is the closeness to reality, a characteristic that gave them the impression that all their issues will solve.

Literature written for teenagers was published nearly forty years from the moment when Hall defined adolescence as a stage in the development of human beings and had a rapid development. Nonetheless, it reached success among young readers, and along its history three turning points are acknowledged: the publication of *Seventeenth Summer* in 1942, the year when Salinger’s *The Catcher* was published, 1951, and the publication of *The Outsiders*, 1967. Perhaps 1947 can be considered another turning point in the history of Young Adult literature, as it is the year when *The Diary of a Young Girl* was published, an epistolary novel written by Anne Frank. Why is it a turning point? In my opinion the author’s idea to write a novel in the epistolary form, the letters not being addressed to a friend or to herself, but to the diary itself (called Kitty) is revolutionary. The interior monologue which describes a teenager trapped in his or her world is a turning point in the history of the genre. The epistolary form in Chobsky’s *The Perks of Being a Wallflower*, published in 1999 used to present the teenager’s attempt to self-discover, or the issues that appear when Charlie becomes an outsider, connects the problem novel from the sixties to the nineties.

Conclusion

This article established the two important literatures that were not separated until the twentieth century. Since fiction written for adolescents emerged in the twentieth century, along with the admission of adolescents as a distinct social

group in 1904 (Stanley Granville Hall), it is considered that, until then, children and teenagers were readers included in the same category. The books they read were referred to as 'children and young adult literature'. It is impossible, then, to analyze young adult fiction and its history without discussing children's literature.

Since it was not until the twentieth century that adolescence as a stage in the human development was acknowledged, along with Granville Stanley Hall's study dedicated to it and published in 1904, literature dedicated to young adults began to emerge in the second half of the century, and it started with the literary illustration of realities in the teenagers' lives. To refer to the literature written for adolescents, which until the second half of the twentieth century was confused with literature written for children (Nielsen and Donelson, 2007), meant to firstly deal with children's literature, in the first part of this article. Until the twentieth century children and teenagers were readers included in the same target category. Until the time when teenagers were considered to be individuals, they did not exist as a separate category of people or of readers, and they read books that were often referred to as 'children and young adult literature'.

Reading fiction like the one this article focused upon one is likely to draw at least two important conclusions, the second having to do with the teaching and reading of literature by young adults today. First, the texts (from a distinct past) in question tell the reader today a lot about that specific time, culture, generation from the past; it is very much the kind of interest that the historian has for past ages and people.

Second, this experience shows that, if adults wish to promote reading and an interest in literature today, they have to start from the teenagers' interests as well, not only from the educators' already established, fixed goals and set texts (we teach these texts because they are classics, culturally important, because we know they are good for their cultural development etc.). The realization of the importance of understanding young adults and their reading preferences, their preoccupations, their values in a changing world led me towards the theoretical texts concerned with the teaching of young adult literature today, as well as towards theoretical materials that would provide the theoretical support for the understanding of a series of cultural aspects involved in the reading and writing of books in a by now thriving genre in America. This paper presented a short history of Young Adult literature, its characteristics as a literary genre, and children's literature transition to adolescent fiction.

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Joy Harjo's Memoir: A Portrayal of Native American Identity in the Modern World

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Abstract

Native American women's writings stand as evidence of their strength and resilience against the discrimination of the mainstream society. In a world where stereotypical views of Native American women dominate, Harjo portrays in her memoir Native women's newfound identity that relies on traditional tribal elements but also acknowledges the Euro-American ones as part of it. Joy Harjo states that one major theme in her life is "this struggle with transitions: between night and day, here and there, desert and water, earth and sky, and beginnings and endings" (*Crazy Brave: A Memoir* 17). *Crazy Brave: A Memoir* shows the struggle undertaken by the writer to overcome mainstream society's discrimination, counteract stereotypical views related to Native Americans and succeed in making her voice heard. Native American women's current identity is a transitional one, as they still try to reassert their powerful tribal identities in a world that sees them as extinct by emphasizing the importance of traditional Native identity components, such as the land, the environment, cultural heritage and language in the process of identity reaffirmation. Joy Harjo's autobiography stands as both a "door to memory" (14) and a milestone for the next generation of Native women and their identity construction.

Keywords: Native American identity, autobiography, transition, stereotype, reassertion.

After a long period of being under Western domination, subjugation, and assimilation, Native Americans fight back, presenting the world a new outlook on history and on every aspects of life through their works. These works represent the Native American resilience and power as well as the reaffirmation and reassertion of their strong identity that has consistently been undermined throughout the centuries by the discriminatory Euro-American society's acts. The fields of Native American Studies and Native American Literature are grounds on which these deconstructions of the white dominant discourse take place, leading to the rise of Native American consciousness regarding the powers Native identity components hold, but also to the reshaping of Euro-American perspectives regarding race and gender. Nowadays, there are many Native American writers who struggle to reassert their tribal sovereignty and ensure the survival of their tribal cultures through their works. Among these writers, there are also women, who apart from having the same agenda as male writers, also struggle to reassert their formal tribal powers in the mainstream society.

I. Introduction

Native American women writers' works represent grounds on which transformation takes place, as Harjo portrays in her memoir Native women's

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newfound identity that relies on traditional tribal elements but also acknowledges the Euro- American ones as part of it. In their works, Native American women writers not only emphasize the powers that tribal identity components hold, but also reenact them in their real life in order to counteract stereotypes and Euro- American discrimination, to recover their tribal status and to heal traumas inherited from the past generations. These works are places of transition from a broken sense of self to a balanced one; a self that while heavily grounded into tribal traditions, also incorporates mainstream society's norms and perspectives, thus allowing future generations of Native American women to live in a world where race and gender are no longer reasons for discrimination.

One of the best known Native American authors, Joy Harjo also shares common themes with other Native authors, such as:

(1) the power of words and storytelling as instruments of survival [...]; (2) the inseparable connection between identity and a sense of place – including the natural environment; (3) the importance of bloodlines (ancestry and posterity)-mixed or pure; (4) the perpetuation of powerful, often traditional, gender identities; (5) sexual expression used either to pervert (as a metaphor for cultural degradation) or enhance human relatedness; and (6) the possibility of healing through reconciliation” (Lundquist 203).

In Harjo's memoir, these themes are found, as she points out their importance in the formation of a powerful Native identity, whose eradication has been a major point in the Euro-American society's agenda during the colonial time. Harjo shows that components of Native American identity, such as language, the land, bloodline and cultural heritage had devastating effects on Native people's sense of selves when removed from their lives; effects that have been perpetuated throughout time from one generation to another. Joy Harjo's works, as well as the works of other Native American authors, “posit the need to either maintain or reclaim particular ethnic identities – identities, however, that are dynamic or in constant flux” (Lundquist 202). Nowadays, many Native Americans are of mixed blood, thus being influenced by both Euro-American and tribal cultures, but trying to live their lives according to the principles of democratic individualism perpetuated by the mainstream society; principles that are in contrast to the Native views and that enhance the fragmentation of Native people's self.

Joy Harjo is part of the Mvskoke Nation and is one of the most prominent voices of the Native American Literature field, creating poetry, music and narratives that reflect the existent contrast between the traditional tribal perspectives and those of the mainstream society. Harjo also emphasizes the conflict that exists within Native Americans due to their mixed heritage, but at the same time, provides new ways of reconstructing a strong identity. Joy Harjo was born in 1951 in Tulsa, Oklahoma, to a mixed Cherokee and French mother and a

Creek father. In her autobiographical narrative entitled *Crazy Brave: A Memoir* (2012), Harjo points out her lineage and how this influenced her, stating that:

My mother-to-be was fire. Those of fire move about the earth with inspiration and purpose [...]. My father-to-be was of the water, and could not find a hold on the banks of earthiness [...] I was born to earth, of water and fire. Because I came through them in this life, I would be quick to despair, and understand how to enter and emerge from ancestor realms (Harjo 14-15)

According to Harjo, this in-between state is nowadays an advantage because it offers people a clearer perspective regarding the current state of the world. People of mixed heritage understand both the tribal traditional and the contemporary society's ways, incorporating elements of both cultures into their lives. Though now considered an advantage, Harjo acknowledges that the state of not fully belonging to either one society or the other leads to psychological and emotional fragmentation and in order to achieve a balanced sense of self, one must undergo great inner struggle. In her memoir, Harjo recounts her life experiences and the inner turmoil in order to show others that the transition from one state to the other is difficult, but at the end of which a powerful identity is reasserted.

II. Harjo's Memoir as Space of Transition

In her *Crazy Brave: A Memoir* (2012), Joy Harjo illustrates the mainstream society's derogatory attitude towards Native Americans, especially women, but also emphasizes that only by maintaining traditional tribal culture alive, will Native women succeed in deconstructing the stereotypes and reasserting their former tribal status of revered human beings, with powerful imagination and keen insight. In her *Native American Literatures: An Introduction* (2004), Suzanne Lundquist states that: "Contemporary Native authors turned to *creative nonfiction* or *literary autoethnography* to express how tribal affiliation, myth, ancestry, gender, life stages, education, geographical locale, and historical moment impress their consciousness and inform their identity and works" (Lundquist 8), thus providing an explanation for Native American women's choice to produce autobiographical narratives. Native American writers produce works that are imbued with tribal traditions, functioning also as ethnographic texts, in order to emphasize the importance of these cultural elements in the formation and maintenance of Native American identity. Native American women writers turned to autobiographical writing to address the discrimination they continue to face daily, not only from the mainstream society, but also from their own tribal one and to show the young generation new ways of healing and achieving a balanced sense of self. As Alan Velie and Clara Sue Kidwell state in their *Native American Studies* (2005): "art and aesthetics are essential ways in which contemporary Native people express their sense of identity" (Kidwell and Velie 14). Velie and Kidwell's opinion is also shared by Suzanne Lundquist, who affirms that: "artistic expression can be used to

find a voice, to survive loss, and to name experience for the sake of self and for others” (Lundquist 209). Thus, as previously mentioned, Native American women writers’ works are grounds on which changes occur and the bases on which Native identities are reasserted or rebuilt.

Another reason for Native American women writers’ choice to turn to autobiographies is given by Devon Abott Mihesuah, a Choctaw historian, in her *Natives and Academics* (1998), who states that: “aspects that have gone mostly unaddressed in historical works are the feelings and emotions of Indian women, the relationships among and between them, and their observations of non-Indians” (Mihesuah 46). According to Mihesuah, Native American women’s status has been severely damaged by colonialism, being judged according to mainstream patriarchal society’s perspectives and every historical account of Native women portray them according to these discriminatory views. Nowadays, Native American women’s writings, either fictional or autobiographical, include historical references as well as tribal cultural elements reinterpreted through their personal perspectives; perspectives which have been influenced by their daily experiences in the modern world. Native American women’s autobiographical narratives are transitional spaces between traditional tribal modes of narrative and Euro-American ones, as they retain the oral tradition of storytelling and emphasize numerous tribal cultural perspectives which are backgrounded to an Euro-American form of writing.

A third reason is given by Linda Hogan, another established Native American woman writer, who acknowledges in her *The Woman Who Watches Over the World* (2001) that: “self-telling is rare for a Native woman, but when I work on reservations with young people they want to know how I survived my life[...]. So this, my human story within a larger one, perhaps will serve as something of a beginning (Hogan 14-15). Native American women’s intertwining of Western forms of writing with traditional tribal elements represent ways of raising Native women’s awareness regarding their powerful identity. Just like Hogan states that her autobiography is a way of showing the new generation how to overcome the traumas of the past, so does Harjo explains her choice of narrating her experiences; that of ensuring survival of her tribal culture and that of helping other Native women overcome their traumas and reassert their roles as powerful human beings when she states that: “I was entrusted with carrying voices, songs, and stories to grow and to release into the world, to be of assistance and inspiration” (Harjo 12).

III. Harjo’s Memoir as Space of Identity Reassertion

Joy Harjo’s autobiographical narrative stands as a way of counteracting Euro-American stereotypes related to Native people and also as evidence of Native Americans’ fierce identity, clearly indicating that the notion of “stereotype” is linked to the concept of identity

In her memoir, Joy Harjo makes numerous references related to the stereotyping of Native Americans and how this affected Native women and their

sense of self. She also points out that Native women's efforts remained unacknowledged, stating that:

In the American mainstream imagination, warriors were always male and military[...]. What of contemporary warriors? And what of the wives, mothers, and daughters whose small daily acts of sacrifice and bravery were usually unrecognized or unrewarded? These acts were just as crucial to the safety and well-being of the people (Harjo 77)

One of the most prevalent stereotypes related to Native Americans is that they were savage warriors but are nowadays extinct. Few images of Native American women had been promoted by the mainstream society amongst which two are still maintained; the first one shows Native women as princesses or daughters of tribal chiefs whose role is to be of service to the white men, such as Pocahontas or Sacajawea, and the second image that portrays Native women as "squaws", women with low moral standards. The mainstream society is unaware of the fact that many tribal societies were matrilineal, that is, lineage was established following the mother's family line, and men moved to their wives' houses, but it does not mean that women were superior to men.

The traditional Native American tribal gender relationship was one of complementarity, where both men and women's daily acts were acknowledged and respected. Nowadays, this gender relationship is broken due to the enforcement of patriarchal views upon native societies. Harjo shows how both tribal and the Euro-American society discriminate Native women, thus contributing to the eradication of a strong and balanced sense of self. Regarding the discrimination of women, especially the lives of Native American ones, Harjo shows both their sufferings as well as their strong will, stating that: "Our mother worked hard and long hours in restaurants, either cooking or waitressing or both. Our stepfather contributed only his share of the mortgage. Our mother paid for everything else" (Harjo 33). Apart from enduring spousal abuse, Native American women were also exploited by the mainstream society, taking menial jobs and being underpaid on account of race. In regard to the discrimination enacted by the mainstream society, Harjo gives numerous examples, one of them being the following:

During my last visit to the clinic at the Indian hospital I was given the option of being sterilized [...] Many Indian women who weren't fluent in English signed, thinking it was a form giving consent for the doctor to deliver their baby [...]. My fluent knowledge of English saved me (Harjo 63).

The fact that this is one of the relatively recent acts of eradication enforced upon Native women by the contemporary mainstream society demonstrates that the colonial thought is still maintained, and the supremacy of the white race is still a fact for many. The trauma Native American women had to endure due to such acts

of Euro-American discrimination was deepened by the Native American men's abusive acts or tribal societies' treatment of women. For example, Harjo points out that although women attend the Institute of American Indian Arts, they were not expected to become professional artists, stating that: "Most of us girls would most likely move home, have babies, and do art at the kitchen table" (Harjo 51). Adopting the mainstream society's patriarchal thought, Native American nations also expected Native women to be subservient to men. Even though traditional roles of women also implied them to rear children and take care of the household, these acts were revered by tribal societies and women were respected.

Devon Abbott Mihesuah, also acknowledges in her *Indigenous American Women* (2003) that the Native American women's status in the contemporary society has been ignored. Regarding a Native woman's identity, Mihesuah states that: "a Native woman [...] may face cultural confusion and have several identities (individual, occupational, religious, social, etc) that correspond to her allegiances (family, tribe, community, state, country), and her identity constantly develops in response to her social, political, and economic environments" (2003: 81). Thus, as most people around the world display an identity that is constantly in flux, Native American women also display several identities that place them in certain groups. These identities may create confusion within, as the contemporary society's main characteristics are fragmentation and alienation, but Native American women's status of in-between cultures and the display of several other identities required to fit in a specific category furthers this existent confusion and leads to profound psychological traumas. Joy Harjo emphasizes the destructiveness brought upon Native tribal societies by the Euro-American colonialism, showing that Native Americans not only lost their lands and their languages, but they were also forced to adopt patriarchal views and apply them to their own tribal societies. Thus, Native American women had to struggle with discrimination from both societies, being unable to make their voices heard.

Only after a long period in which Native American people struggled to revive their cultures and achieve tribal sovereignty the Native women were able to bring forth the issue of their own lost tribal rights which severely affected their sense of self. In her "Decolonizing Native Women", Lee Maracle states that:

Native women have been asked to back-burner their issues as though the rematriation of our governing structures were somehow separate and secondary to nation building. We have, by and large, acquiesced. We have stood on the barricades alongside men [...]. We did so in the interest of national unity, in the interest of "the struggle," the "movement" for self-determination... (Maracle, 2006: 30-1).

The communal welfare is of fundamental importance in Native American cultures, thus personal issues are always put aside when the tribal society is endangered. As a result, Native American women struggled alongside men to regain the lost tribal

rights and chose to ignore their marginal status. Hoy Harjo acknowledges Native women's enforced position regarding tribal welfare stating in her *Crazy Brave: A Memoir* that: "We weren't supposed to be talking about personal difficulties when our peoples were laying down their lives for the cause. We were to put aside all of our domestic problems for the good of our tribal nations and devote our energies to our homes and to justice" (Harjo 81). As previously stated, the acts of discrimination and the abuses that Native American women endured from both the tribal and the mainstream society are nowadays counteracted, as Native women struggle to reconstruct a new and strong identity and reassert their former tribal respected positions by creating powerful works that prove their extraordinary and profound perception of the world. Native women only recently began to discuss in their writings women's current status in both cultures, thus making the transition from works regarding only the tribal issues to works that comprise both communal and personal well-being and that lead to the reconstruction of a new and strong identity and the reassertion of their former tribal respected positions. By sharing their experiences in both tribal and Euro-American societies, Native American women writers show other women that they can find the strength to overcome the traumas of the past, they can counteract the misconceptions regarding their roles and they can reassert former powerful identities.

IV. Transition to a Healed Self

In her memoir, Joy Harjo not only points out the injustices women had to endure for so long, but she also raises Native women's consciousness regarding their identity, emphasizing that the contemporary society is an age of transition and that now the time has come to recover their lost powers, as she affirms that: "Our generation was the seventh generation from the Tecumseh and Monahwee generation. Seven marks transformation and change, the shift from one kind of body to the next" (Harjo 72). *Crazy Brave: A Memoir* is one of the Native American narratives that best exemplifies the contemporary Native women's issues and captures the shift that is taking place in the modern society, where indigenous nations recover their cultures by making their voices heard. Harjo makes references to historical figures and important events to emphasize the braveness that exists within each Native American and to point out that by relying on tribal traditions and perspectives but at the same time embracing change, the Native American identity can be rebuilt.

Native American writers and artists strive for intellectual and tribal sovereignty in order to ensure cultural survival, but they also acknowledge the importance of incorporating into this culture elements of the Euro-American society, as Harjo affirms that Native American people "wished to maintain the integrity of our tribal cultures and assert our individual tribal nations. We aspired to be traditional-contemporary twentieth-century warriors, artists, and dreamers

(Harjo 72). In this way, they re-create an identity that has elements of both cultures and better fits to their mixed heritage.

According to Joy Harjo, Native American movement began in the late 60s, while she was a student at the Institute of American Indian Arts. After a troubled childhood, Harjo states that: “It was in the fires of creativity at the Institute of American Indian Arts that my spirit found a place to heal. I thrived with others who carried family and personal stories similar to my own. I belonged” (Harjo 46). Alongside other Native American artists that were in search of healing, Joy Harjo realized during her years spent at the Institute of American Indian Arts that the age of transition was at its beginning, stating that: “As we made art, attended cultural events, and struggled with family and tribal legacies, we sensed that we were at the opening of an enormous indigenous cultural renaissance, poised at the edge of an explosion of ideas” (Harjo 46). Although the Native American movement had tribal affairs on its main agenda, it nonetheless succeeded in bringing forth traditional tribal views, among which is the one regarding gender complementarity. Nowadays, Native American women writers create works that illustrate women’s powerful imagination and intellect as well as their strength to overcome the discrimination and subjugation of women.

V. Conclusion

Native American women’s works represent the transition point between a shattered sense of self to an empowered identity, as many Native American women writers emphasize in their works the importance of recovering or maintaining tribal cultures and at the same time they counteract the misconception perpetuated by the mainstream society. According to Laura Coltelli, in her “The Transforming Power of Joy Harjo’s Poetry”, the contemporary Native American women writers: “for the first time bore witness directly to their native world, interpreting it from within and freeing it from the portrayals by white writers that had been at best ambivalent, if not thoroughly distorted” (Coltelli 1). Thus, Native American women create works that give new interpretations to their tribal myths and stories, anchoring them into the modern world in order to be of service to generations to come and attributing them personal insights to open new ways that lead to self-determination and identity reassertion.

Joy Harjo reinforces throughout her memoir the need for Native American women’s identity reassertion stating that: “The desires of our hearts make a path. We create legacy with our thoughts and dreams. This legacy either will give those who follow us joy on their road or will give them sorrow (Harjo 76). In other words, by putting the innermost thoughts and emotions into words and creating powerful works, Joy Harjo as well as other Native American women writers paves the way to the development of a society where empowered generations of Native women display a forceful identity. Also, these autobiographical narratives deconstruct the myths that surround Native Americans, presenting a clear image of

their traditional roles, values and perspectives that, if maintained, lead to the healing of the existent inner conflict.

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The Suppression of the Self in Barnes's Novels *The Porcupine* and *The Noise of Time*

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Abstract

Julian Barnes is one of the writers who can easily switch from journalistic writing to fictional biography, without affecting the reader or the narration itself. Both novels, *The Porcupine* and *The Noise of Time* focus on the negative effects of the authoritarian regimes, on the suppression of feelings and attitudes. In *The Porcupine* the emphasis is on the plot itself, on the wide range of characters, and not on the turmoil or on the continuous struggle to be at peace with oneself. This literary work is a reinterpretation of the cold war and the Iron Curtain themes, set in a fictional country, which shares the features of the East European countries. On the other hand, *The Noise of Time* is an introspection, which presents the biography of the Russian composer Dmitri Shostakovich, with accents on his continuous struggle to cope with a strict and oppressive regime, which managed to suppress his personality and to turn him into an obedient new man. The composer hates himself because of his compliant nature, but since his goal is to live through his art, he is ready to make the necessary compromises. For Barnes irony is the key concept, whose effects can be seen under the form of self-criticism, alienation, the suppression of feelings and attitudes or self-sufficiency.

Keywords: journalistic writing, fictional biography, suppression of feelings, alienation, irony

Julian Barnes has always been prone to recreating and reinterpreting well-known events in order to render them from his own perspective. Although he uses historical facts as a starting point for his novels, he wraps them in a shiny presentation, which is meant to create a more familiar and friendlier context. His interest in Eastern Europe, especially before the fall of the Iron Curtain, drove him to write two novels about the socialist communist countries.

In *The Porcupine*, one of the novels in which Barnes places great emphasis on the description of the gloomy atmosphere in a socialist communist fictional country, he is supposed to have been influenced by his experiences in Eastern Europe. The author deconstructs the narration, and consequently, the reader realises that the literary style has turned into a journalistic one, as the narrator is a mere observer, who does not focus on the characters' inner struggle, their turmoil or their hidden wish to escape and to live in a Western country. The book presents the trial of Stoyo Petkanov, the former president who is accused of having imposed a totalitarian regime, which affected his people.

Barnes does not rely on reality he also develops concrete historical or fictional situations, which enable us to approach his literary work using the Poststructuralist critical theory, through a Foucauldian perspective, namely the investigation of discourse. Barnes investigates his characters due to a thorough

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analysis of their discourse. According to Foucault, knowledge is constructed in concrete historical situations, in form of discourse; knowledge is not communicated by discourse, it is discourse itself and can only be encountered textually. In court, Petkanov delivered a formidable speech, with ironical remarks and rhetorical questions, stating that all his actions were meant to help his people. In a letter addressed to the new democratic government, he writes that 'I have done everything in the belief that it was good for my country. I have made mistakes along the way, but I have not committed crimes against my people. It is for these mistakes that I accept political responsibility.' (Barnes, 2009: 170) Consequently, he wants to turn himself into a hero, who has taken all the necessary measures in order to protect his people.

The plot is quite simple, because it follows the trial, the way it affected the prosecutor's life and most of all, it presents the people's reaction and their expectations. Although, there aren't many twists, the reader does not always know where things are heading: sometimes we may guess, sometimes we may have to investigate the discourse in order to discover the hidden meaning. The Poststructuralist analysis- due to the emphasis placed on deconstruction- offers the best opportunities to understand the structure of this novel and the characters' attitude.

When Barnes describes Petkanov's thoughts we find out about the end of other famous communist leaders from Eastern Europe. First, he analyses the fall of communism in Hungary, and he blames Kadar for having opened the frontiers of his country; then, he talks about another ex-communist country, whose leader died of an incurable illness and does not hesitate to present him as a feeble leader, because on his deathbed he has embraced the Christian religion. He even states that Jaruzelski, the president of Poland, is a traitor, who changed his communist convictions in favour of the democratic policy. Furthermore, he has strong opinions about Ceaușescu, accusing him of having tried to impose his communist beliefs which have brought his death. The narrator journalistically mentions Ceaușescu's refusal to join the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, but he simply reiterated it as another flaw, which led to a downfall. The history lesson moves on to Gorbachev, who is thought to be a fool who has always wanted to be like Ronald Reagan. This introspection and the presentation of all these countries enable Barnes to use this unknown country not just as a source of inspiration, but also as the perfect setting for his novel. Using a journalistic tone, he depicts the atmosphere in East-Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the other political events that brought the end of the communist era in this part of the world. *The Porcupine* is not meant to be a history book, Barnes skilfully incorporates all this information in order to laugh at Petkanov's excessive pride and self-sufficiency.

