CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS
New Perspectives in English and American Studies

Kultúrák, kontextusok, identitások

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CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS
New Perspectives in English and American Studies

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A borítón *Imreh Sándor* Házak c. alkotása látható

TARTALOMJEGYZÉK

2.
GENDER, MYTH, AND THE GOTHIC

3.
LANGUAGE, LANGUAGE USE

Introduction

Cultural Encounters: New Perspectives in English and American Studies represents the first volume in the book series *Kultúrák, kontextusok, identitások* [Cultures, Contexts, Identities] of the Intercultural Studies Research Institute at DRHE – a series to explore novel and innovative research directions in Literary and Cultural Studies in the first place. The present volume is the result of the collaboration of established as well as junior scholars from various fields and offers insight into literary, cultural, historical, and linguistic research trends characteristic today in English and American Studies.

The first section of the book "Historical Perspectives, Cultural Encounters, Identity" is concerned with the intricacies of identity construction, change, and maintenance from literary, cultural, and historical points of view. The section contains studies of perception in travelling literature about Hungary and Transylvania, Adaptation Studies regarding Margaret Atwood's works as well as intermediality in Douglas Coupland's work in Canadian literature, problems of assimilation in Isaac Bashevis Singer's *Shadows on the Hudson* and of modernity in Bernard Malamud's *The Fixer* in Jewish American fiction, and the study of postmodern space presenting a danger of hypertechnologization, uniformisation, and depersonalization. Two articles take the reader back in time to investigate the reception of an English book of sports in 17th century Hungary and political instability during the reign of George III in the 18th century, respectively.

The second section "Gender, Myth, and the Gothic" deals with issues related to the problematization of transgression, feminization, violence, intertextuality, and mimetic desire in literature. The topics range from the study of the trope of prosopopoeial in Ted Hughes' "Pygmalion," through the discussions of aspects of gender – such as the "feminization" of detective fiction in Agatha Christie's and P. D. James's novels, Victorian domestic violence in Samuel Butler's *The Way of All Flesh*, as well as the pathological relationship of the married couple in Edward Albee's notable contribution to the Theatre of the Absurd, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* – to intertextuality in T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*

and mimetic desire as exposed in Shirley Jackson's female Gothic story *The Haunting of Hill House*.

"Language, Language Use" comprises studies from linguistics and related fields. Primarily pondering over the significance of the various aspects of metaphor, idioms, and language planning, the topics offered are no less diverse than in the previous sections of the book: they range from metaphors and metonymies of fear in English and Russian, the changing attitudes towards a Received Pronunciation (RP) accent based on Hollywood films, through the aspects manifest in idiom behaviour and the ramifications culture-specific scenarios display in language, to language planning and language policy from George Washington to William McKinley.

The rich plethora of texts offers fresh results in Literary and Cultural Studies, as well as in Linguistics. The interdisciplinarity and multiple foci of the volume provide thus representative sampling in these areas. Primarily intended as a contribution to scholarly investigations, the volume will yet arouse the attention of the wider public, who maintains interest in reading about novelties in these fields as well as pioneering trends in scholarship.

The Editors

1.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES, CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS, IDENTITY

Borbála Bökös

"Pretty Towns, Handsome Houses"
The Cities of Debrecen and Oradea in Nineteenth-Century English and American Travelogues

Introduction

For English and American travelers, nineteenth-century Hungarian and Transylvanian cities – full of great historical landmarks and people with a strong urge to preserve ethnic/national identity – presented themselves as remarkable places of encountering aspects of Hungarian life; aspects of cultural otherness that, from time to time, stunned the travelers. Thus, it is safe to say that English and American travel accounts provided intriguing insights into the cultural, social, as well as political climate of the period, that is, the years before and after the Hungarian Revolution (1848-49).

Among the first travelers, one can find John Paget, an English intellectual, whose journey in Hungary was recorded in his extensive book entitled *Hungary and Transylvania (1839)*. Paget, an admirer of Count István Széchenyi, found Hungarian progress and the urban development of the great Hungarian cities quite mesmerizing at the time, and greatly appreciated the agricultural possibilities of the Transylvanian regions as well. He married a Hungarian Baroness, Lady Polixénia Wesselényi, bought an estate in Transylvania, and lived the rest of his life as a Hungarian. Archibald Andrew Paton, writer and diplomat, synthesized his travel memoirs in the volume entitled: *The Goth and the Hun; or, Transylvania, Debreczin, Pesth and Vienna, in 1850*. The two travelers had opposing political viewpoints: whereas Paton considered that culture and civilization in Hungary were introduced by the German element and that the socio-economic backwardness of the Hungarians was caused by their oppressive behavior towards other nationalities, Paget, who took part in the 1848/49 war of independence, and became a "Hungarian," opened Europe's eyes to the Hungarian people and their country with the effect to "withstand objectifying conceptualizations by transparent spaces"

(Gaál-Szabó 2018, 177). He destroyed several false myths that existed about Hungarians in Western Europe, thus attempting to shape up a more favorable picture about them.

Charles Loring Brace's book, *Hungary in 1851: with an Experience of the Austrian Police*, was another travelogue that provides a positive image of Hungarians as well as of the Hungarian Revolution and served as a crucial source of information for the Western society regarding the situation in Hungary after the Revolution. Brace, American minister and philanthropist, was a supporter of Hungarian revolutionist Lajos Kossuth and traveled to Europe in order to visit social-welfare programs implemented there. In May 1851 he was arrested and imprisoned in Grosswardain/Oradea (now part of Romania) for purportedly revolutionary activity. He spent more than a month in prison, where he got acquainted with members of the local Hungarian revolutionists. After returning to the United States he published various articles on his experiences, as well as held public lectures during which he claimed that Hungary was a country ready for democracy. His book, Hungary in 1851, draw the attention of Western societies, especially of the American political elite, to the "Hungarian case," yet the book, so crucial for recuperating the damaged Hungarian self-esteem after the defeat of 1849, was banned from the Habsburg Empire and became accessible only after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867. Surprisingly, it was translated into Hungarian and, thus, the Hungarian public could read it only in 2005.

There is a long history of studies of texts that foreground Anglo-Hungarian encounters, and the present paper aims at taking further the tradition established by this trend in imagological studies, while it reflects on, and makes use of the research that was carried out at the Partium Christian University's English Department between 2016 and 2018. Making use of theories of imagology the research aimed at establishing an inventory of, and discussing the most prestigious travelogues of the time. Our goal was to provide an analysis of the ways in which Hungary and Transylvania were seen and depicted by Anglo-Saxon travelers, while we also attempted to offer an insight into nineteenth-century Hungarian society and culture as contrasted to Western European culture and politics. Our purpose was not only to produce a general analysis of the English and American travelers' journals but also to create a database of the representations of Hungary and Transylvania organized systematically according to cities in regions visited by the travelers.[1] The various texts selected for our study included the travel

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1   The research group created a file that contains several categories of information, such

books of John Paget, Charles Loring Brace, Andrew A. Paton, and John A. Patterson. Such a great abundance of nineteenth-century texts (written in different decades, marking important historical periods, that is, before and after the 1849 Hungarian Fight for Freedom) made it possible for us to study the images of Hungary and Transylvania from a variety of perspectives. Thus, on the one hand, throughout the research, and in this paper as well, I use the term *travel writing* deliberately to refer to a literary genre, to "a form of creative nonfiction that is, in many cases, a very subjective and personal account of places, people, and events, combined with more or less accurate historical and social data" (see Youngs 2013). On the other hand, I intend to discuss how and to what extent these texts could serve as socio-political commentaries of the age as well as well-documented informative texts that draw the attention of Western societies, especially of the English and American (political) elite, to the unfortunate situation of the Hungarian nation.

What also emerges from this previous research, and becomes the major focus of the present paper, is the analysis of urban spaces, that is, the images of Hungarian and Transylvanian cities as well as the city-dwellers, seen through the lens of foreign travelers before and after the Revolution in 1848. Such urban landscapes could also be interpreted as mediators of the cultural survival of Hungarians (through acts of remembrance of a glorious national past) and as witnesses to the new political circumstances that "led to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867 (a period of roughly two decades in which Hungarians' passive resistance was gradually substituted by a certain cooperation and liaison with the Habsburg Empire)" (see Marácz 2007).

On the Images of Urban Spaces in Hungary and Transylvania (Debrecen and Grosswardein)

The "principle of attachment" (see Thompson 2011) operates at a great variety of different levels in the case of city-images in the travelogues. Travelers "attached" the unknown to the known by comparing the architecture and the levels of progress in Hungarian and Transylvanian cities to their English and American counterparts. Let us not forget, however, that among the travelers

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as social, ethnic descriptions, cultural traditions, architecture, and institutions in every major city a particular traveler visited. The sheets that form the database for every Hungarian and/or Transylvanian city can be accessed at the research's website*: https:// en.partium.ro/en/research/english-and-american-travelers-in-19th-century-hungary-and-transylvania.*

it was only Paget who visited Hungary before the Fight for Freedom in 1848, thus he was able to provide a very positive, progressive image of the cities, while Brace, for example, gave a completely different account of the same cities: being desolate, destroyed, full of depressive people, sad Hungarians lamenting upon their misfortune.

As Jeremy Tambling argues, "[by] the 1840s, architecture in England had assumed national importance, where discussion of what constituted hypocrisy – shams, falsity – in building was part of a debate about the nation's self-preservation. [. . .] Architecture was linked to historicism and national history, in the arguments over an appropriate style for the Houses of Parliament" (2001, 51-52). It is no wonder that Paget could not escape from idealizing national architecture as "symbolic carriers of memory" (Gaál-Szabó 2017, 80), and frequently matched Hungarian and Transylvanian cities to English urban sites (assuming England to be the norm). He spoke with great enthusiasm about Budapest, where the theatre "is almost as large as the great theatres of Paris and London" (1839, 547) and he appreciated the beauty of Transylvanian cities and the refinement of their inhabitants, especially when he talked about Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) and Nagyvárad (Oradea). About Braşov (Kronstadt/Brassó) he said that it looked like a little Manchester (1839, 357), and he considered Oradea (Nagyvárad/ Grosswardein) a progressive town, with beautiful buildings and civilized people. About Kolozsvár (Klausenburg) he noted that it "possesses some few houses which would make a respectable appearance in London or Paris" (1839, 476).

According to Carmen Andraş, each place "becomes in the British travelers' representations an intermediary space, where great imperial forces meet and fight for predominance and power. The intermediality of urban culture and society is also perceived in the multi-ethnic and multicultural structure of the towns and cities, which is described in its evolution from the rather conflictual relations in the 18th – 19th century, to cohabitation and tolerance in the 20th century" (2011, 6). This "intermediality" of the places, caught between "past and present, between civilized and uncivilized," (see Hammond 2007) can be well observed in the representations of the cities before and after the Hungarian Revolution. The huge differences between the descriptions of Hungary between Paget's and Brace's visit may be summarized in what Brace says at the beginning of his travelogue:

> My acquaintances say that I cannot at all imagine, the contrast between the
> appearance of Buda-Pesth now, and that before the Revolution, or during the

year 1848. Then the city was full of the gentry, who resided here a good part of the year, the streets thronged with brilliant equipages, and lively with all the gay costumes of the Hungarian soldiery and nobility. (1852, 30) [. . .] But now the whole country was lifeless – spiritless – cast down. (1852, 36)

In terms of changes the perceptions of various cities before and after the sorrowful historical event structured the travelers' sense of Hungarians and became indicative of their relationship to Hungarian "otherness". If Paget's descriptions of major cities thrill us with images of great progress, Brace's encounters with the natives very often culminate in sad, depressive remarks on the conditions of both people and places. The city-spaces described by Brace served as sites of dislocation for their very own inhabitants as "places culturally mediated traumatic experiences [. . .] but also channel[led] the understanding of trauma" (Gaál-Szabó 2014, 121): making a living there, surviving under the oppressive Habsburg regime brought about an experience of homelessness for the dwellers, that of lacking a place, lacking a home. Being part of a defeated Hungarian city, that is, part of a defeated nation, deprived the dwellers of a sense of completeness, which had a great impact on the foreign traveler as well. Brace did not only experience the once major cities as now existing in fragments and remnants but also experienced the national spirit of Hungarians as fractured, almost prone to disappearance, seemingly unable to work through the historical trauma of being robbed off national freedom.

One can easily notice that there is a historical as well as ideological overlap between Paget's response to Hungary and Paton's and Brace's. The ability/ inability of British and American travelers in different historical periods to read aspects of Hungarian city life can be best exemplified in the descriptions of two strategically important border cities, very close to each other: Debrecen and Grosswardein (Nagyvárad/Oradea). The differences between the perceptions of these two cities do not only emerge because of the nearly one decade time span between the visits, but also because of the geographical and cultural positioning of the two locations that bear many similarities, but even more differences in terms of culture, social life, infrastructure, as well as political and social attitudes of the dwellers.

On Debrecen

John Paget always had a keen eye for modernity, and in every Hungarian city he visited he looked for signs of progress and technological innovations, as

well as for a sense of Hungarian history. What he appreciated in Budapest were those aspects of the city that rendered it a modern metropolis, similar to London or Paris: it had all the glamour, spectacle, sophistication and consumption of a major urban location. It is no wonder that after experiencing all the civilized aspects of the capital Paget found regional cities quite primitive and backward. When he arrived in the Eastern part of Hungary, he coined Debrecen the "capital of the plains," and argued that it "deserves the name of 'the largest village in Europe,' given it by some traveller; for its wide unpaved streets, its one-storied houses, and the absence of all roads in its neighbourhood, render it very unlike what an European associates with the name of town" (1839, 19). Ha added that "in rainy weather the whole street becomes one liquid mass of mud, so that officers quartered on one side the street are obliged to mount their horses and ride across to dinner on the other" (1839, 19). The negative remarks on the provincial city are counterbalanced by observations such as: "Debreczen is not only the capital of Magyarism, but the capital of Calvinism also in Hungary" (1839, 39), and that "the language is here spoken in its greatest purity, the costume is worn by rich as well as poor, and those national peculiarities which a people always lose by much admixture with others are still prominent at Debreczen" (1839, 20).

For Paget Debrecen was a typical Magyar place, the location of the true Hungarian spirit and the sense of history. Language and religion (in this case, Calvinism) were the two crucial points in construing the national character of Hungarians, as Paget observed (1839, 37). Thus, in spite of all "uncivilized" aspects of the provincial city, Debrecen was seen by the traveler as a city emblematic for the Hungarians' national self-determination. Hungarian writer and journalist, Gyula Antalffy, also offered in his research a description of Debrecen in the Reform Ages and claimed that despite its village-like appearance the city was one of Hungary's oldest cities, famous for the freedom of its citizens (1982, 350-51).

When Andrew Archibald Paton visited the town a decade later, he also referred to it as being a provincial town, with houses "widely scattered" (1862, 341), but he found the great square of the town "much more noble and civilised appearance than I had been led to expect" (1862, 344). Paton mentioned the Calvinistic church ("the location of Kossuth's celebrated declaration of independence"), some other "handsome edifices," such as the Calvinistic college behind the church, with its great library (1862, 345-46). What left him stunned was the comparison he drew between the beautiful edifices in the city-center and "the endless lanes of cottages in which the citizen farmers lived," a strange mixture of urban and rural elements, and,

perhaps, that is why he asserted, quite surprisingly, that he recognized in this "the presence of the Asiatic element, and remembered those Turkish provincial capitals, where a mosque or two of magnificent architecture contrasts with streets of extensive unvarying meanness" (1862, 344). This resonates with the findings of Antalffy, who claims that urbanization becomes characteristic of Debrecen exactly in the first half of the nineteenth century (1982, 351).

Regarding the city's social life shortly after the traumatic events of the Revolution, Paton noted: "As to what is commonly called society, it cannot be said to exist at Debreczin, and is represented by a few lawyers, merchants, and physicians, with the professors of the college, who might be counted on the fingers; the citizens of Debreczin themselves are, as a body, by no means revolutionary, but a jolly, simple, good-natured, ignorant people" (1862, 347). About the city's social life, Gyula Antalffy also notes that in the Reform Period the lack of social life in Debrecen was due to the uncomfortable pedestrian conditions, so that, as Antalffy asserts, in the rainy season, when the streets were covered by mud, the ladies did not go outside for weeks (1982, 379).

The city made similar impressions on the American traveler as well. Brace noted that Debrecen is "neat and well-built," and "and the streets were as broad as in our New England villages" (1852, 194). Brace also observed the lack of pavement on the streets and was quite astonished by the view of mud, which was so immense that it was "reaching from the fences on one side to those on the other" (1852, 194). For the American traveler – similarly to Paget – Debrecen was symbolic of the Magyar traditions, especially of Hungarian conservatism.

On the social gatherings, the everyday life of citizens Brace remarked that "the great bulk of the population are Bauer, but independent, vigorous fellows, who seem as if they never had been, and never could be, under any Feudal domination. Indeed, that is the fact, as far as their past history is concerned, Debreczin is a 'free city,' and, as such, was never liable to any feudal exactions, and was represented as a corporation in the Parliament" (1852, 196). National identity, a sense of nostalgia was maintained in the city through the remembrance of Lajos Kossuth and the Hungarian case. Brace was able to record some of the Kossuth-legends that were passed on by the city-dwellers (1852, 225-26). National nostalgia survived in different forms of remembrance. Revoking the past served as a means of surviving in the present, and it occurred through creating a certain mythology around the figure of Lajos Kossuth, as well as around the sites of political importance connected to him (for example, the Calvinistic church, as the place of the

declaration of independence). Contrary to Paton, Brace could observe more "exaggerated forms" of national grieving and nostalgia, as in the case of a sensible and cultivated family "where all the ladies were dressed in black for their country, and where they wore small iron bracelets almost as heavy as handcuffs – on their wrists, in memory of the solitary prisoner of Arad and Temesvar" (1852, 199-200).

One can also observe that in almost all the encounters with the typical Hungarian provincial cities the travelers exposed their limitations imposed by their English or American background in their reactions to the Hungarian (urban) "other." Responses to the city-spaces often involve qualifiers such as "well-built," "handsome," "pretty." (see Thompson 2011) Admiration of broader streets, larger edifices, technical or cultural improvements, of institutions as well as of sites for social events demonstrates that the travelers interpreted Hungarian urban sites according to their own cultural preconceptions, their Anglo-Saxon ideologies (see Mulvey 1990). Sometimes the "otherness" of Hungary affronted them as "queer" and sometimes it even brought about anxiety; a sense of feeling also imposed by the changed behavior of Hungarian people feeling trapped or estranged in their own country after the Revolution.

On Grosswardein

Grosswardein, or as it is called in Hungarian: Nagyvárad, is situated only about 60 km from Debrecen, yet its image in the travelogues seems to be very different from that of Debrecen. Undoubtedly all travelers considered Grosswardein to be a more civilized city as compared to the provincial-looking Debrecen, yet the descriptions vary to a great extent in the span of time from Paget's to Brace's and Paton's visit. This is perhaps the most exhilarating case of a city transformed from a pretty, well-built place, full of splendor in the Reform Age, into a monstrous city, a place of terror and military oppression after the Revolution.

It was Paget who first offered the most detailed and the most positive picture of the city, claiming that "Gross Wardein is really one of the prettiest little towns I have seen for a long time. Its wide, well-built streets of one-storied houses, and extensive market-places, are quite to the taste of the Magyar, who loves not the narrow lanes and high houses of his German neighbours" (1839, 518). In Paget's account, one can find only sympathetic remarks on the architectural wonders of the city, its economic growth, prosperity, and rich cultural life.

Ten years later Paton also noted the beauties of the city: "the principal square on which the Greek Catholic church is built, and which is surrounded by well-built modern houses of the Vienna and Pesth pattern" (1862, 282), "the garden trees overhanging the lanes, and the Koros bordered with vegetation, and pleasant houses mingled with each other" (1862, 283), and, in regard with leisure and social life, he mentioned that "the principal resource is the Casino, where newspapers are taken in, and the Ridotto hall, where the carnival balls were given" (1862, 283). Paton was very punctual in his observation of the border-town as being a strategically well-positioned one, and asserted that it was "important not only on account of its having been the arsenal of the Magyar army during the late struggle but from being at the present time the capital of the largest civil and military province in Hungary under the new organisation" (1862, 279). He also referred to the rich history of the city: "Grosswardein was a great city in the middle ages, having had, according to tradition, seventy-two churches, and having been the residence of several kings" (1862, 281).

Almost all travelers noted about Grosswardein that it was a multicultural city, home of many ethnic groups, as opposed to Debrecen which was exclusively considered to be the capital of "Magyarism," a typical, conservative Hungarian town, a site for Hungarian political acts of great leaders, striving for national independence. Paton, for example, claimed about the population of Grosswardein that "half of [them] are Magyars and the rest Daco-Romans, with some Slovacks and Jews, [and the city] is yet a very scattered place, extending on both sides of the river Koros" (1862, 282).

Charles Loring Brace wrote similar things about the town on the banks of the Körös-river. "Gros Wardein is a place of about 20,000 inhabitants, but with much better-built houses than the other inland cities. The streets are very broad, and there are many fine market-places, which give a very pleasant aspect to the town. The houses, as in Debreczin, are all of one story. The majority of the population are Catholics, and, of course, the place is full of churches" (1852, 272-73). He began his account of the city with the description of the surrounding region, the beautiful hills covered with vineyards (1852, 269), then he mentioned "a fine large park and handsome house, belonging to a Roman Catholic Bishop, much beloved by the people and now in an Austrian prison {Arad, I believe), sentenced to imprisonment for twenty years" (1852, 271).

Of all travelers, it was perhaps Brace who had the most intense experiences with the city of Grosswardein. His first impressions of awe and amazement

fueled by the beautiful sights and the civilized city-space quickly gave ground to a sense of uneasiness.

> [I]t was evident I was getting under a much more oppressive police system, than in other parts of Hungary. [. . .] Gros Wardein is one of the great military stations for the Austrians in Hungary, and naturally their rule is more lawless and strict here. [. . .] I was well received, but I could not but notice through all a depression, a restraint, which showed the weight of the oppressive rule over them. Politics were carefully avoided, and when one of the party commenced to repeat a good German epigram, which was going the rounds against Austria, I noticed the others checked him at once, and the subject was changed. No one seemed at ease. The streets and hotels too, were full of the white-coated Austrian soldiers. The whole, with the gloomy, rainy, weather, left a depressing-effect upon me. (1852, 272-73)

The excerpt above speaks of a sensation of entrapment, foreshadowing a real "entrapment" later on. Shortly after his arrival, the Austrian police arrested Brace on the charges of being a spy, an agitator against the Austrian government. Finding himself in the city-jail hosted by the medieval fortress he wrote about "the filthy state of the bed, which was full of fleas and vermin, so that my body on the next morning looked as if I had had a very unpleasant cutaneous disorder" (1852, 279).

He was interrogated several times, and he had to answer questions whether he was connected with the leaders of the Hungarian party in 1848, with different rebels living in England as well as in the US. About his time in jail he confessed: "The memory of all the terrible stories I had ever read in novels or histories of Spanish Inquisitions, came over me, and for a moment I had that dreamy sense, as if it was not I, but some one else, here in that strange peril" (1852, 282).

Before his second trial he bitterly commented on the treatment he received from local authorities: "Even my pocket Testament was detained for fear it might conceal some evidence of a plot" (1852, 296). He even began the 35th chapter with this exclamation: "In an Austrian Prison – and almost sentenced!" (1852, 290).

Brace tried not to provide an exaggerated description of his state in prison, but once again his cultural background determined him to make comparisons between local and Anglo-Saxon cultures, especially in terms of architecture:

One of my first proceedings was to examine my cell. The room was a moderately large arched chamber, such as one sees in the Tower of London, or in old Castles, anywhere in Europe, used for state prisoners. It was dirty and dark, and the only window was guarded by iron bars, iron net-work, and beyond on the outside, by a board-screen reaching to within six inches of the top. It had very probably always been used for a dungeon, even in the middle ages, when the castle was in its glory. (1852, 292-93)

He immediately befriended the other prisoners among which he found priests, peasants, and soldiers. His roommate was a Romanian soldier, a Honved, who liked the Hungarian cause, and about whom he wrote: "It's singular enough, though a common soldier, and by no means an intelligent man, he speaks some eight languages! From this mixing together of nations in Hungary, the people learn foreign languages very readily" (1852, 306). In the fortress, Brace encountered a multicultural group of people, all freedom lovers. Among his friends there one could find a Frenchman, as well as a local protestant pastor, the latter becoming one of his good friends and with whom he maintained a long time correspondence.

At this point, the travelogue becomes a journal of prison days. The entry of June the 6th contains the following:

The Frenchman has just been delivering a lecture to the others, on Democracy and the rights of men. There are eight in the company, and they sit around on their beds, smoking and arguing with the major while I write in this room. There is Pole and an Italian, and a Jewish Rabbi, and several Hungarians among them, all most thorough Democrats. [. . .] I shall always respect European Democracy more, from what I have seen of these men. One-sided, and self-opinionated as they are on other matters, and even ungoverned morally, it is manifest, their best side – their religion, if I may call it by such a name – connects itself with these great ideas of Freedom and Brotherhood. (1852, 307-08)

What emerges from Brace's account is that he met a great variety of people in the prison coming from different nationalities, yet all being very sympathetic of, or even taking an active part in the Revolution of 1848. The prison, in a sense, can be interpreted here as the mirror image, a small replica of the city. Grosswardein appears as a threatening place in the travelogue, in a militaristic way, since right from the beginning it is presented as a city of repression. The prison, as a medieval castellation has all its antique aspects and all the elements of rigidity, while, at the same time, it is oddly a place of

many modern freedoms, a place where all kinds of liberated minds could come together and could share their ideas on democracy. Brace spent a month in prison, and the experience made him an even more ardent supporter of the Hungarian case in the West. When the time of his release came, he managed to secretly bring out his journal concealed in the lining of his traveling bag. At the beginning of his journey, in relation to Hungary, he was an outsider, an American visitor trying to access a culture from which he intended to remain on the outside, as a tourist. Yet, at the end of his journey, he was also burdened with the historical remembrance of the places and people he visited. Such places, that is, for example, the traumatic place of the prison, made him find another perspective to look at the position of the unprivileged, of the defeated, of those alienated from their own homes.