The Noise of Time, which was conceived as a hybrid literary work, offers another perspective on the socialist communist countries, this time a thorough analysis of Dmitri Shostakovich's inner struggle to accept Stalin's regime. Unlike

The Porcupine, this novel can be analysed from the Postmodernist perspective, since it incorporates all types of human discourses. Although, Shostakovich and many other characters are real figures, *The Noise of Time* is a novel rather than a biography, due to its creative structure and the liberties Barnes took in adjusting the course of the Russian composer's life, as he combines characters from two different worlds: musicians and politicians.

The narrative line is not a linear one because there are time leaps, like in all fictional biographies and the most important events take place in 1936, 1948 and 1960. In the first pages, Barnes describes Shostakovich as a frightened man who stands by the lift, waiting for the NKVD to come and take him away for an interrogatory. In *The Porcupine* the atmosphere is not as terrifying as in *The Noise of Time*: in the latter novel Barnes focuses on the fear which encompasses the main character, while the feeling of terror prevails, since the opponents of the communist regime know that they are going to be punished severely. Consequently, the main character has packed a few things, including some cigarettes, underwear, alongside some tooth powder. This much-awaited punishment is the aftermath of his musical work *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District* being denounced by Stalin as "non-political and confusing" (Barnes, 2016: 27). The Great leader resents and condemns all forms of bourgeois manifestation, thinking that this "fidgety, neurotic music" (Barnes, 28) is addressed to perverted social classes.

Twelve years later he is presented as a successful man, who, after composing the patriotic "Leningrad" symphony is called by Stalin himself and goes on a propaganda tour of the United States. Due to the party's appreciation, he can now reshape his career. Although, the desire to survive is greater than the moral values imposed by the main character's conscience, the reader notices that Shostakovich has embarked upon a never-ending quest, doubled by his interior struggle. Even if he is aware of his flaws, of his reluctance to take arms against this totalitarian regime and be himself, he prefers to protect his family, and most of all his compositions.

For the reader it is obvious that he tolerates all the humiliations, all the moral tortures: he even accepts a tutor, Comrade Troshin, who has been appointed by the Union of Composers, and whose task was to help him understand the Marxist-Leninist principles, that is to transform him into a new man. He ends up denouncing his own work and Stravinsky's, although he really admires this composer, while he reads the speech in "a muttered monotone (Barnes, 2016: 78)", and hopes the words will be seen as dictations imposed by the state. One of the most humiliating episodes of the tour is the moment when Nicolas Nabokov, Vladimir Nabokov's cousin, forces Shostakovich to reiterate his endorsement of Zhdanov's views, the man who has caused all his problems, who has long persecuted him. He is aware of the communism's evil face, but the battle has been long win.

Unlike some of his previous novels, which deal with superficial characters, *The Noise of Time* is introspection, based on the auto-analysis of a personal quest, which tests the limits of courage and endurance. Not only does it present the negative effects of a totalitarian regime on art itself, but it also highlights the consequences of the permanent struggle between personal integrity and the compromises, which are meant to help him with the artistic act. It is a battle between conscience and the need to let the world know about your creation. Barnes' character is the living proof that under the constant pressure of the Communist Party individuality vanishes, and the man turns into an obedient and scared creature. The rehabilitation pleased and puzzled him at the same time, and consequently the reader finds out that he proves to be a hesitating man, who is not ready to take action against Stalin's totalitarian rule.

If the readers analyse the novel from a formalist perspective, they will realise that the narrative speaks for itself, without the help of the author or of the historical context, because the clues help the reader a little bit with what is going to come, inciting him to discover the intricate story: "Irony is the key to plot and character. He appears to entertain, when in fact he analyses, dissecting with his irony." (Vianu, 2004: 213)

Starting from the formalist perspective the reader easily notices the fact that the novel, the motifs and the literary techniques can be analysed objectively. Barnes describes life in the Soviet Union, and although these experiences are the reflection of the everyday life, they become symbols in themselves. The oppression exercised by the totalitarian system, the Party's great influence and wish to control and spy on people and above all, the continuous fight with scarcity: the lack of food, medicines and most of all the lack of hope, trust and friendship become the symbols of a world dominated by fear. The novel is more than just a presentation of the cold war, it is an inquiry into the fragile human nature: Shostakovich decided not to resist, in order to survive and to make his music world known. For an outsider it is extremely difficult to decide whether he is to be condemned or not for his feebleness, for his lack of resistance, mostly because Barnes presents the turmoil, and the torture he had submitted himself to. For the novelist, this process of revelation helps him to show his sympathy for the main character and his belief that art survives irrespective of the moral corruption and integrity.

During his last encounter with Power, in 1960, we see the same Soviet Union with an older, but discontent Dmitri Dmitrievich Shostakovich, who, while sitting in the back of a chauffeur-driven car ponders upon his moral and spiritual decay. Although the times have changed and "Nikita the Corncob" has replaced Stalin, the composer has reached the highest peak of his moral downfall: he accepts to become a member of the Communist Party in order to be appointed Chairman of the Union of Composers: "Dmitri Dmitrievich Shostakovich has joined the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It can't

be, because it couldn't ever be, as major said when he saw the giraffe. But it could be, and it was." (Barnes, 2016: 158). These words show in fact his disbelief, his disgust and his true feelings about the Party; more than that, they even stand for his sadness or for his emotional drama. Barnes overtly describes and labels him as a neurotic, who in spite of his introverted nature "was attracted to extroverted women" (Barnes, 36).

He is granted all the titles, including that of the Hero of Socialist Labour, but the consequences of the oppression have suppressed his personality, and the rage he had gathered over the years makes him blame himself for having lived too long. His torment began in the first half of the novel when he realised that he could not withstand the psychological assault: "Who did not grasp the one simple fact about the Soviet Union: that it was impossible to tell the truth here and live". (Barnes, 55) He is aware of the compromises, or of the sacrifices, he has to make in order to live through his work and to present his compositions to the whole world. He compares his music to the Chinese eggs pointing out that unlike them music should be presented to everyone. In a way, he has now managed to cope with the communist system, and he no longer resents being appreciated by the party. When he understands that he cannot free himself from the Communist shackles, he looks forward to liberating his music from his life, and he sees this opportunity in his much-awaited death. His strong beliefs that art is immortal, that it will outlive us all make the pain bearable.

The Noise of Time can also be read in an ironical key, because Shostakovich proves to be very self-critical and abounds in irony in order to show his repulsion towards his own behaviour or to pity himself. He laughs at himself and he is not close to the reader: there isn't much information about the death of his wife or about his sorrow, what we do know is that the irony hides the effects of his drama. It is the drama of a Russian composer, who seems to have sold his soul to the devil in order to get fame and recognition, and who will be forever haunted by his self-loathing attitude.

Both novels describe the suppression of the personal ideas, of the personality itself, highlighting the negative effects of a totalitarian regime; they are the story of a battle with life itself, of souls which are tormented by guilt and anger. One of the similarities is that the characters have to face the continuous psychological assault and the impossibility to tell or to acknowledge the truth. For Barnes irony is the key concept, whose effects can be seen under the form of self-criticism, even if he talks about alienation, the suppression of feelings and attitudes or about self-sufficiency.

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LINGUISTICS AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS

From *Hall* to *Mudroom*: A Brief Chronology of the English Terminology for the Indoor and Outdoor Space (De)Limitations

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Abstract

As defined by van Gennep in his analysis of the cultural rites of passage (and refined by Victor Turner in his subsequent works), the concept of *limen* refers to a transitional threshold between two states of development; in the field of architecture, the equivalent of this threshold is a specially designated area placed between two spaces that are completely different, usually one belonging to the outside and the other to the inside. Liminality refers to more than just the distinctive line that separates the two stages or spaces; it defines a vague, uncertain stage (or space) which belongs to neither of the stages for which it acts as a buffer. It is a period of transformation during which characteristics of the previous stage are lost and gradually replaced by new ones, corresponding to a future role.

This paper aims to investigate the English terminology that refers to this buffer spaces between the outside and the inside of human dwellings. We try to show that in architecture the concept of liminality acquires a larger meaning, by referring to a progressive, layered transition from the outside space to the inside. Over the centuries, these stages of transition labeled by the various terms seem to be eliminated, according to the utility and trends of the time. Moreover, in other domains, some of the terms analysed acquire new, more encompassing usages ranging from the literal meaning to a metonymic interpretation.

Key words: transition, architectural space, liminality, metonymic use, terminology

The term *limen* (of Latin origin) refers to a threshold, a border, a separation of spaces that are different and therefore need some delimitation that would clearly mark the passage from one space to the other. One of the most famous uses of the term was undoubtedly in Arnold van Gennep's 1909 book *Rites of Passage*. Here the ethnographer developed the concept of *liminality* while commenting on the importance of transition in any society. Transitional stages can be perceived in various aspects of human and natural life. In nature (and time) it comes with the seasons, the harvest periods and the arrival of the new year. In human societies, the transition from the individual's one stage of development to another is marked by a sequence of moments - separation from the previous stage/ transition (the liminal period)/ incorporation in the new stage. The rites of passage and the threshold rituals described by van Gennep are thus associated with the moments when a person leaves one world and enters another, but they refer not just to the physically delimited space but also to stages of development marked by an uncertain, unclear position of the person who is caught in between two worlds. They announce an ambiguous and

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undefined status, different from both the previous and the following one. It is associated with isolation, with a lack of identity and of a social role, and consequently characterised by social invisibility (as pointed out by Turner). According to van Gennep, “the interdiction to enter a territory is magical and religious in character, being expressed in the lay world by means of boundary stones, walls, and by simpler means in the semi-civilised world”.³

In daily life, various spatial dimensions of liminality can be encountered, such as specific places (a doorway in a house, a line that separates holy from sacred in a ritual, specific objects, parts or openings of the human body), special areas or zones (border areas between nations, monasteries, prisons, airports) and “countries” or larger regions and continents (Mesopotamia, the Mediterranean Sea; Ancient Palestine, lying in between Mesopotamia and Egypt; Ionia in Ancient Greece, in between the Near East and Europe) (Thomassen, 2009: 16).

The acknowledgment of the existence (and necessity) of such a period of transition in people’s existence had to be expressed architecturally, knowing that from the earliest times human dwellings were created according to the needs and purposes of their inhabitants. In this line, in architecture, along the years, the expression of this separation comes in the shape of (1) delimitation between the outside and the inside, the public and the private, the dangerous and the safe; (2) walls of citadels and fortresses (Hadrian’s wall, the Great Wall of China, etc. where the wall is seen “as a mediator between the sacred interior and the profane exterior” (Graves: 253); (3) spaces created to serve as buffer areas between the outside and the inside, which consequently take on qualities of the two spaces they connect (as in the Arabic architecture, characterized by the existence of common, semi-private and private areas, such as inside courtyards, or as in the case of the sacred architecture, with its specific buffer areas that connect the outside and the inside areas).⁴

Such spaces are intriguing, as while trying to mark the delimitation between the outside and the inside areas, they belong to neither in totality. When placed outside, they are considered as a component part of the building, when placed inside, they are perceived as spaces that still conceal the real essence of the house and let the outside world in, but not completely. They are the in-between spaces (Arnheim at al, 1966),⁵ “also known as a connection, a transition, border, differentiation, threshold or line of tension. The design of

³ van Gennep, op. cit., p. 26 (my translation).

⁴ The Romanian traditional architecture is another significant example, with its mandalic structure (vatra /hearth, the central point; casa /house, home; pridvor sl. *pered dvor*, “in front of the yard”; ograda/ cour, grounds; sat/ village; țarină/ field, land). This is the topography of the archaic and traditional Romanian villages, as seen by Andrei Oișteanu (*Ordine și haos*, p. 579, with a very suggestive drawing by Florin Colpacci).

⁵ In Shahlaei, 75-6.

space which is neither internal nor external – may best be described as a third type of space: inside-outside space (Brookes, 2012).⁶

The table below shows the most common English terms that refer to these indoor and outdoor spaces of transition. In a logical spatial orientation, the analysis will start with the outside areas, which are adjacent spaces that mark the transition between the outer, public area and the indoor, private one.

outside	period	inside	period	public	private
porch	13-14 c.	hall	8 c.	+	+
portico	early 17 c.	gallery	15 c.	+	
veranda(h)	18 c.	galilee	16 c.	+	
		lobby	16 c.	+	
		atrium	late 16 c.	+	+
		corridor	16 c.	+	
		vestibule	17 c.	+	
		antechamber	17 c.	+	+
		narthex	late 17 c.	+	
		hallway	18 c.	+	+
		concourse (2)	mid-19 c.	+	
		chow hall (AE Army)	20 c.	+	
		mudroom	1945-50		+

The term *porch*, first attested in 1250-1300, comes from Middle English *porche*, via Old French and all the way from the Latin *porticus*. The French lineage is of course understandable, since in that period the French influence in the British Isles was still evident. Its recorded meanings mention the external location of the space: (1) an exterior appendage to a building, forming a covered approach or vestibule to a doorway; (2) a veranda. A third meaning is a reminder of the ancient usage of the term for a public, open space of meeting: (3) the Porch, the portico or stoa in the agora of ancient Athens, where the Stoic philosopher Zeno of Citium and his followers met.⁷

The above-mentioned *portico* refers to “a structure consisting of a roof supported by columns at regular intervals, typically attached as a porch to a building.” It was recorded in the early 17th century and is an Italian word derived from the same Latin *porticus* that had also been the source for *porch*. The presence of the Italian term in English is undoubtedly related to the influence the Italian art and architecture had in the entire Europe in the 17th century. We should not forget that this is the time when many English travellers

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ <http://www.dictionary.com>

marveled at the *pallazzi* and *piazze* they discovered on the Peninsula.⁸ In the American architecture the term will be used only in the 18th century, when there is a great return of the ancient Greek and Roman architectural detail in the Neo-classical architecture that takes over the new nation of the New World. As noted by McDowell, in many European cities the portico had previously acquired great public importance. Besides adorning the various constructions, the vaulted corridors that lined the buildings in Bologna, Padua, Venice or Innsbruck offered the passers-by shelter and protection. In America, Thomas Jefferson (who had taken a trip to Europe in 1784-1789) praised this neo-Palladian architecture and had a portico added to his home in Virginia.⁹

Another term that is present in the English language starting with the 18th century is *veranda(h)*. This “roofed platform along the outside of a house, level with the ground floor”¹⁰ can be enclosed by railing and often stretches along the front and the sides of the house. This railing enclosure explains the origins of the word, which is thought to come from the Hindi *baraṅḍā*, *barāmdā* (from the Persian *bar āmadah* meaning “coming out”, or perhaps from the Portuguese *varanda* and the Spanish *baranda* meaning “railing, balustrade”). Very common for the colonial architecture of the 18th and 19th centuries, it is the (more) enclosed variant of the above-mentioned *porch* and slowly makes the transition towards the indoor spaces that will be analysed in the next section of this article.

As far as the indoor spaces are concerned, the range is much wider, and so are the functions attributed to them. Most of the terms are used to denominate rooms that belong to both public and private buildings, while some of them have acquired in time many other meanings in various domains of activity.

Chronologically, *hall* is the most ancient term used to denominate the space that serves as a buffer between the outside and the inside area of a dwelling. It is recorded¹¹ as referring to (1) “a corridor or passageway in a building”, but also to (2) “the large entrance room of a house or building (vestibule, lobby)” (a meaning developed in the 17th century, when the doors of a building led into the main room of a house) and to (3) “a large room or building for public gatherings (auditorium), as in *concert hall* or *convention hall*”. It is supposed to have been used even before the year 900, originating from the Old English term *heall*, which is related to the Old Norse *hǫl* and the German *Halle*. It is also linked to the Old English *helan* (to cover), from the Latin verb *cēlāre* (to hide, which later gave the English *to conceal*).

⁸ The Oxford English Dictionary mentions the term *Grand Tour* coined and used in the English literature from the mid-seventeenth century onwards to refer to the English travel to Italy, which would become an extremely fashionable activity in the two centuries to come. (in Pinnavaia, 1).

⁹ McDowell, *The Portico – An Ancient Architectural People Protector*, 2014.

¹⁰ <http://www.dictionary.com>

¹¹ <http://www.dictionary.com>

The venerable age of this term may very well account for its decline in importance in the geography of the house. As strange as it may seem, in the old times the hall was considered to be the most important room of the house. As John Goodall points out “in deference to a tradition stretching back to the Anglo-Saxon period, it was also invariably roofed in timber, never vaulted in stone like a church”.¹²

It was a large room that had the hearth right in its centre and where the entire family gathered, spent their time, ate and slept. Practically, it came to represent the house itself. This explains the fact that starting with the Middle Ages and until the 15th century it became a component of the denomination of the dwelling (Darlington Hall, Hardwick Hall).¹³ It was not until the 17th century that houses made room for other chambers, and people started to make a distinction, both in use and denomination, between the first room, the hall, and the second, the parlour. They were, however, placed one after the other, as all the chateaux of the time stand proof of. Hence, the French term *enfilade* was used to label this rather inconvenient layout. Still, at the end of the 16th century, the English architect John Thorpe had the innovative idea of placing all these room on either side of a long hall. It was time for the corridor to reorganize people’s houses. The hall shrank in both size and importance. It ended up being what it is today, a usually small and dark room where house owners and guests leave their heavy clothes and muddy shoes (a forerunner of the contemporary *mudroom*). It is a transitory space where everything that connects people with the outside world is abandoned before access to the main areas of the house is granted. The former glory of the term is still maintained in the more recent collocation *Hall of Fame* (attested in 1786 as an abstract concept) and its contemporary meaning drawing to the sports domain (attested in 1901 in relation to Columbia College), or in artistic institutions (Albert Hall, Carnegie Hall). The compound *hallway* (a corridor in a building or an entrance hall in a hotel or an office building) will be recorded in 1719 and listed as an Americanism in 1875-80 by the Merriam-Webster dictionary, while the military collocation *chow hall* recorded in the 1940s denotes a large room where meals are served for the troops.

Gallery has been traced back to the years 1400-50 (late Middle English), adopted and adapted from the Old French *galerie*, which had naturally developed from the Medieval Latin *galeria*.¹⁴ It is believed to be the result of a suffix replacement from *galileal galilæa* which later gave *galilee* in English (another term that shall be analysed further down).

¹² Goodall, *The Great Hall*,

https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/middle_ages/great_hall_01.shtml

¹³ Bryson, 2017: 49.

¹⁴ <http://www.dictionary.com>

By definition, *gallery* mainly refers to various types of usually elevated public areas where a public (visitors, spectators, etc) can be accommodated. It is usually a component of theatres and exhibition halls (in the latter case, it acquires a metonymic use as it can refer to an entire building devoted to artistic displays). Among the numerous explanations of the term, one equals it to a corridor, while another mentions it as an equivalent of “a long porch or portico, a veranda” (in the South Atlantic States).¹⁵ Other meanings are more technical, while still connected to a long, narrow passage (for nautical, mining or military purposes). What is interesting about this term is that three of the definitions are in immediate connection to the its main usage and refer to the public attending specific events: “the occupants of such an area in a theatre; the general public, especially when regarded as having popular or uncultivated tastes; any group of spectators or observers, as at a golf match, a Congressional session, etc.”¹⁶

The related term *galilee* is used to describe a feature of the religious architecture. Being first recorded in 1585-95 and coming from the Latin *galilaea*, it denominates “the porch or vestibule often placed on the ground floor of a tower, at the entrance of some English churches”. The explanation given by the dictionary reminds of historical realities: “porch of a church, literally, Galilee; perhaps alluding to Galilee as a country of Gentiles (as opposed to Judaea), the porch being an area especially associated with the laity”.¹⁷

Narthex is another term used in sacred architecture. Mentioned starting with the late 17th century, it entered English via Latin from the Greek *narthēx*, denominating “an antechamber, porch, or distinct area at the western entrance of some early Christian churches, separated off by a railing”. The fact that in the past it was used only for women shows an early function of separation that this space used to have (which is still maintained to this day in some non-Christian religions).

The 17th century architecture in England made use of yet another new feature labeled with a term that had entered the language in the previous century, more specifically around 1545-55: *lobby*. Lobby-entry plan houses were extensively built throughout England and boasted of “a vestibule or lobby placed between the entrance and the axial chimney-stack and giving access to the two ground-floor rooms”.¹⁸ As defined by the dictionary, the lobby mainly serves public buildings: “(1) an entrance hall, corridor, or vestibule, as in a public building, often serving as an anteroom; (2) a corridor or hall connected with a larger room or series of rooms and used as a passageway or waiting room”.¹⁹ It can also be the foyer of a hotel or theatre, this meaning being

¹⁵ <http://www.dictionary.com>

¹⁶ <http://www.dictionary.com>

¹⁷ <http://www.dictionary.com>

¹⁸ Quiney, *The lobby-entrance house...*

¹⁹ Merriam-Webster Dictionary.

recorded by Merriam-Webster as of 1593. Coming, once again from Latin, from the Medieval form *lobia*, *laubia* (a covered way), it is also traced back to the Old High German **laubia* (later *lauba*) “arbor”, a derivative of *laub* (leaf). As in the case of *gallery*, the term can also be used as a metonymy to refer to “a group of persons who work or conduct a campaign to influence members of a legislature to vote in their interest”,²⁰ since the word also denominates an anteroom of the legislative chamber where the British members go to vote.

Another term of Latin origin that entered English in the 16th century is *atrium*. Initially an open-roofed entrance or a central court in Roman houses, it came to denominate the central halls of modern buildings, often covered by a glazed roof. As highlighted by Hung and Chow (2011: 1), in the past the atrium was a common space that made the connection between the private, isolated houses and the outside area. It is therefore an ambiguous space as, although it is an indoor space, part of it (the top) is connected to the outside environment. It made a fulminating come back in the 19th century and especially in the 20th century, with modern interpretations by architects Frank Lloyd Wright, I.M. Pei and others.

Although it is placed at the very center of a building, very often being its axis, the *corridor* is still perceived as an in-between space, as it connects the rooms of a house, serving as a neutral space that gives access to the private chambers. Used ever since the 1585-95, it travelled all the way from the Latin verb *currere* (to run) + *-i-tōrium*, via Upper Italian *corridore* (Tuscan *corridoio*) and Middle French.²¹ The usage in other domains of activity (navigation by air and water, geography) implies movement along a narrow strip or restricted area and is therefore illustrative of the Latin origin of the word.

Similar to hall (in its contemporary use) and lobby, *vestibule* is a transient space connecting the outside and the inside: “a passage, hall, or antechamber between the outer door and the interior parts of a house or building; lobby”.²² First recorded in 1615-25 (from the Latin *vestibulum* meaning “forecourt, entrance”), it denoted the space in front of a classical Roman or Greek building. This outdoor space was later to become part of the building itself, serving as a room that enabled visitors to make the transition to the main rooms, as it is the place where heavy clothes and accessories were deposited during their visit. Its destination was to welcome people into the house, without giving them immediate access to the main rooms. It was also the room where people could take shelter from the elements while waiting for the master or mistress of the house to greet them.²³ Another meaning, recorded in

²⁰ Merriam-Webster Dictionary

²¹ <http://www.dictionary.com>

²² Merriam-Webster Dictionary

²³ *Foyer*, the French term designating a hall where artists and public could talk in theatres, also started to denote the vestibule of a private house or of a hotel.

1726, referred to another type of passage, more public: “an enclosed space at the end of a passenger car, serving as a sheltered entrance to the car from another car or from outside the train”.

The most intriguing and restrictive in meaning and use, in spite of its location, is probably the *antechamber*. It is used in both private and public buildings and in both cases it serves the same purpose: to make people wait before entering the private space of an important person (the owner of the house or the holder of an important position in an institution). Registered in 1650-60 and with an earlier form *antichamber* coming from the French *antichambre*, a translation of the Italian *anticamera*, itself an equivalent to *anti-* (< Latin *ante-*) + *camera*, it is also called an anteroom or a waiting room. It is intriguing because it is a room that is placed inside the house or building but still functions as a transition space. It is the last obstacle before the hoped for access to the owner's private rooms.

In modern times, the terms coined to refer to new realities may surprisingly have ancient origins. It is the case of *concourse*, which denotes “a large open area inside or in front of a public building”, referring especially to railway stations and airports. This first meaning dates back to the 19th century and is an American term. A second meaning, however, reminds of a more ancient lineage: coming from the Late Middle English, via Old French *concour*, from Latin *concursum* and the verb *concurrere* “run together, meet”, it has the formal meaning of “a crowd or assembly of people”. Similarly to *gallery* and *lobby*, it can have a metonymic use, referring to the people that gather in a particular place.