Brace admitted in his travelogue that at the beginning he did not take seriously the bitter remarks of Hungarians, "supposing [they are] exaggerations which, would be natural to a people, just in reality conquered", but later he added that "there is no depth of meanness and falseness in the Austrian police system which I cannot credit. I have seen and experienced all that my friends here described" (1852, 39) Thus, he contributed to the development of negative stereotypes of Austrians as being merciless oppressors in nineteenth-century Central and Eastern Europe.

Conclusions

Most of the Hungarian cities were praised by British travelers not only for their historical sights, the beautiful monuments as well as architecture but also because of the spirit of progress, the multicultural atmosphere, as well as the local cultures characterizing these cities. The travelers appreciated the economic development of the urban spaces, the hospitality of the people, the customs and traditions of various local ethnic groups. Paton, Paget, and Brace were tourists and explorers at the same time, and what they wrote in their travelogues undoubtedly shaped the opinions of Western societies on the Hungarian people and the cities they inhabited.

In terms of imagological representations of urban spaces, one can notice enormous differences between the images of cities as they appear in the travelogues before and after the tragic events of 1848-1849. While Paget could describe urban places as sites of progress and of cultural as well as economic growth, ten years later Paton and Brace found a broken, traumatized, melancholic nation, living in "broken" cities, not being able to let go of the past, and, consequently, not being able to construct a healthy

perspective of the future. Such changes are best exemplified by the two images of the two neighbor border cities: Debrecen and Grosswardein (Nagyvárad/Oradea). The former was seen as a provincial city, rather "uncivilized" to the British/American eye, yet strongly marked its place in Eastern/Western consciousness as a symbol of Hungarian conservatism, Calvinism, as well as of national self-determination. The latter, in spite of the fact that it was always considered a bright, civilized, sophisticated, "pretty" town, similar to Budapest and Vienna, a place of multiculturalism, acquired a less positive aura by its strategic geographic location and military uses. In extreme cases such as in the case of Charles Loring Brace's unfortunate adventure, it even became to symbolize the oppressive Austrian regime, the very idea of a nation's entrapment, while, at the same time, as it was revealed precisely through Brace's prison experiences, the people of the city (and prison) demonstrated the strong urge for liberty and democracy, even if through a silent and meticulous way of resisting the Habsburg dominance.

Besides providing an important imagological account of Hungary and Transylvania in the Age of Reform and in the period after the Revolution of 1848-49, the discussed travelogues also present themselves as precious, objective/subjective records of urban spaces as well as their dwellers. In the images of the two cities discussed above one can find the macro-image of the whole country: the broken, yet surviving nation of the ex-empire, the intermediary place it occupies between Western and Eastern cultures as well as ideologies, in-between clinging to the nostalgic past and looking forward into the future.

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Szilárd Kmeczkó

Perspectives on Assimilation
in *Shadows on the Hudson*
by I. B. Singer

Introduction

Isaac Bashevis Singer wrote his literary works in Yiddish even after he had arrived in America in 1935. The New Yorker Yiddish newspaper *The Jewish Daily Forward* published the novel between 1957 and 1958 as a serial story. Its English version entitled *Shadows on the Hudson* was released in 1998 (Singer 1998). The characters in the story are Jews from Warsaw, most of whom have survived the soa, and now try to comply with the new environment to develop a new existence. Some of them become successful and rich, adapting themselves to the new world order, which precious little resembles their fathers' world, seemingly without any problems. They have paid a stiff price for this. Some of them do not feel strong enough to break with their past life and go beyond personal catastrophe. They do not even try to become American and start a new life. Their dead are not present in their thoughts as memories but as live reality in the proper sense of the word.

Just a few years after the soa, each decision has a moral weight and the decisions can be questioned. The losses in the course of assimilation into the broader culture can distinctly be assessed, as the earlier, traditional framework of existence is being transformed or put into brackets. The existential situation of the characters makes the question of assimilation unavoidable. Some kind of relationship has to be developed to it. But how can anyone remain a Jew in such an environment where it is not possible to keep the Ten Commandments? I am going to look over the endeavors of some of the characters, exploring the dilemmas which accompany assimilation and the peculiar answers given to them. The threads of the story are woven together in the period between December 1946 and November 1949.

The table society of Boris Makaver

During the time period of the story, Boris Makaver's residence in Upper West Side is furnished in a similar style as his flats were in Warsaw and Berlin. The little garden in the yard enclosed by the annexes reminds him of Warsaw, too, as if reminiscing about an "original space of dwelling" (Gaál-Szabó 2011). In the widowed master of the house, the little "island/oasis" carved out from the American metropolis evokes thoughts rooted in Europe. It has become a habit of his to follow the Hasidic rabbi from Williamsburg to whose father in Narew also Makaver's father made a pilgrimage many years ago. His Jewishness, that he has never denied, has gained more and more in importance in his everyday life.

At the beginning of the story all dinner guests have already arrived and they are sitting around the table. They are all Polish Jews, who started out directly or indirectly from Warsaw, and the presence of Warsaw has been palpable in their thoughts and has shaped their imagination up to the present. Makaver speaks Warsovian Yiddish as he has not learnt either German or English properly. Dr. Solomon Margolin is an excellent observer. It does not escape his attention that Makaver's daughter Anna, who is struggling in her second marriage, grows young again in the presence of Hertz Dovid Grein, her calf love who recalls Warsovian memories in her. Anna's spectacle evokes in Dr. Margolin memories of the Warsovian avenues and the Saxon Garden. Neither can Grein get rid of the past easily, which from time to time intrudes into his thoughts. The first snowfalls in New York and the mounds of snow in the streets, further on the obtrusive odor of the horse dung dropped in the Central Park leads his thoughts towards his Warsovian memories. The spectacle of the sprinkling snow reminds also professor Shrage of Warsaw. The sight of a woman heavy in build, dressed in raggle-taggle clothes visualizes the encounter of poverty, ugliness, and tastelessness, which makes Anna's husband Stanislaw Luria, who is traveling on the elevated rail, recall the Polish peasants and their costumes.

Thus, the past is live and haunts in an endless way, "provid[ing] the subject with a directionality" (Gaál-Szabó 2012, 475). Consequently, in the case of some of them the old possibilities of earning a livelihood, which failed to materialize at that time, try to find their fulfilment in the new world; with others the haunting past destroys the ground on which they could plant their feet firmly, and thus, hinders them from striking root.

Berlin, Frankfurt, and Warsaw

Analyzing Werner Cahnman's writings, Mihály Vajda weighs the historically immaterialized possibilities (Vajda 2007, 113–129). He puts the question of whether the soa would have been preventable? The answer is more than dubious; however, the modernization alternatives of German Jews get an important role in the course of analysis. As opposed to Gerschom Scholem, who denies the German's willingness to a German-Jewish dialogue, Cahnman claims the existence of such a dialogue; on the other hand, he does not speak about German-Jewish approach in general. He distinguishes between two different ways of the relationship between Germans and Jews. One is the northern type with Berlin as a center, the other one is the mode of relationship characteristic of the southern and western German Jewishness with Frankfurt as a center. The difference between them can be apprehended according to three points of view.

The first viewpoint concerns the form of settlement. While the Jewish community lived in modern big cities in the North, it was characteristic of the Jewishness in the South and West that they lived mainly in villages, small towns, though, some of them moved to big cities just a short time before and had relatives in the country. The second viewpoint concerns the relationship to traditions. The Jewishness with Berlin as a center becomes emancipated under the influence of the rationalistic mentality of enlightenment, however, not as a people with a specific spiritual character. Actually, it is about the assimilation of individuals, who will find their place in German society as Germans with the Jewish faith. Save that, being a Jew does not mean faith in a definite religious idea but rather in keeping to the laws i.e. tradition and lifestyle. In the South and West, the alignment of the Jewishness with modernity occurred later – as compared to the North – under the influence of Romanticism. The third viewpoint concerns the relationship of Jewishness to Germandom and within this framework, to the own Germandom of the Jewishness. On the southern and western territories, a specific separatism was characteristic as a result of which we can rather speak about integration than assimilation in the case of the Jewishness that belongs to Germandom but is at the same time definitely distinguishable from it. Vajda argues when interpreting Cahnman that the key to the situation can be found in the approach to integration, which becomes dominant. Provided that the features of modern mass democracy had had a lucky development, the soa might have been avoided.

As Makaver's dinner guests are from Warsaw without exception, it is worth evoking how Singer describes the living conditions of Polish Jews

with a special focus on Warsovian Jews. Either we take his volumes of bibliographic inspiration in our hands (Singer 1986; Singer 1998), or we take the strange story of the little Jewish town placed in the 17th century medium and described on the basis of the writer's practical experience (Singer 1996), or we turn the pages of Singer's voluminous saga (Singer 2007), we come to the same conclusion in each case. The inhabitants of little Jewish towns characteristic of Polish circumstances and the Christian environment depend on each other. Though they live separately, cooperation and trade have established traditions. In the family memories of Warsovian Jews, the traditional lifestyle in villages and little towns is lively also due to late modernization. They cultivate relationships with their relatives in the country; however, it can also happen that the father in many families is the follower of the Hasidic rabbi in some little town. Most of Singer's writings inform the reader of the spiritual closeness of the tradition dominated Jewish past in a period of time when it would be in vain to look for the characteristic scenes of a provincial Jewish lifestyle. Makaver's guests in Warsaw were not Poles of the faith of Moses but they were Jews and they remained Jews in New York, too. What does it mean for them to be Jews? Whatever they might think of it, the reference point is the fathers' world whose revival in an American milieu and with the experience of the soa behind their back seems to be doubtful, though, as if Makaver would be experimenting on it.

Stanislaw Luria and David Shrage

This is the second marriage of Anna Makaver and Stanislaw Luria, and this marriage ends in failure they do not expect anything of each other. Anna makes eyes at someone else, the passive but not repulsive enticer, Hertz Dovid Grein, is an old acquaintance of the family. The emerging sympathy and later on the love-bond between them do not remain a secret for the others, considering communication New York is namely just a little village, at least due to an intensive relationship-acquaintanceship network of the Jewish immigrants and among them of the Jews having fled from Hitler.

Luria's family, his wife, and children were victims of the soa. The present in New York cannot be fitted to the tragic torso of his former life; neither does he have the strength to shut down the previous part of his life that hinders him to be kind to others and to develop a personality that Anna can tolerate. The spiritual handholds on life are missing for him. He is fully aware of the fact that in his case it would be an extraordinary task beyond his strength. He follows Anna's emotional unfaithfulness with attention from

a victim's position, while he is yearning for his first wife unceasingly. This yearning elicits in Luria, who has turned his back on Judaism, to put human finitude to the test and he as a herald running ahead makes a promise to professor Shrage to send him a message from beyond the grave, provided that it exists after he has met his dead wife again. At this point, Luria and Shrage's fates interlock. In vain do they turn up in the same table society as Makaver's guests; in the late period of his life Shrage is not the personality whose presence would make social life flourish, indeed his social activity has been degraded just to a passive presence due to his withdrawal behind his personal boundaries. Shrage's ancestors were educated and well-to-do Warsovian Hasids. His master was the Hájim Zelig Slonimski who rose to the forefront of Mathematics as an Orthodox rabbi. Shrage as a mathematician made a significant academic career; however, he has made psychological research during the past two decades. Using his knowledge he tries to get in touch with his wife Edze who was a victim of soa. For the time being he lives together with Mrs. Clark, the widow of one of his American scientist colleagues. Mrs. Clark was born either in Galicia or in Bukovina. She is obsessed with communication with the transcendent world; the framework of communication is given by séances and various automatic creative procedures, which eliminate personal control. Just like in the case of Slonimski Judaism and modern science do not conflict; also Shrage detests those who believe in the supremacy of human understanding and positive science. On the other hand, he rejects the letters dictated supposedly by his deceased wife and put down by his life-partner, similarly to the paintings made of his wife by the so-called automatic creative method. He does not take them seriously and considers them rude deception. Yet he does not totally refuse Mrs. Clark's activity because there are certain signs, which warn him – even if they do not warn others – to be cautious and they lead him towards understanding.

Accordingly, Luria visits professor Shrage and brings it to his knowledge that he wants to die because he does not have any strength to live and he is not able to endure the lack of his deceased wife. Mrs. Clark who cannot exactly assess Luria's situation wants to offer palpable certainty and inner satisfaction to soothe the two men. In secret co-operation with Justina Kohn, a third rate actress, the séance is realized. In the darkened room the spirit of Luria's deceased wife appears in the blurred shape of Justina Kohn who gives good answers to Luria's questions in possession of the biographic data. Although Edze's appearance does not take place because of some mishap, the effect of the séance is beyond expectation in the case of both men. As far as their consequences are concerned, however, the opposite of the desired

process has been accelerated in Luria. In the next few days, Luria preparing to meet his wife is getting ready for the suicide in a practical way. It will not take place, though. The spirit of Luria's deceased wife appears again in the very last moment before his natural death, because of his bad health condition he is gradually breaking away from existence and he is setting off to meet her.

Although professor Shrage has lived in New York since 1939, he still cannot find his way in the city. The system of numbered streets is in vain; the mental map is missing from where the problem solution could start. He feels lost in the Empire of Chaos. Neither does he find his bearings in the traffic, which is no wonder as he ignores the use of scientific and technical achievements of the past century. He does not answer the phone, turn on the radio, switch on the light, and get in the lift and if it is possible he walks. He thinks that the use of technical devices reduces spiritual abilities. Like in the case of his master, Slonimski, also in the case of Shrage we can speak about the alliance of modern science and Jewish thinking shaped by tradition. In their relationship, the rationality of science is becoming less and less dominant. He shudders in darkness because he is aware of the evil-minded ghosts swarming around him. The boundary between live and inanimate nature is growing blurred. Also, the objects are alive and they turn him into ridicule sometimes hiding somewhere, sometimes emerging from nowhere unexpectedly. He does not like light either because it harms his more and more failing eyes. The light chases away ghosts, thus, emptying his surroundings and also blunting his transcendent perceptual faculty. In reality, Mrs. Clark and he remain strangers to each other. He does not understand Mrs. Clark's way of thinking, he does not understand what she does and why she does it, likewise, he is not able to follow the digressions of her attention and its jumping from one ill-matched topic to the other. His explanation to this is that Mrs. Clark is like substance: helpless, impenetrable and sinister. He is longing incessantly after a spiritual being i.e., his deceased wife.

Shrage's death agony takes place during a winter snowfall. He has been ill for a long time and he has a foreboding of recovering no more. Heading for death and leaving life behind, he can see dreams, which he interprets as keys to his life. He longs after certitude about the world to come, which indicates a reviving or rather never-ceasing conflict between the two pillars of science. With his eyes closed he catches sight of Edze, then apparitions emerge, over which he can have more and more declining control. His last apparition is the most appalling one. He finds himself in a small village probably

somewhere in Central-Europe surrounded by mud and dung. The scene is not about accomplishing spiritual goals, he should just get to the shitter near the dunghill very urgently, but someone has got there ahead of him. This realization makes him escape, which leads him back to wakefulness. However, he has only a few more moments just enough to stare in the face of his agony that puts a full stop at the end of his life.

Solomon Margolin

The physician, Solomon Margolin, and Makaver attended the yeshiva together as adolescents. He declines Makaver's growing affection to the prescriptions of orthodoxy as a primitive anachronism, on the other hand, he is the only one who calls him Slojmele and this is of higher worth for Margolin than anything else. Makaver is his only true friend who understands what he thinks and what he wants to say. This reveals one of Margolin's secrets. Neither has he succeeded in becoming an American totally and exceeding his Jewishness although he has always felt attracted by the upper classes. He dresses, speaks their language in such a way and plays sports that can be expected of the members of this group to do. He does not give up this behavior either in Berlin or in New York because his patients come from higher social classes, which adds something to his budget.

Margolin handles Jewishness from a historical-relativistic point of view, which opens up a way for the modern, scientific world view. After the soa, Makaver feels a stronger and stronger urge for the partial reproduction of the ancestors' lifestyle. In Margolin's opinion, he just absolutizes the state of affairs they have experienced at their fathers' on Polish land, partly under Russian supremacy. He throws light upon this matter in the course of a conversation with Grein later on, when Margolin explains in connection with Grein's by no means customary search for God that time is up for religions and there is no turning back. The existing model whose representatives the Polish Jews are and whose world is very well known by both of them makes an exception in general and within the Jewry.[1] The grandness of the Polish Jews is in connection with the fact that the experiment cannot be repeated. Referring to the common roots Margolin states that the way the Polish Jews

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[1]   Hannah Arendt formulates something similar in connection with Rahel Varnhagen's life story and the northern German Jewry who step on the path of assimilation. She writes concerning prejudicelessness and outcastness as the precondition of greatness that she as a biographer tries to measure and correct the parvenu with the standard of the pariah (Arendt 2000; Vajda 2007, 146–175).

used to live and think was an experiment to ignore the world, nature's laws and the matters of history. This resulted in a peculiar tradition and a round worldview that existed as an inclusion but it was destroyed. As this one-time and unrepeatable world has been eliminated, no ways can exist in the present, which would lead to it. This would have two essential conditions: faith based on conviction and outlawry. If faith is missing assimilation starts, if a country of your own is born, the traditional behavior culture ceases to exist. Grein's mistake is that these conditions cannot be accomplished artificially. Margolin, however, is envious of Grein because he has the ability of moral indignation that can be brought in connection with the prophetic tradition. In spite of his partial understanding, finally he evaluates Grein's existential condition within the boundaries of his own science, i.e., he identifies it as schizophrenia. After all, by means of this gesture, he distances himself from all those questions and dilemmas that Grein is struggling with.

Margolin draws the conclusions from his recognition rationally; however, emotionally he cannot get rid of the common past that makes an effect on him and he cannot substitute it with anything in the world of homelessness. Modern science is for him the fundamentals of spiritual existence and its strict consequences of thought and their projection onto life consternates the members of the table society several times. It seems as if Margolin's historic relativism would suffer damage. Logical thinking has its boundaries even in the case of his rigorous behavior.

Margolin converts existential questions into scientific ones, which offers him the security of a round and tight worldview, on the one hand. On the other hand, he is aware of the fact that through his decision he places himself under intellectual defense. Anyway, the astounding consequences of his thinking demonstrate that natural science and psychology that conceives itself as science do not offer adequate help with the investigation into the world of life of the Jewry that keeps the law or into the urge outgrowing from its memory.

Hertz Dovid Grein

Makaver and Margolin knew Grein, who was a generation younger than them, in Warsaw already. At that time the Polish and Yiddish papers often spoke of Grein as a child genius because of his mathematical talent. As long as the Makavers lived in Warsaw, Grein often turned up at their place and helped the child Anna with her school progress. After a time, he gave up his Jewish studies and started to learn philosophy in Warsaw and Vienna. Later

on, he got married with a poor country-girl with whom he arrived in New York making a detour to Vienna quite a time before the war. His parents and relatives, who stayed in Warsaw, were killed. After the soa, Grein came into conflict with himself, as his faith in moral teachings was shaken.

Grein's family is characterized by chilly connections. He abandoned his wife, Leah, and his two grown-up children, Jack and Anita, emotionally. We do not know how much he has neglected them, though; he has kept a sweetheart for a long time. His children are not Jews any longer; they are experimenting with construing new identities. In the course of this process, the progressive left-wing thought gets an important role, which is difficult for Grein to endure. In his opinion, Jack is practically a Communist, in the case of Anita the progressiveness means rather the rejection of the parental world. He feels a deep abyss between himself and his children. The situation is much more pressing than what various political worldviews might account for. Though the identity without faith and Torah relieves Jack of all kinds of things, that his father is struggling with, however, he will have to pay dearly for that in Greins' eyes. Jack's personality seems to be simple, so to say he beams with problemlessness that throws light upon his attitude towards Jewishness; namely, all the Jewish inheritance that he tries to clear up his relationship to, again and again, is not a question for Jack any longer, it has lost its importance.

Grein doesn't only feel urged to withdraw from the existing situation because he is amidst the turmoil of his personal life. The repeated attempts to escape give hope of the solution of existential questions. He and Leah flee to America together. He flees with Anna from New York to Florida in the hope of common life. However, he recognizes that he cannot and does not want to become American, similarly to his children and Anna who has become a successful businesswoman in the meantime. Grein can see that Anna is characterized by a calculating habit of mind and the wish to enjoy her success in business. In relation to this, she tries to extend control over the others. However, Grein does not want to participate in this sort of life with Anna. Then Margolin directs his attention to the fact that he cannot escape anywhere as he cannot hide from himself. In spite of this, he makes another attempt of breaking free when he renounces the world and retreats to a distant farm to do intellectual creative work. However, he has no chance for a long-lasting retreat with his other lover, Esther, because the woman cannot endure the thought of being buried alive. At this moment Grein realizes that there is nobody left to connect with for the rest of his life, and he would not do that again anymore because he gets startled by the consequences of his

deeds and condemns himself morally. The distancing between his thought and deed becomes intolerable for him, thus, he gives up action. He does not want to commit further sins. He blames himself for Luria and Leah's death. He deprived Luria of Anna, the only person who connected him with the world. In the case of Leah, he blames himself for the evolvement of her fatal disease. It makes the situation even worse that also Leah perceives Grein's role like this. Then he gives up all his connections realizing that he has only one possibility of withdrawal, i.e., if he breaks away from the world with a radical gesture and looks for a place for himself in the dimension of existence that is well-known for him from his childhood and that was created by the Polish Jews in the course of centuries. This world came into being and perished in the ghetto. Experiments are made to evoke it at two places: in Williamsburg and in Jerusalem in the Me'ah Shearim quarter. Grein chooses the latter one.

The question is whether the story is about the hardships of a man who cannot find his own way in the web of human relationships and whether he was beyond his depth in the end. The shaping of Grein's fate can also be evaluated in this way if the last episode is interpreted as a punishment inflicted on him. At this point, we remain on the ground of ethics on the whole. Save that, Grein does not exclusively want to be an ethical individual but he wants to exist as a Jew without compromises and to come up to the moral expectations of Jewish teachings. He would like to be a good Jew whatever practical consequences it might have. This decision was not made abruptly, but it was maturing in him for a long time. The failure in bringing up the children, the disintegration of his family life, the volatile nature of satisfaction in his relationships with women, which gradually becomes more and more disgusting accumulate in him and he interprets his personal problems on a horizon that has some significance beyond his particularity. He realizes that he lives in a world where his ancestors' laws cannot be adhered to as everything acts in opposition to it. The Torah becomes out-of-date, thus, everybody who takes their Jewishness seriously becomes anachronistic. As the fathers' world is the primary point of comparison, they have to decide: it is impossible to live in two worlds at the same time. Grein attains to the total rejection of modern civilization. This old-new life is very dull and can be maintained only at the expense of enormous efforts. Grein retains his ability to scrutinize his situation from an external point of view, thus, he can see that the way he lives is mere stagnation.

What would it mean to answer the question: What makes a Jew "Jewish", taking the American city-life conditions as given and starting out from Grein's situation? Mihály Vajda made similar research in many of his writings

(Vajda 2007, 58–67, 68–90, 146–175). Taking the assimilated urban Jews into account, Vajda thinks to have found the answer to this question in the behavior culture that broke away from the traditional living circumstances but is still connected to it. However, there is a significant difference here. Makaver's table society is strongly attached to the traditional Jewish world of their ancestors, the distance in time is little, and what is more, the soa obstructs the way towards smooth assimilation. There is no other point of comparison than their fathers' world that they experienced directly and that burnt in their entrails, and which was extraordinary in its way. They have to shape their relationship according to the non-existent world of the non-existent Polish Jews. Not once does another possibility occur. However, not everybody thinks like them. The characters in the story know it very well that the examples of successful assimilation in their wider neighborhood could be enumerated for a long time. The examination of such cases is beyond the scope of the story namely the writer of the fictive characters is interested in it to a lesser extent.

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Andrea Szabó F.

Nation and Adaptations
CanLit on Film

The question I ask "What happens to CanLit when transed?, or rather, what happens to Canadian writer's writer's Margaret Atwood's Canadian Gothic when adapted to the screen?" may seem naive on at least two accounts depending on what one identifies as the issue of the question. Seen from an Adaptation Studies framework, one may explain that this is not an issue at all since scholars have long given up on the concept of authenticity, faithfulness to an original. Seen from a literary scholarship framework, the issue centers around either literary technicalities (characters, settings, figuration, themes, and narrative techniques – how many of these and in what way they are changed) or traditions – individual, historical, regional or national, for instance – asking to what extent a particular work's embeddedness in a tradition is referenced or not. As above, one would claim that an adaptation is not expected to be identical with the original; besides, the source text is traditionally assumed by scholars of literature to allow for greater depth, sophistication, play, etc., as a matter of faith anyway. My question, however, is phrased in a specifically CanLit framework, where CanLit means both literary works accepted as part of the Canadian literary canon *and* its scholarship. And this is a context in which my question starts to develop an edge.

Canadian literature (works) has been defined by questions of identity and agency: "Who are we? Where is here? What is to be done?" (Brydon 2007, 1). The study of Canadian literature (scholarship), in turn, has been defined not only by its subject matter – works – but also by the distinctive histories of its institutionalization, in which Atwood played a significant role by formulating (identifying?) a set of values and themes that contributed to the formation of a national literary canon at a specific confluence of time and events in the course of (appropriated by?) a national project in the 1970s.

By focusing on the transcultural remediation of select texts by Atwood – more importantly the feature film (1990; dir. Volker Schlöndorff) and the serialized adaptation of *The Handmaid's Tale* (2017; various directors) – I discuss to what extent these underline or challenge the terms on the basis of which Atwood came to be canonized as the grand dame of CanLit besides Nobel Prize laureate Alice Munro, i.e., I seek to understand how the national specificity, Canadianness, of her work appears in the films.

When considering Atwood's film adaptations two challenges present themselves immediately. First, one can only refer to an equivocal critical understanding of her work; over the decades her fiction has been read as representative of Canadian regionalist fiction with an eye to women's experience on the darker side – Ontario Gothic – that is a specifically Canadian regionalist realist fiction *as well as* feminist, ecological, science fiction, or speculative fiction disconnected from a specific location or geographically focused tradition. In addition, Harold Bloom writes: "Atwood is a kind of late Victorian novelist, and all the better for it. Her Gilead, at bottom, is a vampiric realm, a society sick with blood" (2009, 2); in short, Bloom sees her fiction as rooted in and continuing a historical literary tradition distanced by location *and* time. Second, Atwood's fiction has been a favourite with popular audiences worldwide; her stories have been translated into more than thirty languages indicating that her concerns and their appeal extend far beyond the boundaries of Ontario, or Canada for that matter and that they are perceived by readers around the globe as timely.

Although Atwood has been publishing for the past half a century, film directors have waited long to adapt her stories to television or the silver screen. As of 2018, six live-action film adaptations are available with credit to Atwood's texts: *Surfacing* (1981; dir. Claude Jutra, Canada), *The Handmaid's Tale* (1990; dir. V. Schlöndorff, USA), *The Atwood Stories* (2003; various directors, Canada), *Payback* (2012; dir. Jennifer Baichwal, Canada), a documentary based on a short story of the same title, *Alias Grace*, a mini-series for television (2017; dir. Sarah Polley, Canada), and *The Handmaid's Tale* (2017- ; various directors, USA), an online televised series.

Numbers are relative as six adaptations might sound few when set against Atwood's oeuvre but do not sound very few when set against how she has been branded on the literary market. The slippage into business vocabulary is not accidental at this stage and is not solely warranted by the assumption that filmmaking is not only an art but also business with production costs that far exceed the cost of writing where producers need to have a keen eye

not only to the critical community's appreciation of a text but also to the marketability of a film.[1]

In critical discourse, Atwood for a long time has been seen as a Canadian writer invested in identifying Canadian literary topoi and iconography for the purpose of creating a national identity of letters as shown by her seminal *Survival, A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (1972); accordingly, she has long been seen as the leading figure of Canadian cultural patriotism/ nationalism. It is not to be wondered that non-Canada-based filmmakers showed limited interest in adapting her texts for long. Seen in the context of her literary brand, the number of feature films may seem even too many as the thesis-driven (feminist) and the patriotic/nationalist rarely translate well onto the silver screen; in addition, they also have to struggle with a limited currency of appeal in a business that has been dominated by transnational production and an international audience.

Only one text by Atwood has raised a transnational interest: *The Handmaid's Tale* – a narrative inspired by American history, which raises the question what exactly has been adapted: the plots and characters of the narrative, a (Canadian) established, mainstream understanding of its discourse (CanLit), or a localized (American, since these are American productions), or even personalized (arthouse movie), possibly popularized (sensationalized, blockbuster) interpretation of the text, or of Atwood's literary brand. That is, the question arises how these films relate to their source text and its canonized interpretation(s). In addition, in light of Atwood's positioning in the Canadian literary canon (the canonizer and voice of cultural specificity), one might also ask how much Canadianness – a literary critical linchpin – is mediated in the adaptation process.

In what follows, my paper links these three concerns: a critical linchpin in CanLit studies, film, and transnationality. It examines two transnational adaptations of Atwood's fiction, both partly written by Atwood, exploring the tension between transnationality and the proverbial national specificity of her fiction. With reference to the methodological toolkit of adaptation studies, I ask to what extent and in what form the well-established literary critical topos – Atwood's Canadianness – is mediated into the adaptations, which sheds light on expectations and beliefs on both the production and

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1   For an extended discussion a)bout the importance of the materiality of adaptation as a cultural industry see Simone Murrey's *The Adaptation Industry: The Cultural Economy of Contemporary Literary Adaptation (2012a)* and *"The Business of Adaptation: Reading the Market" (2012b).*

reception sides of these works, as well as foreshadows future research into a study of the historicity of ideas in Atwood's career. Set against the theoretical framework offered by the recently emerging focus of transnational American Studies, eventually, the study raises questions about critical practice originating in the last century and its relevance in an age when globalization allows for ever more efficient ways to circulate ideas in an international/ transnational context, whose poignancy is sharpened by Atwood's literary career and persona.

Adaptations?

Adaptation Studies long tried to answer the most vexing question of the field, namely, what is adaptation and whether faithfulness as a concept bears any relevance to it. Linda Hutcheon, however, reversed the discipline's question in 2006 by asking not what adaptation is but by asking what it is not. Her question was and has been provocative ever since and, according to Thomas Leitch, also was and is unanswerable. This is why he proposes a set of questions to frame thinking about adaptations, all relevant to a study of the films under scrutiny. Leitch suggests that scholars need to reshape the field so that they could move away from conceptualizing adaptation within the framework of succeeding or failing to capture the textual features of source texts. Instead, he suggests, scholars should focus upon how an adaptation chooses to rewrite a source text, what reasons could be given for rewriting a source text the way it has been, and whether it could be rewritten in a different way? (Leitch 2007, Leitch 2012).

Atwood Adaptations

When considering adaptations of Atwood's texts, one quickly notices that they are geographically and nationally focused; so far, only two adaptations were released by non-Canadian-based filmmakers: *The Handmaid's Tale* feature film (dir. V. Schlöndorff, USA) in 1990 and a serialized *The Handmaid's Tale* (2017-) for on-demand television. This last adaptation has not only been extremely popular among viewers and critics but it is also to be noted that Atwood herself validated the ways in which the series has taken liberties with the source text; moreover, she proudly participated in its promotion. The validation of authorial intent is especially remarkable, knowing of the troubled, and seemingly failed, attempt at the 1990 film adaptation in which Atwood also participated after Harold Pinter's

withdrawal from writing the script (although here her contribution remains hardly ever noticed): in the serialized release Atwood constantly lingers around (cf. the scrabble game), she even makes a cameo appearance in a significant scene. This is all the more telling as Atwood sold the film rights in 1985 and today she holds no rights to influence film adaptations in any way. In an interview, she also made it clear that as a scriptwriter and consultant she did not receive any proceeds to the film but was paid a single and modest sum; thus her participation as a writer and as an actor was of her own artistic decision (Chuba 2018). Even more revealing is her involvement in light of the previous adaptation, where she equally had no right to influence the film, but where she yet significantly shaped the script after Pinter and the first director Karel Reisz left the project.

Little is known of Atwood's motivations to participate in the adaptation process in either of the films and even less is known about the reasons for the changes in the plot, characters, settings, images, etc., of the source text. Christopher C. Hudgins (2003) provides a history of the troubled filming process of the 1990 adaptation as well as a detailed description of Pinter's plans for the script (which Atwood mostly reversed after he had left). Although Hudgins provides a compelling reading of Pinter's original script for the 1990 film accounting for the inserted scenes and changes in plot and character set against Pinter's work and preoccupations in the 1980s, a similar account of Atwood's decisions remains to be written both in the context of her work in the 1980s and the 2010s. All the more so, because it seems that the 2017 adaptation greatly relies upon Pinter's changes to the plot and characters dictated by his vision of politics and of individual integrity.

Yet, the particulars of the changes and the motivations thereof fall outside the focus of the present paper because from a CanLit standpoint a more important perspective is provided by the question whether the adaptations rewrite the source texts in ways that underline, contradict, or reroute the established literary critical opinion about what constitutes an Atwood narrative, and, if they do, how. That is, do they address Canadian cultural identity, ecology, women's structural inequalities, etc., on the terms established by Canadian literary scholarship (as anti-American, civil, more environmentally conscious, more egalitarian); or rather, by Atwood herself as a vocal artist-critic?

To give an answer I will gesture at approaching the question from a Gothic Studies background by focusing on its discourse of anti-Americanism.

Anti-Americanism vs. Capitalist Management Ethos

The anti-Americanism of Canadian cultural identity has been extensively documented ever since Northrop Frye, Atwood's professor and mentor, defined Canadians as those Americans who rejected the Revolution (Frye 2003, 258). Atwood conceives of Canadians, and what they are capable of doing, in structurally strikingly similar terms: "Americans have riots; Canadians have panel discussions on riots" (Epstein 1984), she claims, that is, after all, there are no structural differences between Americans and Canadians; the difference that exists is conceivable in terms of magnitude and not of kind; this difference has also been referred to as "Canadian civility." Or as Atwood put it when asked about whether she could imagine the patriarchal practices portrayed in *The Handmaid's Tale* in Canada: "It's not a Canadian sort of thing to do. Canadians might do it after the States did it, in some watered-down version. [. . .] Our genius is for compromise. [. . .] and the mind-set of Gilead is really close to that of the seventeenth-century Puritans" (quoted in Bloom 2009, 14). The Gilead of the novel and of the serialized adaptation is thus not so much about the speculative future of an ecologically reckless US but of North America. The indistinguishable difference between the two countries is rendered in the series in a scene where Moira escapes to Canada and the only way she can see that she made it is by checking the car plate of a car. Furthermore, Mexico and the European countries likewise are affected by a global infertility problem. The US appears in the series, in fact, as *the* country that has a solution to global infertility – the handmaid system represents American efficiency and not an exclusively American kind of misogyny or inhumanity as it is indicated in the 1990 version. This is underlined by the reaction of the Mexican ambassador to June's account of what the life of a handmaid is really like in Gilead. For her too, handmaids appear as human resources whose freedom of choice becomes collateral damage for a greater good regardless of the hypocrisy of the country's elite. The episodes show again and again that handmaids, like Marthas, have avenues to find personal relief, however temporary they may be, and that their management is a key to the survival of the human species as such. This is a significant change to the implications of the source text – not contested by Atwood.

Seen from a Gothic Studies perspective, *The Handmaid's Tale* is a female gothic narrative, where Gilead functions as the female gothic otherworld, which the heroine enters over a symbolic threshold – the end of employment and property ownership for women. The gothic bifurcation of worlds – an idyllic place without economic or legal pressures where only warm human

emotions exist and a dark gothic otherworld – is a time issue. The idyll is a US of the past and of a hopeful future where the family unites and things get back to normal; the gothic otherworld is the present (as opposed to Pinter's script, where the idyll is Canada and the gothic otherworld is the United States). Civil Canada in the series, on the other hand, appears as a physical elsewhere, a temporary safe haven, a waiting room for better times to come. American emigrées in Canada establish Little America in Toronto, which is represented in the series as a place of human attachment "provid[ing] the subject with a directionality [as well as] intentionality" (Gaál-Szabó 2011): there are no economic activities; all that the viewer knows about Little America is that this is a nice, calm place where emigrées enjoy personal freedoms and wait for their beloved to join them.

Thus, the gothic bifurcation of worlds is not between Canada as an idyllic place and America as the gothic otherworld. In the series, it is not America that is taken to task but rather the capitalist management ethos that disrespects the human need for connections (and everyone from handmaids through wives to commanders suffer from a lack of emotional connection) and that sacrifices individuals as human resources for efficiency. In one significant scene, for instance, Commander Fred is truly surprised at the power of emotions: Commander Glen's wife asks the court of commanders to exercise the most severe punishment on her husband for cheating on her with their handmaid – to save his soul from eternal damnation for lust, she says, but Commander Fred understands that this is revenge for betrayal. Along the same lines, Canadian officials to receive refugees from the US show the generosity of "the magical land of the North" (Episode 7) by very visibly giving them cash for their immediate expenses besides a free health care card: Canadian civility is financial generosity in the adaptation. The gothic otherworld is always structurally comparable to the idyllic world of the frame; its difference lies in magnitude and not in kind: the difference between the adaptation's idyll and gothic otherworld is the recognition of humans as not only resources. Profit-driven efficiency-crazed capitalism is the villain and not Americans' inability to respect nature or failure to behave civilly as Atwood's works portrayed Americans earlier. Again, the anti-Americanism of the 1970s and 1980s is significantly absent in the latest adaptation.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I asked to what extent the Canadian literary establishment's assessment of Atwood's work as belonging to a specifically Canadian literary

tradition predicated on certain topoi is mirrored in the film adaptations of her work. By referring to a critical agreement over how adaptations should relate to their source texts and reviewing the adaptations of her work with a view to a reflection of her national specificity, one can say that her national specificity is not referenced in any way (paratexts are different though, as I have shown elsewhere). Even in the serialized adaptation, which the author artistically acknowledges as her own, references to the truisms of the Canadian national critical establishment are disregarded, they lose their claim to being valuable in the context of the work, which is most remarkable considering the fact that Atwood herself set some of the foundations of the truisms.

Where from here? Canadian writer Stephen Marche writes:

> There is no question that we are living in a great time to be a Canadian writer, perhaps the best ever. But at the same time the sense of writing as a national project is stuttering to its final end. [. . .] The question of "national identity" is an antique one; literary nationalism is something your grandparents did, like macramé. [. . .] Canadian writers are happy to say they're from Canada; they just don't want to write about what it might mean. Canadian literature, in the sense of a literature shaped by the Canadian nation and shaping the nation, is over. [. . .] (2015)

Canadian writing, after Canadian literature, will be more American or more global, depending on what you want to call it – they amount to the same thing.

Atwood, as the text of *The Handmaid's Tale* series shows, created with her participation, acted as Marche understands. This text does not align itself with the baseline of academic Canadianism.

Embracing transnationalism as a paradigm for studying literature and culture has been slowly transforming and reshaping literary and cultural scholarship's focus since the 1970s, as Paul Jay argues (2010, 1), partly because it has changed the way we conceptualize the locations of cultural production and consumption. Films, as cultural products linked to transnational media corporations, production and financing enterprises, circulating in ways that are made possible by global electronic entertainment outlets disrespecting national borders and agendas represent transnational art and cultural commodities par excellence.

The paradigm shift in literary and cultural studies, however, gained momentum only in the new millennium (Fishkin 2005, 22; Fishkin 2013), leaving "academic nationalism," defined by M. E. Sleeboom as "the persistent use of the 'nation' as a unit of research," "bias[ing] academic debate in favour of nation-centered orientations in academic argument" (2001, 1;

see also Macdonald 1997) almost intact. Having considered Atwood's film adaptations, it seems that she herself has abandoned – or has suspended – a brand of literary nationalism linked with her name.

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Dóra Bernhardt

Intermediality and (Postmodern) Spirituality in the Work of Douglas Coupland

Introduction

Before an analysis of the work of Canadian artist and writer Douglas Coupland, the question arises: what *is* "intermediality"? First of all, it must be clarified that in this case the term "medium/mediality" is not a reference to mass media – or some other form of technology – but should be understood as a channel for the transmission of meaning in all kinds of communicative contexts. As for intermediality, in its original definition this concept was used to describe the relationship between literature and the (visual) arts. For example, putting a story into pictures for the illiterate, or adding words to music, were characteristic "intermedial" modes of communication already before, but especially during, the Middle Ages. Another example of this crossing of boundaries between words and images is concrete poetry, which – although it was not a new form – was given new impetus with the advance of technology at the beginning of the 20th century.

Even though the term "intermediality" is still used mainly in relation to literature, it has gone far beyond its original domain. Thus, according to the Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory, intermediality can now be defined as "any transgression of boundaries between media – concerned with 'heteromedial' relations between different semiotic complexes or between different parts of a semiotic complex" (Wolf 2008, 252). As Wolf adds, in this definition the designation "semiotic complex" is used because it "includes not only various genres and groups of texts, but also artefacts, installations and so on" (Ibid.).

Over the centuries intermediality has served many different cultural functions. Researchers suggest, however, that in the postmodern age an "intermedial turn" has been taking place, as a result of which intermediality

in contemporary artistic creations "is not simply a mode of artistic expression but often indicates cultural critique, self-referentiality, as well as a desire to let the past bear on the present" (Hedling and Lagerroth 2002, 13). As I hope to show, this is also true with regard to the "transgression of boundaries" in the work of Douglas Coupland.

Douglas Coupland and Intermediality

In an interview with *Artsy* magazine the journalist characterizes Coupland as "a Canadian novelist whose spirit never left art school" (Coupland 2013, *Interview*). And indeed, in Coupland's case intermediality is rooted in his biography; he was a visual artist before he started his career as a writer. Indeed, as he explained to the reporter in the same interview, the way his "brain is wired," words and objects are not two separate categories, but are almost equal; "I sensorily detect little difference between the two," he suggested (Ibid.)

It is thus no wonder that – to a different extent in different works – an interplay between words and images has been characteristic of Coupland's literary output from the beginning. The thought bubbles, attended by his drawings, in *Generation X* are just the first example of the role assigned to words by Coupland as the "shuttle" between the realms of space and time, visual expression and storytelling. This kind of intermediality, the use of drawings and other visual elements – for example of different typefaces, line spacing, emoticons, etc., in *Microserfs* – was especially characteristic of Coupland's earlier literary output; *Generation X: Tales for an Accelerated Culture* was published in 1991, *Microserfs* in 1995, not long before the dot-com bubble.

Since that time the "acceleration" of the culture around us has continued at an even faster pace. With the arrival and spread of digitalisation and the internet, intermediality has taken on new meanings and forms, also in Coupland's work, both the visual and the literary. As he explained to *Artsy*, recently one of his main concerns has been "the investigation of the ways in which our brains have been wired and rewired by new information technologies," adding that what he feels the internet does for him is that "in my work I try to travel back and forth through time, finding links and glitches and evidence for this new state of 'atemporality' we now inhabit – the sensation that all historical eras now coexist at the same time" (Ibid.).

It is this feeling of atemporality – and the parallel "aspatiality" – that his recent Vancouver exhibition, entitled "everywhere is anywhere is anything is everything" foregrounds by the kind of intermediality that fuses not only words and images, but relies on popular culture and keeps referring to, and often incorporating in his work, the most recent digital technological developments (for example digital degenerations of some of the paintings of the Group of Seven and Emily Carr). The rows of everyday objects, several large-scale pictures – often with texts in them, referred to as his text-art – as well as installations and *The Brain,* a new sculpture that Coupland created for the exhibition, make up the "links and glitches" (Ibid.) across time and cultures that provide the visitors some kind of feeling why, in this digitalised intermedial world, the artist feels "utterly lost in time and space" (Ibid.).

A different kind of intermediality appears in Coupland's recent literary output, though. It is a kind of intermediality where the same preoccupation with trans-national consumerism, pop culture, and technological development which is characteristic of his visual art is presented "diegetically," through the stories of his characters. The relationship of Coupland's fictional characters to technology and its role in consumer culture has always played an important part in his stories. The role assigned to the different objects, gadgets – but also people – associated with different facets of consumer culture is as important to the plot as the characters and the stories they tell: "Bug sulks in his room all day, listening to Chet Baker, restoring his antique Radio Shack Science Fair 65-In-One electronic project kit, and memorizing C++ syntax. Susan house hunts. Todd lives at the Pro Clun Gym" – we learn about the life of the housemates in *Microserfs* (Coupland 1995, 48). This relationship between his characters and their physical and cultural-spiritual environment is made even more complex when in his most recent work Coupland explores the "internet state of mind:" "I miss smoking and talking on the phone, but then I don't talk on the phone anymore – nobody does –

so it's kind of moot. I wonder what it must be like smoking while using the internet. It must feel holy." (Coupland 2017, 34) The internet now appears in almost all of Coupland's narratives and essays, just as it does in his art work, lending both a unique form of intermediality.

Coupland and Spirituality

Like many of his Canadian contemporaries, Coupland was raised in a totally secular, non-religious environment. Whoever has read Coupland's writing will realize, however, what critics also repeatedly suggest, namely that some kind of spirituality is fundamental to his writing. This is a kind of spirituality, though, that Andrew Tate calls "postmodern" spirituality: an expression not of the *presence* of God, but of spiritual *lack (*Tate 2007, 130*)*; the awareness that somehow there is a lack of coherence at the heart of the postmodern world. "Life after God" is the condition where Coupland lives and where he sees his world – Canada as well as the USA, where most of his writing takes place – reside. *Life after God* is also the title of one of his short pieces of writing, in which he describes the memories of his childhood in beautiful North Vancouver:

> Life was charmed but without politics or religion. It was the life of children of the children of the pioneers – life after God – a life of earthly salvation on the edge of heaven. Perhaps this is the finest thing to which we may aspire, the life of peace, the blurring between dream life and real life – and yet I find myself speaking these words with a sense of doubt. I think there was a trade-off somewhere along the line. I think the price we paid for our golden life was an inability to fully believe in love; instead we gained an irony that scorched everything it touched. And I wonder if this irony is the price we paid for the loss of God. (Coupland 1999, 220)

Coupland's search for a – postmodern, life-after-God – spirituality manifests itself in a number of ways in his work, especially in his fiction. The most conspicuous of these is his almost obsessive urge to tell stories. Starting with *Generation X*, we find several of Coupland's postmodern protagonists telling stories to each other. In his 2009 *Generation A* this is how Harj ponders the importance of narrative: "How can we be alive and not wonder about the stories we use to knit together this place we call the world? Without stories, our universe is merely rocks and clouds and lava and blackness. … And then what do you do – do you pray? What is prayer but a wish for the events in

your life to string together to form a story – something that makes some sense of events you know have meaning" (Coupland 2010, 1).

But here Coupland faces a problem; (post)modernity, captivated by technology and an increasingly materialist culture, has made story-telling difficult. "In the old days, it was much easier, but our modern fame-driven culture, with its real-time 24-7 marinade of electronic information, demands a lot from modern citizens, and poses great obstacles to narrative. … Given the current media composition of the world, you're pretty much doomed to being uninteresting and storyless" (Coupland 2010, 264).

This makes Coupland's relationship to spirituality and modern technology – which, as we suggested above, also makes much of his intermedial work possible – a complex one. On the one hand, he sometimes tends to see a connection between technology, in the form of modern scientific discoveries, and the miraculous. In *Microserfs*, for example, for Dan, one of the protagonists, computer-generated experiences possess "the force of the sublime," they kind of function as analogues for mystical exploration (Tate 2007, 143). Coupland suggests that, in a way, the atemporality that the internet brought about is also almost god-like, as is the fact that with the help of the net we can now easily find the answer to almost all questions; "We have to face the fact that God might actually be bored by knowing all the answers to everything" – he muses (Coupland 2014, no pg.). Technology is (?), in a sense, the main player in the re-enchantment of the world, which, according to Zygmunt Bauman, is how the postmodern condition may be described (Bauman 1992, vii-viii). And indeed, Coupland's desire for this re-enchantment is manifested in the way his literary work "seeks a new sacred vocabulary constructed from the detritus of an obsessed materialist culture" and represents "a serious attempt to read an apparently godless world in spiritual terms" (Tate 2007, 133-134) – assigning even the "detritus" of technology a spiritual meaning.

But Coupland is not naïve, and well knows that the new technology also has a dark side. He has a theory of "omniscience fatigue," and comes back, again and again, to the fact that

> most people can't find the larger story in their lives. Born, grew up, had kids, maybe, and died… what kind of story is that? … If you have a culture whose brains are "planned" by digital culture and internet browsing, you'll have a citizenry who want their lives to be simultaneous, fluid, ready to jump from link to link – a society that assumes that knowledge is there for the asking when you need it. This is a very different society from one peopled by book readers. (Coupland 2014, no pg.)

This tension between "hypermodernity and eternity" (McCampbell 2017, no pg.) that Coupland attempts to balance is also evident in the complexity of the relationships many of his characters – and, clearly, Coupland himself – have with technology on the one hand and nature and the body on the other. While multi- and intermediality is, as we suggested above, a defining trait of both his fiction and his fine art, multi*modality* – special attention directed to different-sense modalities – seems to counterbalance these. Nature, and in particular the "naked" human senses, as opposed to the artificiality of technology, often play an important part in his fiction. There occur, as Andrew Tate puts it, several "isolated little cool moments," (Tate 2007, 144) epiphanies, in the life of Coupland's characters, when there is a momentary glimpse into a deeper reality, and this often involves, and is mediated by, nature and the senses.

One such moment is when, at the end of *Generation X,* Andy is grazed by a circling egret and is then embraced by a mentally retarded child: "The egret had grazed my head – its claw had ripped my scalp. I fell to my knees, but I didn't remove my eyes from the bird's progress. … I stood up and was considering this drop of blood when a pair of small fat arms grabbed around my waist, fat arms bearing fat dirty hands tipped with cracked fingernails" (Coupland 1991, 178). And, perhaps most memorably, the narrator of *Life after God* finishes the story with these words, this picture, full of the physical: "I walk over the soft moss, down to the shore of the stream that flows below *my* tent. Clear water flows over a gravel bar;[. . .] I *peel my clothes* and step into the pool beside the burbling stream, onto polished rocks, and water so clear that it seems it might not even be really there" (Coupland 1999, 286).

Even in later stories, however, when, in the 21st century, Coupland's characters are surrounded by and depend almost continuously on their laptops and smart phones, real bodies, real sensations seem to provide the spiritual antithesis to the digital world. Thus, the whole plot of *Generation A* revolves around the experience of being stung by a bee at a time when bees have become extinct, and the novel ends with one of the protagonists, Harj, sitting on the beach, thinking back on what life has "coughed up for me since the moment of my sting. Different sorts of waves that spouted forth… Winnebagos… helicopter rides… casually elegant piqué-knit polo shirts" (Coupland 2010, 358). And then one of these "isolated little cool moments" happens when Harj learns that "they found a bee hive over in Tacoma, down in Washington" and starts to imagine how the bees had survived, "nesting under highway overpasses and dusty eaves of failed shopping malls – foraging for pollen in the weeds growing alongside highways, their wings freezing and

falling off in the winter and in the summers their wings rotting and leaving them crippled as they tried to keep their queens alive" (Coupland 2010, 358). This, I suggest, is perhaps how Coupland's postmodern spirituality could best be summed up; in the 21st century, the time of the internet and of winnebagos, when modern science and technology have caused the extinction of bees, there still is a hive of these tiny creatures who, through some connection with people who care for each other and tell each other stories, give hope to humanity.

Conclusion

Intermediality and (postmodern) spirituality are two characteristics of Douglas Coupland's work that are connected to each other in a fascinating way. Because he is also a visual artist, the visual and the verbal – narrative – are closely linked in both his art work and his writing. At the same time, what underlies both is a kind of search; a search for meaning and beauty in a world "after God." In his writing, this search manifests itself in the desire of his characters to "connect the dots" of their lives, to have a *story*; but, as Mary McCampbell suggests, it is the same wish to connect the dots that appears in his collecting of everyday things: "in gathering these things, he gives them shape and form, a narrative" (McCampbell, 2017). This connecting of things – both objects and the "isolated little cool moments" – is itself a curious, unusual form of intermediality. A different kind of intermediality, also closely linked to his quest for meaning, is his tension-filled relationship to technology and all kinds of new media – most recently the ubiquitous internet – on the one hand and the natural and physical, especially the senses and sense-perception, on the other. While technology may – and sometimes does – provide a sense of the almost transcendent, Coupland is aware of its potential to delude and disappoint, and again and again finds comfort and real meaning in a connection to nature; touch, smell, sounds. Even in a postmodern world, surrounded by our postmodern consumer technology, we are "only truly alive when [we] begin to ask questions about truth and meaning" (Ibid.) – this is the message both his artwork and his writing seem to communicate.