Finally, another buffer area used for private purposes is the contemporary *mudroom*, which was first recorded in 1945-50 and which designates “a vestibule or other area in a house, in which wet and muddy clothes or footwear are removed”. Usually located in the basement or in the immediate vicinity of the kitchen, it can be connected to the back entrance of the house. Just like many of the previously analysed terms, it denotes a space seen as “an intermediate area between the public area outside of a house and a private area on the inside”.²⁴ As its denomination clearly states, it is the cleansing place that has the role of a decontamination room. It marks the separation between the literally dirty world that lies outside the walls of the house and the inside, which needs to be protected from any dangerous factors. In a very practical way, this reminds of the theory of liminality, according to which there are necessary thresholds to pass and stages to go through before passing from one space to another.

It might also be interesting to mention the fact that modern architecture seems to have discarded these buffer spaces, at least in the case of private

²⁴ Maliki et al., 2015, in Shahlaei, 76.

houses. Very often the front door gives access directly to the main room of the house, the living room, which ever so often is not disconnected from the kitchen, the resulting space being an area that welcomes and entertains guests. The ground floor thus becomes a private semi-public space, while the upper part of the building (where bedrooms and family bathrooms coexist) is reserved to the family and the night time. As a counterpart, in many residential areas, where the threshold or barrier once represented by the property fence is also abolished, the modern solution in defence of privacy is the communal gate that bans outsiders from entering a restricted area (gated communities, restricted access to streets and alleys, etc).

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to analyse the terminology used in English to denominate the various areas that mark the delimitations between the outdoor and the indoor spaces inhabited and used by people. This terminology changes according to the historical stages of development of the British (and American) society and also in keeps with the artistic and architectural fashion and moods of the time. It shows a progressive, layered transition from the outside to the inside, labeling spaces that are meant to give outsiders gradual access to the inside, as if they had go through a transitional stage that is a clear reminder of van Gennep's theory discussed at the beginning of this article.

As we have seen, there is specific terminology developed for the numerous public and private spaces designed, in most cases of Latin origin and arrived in English via Italian or French, depending on the influences of the period. The specific architecture is adjusted to the social functions requested by the time (see the role of halls, lobbies or antechambers, among others).

In some cases (gallery, lobby, concourse) the terminology used to denominate spaces designed for public use has acquired a metonymic use, also referring to the people that gather and manifest themselves in those places.

We have chosen to include a few terms related to sacred architecture in order to show that it very much resembles secular architecture (and probably inspired it) in what concerns the need to delimitate the outside and the inside areas and to enable a gradual transition from one to the other, a transition that gives time to the visitor to prepare his adjustment to the new space.

The elimination of these buffer spaces in modern architecture is partially the result of the changes in mentality, in social structure and behavior, in life style and management of public and private activities. Most certainly, it also has pragmatic reasons that translate in simpler, more practical living arrangements. This does not mean, however, that there is complete abolishment of the delimitation between the outer and the inner space of human habitation areas. The physical delimitation is only pushed farther from the private space (as in the case of the gated communities mentioned above) or, when completely

abandoned, is in fact replaced by a mental and moral one (enforced by laws against trespassing).

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Transition in Romanian Medical Terminology – From Birth to the English Influence

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Abstract

With a history of more than three centuries, Romanian medical terminology is based on a Greco-Latin nomenclature. Throughout its history, it has also been subjected to many other linguistic influences, such as French, Italian, German, Russian, and to the more recent English influence. In our country, however, the studies on the history and evolution of this specialised vocabulary are scarce.

The present paper brings its contribution to filling that gap. To do that, the article surveys Romanian medical terminology from birth till the advent of English as a *lingua franca* of medicine. This study brings to light the linguistic influences exerted on Romanian medical terminology at different stages of its evolution, by means of concrete examples of lexical borrowings from the languages it has been in contact with.

The historical overview is not only an account of things past, but also a source of answers and solutions to the problems Romanian medical terminology is facing nowadays, due to the overwhelming English influence.

Key words: medical terminology, historical perspective, language contact, cross-linguistic influence, borrowings.

1. Introduction

Romanian medical terminology is a specialised vocabulary with a history of more than three centuries. Being a terminology of high social relevance, especially to contemporary society, its historical development should be at the core of linguistic investigations. Surprisingly enough, there are few comprehensive studies on the history and evolution of medical terminology in our country. We have used them as reference for this paper (cf. Ursu, 1962; Toma, 1988), together with the only medical dictionary which mentions the etymology of medical terms (cf. DM, 2007).

But these works offer few and fragmented data on the subject. A historical overview of this terminology could help us understand its present status. Nowadays Romanian medical vocabulary is confronted with massive and unsupervised imports from English, which sometimes give rise to ambiguities and even errors. That is why an account of how Romanian medical language has evolved and dealt with other linguistic influences over time could help us find answers and solutions to the problems it is facing today.

Our research is a lexical one. The study focuses on the linguistic influences exerted on Romanian at different stages of its evolution, providing examples of lexical borrowings from the languages it has been in contact with.

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We will list down the lexical material according to the languages of entry into Romanian. The lexical borrowings surveyed are either common words with specialized meanings, or technical terms. All the dictionaries and books we used for our research are mentioned in the *References* section of the paper.

The exact sources of borrowings may be sometimes difficult to establish, as some words are direct borrowings, others indirect, and some are the intermediary. In other cases, the principle of multiple etymologies applies. Moreover, the dictionaries we consulted did not always agree on the etymology of the words in question.

Nevertheless, the following approximate picture of how Romanian medical vocabulary has changed and developed is useful.

Where possible, the older Romanian terms are mentioned, to highlight the evolution of forms. The abbreviation *obs.* stands for “obsolete”.

The time span surveyed extends from the mid18th century, when Romanian medical writings started to appear, till the end of the 20th century, when English became the *lingua franca* of medicine.

2. Lexical borrowings in Romanian medical language

A. From Greek and Latin

Like most European medical vocabularies, Romanian medical terminology is based on a Greco-Latin nomenclature. In addition, derivation by affixation, based on word parts of Greco-Latin percentage, has always been a productive process in medical language, able to produce potential complex words on the pattern of existing terms.

Though Romanian medical writings began to appear relatively late, in the mideighteenth century, some scientific medical terms had been recorded before, in the 17th century, in documents, lexicons, and mostly in Dimitrie Cantemir's writings. Dimitrie Cantemir and Constantin Cantacuzino are considered the founders of scientific terminology, even though their works had a limited echo in the era.

The first important Romanian medical text is *Alegerilelui Ippocrat*, a translation of the Greek manuscript called *The Aphorisms of Hippocrates*, published by an unknown translator in the eighteenth century (Toma, 1988: 16). This book and the manuscripts called *Meșteșugul doftorii* (Ursu, 1962: 55) and *Meșteșugul doftoricesc* (Ursu, 1962: 57) record some of the first loanwords and calques of Greek, Latin or Romance origin. It should be noted that many Greco-Latin borrowings came into our language by the intermediary of German and Hungarian in Transylvania, Neo-Greek and Russian in Wallachia, and Italian and French in all the regions of the country.

By the end of the 1800, Romanian medical writings grew in number, circulating in all three Romanian Principalities, under the form of medical journals, prescriptions and notes.

Here are some examples of Greek and Latin medical terms from the 18th and early 19th century, still in use nowadays, sometimes with a different form.

- *Anatomie* < Gr. *anatomia* / *ἀνατομία*, *anatome* meaning “dissection”;
- *abducție* < Lat. *abducō*, -ere;
- *adducție* < Lat. *adducō*, -ere;
- *amigdală* < Lat. *amygdala*, cf. Greek *amygdale* / *ἀμυγδάλη*, meaning “almond”;
- *amputație* < Lat. *amputātiō*, -ōnis;
- *articulație* < Lat. *articulātiō*, -ōnis;
- *arteră* < Gr. *arterial* / *ἀρτηρία*, probably from *αἶρειν* “to raise, lift up”;
- *astm* < obs. *astmă* < Gr. *asthma* / *ἄσθμα*, meaning “breathing hard”;
- *cance* < obs. *Carchin* < Gr. *karkinos* / *καρκίνος*, the Greek word for “crab” (the tumour was so called from the swollen veins surrounding the part affected, bearing a resemblance to a crab’s limbs);
- *cataplasă* < Gr. *kataplasma* / *κατάπλασμα*, meaning “poultice”;
- *creier* < Lat. *cerebrum*, -ī, cf. Greek word *cerebru*;
- *cefalee* < obs. *chefalee* < Gr. *kephale* / *κεφαλή*, meaning “head”;
- *colon* < Lat. *colōnus*, -ī, cf. Greek *kolon* / *κόλον*, meaning “food, meat, the colon”;
- *cord* < Lat. *cor*, -dis;
- *diabet* < obs. *diavit* < Gr. *diabetes* / *διαβήτης*, “a passer through”, also the name of the disease;
- *digestive* < Lat. *dīgestiō*, -ōnis;
- *duoden* < Lat. *duodēnī*, -ae, so called from its length, *duodēnī digitōrum* meaning “space of twelve digits, or finger’s breadths”;
- *epilepsie* < obs. *epilipsie* < Gr. *epilepsia* / *ἐπιληψία*;
- *farmacist* < obs. *farmacop* < Gr. *pharmakon* / *φάρμακόν*;
- *fibulă* < Lat. *fibula*, -ae;
- *fistulă* < Lat. *fistula*, -ae;
- *flegmă* < Gr. *phlegma* / *φλέγμα*, meaning “inflammation”;
- *cangrenă* / *gangrene* < Lat. *gangrēna*, -ae, cf. Greek *gangrainal* / *γάγγραινα*;
- *glandă* < Lat. *glāns*, *glandis*, meaning “acorn”;
- *gută* < Lat. *gutta*, -ae, meaning “drop”, applied to gout and other diseases attributed to a ‘defluxion’ of humours;
- *chirurgie* < obs. *hirurgie* < Lat. *chīrūrgia*, -ae, cf. Greek *kheirourgia* / *χειροαργία*, Germ. *Chirurgie*, Russ. *Hirurgija*, Fr. *chirurgie*;

- *cronic* < obs. *hronic* < Lat. *chronicus*, -a, from the Greek word *chronos*/ *χρόνος*, meaning “time”; the Russian influence is also admitted, Russ. *hronic*;
- *igienă* < Gr. *hygieia*/ *ὕγεια*;
- *inflamație* < Lat. *inflammātiō*, -ōnis;
- *hepatită* < obs. *ipatitis* < Gr. *hepatitis*/ *ἥπατιτις*, from *hepar*/ *ἥπαρ*, meaning “liver”;
- *metastază* < obs. *metastasis* < Gr. *metastasis*/ *μετάστασις*, meaning “removal, change”;
- *pacient* < Lat. *patiēns*, -ntis, meaning “the one who suffers, who endures”, cf. Fr. *patient*;
- *pancreas* < Gr. *pagkreas*/ *πάγκρεας*;
- *paralizie* < obs. *paralisis* < Gr. *paralysis*/ *παράλυσις*;
- *plămân* < obs. *pulmon* < Lat. *pulmō*, -ōnis;
- *respirație* < Lat. *respīrātiō*, -ōnis, which could have modelled the Germ. *Respiration*, It. *respirazione*, and the Fr. *respiration*;
- *stomac* < Lat. *stomachus*, -ī, cf. It. *stomaco*;
- *transfuzie* < obs. *transfusie* < Lat. *trānsfūsiō*, -ōnis, cf. Germ. *Transfusion*, It. *transfusion*, Fr. *transfusion*.

B. From Italian

The end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century mark increased cultural, scientific and linguistic Romanian-Italian contacts. The era of Constantin Brîncoveanu and Constantin Cantacuzino was a time of unprecedented development of medicine all over Europe, many Romanian doctors being trained in Italian schools.

As far as medical terminology is concerned, borrowings from Italian are difficult to distinguish from Latin or French ones, due to the structural and formal closeness of these languages. We will try to give examples of relatively certain Italian loanwords. To establish their Italian origin, the books we consulted took into consideration graphic, phonetic and morphological aspects.

- *cataractă* < obs. *catarat* < It. *catarrata*;
- *convalescent* < obs. *convalesent* < It. *convalescente*, cf. Lat. *convalescō*, -ere, “regaining of health”;
- *crystalin* < obs. *crystalino* < It. *crystalino*;
- *curativ* < It. *curativo*, cf. Fr. *curatif*;
- *epidemic* < It. *epidemico*;
- *idiopatic* < It. *idiopatico*;
- *umoare* < obs. *umore* < It. *umore*, cf. Lat. *hūmor*, -ōris, “fluid, moisture”.

C. From German

The German influence on Romanian medical terminology was mostly due to the cultural and linguistic German tradition in Transylvania. Starting with the 17th century, doctors from Transylvania began to study medicine at famous German universities. At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, numerous doctors from Wallachia as well attended German medical schools.

In his books, Ioan Molnar-Piuariu, a Transylvanian physician and a great scholar, used a terminology of German influence. He is one of the first doctors to have voiced the difficulties of having to deal with a medical language not fully developed to express new lexical realities. The solution he found was to borrow terms from other languages, especially from German (Molnar-Piuariu, 1785, *Către cititori*).

Medical terms of German parentage also circulated in the other Romanian provinces, due to the cultural and scientific relations between the Principalities, including medical meetings, trainings and, as mentioned before, the education of some doctors in German-speaking countries, as well as their preference for German works.

Here are a few medical loanwords from German, in use in the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. It should be noted that some terms considered German due to their specific pronunciation, may actually have a Greco-Latin etymology, with a phonetic adaptation according to German.

- *angină* < obs. *anghină* < Germ. *Angina*, cf. Lat. *angīna*, -ae, meaning “choking”;
- *apotecă*, *apotecar* (meaning “pharmacist” and “pharmacy”, used as regionalisms in Transylvania) < Germ. *Apotheke*, *Apotheker*, cf. Lat. *apothēca*, -ae;
- *diagnoză* < Germ. *Diagnose*, cf. Gr. *diagnosis/διάγνωσις*, meaning “to distinguish, to discern”;
- *farmacologie* < obs. *farmacologhie* < Germ. *Pharmakologie* or Russ. *farmakologija*;
- *farmaceutic* < obs. *farmațeutic* < Germ. *Pharmazeutisch*;
- *fiziologie* < obs. *fiziologhie/ fiziologie* < Germ. *Physiologie* and Fr. *physiologie*, cf. Lat. *physiologia*, -ae;
- *spital* < obs. *șpital* < Germ. *Spital*, whose form could have influenced the Latin word *hospitālis*, meaning “place of reception for guests”.

D. From Russian

Medical terms of Russian origin or entered by the intermediary of Russian into our language are of relevance to the history of medical terminology, mostly from the point of view of their phonetico-phonological adaptation. Here are some examples from the 18th – 19th century:

- *artrită* < obs. *artrit* < Russ. *artrit*, cf. Fr. *arthritis*;
- *compresă* < Russ. *compress*, cf. Fr. *compresse*, Lat. *compressus*, -ūs, meaning “to press together”;
- *gastrită* < obs. *gastrit* < Russ. *gastrit*, cf. Gr. *gaster/ γαστήρ*, “stomach”;
- *holeră* < Russ. *holera*, cf. Gr. *kholera/ χολέρα*, used by Hippocrates as the name of a disorder;
- *parenchim* < obs. *parenhima* < Russ. *parenhima*;
- *rahitism* < obs. *rahit* < Russ. *rahit*, cf. Gr. *rhachis/ ραχίτις*, meaning both “spine” and “rickets”.

E. From French

There is significant research on the importance and complexity of French influence in our country. The studies generally outline the various manifestations of this influence: political, social, cultural and linguistic.

With regard to medical language, the influence of French on Romanian medical terminology was prominent and beneficial, lasting from the late 18th century till the latter half of the 20th century, when English replaced French as the *lingua franca* of medical communication.

Towards the mid nineteenth century, medical writings in Romanian were steadily growing in number. The beginnings of modern organization of Wallachia and Moldavia determined, among other things, a more significant concern for the medical care of the population. That encouraged authors and translators of medical texts to enrich and refine this specialized scientific terminology. In this respect an important contribution was made by doctor Nicolae Krețulescu from Wallachia, Costache Vârnăv from Moldavia, and Pavel Vasici-Ungurean from Transylvania, who are thought to have given a definitive Romanian medical terminology.

Nicolae Krețulescu is considered the creator of modern Romanian medical style. He was an authority in the medical field. He was the head of the renowned Colțea hospital in Bucharest, and the founder of *Școala de mică chirurgie*, later turned into *Școala națională de Medicină și Farmacie*, institutions organized taking as model the French medical system.

Nicolae Krețulescu had a vast French education, having completed his medical studies and defended a PhD in Paris. The fact that he translated from French authors at a time when Romanian language was still lacking in many specialized terms, makes almost all the medical terminology used by Krețulescu to be of French origin (Ursu, 1962: 75). Many words even kept the original French phonetic and graphic aspect. With the book *Manual de anatomie descriptivă*, inspired by the works of the French physicians Jean Cruveilhier and Thomas Lauth, Krețulescu also becomes the creator of anatomical terminology in Romanian.

Under the French influence, Romanian medical terminology was closely watched by both linguists and medical practitioners, so that it could be used in accordance with the norms of our language. In medical books of the 1940's and 1960's (cf. Hațieganu-Goia 1941, 1942; Hațieganu 1955; Benetato 1962), loanwords and phrases from French were used with prudence, explained, and modified to fit Romanian. Many borrowings dating from that time are still in use, a proof of their being well adapted to Romanian.

The share of French loans in Romanian medical terminology is undoubtedly overwhelming. The numerous examples we found reflect that reality. Here is only an illustrative list of French borrowings:

- *amputație* < Fr. *amputation*, cf. Lat. *amputātiō*, *-ōnis*, “cutting off”;
- *autopsie* < Fr. *autopsie*;
- *balonare* < Fr. *ballonnement*;
- *bandaj* < Fr. *bandage*;
- *bandeletă* < Fr. *bandelette*;
- *badijonaj* < Fr. *badigeonnage*;
- *bisturiu* < obs. *bisturi* < Fr. *bistouri*;
- *consultație* < obs. *consultațiune* < Fr. *consultation*, cf. Lat. *cōnsultātiō*, *-ōnis*;
- *corset* < Fr. *corset*;
- *croșet* < Fr. *crochet*, “a kind of knitting done with a hooked needle”;
- *derivație* < Fr. *derivation*;
- *frotiu* < Fr. *frottis*;
- *lambou* < Fr. *lambeau*, meaning a surgical approach consisting in grafting a vascularized tissue;
- *maladie* < Fr. *maladie*;
- *maladiv* < Fr. *maladif*;
- *migrenă* < obs. *migrană* < Fr. *migraine*;
- *pansament* < Fr. *pansement*;
- *pontaj* < Fr. *pontage*;
- *ral* < Fr. *râle*, an extraneous sound heard on auscultation of breath sounds;
- *ramoliment* < Fr. *ramollissement*;
- *sușă* < Fr. *souche*, denoting a type of cell;
- *surjet* (e.g. *sutură în surjet*) < Fr. *surjet*, denoting a type of suture;
- *tratament* < Fr. *traitement*;
- *travaliu* < Fr. *travail*.

So, after more than a century of research, writing and education in the medical field in all Romanian provinces, standard Romanian adds medical terminology to the other specialized vocabularies.

F. From English

Towards the end of the twentieth century, English replaced French as an international language of science and technology. From that time until now, the English takeover of the medical field has become so complete that Romanian language seems overwhelmed. Faced with massive imports from English, and without a collaborative effort from linguists and healthcare professionals, who should implement clear terminological policies, Romanian medical language is adopting almost mechanically English terms, phrases, abbreviations, acronyms, and even pronunciations and syntactic patterns. The borrowing of vocabulary items however remains the most common (cf. Alcaraz Ariza, Navarro 2005: 755).

Anglicisms are words with different degrees of adaptation to Romanian. That is mostly due to the ongoing and sometimes anarchic imports from English. The borrowings are so numerous that linguists and specialists in the medical field do not have time to ponder over the new lexical acquisitions and decide on the necessity of their adoption, as well as on their form and functioning in medical language. That is why many terms are taken as such, used with English spelling and pronunciation, which in itself represents a problem, as it is a deviation from the phonetico-phonological principle of Romanian language spelling. Consequently, in medical literature there is a certain inconsistency with regard to their form, as can be seen in these examples: *bypassul* vs. *bypass-ul*, *clearanceul* vs. *clearance-ul*, *leakul* vs. *leak-ul*.

It goes without saying that English influence is not a negative phenomenon in itself. There is no reason to consider it more dangerous than other foreign influences on our language. As seen in this study, medical Romanian is a hospitable terminology, able to borrow, adapt, and integrate terms from diverse languages such as Greek, Latin, German, Russian, Italian and French. The only problem is that English loanwords are the least adjusted to the norms of Romanian. That is why they are difficult to understand for laymen as well as medical practitioners. Moreover, they may give rise to ambiguities and errors.

Here is an illustrative list of Anglicisms:

- *behaviourism* < Eng. *behaviourism*;
- *blotting* < Eng. *blotting*, “the transfer of macromolecules from a gel on a membrane”;
- *borderline* < Eng. *borderline*;
- *bypass/ by-pass* < Eng. *by-pass*;
- *capping* < Eng. *capping*, “grouping of membrane proteins in a limited area of the cell”;
- *check-up* < Eng. *check-up*;
- *clearance* < Eng. *clearance*, “removal of a substance from the blood”;
- *cleft* < Eng. *cleft*, “a fissure”;
- *cluster* < Eng. *cluster*;

- *crossing-over* < Eng. *crossing-over*, “reciprocal exchange of material between two paired chromosomes during meiosis”;
- *cross-match/ cross-matching* < Eng. *cross-match/ cross-matching*, “a test for incompatibility between donor and recipient blood”;
- *drop-attack* < Eng. *drop-attack*, “a sudden fall without loss of consciousness”;
- *drumstick* < Eng. *drumstick*, in cytology “an appendage of the nucleus of a polymorphonuclear leucocyte”;
- *feedback* < Eng. *feedback*;
- *flapping tremor* < Eng. *flapping tremor*, “asterixis or involuntary jerking movements, especially in the hands”;
- *flush* < Eng. *flush*, “a transient erythema due to heat, exertion, stress, or disease”;
- *flutter* < Eng. *flutter*, “abnormal contractions of a muscular organ that are very rapid but regular”;
- *follow-up* < Eng. *follow-up*, “maintenance of contact with a patient at one or more designated intervals following diagnosis or treatment especially to examine again or monitor the progress of therapy”;
- *graft (a grafta, graftare, graftat/ă)* < Eng. *graft*;
- *guideline* < Eng. *guideline*;
- *homing* < Eng. *homing* “movement of a cell toward specific tissues, cytokines, or antigens”;
- *leak* < Eng. *leak*, “an oozing of blood or other fluid”;
- *mapping* < Eng. *mapping*, “the creation on a flat surface of a representation of an area, showing the relative position of various features, e.g. *cardiac mapping*”;
- *marker* < Eng. *marker*;
- *pacemaker* < Eng. *pacemaker*;
- *pacing* < Eng. *pacing*, “regulation of the rate of a physiologic process, e.g. *cardiac pacing*”;
- *patch test* < Eng. *patch test*, denoting a type of skin test;
- *pattern* < Eng. *pattern*;
- *prick test* < Eng. *prick test*, meaning a type of skin test;
- *randomizare* < Eng. *randomization*;
- *rash/ raș* < Eng. *rash*;
- *scratch test* < Eng. *scratch test*, denoting a type of skin test;
- *screening* < Eng. *screening*;
- *stripping* < Eng. *stripping*, “removal, e.g. of varices”;
- *trial* < Eng. *trial*, “a medical study, experiment”;
- *trigger* < Eng. *trigger*;

- *tril* < Eng. *thrill*, “a vibration accompanying a cardiac or vascular murmur that can be palpated”;
- *wheezing* < Eng. *wheezing*, “a high-pitched whistling sound”.

3. Conclusions

The present paper shows that transition in Romanian medical terminology is an ongoing phenomenon. Medicine is a field in which techniques, procedures, types of medication and treatment evolve so rapidly, bringing about a continuous renewal of terminology. Medical terms and phrases are constantly introduced, transformed, adapted and altered to denote new realities.

The present study has cast a glance over Romanian medical terminology from birth till the 20th century. We have listed down the linguistic influences on Romanian at different stages of its evolution. Our intent has been to highlight the many aspects related to the history and evolution of medical terminology that are worth pursuing.

We think that Romanian medical language deserves more insight and a unifying perspective nowadays as it used to have in the beginnings, more than three centuries ago, when its foundations were laid.

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The Semantic Field of the Word “Mind”

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Abstract

Our research aims at focusing on the word *mind* and its semantic field, namely on the interrelation and interdependence of different meanings within the semantic structure of this particular word. In this respect, we have concentrated on highlighting the word *mind*, as it appears in certain phraseological expressions, verbal collocations, idiomatic constructions, derivatives or compounds, slang words or proverbs. The survey refers to the linguistic categories mentioned above, by arranging the words or phrases in alphabetical order, so that they could be easily followed and understood.

Key-words: polysemy, interdependence, formal, informal, meaning.