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Alina Țenescu

Images of the City in Postmodern British, Irish and American-Canadian Literature

Introduction

Under the influence of rapid changes generated by urbanization, technologization, and globalization in the 20th and 21st centuries, the issue of perception of space became relevant, as did the questions that humanists have raised with regard to place and space and their representation. Artists, novelists, geographers, philosophers, psychologists, and anthropologists grew interested in how the subtle individual human experiences of space and place are expressed, recorded and rendered with the help of particular conceptual frames (Tuan 1977, 7). Not only did they carry on research on the perception of urban space, but they also showed that perception of geography became essential insofar as it helped people comprehend that their knowledge of places and spaces as well as the design of specific human habitats depended on several modes of experience: sensory, motor, perceptual, conceptual (Baker & Mitchell 2008; Tuan, 1977, 6).

As urban landscape is shaped by the individual's perception of a whole in terms of nature and human environment and as his perspective on urban environment is altered by individual traits, character, and identity (Lynch 1960, 6), we grow aware that we learn by experience to know places and parts of human space, as "experiences, places, and habitus dynamically condition the subject's [. . .] habitus and action" (Gaál-Szabó 2011b). As residents of a specific urban neighbourhood or as passengers crossing a street in an unknown town, we perceive places, objects in space and other individuals with their own identity and their own attributes. Therefore, it becomes obvious that an inhabitant coming from the rural area or living in another time would gain a different perception of elements defining urban life and environment as compared to a city inhabitant. It is also true that spatial

information and messages received from the environment are read and deciphered differently by individuals from various age groups or who do not share the same social and cultural background. Hence, both perceptions and attitudes of individuals who cross the city space differ according to historical, psycho-emotional, social, cultural, economic, political and age criteria. All the criteria should be taken into consideration as they prove useful in helping us trace particular mental mappings, values and reference points that other individuals employ in order to render their experience of space in non-specialized or specialized discourse (architecture, civil engineering, anthropology, geography) or in fiction.

What is particularly striking is that as the representation of spaces and places is approached by specialists and non-specialists, as well as by novel writers, the wide array of modalities of interpretation of urban place is rendered through images of intricate, ambivalent, uncertain human feelings. These ways of perceiving urban place reveal most often than not a subjective depiction which depends on the range of the individual's experience and knowledge, as well as on his personal memory and imagination (Gibson & Gibson 1955, 32–33). Thus, the subjective attitudes of an individual towards his environment do not only uncover ways of experiencing space: directly, intimately or conceptually, but they also make up the subject matter of our fiction corpus analysis.

Different ways of experiencing space by the auctorial instances or by the fictional characters in postmodern literary communication show us that this knowledge is private, unmediated or indirect, mediated by signs and symbols (Monnet, 2011, Tuan 1977, 5–6). Intimate experience of space is achieved by characters playing the role of residents in an imagined city, whereas other characters learn to know it on the occasion of a stride or walk as passers-by and others approach it conceptually as urban planners, architects, geographers, all of them articulating ideas about places in space and rendering their knowledge through the five senses: vision, orientation, touch, smell and hearing. It thus becomes interesting to analyze the peculiarities of the sensory processing and conceptual design in order to better understand what frameworks the unique attitude of a novel character towards city space and place.

Whilst spatial information and elements of the urban environment are rendered through words in fiction, there is also an obvious relationship between habitat, urban setting, lifestyle and the perception that an individual has of his own environment and of his own behaviour towards this environment. Hence, descriptions of the city, even though they are displayed

in an imaginary space, are relevant to our corpus research since they convey specificities of the attitude that an individual develops regarding space and, especially, as it is "the active subject's engagement that determines the nature of his or her surrounding world" (Gaál-Szabó 2011a, 13) – be it fictional or otherwise. The urban spaces invented or imagined in fiction derive from a superposition of the author's sensory experiences and perceptions altered by memory (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004, 349) and imagination. Both writers and characters populating their novels are endowed with perceptive frameworks that can help disclose the mechanisms of representation and the meaning of city spaces (dystopic, heterotopic, utopic) in postmodern fiction. Therefore, it becomes possible for us, readers, to discern which elements the author has selected from the environment in order to reflect certain images of the city in his fiction, alongside a particular feeling of place and to understand the hidden links tying together personal memory, feeling, perception and attitude towards places and dwellings.

Postmodern British, Irish and Canadian-American fiction illustrates various instances of urban landscapes as simultaneously physical and mental spaces of otherness (Hetherington 1997, 5; Saldanha 2008, 2080; Foucault 1994, 752) or as "extreme extrapolations of the now" (Golder 2015, 24), providing numerous exemplifications of forms of perception and representation, as well as attitudes and behaviours regarding the city. In order to understand the way sensory experiences, perceptions, and individual representations are expressed in relationship to urban space, we draw evidence deriving from the fact that the city is defined through a wide array of spatial metaphors in postmodern British, Irish and Canadian-American fiction. Hence, our corpus is represented by excerpts from works by four authors: a British novelist (Martin Amis, *The Information* [1995]), an Irish writer (Colum McCann, *The Side of Brightness* [*Les saisons de la nuit*] [1998a]), a Canadian writer of American origin (William Gibson, *Neuromancer* [1984]) and a British-Australian author (Ben Elton, *Blind Faith* [2007]).

Starting from a cognitive-semantic approach (Lakoff and Johnson [1980] 2003), our study's objective is to organize conceptualizations of city space into several categories of spatial metaphors, identifying their main characteristics. If in a previous study, "*Spaces Other:* Dystopias and Heterotopias in Postmodern Fiction" (Țenescu 2017, 200–212), we explored diverse dystopic literary representations of the postmodern urban landscape by examining four unconventional city images that are created in the works of Vincent Engel, Jean-Philippe Toussaint, Gerri Leen and Yevgeny Zamyatin (that of

the city-museum as mise en abyme, that of the city as hypertechnological setting, that of the microurban space as environment invaded by artificial intelligence and that of the city-nation as glass prison), in this study, we will focus more on hypertech and hyperreal dystopic representations of the postmodern urban space and microspace. Using Lakoff and Johnson's model (Lakoff & Johnson 1980/2003) and the comparatist method, we argue that, within our corpus, the most recurrent urban metaphors are those of the city as underworld or anti-city, that of the city as a giant underground network system, as cyberspace, and as a blog.

Urban imagery and the subjective perception of space

The urban space as underworld or anti-city

In the novel *The Information*, readers are guided through the life paths and journey of an unsuccessful writer, Richard Tull, who strives with his failed literary pursuits, while at the same time, contrives to disturb his highly celebrated friend's life. Underneath the story of this promising writer who never fulfills his potential and constantly feels depressed knowing he writes only book reviews, the readers discover the striking story of Richard Tull, a city inhabitant whose intricate walking trajectories help retrace the images of the desolate city, reflecting the character's own state of mind and spirits.

> [. . .] Cities at night, I feel, contain men who cry in their sleep and then say Nothing. It's nothing. Just sad dreams. Or something like that... Swing low in your weep ship, with your tear scans and your sob probes, and you would mark them. Women – and they can be wives, lovers, gaunt muses, fat nurses, obsessions, devourers, exes, nemeses – will wake and turn to these men and ask, with female need-to-know, "What is it?" And the men say, "Nothing. No it isn't anything really. Just sad dreams."(Amis 1995, 5)

Through Richard Tull's experience as an urban dweller, readers are acquainted with the nightmare-like atmosphere of a city where people cry in their sleep and feel unable to wake. The shivering cries of men in their sleep followed suddenly by silence and sad dreams echo the cries of Richard's soul and his bleak inner self, touched by solitude and loneliness and draw the lines of a map showing his anxieties and his desponding state of mind. The main character's vivid depiction of parts of the city of London is almost a graphic portrayal of the mayhem that reveals the evidence of the fact that Ladbroke Grove and other areas of the metropolis have been deprived of their city

traits and have made up an anti-city that is described by Richard in terms of Apocalyptic pandemonium, of unrestrained chaos and frightened uproar:

> They parted on Ladbroke Grove beneath the elevated underground: that patch of London owned by bums and drunks, exemplary in its way – the model anti-city; here the pavement, even the road, wore a coat of damp beer (in various manifestations) which sucked on your shoes as you hastened past. Crouching men with upturned fucked-up faces... It made Richard think of Pandaemonium and the convocation of rebel angels – hurled like lightning headlong over the crystal battlements of heaven, falling and falling into penal fire and the deep world of darkness. Then their defiant council. (Amis 1995, 43)

Inhabitants and passers-by are not walking anymore, but are crouching aimlessly, without purpose or destination, before falling down into an abyss where there is no possibility of clambering out of a dark tunnel that opens "the deep world of darkness." The fall of this peculiar urban civilization resembles the fall of rebel angels thrown forcefully like firebolt over the crystal escarpment of heaven into the fire of hell.

The urban space as a giant underground network system
In the novel *The Side of Brightness* (*Les saisons de la nuit*) by Colum McCann, diggers hoe underground tunnels under the East River in the New York city of the 1920s. Low-qualified workers, poorly trained and skilled and lacking proper equipment, still build the urban world of tomorrow that constitutes itself as a stand-alone embedded underground *network system*:

> La lumière crue des ampoules électriques vacille, et les hommes évoluent sous un éclairage ondoyant, projetant sur les parois des ombres en forme de violon. Ces ombres se mêlent, se dérobent, se fondent les unes dans les autres, s'allongent, puis diminuent. Au milieu de la galerie passe une voie ferrée étroite, qui, tout à l'heure, va servir à transporter du matériel et la boue déblayée[1]. (McCann 1998b, 15)

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1 The harsh light of the electric bulbs wavers, and the men move under undulating lighting, projecting on the walls shadows in the form of violin. These shadows mingle, hide, melt into one another, lengthen, then diminish. In the middle of the gallery passes a narrow railway, which, just now, will be used to transport equipment and mud cleared. (My translation from French; all the subsequent translations are mine).

Miners have dug holes to build complex underground structures. As well as expanding the urban underbelly, diggers have constructed and extended the city's gut through the tubes, railways, and tunnels of a modern urb:

> Les hommes marchent le long des rails et ils lâchent le convoi à des endroits divers. On jette les gamelles au sol, des chapelets sortent des poches. [. . .] On jette les gamelles au sol, des chapelets sortent des poches. [. . .] Ici, un poing se ferme et fait ressortir la musculature d'un bras. Là, des épaules se redressent et révèlent un torse massif. Un peu plus loin, c'est le bruit sourd d'un poing qui s'enfonce dans la paume d'une main. [. . .] Ils vont toujours plus avant, s'enfonçant au cœur des ténèbres². (McCann 1998b, 15–16)

What is particularly striking in this portrayal of the American metropolis is the narrator's imagination of a city built entirely of metal subways and railways, where unknown authorities keep a close eye on workers and their actions, and where servile inhabitants – wearing name tags on their shovels or common recognition signs on their tools – labour, march and walk in unison:

> Walker marche en tête, en équilibre sur un des rails métalliques, tandis que les autres font bien attention de poser les pieds sur les traverses de bois. Leur pelle bat contre leurs jambes. Walker a son nom gravé sur le manche de la sienne, celle d'O'Leary a une langue de métal recourbée, celle de Power la poignée enveloppée de tissu, et celle de Vannucci, qui a été légèrement fendue, est tenue par un fourreau métallique³. (McCann 1998b, 16)

The cityscape image conveyed by the narrator warns readers against the dangers of humankind uniformisation under the coercive force of an unknown over-ground authority. Uniformisation leads to complete personality dissolution so that the physical shapes and selves of city dwellers

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2　The men walk along the rails and they drop the convoy to various places. They throw the bowls on the ground, strings come out of the pockets. [. . .] Here, a fist closes and brings out the musculature of an arm. There, shoulders stand up and reveal a massive torso. A little farther is the thud of a fist that sinks into the palm of one hand. [. . .] They always go further, sinking into the darkness.

3　Walker walks ahead, balancing on one of the metal rails, while the others are careful to put their feet on the timber sleepers. Their shovel beats against their legs. Walker has his name engraved on the handle of his shovel, that of O'Leary has a bent metal tongue, that of Power the handle wrapped in fabric, and that of Vannucci, which has been slightly split, is held by a metallic sheath.

are reduced to shadows projecting on the walls of the urban underground body in the form of a violin that makes no sound. The frail shadows mingle in a conglomerate of undifferentiated souls, hiding, lengthening, before diminishing, vanishing and "sinking into the darkness." The decomposition of the individual self into a weak shadow that melts together with other shadows into a silent violin is symbolic of lost hope in a world encapsulated and confined underground, in the dark.

The urban space as cyberspace

With William Gibson's *Neuromancer* (1984), readers are acquainted with one of the first cyberpunk novels where dystopic urban representations pervade in a world dominated by the techno-fear about the invasiveness and invasion of computers and computer networks onto human lives. Not only do we find several examples of cityscapes as cyberspaces, but the novel is amongst the first to popularize and spread the use of the term "cyberspace" together with "matrix":

> The matrix has its roots in primitive arcade games. [. . .] Cyberspace. A consensual hallucination experienced daily by billions of legitimate operators, in every nation, by children being taught mathematical concepts. A graphic representation of data abstracted from banks of every computer in the human system. Unthinkable complexity. Lines of light ranged in the non-space of the mind, clusters and constellations of data. Like city lights, receding. (Gibson 1984, 69–70)

The most recurrent urban space representations in the novel are dystopian: the main character, Henry Dorsett Case, represents the cities of Chiba and Tokyo as places where hopes are lost, where the central nervous system of individuals is damaged, where paralysis succeeds loss of consciousness and memory and where people are forever trapped.

Contempt for the flesh is gradually replaced by a growing elation and delight found in cyberspace. Cyberspace takes over the dystopian underworlds of Tokyo and Chiba and artificial intelligence runs over the city dwellers' central nervous system, connecting them to the global computer network located in cyberspace, which is a virtual reality dataspace defined by the narrator as "the matrix." While some of the inhabitants' minds automatically connect to the giant computer network in cyberspace, others are punished for minor crimes and their memory and consciousness are wiped out as the

nerve system is altered by a mycotoxin, leaving them unable to connect to the matrix, that is unemployable, suicidal, unadapted:

> As a thief, he'd worked for other, wealthier thieves, employers who provided the exotic software required to penetrate the bright walls of corporate systems, opening windows into rich fields of data. [. . .] Of course he was welcome, they told him, welcome to the money. [. . .] Because – still smiling – they were going to make sure he never worked again. They damaged his nervous system with a wartime Russian mycotoxin. [. . .] For Case, who'd lived for the bodiless exultation of cyberspace, it was the Fall. (Gibson 1984, 3)

As a hacker Case steals his mentor's consciousness that is saved on a ROM module, as well as from his employers, he expiates his sin in a clinic within the city of Chiba where Case's nervous wiring is repaired with the help of AI technology. The damage is nevertheless permanent since sacs of the same mycotoxin poison are left inside his blood vessels with the potential to explode if he does not abide by his new employer's orders (Armitage). While the city dwellers are threatened with the dissolution of blood vessels and the disabling of consciousness, the only possibility that is left is to submit to the coercive and dangerous totalitarian power of those who invented the matrix:

> In Japan, he'd known with a clenched and absolute certainty, he'd find his cure. In Chiba. Either in a registered clinic or in the shadow land of black medicine. Synonymous with implants, nerve-splicing, and micro bionics, Chiba was a magnet for the Sprawl's techno-criminal subcultures. [. . .] In Chiba, he'd watched his New Yen vanish in a two-month round of examinations and consultations. [. . .] (Gibson 1984, 3–4)

Even if all the inhabitants get into the cyberspace deck that propels their "disembodied consciousness" into the consensual realm of hallucination that is the matrix, they cannot run from the super AI entity hovering over everything and everyone in the metropolises of Chiba and Tokyo. These peculiar portrayals of the cities of Chiba and of Tokyo show readers that dystopia is a vision of future hell on a planet Earth invaded by AI, where the identity of the two cities comes to be stereotyped as the worst and bleakest landscape of crime, chaos, solitude, repression, and absence of feelings and emotions. Individuals cannot see the lights of the city anymore, as they are hidden and hindered by "towering hologram logos", by hypertech factory

domes whose shadows are projected onto a silver sky that is as equally poisoned as the bodies and brains of the inhabitants:

> Now he slept in the cheapest coffins, the ones nearest the port, beneath the quartz-halogen floods that lit the docks all night like vast stages; where you couldn't see the lights of Tokyo for the glare of the television sky, not even the towering hologram logo of the Fuji Electric Company, and Tokyo Bay was a black expanse where gulls wheeled above drifting shoals of white styrofoam. Behind the port lay the city, factory domes dominated by the vast cubes of corporate arcologies. Port and city were divided by a narrow borderland of older streets, an area with no official name. Night City, with Ninsei its heart. By day, the bars down Ninsei were shuttered and featureless, the neon dead, the holograms inert, waiting, under the poisoned silver sky. (Gibson 1984, 3–4)

The urban space as blog

In Ben Elton's *Blind Faith* (2007), the intrusion of virtual space and social networking into people's lives is so great that it leads to everyone blogging their lives on the Internet. Intimacy is replaced by extimacy on the giant web, as characters inhabiting the fictional space of Ben Elton's novel share their most private thoughts, feelings, and experiences (such as the christening of Trafford's baby) onto online personal journals:

> "Problem with your broadband, Trafford?" Confessor Bailey asked icily. [. . .] "You did not feel moved to share this beautiful and most special Lord-given event, which is like no other and after which you will never be the same, with your community? With the world?"
> "I announced it," Trafford protested weakly. "I put it on my blog."
> Now Bailey was not even bothering to smile. "You *announced* it? You put the *birth of a kiddie* on your *blog*? And that is *all*?" (Elton 2007, 26)

As Trafford exhibits and discloses his most intimate feelings on the web, trying to describe them and convey them as accurately as possible, he gets admonished by Confessor Bailey who is convinced that digital recording far surpasses in exactitude the inadequate description and the imperfect imagination of a human being:

> "You *described it*!" The priest was angry now. "The Lord has blessed us with digital recording equipment with which we can capture, celebrate and worship in

diamond detail the *exactitude* of every nuance of his creation and yet you, you in your vanity, think that your *description*, the work of your lowly, humble, inadequate *imagination*, can somehow do the job better! You believe your description, your *fiction*, to be a better medium for representing God's work than digitized reality!" (Elton 2007, 26–27)

In his wish to share private events from his family life on the web, Trafford hopes to gain approval from other unknown navigators. His blog's popularity derives from his desire for recognition and validation by others inside the virtual space. Intimate feelings and wishes that are posted by users on blogs similar to Trafford's become Trafford's feelings and desires, as there is a constant intertwining, a connection of Trafford's self and others' selves inside the web. By expanding his experiences onto the personal journal and extending his network inside the world wide web, Trafford lives under the impression of seeing himself projected by these other unknown individuals who distribute their warmest and most cherished feelings and memories in live streaming.

Conclusion

From the analysis of conceptual metaphors associated with urban space in our corpus of study, we can assert that the conceptualization of city space does not revolve around the common organic anthropomorphic metaphor. In fact, peculiar images (such as that of the city as underworld or anti-city, that of the city as a giant underground network system, as cyberspace and as blog) reveal conceptualizations of the city space and dwellings as unconventional or beyond the rational experiential realm.

All of the cityscape images in our corpus of study constitute examples of dystopias meant to warn the readers against the dangers and evils of postmodern world excesses: hypertechnologization, uniformisation, and depersonalization.

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György Borus

George III 'the Mad Tyrant' and
the Political Instability of the 1760s

George III (1760-1820) is a monarch who has gone down in history as a mad and unconstitutional ruler who managed to lose the American Colonies. In the past, the double charge of madness and tyranny provided simple explanations for the dominant events and developments of the first two decades of the reign: the political crisis the 1760s (when seven different governments and Prime Ministers alternated in office) and the American Revolution. It was easy to argue that it took the British politicians ten long years to come to control the young tyrant, and that it was the irrational behaviour of the king towards the American Colonists that made it necessary for them to declare independence.

Modern historians have cleared George III of both charges. The aim of this paper is to sum up the arguments against the King's supposed insanity and tyranny, and to account for the real causes of political instability during the 1760s. Much has been written about the American Revolution, so the political, economic and ideological causes of the great event need not be discussed in details in this essay.[1]

The charge of insanity is now easy to refute. While on the throne, George III had four major episodes of an illness in which physical abnormalities (including abdominal and leg pain, hoarseness, fast pulse, insomnia, and discoloured urine) were accompanied by mental disturbance as well.[2] The king's periods of mental incapacity were originally put down to psychological strain, manic depression, sexual frustration, etc., but at the end

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1   On the causes of the American Revolution see, for example, Middlekauf 2007, or Kelly 2018.
2   During the winter of 1788-89, in 1801, 1804, and 1811.

of the 1960s two British psychiatrists came to the conclusion that George III suffered from porphyria – a rare metabolic illness caused by genetic defects (Macalpine and Hunter 1966; 1969). The diagnosis was based on the historical archive (the physicians' reports on the king's health) and on the testing of some living members of the House of Hanover who were also affected with the disease. Although the theory of porphyria has been challenged lately, the important point is that the king suffered from a physical disease, not a mental one. The king's physical disease resulted in occasional mental disturbance but apart from four short periods during the reign it did not affect the ruler's judgement (Brooke 1974, 7-10).

George III was ill for a few months in 1765 as well. This illness – which was of different nature (probably consumption) and produced no mental derangement – was of special significance. As Ida Macalpine and Richard Hunter explained:

> It is less important for what happened to the King at the time than for what was made of it afterwards. For this reason it stands by itself and presents its own problems. Whereas in the illnesses medical facts are plenty and in a sense speak for themselves, the reverse applies to that of 1765... In fact, the illness of 1765 did not attract any interest until after the King's death, when with the hindsight of later attacks a whispering campaign was started, hinting that the King may have been deranged even then. Nineteenth-century historians came to accept this speculation as if it were established fact, and George III was stigmatized as a man who had five attacks of insanity between his twenties and old age and was therefore more or less deranged throughout his life (Macalpine and Hunter 1969, 176).

The motives of the young George III and the political events of the 1760s have been a matter of dispute among historians for a long time. Until the 1920s the dominant interpretation was that of the Whig historians who charged George III with attempting to reassert royal authority. According to these historians (T. E. May, W. E. H. Lecky, Sir G. O. Trevelyan, etc.), George III had tried to turn the clock back, to subvert the system of Cabinet government, the two-party system and constitutional monarchy which had all grown up since the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89. It was this 'tyranny' that resulted in political instability and the loss of the American Colonies (Lecky 1883, 14; May 1896, 1-17; Trevelyan 1899, 117).

It was Sir Lewis Namier – a historian of Polish-Jewish origin – who demolished the Whig interpretation in his revolutionary works from 1929 onwards (Namier 1929; 1930; 1955; 1962). Namier scrutinised the king's papers at Windsor Castle. This revealed no design to advance the royal

prerogative. Instead, Namier argued, king George's letters demonstrated how ill-equipped he was for aggressive political behaviour. He was a lonely, insecure and not very intelligent young man. Yet, he was industrious and stubborn, and he naturally seemed energetic in comparison with his grandfather, George II, who was seventy-seven when he died. "What I have never been able to find," Namier declared,

> is the man arrogating power to himself, the ambitious schemer out to dominate, the intriguer dealing in an underhand fashion with his Ministers; in short, any evidence for the stories circulated about him by very clever and eloquent contemporaries. (Namier 1955, 57)

The Whig historians had accepted the contemporary accusations that George III had proscribed the Whigs and carried out a Tory revival without examining the personnel of either the House of Commons or the king's administration. Namier, by contrast, looked at the backgrounds of individuals in power and found that the election of 1761 returned only 113 Tory MPs to Parliament (out of the 558). Men who called themselves Whig continued to dominate government in the 1760s. All of George III's ministers in that decade – including Lord Bute and Lord North – were Whigs (Namier 1961, 419-421).[3]

George III did not act unconstitutionally when he dismissed some of the members of the Whig oligarchy and appointed his former tutor, Lord Bute, Secretary of State. Nevertheless, he did have to face the serious consequences of his decision. In effect he declared war on political leaders who had been in power for decades during the reigns of George I (1714-27) and George II (1727-60), and considered themselves the natural protectors of the country. The ministerial appointment of Lord Bute – who was Scottish, a personal confidant of the king, and by no means a prominent politician – was an affront to the political class. George III did have the right to choose his ministers – and nobody questioned this right in the eighteenth century – but

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3   What is more, P. D. G. Thomas remarks that Namier's much-cited list of 113 Tory MPs returned at the general election of 1761 is misleading for it was "put together from Parliamentary lists compiled by or for Newcastle between 1754 and 1766, and for the Duke 'Tory' was a generic term for politicians who always opposed him. Scrutiny of the list shows that at least twenty were Whigs by any test" (Thomas 2002, 27).

the inexperienced young king used his freedom of choice in a way that was unacceptable to dominant politicians (Namier 1961, 387).

Having appointed them, George III always allowed his ministers to govern. It was the cabinet that made decisions on policy, not the king. Therefore, the indictment to be found in the American *Declaration of Independence* that "The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations all having in direct object an absolute tyranny over these states" is unacceptable. One should bear in mind that this document was issued in July 1776, at the beginning of the American War of Independence when the Colonists had to find an ideological justification for breaking away from the mother country. Thomas Jefferson's original draft was a much more modest text, which Congress decided to spice up. By including eighteen paragraphs starting with the words "He has...", they put the blame personally on George III (Cannon 2005, 85).

The disgruntled Whig politicians in Britain were intent on making the life of the new administration miserable. They diffused their theory about the unconstitutional aims of George III, and they tried to take advantage of the difficulties and the political crises that emerged after the Seven Years' War (1756-63): popular disturbances, trade disputes, the beginning of extra-parliamentary radicalism, the growing conflict with the American Colonies, not to mention the post-war uncertainty and division which was caused by the fact that the success had been too great and the territory won was too vast. All these problems presented unprecedented difficulties to the new king and his ministers.

The years following the Seven Years' War were marked by severe economic difficulty. The expenses of the war had been met by public borrowing. The National Debt, which was less than £80 million in 1757, rose to £98 million in 1761 and £131 million in 1767 (Bowen 1993, 45). After the war the government put the burden of having to pay interest on the National Debt on the public in the form of indirect taxation, that is customs and excise duties. As the proportion of the annual budget used for paying the debt rose, indirect taxation increased. The poor customers were especially hard hit by the increasing taxes on basic consumer goods. High prices, low wages and food shortages led to serious public disorder. Poor harvests caused food rioting throughout the countryside in 1766, 1767 and 1768, and London also suffered from high bread prices in both 1767 and 1768. The 1760s was also the decade of widespread industrial disputes. Various trade combinations demanded higher wages and tried to force the government to intervene and

protect craft privileges. The coal-heavers', silk-weavers' and the seamen's disputes were especially violent (Stevenson 1992, 82-84).

The popular disturbances and industrial disputes ran parallel to and occasionally overlapped with the John Wilkes affair which marked the beginning of extra-parliamentary radicalism in Britain. By 1760 preconditions for the development of radical politics already existed. London was becoming a metropolis, and provincial towns also developed and grew in population. Literacy improved, the reading public expanded and, at the same time, new sources of political information became available to them. The urban middle class could go to coffee houses where it was possible to read political pamphlets and a number of different newspapers.[4] They could belong to conversation clubs which provided the opportunity for public political discussion. Improvement in postal services and the appearance of more and more provincial newspapers further contributed to the dissemination of political information. As a result of all these changes, George III, his ministers and the aristocratic elite were to face a public of unprecedented political awareness, and it was apparent that the political opinions of the people could no longer be ignored. After 1760, the critics of the political order managed to secure national leaders outside Parliament, as well as popular support for their cause, which were important changes compared to the previous decades (Thomas 2002, 16-20).

It was at this moment that John Wilkes, an unscrupulous careerist, entered the political stage. Wilkes was brilliant at creating discontent, raising controversial issues and at taking advantage of them in order to promote his own political advancement. The government made a grave mistake after the appearance of the famous No. 45 issue of the *North Briton* on 23 April 1763 in which Wilkes denounced the King's Speech a few days after its delivery (Horn and Ransome 1957, 252). Although he was an MP, Wilkes was arrested on a general warrant and this blunder enabled him to pose as a political martyr, the victim of tyranny. Wilkes, who was a great propagandist, publicised his martyrdom in the press and convinced a large number of people about the injustice and general application of his case. He succeeded in turning his personal conflicts with the government into major constitutional issues. In 1768, when he was repeatedly expelled from the House of Commons in spite of winning the support of the majority of the electors in Middlesex, he was able to claim that beyond his own grievances the rights of the electorate were

4   In 1760 London had four daily newspapers and five thrice-weekly ones. By 1770 this had increased to five daily and eight thrice-weekly newspapers (Thomas 2002, 16-17).

at stake. In the eyes of the people, Wilkes became the champion of liberty against arbitrary power (Colley 1992, 105-123; Langford 1989, 357-358; 376-382).

The growing conflict with the American Colonies was yet another political crisis which added to the troubles of the young king and his ministers and raised further constitutional questions. Together with the remote economic causes of American discontent, the changed circumstances after the Seven Years' War led to an insoluble crisis. The otherwise justified intention of the British government to tighten up imperial control after the war clashed with nascent American nationalism at a moment when the American Colonies became less dependent on the Mother Country for military protection (since Canada became a British territory). The confrontation evolved into a constitutional struggle: the Americans refused to be taxed by the British Parliament in which they had no representation.

John Wilkes, the representatives of the American cause and the opposition Whig politicians all had one thing in common: they deliberately created public alarm. The reasons for doing so were different of course. Wilkes craved publicity and fame. The Americans needed ideological justification for their revolt. The primary aim of the opposition Whigs was to discredit the government. The consequence of all these efforts was a widespread conviction that liberty and the balance of the constitution were endangered by the political ambitions of George III and his favourite, the Earl of Bute (Dickinson 1990, 125).

Unable to bear the strain of incessant attack and criticism, Bute resigned in April 1763, but a series of conflicts between the king and his new ministers convinced the opposition that although Bute had left office, his influence continued. The king's reluctance to co-operate and his ill-treatment of his new ministers could only be explained in these terms. Whenever relations between the king and his ministers turned for the worse, it could always be attributed to the influence of the favourite. The myth of "the minister behind the curtain" had a destabilising effect for the rest of the decade (Brewer 1973, 23).

Between April 1763 and January 1770, George III had four more governments –various combinations of the main Whig factions, the Grenville, Bedford, Rockingham and Pitt groups –, all of which had serious weaknesses. The king's next Prime Minister, George Grenville, was an experienced politician who enjoyed a broad-based support. He could have created political stability, if his relationship with the king had been better. Grenville, however, had a number of negative characteristic features which the king found unbearable. He was tiresome, tedious, extremely talkative

and argumentative. He demanded complete control over appointments and was always suspicious of the secret influence of Lord Bute. He also quarrelled with George III over the exclusion of the Dowager Princess of Wales (the king's mother) from the list of a Regency Council which would be set up if the king's illness made it impossible for him to play his part in the government. Eventually, in July 1765, Grenville was forced to resign (Brooke 1972, 103-109).

The Marquess of Rockingham's ministry lasted only twelve months. This was partly due to its constitution: with the exception of the Duke of Newcastle all the ministers were inexperienced. Rockingham was determined to continue Grenville's proscription of Bute's former friends but in order to counterbalance his government's inexperience he left some of them in office. This inconsistency proved to be fatal. The mutual suspicion which marked relations between the Whig ministers and the King's Friends grew until it finally destroyed the administration. Rockingham tried to save his government by persuading William Pitt to join him. But courting Pitt – who would accept office under nobody – proved futile (Langford 1992, 364-365; Thomas 2002, 115-116; Watson 1960, 115-120).

In July 1766, George III asked Pitt to form a government. Now it seemed that at last political stability could be achieved. A few months later, however, a mysterious mental malady totally incapacitated Pitt. The ministry, which was almost as inexperienced as Rockingham's, was thrown into confusion. Pitt remained in office until October 1768, but form March 1767 the Duke of Grafton was the actual Prime Minister (Thomas 2002, 149-174).

Grafton (who disliked his office and did not have a good relationship with the king) had to face insoluble problems: a new wave of mass demonstrations after the return of John Wilkes from France to England in February 1768, and the conflict with the American Colonists who could no longer be appeased. Grafton managed to broaden the parliamentary basis of his ministry by forming a coalition with the Bedfordites (the followers of John Russell, 4th Duke of Bedford). This, however, reduced the government's coherence and eventually Grafton found himself completely isolated (Thomas 2002, 197-216; Watson 1960, 121-130).

The dominant problem of the 1760s was the quest for a Prime Minister who could command the confidence of both the Crown and the House of Commons. The king found this man in Lord North (1770-1782) who was intelligent, amusing, a good manager of the House of Commons, a financial expert, a great speaker, an entertaining companion in the Closet and even respectful (Langford 1989, 521-522).

North himself already commanded personal liking and respect in the House. And the hardline attitude he had taken on Wilkes and America would consolidate behind him not only the Court Party but conservative opinion generally. For former Tory squires … there was the added attraction that North was not a Whig faction leader in the mould of Fox, Grenville, Bedford, Newcastle, Rockingham or even Pitt. In that sense, too, North was the Prime Minister George III had been seeking since 1760. … North was for George III the antidote to the poison of faction politics the King had been fighting all his reign (Thomas 2002, 224-225).

North stayed in power also because the Commons felt bound to support one who was the political leader of a nation facing rebellion in North America.

The political instability of the 1760s was the result of the various consequences of the Seven Years' War (the National Debt, increasing taxation, extra-parliamentary radicalism, conflict with the American Colonies), the inexperience of George III, the break-up of the Whig oligarchy into factions, and the myth of "the minister behind the curtain". All these factors, which could be termed the general causes of the confusion, combined with the more specific causes (George Grenville's disastrous relationship with the king, the Rockingham government's inexperience, William Pitt's illness, etc.) and resulted in utter instability.

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Enikő Maior

History and the Individual's Struggle with it in Bernard Malamud's *The Fixer*

In my paper I would like to concentrate on Malamud's novel *The Fixer* (1966). The novel presents the relationship between history and the individual. What does the individual do when he is trapped in history's net? Can he be saved, or can he still preserve his faith in God? The story resembles that of the biblical Job who had been tried by God to see whether he really believed or not. God took everything from him or, more precisely, let the Devil take everything from him: family, wealth and his good health, in order to show that, despite all hardships, he would still love his Creator and never curse Him. Job had everything and had to lose all material possessions so as to understand that he had to rely on God and on His goodness. Human beings cannot have the power over their lives. One main difference between Job and Yakov Bok, the main character of the novel, is that Job never loses his faith in the existence of God, while Bok does not believe in God's existence at all. As Bok has not seen or heard God, he does not think that there is a God, he thinks that it is only a force in Nature, as I have pointed out earlier. There is one characteristic which both share, i.e., they want an answer from God that He refuses to give. We can only believe that God will save us from eternal punishment. Job was tortured only to prove that the human being can remain faithful to God despite all misfortunes. Similarly, God, through His grace, can offer men the final reward. Yakov Bok tried to escape history and his own identity. At the beginning of the novel, he tries to hide his Jewish identity: he shaves off his beard, loses his phylacteries and prayer shawl on purpose, changes his name and leaves the Jewish quarter of Kiev.

He thought that he could be free without his origin and wanted to have more possibilities. But he soon realized that the so-called possibility could have had negative effects, too. He cannot escape his own identity. He gets

into prison because of his belonging to a nation that has to suffer so as to be redeemed. Yakov realizes that there is no way to shake off his identity. The guard gives him the New Testament to read, but for Yakov Christianity cannot be a viable solution, although there are several similarities between the figure of Jesus and that of the fixer. The fixer was a kind of carpenter, who also left his home village in his thirties to start a new life. Bok's name in German means "goat" and we can easily identify him with the character of the scapegoat. He is sacrificed for some unknown, hidden reason. Jesus is sacrificed to save Christians from eternal death. Bok was puzzled by Jesus' suffering:

> Yet the story of Jesus fascinated him and he read it in the four gospels. He was a strange Jew, humourless and fanatic, but the fixer liked the teachings and read with pleasure of the healing of the lame, blind, and of the epileptics who fell into fire and water. He enjoyed the loaves and fishes and the raising of the dead. In the end he was deeply moved when he read how they spat on him and beat him with sticks; and how he hung on the cross at night. Jesus cried out help to God but God gave no help. (Malamud 1990, 209)

God sacrificed His son in order to save people from eternal punishment, but Bok could not believe in God. As he reads the story, he cannot help thinking that the Christians he had met were not acting according to the Word. In prison, Yakov is treated as a human trash and is tortured in unimaginable ways. He thinks that Christians do not act according to the Bible and slowly returns to Judaism and his Jewishness. He grows a beard, starts to use the phylacteries and wear the prayer shawl, at the beginning only to keep him warm under his greatcoat. As the story unfolds, Bok returns more and more to his origin. He is better off as a Jew than as anything else. His Jewishness gives him power to carry on and he slowly realizes that being a Jew is a valuable thing.

The guards and all the other Russian characters who appear in the novel see history as the "succession of demonic acts perpetrated against Christian civilization by the satanic Jews" (Alter 1981, 158). Regardless of their occupation or social status, they express the deep-rooted anti-Semitic ideas that can be found in Western civilization. The first character of the novel who shares anti-Semitic views is the boatman who ferries Yakov to the city of Kiev, and who says that the Jews have split hoofs, pretending he has even seen one. In his opinion, the only solution to get rid of the Jews is to wipe them all out:

> And then when we've slaughtered the whole cursed tribe of them – and the same is done in every province throughout Russia, wherever we can smoke them out – though we've got most of them nice and bunched up in the Pale – we'll pile up the corpses and soak them with benzene and light fires that people will enjoy all over the world. (Malamud 1990, 29)

The next character is Nikolai Maximovitch, a member of the Black Hundreds (an anti-Semitic organization), who is picked up by Bok and dragged home. Bok saw the white and black button pinned to his coat which showed that he was a member of the organization, but helped him, all the same. He acted like is expected from a human being. Maximovitch is a very controversial character, because, on the one hand, he is a member of a virulent anti-Semitic group, and on the other hand, he cries over a dead dog and proves to be a very sensitive person. In the view of the prosecuting attorney, all Jews are criminals who want to have the power over the world. He mentions the names of scientists who introduced the idea of the Aryan race and we all know the results of their theories. He tries to convince Bok to admit the crime, saying that he was hired and instigated by other Jews to kill the boy for ritual purposes. One more prejudice about the Jews.

Malamud mixes real historical facts with fiction so as to show in greater detail how many prejudices the Western civilization harbour about Jews and Judaism in general. Even the Tsar Nicholas II accuses the Jews of bribery and demoralization. He blames them, and Bok must be punished to show all Jews that they are not omnipotent rulers. Of course, these Russian characters refuse to accept the facts as they are. Bok is seen as the symbol of evil because the Russians want to make him one and not because the historical evidence proves it. Iska Alter argues that "in the conflict between history and demonology, the reality of the historical situation has become irrelevant in the face of the multiple satisfactions derived from the myth. Thus Yakov Bok and, by extension, the Jews become history's losers" (Alter 1981, 160) They cannot do anything to escape the fate attributed to them by Western civilization.

The first character who does not want to cause suffering to Bok is Bibikov, the Investigating Magistrate. He does not believe that Bok killed the boy and tries to find evidence to prove his innocence. Bibikov, the Investigating Magistrate, seems to be a good man, trying to help him. Neither of them can believe the accusations, and Bibikov even tries to find new evidence which could prove Bok's innocence. But all his attempts are doomed to failure. Bok cannot escape his fate. Bibikov cannot help him; on the contrary, he

himself is accused. For Bok suffering is crucial. Bibikov relies on the Law at the beginning: "Mercy is for God, I depend on the law. The law will protect you" (Malamud 1990, 74). He is like a secular Jew who relies as much on the law as a religious Jew on the Talmud. He thinks that evidence can win out the old superstitions and prejudices. Bok believed that he could get away from his Jewishness and become a free man. He thinks that Jewishness is only a curse: "His fate nauseated him. Escaping from the Pale he had at once been entrapped in prison. From birth a black horse had followed him, a Jewish nightmare. What was being a Jew but an everlasting curse? He was sick of their history, destiny, blood guilt" (Malamud 1990, 206). He was fed up with Judaism's stoicism in front of life's hardships. Bok's parents were killed in the village because they were unlucky to be in the wrong place at a wrong time. They could not change their destiny. They did not commit something bad; they were simply unlucky to belong to an ethnic group that needed to be punished.

Bibikov was puzzled by Bok's interpretation of Baruch Spinoza's ideas according to which there was no special link between the Jews and God. God was only a force in nature and not in history, which means that there is no covenant between Him and the Jews. In prison, Bok reflected on the idea of personal freedom and slowly realized that such a freedom could not exist outside the social or political order. He understood that he could not sit still and be a passive victim. Bok tried to forget about the Covenant with God, although Shmuel, his father-in-law, reminded him that without God there is nothing for Jews "'Yakov,' said Shmuel, clasping and unclasping his excitable hands, 'we're not Jews for nothing. Without God we can't live. Without the covenant we would have disappeared out of history. Let that be a lesson to you. He's all we have but who wants more?" (Malamud 1990, 230). The Jews had to keep the covenant with God and act according to it. But Bok could not forget about the millions of Jews who were killed during the centuries: "I am not so young any more, I can't wait that long. Neither can the Jews running from pogroms. We're dealing nowadays with the slaughter of large numbers and it's getting worse. God counts in astronomy but where men are concerned all I know is one plus one" (Malamud 1990, 232). Bok spoke not only about the Jews but men, in general: "What a sad country, he thought, amazed by what he had read, every possible combination of experiences, where black was white and black was black; and if the Russians, too, were massacred by their own rulers and died like flies, who were then the Chosen People?" (Malamud 1990, 58). People were killed and it did not count whether they were Jews, Russians or belonged to some other ethnic group.

Here Malamud showed his concern for humanity and human beings, once again. By the end of the novel, Bok, the simple handyman, became a hero who raised his voice against injustice and fought a real war against it.

Despite his good intentions, Bibikov could not fight against a whole society and history. For Bok suicide is not an alternative. He cannot be so desperate as to commit suicide. But then he has to live, even if they try to poison him. He finds out and refuses to eat what they give him. He catches different diseases, but continues to live on. It seems somehow that he cannot die. He has to live to stand for all Jews who are hidden but also for those who profess their faith, to stand for those he wanted to escape from.

The plot of the novel is based on the famous Beilis case. In the spring of 1911, the body of a thirteen-year-old schoolboy, Andrey Yushchinsky, was found in a cave in the working-class district of Lukyanovka in Kiev. It was covered with nearly fifty wounds that had been made with a stabbing instrument. This was just a few days before the start of Passover. A rumour started immediately claiming that the Jews were responsible for his death as they needed his blood for baking the ritual *matzos* (cracker-like bread made of plain flour and water) Malamud heard the story from his father and used it some forty years later when he wanted to write about injustice in America. Malamud comments as follows:

> I use some of his [Mendel Beilis's] experiences, though not, basically, the man, partly because his life came to less than he had paid for by suffering and endurance, and because I had to have room to invent. To his trials in prison I added something of Dreyfus's and Vanzetti's, shaping the whole to suggest the quality of the afflictions of the Jews under Hitler. These I dumped on the head of poor Yakov Bok…So a novel that began as an idea concerned with injustice in America today has become one set in Russia fifty years ago, dealing with anti-Semitism there. Injustice is injustice (quoted in Abramson 1993, 58).

He did not want to reproduce the true historical facts but rather reconstruct them with the help of fiction, stressing the heroic in an ordinary man who can be considered to embody the essential value of all human beings.

Bok was not a religious person but a "freethinker" (Malamud 1990, 80) and he did not identify himself as a Jew. He tried to escape. In a way, he wanted to change his destiny. During his trip to Kiev and also when he arrives there, he keeps his ethnicity secret. He aspires to a better life, but he can only have a glimpse of it. Everything that he does is doomed to failure: he is denounced by his colleagues because he wants to be fair with his employer.

The workers were cheating on Nikolai Maximovitch and he would not let them get away with it.

The Prosecuting Attorney and the guards make his life miserable. They even use his family to make him sign the confession. His wife, who has left him, comes and asks him to write a letter to the rabbi of the stethl to say that her child is his. She also brings with herself the confession. He accepts to declare that the child is his, although he is perfectly aware that this is not true. He cannot keep track of the days. Night and day blend in the narrative. He even imagines a meeting with the Czar to discuss their problems. The Czar draws a parallel between his son's illness, hemophilia, and the draining of the child's blood for baking ritual matzos. Bok says that whatever his son lacks, so that his blood does not coagulate, that is also absent from the Czar's rule: "'Excuse me, Your Majesty, but what suffering has taught me is the uselessness of suffering, if you don't mind me saying so… In other words, you've made out of this country a valley of bones. You had your chances and pissed them away" (Malamud 1990, 298). But the Czar tries to defend the pogroms by saying: "Water can't be prevented from flowing. They are a genuine expression of the will of the people" (Malamud 1990, 299). Then Bok shoots him and the vision ends. He realizes that, as a Jew, he has to stand up for his rights, because "you can't sit still and see yourself destroyed" (Malamud 1990, 299). Bok stands for all Jews.

Bok suffered because suffering enables him to regain his own identity and realize where he belongs. As I have said earlier in this chapter, suffering is a key element for Malamud. His schlemiels have to suffer in order to become human beings of real value. Bok is a schlemiel because he has to suffer, though he has not committed anything wrong. At the beginning of the novel, he questions his own identity and the reason why he was punished. He realizes that, since the Jews have a covenant with God, they have to act according to it. Whenever they betray or disregard the covenant, God punishes them:

> Having betrayed the covenant with God they have to pay: war, destruction, death, exile – and they take what goes with it. Suffering, they say, awakens repentance, at least in those who can repent. Thus the people of the covenant wear out their sins against the Lord. He then forgives them and offers a new covenant. Why not? This is his nature, everything must begin again, don't ask him why Israel, changed yet unchanged, accepts the new covenant in order to break it by worshipping false gods so that they will ultimately suffer and repent, which they do endlessly. The purpose of the covenant, Yakov thinks, is to create human experience, although human experience baffles God. (Malamud 1990, 216)

He had to suffer so as to experience the depth of the human soul and give meaning to his life. Jews made a covenant with God and they have to keep it. This is the only way to eternal life. I think that Judaism needed to explain all the hardships through the above-mentioned idea, otherwise it would have been impossible to stand on their feet and go on, after so many pogroms. Speaking of the idea of the covenant, Iska Alter remarks: "To reject the contract is to deny not only one's Jewishness but one's humanity as well" (Alter 1981, 169). Thus, we arrived at the most important idea with Malamud, which is being and acting like a real human being. He does not believe in an ethnic group, but rather in an elected community of those who can act according to a value system that many societies and ethnic groups have forgotten.

It was vital for Bok to suffer, but, as he spends more and more time in prison, he becomes a model and even a martyr for other Jews. His lawyer, Ostrovsky, a Jewish member of the Kiev bar, makes the following statement:

> "You suffer for us all," the lawyer said huskily. "I would be honoured to be in your place."
> "It's without honour," Yakov said, wiping his eyes with his fingers, and rubbing his hands together. "It's a dirty suffering."
> "You've got my respect." (Malamud 1990, 273)

Bok wanted a fair trial and not to be pardoned. His attitude toward his people had become one of responsibility and commitment. Malamud believes in the common man and his capacity for moral growth. Bok chooses selflessness instead of self-centeredness. What is very important in his development is that he could suffer for the benefit of humanity. Injustice is injustice for all men, there is no ethnic barrier. Injustice cannot be tolerated; it has to be answered and requires action.

By the end of the novel, Bok, the little man, a non-entity, has become a person whom others envy because he could suffer for a cause. He did not choose to be a martyr, but was chosen. Bok is a real schlemiel, as he shares the same basic characteristics with the other schlemiels of Malamud. The type figure evokes a particular aspect of a culture, Yiddish, in our case. A culture in which heroes take a quirkier form, as obvious in various literary works. The schlemiel is the hero who in the end proves to be stronger than his oppressors. As is the case with Bok and the Jews, whom everybody fear, even the tsar who has unimaginable powers. He is different from other schlemiels because he has to endure several physical abuses and tortures.

Bok's suffering was worthwhile, and he had to accept the responsibility for the needs of others. Malamud believes in the usefulness of suffering for changing people, and this change is a positive one.

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Dávid Csorba

Praxis pietatis and/or recreatio?
Puritan Comprehension of Sport
of the 17th Century Hungarian Calvinists

Lewis Bayly, bishop of Bangor passed remarks on sport in his famous work *The Practice of Piety*: "Make not an occupation of any recreation. The longest use of pleasure is but short; but the pains of pleasure abused are eternal. Use, therefore, lawful recreation so far as it makes thee the fitter in body and mind to do more cheerfully the service of God and the duties of thy calling" (1842, 118). This book had a great influence on the piety of the Hungarian Reformed Church in the 17th century. The aim of this essay is to find some hints and data about how the meaning of sport was interpreted in conduct books in the early modern Hungarian literature.

"Do not be occupied with whatsoever. Even if we live in pleasure for the longest time, it is but a short period; however, punishment [. . .] is eternal. Thus enjoy amusement freely only for so much that it can make your body and mind capable of serving God and doing your other Christian tasks in a better mood. Your work is great and time is short for it [. . .], therefore it is not proper to spend it with idling, vanity, playing and other uselessness" (Medgyesi 1936, 211).[1] Pál Medgyesi translated *The Practice of Piety* into Hungarian as *Praxis pietatis.* In early modernity, it had such a prodigious circulation that it could practically be considered as a bestseller. It could be read as a Protestant pious book that was adequate for public and private purposes; it could also come through as a liturgical handbook. Contrary to idling, vanity, playing and other similar uselessnesses, the text gives a counterexample, namely it advises practicing meditation that comprises a lot of things from daily spiritual renewal to regular physical training (honest exercises for recreation, lawful recreation) (Bayly 1842, 118). The imperfect

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1   All translations are mine.

translation of the first few sentences of the above quotation describes a totally different context as compared to the English text: "Make not an occupation of any recreation. The longest use of pleasure is but short; but the pains of pleasure abused are eternal. Use, therefore, lawful recreation so far as it makes thee the fitter in body and mind to do more cheerfully the service of God and the duties of thy calling." It is good to know, as he writes two sentences later, "[for] a man was not created for sports, plays, and recreation, but zealously to serve God" (Bayly 1842, 118). Medgyesi seems not to have understood the expression and as if he had created a line of synonyms from one element of the three synonymous English expressions (play) in the course of translation. As if the biblical meaning of playing and within that its Old Testament meaning, further on, the semantic circle of ideas of vanity, i.e., pastime not devoted to God, as interpretative background, had led the translator's thought to this solution. "Recreation" had a much more abundant meaning, i.e., sport and recreation in the English-speaking world between the 16th and 18th centuries. The analysis of the history of mentalities demonstrates how *Praxis* can be reread from this viewpoint, i.e., what has the pious handbook got to do with recreation in a broader sense and its synonym of today – sport – in a narrower sense? The contemporary reception of *Praxis pietatis* may have been facilitated by its format and genre (conduct-book). Besides other things, its prevalence was due to its little format that was easy to handle as well as to its linguistic and theological content written in a direct style and based on the daily order of piety. Besides this fact of common knowledge, I would like to emphasize only one factor of successful reception, i.e., the methodological attitude. In the early modern age, it was customary to co-ordinate the bio-physiological rhythm of life and the intellectual-spiritual structure with each other, as if envisioning the "embodied self [. . .] in the visible temporal-spatial structuring materialized in, around, and by the body" (Gaál-Szabó 2011, 18). The intellectual-spiritual training adapting to this coordination and suggesting a systematic lifestyle, further on built on the principle of progressivity was not far from everyday people; what is more, exactly this type of book addressed them indeed. Taking the construction and the anthropological elements of the piety book into consideration; it corresponds to a Christian "training plan." In the course of the analysis of *Praxis pietatis*, I want to find an answer to the following questions of the history of sport and mentalities:

1. What does the notion of recreation mean between the 16th and 18th centuries?

2. What relationship is there between sports and Christians and more precisely between sports and Puritans?
3. What Hungarian textual examples characterize the parallelisms of approach in the *Book of Sports*, which is the most famous writing on the history of sport?