When it comes to learning, teaching and generally improving our English, we should be aware of the different register of closely related words and phrases, which is a common problem for learners of English. By focusing on the way the word *mind* is used not only in written and formal English, but also in informal and spoken language, our survey aims at giving learners of English the chance to improve their comprehension when reading and listening and to increase their fluency when speaking or writing in English.

English words are highly polysemantic and productive in forming word clusters and set phrases. Being a highly frequently used word, *mind* enters in many word expressions whose meanings constitute its semantic structure.

Regarding the etymology of the word *mind*, it is encountered in the Old English, having the form *gemynd*, meaning *memory, thought*. This word comes from the Latin word *mens* (meaning *mind*). In the Latin language we also encounter the word *monēre* (meaning *to remind*). This word's first known use goes back to the 12th century.

In this article we will focus on the semantic field of the word *mind*, by the medium of different expressions, phrases, verbal collocations, derivatives or compounds, idioms, slang expressions and proverbs.

The phraseological expressions' domain based on the word *mind* consists of a limited number of expressions, among which we can mention:

- *don't mind me* = 1. used when you ask people to ignore you because you do not want to disturb a meeting, lesson, meal, etc.; 2. (ironic) used for showing your anger at not being included in something or being asked about something;
- *do you mind (if ...)?* = 1. used to ask permission or make a polite suggestion to do something; 2. (ironic) used to show that you are annoyed about something that somebody has just said or done;

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- *if you don't mind / if you wouldn't mind* (spoken language) = 1. used to check that somebody does not object to something you want to do, or to ask somebody politely to do something; 2. (ironic) used to show that you object to something that somebody has said or done; 3. used to refuse an offer politely;
- *if you don't mind me / my saying so ...* (spoken language) = used when you are going to criticize somebody or say something that might upset them;
- *in one's mind* = in one's thought;
- *in one's right mind* = in one's right senses;
- *I wouldn't mind ...* (spoken language) = used to say that you would like something or would like to do something;
- *Mind the paint!* = Wet paint!
- *Mind what I say!* = Listen to me!;
- *My mind misgives me* = I foresee a great misfortune;
- *peace / quiet of one's mind / an easy mind* = calmness;
- *readiness of mind* = readiness of wit;
- *sloppiness of mind* = confusion of ideas;
- *that puts me in mind that* (archaic expression) = that reminds me that;
- *time out of mind* = in times of old;
- *turn of mind* = way of thinking;
- *uppermost in somebody's mind* = in somebody's spotlight;
- *vacuity of mind* = lack of ideas;
- *would you mind ...?* = would you be so kind as to

The linguistic domain of verbal collocations is one of the most comprehensive of all linguistic domains. Thus, the word *mind* can be found in numerous verbal expressions:

- *to beat about in one's mind* = to think it over; to turn on both sides; to examine thoroughly;
- *to be frightened out of one's mind* = to be frightened to death; to be very scared;
- *to be mindful of expense* = to look twice at every penny;
- *to be mindful to do something* = to remember to do something;
- *to be off one's mind* = to feel relieved;
- *to be stamped on one's mind* = to be alive in one's memory;
- *to break one's mind to somebody* = to open one's heart to somebody;
- *to bring one's mind to bear on something* = to turn one's attention to;
- *to disburden one's mind* = to open / to uncover one's heart;
- *to go / to pass out of mind* = to fall into oblivion;
- *to go over something in one's mind* = to think very carefully about something that happened to you;
- *to have a mind like a sieve* (familiar speech) = to be very forgetful;

- *to have / to bear / to hold / to carry something in mind* = to have something in view;
- *to have something on one's mind* = to be preoccupied with something; to be thinking a lot about something;
- *to have your mind on other things* = to not give somebody / something your full attention because you are thinking about something else;
- *to imbue one's mind with* = to inspire somebody with;
- *to mind* = to pay attention to; to take into account; to care for;
- *to mind one's eye* = to keep one's eyes wide open;
- *to mind one's hits* = to look after one's own interests;
- *not to mind people's talk* = to let people talk;
- *to mind somebody's words* = to regard somebody's advice;
- *to put somebody in mind of something* (archaic expression) = to bring to somebody's mind;
- *to read somebody's mind* = to read somebody's thoughts;
- *to see something in one's mind's eye* = to be able to imagine something;
- *to shut one's mind to something* = to turn a blind eye to something;
- *to stock one's mind with learning* = to enrich one's knowledge;
- *to take a load off one's mind* = not to have a care in the world; to disburden one's heart;
- *to tell somebody one's mind / to let somebody know one's mind* = to tell somebody one's way of thinking;
- *to turn a question over in one's mind* = to think constantly about something;
- *to wander in one's mind* = to have a twisted mind; to go crazy.

A well-defined category is that of the idioms based on the word *mind* or on its plural form *minds*. In this respect, there are a large number of idioms which "reflect the history and way of life of the people who have spoken English over the ages"² and which represent a certain quality or ability. Here are some examples:

- *a closed mind* = a mind which is not receptive to new ideas;
- *an open mind* = a mind which is receptive to new ideas;
- *a single-track mind* = a person with limited views;
- *at the back of one's mind* = in one's secret heart; in the privacy of one's thoughts;
- *Bear that in mind!* = Make a note!; Take that into consideration!;
- *mind over matter* = the triumph of courage and volition over physical pain; the power to change things by thinking;
- *presence of mind* = a quick response in an emergency;
- *the master-mind* = the person in charge of an operation;
- *to be all in somebody's mind* = not to be true or real; to be imagined;

² *** Oxford Idioms. Dictionary for Learners of English, Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 235

- *to be a universal mind* = to know everything;
- *to be easy in mind* = to be calm;
- *to be feeble-minded / weak-minded* = to be stupid;
- *to be in one's right mind* = to be sane;
- *to be in two minds* = to be in doubt, to hesitate;
- *to be of somebody's mind / to be of a / the same mind with somebody* = to agree with somebody else, to be unanimous;
- *to bring / call somebody / something to mind* = to remind / remember you of somebody / something;
- *to broaden the mind* = to develop new interests;
- *to cast one's mind back* = to make a huge effort to remember an incident;
- *to change one's mind* = to think better of it;
- *to come / spring to mind* = to suddenly remember or think of something;
- *to cross one's mind* = to have an idea;
- *to drive somebody out of his mind* = to get on somebody's nerves;
- *to flash through somebody's mind* = to come into one's head;
- *to give one's mind to something* = to devote oneself to something; to think hard about something;
- *to give one's whole mind to something* = to devote oneself entirely to something; to think very hard about something;
- *to give somebody a bit of one's mind* = to speak openly;
- *to go / to be out of one's mind / to lose one's mind* = to go mad; to be extremely stupid; to be confused and upset because of worry, illness, etc.;
- *to grow soft-minded* = to be stupid;
- *to have a great / good mind to do something* = to be in a mood to do something;
- *to have a mind of your own* = 1. (of people) to be capable of making your own decisions without consulting somebody else; 2. (humorous, of machines) to behave in a way that you do not expect;
- *to have a mind to ...* = to have a desire to ...; to think of ...;
- *to have half a mind to do something* = to disapprove of what somebody has done and consequently to do something about it, although you will probably not;
- *to have no mind to do something* = to be unwilling to do something;
- *to keep one's presence of mind* = to keep one's temper;
- *to know one's own mind* = to have a will of one's own;
- *to make the mind boggle* = to astonish;
- *to make up one's mind* = to come to a decision;
- *to my mind* = of my own choice; in my opinion;
- *to prey / to weigh on one's mind* = to worry or make one feel guilty;
- *to put / to get / to knock something out of somebody's mind* = to persuade somebody not to do something;

- *to put / to have / to keep one's mind on something* = to firmly decide to do something;
- *to set one's mind on something* = to have an ardent desire for something;
- *to set somebody's mind at rest* = to do away with somebody's fears;
- *to slip one's mind* = to forget;
- *to speak one's mind* = to speak very frankly;
- *to take somebody's mind off something* = to distract somebody's attention.

The grammatical category of the verb *to mind* can also be found in different idiomatic expressions as follows:

- *mind the shop* (British English) / *mind the store* (American English) = used to tell somebody to be in charge of something while you are away;
- *mind you* = 1. (interjection used to qualify a statement) even so, all the same; 2. (familiar speech) used after a word you want to emphasize;
- *mind you don't ...* = take good care not to ...;
- *mind your backs!* = used to tell people to move out of your way, for example when you are carrying something;
- *mind your own business* (familiar speech) = it is no concern of yours;
- *mind your P's and O's* (familiar speech) = to be careful how you behave; to remember to be polite. This expression refers to the *P* in "please" and the pronunciation of "thank you" which sounds like *Q*;
- *Never mind!* = It doesn't matter!; Don't bother!

One of the most interesting and constantly evolving chapters of the English grammar is represented by the linguistic domain of the slang words. Although slang expressions are quite expressive and colourful, they are also highly informal. In this respect, we should closely observe the situation in which a certain slang word is being used and afterwards decide whether that particular slang is adequate or not. There are numerous slang expressions connected with the word *mind*, among which we can mention the following:

- *dirty-minded* (American English) = sexually obsessed (adjective);
- *meeting of the minds* = concord, agreement;
- *mind-bender* (American English) / *mind-blower* (British English) = 1. a drug having hallucinogen effects (noun); 2. a touchy, delicate matter (noun);
- *mind-blowing* (British English) = amazing, incredible, fantastic (adjective);
- *minder* (British English) = 1. a swagman of stolen belongings (noun); 2. bodyguard (noun);
- *mind-fuck* (British English) = 1. to change somebody's points of views / beliefs (verb); 2. a life experience which results in changing somebody's previous beliefs (noun);

- *Mind the Dianas!*³ (British English) = Pay attention to the doors! (used in buses and subways);
- *Mind your own beeswax!* (American English) = Mind your own business!;
- *no never mind* (American English) = no problem;
- *off one's mind* = bereft of season;
- *one-track mind* (American English) = monomania, a mind obsessed with one thing only;
- *out of one's mind* = 1. drunk, boozy; 2. drug addict;
- *to blow somebody's mind* = 1. to make somebody live a pleasant or shocking experience (American English); 2. a. to impress, to overwhelm someone; b. to have visual, tactile or auditory hallucinations as a result of consuming drugs; c. to lose one's temper (British English);
- *to have one's mind in the gutter* (American English) = to continuously think of nonsense, obscene things.

The word *mind*(or its plural form *minds*) can also be encountered in a few proverbs given below. For each and every English proverb we have tried to give an explanation, in an attempt to render its significance:

- "*Great minds think alike.*" = Smart people often have the same ideas.;
- "*In the forehead and the eye the index of the mind does lie.*" = The eye is the mirror of the soul.;
- "*Mind other men, but most yourself.*" = Take care of other people, but, first of all, take care of yourself.;
- "*Out of sight, out of mind.*" = If you don't see someone, he / she will soon be forgotten. A variant would be: "*Seldom seen, soon forgotten.*";
- "*So many men, so many minds.*" = People have different opinions. / Every country has its customs.;
- "*The beauty of things lies in the mind that contemplates it.*" = Each person perceives a different kind of beauty.

As far as derivatives are concerned, *mind* can be found in the following words:

- *minded* (adjectival suffix *-ed*) = having a particular attitude or way of thinking: disposed, inclined, intended (used in compound adjectives, with adjectives or adverbs);
- *minder* (noun suffix *-er*) = someone who is employed to protect another person, for instance a bodyguard, a child-minder (British English);
- *mindful of* (adjectival suffix *-ful*) = attentive to; awake to; conscious of;
- *mindfulness*(adjectival suffix *-ful*; noun suffix *-ness*) = carefulness, caution, regard;
- *mindless* (adjectival suffix *-less*) = completely stupid; senseless; unreasonable;

³ Volceanov, G, Doca, A., p. 149.

- *reminder* (verbal prefix *re-*; noun suffix *-er*) = 1. memorandum book; 2. allusion, hint;
- *remindful of* (verbal prefix *re-*; adjectival suffix *-ful*) = reminiscent of;
- *to remind* (verbal prefix *re-*) = to remember.

The compound words, having in their structure the word *mind*, are given below:

- *absent-minded* = inattentive; careless;
- *absent-mindedness* = carelessness;
- *broad-minded* = latitudinarian;
- *double-minded* = undecided; irresolute;
- *even-minded* = balanced; equilibrated;
- *evil-minded* = evil, malicious;
- *feeble-minded* / *weak-minded* = stupid;
- *great-minded* = open to reason;
- *mind-boggling* = amazing; incredible; stunning;
- *mindset* = mental attitude; line of thought;
- *narrow-minded* / *low-minded* = stunted in knowledge;
- *narrow-mindedness* = parochialism;
- *open-minded* = unprejudiced;
- *patriotic-minded* = bound to the soil.

The word *mind* also appears as a judicial term, in the phrase:

- *of sound disposing mind* (with its variant *sound in mind*) = in full possession of one's faculties.

In conclusion, our article focuses on one major aspect of learning and using the English word *mind*: its meaning and use should be learned, as far as possible, from its connotations and associations. It is well known that one will not be thoroughly at home with the English language unless he / she can both understand and use different words or expressions correctly. The present article

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The University Professor: a Transition from Monopolist of Knowledge to Co-learner; Reflections over a Case Study.

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Abstract:

This article sheds light on how the professor in higher education may actively partake in the extended classroom to provide joint competency building for students and professor. It is a criterion that teaching in higher education is to be research based, and this is typically seen as the knowledge presented in the campus classroom is based on the research of the professor. However, the focus needs to be shifted from the professor to the learner, and this article addresses this: a mere presentation of research is not adequate for the teacher training professor and -student. The author demonstrates how co-learning with students through location based teaching and learning leads to knowledge- and competence building; not only *of* teaching, but also *as* teaching.

Key terms: location-based, co-learning, professor-student, storyline, interaction

Introduction: From monopolist of knowledge to co-learner

Transition and change of roles is not lightly undertaken, especially not in academia rooted in tradition and ideals, and falls hard for the die-hard traditionalist who wishes to retain authority and control of the learning that takes place within the confining walls of the higher education classrooms and lecture halls. It may be a long way from the university professor as a monopolist of knowledge, to being a co-learner; or it may indeed be small step, and without relinquishing neither authority nor academic respect.

The impact of modern technology and the Internet has already forced upon the university professor a transitional role. The students now have at their fingertips a rich source of relevant and less relevant information; thus overturning the traditional role of the professor as a monopolist of knowledge within the classroom and lecture halls. The traditional position of the professor is one where he or she at times may have been able to incorporate his or her preferred academic and personal angles, meeting less querying and opposition from the students than in the present day. Instead of fighting this change of role, which for some is synonymous to a loss of academic control and respect, the professor has an excellent opportunity of being a forerunner in the changing times and approaches to learning and competence building in higher education. This article sheds light on how the professor in higher education may actively initiate and

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partake in the use of the extended classroom² to provide joint competency building for students and professor alike.

Academia and the passing of knowledge that lies within may be regarded as not only research based, but at times also as research for the sake of research. This is noticeable in the *publish-or-perish* anxiety that permeates parts of academia, first referred to in academic publication in 1927 (Case, 1927: 325). This might be such a pressing issue in the more tactile and experience based passing of knowledge and competence within traditional artisan communities, trade and professional training. Teacher training as offered within academia may arguably be seen as located at the crossroads of academia and vocational training; where on the one hand the education is rooted in academia, and on the other hand, the teacher training students are destined for work that is of a highly tactile and practical nature. Teacher education and training has in Norway traditionally been offered through especially designated teacher training institutions, originally termed *lærerskole*; then becoming teacher training colleges in 1973 (Kirke- og utdanningsdepartementet, 1977), and through the college reform in 1994 became state colleges (Kirke-, utdannings- og forskningsdepartementet, 1994). The 2015 white paper (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2015) ensured a concentration of higher education, amalgamating teacher training colleges into existing universities; with some amalgamations being partly dictated by the department of education, and against the will of the individual teacher training college. This has caused some identity issues as well as being forced to adapting the traditional practical approach of teacher training to fit in with the more theoretically oriented university programmes.

Becoming part of the university system, the pressure of research and publishing has become a challenge also for the teacher trainer. The 2005 legal regulation of universities and colleges, (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2005), states that higher education programmes, including teacher training, are required to offer research based teaching, and the author sees the paradox of basing teaching of professional skills on theoretical presentation of research. This paradox is by the author sought resolved by carrying out teaching *as* research, rather than teaching based *on* research. The type of research in mind is action research and case studies.

The backdrop for this article is an area of interaction and learning beyond the bespoke confining walls. The concept of the extended classroom is seen in the context of both physical location (Jordet, 2010) and virtual location, as suggested by Linda Harasimin her book *Online Collaborative Learning Theory* (Harasim, 2012). The author of this article claims that the primary focus on the learning process needs to be shifted from the professor to the learner; a mere traditional presentation of research is not adequate for the teacher training student, and the author demonstrates how co-learning between professor and student through

² A term widely used, but is to the author's knowledge not attributed to one single person.

location-based teaching and learning leads to joint learning. A professor who engages in cooperative learning together with his or her students, and not only facilitates for cooperative learning *among* the students, will be able to carry out research not only *for* teaching, but also *as* teaching.

The knowledge- and competency building referred to in this reflection over a five month case study, is rooted in the teacher training student and her 7th grade pupils and their classroom activities, rather than traditionally from the professor's lectern. This article is founded on a case study, where pupils in primary education and their activities are the focus of didactic reflection, learning, and development for not only the pupils involved, but also for the teacher training student, the practice teaching supervisor, and the university professor. The author has the role as provider of knowledge, observer and co-learner, reflecting from a metaposition as responsible campus professor, and thus demonstrating the transition from monopolist of knowledge to a co-learner and co-researcher

A case study to reflect on

Turn of events during the 2016-2017 academic year, together with an obligation to offer advertised elective subjects, led to the situation of only one student taking the 7.5 ECTS English methods course during the spring semester at NORD University Nesna. This may be regarded as an unfortunate situation and a challenge in a number of areas. However, this was also the perfect opportunity for the author to work with his preoccupation with two major fields in higher education: differentiated learning and the extended classroom, here more specifically location-based learning.

The storyline method, first developed in Scotland, with pioneers Steve Bell, Sallie Harkness and Graham White (Bell, Harkness and White, 2007), is the main idea and methodological tool on which this article is based. Using storyline in a 7th grade to show how location-based learning and differentiated learning in higher education may be addressed, it might be relevant to look towards Bransford, Cognition and Technology Group at Vanderbilt, and what they have termed Anchored Instruction (Bransford et al., 1990). Where Bransford et al. sees a video or similar product as an introduction, anchor and pivot for a learning session, this case will see a storyline project carried out in class as having the same function. It is not the pupils and their learning that has the focus, but that of the professor and student; thus the pupils, their process and product are *de facto* the anchor.

The author has for a number of years used storyline as both a process and product for teaching a 7.5 ECTS English methods course. The course is sought to be made motivational and give room for individual creativity, and the author's thoughts and ideas are identified in John Keller's *ARCS Model of Motivational Design Theories* (Keller, 2009). Experience has shown that this way of teaching in higher education, where one *models* storyline, rather than lecturing *about* it, has been highly motivational for student participation and creativity. The author now

has the option and the possibility to bring work with the combination of classroom teaching and the extended classroom into the real world itself; using location-based teaching and learning to foster both subject- and professional skills in higher education.

In later years, there has been a focus in teacher training that teaching is to be research based, and we are most likely not alone in the understanding that the knowledge presented in the classroom – be it campus or digital – is founded on the research of the teacher or external research. This is in itself a sensible step towards an integration of increased theoretical knowledge and academic prowess within the teacher training programme in order to create a synergy effect; however, this is taken one step further, where professor and student may undertake research together.

Student Frida³ has a three-week practice teaching period scheduled as part of the third year of her teacher training programme, and she will be working with the extended classroom, and does so through the use of the storyline method. Frida and her storyline takes her 7th grade pupils on a three-week virtual journey from Norway to New Zealand, where half the class travel by public transportation to Cape Reinga on the northern tip of North Island, and the rest travel to Bluff on the southern tip of South Island. The storyline project as such is not covered in this article, but will serve as an anchor for taking a closer look at how location-based learning may be combined with, differentiated- and co-learning between student and professor may take place in higher education.

The extended classroom and location-based learning

While the 7th grader's virtual journey to New Zealand is in line with the extended classroom as defined by Pierroux and Kluge (Pierroux and Kluge, 2011: 115), where the pupils make the use of digital resources and tools that lay beyond the classroom textbooks, the focus of professor-student co-learning is of the *physical* location-based nature, where

The term location based learning may simply be defined as “a method to localize and use learning arenas that result in relevant and realistic learning”⁴. Experienced teachers⁵ will naturally recognize this concept, and indeed their use thereof, as this is a method they have used for years. Friluftsrådet⁶ and Arne Nicolaisen Jordet (Jordet, 2010) have both described the concept and are good motivators for an approving and systematic use of location based learning or outdoor schooling. (Murphy, 2015: 156-157)

³ Her name used by her consent.

⁴ <http://www.kartiskolen.no/stedsbasert/> (viewed 13.11.2014)

⁵ Here: teachers in primary and secondary education.

⁶ Friluftsrådet <http://www.friluftsrad.no/4566.91.Hovedside.html> (viewed 13.11.2014)

The concept of location-based learning in its base form, suggests the use of areas and facilities in relative close proximity to the school. This may range from the school playground, the seaside, forests and mountains in urban areas, to parks and streets in more rural areas. Besides the obvious geographical locations, location-based learning may be carried out through visiting institutions or places of work, such as a library, fire station, farm, or museum; as well as speaking to people with stories to tell. Higher education may, depending on the nature of studies, provide for a variety of how local locations are used for learning purposes. Teacher training students will e.g. experience this differently, depending on the subject studied; typically, art and crafts, physical education and natural sciences will offer field trips to make use of local resources. Local schools are ironically not per se in practice regarded as a place for location-based learning. True, in Norwegian teacher training programmes, the students will be in schools practice teaching for a total of twenty weeks in the four-year programme, now being phased out, and twenty-two weeks in the new five-year programme that was initiated in 2017. However, the practice schools are primarily used as an arena for the students to apply and practice theory they have learned in the university classroom and lecture halls, and thus build knowledge based competence through practice. The students practice what is to become their line of work, where the university professor typically administers a written subject related task to be carried out during the practice period. Time and resources permitting, the university professor may pay the student a short visit while out in the field. This serves primarily as a form of documentation that the student is carrying out his or her work to given expectations. Thus, the practice period is not an integrated part of the subject learning process, and the university professor is not an optimal active participant of learning during this important time for the student. This makes the university professor still the prime provider of knowledge, rather than student competence – and even more so in the more theoretical studies. The author does not imply that the university professor does not have sufficient competence per se, but merely that his or her primary competence will typically be within the areas of own teaching; a competence in the passing of knowledge. This is the key point of the needed transition and change of roles of the university professor: from the role of provider of knowledge to provider of learning.

Merely shifting location from the campus lecture halls to an alternative location does not trigger the desired transition of roles and responsibilities required for location-based learning.

The step out into the close vicinity is in numerous ways a positive one, but as long as it is the teacher who is to evaluate the result, the classroom walls have simply been moved to the outside world, rather than breaking through them. The learning space will definitely be expanded, but the author would like to move from the pupils “communicating while interacting in the world” (Jordet, 2010, p.84) to the pupils communicating with the world. As long as teaching and learning is with

participants within the school as an institution, it is a matter of moving the classroom's participants out and into society. These participants interact with each other within the local society – but not necessarily with the local society. Knowledge acquisition is present, but not necessarily the dialogue and communication with the world beyond the classroom.(Murphy, 2015: 158)

This is where the author sees breaking the fourth wall comes into play; a concept which is attributed to the French philosopher, critic and dramatist Denis Diderot (Cuddon, 2012). By transferring this concept to classroom teaching, the author seeks to break the fourth wall by using a local location as an arena for cooperative competence building. This takes location-based learning a step further than A. Jordet does (Jordet, 2010: 84). Where Jordet speaks of providing for learning sessions in the world outside the classroom, the author advocates a co-learning experience *with* the outside world, thus communicating *with* the real world, rather than *in* it. (Murphy, 2015: 157)

Work within this area draws attention to the role and responsibility of the university professor, who in academia and university tradition has the role of being a source of knowledge, and passing knowledge to the students, rather than building competence through modelling tuition. It is frequently seen that the professor lectures on how the teacher training students are to teach in the future, rather than to demonstrate through modelling. This is especially valid for the area of differentiated learning, where the professor will lecture on the term, yet offering little or no differentiated learning in the university classroom or lecture hall while doing so.

Shifting from teacher centred teaching to learner centred learning – also in higher education

There is much focus on differentiated learning in education, and especially within teacher training, where the students are taught *about* the importance of differentiated learning, and how this may be carried out in their future work; but where the university professor does not necessarily model this and offer on campus differentiated teaching and consequently learning. Higher education has traditionally been – and in many areas still is – teacher oriented, and there is more focus on teaching through the professor conveying his or her knowledge or experience, than competence building for the students. Teaching in higher education will traditionally often have followed the transmissionist model (Ewing and Reid, 2017) of the professor transmitting information to students. Curricula in higher education have moved on from this model, and the curriculum for teacher training (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2010) clearly states and emphasises that “the student will learn...”; but it still does not address the professor's role and how to go about this. Traditionally, the pupil's acquisition of knowledge and his or her reproduction thereof by way of learning goals remained within the confinement of the classroom's four walls; with teacher and/or peer pupils as target audience. The

pupil receives knowledge that is introduced into the classroom through textbooks, teacher, and experiences outside the classroom in form of travel, family, friends, and the Internet. In most cases, the testing of the pupil's knowledge by way of measuring degree of reaching learning and competence goals, will take place within the walls of the classroom, where the tasks are constructed to satisfy learning plans and the teacher. Put shortly, the pupil produces mainly for the teacher, with the motivation of receiving acceptance through a positive feedback and grades. The step out into the local environment outside the classroom walls and location-based teaching breaks this cycle of acquisition and presentation of knowledge within the classroom walls, and the case in question serves to demonstrate how student and university professor may become co-learners and together build competence for each one's prime purpose.

Cooperative learning

The traditional learning and classroom situation of the teacher as a conveyor of knowledge and the learner as a recipient has especially in higher education been clearly marked by a clear differentiation of roles between teacher and learner – professor and student. This does not merely apply to the differing roles in the teaching/learning process, but also to rank and status, where different cultures have different approaches to the teacher-learner relationship. The author's focus on cooperative learning in higher education, involving the professor as a co-learner, is rooted in one especially memorable and eye-opening experience from the past. Offering a workshop on task-based learning and the use of tactile tools for language learning, where professors and students were to work together on equal terms and footing, differences in self-perceived roles were blatantly displayed. When required to work together in task-solving groups, it was interesting to observe that while some professors left the room, others stayed; but professed they would rather observe than participate. One or two professors took part in the activity, and thoroughly enjoyed the session of cooperative learning and as co-learners. Querying the students about the session, their response confirmed my hypothesis or assumption: the professors are challenged, and working with students as equals would in the mind of some mean relinquishing authority and partaking in a session beyond one's control. Defining Frida's school of practice teaching in the light of location-based teaching forms an arena for contextualizing both differentiated and cooperative learning for professor, student, practice supervisor, and pupils in primary education.

Cooperative learning, as defined and explained by e.g. David and Roger Johnson (Johnson & Johnson, 1989 and 1999) has become a household term in didactics and teaching. The teacher training instructor will focus on this, especially within the fields of pedagogy and subject didactics. However, one of the parameters most likely taken for granted is that the cooperative learning takes place among peers, and does not address the option of considering the instructor

and student not only as partaking in cooperative learning, but indeed as co-learners. The author sees the importance of and need for professor and student to work together, not only as teacher-student, but also as co-learners in a constantly changing educational landscape. Knowledge and competence building feed off each other in cyclic movements of a hermeneutic helix, as described by Alvesson and Sköldberg (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2013: 193). Here the professor and student together are able to use existing knowledge and past experience to develop own and joint knowledge and competence. In practical terms, the author was able to make the move from teaching *about* e.g. Bloom's Taxonomy (Bloom, 1956), to *partaking* in movement through its levels. In the context of Frida's storyline project and the professor's participation in class during the first week, formal education and degrees aside, the 7th grade pupils and Frida's hopes and expectations of her project were new to both.

Cooperative learning is a working method that leads to the fulfilment of given goals, though not necessarily for the same goals for all involved. An important aspect that at times may be played down or underestimated, is the opportunity for the co-learners to be able to get to know one another; getting to know and draw on the benefits of a variety of interests, skills and knowledge. The concept of the extended classroom and the storyline method is presented and discussed with Frida in ample time prior to the practice teaching. Communication between the two has taken place on a variety of arenas. Professor and student have met face-to face, communicated through e-mails, SMS, and sharing ideas and experiences jointly on Google Docs. Multiple conversations led to a familiarity with each other's ideas, interests, sense of humour, and reactions to challenges and opposition. All these elements contributed to creating a greater understanding and potential for co-learning. Frida has provided ideas for planning, and these ideas have been evaluated and discussed, and options and possibilities have been developed. The advice and theoretical input given is based jointly on the professor's subject knowledge and experience, and Frida's ideas, interests and level of knowledge and competence.

The question of control may be a crucial point of interest in developing a co-learner relationship between professor and student. Control in its many forms is as experienced by the author as an issue in academia; not just control over the knowledge sought passed, and being regarded as the superior holder of knowledge, but also the fear of losing control over curriculum, reading lists, and forms of assessment to be used in the individual courses. As opposed to fending for academic traditions and positions, it may for many a professor be valuable to make the proactive move of meeting the student on common ground and terms. Working with Frida, the professor will through course plan, subject knowledge and experience, naturally lay out the framework for the session or project; but will not be in full control of the development. This may indeed be a challenge, when the outcome or product of the traditional university course is most often clear: the final

exam that is the same for all students, regardless of personal learning styles, interests and potential for development and creativity.

The early planning sessions with Frida were controlled by the professor through presentation of theory and how to work with storyline as a method. As soon as this information was conveyed and understood by Frida, the positions changed; where the professor gradually became the listening partner, and could offer input based on Frida's ideas and planned teaching. The gradual transition from being in the driver's seat to becoming not only the co-driver, but also co-learner, reached its pinnacle during the author's presence in the 7th grade. The role of the author might in this case well have been merely as a mentor for Frida, and it was admittedly partly so, but it became evident that it was far more complex and interesting than such. True, the author was readily available to offer advice on language issues and didactical issues when required. More interestingly though, is that the author also had the role as assistant teacher in class, following Frida's plans for the pupils; where she might assign roles based on her needs, thus her being in control over the author's classroom time. The author also relinquished himself from control, by sustaining from stepping in to alter things that did not develop in the optimal way during the sessions. Less than 100% successful activities were thus discussed during debriefing, and the author could together with Frida, knowing the pupils better than him, look towards the hermeneutic circle for a greater understanding. The author would initially view Frida's performance primarily through the eyes of the university professor of English language and didactics, but together with Frida's better knowledge of the class and how they work in other subjects, the sessions in the 7th grade could be viewed from more angles, and thus the process as a whole. The tasks given to the 7th graders, and how they opted to solve them, and the process that followed between Frida and the author had a definitive feel and ambiance of both the hermeneutic thinking and the constructivist approach of Discovery learning (Bruner, 2009)

The storyline method and the virtual trip to New Zealand is undoubtedly the anchor for both Frida and her professor's cooperative learning. The journey of transition of roles embarked upon primarily had the university professor and student in mind, but it was the meeting with the real world and the 7th graders that sealed the deal. As both an assistant teacher and observer from the researcher's point of view, being able to join the groups of pupils on their virtual journey was an experience that through contextualization gave room for reflection over previously acquired knowledge. This contributed to broadening the horizon for both professor and pupils alike and together. At times, the professor's role was to help and assist the pupils with anything from finding the correct vocabulary to aiding with a Google StreetView task. The professor was able to at first hand witness how the groups intuitively distributed the varied tasks within the group. From the professor's vantage point, the groups appeared to distribute tasks that would be in line with American cognitive psychologist Howard Gardner's

Theories of Multiple Intelligences (Gardner, 1983). Having confirmed that the pupils have never heard of Gardner, the pupils themselves distributed the tasks among themselves based not on a theoretical approach, but on a practical one: the pupils know each other and their strengths and weaknesses. The author was given the chance to on the pupils' premises get first-hand knowledge of the workings of group dynamics in that particular class, and how the groups and individuals both delegated responsibilities and supported each other in their work towards completing their work. Their experience working together promoted the best strategies for addressing task based learning. Even though the author's role was seen as an advisor, he was also a stranger to the class, with whom the pupils with few filters shared their views on the tasks given; both for the storyline in specifically, but also school tasks in general, and could thus teach the author much about seeing teaching and learning from *their* perspective. This is a slightly different take on the traditional practice teaching tasks and the spot-check form of observation; where the student is the focal point, and the student's practice report is on what he or she contributed with – and not so much on what the pupils learned or achieved seen from *their* perspective.

Information and the newly acquired experience based knowledge attributed to the pupils could now be brought forth in debriefing and further planning sessions with Frida. The university professor's observations and newly acquired knowledge will together with Frida's and the pupils' experience of the ongoing storyline project contribute, with an emphasis on contribute, to a total picture. The role of the practice teacher/mentor at the local school has not been a focus in this article. Frida was given a *carte blanche* for how she wished to spend her time with the class, and as such has had the role of an observer and assessor of how Frida functions as a teacher, with classroom management as the primary focal point. This way of working, a range of perspectives are covered in the attempt to fit all the pieces together; each of the involved parties will bring their perspective into the process, where no one has neither the key solution nor sole responsibility. The process turned out to be one built on a flat structure of management and organization, which differs from the traditional situation of the professor as transmitting information, mentor, and passing judgement on student work based on criteria set by the professor and the curriculum.

Differentiated learning

Differentiated learning is a wide term, and one may see the distinction between differentiated instruction and personalized learning. The first point addresses and adapts methods to suit the learning styles and –preferences of the learner, where the learning goals remain the same for all, while the method of instruction varies. Personalized learning, on the other hand, is instruction designed for specific pupil-to-pupil learning needs, which also would involve individual learning objectives. Norwegian schools offer individual learning plans in primary

and secondary education, but such care for the individual learner is not an option in higher education. There are obvious reasons for this, but that is another discussion. The location-based sessions of cooperative learning for student and professor alike show how it is possible to offer both differentiated and personalized instruction in higher education.

The competent teacher, so we inform our students, should know his or her pupils to be able to differentiate learning activities. It is a prerequisite to know ones students if one is to model this in higher education. This may not be an easy task using traditional methods of lecturing, so one needs to look towards different methods, not just for the learner, but also for the instructor or professor. The author has achieved success, measured in motivation, creativity, and final grades, by offering the storyline method for the 7.5ECTS module English methodology. The course is constructed with a double layer in mind: the student product as a ready to go storyline project to use in class, and the teaching of the course itself is set up as a storyline. The flipped classroom approach (Herreid and Schiller, 2013) is used to achieve for blended and cooperative learning, where the students in addition to their text books are offered podcasts on central themes to be studied prior to time on campus. Thus, the instructor may spend time in the classroom with the individual students/groups to facilitate their interest, progress and academic needs. The author's experience of using the storyline method to be able to work closer with the students is therefore a natural starting point for the case in question. Working with Frida, the professor has had the opportunity of utilizing the maximum potential for tailoring topical ideas as well as tools that might be used. Getting to know Frida's interests, strengths and weaknesses, has been an important contribution towards actively working within Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development (Vygotsky, 1980) Professor and student would together fork out ideas for tasks, progress and tools; putting the principles of process oriented working into practice. Working closely with Frida, both on a more theoretical level of planning, and on a practical level in the 7th grade classroom, it became easier for the author to uncover and evaluate her distribution of Howard Gardner's bespoke intelligences (Gardner, 1983), and thus adapting my mentoring part of this cooperation working with her strengths and weaknesses.

Conclusive comments

Current technology and Internet access has dramatically changed the role of the professor. At present, the student in the lecture hall and classroom has access to more facts and the knowledge than the professor who teaches the traditional way, with primarily the lecture form in mind. There is a natural resistance to change and upholding the role of the professor as presenter of knowledge. Change is inevitable, and this must include a transition of roles. Much has been said about the role of the professor, but there is also much to be said about the changing role of the student. The student's role will necessarily have to

undergo a transition from passive consumer to active producer. Learning to work with students using both location-based learning and the extended classroom offers learning and competence building for the professor, of how to work and learn with the individual student, and to unleash the potential that lies within; a joint potential of both university professor and student. Seeing a student as a co-learner, rather than an object of observation, in the local school, proved to be highly rewarding; gaining insight into how different learning styles come into play, as well as personal experiences and interests. As a teacher, the author finds it more stimulating to have the chance to understand the minds of the students in order to develop as a mentor, rather than merely feed them with his own knowledge and mind.

Working closely with one student has not caused any challenges of logistics or time, which might be an issue with larger groups. This case has confirmed that co-learning as developed and carried out in the author's methods teaching over the years, would benefit from being moved from the classroom to the outside world; not just as the virtual extended classroom, but also as location-based learning in practice schools. As of today, the practice periods are not an integrated part of the learning within the specific subjects, but rather comes as an addition. This could well be changed by regarding the practice schools as an integrated part of the subject and education programme, rather than as a subject specific addition or work requirement.

The location-based project with Frida, her class, and her practice supervisor, has provided for a greater understanding of both the immediate and the long term needs of not only the student, but also the pupils, practice supervisor, and not the least the university professor as ideally the modelling teacher and instructor. Through a close cooperation resulting in co-learning, the author has been given the opportunity to simultaneously advise and be advised, correct and be corrected. It is not the subject specific knowledge as such that may need be corrected, but the first-hand understanding of the needs and competencies of the individuals that are all part of the knowledge and competency building, from university professor to the student, and in this case Frida's 7th grade pupils. The combined efforts and results of cooperative learning is truly the goal and product of our responsibility as university professors teaching - not lecturing - in a profession based education: building theoretical and practical comprehension and competence based on a hands-on approach; facilitating learning and competence building for *all* parties involved. Herein lies an important transition.

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On the Registration of Recent Words in Romanian Dictionaries

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Abstract

We have highlighted certain characteristics of the classes of recent words which have been obtained by applying certain criteria. We have put forward some suggestions with respect to selecting and lexicographically registering recent words. We have completed the “additions” in the new editions of the dictionaries with (relatively) recent terms whose frequency in use imposes this fact.

Keywords: lexicographic registration, Anglicism, recent words, Romanian, dictionaries

1. The objectives of this paper are:

- to highlight certain characteristics of the classes of recent words; these classes have resulted from the application of several criteria, among which the lexical-grammatical status, form, frequency, origin, systematicity, double status, etc.;
- to propose several solutions and suggestions with respect to selecting and lexicographically registering recent words;
- to complete the “additions” to the new editions of dictionaries with (relatively) recent terms whose frequency in usage demands it.

1.1. In the study of the aspects related to the registration of recent words in Romanian dictionaries, we have to bear in mind the idea that the enrichment of the Romanian language, as a result of the multiplication and diversification of the means of communication, has picked up the pace, and has been known and widely accepted during the last two and a half decades. This phenomenon is justified by the necessity to supply adequate lexical material which is imperative in uttering the correct, complete, nuanced or expressive meanings speakers may wish to convey. As a result of its lexical enrichment, the Romanian language is synchronized with the widely spoken foreign languages.

For Theodor Hristea, the notion of *neologism* does not cover only a relatively recent period of time. For this reason, “the data related to the approximate and provisional statistics” made by the linguist lead him to the idea that in contemporary Romanian “there are at least 50,000 certain lexical neologisms” (Hristea, 2004: 27) and they do not include terms from science and technology, ephemeral neologisms or foreign words not adapted to the system of the Romanian language.

In this paper, we will use the term *recent word* instead of *neologism*, since we find it to be more appropriate for this study, and, at the same time, we will exemplify our observations with terms recently introduced in the inventory of the *DOOM*.

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2. The authors of the new *DOOM* completed the lexical inventory of the previous edition with 2500 new terms which are marked with an asterisk. The sources the new terms were taken from are indicated, together with such information as the fact that they are borrowings from English, from other modern languages or that they are Latin words that have (re)entered usage, while at the same time there are words that had already existed, but had not been introduced in the previous edition. A note should be made here with respect to the fact that the borrowings from English belong, in most of the cases, to the different technologies, especially to IT.

2.1. The verbs that have recently entered the lexical inventory have the following verbal suffixes: *-a*, *-ifica* and *-iza*: *accesa*, *adecva*, *acciza*, *acidifica*, *acutiza*, *adjectiviza*, *adverbializa*, while there are few with *-i*: *aflui*, *autoamăgi*, *autodepăși*.

The relatively recent borrowings from French or English are perfectly adapted to the system of the Romanian language; those with the suffix *-a* or *-iza* are conjugated with the present indicative suffix *-ez/-eaz-*, while those with *-i* use *-esc/-eșt-*. There are certain variations of the graphical form in the case of several of these verbs: *a boot-a / a boota / a buta*, *a brandui / a brendui*, *a rebrandui / a rebrendui* and others.

- Most of the verbs belong to technical terminologies: *acidifica*, *acutiza*, *adjectiviza*, *adverbializa*, *aflui*, *aluminiza*, *antologa*, *aronda*, *autoeduca*, *autopsia*;
- Among these verbs, the IT terminology takes the first place: *a formata*, *a clicka*, *a downloada*, *a lista*, *a se loga*, *a printa*, *a starta*, *a procesa*, *a scana*, *a tastea* and others;

- Some verbs are composed by means of the combining form *auto-*: *autoamăgi*, *autodenunța*, *autodepăși*.

2.2. Frequently, there are deverbal nouns derived with the suffix *-re*: *accedere*, *accizare*, *adverbializare*, *adjectivizare* and others. With respect to these nouns, there are three notes to be made. Firstly, several of these nouns are justifiably recorded: *activare*, *adjectivizare*, *adverbializare*, *arondare*, *atenționare* and others. Secondly, several are unjustifiably not recorded: *debranșare*, *printare*, *setare*, *accesare*, *acutizare*, *amprentare*, *auditare*, *autocenzurare*, *autocitare*, *autoeducare*, *autoproclamare*, *bifare*, *branșare*, *disponibilizare* and others. Thirdly, it is the case when the nouns are recorded, but the verb they are derived from is not: *acvaplanare*.

2.3. Participial adjectives are sometimes recorded, but most of the times not: *blurat*, *focusat*, *updatat*, *upgradat*, *logat*, *delogat*, *forwardat*, *prestat*, *mediatizat*, *accesat*, *accizat*, *activat*, *acutizat*, *amprentat*, *arondat*, *auditat*, *autocenzurat*, *autoeducat*, *autoproclamat*, *bifat*, *branșat*, *calamitat*, *clonat*, *debranșat*, *globalizat*, *stresat*. Statistically, they are used more often than their corresponding verbs, and their functioning as adjectives is sufficient enough to make their recording compulsory.

2.3.1. The derivatives of these adjectives formed with the negative prefix *ne-* are not recorded either, although, in this case, their status as adjective should ensure it. These derivatives are not non-finite verbal forms, but adjectives: *neaccesat*, *neaccizat*, *neadecvat*, *neangoasat*, *neantipatizat*, *neantologat*, *nearondat*, *neatenționat*, *neautopsia*, but **neautodepășit*, **neautoamăgit* and others.

2.3.2. The adjectives (respectively the adverbs) derived with *-bil* are not recorded either, although the tendency to create and use them is obvious: *accesabil*, *alternabil*, *accizabil*, *arondabil*, *asumabil*, *atenționabil*, *autoeducabil* and others.

2.4. A well represented category of derivatives is that denoting professions and jobs, and even names that can be assimilated to them. They have two entries, for the masculine, respectively for the feminine. Several appear with an asterisk for the feminine only, as the masculine was recorded in the previous edition: *automatistă*, *astronaută*, while the rest feature both forms: *acvanaut*, *acvanaută*, *africanist*, *africanistă*, *alergolog*, *alergologă*, *americanist*, *americanistă*, *anatomopatolog*, *anatomopatologă*, *aranjor*, *aranjoare*, *autostopist*, *autostopistă*, *azilant*, *azilantă*.

2.5. The morphological information provided for the recent nouns is not always systematized. Several are missing the articulated singular form: *airbagul*, *airbusul*, while others the genitive-dative articulated singular one: *acceptanței*, and yet others both the articulated singular and the plural forms: *addendum*, *advertising*, *aftershave*, *agreement*.

- The adaptation of the nouns borrowed from English to the Romanian morphological system also raises the question of the correct spelling of their singular and plural articulated forms. For the neutral nouns: *desktopul / desktopuri*, *discounturi*, *dressinguri*, *drinkuri*, *e-mailuri*, *exit-polluri*, *fast-fooduri*, *feedbackuri*, dar *duty-free-ul / duty-free-uri*, *mouse-uri*, *sms-uri*. For the masculine nouns: *hamburgerul / hamburgeri*, *crenvurști*, *jeanși*, *byți*, *inchi*, *recordmeni*, *tenismeni*, *dealeri*, *brokeri*, *hackeri*, *designeri*, *outsideri*, *globe-trotteri*, *manageri*, *rockeri*, *rapperi*, but *boy-ul / boy-i*, *dandy-i*, *gay-i*, *chairmani*, *yesmani*, *cameramani*, *gentleman*, *showmani*.

- In the case of recent Anglicisms, their graphical form and pronunciation did not undergo any change by report to the source language: *advertising*, *afterbeat*, *after hours*, *after-shave*, *agreement*, *airbag*, *antidumping*, *artnapping*, *babysitter*, *banner*, *book-maker*, *broker*, *cheeseburger*, *cocker*, *dealer*, *designer*, *globe-tootter*, *goalkeeper*, *hacker*, *hamburger*, *kidnapper*, *outsider*, *rocker*, *setter*, *stripper*, *trainer* and others.

- If the adaptation of the borrowed word is more advanced, its spelling and pronunciation will reflect this process. The reduction of the double letters that convey consonants represents the first step in the adaptation to the Romanian spelling: *antihemoroidal* (<*antihemorroidal*), *alomorfism* (<*allomorphism*), *antirenină* (<*antirennin*), *cuter* (<*cutter*), *seter* (<*setter*) and others. Similarly, the reduction of *ph* and *th*, that is of the sequences of letters that are not proper to

Romanian, to *f* and *t*: *aloterm* < *allotherm*, *artrometru* < *arthrometer*, *bioritm* < *biorhythm*, *fonoabsorbant* < *phonoabsorbant*, *cardiomiopatie* < *cardiomyopathy*, *ecocardiograf* < *echocardiograph*, *elastografie* < *elastography*, *feromon* < *pheromone*, and others. The phonetic alternations act systematically: *acantoid* / *acantoizi*, *acefalogastru* / *acefalogaștri*, *ambivert* / *ambiverți*, *adipom* / *adipoame*, *procesor* / *procesoare*, *crenvurst* / *crenvurști*, *jeans* / *jeanși*, *byte* / *byți*.

2.6. The status of noun is added to certain adjectives, systematically to those denoting names of colours: *acaju*, *oranj*, *kaki*, *bleu*, *gri*, *alb*, *albastru*, etc., and subjectively to others: *acru*, *amar*, *afurisit* and others. The following terms also appear with a double status, of adjective and noun: *antiperspirant*, *antipruritic*, *antirachetă*, *antireumatic*, *antisudorific* and others. At the same time, *antitifoid*, *antizimotic*, *antitrust*, *electrocasnic* only have an adjective status, while *artnapping*, *kidnapping*, *antidoping*, *antidumping*, *soft*, *hip-hop*, *fair-play*, *gay*, *electrocasnice*, only have a noun status, despite their being used as both adjectives and nouns. The correct solution to this issue would involve checking their functioning as an adjective and/or as a noun.

2.6.1. In recent times, the tendency to transform the adjectives belonging to various specialty terminology into nouns has rapidly been generalised. The new nouns are mostly used in their plural form: *antiseptice*, *antidepresive*, *calmante*, *chimicale*, *analgezice*, *adiționale*, *compensate*, *electrocasnice*, *dulciuri*, *antialergice*, *antibronșitice*, *antidepresive*, *antidiabetice*, *antigripale*, *antiinflamatoare*, *antiradare*, *antitusive*, *antivirale*, *autocolante* etc. In the plural, they refer to the category of products or materials of the same kind, according to the plural pattern in *-uri* of mass nouns: *cărnuri*, *dulcețuri*, *mățăsure*, *pânzetur*, *brânzetur*, *unturi*, *gemuri*, *oțetur*, *nisipuri*, etc. In the singular, only certain adjectives function as nouns as well: *sedativ*, *calmant*, *analgezic* and others, while others do not: **compensat*, **electrocasnic*, **chimical* and others. There are few deadjectival nouns in the masculine: *aleșii* (*neamului*), *antipoluanți*. The fact that several of these adjectives do not have the double status (*antirabic*, for instance) raises the same issue related to checking whether they function with a double status or not. For a part of the terms, as such, two entries will be needed: *calmant*, *-ă*, *-i*, *-e* (adjective) and *calmant*, *-e* (neutral noun).

2.6.2. The inhabitants of a country, town or region also have a double status, of adjective and noun: *român*, *craiovean*, *oltean*. Since the feminine for the nouns is in most of the cases different from that of the adjectives, the solution is the double entry. In the new edition of *DOOM*, their inventory has been completed with new terms, most of them foreign: *acheuleean*, *afrikaander*, *andaluz*, *anglo-normand*, *antiguan*, *aquitan*, *aragonez*, *azer*, *azeră*. Surprisingly, there are fewer Romanian terms in this category to complete the list: *alexăndrinean*, *alexăndrineancă*, *albaiulian* and others. The names of the inhabitants of smaller or less significant towns are generally missing: *Filiași*, *Copșa*, *Balș*, *Segarcea*, *Strehaia*, *Caransebeș*, *Călimănești* and others.