King James I (King of England, 1603–1625) was fond of religious and theological disputes and, as a result of these, he published several canonical decrees, catechisms, prayer books and especially the famous Bible translation, the so-called *King James' version* (1611). He was really graphomaniac. He did not simply regulate the form of a deed or an activity, which he considered incorrect, by decree, but he wrote a theological tractate against them and had the royal press print it. He himself chose the Word of God and prepared the exegesis and the analysis personally. The books by James I were successful due to the Royal Dignity. His book entitled *Basilikon dóron* ('royal gift') contained the King's remonstrances and it was published all over Europe. It was translated expressly for Gábor Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania.[2] The English ruler, "King of Great Britain," wanted to fill his position as "God's general" (Szántó 2000, 189, 193). Besides his innumerable tractates, which he published in 1616 in a volume, he wrote a publication entitled *Kings Majesties Declaration to His Subjects Concerning Lawful Sports to Be Used*, which was really unusual of him. This publication entitled *The Book of Sports* became so famous in the European civilization from Holland to Transylvania and also in North-America (James I. [1618] and Charles I. [1633]) that Robert W. Henderson wrote a monograph on its role and history of impact in 1948. His book against sports, further on the pious publication by Lewis Bayly, his court-chaplain, entitled *Praxis pietatis* contained similar manifestations; both of them were inspired by a moderate Anglican conception. After all, why should the representative of the Stuart-dynasty offer an opinion exactly on sport? It is obvious that his work *A counterblaste to tobacco* (1604) on smoking was supported partly for reasons of national economy and partly for those of fire protection before the famous London fire in 1666 already. (smēocan, i.e., smoking was limited by means of different types of punishment in Debrecen, Hungary, between the 16th and 18th centuries for the same reasons); or a catastrophe that was interpreted as a bad omen at that age was an acceptable reason for his speech against wine drinking. Namely, the roof of a 'public place' (pub) by name Paris Garden collapsed in

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2   For the translation see Szepsi Korotz (1612) and for the genre Hargittay (2001).

London in 1583, which caused the death of one hundred people. According to contemporary argumentation, this must have happened due to wine drinking. In early modern Europe, scientists discussed addiction diseases with reference to healing materials like wine, cognac, tobacco, coffee, cocoa, were soon considered as stimulants (Sandgruber 1986, 11, 28, 59, 91; Birken [1658] 1967 and as for Hungary Tóth 2000).

On the first pages of the *Book of Sports*, two factors are mentioned as motivation: the behavior of the horrible Puritans alienates people from religion and this might as well chase plain subjects into the corrupting influence of Catholicism. The slogan of Puritanism is *praxis pietatis*, and indeed practicing piety needs physical effort, but not towards extensive dynamics but towards asceticism. Condemnation of sports was mainly the habit of Protestant preachers in the English speaking world in general (Schneider 1968, 33; Sandgruber 1986, 11, 28, 59, 91). The expression 'sport' can be substantiated from the 1400s (see *Online Etymology Dictionary*), though it appeared in the common knowledge in the reform period (19th century) in the Hungarian speaking world due to English influence. In the insular kingdom, this notion might have been used for numerous events. Semantically, it correlates with the sphere of notions like *amusement, recreation, playtime, festivity* (Klein 1966, 462; Klein 1967, 496). Ideologically the motivations refer both to the past and the future: the removal of Catholic 'residues' was repeated parrot-fashion (their purpose was to do away with Catholic and superstitious symbols and acts in folk wakes, peasant wedding feasts, carnivals) and the attainment of the establishment of the community of saints, i.e., "the earthly Jerusalem" was desired (see Cromwell's idea of "New Zion," in which he had the role of the pious warrior Gideon or David) (Szántó 2000, 338). In the battles of words on motion culture, it was easy to find arguments from biblical parables through antique authors to 16th century municipal decrees, both pro and contra. Sport did not only comprise mass sport events like the nobility's knightly battles with fatal end in the Middle Ages, but also folk entertainments relating to Catholic feasts (e.g., mud football between villages or a series of festivals lasting for several days similarly to the ancient saturnalia when there was a topsyturvydom at carnivals, at the beginning of May, Pentecost, on St. Stephen's Day, on New Year's Day, etc.). The notion "sport" also comprises other forms of entertainment like playing cards (that is, of course, bad according to English estimation because it is the invention of the culpable French, neither did the Gipsy cards used for fortune-telling get a better estimation), dicing, playing with a ball, dancing, animal fight, etc.

It is not by chance that the supervision of folkways is in the focus of the Puritans' interest, as opposed to them they tried to apply on the contemporary world the Jewish Sabbath-conception and practice and the biblical notion of playing. The former one is well-known; to the interpretation of the latter one, it is proper to know the etymological and exegetic background. Preachers between the 16th and 18th centuries used the Hebrew expressions *cehak* and the Greek expression *paidzein,*[3] whose primary meaning is "laughing" and "playing," in the biblical texts they comprise a lot of other meanings from mocking through village entertainments. As we can read about the primary conditions of Sabbath in the Hungarian version of *Praxis pietatis:*

The true way of keeping the Sabbath is: We have to stop
1. doing all official work,
2. moving cargo
3. buying food,
4. learning any science, craft, or wisdom except for the Holy Scripture
5. doing any kind of entertainment and playing games,
6. entertaining guests, reveling and drinking certain drinks,
7. dealing with any kind of worldly things. (Medgyesi 1936, 285–287)

György Martonfalvi Tóth reorganizes the lines in his speech on *Christian celebration* in the passage of warnings entitled 'Benefits' as it follows:

1. Doing regular work,
2. Entertainments and games,
3. Entertaining guests, debauching and drinking certain drinks,
4. Ornamenting, titivating yourselves,
5. Idling, sitting in front of the house, gossiping, carnal conversations, visiting each other, swapping stories on worldly things, sleeping, etc. (Martonfalvi 1663, B2r–v)

This passage is obviously the compression and amplification of the above part of Praxis. He amplified point 2. with an explanatory clause that clearly refers to sport events but it does not come from *Praxis*: "entertainments and games,

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3   Hungarian sources, e.g., Szentpéteri's *Táncz pestise (The Plague of Dance)* (1697). Its basic texts are well-known (2Moses 32: 6, 18–19; Isaiah 58: 13–14; 1Cor. 10: 7), and from *Praxis*, through Amesius, Voetius to Hungarian authors (György Martonfalvi, István Szentpéteri) these are biblical texts generally used and applied.

further on playing with a ball, dicing"; again he closed it with a poetical interrogation that is one of the elements of *ubi sunt* sentence structure in Praxis: "That is to say, can a chastised soul have a greater joy than going to his Prince's house to put his signet to the remittance of its sin" (Martonfalvi 1663, B2r; Medgyesi 1936, 287).

The Puritans of the Netherlands, the followers of the so-called *Nadere reformatie* published numerous essays on the above topic. Gisbertus Voetius, professor of Theology in Utrecht handled every folk game with pretty aloofness. This is what can be read in the Hungarian translation of István Szentpéteri: "Guard yourself against games that – casu et temeritate – are conducted by inexplicable incidents and adventurousness; thus one's material goods and money are endangered (Szentpéteri 1699, E2v). They rejected the forms of games related to both lottery and luck. Dicing, playing cards, walking on a rope, pouring molten tin into water, rotating cribble, and even watching comedies were prohibited according to Voetius and Guilelmus Amesius, a Puritan theologian, who escaped from England. The famous Flemish painter from Antwerpen, Pieter Bruegel, painted more than 50 forms of entertainment in his painting *Children's games* in 1541. Half a century later all but the swatter game would have been banned because of their Catholic or superstitious character in the Northern Protestant state, in Holland of today, if the sovereign power had sanctioned it.[4]

Medgyesi's *Praxis pietatis* enumerates the list of undesirable activities as it follows:[5]

> Think it over indeed if you do the following,
> Dancing, masquerade (in the original text: stage-playing)
> Playing cards, dicing, playing backgammon, playing rascally tricks [=the meaning of the latter one was in old Hungarian robbery, fornication, mischievousness, but in the original text we read chess-playing!],
> Shooting,
> Playing with a ball [in the original text: bowling],
> Animal fight [in the original text: bear-baiting],
> Dancing [in the original text: carousing],
> Boozing [in the original text: tippling],
> and other kinds of foolish asininities [in the original text: fooleries of Robin Hood],
> Making merry [in the original text: morris-dances, pagan pageants in masques at Easter],

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4   See game Nr. 13. on the rear board of Kass, Lukácsy, and Weöres (1981).
5   For this see Bayly (1842, 161).

Aperies [in the original text: wakes, spring festival],
Pageants [in the original text: May-games], would God bless you and would the
Sabbath (i.e., Sunday for Christians) make you free to do anything? (Medgyesi
[1636] 1936, 289)

It is obvious that spring festivals in English speaking countries do not
have a Hungarian counterpart but the translation of motions like pageant,
mummery, dancing resolves the semantic gap. For the expression 'acting a
part before somebody' the word humbuggery (later underhandedness) is
appropriate, however, Pál Medgyesi did not see any chess players, as a result,
combinatorial skills were condemned as lechery.[6] István Szentpéteri used the
above notions of the word "game" as it appeared in the Bible at the beginning
of the 18th century. However, it is obvious that this is not only about the
17th and 18th century-comprehension of "game" in the region of Debrecen,
but also about the preachers' estimation of the notion *game*, which was a
common cultural phenomenon at the early modern age. These reprimanding
devotional writings wanted to address all readers even if they were just a
little bit educated in religion, which did not seem impossible knowing the
structure of instruction at that age, namely, all levels of the instruction from
primary to higher education were imbued with a theological approach.

As far as the format of the publication is concerned, the best one was a
booklet of small format that fitted in the waistcoat-pocket; it was called a
"vest-pocket edition." The authors chose the genre of the so-called conduct
book because of the consideration concerning rhetoric and contents: besides
polemizing, argumentative, warning chapters on lifestyle, the texts offered
also practical principles and practices of conduct, which balanced on the
border of a sermon and a home reading. They offered practices of daily rituals
and laid down the activities according to the principles of Christian life, thus
to "dynamicize [Christian memory] through repetition" (Gaál-Szabó 2017,
78). The terminology created a symbolic field of force, which helped mental
preparations for a pious life. The conduct book is like a recreation book of
today (e.g., a book on *pilates* or *thai chi*): it starts with the description of
spiritual-philosophical fundamental principles, then rules come followed
by exercises divided into daily training. According to the recommendation,
these physical exercises are easy to perform but require regularity; drawing

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6   130 years after this translation the automated chess board invented by a Hungarian named
     Farkas Kempelen became world famous (1769). This is a promising leap in the history of
     science! In the background of the misunderstanding of the Calvinist preacher might have
     been the notion of *chase-playing* and its biblical connotation that was condemnable in his
     eyes.

parallels with our time we can say that spiritual harmony together with stretching elements gives the basis of training.

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2.

GENDER, MYTH, AND THE GOTHIC

Ottilia Veres

Transgression and Metamorphosis in Ted Hughes' "Pygmalion"

In his *Tales from Ovid* (1997), Ted Hughes retells twenty-four tales from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (first published in 8 AD; first English translation by William Caxton, in 1480). Hughes' adaptations are powerful versions of the Latin classic, unrhymed poems in their own right, written in a forceful language and vigorous rhythm. Pygmalion's tale tells the story of a melancholic sculptor who shuns real women's company and falls in mad pursuit for the ivory statue of a woman he carves. My discussion of the myth of Pygmalion will consider Ovid's "original" and Ted Hughes' version of the myth relating my reading of the tale to J. Hillis Miller's discussion of the myth in his *Versions of Pygmalion* (1990). Although Ovid's version of the myth embodies the stereotype of man as active creator and woman as a passive adjunct to male fantasy (Graham-Smith 1993, 86), my argument is that Hughes' adaptation of the myth presents a more subtle and nuanced picture of women. I wish to look at the act of metamorphosis as well as the motifs of the spectre and that of transgression with special interest on the significance of the trope of prosopopoeia.

As Hillis Miller rightly observes, Pygmalion's myth differs from most of the other myths told by Ovid in that this myth "is a tale in which something inanimate comes alive, rather than the other way around. [. . .] If most of the metamorphoses in the *Metamorphoses* go from human to inhuman, life to death, animate to inanimate, the coming alive of Galatea goes the other way around" (Miller 1997, 3). The major argument of Miller's reading of the myth is that the metamorphosis in Pygmalion's myth stages the literalizing of the figure of speech called prosopopoeia. Galatea's metamorphosis reads as the literalizing allegory of the face-giving prosopopoeia: "This trope ascribes a face, a name, or a voice to the absent, the inanimate, or the dead" (Miller

1997, 4). In what follows, I am interested in Ted Hughes' staging of this metamorphosis focusing on the development of the female figure as well as on the motif of Pygmalion's transgression and sin in creating and falling in love with Galatea.

The beginning of Pygmalion's story in Ovid picks up the thread of the previous story in Book X of Metamorphoses. Pygmalion, we learn, shuns the company of earthly women whom he finds imperfect and wicked and is therefore disgusted with their faults. These earthly women are referred to as "the foul Propoetides" (Ovid 1958, 81) who denied Venus divinity and therefore Venus' wrath punished them to be the first prostitutes to sell their bodies: "their shame vanished and the blood of their faces hardened" – that is, they were transformed into stone – and "they lost the power to blush" (Ovid 1958, 81). In Hughes' transcription: "their features hardened / like their hearts. / Soon they shrank / to the split-off, heartless, treacherous hardness / Of sharp shards of flint. / The spectacle of these cursed women sent / Pygmalion the sculptor slightly mad. / He adored woman, but he saw / The wickedness of these particular women / Transform, as by some occult connection, / Every woman's uterus to a spider" (Hughes 1997, 145). So, surfeited by these cursed women, Pygmalion develops a phobia against living women, fantasizing the metamorphosis of living women's sexual organ into a frightful spider. He, therefore, creates his own harmless, innocuous "woman," the ivory statue. In this respect, the statue would represent the lack of love and the retreat from reality (Annegret Dinter quoted in Mestyán 2011, 1). Interestingly, the story of the Propoetides dramatizes the opposite of Galatea's metamorphosis: while Galatea transforms from stone to flesh, the Propoetides transform from flesh to stone, both metamorphoses occurring with Venus' divine intervention (Németh 1996, 123). Sickened from the stone figures of the Propoetides, Pygmalion turns towards another stone figure, one that he himself carves, in which/whom he starts seeing the unattainable ideal of femininity – the opposite of the foul Propoetides. "This compensatory gesture does not quite make sense," Miller argues (1990, 3). His statue is, however, snow-white, "metaphorically possessing the quality of purity and innocence in contrast to the shameless Propoetides.

It is an aversion from women and a "slightly mad" state of mind that drives him to live unmarried, "without a partner of his couch" (Ovid 1958, 82), in "solitary confinement" (Hughes 1997, 145). So, he starts where Orpheus ends up after losing his beloved Eurydice for a second time and forever: he is disgusted with women. Ovid's version of Pygmalion's story is one of the tales told by Orpheus, who is mourning the loss of his wife and renounces the love

of women. Orpheus' recounting of the story of the statue of a woman or a dead woman coming alive purports as a wish fulfilment dream and as part of his work of mourning, dreaming/fantasizing about bringing the dead back to life. Both Orpheus and Pygmalion are driven by their overflowing passions but while Orpheus chooses to shun women's company after Eurydice's loss, choosing young boys' company instead, Pygmalion – a sculptor – chooses to create a "woman" of his own, in stone. Orpheus has "verbal power over death, while Pygmalion has a visual and tactile power over dead material" (Antal 2009, 138). In his solitude, Pygmalion experiences a lack, a desire for love, and he chooses to fill this lack by carving a "beauty more perfect than that of any woman ever born" (Ovid 1958, 82). He is driven by a "dream" (Hughes 1997, 146), an image of fantasy of "the perfect body of a perfect woman" (Hughes 1997, 146).

It is in the presentation of the figure of Galatea that Hughes' text most significantly differs from Ovid's. The dream that Pygmalion has "Was not so much the dream of a perfect woman / As *a spectre, sick of unbeing*, / That had taken possession of his body / To find herself a life" (Hughes 1997, 146, emphasis added). Unlike in Ovid, where "she" appears as a statue – immobile, passive – Hughes' first idea and image of Galatea is that of a spectre woman, (a dream figure of) a ghost with her own will, "sick of unbeing," suggesting a will and a striving to undo this state of unbeing and replace it with a state of being. In his dream/fantasy ("He dreamed / Unbrokenly awake as asleep" [Hughes 1997, 146]) "she" is an in-between category, a ghost, both dead and alive. Hughes' lines suggest a more active presence and a less dead/inanimate being, who (in Pygmalion's fantasy) takes possession of the artist (rather than wait for him) to "find herself a life," that is, to carve herself. She barely needs him, she almost does the work for him, he is almost asleep.[1]

This is a marked difference of Galatea's figure. Hughes' lines suggest a Pygmalion who would be a tool in the spectre-woman's hands, a tool she would make use of in order that she may live. In Ovid's text the idea of "using the other" is clearly related to the figure of Pygmalion who "makes use" of Galatea, as Miller also argues (1990, 8). Hughes' lines, however, formulate the opposite here. The active verbs of the following lines reinforce the idea

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1 Romanian poet Nichita Stănescu goes even further in his poem about the myth ("Către Galateea," [To Galatea]), swapping the active-passive, creator-created roles of the male and female protagonists, having Pygmalion praying to Galatea to give birth to him (rather than the other way around): "*[. . .] nu mai am răbdare și genunchiul mi-l pun în pietre / și mă rog de tine, / naște-mă*" (1965); rough translation: I have no more patience and set my knees on stones, and pray to you, give birth to me.

of a more active, less power-deprived Galatea: "She moved into his hands, / She took possession of his fingers" (1997, 146). Lacking a subject, the next line leaves open the question who it is that actually performs the act of sculpting, him or her: "She moved into his hands, / She took possession of his fingers / And began to sculpt a perfect woman" (Hughes 1997, 146). As the subject of the previous sentences is "she," the lack of a subject in the following line suggests that "she" remains the subject for the act of sculpting as well. This image of the spectre-Galatea possessing and mastering the male artist in Hughes's poem goes against the often-resented passive female image of women in Ovid.[2] This fantasy-figure of Galatea possesses Pygmalion finding herself a life through his hands, a "perfect figure," "life-size, ivory," "as if alive" (146).[3] The repetition of the "as if" phrase in the consecutive lines strengthens the inversion of the active-passive roles of Pygmalion and Galatea. As if it were not his own hands, he passively "watched his hands shaping a woman / As if he were still asleep" (Hughes 1997, 146). In Hughes' adaptation, Ovid's dead statue of the woman turns to be "as if alive," while Pygmalion is as if asleep, almost dead. The first line of the following stanza – "So he had made a woman" (1997, 146) – reads like a not entirely convincing summing-up of the process of carving: after all, it was he who had carved the statue though under the possession and direction of a spectre-woman.

One might suggest that in some way Galatea's spectre-figure might be seen as the uncanny "continuation" or double image of the Propoetides.[4] As if, in the course of Pygmalion and Galatea's "love story," Galatea posed as or

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2   In "Womanufacture," the starting point of A. R. Sharrock's reading of the Pygmalion myth in Ovid is that "woman perceived is an art-object" and "paradigmatic of this phenomenon is the myth of Pygmalion" (36). For the problem of female silence in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* see for example Allison Sharrock's argument in "Gender and Sexuality," claiming that an "ivory girl lacks all agency" (2002, 101). Other feminist readings of Ovid argue that in the portrayal of "silent females in male fantasies" – such as Daphne, Philomela, or Procne – Ovid proves a misogynist, as well as in that of Galatea who "has no spoken word" (Dealy 2015, 20). Contemporary English poet Carol Ann Duffy gives a straightforward feminist reading of Pygmalion and Galatea's story in her poem entitled "Pygmalion's Bride" (in *The World's Wife* [1999]) doing away with Galatea's passive, silent character.

3   The phrase brings reminiscences of the opening lines of Robert Browning's famous poem "My Last Duchess:" "*That's my last Duchess painted on the wall*, / Looking as if she were alive." Like Ovid's Galatea, Browning's last duchess is the quintessential example of both a painted (work-of-art) and a silenced wife – also "signif[ying] her lack of control over the events" (Gaál-Szabó 2011, 95).

4   Somewhat like the ghostly figure of Bertha Mason in Charlotte Brontë's novel, a ghostly double of Jane Eyre, doing and acting what Jane is incapable to, acting out her repressed rage.

played the role of the ghost of the Propoetides, the women Pygmalion *did not* love, assuming a community of destiny in their shared confinement in stone. The Propoetides are changed into stone as a punishment for being the wrong kind of women and Galatea here acts as a spectre image, "sick of unbeing," as if repeating and willing to change their fate by bringing an end to their entrapment in stone. Assuming a community of destiny in their confined womanhood, she carves herself in stone so that through her metamorphosis into flesh she could liberate these women back into life. In this respect, if one reads her ghostliness as an act of companionship with her "soul-mates," what she "does" in Hughes' version of the myth is a transgressive feminist act: she defies her role of the passive, objectified woman in Ovid.

At the same time, Hughes' wording – spectre – identifies and grabs the very essence of Galatea's double nature, dead and alive at the same time ("spectre" is a synonym for "undead") and it also formulates the essence and nature of metamorphosis itself, a half-way, in-between experience, neither death, nor life, a liminal state of being (Miller 1990, 2) – a place itself that "signifies a transitory phase [. . .] on the margins of society, yet within it" (Gaál-Szabó 2013, 103). The figure of a spectre also grasps the "problem" of metamorphoses: the fact that one can rarely capture the actual transition, there is either *before* or *after*, rarely does one get access to what is in-between. By metamorphosis, that process of change is understood whereby a being transforms into another being representing another form of life, a new category of existence (Pierre Brunel quoted in Bényei 2013, 23). This process of change presumes the transformation of the essence of the subject and the death of the former subject which ensues that the subject has never been fully identical with itself (Bényei 2013, 24). So metamorphosis undermines the idea of a self-identical subject. That which/The one that transforms surpasses its own boundaries, the essence of the subject changes. Metamorphosis is the definitive and irreversible leaving behind of a given form of existence and in this respect, it is like death, but in contrast to the finality of death, it signifies the continuity of life (Brunel quoted in Bényei 2013, 24).

Galatea is either statue or flesh/alive, one does not really see the transition and, indeed, Pygmalion gets infatuated by the statue precisely because *he* does not fully see the stone-flesh differentiation about her; for him *it* is *she*, the myth thus setting in its focus the blurring of boundaries between art and reality (Bökös 2017, 139). Completely absorbed and enchanted, he starts making love to the statue "so palpably a woman" (Hughes 1997, 147). The problem of Pygmalion's absorption with the statue and his falling in love is that the statue is "his child;" "his own art amazed him" (Hughes 1997, 146),

he is her creator and therefore, as Hillis Miller argues, his love for the figure is an act of transgression, of autoerotism and narcissism: "For Pygmalion the other is not really other. Pygmalion has himself made Galatea. She is the mirror image of his desire. His relation to her is not love for another [. . .]. It is a reciprocity in which the same loves the same" (Miller 1990, 4). Sharrock and Barkan point out that Narcissus' story is closely related to Pygmalion's story (Barkan 1986, 76), Pygmalion's "art-object becomes a love-object" (Sharrock 1991, 36). Being "a relationship in which there is no otherness, the same mates with the same," symbolically their relationship is incest, trespassing for which instead of him his grandchildren have to pay (Miller 1990, 6, 11). Pygmalion escapes scot-free but his punishment is deferred on his offspring. His punishment for his ungoverned passion is the breaking down of his lineage (Miller 1990, 6-8).

The payment for his forbidden love falls not on his girl child (Paphos) but on his grandson Cyniras and his daughter, Myrrha, who fall in love and make love to each other. Cyniras is Paphos's son, and his tale follows right after Pygmalion's as if suggesting that coming generations have to pay for the parents'/fathers' transgressions. With reminiscences to Oedipus's story, Cinyras' narrative starts with the following foreword: "Cinyras was her son and, had he been without offspring, might have been counted fortunate. A horrible tale I have to tell" (Ovid 1958, 85). Offsprings have to atone and pay penance for their fathers' deeds. The curse falls on Cyniras and his daughter, Myrrha. Her story recalls Oedipus's story: "Think how many ties, how many names you are confusing! Will you be the rival of your mother, the mistress of your father? Will you be called the sister of your son, the mother of your brother?" (Ovid 1958, 89) At night, "consumed by ungoverned passion" (Ovid 1958, 91), in her distress, Myrrha is about to commit suicide. Pitied by her old nurse, Myrrha finally ends up in her father's incestuous bed, leaving his chamber "full of her father, with crime conceived within her womb" (Ovid 1958, 97). As a punishment "the earth closed over her legs" (Ovid 1958, 99), suggesting that this punishment sends her back into Galatea's statue state/condition: the earth becomes her footing as the earth/stone used to be her great-grandmother's footing. Almost like a statue, Myrrha's skin changes to "hard bark" (Ovid 1958, 99). As a remembrance of her sin, she – as a myrrh tree – keeps on dripping tears. Out of the "pregnant tree" the "misbegotten child," the beautiful Adonis, is born. Even Venus gets punished for fulfilling Pygmalion's wish; she is doomed to fall in love with the mortal Adonis.