2.7. The science and technology terms make up the most represented category of recent words. Most of the terms in this category belong to medicine and pharmaceuticals: *acneiform*, *adamantină*, *abiogen*, *aeroambulanță*, *afebril*, *alopată*, *ambliop*, *autist*, etc. From the field of language sciences: *actant*, *afixal*, *acronim*, *americanistică*, *anglistică*, *antonimic*, *antroponim*, *asertiv* and others. With respect to the *Anglicisms* from other (scientific or non-scientific) terminologies, Adriana Stoichițoiu's observation regarding the fact that they "are kept [...] in their original form" (Stoichițoiu, 2001,p.96) is confirmed for their spelling, and more or less for their pronunciation: *background*, *banking*, *brainstorming*, *bypass*, *copy-paste*, *copyrighter*, *crossing-shot* and others. On the other hand, these same Anglicisms have been adapted from a morphological-syntactical point of view.

2.8. The most numerous compounds are those that include a combining form: (*aero*) *aerobuz*, *aerodinamicitate*, *aeroduct*, *aerogen*, *aerogenerator*, *aerospațial*; (*agro*)*agroindustrial*, *agroalimentar*;(*ante*)*antecalcul*, *antepune*; (*anti*) *antiaeriană*, *antialergic*, *antibacterian*, *antibronșitic*, *anticorupție*, *anticriză*, *antidepresiv*, *antidiabetic*, *antidrog*, *antiglont*, *antigripal*, *antiinflamator*, *antimafia*, *antimagnetic*, *antimemorii*, *antinicotinic*, *antitero*, *antipersonal*, *antipoluant*, *antiradar*, *antiseismic*, *antitabagic*, *antiterorist*, *antitusiv*,*antiviral*; (*auto*) *autoacucație*, *autocopiativ*, *autoeducație*, *autoironie*, *autotaxare*, *autotren*; *apocromatic*, *ascuțitunghic*, *atoateștiutor*, *atocunoscător*, *atotputință*, *atotștiință*, as well as those derived from proper names: *albaiulian*, *albaiuliancă*.

- The spelling of compounds continues to raise issues. There are compounds spelt with a hyphen: *acord-cadru*, *alaltăieri-diminează*, *alaltăieri-noapte*, *alaltăieri-seară*, *alb-albastru*, *alba-neagra*, *alb-argintiu*, *albastru-azuriu*, *albastru-deschis*, *alb-gălbui*, *alb-negru*, *automobil-capcană*, *azi-mâine*, *azi-noapte*.

- Another series of compounds consists of those spelt with a blank space: *Adormirea Maicii Domnului*, *apă minerală*, *apă plată*, *arborele vieții*, *ardei gras*, *ardei iute*, etc.

- There are compounds made up of three terms, with a blank space between the first two and with a hyphen between the last two terms: *alaltăieri după-masă*, *alaltăieri după-amiază*, *Imperiul Austro-Ungar*, *azi după-amiază*, *azi după-masă*, etc.

- There are also compounds resulting from abbreviation: *ACTH*, *ADN*, *AGA*, *ASLO* / *Aslo* and others. Liliana Florina Cojocaru Andronache examined the field of acronyms and noted that "acronyms [...] will be categorised for gender [...] as masculine, feminine or neutral (in Romanian)" (Cojocaru, 2010,p. 236). The acronyms borrowed from English are categorised as neuter, while the majority form the plural with *-uri* preceded by a hyphen: *SUV-uri*, *WC-uri*, *GPS-uri*, *CD-uri*, *DVD-uri*, *CD-ROM-uri*, *EKG-uri*, *VIP-uri*, *IQ-uri*, *LP-uri*, *sms-uri* and others. There are very few that form the plural with *-e*: *CD-playere*, *CD-writere*. There are also acronyms without a plural: *FBI*, *NATO*, *ONU* and others. All the English

acronyms that represent common nouns should be spelt with lower case letters: *cd*, *cd-rom*, *cd-player*, *cd-writer*, similarly to *sms*, *pdf*, *pps*, *doc*, *docx* and others.

- Many compounds are missing, especially from the chromatic terminology, a field undergoing innovation: *gri-perle*, *gri-bleu*, *alb-murdar*, *alb-cenușiu* and others, but from other fields as well: *apă de parfum*, *apă de gură*, *apă oxigenată*, *apă de plumb*, *ardei capia*, *varză de Bruxelles*, *nucă de cocos*, *hârtie igienică* and others.

2.9. Foreign phraseological units are rather numerous: *ab initio*, *ad rem*, *aide-mémoire*, *à la carte*, *à la grecque*, *à la longue*, *à la russe*, *allegro assai*, *allegro ma non troppo*, *all right*, *alma mater*, *al segno*, *angor pectoris*, *art déco*, *axis mundi* and others, as opposed to the Romanian ones: *aduce aminte*, *afară că*, *afară de*, *astfel de*, *așa și așa*, *ca atare*. The absence of such Romanian ones as *fără să*, *fără ca să*, *cu tot (toată, toți, toate)*, *în vederea*, *și așa mai departe*, *a ține seama*, *fără doar și poate*, *de unică folosință* does not have any justification.

2.10. The same difference can be noted with proper names, with the foreign ones outnumbering the Romanian terms. As a rule, they are not recent creations, but they have not been included in the previous edition: *Acropole*, *Adonis*, *Afganistan/ Afghaniștan*, *Albion*, *Amalteea*, *Antarctica*, *Apolo*, *Apus*, *Arabica*, *Areopag*, *Arlecchino*, *Oceanul Atlantic*, *Atlas*, *August / Augustus*, *Augustin/Augustinus*, *Azerbaidjan* and others. A few are recent creations and, thus, less familiar: *Airbus*, *Alzheimer*, *Angström*, *Appassionata*. As a “novelty” among the Romanian ones: *Alba Iulia*.

3. Conclusions:

With respect to selecting recent words, it is necessary to employ statistical methods and IT instruments, which, in turn, will undoubtedly lead to an improved inventory. Subjectively selecting recent words needs to be abandoned. Statistical methods and technical means available by means of advanced technologies can be successfully put to use so register those terms with a high frequency in use.

Not registering certain widely used terms is not justified: *ABS*, *accesat*, *ATM*, *ATV*, *after-school*, *bio*, *blog*, *blogger / bloger*, *a blura*, *blurat*, *box-office*, *browser*, *burger*, *call center*, *casual*, *espressor*, *deal*, *debranșat*, *a se deloga*, *dezvoltator*, *draft*, *DVD*, *folder*, *full*, *geostrategic*, *globalizant*, *hands-free*, *hardist*, *hipster*, *IT*, *IT-ist*, *IQ*, *kitschos*, *like*, *live*, *a se loga*, *logout*, *macrostabilizare*, *manageria*, *mediatizat*, *memory-stick*, *messenger / mess*, *offshore*, *outdoor*, *part-time*, *power-point*, *prepay*, *printer*, *racolabil*, *receiver*, *search*, *slide*, *smartphone*, *softist*, *spam*, *speaker*, *stick*, *stresat*, *tab*, *target*, *televot*, *a upgrada*, *a updata*, *tag*, *trainer*, *(ultra-)all-inclusive*, *videochat*, *vintage*, *voucher*, *wireless*, *workshop* and others.

The pervasion of English borrowings is a result of the necessity to denote new realities for which the Romanian language does not have its own terms: *byte*, *RAM*, *browser*, *cip*, *desktop*, *e-mail*, *folder*, *i-pad*, *link*, *modem*, *mouse*, *scanner*, *site*, *a se loga*, *a se deloga*, *a reseta*, *a upgrada* and others.

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Transcending Traditional Language Boundaries in Communication

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Abstract

The world we live in is a more and more digitized one, in which the new technology has influenced how people all around the globe communicate. In this world of no spatial or physical boundaries, we are using a new universal language in the form of emoticons and emoji, which are more complex visual icons and are seen as an affective linguistic resource (Albright, 2014). Therefore, in this paper, the aim is two-fold. On the one hand, we investigate whether pictograms transcend linguistic boundaries in communication and create an entirely new type of communication, a new language, based on the idea that ‘a picture is worth a thousand words’. On the other hand, we tackle a more interesting aspect which stirred the scientific interest of linguists, namely that a new rudimentary grammar of emoji is developing (Schnoebelen, 2012; Eyers, 2017; Danesi, 2017).

Keywords: digital communication, non-verbal communication, emoticon, emoji, language function

Introduction

It is widely accepted that we are living in a more and more digitized world, a world in which the new technology and new experiences have influenced how people all around the globe communicate. It seems that in this world of no spatial or physical boundaries we are using different means and different types of communication, created and shaped in order to cope with these new experiences.

In this context, the question we ask ourselves refers to whether or not we are using a new language, a new vocabulary than the one/ones we are used to. The answer is apparently yes if one thinks of emoticons and emoji² (which are essentially the next stage in the evolution of the text-based emoticons that have been around the 1980s). Whereas emoticons are limited to using standard keyboard characters to stand-in for face expressions, emoji are significantly more complex visual icons (Albright, 2014) and are seen as an “affective linguistic resource” (Schnoebelen, 2012), because one can speak, dream, laugh, tell jokes or cry using emoji. Now, the emoji seem to have completely replaced the emoticons and throughout this paper we will make reference to emoji, except when stated otherwise. Therefore, our aim is two-fold. On the one hand, we investigate whether

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² The word *emoji* literally means "picture" (e) + "character" (moji) (pictograph) in Japanese and it has been in use since the 1990s. It was invented in Japan by Shigetaka Kuita on behalf of a Japanese mobile phone operator and was added to the Oxford English Dictionary in 2013, being defined as “a small digital image or icon used to express an idea or emotion” (Available at: <<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/emoji>> [Accessed 20 March 2019]) or as “a digital image that is added to a message in electronic communication in order to express a particular idea or feeling” (Available at: <<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/emoji>>, [Accessed 20 March 2019]).

pictographs transcend linguistic boundaries in communication and create a new language based on the idea that ‘a picture is worth a thousand words’. On the other hand, we tackle a more interesting aspect which stirred the imagination and the scientific interest of linguists, namely that a new rudimentary grammar of emoji is developing (Schnoebelen, 2012; Eyers, 2017; Danesi, 2017).

Considering all these, the structure of this paper is as follows: in the first part we discuss what emoji are and how these symbols help us understand the affective aspect of language in digital interpersonal communication. Secondly, we look at the affective role and the linguistic role of emoji and point out to the fact that these pictographs enrich communication (in terms of transmission of information) emotionally. Based on recent studies dealing with the new forms of language (i.e. internet language, cf. Crystal, 2006, 2009, texting, using emoji and emoticons), their role is linguistically quite significant and we agree with David Crystal, who states that “graphic distinctiveness is not a totally new phenomenon. Nor is its use restricted to the young generation. There is increasing evidence that it helps rather than hinders literacy”³ and the manifestation of emotions, we might add.

2. Using Emoji in digital interpersonal communication

Contemporary media have introduced many innovations for communication, especially for nonverbal/ nonvocal communication. The use of technology in communication, through emails, instant messages, or social media has influenced the way people ‘talk’ to each other, both linguistically and emotionally.

When communicating, people use language to position themselves, their audiences, and their topics relative to one another, but when expressing emotions, people need to make visible these internal states, to turn them into words, gestures or actions for a more personal interaction. They need to make emotions be understood linguistically (especially in writing) and emoji can do exactly that. More explicitly, the emoji are more powerful than they may first appear simply because they have the ability to emulate a real face. “In speech, you can use body language, facial expressions and intonation to help convey you and your message (...) Emoji lend a hand for doing that in writing.” (Schnoebelen, 2012)

Moreover, both emoji and emoticons are used to describe different dimensions of affective meaning (positive/negative, teasing, flirting, sarcasm, irony, humour) and more often than not their role is “to clarify the message intention, compensating for the absence of nonverbal cues in written communication” (Thomson&Filik, 2016: 105), especially in contexts that can easily be misinterpreted, such as when using sarcasm. They strengthen the value of

³David Crystal “2be or not 2be?”. In *The Guardian*, 5 July 2008. Available at: <<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/jul/05/saturdayreviews> featres.guardianreview> [Accessed 20 March 2019].

a positive message or soften the impact of a potentially negative one. For some researchers, their utility can even outweigh standard linguistic mechanisms (Thomson&Filik, 2016: 118).

We will focus in this paper on the emoji, taking into consideration how successful these little symbols are. They have their own Encyclopedia-type website resource: the Emojipedia⁴, where one can find out more interesting things about them. This is the world's greatest resource for all things related to emoji. From the information provided in this databank (each emoji has its own Unicode description sheet with details about its meaning, alternative names, iconic variations, code points, short code a.o.) we realise how important the emoji are in communication, considering that since their 2011 introduction internationally in Apple's iOS 5 update, they are used by 92% of the online population as a way to convey emotion in emails (R. Lott-Lavigna, 2016).

Secondly, the variety of emojis has grown proportionally with the use of smartphones, tablets or laptops: now there are more than 3,000 emoji available on multiple platforms, divided in different categories, among which the most commonly used are the smiley faces. These images "transmit first of all emotions, and then ideas and intent, so it comes as no surprise that statistically women use emoji more than men". (R. Lott-Lavigna, 2016).

Ironically, one of the most prestigious dictionaries in the world, the Oxford Dictionary, chose the emoji known as "Face with Tears of Joy"⁵ as the "Word of the Year" in 2015. This very surprising event signalled that "a veritable paradigm shift might have taken place in human communications and even in human consciousness" (Danesi, 2017: vi). The explanation for the choice of a pictogram over a word was that it "captures the ethos, mood, and preoccupations" of the year and reflects "the sharp increase in popularity of emoji across the world in 2015."⁶ (Oxford Dictionary website).

3. Is emoji a language?

The use of emoji in communication is an indication of how language is evolving and represents an interesting subject for linguistics, especially since there have been many pictorial languages throughout the history of mankind, from the Egyptian hieroglyphs to the early American cave drawings⁷. Moreover, the modern

⁴ See more at: <https://emojipedia.org>.

⁵ According to the statistics offered on Emojipedia, the 'Face with Tears of Joy' was the most popular emoji in 2018 (Available at: <<https://emojipedia.org/stats/>>) [Accessed 14 February 2019]. Moreover, this particular emoji made up over 20 percent of all emoji used in Britain in 2015, and 17 percent of all emoji used in the United States (Danesi, 2017: vii).

⁶ Oxford Dictionary website: <<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/word-of-the-year-2015/>> [Accessed 10 May 2018].

⁷ Professor Vyv Evans of Bangor University who is studying the "speed of evolution" in the use of the little icons instead of words, states that: "*Emoji is now the fastest growing language in the UK and evolving faster than ancient forms of communication, such as hieroglyphics*" (cf. Scott,

pictographic systems of signalling hazards and the use of standard images with various linguistic functions are also examples of linguistic communication.

However, not only linguists are concerned with demonstrating how people use linguistic forms to communicate emotions, but also psychologists and anthropologists, so the scientific study of emoji should be based on an interdisciplinary approach in order to capture all characteristics and functions of such forms of communication (i.e. how individuals relate - linguistically and emotionally - to themselves and the people around them by using emoji).

When faced with the challenge of defining what language is or what its characteristics are, linguists make reference to the functions it fulfils. There are two very important ones: firstly, a language is used to convey ideas, and secondly, to influence others. In short, an important function of language is to enable us perform actions, sometimes referred to as “speech acts”, that can even change aspects of the world. And from this perspective, the use of emoji, potentially at least, can be used to fulfil both functions: they can convey ideas, and be used to influence the mental states, emotions, and even behaviours of others.

There is nonetheless a consensus among linguists that the emoji are part of non-verbal language. Based on recent evidence from brain imaging studies, the moment the brain’s left hemisphere is processing linguistic information, a parallel network in the right side of the brain is activated in response to the rhythm of speech, the person’s identity and emotions being expressed (cf. Scott, 2017). Furthermore, “there are brain systems that are picking up and decoding all that non-verbal information⁸” (Scott, 2017).

Based on the facts stated above, these icons seem to have the potential to become a universal language, allowing people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds to communicate and interact with each other, facilitating intercultural communication by transcending the linguistic barriers.

3.1 Affective role of emoji

There is a wide variety of affective linguistic phenomena. A research work that would concentrate on understanding the role of affect in language is interdisciplinary and cannot be placed in a single subdiscipline. One such approach would be from the perspective of sociolinguistics, pragmatics, psycholinguistics, and/or computational linguistics, and would look at “concepts at work in sociolinguistics (indexical fields, style, persona, identity, communities of practice, negotiation, agency), pragmatics (expressives, performatives, conceptual baggage, cooperation, politeness), psychology (affective dimensions, basic emotions, appraisals, selective attention, priming), and computational linguistics (emotion

2017).He added that "*As a visual language emoji has already far eclipsed hieroglyphics, its ancient Egyptian precursor which took centuries to develop*".

⁸ “Non-verbal signals include so-called microexpressions, the fleeting and subtle movements of muscles around the eyes and mouth that occur within as little as 50 milliseconds, which often give clues to the emotions people try to mask using large expressions” (Scott, 2017).

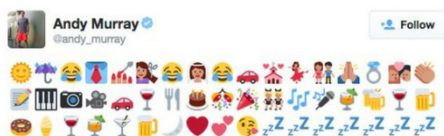
detection/recognition, opinion mining/sentiment analysis, polarity lexicons, hot spots)” (Schnoebelen, 2012: 22).

Since the emoji are said to be primarily used to express emotions, feelings or attitudes in communication, they are relational. They function not only as “signifiers of emotion and clarifiers of intent in digital spaces, but also as mediators of self-expression and cultural identity” (Bliss-Carroll, 2016:5)⁹. Moreover, “they’re a staple of millennial identity with a power to express tone – and proof of why representation matters” (Lott-Lavigna, 2016:1). So with the help of these tools, the users have the opportunity to convey an emotion, a thought, an idea or to highlight the sentiment in their messages.

In Jakobson’s (1960) terms, emoji usage entails *emotivity* (consciously or unconsciously) in addition to the *phatic* function. This is defined as the use of discourse structures (words, intonations, phrasings etc.) to portray one’s state of mind. In other words, instead of producing a detrimental effect on writing, “emoji can spark an imaginative course and assist composers in the process of visual thinking” (Palmeri, 2012: 39). They act as ‘enhancers’ and ‘clarifiers of sentiment’ within technological communication (Bliss-Carroll, 2016: 8) and foster elements of both verbal and gestural expression that are present in face-to-face interactions.

They are not “words” in the traditional sense of the word (despite the label put by the Oxford Dictionary in 2015), but are word-like and every emoji has a meaning, a description behind it (that universally applies to all users). As “stylized, almost comic-book-like, pictures” they can (and do) replace words and phrases (Danesi, 2017: 15), and their function seems to be that of “providing nuances in meaning in the tone of the message” and reinforcing, expanding, and annotating the meaning of a written communication by enhancing the friendliness of the tone, or by adding humorous tinges to it (Danesi, 2017: 15). All these can be observed in the example below, in which the rather formal message posted on the social media account of the Craiova Philharmonic is enriched with excitement and emotions simply by the use of emoji. The idea behind such messages is to appeal to the younger generation and attract their interest towards classical music (as part of the new season campaign *Muzica inspira! Fii diferit! Mergi pe clasic!/Music inspires! Be different! Go for the Classics*)¹⁰:

⁹ Social media has always been a constant source of emotional manifestation and sharing and with the use of emoji the public feels there is a much more than actual written message. For example, tennis star Andy Murray marked his wedding day by tweeting the story of the day entirely in emoji.



Another example is that of the tech giant Apple, which recently launched "diverse" emoji by adding the option of different skin tones to its happy faces.

¹⁰ See: <<https://www.facebook.com/filarmonicaolteniaticraiova/>>.



Filarmonica "Oltenia" Craiova

4 June at 11:12 · 🌐



🎵 🌸 🎵 Dirijoarea Maria Luisa Macellaro La Franca (Italia) vine pentru prima dată la Craiova vineri, 7 iunie, ora 19 cu un program divers, alături de 🎸 Răzvan Stoica și 🎹 Andreea Stoica. Reputații soliști vor interpreta concertul în Re minor pentru vioară și pian, compus - la doar 14 ani - de Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. ⭐ Atracția serii va fi desigur și 👑 vioara Stradivarius "The Queen" (1729) pe care Răzvan Stoica a câștigat dreptul să cânte în urma competiției Strad Prize (2008). 🌸🌸🌸
#MuzicalInspiră #FiiDiferit #MergiPeClasic #Stradivarius #TheQueen

Other researchers claimed that emoji are either forms of punctuation or the digital equivalent of making a face or a silly hand gesture while speaking (McCulloch, 2015).

But the emoji are much more than just emotions in communication. In describing them as a linguistic phenomenon of the online communication, their role was considered crucial not only in expressing sentiments, but in ensuring cohesion and coherence within the text.



3.2 Linguistic role of emoji

Recent research suggests that the affective role of emoji is a rather secondary one, considering that signalling emotion is not their main function. According to Dresner and Herring (2010), emoticons and emoji tend to communicate pragmatic meaning, rather than emotion; for example, the inclusion of certain emoticons may make a request less forceful. Other researchers claim that emoji and emoticons are pragmatic markers, their main purpose being to contextualise or modify an utterance, not to indicate emotion, functioning as signs or symbols connected to each other in specific semiotic (meaning-making) and formal ways (Danesi, 2017: 105).

Although there are no formal rules, no instructional grammar on how to use these little graphic images, there seem to be certain patterns that the use of emoji follow. This might be considered more like a speculation for the more traditional linguists (considering that everyone seems to be using them as they want, in a random order, without paying too much attention to any rules). But this speculation has been recently contradicted by empirical studies carried out with the purpose to offer a more formalized description of the use of emoji (i.e. analysing the structural regularity of the patterns created by the strings of emoji used in messages).

For example, Tyler Schoebelen wrote in his doctorate thesis that there can be identified a rudimentary grammar or 'set of rules', but these are limited to the idea of utterance and cluster. According to Schoebelen (2012), there are a few patterns created by the sequences of the emoji that users follow without even realising it:

A. The emoji tend to come at the beginning or at the end of a message. For example, the smiley (or a similar emoji) is used in place of opening salutations such as “Hi!” allowing the sender “to present (literally) a positive face and thus to imbue the message with a cheerful tone or mood” (Danesi, 2017: 19). The same is the case with the emoji used at the end of messages, as the “good-bye” function or any other function that would end a message, conveying the friendliness that exists between the interlocutors, as can be observed in the following message:

 Orice incepe frumos, se termina si mai frumos!!! ✓
 Am inceput anul scolar cu petrecere si l-am terminat cu o foarte frumoasa serbare!!! 🍰🍷
Felicitari, CANGURASILOR!!! 🍌🍌🍌❤️

B. The emoji can even be used in the middle of the message, and in this case, as Schoebelen (2012) claims, they come between complete thoughts.


They can also be used to replace part of the message:


Au spus DA! Vă iubesc! 💎❤️👉👈👉👈👉👈

 NOI...❤️

Or to substitute all the words in a message, such as in the case of *Emoji dick; or the Whale*¹¹, a translation into emoji of Herman Melville’s Moby Dick.


Call me Ishmael.


Some years ago--never mind how long precisely--having little or no money in my purse, and nothing particular to interest me on shore, I thought I would sail about a little and see the watery part of the world.


It is a way I have of driving off the spleen and regulating the circulation.

They respect a linear order in time and action and follow the same logic, the same syntactic flow, of written or verbal texts. According to Danesi (2017), it is obvious that, like any natural language grammar, “the distribution of emoji in texts, as well as the construction of phrases and sentences with emoji symbols in them, implies a systematic structure, otherwise it would be impossible to literally “read” the emoji texts” (Danesi, 2017: 77). At first, it looks like a “placement grammar”, but “the sequencing and compositional aspects are governed by conceptual aspects, rather than strict rules of grammar; (...) there is a pictorial-conceptual grammar involved”, with “its own syntax” or system for organizing the emoji to create coherent and meaningful sequences or combinations (Danesi, 2017: 78).

¹¹*Emoji Dick; or the Whale* (2010), Edited and compiled by Fred Benenson, Translation by Amazon Mechanical Turk. Available at: <<http://www.emojidick.com>> [Accessed 10 May 2018].

Regarding the possibility of emoji to transcend linguistic boundaries and become a language that people would understand, there's limited linguistic evidence at the moment that emoji have the potential to do that. But as they have undoubtedly become a cross-linguistic tool, used according to a set of rules accepted all over the world, they could certainly become a useful way to communicate across language boundaries.

Conclusions

As a product of the Internet Age, emoji enhance human interaction by putting "emotional, non-verbal information back in", (Scott, 2017) so it is not a matter of simplicity, but one of enrichment (Schoebelen, 2012). These icons add not only a much needed visual variation to any online conversation, but also help clarify the text with their pictorial gestures and manifestations. In other words, they augment conversation.

The emoji seem so powerful today that they even influence the construction of our social norms. Just like the language we use, the emoji help us to construct an identity, to have our image represented. Since language can be changed in order to change the power of a conversation or to adapt to a certain view, so can emoji. That is why the diversification of emoji has become so important lately in the context of the changing views of a global, more inclusive world. Consequently, many applications have updated their emoji databases¹² (adding, for example, emoji that do not specify gender, for a more gender inclusive appearance, or a range of racially diverse emoji and LGBT friendly emoji).

In a way, emoji keep up with the current social dilemmas, reflect our emotions and influence our behaviour, but most importantly they seem to hold the power to change our language and the way we communicate today.

Despite their popularity, we have to point out that their use is restricted to informal written texts exchanged among social peers (friends, colleagues, or family members). They should not be used in formal texts (essays or scientific papers), because their usage would likely be interpreted as "ironic or even cynical" (Danesi, 2017: 20).

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¹² Apple's 2015 OS 8.3 update introduced same-sex couple emoji and the ability to vary skin tone.

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English *Mouth* Idioms and Their Romanian Equivalents. A Cognitive Perspective

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Motto: "I would not put a thief in my mouth to steal my brains."
William Shakespeare, *Othello*

Abstract

Idiomacity is a complex and controversial domain of semantics. The paper analyses from a cognitive point of view a series of English and Romanian mouth idioms. While traditional linguists study mainly the formal and functional aspects of idioms, cognitive linguists have a completely different approach. Without totally denying the traditional perspective according to which the meaning of an idiom cannot be completely inferred from the meaning of its components, these linguists consider that there is a systematic conceptual motivation for a large number of idioms. Idioms are produced by our conceptual system and not simply a matter of language. The cognitive hypothesis attempts to provide an adequate motivation for most of these idiomatic expressions. Our work is based on the cognitive theory according to which idioms are motivated by conceptual structures: conventional knowledge, conceptual metonymies and metaphors. The notion of embodiment can be easily applied especially to human body idioms. We also try to demonstrate that there is a considerable degree of correspondence regarding English and Romanian mouth idioms in both languages, i.e., they share the same figurative meaning, as well as the same underlying conceptual strategies.

Keywords: cognitive approach, conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, conventional knowledge, mouth idioms.

1. Preliminary issues

The study of idiomacity is one of the most controversial fields of linguistics. The characteristic feature of phraseology as a discipline is that traditional criteria and traditional methodological approaches mostly cannot be applied here, and that is for the simple reason that all these have been created for regular language and its phenomena. However, what is in principle valid for phraseology is that it is always somehow anomalous.

Describing idioms and idiomacity is a very complex problem which should be seen from different perspectives.

In *Longman Idioms Dictionary* (2001: VII) an idiom is defined as a "sequence of words which has a different meaning as a group from the meaning it would have if you understand each word separately".

An idiom is a conventionalized multiword expression whose units are mostly semantically fuzzy.

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A *conventionalized* expression is a phrase which has been used over time so often that it has lost its special metaphorical origin and with which many speakers of a particular language are very familiar.

We consider that a brief presentation of some general aspects of phraseology from the traditional perspective may be appropriate.

In his book *Idiom Structure in English*, Adam Makkai (1972: 122) considers the following basic criteria for characterization of idioms: 1. the term *idiom* is a unit realized by at least two words; 2. the meaning of an idiom is not predictable from its component parts, which are empty of their usual senses; 3. idioms display a high degree of disinformation potential, i.e. their parts are polysemous and therefore can be misunderstood by the listener; 4. idioms are institutionalized, i.e. they are conventionalized expressions whose conventionalization is the result of initially ad hoc expressions.

Weinreich (1969: 226) gives his definition of an idiom as “a phraseological unit that involves at least two polysemous constituents, and in which there is a reciprocal contextual selection of subsenses [...]”.

In the two volumes of *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English*, Cowie *et alii* (1975: VIII-XI) consider the following two features as the most important to characterize idioms: 1. compositeness, i.e. “an idiom is a combination of two or more words which function as a unit of meaning” and 2. semantic unity, i.e. “idiomaticity is largely a semantic matter, and is manifested in much the same way in expressions of different structural types”.

Croft and Cruse (2004: 230-231) refer to the prototype definition of idioms with one necessary characteristic and a few of other typical characteristics offered by the standard view on idioms. The necessary feature is conventionality and the other features are:

1. inflexibility regarding syntactic patterns;
2. figurative meaning
3. proverbiality meaning that idioms usually describe social activity;
4. informality;
5. affect since they usually have an evaluation or affective stance towards what they describe.

Langlotz’s book (2006) approaches a central problem in phraseological and linguistic analysis: the creative structure and the creative use of idioms.

In other words, two principles seem to function in the production and interpretation of constructions: the creativity principle or open-choice principle and the idiom principle. The author relates the two principles to idioms. Phraseology is the linguistic branch that analyses pre-established, fixed constructions and focuses on those linguistic expressions which are closely connected to the idiom principle. Indeed, traditional definitions of the notion of idiom have principally relied on distinguishing these expressions from standard constructions. In this process of defining idioms in opposition to the norm of

grammatical regularity, they have almost always been linked to notions such as linguistic irregularity, arbitrariness or anomaly.

The linguist introduces the notion of idiomatic creativity. In his opinion idiomatic creativity captures the varied evocation of a relatively stable idiomatic construction in a specific context of use. Idiom-variation data therefore question the rigid dichotomy between the creativity principle and the idiom principle. Rather than leading to a strict opposition between regular standard constructions and irregular idiomatic constructions, idiomatic creativity implies that idiom production and comprehension are subject to a dynamic tension between the two principles. This leads to the idea that idioms cannot simply be described as lexical units; rather, they seem to occupy a position between the lexicon and syntax, leading to an ambiguous dividing line between the productive and reproductive aspects of linguistic competence. Thus, the author concludes that the idioms and creativity is not a contradiction in terms. (Langlotz, 2006: 8-9).

2. The cognitive linguistic approach to idioms

A cognitive linguistic investigation into idiomatic creativity must design an appropriate model of the mental basis of this phenomenon. The model must reflect the concepts, results and insights provided by phraseological analysis and the empirical data reflecting the phenomenon. Accordingly, in his book Langlotz addresses the following questions (*ibidem*: 10):

1. How are idioms represented and organised in a speaker's cognitive grammar?
2. What cognitive structures and processes are based on this patterning?
3. Along which lines does idiom variation appear?
4. Can idiom variation be explained with reference to more general cognitive processes that determine their mental representation and use?

Idiomatic creativity consists in the conceptualiser's competence to construct, structure, manipulate and interpret conceptual patterns of figurativity.

Originally, idioms were created as non-conventional metaphors or metonymies.

Thus, their internal structure incorporates the systematic and creative extension of semantic structures. In this sense, idioms are structurally and semantically complex linguistic constructions that are inherently creative, real proofs for language creativity (*ibidem*: 11)

While Makkai, Weinreich and other linguists study mainly the formal aspects connected to idioms and Fernando (1996) classifies idioms according to their function in discourse, cognitive linguists have a completely different perspective. The major representatives of experiential realism, Lakoff (1987), Johnson (1987) and Gibbs (1990, 1991, 1997) have discussed aspects concerning the nature of meaning, the role of metaphor and metonymy, the process of categorization and the relationship between form and meaning. It is natural within the new theoretical framework founded by cognitivists, based on the way people

perceive, conceptualize and categorize the world around them, that the complexity of idioms should occupy a prominent place.

Without totally denying the traditional view according to which the meaning of an idiom cannot be completely inferred from the meaning of its components, these linguists consider that there exists a systematic conceptual motivation for many idioms. Most idioms are products of our conceptual system and not simply a matter of language. An idiom is not just an expression that has a meaning somehow special in relation to the meanings of its constituent parts, but its meaning arises from our more general knowledge of the world embodied in our conceptual system. In other words, most idioms are conceptual, and not linguistic, in nature (Kövecses, Szabó, 1996: 330).

Motivation refers to a speaker's ability to infer the meaning of an idiomatic expression by reactivating figurativity, i.e. to understand why the idiom has the idiomatic meaning it has with a view to its literal meaning (Langlotz, 2006: 45).

The meanings of most idioms can be regarded as motivated and not arbitrary. Idioms are conceptually motivated in the sense that there are cognitive mechanisms such as metaphors, metonymy and conventional knowledge which link literal meaning with figurative idiomatic meaning. This view is also shared by Gibbs (1997: 142) who claims that "idioms do not exist as separate semantic units within the lexicon, but actually reflect coherent systems of metaphorical concepts".

The term *conventional knowledge*, as a cognitive mechanism, designates what is known and shared about a conceptual domain by the people belonging to the same culture. This knowledge includes, for example, the body part corresponding to a conceptual domain. Lakoff (1987: 446) suggests that people have in their mind large sets of conventional images of world around them, depending upon their specific culture. Conventional images are context independent and they remain subconsciously sometimes for the rest of our life.

Lakoff (*ibidem*: 448) also shows that there is a considerable number of idioms (*imageable idioms*) whose meaning is not arbitrary as traditional theory considers. For an adequate motivation of the idiomatic meaning, all three above-mentioned cognitive sources should be considered.

Gibbs and O'Brien (1990: 37) try to infirm the traditional theory which regards idioms semantically as non-compositional expressions. They have also claimed that people have tacit knowledge about the metaphorical basis of idioms.

Cognitive linguists consider that many idioms are based on conceptual metonymies and metaphors which connect the concrete and abstract areas of knowledge. They regard metaphor and metonymy as cognitive mechanisms that relate a domain (or domains) of knowledge to an idiomatic meaning in an indirect way, without excluding the possibility that a given domain of knowledge can often account for an idiomatic meaning in a direct way; that is without metaphor or metonymy.

Metonymy is distinguished from metaphor in such a way that metonymy is characterized as typically involving one conceptual domain, rather than two distinct ones as in the case of metaphor. Furthermore, metonymy involves a 'stand for' conceptual relationship between two entities (within a single domain), while metaphor involves an 'is' or 'is understood as' relationship between two conceptual domains such as anger and fire (Kövecses, Szabó, 1996: 338). The target-domain of conventional metaphor determines the general meaning of the idiom.

According to Kövecses and Szabó (*ibidem*: 352) the meaning of many idioms depends on the following factors:

- source-target relationship, which determines the general meaning of idioms;
- systematic correspondences between the source and target domains, which provide more specific meaning of idioms;
- specific knowledge structures, or inferences, associated with the source domain, i.e. the general knowledge of the world;
- cognitive mechanisms: metaphor and metonymy.

Yet, the impossibility of applying the cognitive mechanisms to all idioms represents a weak point of the cognitive theory.

However, the cognitive frame provides an adequate explanation for body parts idioms. In most of the cases, more than one cognitive mechanism contributes to the motivation of the idiomatic meaning; this motivation results from the combination of three factors: conventional knowledge, metonymy and metaphor. Human body parts idioms are more predictable than others, simply because as human beings we are more familiar with our perception of the shape, size and functions of individual parts of our own bodies, since we experience them every day. The idiomatic language is mostly anthropocentric, i.e. it is focused on people, on their behaviour, perceptions of their environment, on their physical and emotional states (Bílková, 2000: 6).

Idioms can be more easily analysed within a certain conceptual domain and not in isolation. In this respect, Gibbs (1997) claims that if we study groups of idioms, especially those referring to similar concepts, it is easier to uncover the active presence of conceptual metaphors which structure the way we conceptualize different domains of human experience.

If we consider that some idioms are partly semantically transparent, and that their meaning can be determined by means of conceptual mappings between source and target domains, it is possible to analyse in detail the idiomatic structures in any language. Other questions can also be addressed: Are there idiomatic expressions common to different languages? Are there conceptual metaphors, metonymies and conventional knowledge active in all languages? Are there common concepts resulted from the way people conceptualize the surrounding reality all over the world?

Starting from these aspects the purpose of this paper is to analyse a series of English and Romanian idioms belonging to the conceptual domain of *mouth* from a cognitive perspective. The analysis is based on the cognitive hypothesis according to which idioms are motivated by the above-mentioned conceptual structures. Since in the process of inferring the meaning, the speakers activate first the idiom key words, the total figurative meaning can be anticipated from the meanings of its components.

It is equally interesting to notice whether the speakers of English and Romanian have many common elements in the way they conceptualize this important part of the human body – the *mouth* - and in the way this conceptualization is reflected idiomatically.

We shall examine the general conventional knowledge which conceptually motivates the meaning of many idioms containing the word *mouth* (*gură*) as the first cognitive strategy which connects the physical (or source) domain of our knowledge about the *mouth* with the abstract (or target) domain of knowledge which arises when the word *mouth* occurs in idioms. Conceptual metaphors and metonymies which underlie various *mouth* idiomatic phrases will be also analysed.

The analysed idioms have been collected from standard dictionaries of idioms: *Oxford Idioms Dictionary for Learners of English* (2003) – *OID*, *Longman Idioms Dictionary - LID* (2001) and *Dicționar de expresii și locuțiuni ale limbii române* (1985), but other lexicographic sources of both English and Romanian have also been consulted. The authors of these dictionaries used an impressive corpus. This corpus was consulted to identify idioms and all their variations in authentic various contexts. For instance, *Longman Idioms Dictionary* makes use of a huge collection of texts in electronic form in order to find out how an idiom behaves and how frequent it is. The authors of the dictionary used a variety of different corpora. The Longman Corpus Network consists of (*LID*, 2001: x-xi):

- the British National Corpus-written texts;
- the British National Corpus-spoken texts;
- the Longman Spoken American Corpus;
- the Longman Written American Corpus;
- the Longman Learner's Corpus.

3. Cross-cultural cognitive motivation of English and Romanian *mouth* idioms

To prove that, generally, the same conventional knowledge and the same conceptual metaphors and metonymies can be found both in English and Romanian *mouth* idioms, examples will be given from both languages.

- *be all mouth (and no trousers)* (informal) means that somebody talks a lot about doing something, but is, in fact, not brave enough to do it:

Don't be scared of her. She won't hurt you- she's all mouth. (OID, 245)

In Romanian, we have an equivalent: *a fi doar gura de cineva*:

Nu te încrede în tot ce spune; se laudă, e numai gura de el! (DELLR, 274)

The cognitive strategy is the metonymy: THE MOUTH STANDS FOR TALKING.

- *down in the mouth* (informal) means 'unhappy and depressed':

Why is she looking so down in the mouth? (OID, 245)

The motivating mechanism seems to be here the orientational metaphor DEPRESSION IS DOWN. There is no Romanian corresponding expression.

- *make somebody's mouth water* has the Romanian equivalent idiom: *a-i lăsa gura apă*. The meaning is 'to make somebody feel hungry and also, make somebody want to do or have something very much':

EN: The smell of your cooking is making my mouth water.

The sight of all that money made his mouth water. (OID, 245)

RO: Mi-a lăsat gura apă când am văzut atâtea bunătăți. (DELLR, 41)

Îi lăsa gura apă după o asemenea funcție.

The idiom is motivated by conventional knowledge.

- *be born with a silver spoon in your mouth* 'be born into a very rich family'.

They had been born with silver spoons in their mouths, and never had to worry about money. (OID, 35)

Conventional Knowledge motivates this phrase. There is no idiomatic equivalent in Romanian.

This is commonly thought to be an English idiom referring to the British aristocracy. Yet, the earliest citation in print is from the USA.

Deb. U.S. Congress, 1801:

"It was a common proverb that few lawyers were born with silver spoons in their mouths."

Medieval spoons were usually made of wood. Spoon was also the term used for a chip or splinter of wood and it is likely that is how the table utensils derived their name. It has been a tradition in many countries for wealthy godparents to give a silver spoon to their godchildren at christening ceremonies. That may be the source of the phrase, or it may simply be derived from the fact that rich people ate from silver while others did not. In the keynote speech to the US Democratic National Convention in 1988, the Texas State Treasurer Ann Richards modified the proverb at the expense of the well-born and wealthy George Bush:

"Poor George, he can't help it - he was born with a silver foot in his mouth." (www.phrases.org.uk)

- *butter wouldn't melt in his, her, etc. mouth* 'a person looks very innocent, but probably is not'.

She looks as if butter wouldn't melt in her mouth, but don't be fooled by first impressions! (OID, 450)

In Romanian, there is an equivalent phrase: *nici usturoi n-a mâncat, nici gura nu-i miroase*.

Se comporta de parcă nici usturoi n-a mâncat, nici gura nu-i miroase.

Both idioms are motivated by conventional knowledge.

- *by word of mouth is used* to refer to spoken, not to written words.

The news spread by word of mouth. (OID, 450)

The Romanian corresponding expression is *din gură în gură*:

Legenda s-a răspândit din gură în gură.

The cognitive strategy is the metonymy THE MOUTH STANDS FOR TALKING.

Oxford Idioms Dictionary also refers to a humorous way of speaking about communication through modern devices, such as email or chat rooms: *by word of mouse. (idem)*

- *foam at the mouth* (informal) means ‘to be very furious’.

He stood there, foaming at the mouth. I have never seen anybody so angry. (OID, 128)

In Romanian we have the idiom *a face spume la gură*:

Când și-a dat seama că fusese trădat, făcea spume la gură de furie.

Both idioms are motivated by conventional knowledge. When an animal foams at the mouth, it means it is very ill or angry.

- *straight from the horse mouth (about information)* ‘directly from the person who really knows because they are closely connected with its source’. It is used in informal register.

I got it straight from the horse’s mouth. He told me himself. (OID, 176)

In horse racing circles tips on which horse is likely to win spread among punters. The most trusted authorities are considered to be those in closest touch with the recent form of the horse, that is, stable lads, trainers etc. The phrase *from the horse’s mouth* indicates one step better than even that inner circle, that is, the horse itself. (www.phrases.org.uk).

In Romanian we have the expression *la botul calului*, meaning something completely differently, ‘to do something quickly, right before you leave’.

A făcut haz, nu i s-a mai întâmplat să i se vorbească de plată și tocmai, așa, la botul calului. (Ion Vinea, apud DELLR, 90)

Both idioms are used in informal style and are motivated by conventional knowledge.

- *have a plum in your mouth* (disapproving) ‘speak in a way that is thought to be typical of the English upper classes’.

She speaks as she if she’s got a plum in her mouth. (OID, 291)

If you spoke with a plum in your mouth it would be quite difficult to be understood and make a strange sound. In Great Britain, there are lots of different accents that define not only a person’s region but also their social class. People

consider that the upper classes, especially the aristocracy, speak with a plum in their mouth.

In Romanian there is an idiom with almost the same structure, the same meaning, 'to speak unclearly' but not referring to a particular social class *parcă are prune în gură*:

Nu înțelegeți ce spune, parcă are prune în gură. (DELLR, 564)

- *your heart was in your mouth* (informal) meaning 'to be very anxious or afraid' has a Romanian corresponding phrase: *cu sufletul la gură*. The Romanian expression has also other meanings: 'panting' and 'dying'.

EN: *My heart was in my mouth.* I was sure the tree was going to hit him.

Once a child is born, you are destined to spend at least 18 years with your hand in your wallet and your heart in your mouth. (LID, 165)

RO : *Așteptau rezultatele examenului cu sufletul la gură.*

Alergase tot drumul și a ajuns cu sufletul la gură.

Era foarte bolnav, cu sufletul la gură.

The cognitive mechanism linking the literal, concrete meaning with the figurative, abstract one is the conventional knowledge.

- *keep your mouth /trap/gob shut* (slang) is a rude way of telling somebody to be quiet or stop talking:

Why don't you learn to keep your big mouth shut? (OID, 351)

In Romanian there are idiomatic equivalents, also in slang: *tacă-ți gura* or *închide gura*.

Mai tacă-ti gura aia!

Închide gura, doar prostii spui.

The cognitive strategies are the metaphor THE MOUTH IS A CONTAINER and the metonymy THE MOUTH STANDS FOR TALKING.

- *shut somebody's mouth* 'stop somebody from saying something, especially from revealing a secret':

His employers tried to shut his mouth by offering him money, but he told the story to the newspaper anyway. (OID, 351)

We have an idiomatic equivalent in Romanian: *a închide/ astupa cuiva gura*.

L-a șantajat și i-a închis gura

Gura lumii nimeni n-o închide, decât pământul. (DELLR, 305).

The same conceptual mechanisms motivate these idioms. For the Romanian expression we also have the metonymy THE MOUTH STANDS FOR GOSSIP.

In Romanian there is also the opposite expression *a deschide cuiva gura* 'to force somebody to speak':

N-ai frică, are metode pentru a-i deschide gura. (DELLR, 190)

The conceptual motivation is rendered by the metonymy THE MOUTH STANDS FOR SPEAKING and the metaphor THE MOUTH IS A CONTAINER FOR WORDS.

- *open your big mouth* means 'to say something when you should not':

Why do you always have to open your big mouth? Can't you just keep quiet sometimes? (OID, 267)

In Romanian there is the phrase *a deschide gura*:

Nu cumva să deschizi gura cât îi fi la masă. (DELLR, 190)

The same cognitive motivation functions here.

- *leave a bad/ nasty taste in the mouth* (of an experience) 'make you feel angry or bitter or disgusted'.

There is an idiomatic counterpart in Romanian: *a-i lăsa un gust amar*.

EN: *The idea that the money had been stolen from her sick mother left a nasty taste in her mouth.*

When you see someone being treated so unkindly, it leaves a bad taste in your mouth. (OID, 205)

RO: *Cele întâmpinate i-au lăsat un gust amar.*

Conventional knowledge links the concrete source domain with the abstract target one.

- *live from hand to mouth* has no idiomatic Romanian equivalent.

In this case, two cognitive mechanisms link the literal meaning with the idiomatic one: 'spend all the money you earn on basic needs such as food, being unable to save any money'. These are the conceptual metonymies HAND STANDS FOR WORK/ACTIVITY and MOUTH STANDS FOR EATING.

Don't tell me not to worry - I'm 28 years old and I'm still living from hand to mouth. There are a lot of former hockey players living hand to mouth who could use an extra \$200 a month. (LID, 151)

In Romanian, we have the idiom *de la mână până la gură* with the meanings: (1) 'very quickly': *Prostul uită, din natură, de la mână până la gură.* (Anton Pann, ap. DLR, VI, 665); (2) in some geographical areas.: 'very little': *Milă de la mână până la gură.* (Zanne, II, ap. DLR, VI, 665).

This idiomatic phrase is motivated by conventional knowledge.

- *(not) look a gift horse in the mouth* (informal) 'you should not find something wrong with something given to you free'.

The origin of this idiom is in the fact that people usually judge the age of a horse by looking at his teeth. The idiom is, thus, motivated by conventional knowledge.

In Romanian there is a similar idiom with the same meaning: *calul de dar nu se caută la dinți*.

EN: *He didn't want to accept the offer of a free holiday, but I told him not to look a gift horse in the mouth. (OID, 219)*

RO: *S-a mulțumit și așa. La urma urmei, calul de dar nu se caută la dinți.*

- *put your foot in your mouth* 'say or do something that upsets, offends or embarrasses somebody without intending to':

He really put his foot in his mouth when he mentioned the party to her. She hadn't been invited. (OID, 130).

Conventional knowledge and the metonymy THE MOUTH STANDS FOR SPEAKING seem to be the mechanisms which motivate the idiom. There is no Romanian idiomatic equivalent:

- *put your head in the lion's mouth* has the figurative meaning 'deliberately put yourself in a dangerous or risky situation':

People's career choices depend on their temperament – some people think it's fun to put their head in the lion's mouth.

He wasn't afraid to put his head in the lion's mouth. (LID, 162)

The Romanian corresponding expression is *a-și vârî/a-și băga/pune capul sănătos sub evanghelie*:

Acum îi părea rău că-și pusese capul sănătos sub evanghelie.

Another equivalent is *a intra în gura lupului*:

Dar vezi, sârbii au dincolo treburile lor, mai ales ziua, și ar fi stupid să riște să intre în gura lupului, în plină zi (DELLR, 359).

The cognitive mechanisms which link the literal, concrete meaning with the figurative, abstract meaning are the conventional knowledge and the metonymy THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON.

- *put your money where your mouth is* (informal) 'show that you really mean what you say, by actually doing something, giving money, etc. rather than just talking about it':

The government talks about helping disabled people but doesn't put its money where its mouth is.

Do you think she'll win? Come on, then, put your money where your mouth is. (OID, 242)

The idiom is motivated by the metonymy THE MOUTH STANDS FOR TALKING. There is no Romanian idiomatic equivalent.

- *put words into somebody's mouth* 'say or suggest that somebody has said something, when they have not':

EN: *You are putting words in my mouth. I didn't say the whole house was dirty, I just said the living room needed a clean. (OID, 451).*

The idiomatic counterpart in Romanian is *a pune vorbe în gura cuiva*:

RO: *Nu-mi pune mie asemenea vorbe în gură. Niciodată n-am spus așa ceva.*

According to the cognitive hypothesis, the motivating strategies are the metaphor THE MOUTH IS A CONTAINER FOR WORDS and the metonymy THE MOUTH STANDS FOR SPEAKING.

- *take the words right out of somebody's mouth* 'say exactly what another person was going to say'

'The speed limit on motorways should be raised.'

'I agree completely! You've taken the words right out of my mouth'. (OID, 451).