It is the problem of resemblance that Pygmalion's story addresses. On finishing his art, Pygmalion finds it so perfect that it conceals to be art, even

he forgets it is (only) art and is deluded by it: "The face is that of a real maiden" (Ovid 1958, 83). Miller sees Pygmalion's mistake in "taking prosopopoeia literally" (taking a figure of speech literally) (Miller 1997, 5). Jonathan Bate notes that "it is the force of Pygmalion's art, imagination and will-power which seems to have done the trick. The girl becomes a reward for his skill and perseverance; the statue was made with an art that in concealing its own art surpassed nature, and the reward or that triumph is that it becomes life" (1994, 236). He becomes "inflamed with love for this semblance of a form" (Ovid 1958, 82). He kisses and caresses it trying "to devine an answering kiss of life" (Hughes 1997, 147).[5] He even speaks to her but no response comes yet; he would not believe the lips were "only ivory" (Hughes 1997, 147). In a symbolic defloration, written in a highly erotic language, "His fingers gripped her hard / To feel flesh yield under the pressure / That half wanted to bruise her / Into a proof of life" (Hughes 1997, 147). He flatters her with all sorts of love-gifts, some of them literal enclosures: "birds in pretty cages," "costly rings," "coiled ropes of pearl" (Hughes 1997, 148). After fully adorning her, he instantly strips everything off her, getting dazzled by the "greater beauty of her *naked* beauty" (Hughes 1997, 148, emphasis added), embracing her, whispering endearments in her ears. The use of the word "naked" (instead of "nude," the word that would refer to a statue) functions according to the logic of prosopopoeia: it brings the dead alive before it would come alive. Metamorphosis occurs in language before it would occur in reality. Pygmalion's prayer to Venus reads: "Send me a wife. And let her *resemble* [. . .] the woman I have carved in ivory" (Hughes 1997, 148, emphasis added) (in Ovid: "'I pray to have as wife,' he did not dare add 'my ivory maid,' but said, 'one *like* my ivory maid'" [1958, 84, emphasis added]). He dares to ask for a resemblance only, but Venus understands his message: *not* let her be *like* it, but – a contradiction in itself – let *it* be *her*. He cannot settle for the coldness

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5   In an attempt to "devine" a response from her companion (Friday), in a passage in J.M. Coetzee's novel *Foe* [1986], the protagonist Susan Barton (indirectly) evokes the myth of Pygmalion*: "Oh*, Friday, how can I make you understand the cravings felt by those of us who live in a world of speech to have our questions answered! It is like our desire, when we kiss someone, to feel the lips we kiss respond to us. Otherwise would we not be content to bestow our kisses on statues, the cold statues of kings and queens and gods and goddesses? Why do you think we do not kiss statues, and sleep with statues in our beds, men with the statues of women and women with the statues of men, statues carved in postures of desire? Do you think it is only because marble is cold? Lie long enough with a statue in your bed, with warm covers over the two of you, and the marble will grow warm. No, it is not because the statue is cold but because it is dead, or rather, because it has never lived and never will" (Coetzee 1986, 79). Pygmalion does bestow his kisses on the dead statue.

of stone, he craves for its substantial part, her essence, its soul (Bökös 2017, 137, 140). In Frank Justus Miller's English translation of Ovid, before Venus' feast, the statue is consistently referred to as "it," whereas after Pygmalion's prayer it is referred to as "she."

The element of wax in the act of metamorphosis of ivory to flesh in Galatea's transformation (in both Ovid's and Hughes's versions) recalls the motif of wax in Psyche's transgressive act of love for Cupid. Pygmalion gets home "fevered with deprivation," feeling insatiable desire and sexual excitement for his "woman:" he "fell on her, embraced her, and kissed her / Like one collapsing in a desert / To drink at a dribble from the rock" and instead of the cold ivory he finds warmth and softness under his fingers: "warm and soft as warm soft wax" (Hughes 1997, 149). In Apuleius' tale of Cupid (Eros) and Psyche (in *The Golden Ass,* also known as *Metamorphoses*), Psyche is supposed never to seek to see the face of her lover who visits her nightly, hiding his identity in the dark. However, on her sisters' insistence, Psyche breaks her promise, lighting a candle in the light of which she discovers the identity of her lover. She sees Cupid while he is sleeping, but wakes and scars him with her candle, spilling hot wax on his skin. Warm wax is a motif the two stories of illicit love share: Psyche gives herself away and ruins love by spilling hot wax, while the motif of warm wax in Pygmalion's myth signifies the moment of metamorphosis itself. It is when Pygmalion feels the warm wax that *it* – the ivory – comes alive. In Hughes, language shares Pygmalion's doubt. Though he presumes/fears it is alive, the rhetoric of the poem still doubts, referring to the just-born figure as "ivory" and "it", only a moment later realizing and believing that "it was no longer ivory:" "*her* pulse throbbed under his thumb" (Hughes 1997, 150, emphasis added). It is a supreme moment: that which is most longed for and desperately desired delivers itself into his hands. Feeling awe (catharsis), Pygmalion falls on his knees sobbing his thanks to Venus.

The "birth" or coming alive of Galatea displays yet another marked difference in Ovid's and Hughes' versions of the tale. While in Ovid her only gesture of agency is a blush ("[he] pressed with his lips real lips at last. The maiden felt the kisses, blushed and, lifting her timid eyes up to the light, she saw the sky and her lover at the same time" [1958, 85]), in Hughes she has a more active presence blushing at her readiness and naturalness to respond to the man's kisses: "She woke to his kisses and blushed / To find herself kissing / One who kissed her" (Hughes 1997, 150). Instead of an image of a passive woman, Hughes' Galatea kisses back. With her blush, she overwrites the Propoetides's fate. While "their shame vanished and the blood of their

faces hardened and they lost the power to blush" (Ovid 1958, 81), coming alive, Galatea does the opposite: she is born with shame, blushes, and her features come to life. In an act of solidarity with the women transformed (caged) into stone, she acts for them too, leaving behind stoneness, stepping into life, embracing Pygmalion to herself: "opened her eyes for the first time / To the light and her lover together" (Hughes 1997, 150). On her "birth" (as a woman) the communion between her and Pygmalion takes place right away as "after nine moons Pygmalion's bride / Bore the child, Paphos" (Hughes 1997, 150). Hughes' Galatea is more of a partner to Pygmalion than the passive sufferer of what happens to her.

As Jonathan Bate remarks, in Ovid "Hughes found his mythic paradigm for the crisis of Western man's self-exile from Nature" (1994, 28). Through Ovid "he could expose his own terrors and passions unguardedly" (Gammage 1999, 128). Hughes captures brilliantly "human passion *in extremis*" that is for him Ovid's chief interest: "passion where it combusts, or levitates, or mutates into an experience of the supernatural" (Hughes 1997, ix). Pygmalion's tale is a portrayal of a tortured subjectivity and of extremes of passion that border on the grotesque. Hughes is interested in a tale of love in the most intense form imaginable, of mythic dimensions and unendurable intensity, his chief concern being "sheer excess, where the all-too-human victim stumbles out into the mythic arena and is transformed" (Hughes 1997, x).

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Dana Percec

The Canonization of Detective Fiction
Two Case Studies: Agatha Christie and P. D. James

One of the obvious, long-term consequences of postmodernism has been the shift of aesthetic hierarchies in the critical reception of literary genres. Clear-cut distinctions and authoritative assessments of importance and relevance, which were still *de rigoeur* only a few decades ago, are now frowned upon as traditional approaches to literary criticism and theory have faded away. Consequently, boundaries have become more fluid in determining the genre to which fiction is assigned, as well as in placing a literary work within the boundaries of the canon. In the following pages, I will try to argue about the progressive upgrading of detective fiction, since its early days in the 19th century, while offering this insight a gendered touch, commenting on the contribution of some female detective fiction writers to the road taken by this type of fiction towards canonization.

A Genre with a History

While classical and well-established genres have been known since ancient times, the detective fiction is a genre whose inception and development are to be regarded less in aesthetic terms and more in the light of the socio-economic circumstances which might have triggered them. Critics have long observed that the early days of whodunits coincide with, or are a direct consequence of, the emergence of a coherent police force, at least in what concerns countries like Britain, France, or the United States (Priestman 2006). In Britain, Home Minister Sir Robert Peel oversaw the creation of London's first organized police force, his reforms, started in 1829, earning the new profession the sobriquet *bobby*. Before this, public order had been maintained by the army or by volunteers, night watchmen and constables.

As London's Metropolitan Police, headquartered in Scotland Yard, grew into a professionalized law enforcement corps, a cultural interest in this new job was also coagulated. Across the Channel, in France, also in the 1820s, the first police department was organized under the supervision of the famous Eugène François Vidocq, considered the father of modern criminology, the combined methods of investigation which have been used ever since in police and detective work. Vidocq is also regarded as the first genuine detective in history, the most probable source of inspiration for Poe's Auguste Dupin, an early prototype who uses logical deduction and performs a profession that will later secure the popularity of the whodunit. It is not by accident that Poe's hero is French and his stories anticipate the establishment of the metropolitan police in several American departments, since the American writer was familiar with the activities of Vidocq and the French Sureté Nationale.

As the 19th century progresses, forensic investigation becomes a common motif in the realistic novels of writers like Wilkie Collins or Charles Dickens, even if it will take half a century for the most famous detective to be born, in the popular fiction of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. The detective, though, seems to be a natural product of the Victorian society, with its respect for social order and norms, its obsession for morality and its establishment of a new class, the bourgeoisie. In a changing world, whose values have shifted considerably towards a quantifiable form of prestige, but also where displacements of population have taken place, with high density in the older and newer urban areas, the society witnesses a considerable increase of the crime rate. In this context, the new police force and its partners, the gentlemen detectives, guarantee the respectability and credibility of an institution which works well and safely.

Early crime stories, such as those recorded by the Newgate Calendar, in the late 18th century, focus on the sensational and on the typology of the criminal. Later, the focus shifts towards the investigation of the crime, while the main character is no longer the criminal, but the policeman. Reminiscences of this early vogue can be seen in romanticized crime stories, in which the motivation of the criminal is a bit controversial – Victor Hugo's Jean Valjean is a complete hero, unlike his detective pursuer and antagonist, Javert, presented as a narrow-minded, monomaniacal civil servant, while Dickens' Abel Magwitch is sketched in both black and white shades. Victorian middle-class morality then renounces these tendencies and imposes a genteel model, in which the establishment (represented by both the victims and the sleuths) triumphs against subversive manifestations

(crimes and criminals). The detective is always a representative of the middle class, embodying its most respected values: pragmatism, common sense, conformism, omniscience and efficiency. As one of the middling sort, the sleuth bridges the gap between the extremes of the society, having access both to the highest echelons of the ruling class and to the darkest corners of the underclass.

Genre and Gender

Sally R. Munt argues that, if the logic behind the appearance of (male) detective fiction is related to the social reality of the institutions, female detectives tend to feature in whodunits only after the first women are admitted into the police force – in London, this happens in 1882 and in Chicago, one of the first American police departments with an inclusive gender policy, in 1893 (Munt 1994, 3). In a vast anthology, Leslie S. Klinger (2018) records the "forgotten" female detectives and writers between 1850 and 1917: while the first female detective was featured in a novel by a male author, Mrs G. in *The Female Detective* (1864) by Andrew J. Forrester Jr., the first crime novel written by a woman appeared in 1855 (Caroline Clive published under the pseudonym of Paul Ferrole), and the first crime novel published by a woman who signed with her own name appeared in 1859 (the American Harriet Prescott Spofford). Sally R. Munt continues by evoking the apparent "sizzling irrelevance" of female heroines in early detective fiction, where they don't seem to "act", but only to "react" to men (1994, 5). She thinks that the form and the content of the detective script are fundamentally masculine, the sub-genres which are spawned bearing evidence of this: police novels and novellas, spy books, adventure stories, thrillers, etc. She concludes that this "tradition invokes a progressive model of fathers and sons, similar to Harold Bloom's framework of influence, where each writer is fully aware of writing within the shadow of his predecessor, but revises his text to push out the form and relate it to a particular milieu" (Munt 1994, 3). In this equation, the aesthetic and critical response consists of the (male) writer eliciting the (male and female) reader's respect for the male hero detective.

Conversely, Glenwood Irons (2015) records more than a hundred British and American women writers, contemporary with or even preceding the great male detective fiction of the 19th century, who have obviously contributed to the establishment of the genre of crime fiction as we know it today. She thinks the reason why this reality, proven by consistent quantitative research, has been ignored is due to the authority of Agatha Christie as the most

important (if not the sole) female author of this genre. She goes on to observe that, in the past several decades, especially since the 1970s and 1980s, there have been more than two hundred examples, not only in print, but especially on television and the big screen, of female heroines rewriting the archetypal example of the male hero, with their outgoing personalities and somewhat aggressive manner. This side of the gender argument is shared by Sally R. Munt, who analyzes female-authored texts from 1866 to 1950 (no fewer than four hundred in her account) and proposes a few specific features which later will be borrowed by generic (or all-gender) detective fiction, such as self-consciousness, irony and parody, which contribute to the "feminization" of the genre "by a process of intrepid infiltration" (1994, 5). She also offers a social commentary regarding the presence of the female detective in late 19th-century fiction as a documentation of new gender-related realities: while the lady detective works for pleasure just like the gentleman detective (even if there always seems to be rather good money in Victorian forensic investigation, at least in that of the Sherlock Holmes type), there are also working female detectives, who find in this area profitable and respectable employment, getting equipped with a freedom of movement rarely allowed in women of any class.

Glenwood Irons observes that the "sisters" of detective fiction have been responsible for the constant metamorphosis of the genre into an ever fresher form. While the male model seems "monolithic" in its hard-boiled form, the woman detective displays a much wider variety, bearing evidence to diverse codes of behaviour, different power relations and cultural realities. Most importantly, they are generally less individualistic, striving not only towards solving the case, but also towards the cohesion of the community in which they live and work. She goes as far as to identify a geographic pattern, noticing that the American detectives follow Raymond Chandler's hard-boiled model with more obstinacy, irrespective of gender, while the British female detective is "more genteel" and conventional.

Agatha Christie or the Professional Touch

In the gender-oriented approach, some critics tend to put the blame on Agatha Christie, rather than praise her as an ice-breaker and a major contributor to the canonization of the detective story, which travelled all the way from pulp fiction to highbrow literature. Leslie S. Klinger's anthology (2018) of women authors of whodunits is entitled *In the Shadow of Agatha Christie* as if it were the Dame's fault that early 19th-century lady sleuths remained

eventually less famous than Miss Marple. Glenwood Irons applauds "the sheer volume" of detective fiction written by women while deploring its ignorance, caused, in her view, by "the quintessential representation" and the "omnipresence" of Christie (2015, 2). She thinks that the contemporary diversity of female sleuths was possible due to Agatha Christie's death (in 1976) which, another fortunate coincidence, occured just after Betty Friedan published her influential *The Feminine Mystique* (in 1963). Such critics observe that, while the classical sleuth embodied by Miss Marple mirrored some of the social realities of post-war Europe – from endemic spinsterhood to economic depression – serious problems, such as those which gave rise to the murder and troubled the community, were not faced in the genteel detective's sitting room and the aseptic environment of the idyllic English village. It also suffered from a "residual Victorianism", while newer stories seem less influenced by their antecedents.

I would like to argue, however, that Christie's role cannot be diminished even if a democratization of the detective story's content is intended, since she contributed decisively to the canonization of the genre, not with the elitist touch of her characters, but, rather, with the scientific orientation she gave her fictional work. This professional touch makes her novels not only very convincing but, by her choice of a recurrent murder weapon, also somehow atemporal, independent of fashions and technologies which come and go. Admitting, both in her diary and in interviews, that she had little knowledge and even less interest in ballistics, Agatha Christie fills her stories with small quantities of actual violence and blood, while displaying a disconcerting knowledge of the art of poisoning. A royal occupation in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, poisoning came to have a diminished impact as of the late 19th century, after numerous advances in medicine, chemistry and forensic investigation. Agatha Christie, though, makes extensive use of it in most of her fiction, relying on her very solid personal experience, gained during the First World War when, like many women, she worked first as a nurse, then as a chemist's assistant in her native town, Torquay. The Dame notes in her diary that, at a certain moment, she was so good at it, that she prepared better potions than the chief chemist himself.

Katherine Harkup (2016) proposes a comprehensive index of all the poisonous substances Christie employs in her novels and stories, no fewer than 80 plots benefitting from the presence of the most widespread poisons (arsenic, cyanide, strychnine), less common ones (nicotine, thalium, taxine), or invented drugs (Serenite, Benvo, Calmo). An avid reader of William Martindale's *Extra Pharmacopeia, The Pharmaceutical Journal* and the press

reporting cases of murder from the 1850s well into the 1920s, Agatha Christie did a thorough research before proposing a detective plot with a poison in it, evidence being her work notebooks. Numbers 52 and 53 deal almost exclusively with poisons – she is concerned with chemical composition, dosage, symptoms, cure, detection, the poisons' reaction with other substances, etc. The notebooks also prove she kept a constant correspondence with expert toxicologists, checking the credibility and scientific accuracy of certain plots. One of the questions she asked a toxicologist, but never used in her plots, was: can thalomide be hidden in the icing of a birthday cake? (Curran 2014) All in all, her stories display great accuracy even when the process is presented in accessible language, for non-specialist readers. Even her debut novel, *The Mysterious Affair at Styles* (1920), in which an old lady is murdered with the help of strychnine slipped into her evening pills, showed great professionalism in the description of symptoms, the credibility of the manner in which the drug was procured and detected, as well as the overall scientific tone and lack of emotional involvement in reporting the facts, something acknowledged by the very *Pharmaceutical Journal,* which, in writing a favourable review of the book, paid Agatha Christie one of the highest compliments she would ever receive.

In employing poison, Christie respected as many of the rules of the whodunit's Decalogue, sketched by Ronald Knox, as possible, one of them (apart from that of leaving out Chinese characters!) being never to use invented substances or weapons (Emsley 2005). While some of the sleeping pills in her late novels have names derived from original ones, seeming somewhat far-fetched, or a novel like *The Pale Horse* (1961) introduces a virtually unknown poison, thalium, most of her stories are accurate clinical descriptions of poisoning cases, reminiscences of real cases some of her original readership might have been still familiar with – the well-known Maybrick case, relying on arsenic, or the Ricketts case, with phosphorous. Better and more memorably than from a pharmaceutical catalogue, we learn from Agatha Christie's novels that arsenic is a cheap and accessible white powder, which can be easily mistaken for sugar or flour, which was then prescribed by doctors as a tonic and could be bought in shops as a germ killer. It dissolves easily in hot drinks, causes stomach aches and vomiting, but, in quantities smaller than 100 mg, is not lethal. Digitalis is extracted from a beautifully coloured and very common flower, but, even in the smallest quantities, it kills, symptoms being identical with those of a heart attack. Monkshood is a plant the three witches in *Macbeth* must have known well and mixed in their cauldron, which was first used to cure love-stricken

patients and later, equally unsuccessfully, for gout or tooth aches. While not soluble in water, it passes well in creams and ointments, even the slightest quantity, 2 mg, being enough to cause general paralysis and death. Cyanide finishes off no fewer than 18 of Agatha Christie's characters, being a "soft" poison, though, as it is clean and works fast. That is why it is also known as the spies' poison, such real or fictional heroes carrying with them a pill, a jewel, a coin or a vial containing the almond-smelling substance, always ready to swallow it and avoid torture and more violent kinds of death. As a matter of fact, with cyanide, Agatha Christie makes one of her very few scientific mistakes: in *Sparkling Cyanide* (1945), the victim drops dead as soon as she sips from her glass of champagne, her face taking a bluish colour which, for her friends, is indicative of cyanide poisoning. In reality, the colour of the substance does not transfer to the skin of the person poisoned with it.

P. D. James – The Elitist Alternative

In her non-fictional work, *Talking about Detective Fiction*, P. D. James acknowledges, like many of the critics who focus on a gender-oriented approach to crime stories, the contribution of early women writers, for their pioneering work: "none of them would have described herself as a social historian [or critic of mores, but] this very detachment of purpose makes them reliable historians of their age" (James 2009, 97). But, unlike those who blame Agatha Christie for the irrelevance attached to the reception of earlier female detective fiction, she salutes the Dame's contributions to the promotion of the genre into the first rows of literary studies. Although she criticizes the Christie signature for a style which is "neither original nor elegant", the absence of psychological subtlety and the broad lines in which the villains are sketched, she considers that the very unemotionality of the prose is one of the secrets of "her universal and enduring appeal" (2009, 86). The fact that, "[w]ith Mrs Christie, as with real life, the only certainty is death" (2009, 85) means, perhaps paradoxically, that her prose has a reassuring effect, making it constantly popular with the public irrespective of their age, gender, ethnicity or the period in time when they read it.

P. D. James starts from an elitist premise in both her theoretical approach to and her practice of detective fiction. In her metaliterary volume, she insists on establishing a noble ascendance for whodunits, proposing the starting date of its acceptability as early as the heyday of Gothic fiction. She evokes the horror and mystery of Anne Radcliffe's tales and their echoes in the ultra-canonical prose of Jane Austen, especially *Northanger Abbey*. The

setting and atmosphere specific to this type of fiction creates a magical effect which endures, in her opinion, being emulated by the Victorian writers and even later by the writers of the golden age of crime stories. To some serious critics' complaint that crime fiction is ignoble and cheap, P. D. James replies in the spirit of the same Jane Austen, who might have anticipated Agatha Christie's unexpressed creed: "Let other pens dwell on guilt and misery. I quit such odious subjects as soon as I can, impatient to restore everybody not greatly in fault themselves to tolerable comfort, and to have done with all the rest" (2009, 106).

The elitist touch P. D. James strives to surround the detective prose with is detectible in much of her own fiction, where the intersection with canonical literature via intertextuality and allusion is constant. Her famous hero is Commander Adam Dalgliesh, who spends his free time studying and writing poetry. He is occasionally doubled by a lady detective, with a name inspired from Shakespeare's tragic heroines, Cordelia, in this case, Gray – a very young and educated woman, a beginner who still operates outside society's conventions, but the décor is conventional enough, more reminiscent of Miss Marple's exclusivism than later democratized versions. In *An Unsuitable Job for a Woman* (1977), the setting is made up of Cambridge in high summer, plus a Victorian castle, places populated by a baronet and other upper and upper middle class characters, with sophisticated table manners and polite conversation. What is more, Cordelia fraternizes with these privileged individuals, getting emotionally involved in the case she is supposed to investigate objectively, siding with the victim's family – who are the main suspects – and helping them make the murder look like suicide.

Another example of intertextual combination is the novel *Cover Her Face* (1962), which borrows the title from John Webster's tragedy *The Duchess of Malfi*. This quote reminds us that the main themes of the Jacobean play – violence, revenge and murder – suit the novel's frontispiece as well: "Cover her face. Mine eyes dazzle; she died young" (IV, 2), exclaim the characters upon the murder of the Duchess. In P. D. James' novel, the female victim resembles Webster's heroine in that she undermines the social conventions of her time. She uses her brains and her body to make her way up on the social ladder, her murder coming as a punishment for her transgressive sexuality by the male establishment. The crime scene is an impressive medieval manor in the fictional county of Wessex – Thomas Hardy's favourite setting.

The author's respect for Jane Austen as a predecessor, albeit indirect, of the genre, can be seen in a pastiche, *Death Comes to Pemberley* (2011), imagined as a sequel to *Pride and Prejudice* (1813). Celebrating the Austenian

bicentennial, P. D. James confesses in an endnote to her novel: "my feeling about a sequel is ambivalent […] but Elizabeth and Darcy take such a hold on our imagination…" (2012, 325). Even if she usually enjoys creating original characters, here she plays with the act of revisiting a canonical text, showing great concern for style, while somewhat neglecting the detective work. The novel opens with a line reminiscent of the famous Austenian dictum about bachelors in need of a wife: "It was generally agreed by the female residents of Meryton that Mr and Mrs Bennett of Longbourn had been fortunate in the disposal in marriage of four of their five daughters" (2012, Prologue). The plot does include explicit mention of the discovery of the body – belonging to Wickam's fellow soldier, Dennis – and the trial – of Wickam, presumed guilty – but handles the forensic process – carried, pro bono, by Darcy – only very superficially. A highbrow reader may only assume this unconvincing police mystery is to be regarded as a postmodern experiment rather than a good plot in the spirit of the books that secured P. D. James' success.

Conclusion

While, sometimes, a literary critic observing the evolution of detective fiction may even wonder how this genre has survived and preserved its credibility and appeal for two hundred years, they must also admit that, today, the genre is more realistic, more sexually explicit, more socially sensitive, more scientifically accurate, etc. Can all these transformations, which reflect social and cultural realities, rather than aesthetic principles, be responsible for the fact that the whodunit is closer than ever to mainstream fiction? To reflect on this, the novelist and the critic need to understand something of the ethos, ramifications and problems of this multicultural, overcrowded, ever-changing world in which we live (and read) now, something that the same P. D. James summarizes in the conclusion of her non-fictional work quoted above: "We do not expect popular literature to be great literature, but fiction which provides excitement, mystery and humour also ministers to essential human needs. We can honour and celebrate the genius which produced *Middlemarch*, *War and Peace* and *Ulysses* without devaluing *Treasure Island*, *The Moonstone* and *The Inimitable Jeeves*" (2009, 157).

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RUDOLF NYÁRI

The Narrative of Violence
in Samuel Butler's *The Way of All Flesh*

Samuel Butler's iconoclastically satirical novel, *The Way of All Flesh*, presents the domestic vicissitudes of the Pontifex family through four generations. Its plot is set in Victorian England, and "[a]s its title implies, with its biblical resonances […], the novel is preoccupied with religion, but from a satirical stance. Its deeply skeptical author sought to attack all forms of hypocrisy and pretension, whether scientific or religious" (Shuttleworth 2012, 643).[1] Although the book appeared in the Edwardian Era, published in 1903 (one year after the author's death), it was written between 1873 and 1884, thus it is Victorian domestic ethos that defines its underlying tone.

In my essay, I claim that the central father figure (Theobald Pontifex) asserts his paternalism in his family not only to reinforce it but also to secure its transmission to the central son figure (Ernest). Theobald's relationship with Ernest is saturated with subtle paternal oppression which is also approved and applied by the mother (Christina). The surreptitiously violent father-son communication invariably aims to nip in the bud the son's subversive behavioral tendencies to alter power relations at home; at the same time, Theobald, through this consistently applied paternal discourse, continually affirms his authoritarian power in and even beyond his family circle.