The Romanian equivalent is *a-i lua cuiva vorba din gură*. It has a double meaning: (1) ‘say exactly what another person was going to say’ and (2) ‘interrupt somebody, not to allow somebody to speak’:

(1) *Mi-ai luat vorba din gură, referitor la această problemă.*

(2) *Nu-i deteră răgaz, căci îi luau vorba din gură. (DELLR, 275)*

The same conceptual motivation functions here as in the case of the idiom *put words into somebody’s mouth*: the metaphor *THE MOUTH IS A CONTAINER FOR WORDS* and the metonymy *THE MOUTH STANDS FOR SPEAKING*.

- *watch your mouth/tongue* ‘be careful what you say in order not to reveal a secret or to offend somebody or make them angry’

The Romanian counterpart is *a-și ține gura*.

EN: *Now, you just watch your mouth around your grandparents, Billy! (OID, 434)*

RO: *Ar fi mult mai bine să înveți să-ți ții gura.*

THE MOUTH STANDS FOR SPEAKING and *THE MOUTH IS A CONTAINER FOR SECRETS* are the cognitive motivating mechanisms for these idioms.

- *out of the mouths of babes (and sucklings)* (saying) is used when a small child has just said something that seems very wise or clever:

It was my daughter who told me I should enjoy life more. She’s only four years old, but out of the mouths of babes... (OID, 245)

The origin of this idiom is in the Bible (www.phrases.org.uk):

Matthew 21:16: And said unto him, Hearest thou what these say? And Jesus saith unto them, Yea; have ye never read, Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?

Psalms 8:2: Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.

Din gura copiilor iese adevarul has the same source:

Nu te supăra! Nu știi că din gura copiilor iese adevarul?

The idioms are also motivated by the metaphor *THE MOUTH IS A CONTAINER*.

4. Conclusion

As can be noticed from this brief analysis, the conceptualizations of *mouth* depend on the conventional knowledge which we have about the shape and functions of this part of our body. The other two conceptual sources, conceptual metaphor and metonymy play a relevant role in the way we store information about *mouth(s)* in our mental dictionary. Although there are many more *mouth* idiomatic expressions both in English and Romanian and which would require further and deeper research to confirm the cognitive hypothesis that the meaning

of the constitutive parts of some idioms partially motivates their meaning, the previous analysis proves that in many cases, this is valid.

Our analysis shows that there is a considerable degree of mapping between English and Romanian regarding *mouth* idioms. Thus, there are idiomatic expressions in both languages which share the same figurative meaning, as well as the same underlying conceptual strategies, a real proof for cross-cultural cognitive motivation and cross language similarity. We can also notice that many *mouth* idioms have negative connotation in both languages.

Since idioms are products of our conceptual system and not simply a linguistic issue, it is obvious that there is a systematic conceptual motivation for a large number of idiomatic expressions.

Studying idioms across languages enables us to better understand the conceptualization process and the cognitive patterns. Although it is impossible to generalize with confidence about language in general, from a restricted study such as this one, the fact that cognitive mechanisms function in English and Romanian could suggest that metaphorical thinking and all these cognitive strategies may also function in other languages, too. We share the universalist point of view and the present study can also be a partial answer to the question concerning a possible conceptual idiomatic framework common for many languages.

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Gilding Granite - Spaces of Transition in the Children's Theatre

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Abstract

The project presented here is about using co-writing for the process of creating texts for stage, and shows how drama may be used as both inspiration and motivation for writing. Through participation in the children's theatre Teaterzahl, children are instructed in improvisation and acting techniques. They are subjected to a variety of impressions and expressions, that all inspire them to create a story. Furthermore, they are to create characters, and the stories are adapted to the stage. The children need to use their imagination and cooperate in creating a common form of expression. The instructor's task is to give them the competence and inspiration required in order to create their stories, and to sew together their projects and construct a dramaturgy; a story frame returned to the children for them to develop, with new lines and props. As a final product, a play that has been created in cooperation between all participants, both children and adults. The transitional phase takes place in the development of something that in itself does not have a great value, but through cooperation and development give it the Midas touch, and create a product of greater value.

Keywords: co-writing, dramaturgy, creativity, children theatre

Introduction

In my profession as a teacher trainer, creative writing and creative storytelling is one of my special fields of interests. Previously, I have worked together with 10th grade pupils at Nesna School, creating texts for a revue to be performed before a larger audience². I am still working with drama and children's theater, and the children's and youth theater group at Nesna is a practice arena for me, where I can try out different ways of working with children and young people. Through this work, I may gain experience to bring into my work at the university.

"Everyone is born to be creative people, all born with creative powers and creative abilities" [author's translation from Norwegian] (Juell and Norskog, 2006: 103). It is the teacher's task to develop the creative powers; and inspire the child to write. Matrewrites: "There is always a reason to write. We are not writing for the sake of writing (...)" [author's translation] (Matre, 2017: 29), and she further emphasizes how important it is to formulate writing assignments with a clear mission, which the pupils perceive as meaningful (Matre, 2017: 31). This is what I would like to work with, by using drama.

A group of ten theater-loving children aged ten to thirteen took part in this project. The aim for my involvement was that children and adults together would create a text for the stage. The method used was co-writing, entailing that more people create a text together (Eritsland, 2008: 10). In the process, the children, in

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² This project is described and published in the article "Vi skriverrevy! Erfaringer fra en skrivesituasjon som for eleven avviker fra "den vanlige"." In *Norsklæreren 1/2003*, s. 55-58. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, Norway. (2003).

smaller groups, made shorter stories based on dramatic play and games. These short stories were then sewn together by me as instructor, and it was my job and responsibility to ensure that the final play was given a logical structure and dramaturgy to be perceived as a complete and meaningful play. The starting point was a box of old hats and caps, something that is almost worthless, but as King Midas, we turn it into something of a greater value.

The project presented here is about using co-writing for the process of creating texts for the stage, and shows how drama may be used as both inspiration and motivation for writing. This presentation describes the process where a script is formed through play and interaction between children in middle school and the instructor.

The creative process

The word or term *creative* comes from the Latin term *creare*, meaning bringing to the world, or to create something that previously was not there (Juell and Norskog, 2006: 107). Malcolm Ross (1978:80-81) describes the creative process through a model showing what elements are important, and which must be stimulated and developed for creative activity. The essence of the development of aesthetic competence is impulse, and the framework for creative activities is a playful atmosphere, an exploratory act. The impulse is at the center, it is the driving force of any expression. Through the senses, you get an impression; one must wonder and explore sensory impressions and experiences. Sensory experiences give impulses and inspiration to imagination. The imagination is our ability to form inner images. In creative activities, imagination is quite central. In order to express oneself, one must master the expressions. Whendrama is the art, the human being itself is the primary expression, with body and voice. It is important to know one's own possibilities and limitations. Participants must be trained in drama activities tailored to their age and level. Play is the basis of the creative activity, it surrounds the creative process. In play, improvisation is a supporting element, where the actors must use their inner ideas and imagination to create an expression (Sæbø 2010: 79-82).

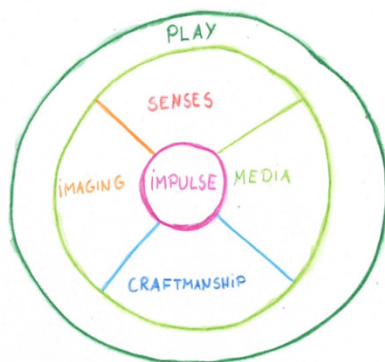


Illustration 1: Ross model for creativity

What may be missing or left out of Ross' model is time and space. According to Buaas "creative people need time and space, both mental and physical" [authors' translation] (Buaas, 2002: 24). Different spaces provide different directions for what activity to take place there. A classroom with desks facing the blackboard invites people to sit down and pay attention, a gymnasium with its equipment invites visitors to use the equipment, while an outdoor space invites exploring possibilities in nature.

We have at our disposal a Black box theatre, which is a space of possibilities: a large, open room, with high ceilings – both literally and in transferred meaning. The walls are covered by black draping, giving a warm impression of the room. The room is empty, and in itself sets no premises; inviting to be filled with something that was not there before, involving creative work.

A theatre performance is a story comprised of three-dimensional living images. The actor combines the physical and verbal dimensions to convey a text. Dramaturgy is the term used to describe the structure of an act of drama or a theatre performance. This is also a description of how to build up and structure the progression of the process (Sæbø, 2016: 28). This characterizes the progression for the theater- and drama course, to which the children of Teaterzahl were invited.

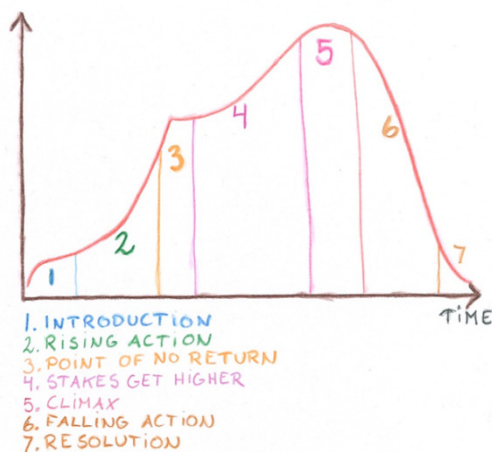


Illustration 2: Dramaturgy

Ross' model is the basis for the work of Teaterzahl Children's and Youth Theater. The children participate in a course where they learn about theater play and improvisation. Their senses, imagination and creativity are stimulated, and the children gain knowledge and experience of the media and craft, in order to improvise and to act out a role. They will observe, experience, explore, and try out; they will play and have fun. Jagtøien and Hansen explain play as a *movement* initiated by itself. "The child lets the game come to itself without the least effort. Suddenly it pops up and is there, and the child is in it!" [author's translation] (Jagtøien and Hansen, 2000: 132). All play is characterized by that those who play are able to cope with both surprises and shifts, and create manageable situations

through *pretend-as-if* situations that differ from reality. Improvising is inventing or creating things in the moment; it involves taking the imagination seriously, releasing play and trifling ideas. "Play and improvisation have many common features, but the most important aspect may be openness and experimentation." [author's translation](Sæbø, 2010: 117). "The really good improvisers do not trust improvisation as an emergency, but have prepared themselves well and long for the task they are going to carry out." [author's translation] (Sivertsen, 2012: 72). By practicing interaction, the children experience that the answer is not given in advance, and that there is not always a key answer. They get used to that different people play differently, and that something unexpected can happen; they are prepared to cope with the unprepared.

In creative activities, it will be natural to use oneself and one's own skills as a starting point; for me as an instructor in the children's theater, it is the creative art of storytelling³. "Storytelling may be seen as an individual form of art, where you can include some of the tools and techniques of the theatre" (Heggstad, 2012: 91). Brok describes how the adult storyteller "infects" the children with their own narrative (2005, p. 183). At the start of the course, I create stories that I perform, usually based on the children's input, so it is effectively the children's journey. They receive different impressions and expressions, an object, a rhythm instrument, a beginning, four random words or an image that will trigger the impulse and start a creative process; they will create a story or a small scene, individually or collectively.

The narratives are eventually written down. The definition of co-writing is that a number of people create a common text. The pair or group converse about the text creation, they respond to each other and complete the writing as a joint assignment (Eritsland, 2008: 10). In this case, not only the children participate in the writing process, but also I as an instructor participate in the development of a common product.

Method and design

The project was conducted with a children's theater group here at Nesna. This is a practice field for me, where I can try out methods and activities, and carry out field research. "Fieldwork enables you to acquire knowledge through first-hand experiences" [author's translation] (Fangen, 2010: 15), and it is about developing a real-world understanding and collecting data by presence in the field studied. "The decision of where to place an ethnographic case study is most often the result of careful assessments of the pros and cons of the different sites"[author's translation] (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2004: 66), who carry on to state that sometimes the environment will be chosen first, because one gets the opportunity to investigate interesting environments (do). Such is the case with this project: the children at

³My experience with being on stage is as a free-lance storyteller on a variety of occasions and contexts.

Nesna received an offer of participating in the children's theater, I got an arena to offer and conduct a course, and an ethnographic case study.

The issue is *how may drama be used as both inspiration and motivation for writing?* The question has an open-ended answer, and I do not intend to show all possibilities. However, I will give an example on how one might use drama in creative writing. My goal is to learn more about how children interact and use my input in creative activities. This shows development that may be of value to others, both students and teachers.

One of the limitations of ethnographic research is that as one studies only one single case, (...), one will always be in doubt as to whether the findings are representative. This may be important, but is not always so. Sometimes ethnographic research finds a case that is interesting in itself, and then generalizations are not important [author's translation](Hammersley and Atkinson, 2004: 71).

This case study has features from action research, which is about initiating an action to create development or change. Action research is described as a continuous process of planning, action and evaluation. At the same time it will be necessary to return to the reflection phase at several stages in order to revise the original plan, then launch a new round of testing and evaluation (Ulvik, Riese and Roness, 2016: 18). One of the goals of action learning is to create change or renewal within oneself or an institution. "Action research is a very practical way of looking at your own work in order to check whether it is like you would like it to be (...) In action research, researchers do research on themselves" (McNiff, 2005: 5). My goal is to give the participating children the skills and the courage to stand on a stage, while at the same time wanting to have new experiences with working with children; trying out methods in an environment that I otherwise do not have within the university system, and then bring my experiences with me to my teaching there. In this way, it is a goal to create renewal within myself, which my college students can benefit from. "From a professional focus, action research is seen as a method of professional development where teachers develop their knowledge base and build bridges between theory and teaching practices" [author's translation] (Ulvik, Riese and Roness, 2016: 20).

My role in this process of dramatization may be difficult to define, as I am in the field as both a researcher and an instructor. As a researcher, I will have the need to be able to have a meta perspective in order to observe the participants and collect data for a case study; while as an instructor, I am actively present at all times. I set something in motion in order to observe what happens, as I am constantly present, I have the opportunity to keep track of whether the progress goes as planned, or whether I need to intervene. Combining the roles of instructor and researcher, the method of collecting data cannot be too demanding, while at the same time give credibility (Ulvik, RieseogRoness, 2016: 27). After each exercise,

time is set aside for taking notes where I describe events, interaction and process. As all notes are written in retrospect, there will always be some events that might not be included. Nevertheless, I note down everything I can to help remind me of *what* happened, and *how* it happened. The process is also documented through drawings and texts the children have made, as well as photos taken during exercises and presentations. This is the data material of this study.

Developing a role character

Dramaturgy wise, the launch of the course with theater play and improvisation exercises will be an estimate, an introduction. Then follows the in-depth work or rising action, starting with a box of headwear. Various headwear will help trigger creativity and imagination. The children study the headwear and try them on to find out who could have owned or worn this precise headwear. They will then try out different walks and voices, as they improvise for each other. This is an activity well known to the children, role-playing, where the children create a fiction together (Høigård, 2006: 81). Soon they assume a role; changing pitch of voice and dialects in creating their own reality. Their next step is to create role characters.

Role on the Wall is a method used to analyze role characters in a dramatic play; the participants learn more about understanding characters in a narrative. Through working with this method, the children will together try to find out what they know and believe about a character (Heggstad, 2012: 75). This method may be used to create a role character. The children each get a large sheet of paper, and pair up. One child lies down on his sheet of paper, while the other child draws an outline of the body; afterwards they switch. Each write the name they have chosen for their character at the top of the paper. Then they will *dress* their own character, with clothes and characteristics. What qualities does the character have, is it a he or a she? What is the age, place of living, and things he or she likes to do? This will be noted on the sheet of paper.

The children will then present their own role characters to the others. The other children can ask the character questions. The child who has created the character thus becomes further acquainted with the figure, and has to think through and decide what the character represents in terms of good or evil. This round of interviews can be challenging, as some children may ask complicated questions. However, this is useful experience to bring forth, because when you play theater you enter another role, and you perform actions you do not necessarily identify with. In this phase, the children must live in their role character in such a way that they can respond to it. It is important that the adults participate actively here, either by asking initial questions or by diverting the most complicated questions that are asked.

The next time we met, the role characters were developed and some of the names changed. Eventually the costume store was visited, where the children could find clothes that fit the characters.

Developing a manuscript

The starting point for further work is the children's character descriptions. Spring of 2017 included the following role characters: Pål Polfarer, a 50-year-old arctic explorer resident of Finnmarksvidda; Kyley and McKenzie Diamond, two 17-year-old blondes who steal what they come across, preferably diamonds; Robby the robber, the burglar who lives in a rubbish bin; Roldine, a jester with her friend Dolfus (a cap on her hand); Harry Wiz, a 22-year-old sorcerer; dancer Michael Jackson from Neverland; a tiger named Pusur; Johny Politi, the policeman from Oslo; and Mr. Gran from the Precambrian age, who likes to crush buildings and drink tea. For some, this cast may seem somewhat absurd, and my task now was to help the children figure out how these characters belonged together in a common setting.

The different role characters were put together in smaller groups and given challenges and issues that they had to resolve, and they were given the task of creating short scenes or stories together, which they would rehearse and play for the others. A challenge or task could be "Pusur meets Pål Polfarer. They become friends and move on together. What do they talk about?" The interaction between the children could lead to surprising answers, and the scenes usually became something completely different from what I as an instructor had envisioned. In this sample challenge, the two did not become friends, but Pål Polfarer found two diamonds that he wanted to sell.

The children were then put together in new groups, and given new challenges building on the first scripts. In his next task, Pål Polfarer meets two other characters: "Pål Polfarer found two diamonds on Finnmarksvidda. He will sell them. He meets the Diamond sisters. What takes place during this meeting? Will they manage to lure the secret out of him? Make the dialogue." Under the cover of selling inflatable vacuum cleaners (!), the sisters manage to lure the diamonds from the slightly naive Pål Polfarer.

After watching the different scenes, the children give each other feedback. Only now the dialogues were written down. The children's different ideas, scenes and role descriptions are the starting point for a draft of a script; it is best compared to a jigsaw puzzle. A number of the scenes may be simple, as children's play does not necessarily have a final goal (Juell and Norskog, 2006: 61), neither did the scenes. They may have humorous points, as with the example of the inflatable vacuum cleaners, but these are seldom the climax of the scenes.

The various pieces trigger my impulse for creative work, and this is where my imagination and ability of improvisation comes in handy; as well as my knowledge of textual dramaturgy. I have no control over what I am handed when I

start this process, and my task is to make sure that there will be a complete narrative out of the smaller parts I receive, and that there is a red thread running through it, and a climax. The cast in the spring 2017 has already received a presentation; three entertainers, one wild animal, three thieves, a monster who loves to crush buildings, and a police officer. This had to become a crime story.

Once the first draft of the script is complete, it is time for the reading test. I have made some choices as to the order of the different scenes or parts of the scenes. In order to sew together the pieces of the script I have to make some new dialogue, and the children have to evaluate whether the narrative and my suggestions work well. After reading through the script, they come up with new input. This is how the text develops.

After the reading rehearsal, the children enter the stage for direction. Even though they have been involved making the stories the text is based on, the finished text is quite new to them; and yet they are not allowed to bring the script on the stage. The instructor reads the lines, the children repeat, and maybe they come up with suggestions on how they want to change their lines, and they may carry on improvising. "It's only when you say the words aloud that you know that these are the correct words you use" [author's translation] (Eskild and Hambro, 2005: 25). The children make the lines their own, they know their character and find out what they really want to say and how they want to do so; in their own dialect and their own language. Occasionally, children who appear to be characterized as weak readers at school, have no problem learning their lines, as they have contributed in making them. This creates a feeling of mastering for children who, in other contexts, do not experience mastering in connection with reading. At the same time, work is done on the stage, so the children combine lines and movement. This makes it easier for the children to learn and remember their lines, and brings a greater understanding to what they say; thus making it easier to remember lines and dialogue. They bring this understanding into the play, and achieve a greater understanding of lines and dialogue.

The period of instruction should not be long. The children should not be tired of practicing, but they should know the story and know exactly what to say and when. At the same time, they need some rehearsal to make them confident of their own lines and the play as a whole; and to be given time to improvise on the basis of the existing dialogue. The climax is naturally the performance, where family and friends are invited to see what the children have been doing throughout the spring. After the show, we have a small premiere- and ending party, where we toast each other and our work in champagne flavoured soda.

Are all the children involved in the process? Is anyone over-riding the others and deciding everything? This process does not work unless all the children are involved. The groups that are put together are small, two or three, and they are going to act out and develop a scene together. If some groups do not agree on a scene, there will be nothing for them to show the others; which will be boring when

they are giving the presentations. In the next round, the children are put together in new groups, as together with other children it might be easier to create something that can be shown and written down. Some children are easily carried away by the enthusiasm and energy of others, but at the same time their contribution is important, because when trying out a scene others have suggested, everyone must try out the best matches for the dialogue that accompanies the scene. When the text is to be written down, everyone must contribute, and the individual knows best what he or she originally said.

Creating a textual understanding

Participants in a process as the one described in this project, learn about the multi-level text. Through creating and playing drama, they learn about dramaturgy. Through entering into roles, they learn to interpret role characters and their development. They develop knowledge of text through the creation of text. In this process, I am as instructor a dramaturg on two levels; I am a dramaturg for the process, where I plan a process that creates excitement and inspires creative work. I am also a dramaturg for the narrative, and see that it has the dramatic architecture a good stage story must have. The textual structure consists of a conflict, ideally with a moral. Important textual tools that ought to be included are tension, contrasts, humour, surprise, symbols, rituals, and rhythm. The children will engage in the writing process, wanting to work on the script, so the story must have a certain quality. It must have a plot, a conflict that creates excitement, and it must have a dramaturgy. The role characters cannot be static, they must be in development, and have a goal and an opinion beyond what the children have written down on their paper sheets. The children's motivation for further work lies within their pride of the work they themselves have contributed to. The text is not only theirs, and it may not contain that many contributions from them alone, but without their participation and support for the proposals submitted, the finished product would not become what it is. It is important that the instructor or teacher let the children understand this. In his book *Samskriving*, Eritsland maintains that “co-writing appears to promote ownership to the text, even when each participant only contributes his or her part to the whole” [author’s translation] (Eritsland, 2008: 11).

The teacher's role in the writing processes is usually that of an instigator and supervisor. It is not so common that a teacher participates so actively in a writing process as I do here. Here it is important to hold a steady course, as I am not just a facilitator for the children, I am also a participant in the process. I will give input that can develop the text, but it is not my text alone, and I will not decide how the final text will be. My contribution is to reinforce and further develop what the children create. It can be challenging, but it is an important part of the work. This is what co-writing is about – we write together.

The working method is circular, or perhaps more accurately it works in a spiral. I give children the tools, they learn acting techniques and improvisation, and

I give them different impressions and expressions that will inspire them to create stories. The children's ideas and suggestions will again inspire me; my task is to sew together their project and construct a dramaturgy. I will create a context and a framework story that the children receive and develop with new scenes and dialogue. This may be seen as a hermeneutic spiral, where the individual parts can only be understood if they are linked to the whole (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2013: 193).

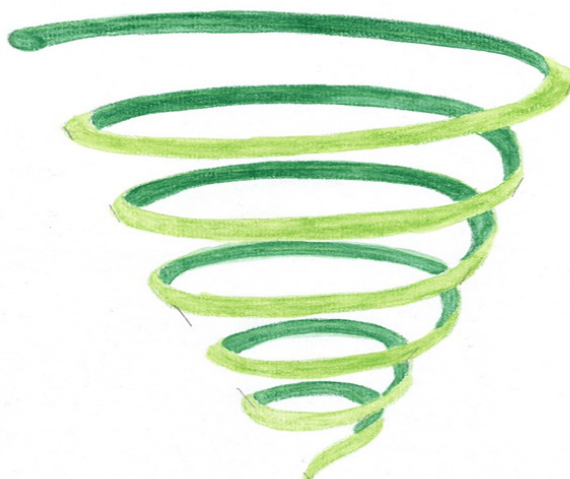


Illustration 3: The Creative Process

When we are to understand something new, such as a story or a theatre play, we use the understanding we already have to interpret what is happening. As the process moves forward, the new information will slip into our understanding. In this way, an interpretation is always a meeting between you and what you perceive. While the hermeneutic spiral is preferably used for the interpretation of texts, it may also be used to describe how a text is created. In both cases it is the whole that creates meaning and understanding. Ross also uses a spiral to show the creative process in action. The impulse must be centered, and the teacher has a key role that initiates and facilitates the child's creative expression (Ross, 1978: 111-112). The spiral is therefore a good picture of the creative process presented here, where the whole is more than the individual parts.

Conclusive comments

The play is based on the children's creativity and imagination. The work moves in spirals; where I inspire the children in different ways, and they inspire me. The script has been created through co-writing where all the participants contribute. If there should be an author's name on the script, everyone will need to be included - children and adults.

The climax of the process must be the play, but what was it really about? What was the message, and was there a moral? What about all the things we expect

of a drama production; the quality stamp on a good text? This particular play is about so much, it tells that stealing does not pay, it is about forgiveness, it is about friendship, and it is about taking care of animals; or maybe it is about wild animals going their own ways. It is also about happiness, the pleasure of creating something together, the pleasure of using ones imagination and creativity, looking forward to showing something to others; the pleasure of playing and turning granites to gold.

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