Butler's novel repeatedly posits the impossibility to separate violence from power. Especially as "[w]hen in fact we speak of violence [. . .], we always have in mind a kind of connotation of physical power, of an unregulated,

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1   In connection with the novel's title, Sally Shuttleworth reminds us that "[i]n the idiosyncratic theories of evolution that Butler was developing at the time, 'flesh' was dominant: *the spiritual afterlife was displaced by biological forms of inheritance and the ongoing life of the primordial germ*" (2012, 643).

passionate power, an unbridled power," however, "what is essential in all power is that ultimately its point of application is always the body" (Foucault 2006, 14). Foucault claims further that violence as "the physical exercise of unbalanced force" is a "rational, calculated, and controlled game of the exercise of power," which is equal to "a meticulous, calculated power, the tactics and strategies of which are absolutely definite; and, at the very heart of these strategies, we see quite precisely the place and role of violence" (Foucault 2006, 14).[2] The fragile father-son relationship throughout Butler's novel is informed by this "rational, calculated, and controlled game of the exercise of power," very early manifest when, for instance, we see Theobald teaching the child Ernest to speak with proper pronunciation:

> "Now, Ernest, I will give you one more chance, and if you don't say 'come,' I shall know that you are self-willed and naughty." He looked very angry, and a shade came over Ernest's face, like that which comes upon the face of a puppy when it is being scolded without understanding why. The child saw well what was coming now, was frightened, and, of course, said 'tum' once more. "Very well, Ernest," said his father, catching him angrily by the shoulder. "I have done my best to save you, but if you will have it so, you will," and he lugged the little wretch, crying by anticipation, out of the room. A few minutes more and we could hear screams coming from the dining-room, across the hall which separated the drawing-room from the dining-room, and knew that poor Ernest was being beaten. (Butler 1995, 92)

This instance of the father's blind, verbal as well as physical, aggression is by no means an isolated case. Theobald's inclination to abuse his masculine power is already present in his own early childhood. The narrator called Overton, albeit not a family member yet looking at the Pontifex family from an insider's pespective,[3] refers to it as, in fact, the only notable event worth

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2 Foucault, in his collection of lectures, aims to define a genealogy of psychiatry, especially concerning its specific knowledge/power relations. In this way, *Psychiatric Power* continues the history of his *Madness and Civilization* which is concerned with the archaeology of the insane and the sane within Western society.

3 Concerning the person and role of the narrator, Butler "integrated the objective and subjective viewpoints by creating a narrator of the experiences of the protagonist, Ernest Pontifex. […] Edward Overton, the narrator, is quite clearly the antithesis of Ernest's father, Theobald. Born the same year and growing up in the same village, they assume in maturity opposite philosophic positions," claims William H. Marshall adding that "from one to the other of which Ernest passes in his own development. [. . .] Ernest himself is of course the 'hero,' as Overton calls him, but the point of view remains Overton's in the book that he is writing. Consequently, the position of the narrator becomes more ironic

mentioning from that period: "We were very merry, but it is so long ago that I have forgotten nearly everything save that we *were* very merry" (Butler 1995, 15, italics in the original). He, however, continues with the following ominous recollection, "[a]lmost the only thing that remains with me as a permanent impression was the fact that Theobald one day beat his nurse and teased her, and when she said she should go away cried out, 'You shan't go away – I'll keep you on purpose to torment you' " (15). Oddly enough, Theobald, although "as a child […] had been violently passionate" (31-32), reaching adulthood, he turns out to be "reserved and shy […] indolent in mind and body" (32). He also grows up under the supervision of a sinister father figure who provides Theobald with a verbal violence pattern to follow. The narrator succinctly summarizes the resultant, unbalanced domestic power relation between the father and the son as follows:

> He feared the dark scowl which would come over his father's face upon the slightest opposition. His father's violent threats, or coarse sneers, would not have been taken *au sérieux* by a stronger boy, but Theobald was not a strong boy, and rightly or wrongly, gave his father credit for being quite ready to carry his threats into execution. Opposition had never got him anything he wanted yet, nor indeed had yielding, for the matter of that, unless he happened to want exactly what his father wanted for him. (33, italics in the original)

Theobald, as a son, barely shows moral fiber against this paternal behavior; so much so that it is even declared that "[i]f he had ever entertained thoughts of resistance, he had none now, and the power to oppose was so completely lost for want of exercise that hardly did the wish remain; there was nothing left save dull acquiescence as of an ass crouched between two burdens (33). Later, as a father, it is seen that Theobald continues his father's inheritance of oppressive domestic behavior based on his unquestionable paternal authority.

Similarly to his own father, Theobald violently influences his adolescent son in his crucial decisions in life. He succeeds in creating an emotional distance that enables him to remain in his own comfort zone while repeatedly transgressing Ernest in his own. In other words, Theobald acts as a semi-god ruling from his ivory tower of complacency, who simply cannot imagine his son being capable of passing responsible decisions (35-38, 74-75, 269-70, 334, 365-66). He insists on the monopoly of authority, perhaps fearing that

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than is often suspected" (Marshall 1963, 583).

it is something that can be lost if Ernest becomes powerful. The root of the problem is what Jean Shinoda Bolen points out in the following way:

> Estrangement between father and son begins with the father's resentment, or with his perception, of his child as rival, which can arise even before the son is born. His wife's pregnancy may activate feeling from his childhood. [. . .] His perception of his pregnant wife may recreate memories of his pregnant mother and the pain that pregnancy and a new sibling brought him as a child. [...] The rage, hostility, and rivalry he had when he was a child for the new baby [...], now is revived by his wife's pregnancy. [...] Like the Greek father gods, he fears that he will be supplanted by this rival. (1989, 27, 28)

No wonder, continues Bolen, that "[s]ons become first mistrustful, then afraid, and then hostile toward fathers who see them as bad or spoiled from the time they are infants, and treat them accordingly" (30).[4]

Probably, the main reason for Theobald's hostile treatment of his children (and especially his son) is that "[i]f the mother loses the authority which culture has conferred to her, she continues to be a mother," however, "[i]f the father loses that authority, he also loses the certainty of continuing to exist as such" (Zoja 2001, 93). In Theobald's life, authority obviously functions as a self-defense, a self-defensive mechanism, virtually against everyone who seems to threaten his social position; oddly enough, however, his paternal authority is, to the greatest extent, supported by Christina – his wife as domestic ally. "The defenses erected by the father of a family," continues Zoja, "do not stand exclusively between himself and the outside world, between himself and the other fathers. He also defends himself from his family: from sons and daughters who threaten to become adults, and [even] from a mate with competitive attitudes" (94).[5] Since Theobald is aware that Ernest may

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4   Bolen subsequently notes that "[a]s long as a son hopes his father will truly notice him and claim him as his own, the predominant feelings seem to be yearning and sadness," that is, "[a]nger toward the father comes later, after the son gives up his hopes and expectations of being fathered by his father; after he gives up the wish that his father will love him. Anger can also arise from disillusionment, if his distant father turns out not to be worthy of the idealization" (1989, 30), just like it is seen as the culmination of the Theobald-Ernest relationship at the end of the book.

5   "The father's condition," remarks Zoja, "is based on the total repression of all the facets of his personality which are alien to the assertion of authority. [. . .] So, the father's attempt to prune his personality of everything that diminishes his authority, or which simply counts as sentimental, is forced to grow ever more radical." In other words, explains Zoja, "the truly 'solid' father, psychologically as well as socially, has need of a suit of armor not

risk his (Theobald's) domestic position, he tries to avoid overt confrontation with his son.

Correspondence, for instance, owing to the ongoing physical distance between the already adolescent/adult son and his father, due to the father's repulsive attitude to his children,[6] serves him as an appropriate strategy to control Ernest's undesired desires and decisions in time. It has been, as a family ethos, "a conviction in Theobald's mind, and if in his, then in Christina's, that it was their duty to begin training up their children in the way they should go, even from their earliest infancy. The first signs of self-will must be carefully looked for, and plucked up by the roots at once before they had time to grow" (Butler 1995, 85).

Y. W. Yarbrough, strangely enough, imputes Theobald's attitude to his son to the father's sense of duty extended beyond the family proper. Yarbrough explains the behavior of the father in the following way:

> In every episode in which he appears in *The Way of All Flesh*, Theobald's conscious actions spring from his conception of his duty as a father-clergyman, and this is the target of the satire in the novel. It is duty – an unnatural, external force – which perpetrates so much suffering by providing an acceptable mask for stupidity and cruelty in the family, the school, and the church. Duty allows an abstract, institutional, unconscious response instead of the direct, conscious response in which empathy could be expected to create fellow-feeling for children, wives, and parishioners. (1971, 23)

Yarbrough states further that "Theobald may at a conscious level claim to be acting from a noble duty, but the actual, more powerful unconscious motives are coldness, timidity, and dullness. Duty for Theobald is a way of avoiding passion, action, and thought," and this is precisely the problem with such a paternal figure since his "failure as a man occurs invariably because his chartered, institutionalized mind prevents thinking and feeling in what for the Victorians were the crucial concerns of home, school, and church. The delusion of duty prevents Theobald's consciousness of his selfishness and cruelty" (Yarbrough

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only in his relations with other fathers and in dealing with the members of his family, but also with respect to himself" (Zoja 2001, 94). For a further discussion on Victorian male-dominated domestic ideology, see Herbert F. Tucker's *A New Companion to Victorian Literature and Culture* (2014, 50, 75, 90, 128, 344).

6   Cf., "Theobald had never liked children. He had always got away from them as soon as he could" (Butler 1995, 84).

1971, 24).[7] His selfish cruelty towards his children – especially towards Ernest – is tacitly accepted, elaborated, and upheld by his wife, too, throughout the novel.

Theobald's household suggests a microcosmos revolving about the father as its central planet with the wife as the faithful satellite of this planet. The children, servants, and parishioners merely function as accessories beside them. In a testamentary letter to her sons, Ernest and Joey, Christina Pontifex writes in the following way, starting with a maternal admonition: "My dear, dear boys, for the sake of that mother who loved you very dearly – and for the sake of your own happiness for ever and ever – attend to and try to remember, and from time to time read over again the last words she can ever speak to you" (Butler 1995, 99). This solemn address anticipates the mother's subsequent words of advice that seem to tolerate no opposition:

> When I think about leaving you all, two things press heavily upon me: one, your father's sorrow [. . .], the other, the everlasting welfare of my children. [. . .] [H]e has devoted his life to you and taught you and laboured to lead you to all that is right and good. Oh, then, be sure that you *are* his comforts. Let him find you obedient, affectionate and attentive to his wishes, upright, self-denying and diligent; let him never blush for or grieve over the sins and follies of those who owe him such a debt of gratitude, and whose first duty it is to study his happiness. You have both of you a name which must not be disgraced, a father and a grandfather of whom to show yourselves worthy [. . .]. (99-100, italics in the original)

Theobald and Christina do everything to appear (self-)righteous in the eyes of both their children and everyone else connected to them. It is, however, only self-deceptive hypocrisy on their part, although "[i]n the course of time he and his wife became persuaded even to unconsciousness, that no one could even dwell under their roof without deep cause for thankfulness. Their children, their servants, their parishioners must be fortunate *ipso facto* that they were theirs," consequently, "[t]here was no road to happiness here or hereafter, but the road that they had themselves travelled, no good people who did not think as they did upon every subject, and no reasonable person who had

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7   Concerning the 'duty' of such a *paterfamilias* being a clergyman at the same time, Yarbrough writes that "[t]he withdrawal into duty thwarts any moral sensitivity and intellectual curiosity, and the consequent inactivity and mindlessness encourage an evil temper." Oddly enough, "[t]he irony is that duty, the very thing which society and Theobald believe to be noble, is the cause of his disastrous failure as a human being; his clerical vocation encourages those very vices which are the opposite of the virtues that are supposed to accrue" (1971, 25).

wants the gratification of which would be inconvenient to them – Theobald and Christina" (103-104, italics in the original). Thus the deification of the Pontifex couple is complete, albeit not surprising. From the outset, Butler alludes to the cultural significance of their seemingly supreme power in and beyond their domesticity through their names. What is more, each significant character connected to Ernest, in fact, bears a name hinting at a/the deity. "His aunt's name, Alethea, embodies the Greek noun for deity, as does his father Theobald's; his mother, significantly, is named Christina after the Savior; his godfather has the surname Overton and indeed supervises or oversees Ernest's entire career" (Quinn 1962, 30). William H. Marshall remarks that Pontifex "is Latin for 'high priest.'" Moreover, "Theobald carries a name meaning 'bold for the people,' a prince, alluding to the role which this Pontifex assumes in his own home and in the dreams of his wife but really nowhere else. Christina's name is as ironic, for her religion is constructed upon a comparable self-deception" (qtd. in Balfour 1969, 131). In this way, the self-delusion characteristic of the Pontifex couple works, especially as they both persuasively act according to their respective false domestic roles. However, as a result of this kind of parental attitude, later in life, Ernest is unable to lead a decent life away from the home of his parents, and at a climactic point, he is even imprisoned. The narrator explains the cause of his vicissitudes as follows:

> When I thought of the little sallow-faced lad whom I had remembered years before, of the long and savage cruelty with which he had been treated in childhood – cruelty none the less real for having been due to ignorance and stupidity rather than to deliberate malice; of the atmosphere of lying and self-laudatory hallucination in which he had been brought up; of the readiness the boy had shown to love anything that would be good enough to let him, and of how affection for his parents, unless I am much mistaken, had only died in him because it had been killed anew, again and again and again, each time that it had tried to spring. When I thought of all this I felt as though, if the matter had rested with me, I would have sentenced Theobald and Christina to mental suffering even more severe [. . .]. (Butler 1995, 251)

Earnest, however, being released from prison and due to an inheritance, becomes rich and independent of his still living father. This causes him, in this way, grief, since as the narrator points out, "thus the old gentleman had been robbed of his power to tease and scratch in the way which he felt he was entitled to do. The love of teasing in a small way when he felt safe in doing so had remained part of his nature from the days when he told his nurse that he would keep her on purpose to torment her" (Butler 1995, 367).

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Georgiana-Elena Dilă

The Multiple Layers of Edward Albee's
Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?

Modern American theatre has projected throughout time several well-known names that have become classics as they approached themes that exposed realities which had to be faced by readers and audiences alike. Most of them had a certain play that transformed them, sometimes even overnight, into playwrights that deserved and received praise and admiration. This was also the case of Edward Albee, who by creating *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* succeeded in finally having a play performed on Broadway, which received two awards for the best play of the 1962-1963 season showing a remarkable ability of creating a work meant to captivate the audience. If before the play was performed the playwright had not been awarded the proper attention his work deserved *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* brought him to the centre of the American stage.

   The instant success that the author enjoyed had Albee compared to Eugene O'Neill as there seemed to be a need for a successor of the American playwright. However, O'Neill was not the only one that Albee was compared to, as the sex battle from his work reminded many of August Strindberg. This was not pleasant for the young playwright who had managed in a very skilful manner to keep his characters together through a lengthy and intense action and who had shifted from short plays to a three-act one, showing an ease regarding his power of creation, especially taking into account the link of the play to the Theatre of the Absurd. Albee's career had been greatly influenced by famous names related to the Theatre of the Absurd on the European continent: Luigi Pirandello, Samuel Beckett, and Harold Pinter to the extent that "A Pinteresque sense of tragicomedic menace, of terror in the common, and of the exploration of memory and desire lurk within so many Albee plays" (Roudané 2017, 21).

The title of the play is a very suggestive one as it was inspired by one of Albee's personal experiences when he saw in a bar a graffiti that presented the question: "Who's afraid of Virginia Woolf?", which appealed to the author and so it became the title of his play, changing it after he previously believed the play would be entitled *The Exorcism*. There have been observed elements that connect the play to Virginia Woolf herself as the British writer explored the differences existing between the ideal and the real focusing as well on anxieties that she experienced: "What is seen and how the real is knowable; the impending decline of civilization; the intermingling of lucidity and forms of madness; the fusion of traditional forms with new imaginative inventions; death and sexuality: these are just some of the issues to which both writers seem drawn" (Roudané 2005, 54).

Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf? may not be strictly classified as belonging to the Theatre of the Absurd, but there are several elements that connect it to the movement. Albee's formative years had been the ones during which the movement had flourished the most and his plays published before *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* fit the pattern in a more obvious manner. Such examples would include *The Zoo Story, The American Dream,* and *Sand Box.* While *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* brings forward a theme that seems to haunt Albee's plays, namely the non-existent child, it also deals with other issues that the troubled characters struggle with as the events unfold and intensity grows revealing the nature of the relationships the couples share, making up teams that are constituted of members belonging to different couples: Martha and Nick on the one hand and Honey and George on the other.

The Modernist plays offered to the audience show that there is a constant pattern of bringing the public closer to issues related to family relationships that are actually pathological, exploring deceitful games and fraudulent actions as it is the case with Eugene O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey into Night*, Tennessee Williams' *A Streetcar Named Desire* and Harold Pinter's *Caretaker* and *The Birthday Party*. The four characters in Albee's play are characterized by a desire of belittling others, especially those who do not share the same opinions and by betraying them with absolutely no remorse when the same sense of reality is not similar in others. The lengthy play portrays a pessimistic view of society offering a three-hour verbal and psychological assault from frustrated and angry people that cannot refrain from harming others. The relationships that they are part of are far from perfect and the problems they have to face are more serious than they care to admit.

Considering the fact that Albee himself mentioned in an interview that he believed it was the playwrights' role not only to frighten the audience

but actually terrify it, one can understand why his greatest success had such twisted characters that tortured others for the mere pleasure of it, enjoying the pain and confusion they inflicted on people around them: "Traditionally in literature, the element of terror appears as an overwhelming impulse of fear built up by authors in the minds of characters or audiences prior to and during the approach of a second element, violence – intense moral, emotional, or physical action" (Luere 1990, 50).

Albee's career represented one of creation and re-creation of a world full of characters that had to struggle and fight in order to understand and assert what their identity was as society was constantly changing and there was always a sort of existential crisis. The playwright presented his work as a critique to people and society alike highlighting several important problems that were at the core of human existence, such as psychosocial, sexual, philosophical, and political issues that had not previously been tackled in such a way. The couple that he brings forward seems rather nice when it comes to interacting with other people, but when they are forced to face their relationship they feel trapped and the hostility and the bickering they present are unbearable: "Coming to terms, in this play, involves verbal insults, physical attacks, and, finally, a series of epiphanic moments in which their own fundamental conditions are laid bare. So it is not surprising that many regard this play as a quintessentially negative work" (Roudané 2005, 40).

The constant frictions between Martha and George can be observed from the beginning of the play when George points out that his wife older than him when she praises her teeth. Very trivial elements trigger the quarrels that they have. Their egos make them believe that they know exactly what the other thinks and that they can manipulate his/her spouse without any effort:

> George: I suppose it's pretty remarkable … considering how old you are.
> Martha: YOU CUT THAT OUT! (Pause) You are not so young yourself.
> George: I'm six years younger than you are … I always have been and I always will be. (Albee 2006, 16)

There is a soft spot that the two characters share, namely the existence of their son, which is actually an invented life as they have no real heirs and it is all a mere illusion that feeds their dreams never really facing the impact that a childless marriage had upon them. They both understand that it is easier to hurt the other by mentioning their son so before the guests come George urges Martha not to mention him:

George: Just don't start in on the bit about the kid, that's all.

Martha: What do you take me for?

George: Much too much.

Martha (Really angered): Yeah? Well, I'll start in on the kid if I want to.

George: Just leave the kid out of this.

Martha (Threatening): He's mine as much as he is yours. I'll talk about him if I want to.

George: I'd advise against it, Martha. (Albee 2006, 19-20)

From the very beginning of the play it is obvious that Martha and George share an ambiguous relationship that might be regarded as pathological making the ones joining them for drinks after a party held by Martha's father feel uncomfortable and out of place in a home which seemed ruled by a permanent feeling of competition in hurting the other more. George seems bothered by their guest presence and his attitude towards Nick is one of constant attack. He is aware that his wife finds the young man attractive and she is not afraid of showing it. Many of their reactions and their overall behaviour are bizarre. George even asks Nick about what will happen to society and "in other words, where the responsibility once lay with individual choice, commitment, and effort – what used to be the meaning of the American Dream – now hope is invested in a historical inevitability guaranteed by a system that will regulate society and its growth" (Konkle 2002, 52).

As they start drinking and inventing party games Nick feels comfortable enough to reveal to George that he married Honey only because she told him she was pregnant, showing in a way that he was somehow constrained to tie the knot. Although George does not seem to be a very polite host, Nick does feel the need of sharing some information with him:

NICK: It was a hysterical pregnancy. She blew up, and then she went down.

GEORGE: And while she was up, you married her.

NICK: And then she went down.

They both laugh, and are a little surprised that they do.

NICK: You see . . .

GEORGE: There were other things.

NICK: Yes.

GEORGE: To compensate.

NICK: Yes.

GEORGE: There always are. (Albee 2006, 51)

Part of Nick's interest was clearly in his wife's money, and while George considered it to be some sort of impediment or a compromise, young Nick believed success was measured by the amount of money one owned. George having noticed the appeal money had on his guest started telling him a story about his wife's stepmother that had left her father a significant amount as she was a rich woman. The story does not seem to be a believable one as George constantly adds elements worthy of a fairy tale, but it offers Nick the opportunity of mentioning his own father-in-law and the money that he makes.

His egocentrism not only guided him into pursuing and committing adultery but also in stating that he actually believed to be better than other people: "Indeed, early in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* Nick shows every indication of embodying the American Dream: he was a boy genius (earned his Master's degree in his teens), an All-American athlete (quarterback and boxer), and now is a promising researcher and teacher" (Konkle 2002, 52). However, Nick was not working in a prestigious institution and, much like George, he did not seem to be fulfilling his potential. Martha permanently mocks George's lack of ambition and underlines the fact that he is not the head of the History Department, while Honey praises her husband any chance she gets, showing that she is proud of his achievements and that she believes he will have a great career.

The play unfolds in such a way that the criticism Albee offers to the American society is more than obvious as he gave his characters Martha and George the same names as those of the first president of the United States and his wife hinting at the fact that the American dream that the nation was built on had been corrupted. The potential that society had in Albee's time was not reached and George's dissatisfaction with the research field Nick was working in implied the fact that technological progress would not imply the moral one as the project was one that favoured individualism. Both generations presented in the play present traits that belong to a declining society as Martha and George are childless and behave like children in a competitive game and offer no positive perspective when it comes to Nick and Honey and their future. As it is,

> George is the jeremiad voice in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?,* trying to inspire the new generation to recommit themselves to the American ideals of individualism, liberty, and self-actualization, as well as to values of community, communication, and shared morality that can then enact rather than enforce social progress. In other words, George, a type of the father of the nation, attempts to convince Nick, a

type of what the nation has become, to father the antitypal fulfillment of American revolutionary principles. (Konkle 2002, 54)

The introduction of the fantasy son was something criticised and Albee felt that it was crucial to defend his presence as he considered him important in the development of the play. There were even times when Albee was regarded as phony, mocking the audience, the joke being on his readers as "There is no real, hard bedrock of suffering in *Virginia Woolf* – it is all illusory, depending upon a "child" who never was born: a gimmick, a trick, a trap. And there is no solid creative suffering in the writer who meanders through a scene stopping here and there for the sake of a joke or an easy allusion that almost fits" (Schechner 1963, 8).

Even though some might be confused by the introduction of the illusion-son in the play, it has been pointed out several times that the death of Martha and George's son was linked to the Biblical image of Christ and his death to His crucifixion. Somehow the children Honey and Nick will have in the future are given the opportunity to live by the death of Martha and George's son. Even though it was not intentional, Albee himself admitted that the Christian symbolism was more abundant than he first intended. There is a need of sacrifice in order to save the American society and the Christian values could represent some kind of guidance in such a direction, even though the author was not focused only on this element.

> Martha's "son" – invisible but real – is the most striking paradox of the play. He is the imagination made flesh – or, more precisely, the "word" made flesh, for Martha and George have brought him into the world as talk, as a game between them, in which he arbitrates, comforts, gives strength to his parents. He is clarity, insight, parable. If one were disposed to take on the burden of polysemous reading, one might trace some interesting religious analogies such as the "lamb" and the "tree" against which the boy met his death, and the "porcupine" which he tried to avoid, like the crown of thorns in the story of Christ. (Paolucci 1972, 59)

The rule of not mentioning the son to anyone had been broken and the fact that Honey was introduced to the existence of such an individual made their balance feel disturbed especially as it was becoming more and more obvious that something had to be done regarding the future of their so-called son. "Albee leads his characters through a three-act structure that chronicles George and Martha's slow realization that their pipe-dream, their imaginary son, is "kidding" as well as killing them. Such recognition, though, comes

only after two decades of fabricating and nurturing their child-illusion" (Roudané 2005, 46).

The end of the play presents Martha and George alone after their guests have left after a night of games and fiction thinking about the cathartic moments they have gone through, being forced to face life without illusions, facing reality in a mature manner. George realises that Martha and himself need saving and that their marriage needs attention and care and most importantly it needs honesty and no more illusions. Even though critics did not agree with such an end of killing the son and liberating themselves from the burden of a devastating illusion after having gone through such a turmoil in the first two acts and having drawn the guests into their tumultuous relationship, being mirrored as shallow caricatures as Harold Bloom states. However, the end of the play offers some sort of optimistic view regarding the protagonists' marriage:

> Faced with the alternative (abandonment, aloneness, loss, rejection, anger, and so on), George and Martha reformulate their own minimal but important society among themselves. The fragility of their sanity, of their marriage, of their very existences acknowledged, this couple reunites. Forgiveness is brokered. Mixing self-disclosure with self-awareness, George and Martha recognize their sins of the past and are, perhaps, ready to live their lives without the illusions that have deformed their world for the past two decades. They will, Albee implies, work within their own freshly understood emotional speed limits to restore order, loyalty, and perhaps even love to their world. (Roudané 2005, 40)

The end of such a strange evening does not bring only Martha and George closer but also their guests, Honey and Nick, who seem to reconnect and maybe build a stranger relationship in which they are able to have a baby and make a happier life together. Albee focuses on the individuals pointing to the changes that one has to make for him/herself in order to prevent the moral decline continue any further and so offer a chance for a more optimistic future in a healthier society, without such troubled and overwhelmed individuals:

> Every part and parcel of *Who's Afraid of Virginia Wools?* is a game embedded in the two prominent aforementioned games played mainly by George and Martha. This play is replete with pretentions, deceits, collusions, and vortexes that all of the people in the play are entrapped in; in other words they are all entrapped in a

pathological relationship from which there is no vent out. The more they try to set themselves free, the more the noose tightens. (Sasani 2014, 1485)

The fiction Albee's characters have to face is the element that makes the author so great. His work is the story he tells the audience in order for them to get to know the broken lives and the broken society they belong to is created in such a fascinating way that the bizarre characters actually remain stuck to our memory for the fears they face and the way in which they find a way to defeat them. The loneliness Martha and George face is a burden that has to be lifted in order to go on and free themselves.

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Mihaela Prioteasa

Intertextuality and Mythical Dynamics
in T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*

One of the most prominent poems in the English language, *The Waste Land* was famous even before its publication. T.S. Eliot was sketching portions of it since his days at Harvard but when he decided to connect the fragments in the fall of 1919 he was struck down by writer's block as he confessed to Conrad Aiken, a fellow poet and life-long friend: "[E]very evening, he went home to his flat hoping that he could start writing again, and with every confidence that the material was *there* and waiting, [. . .] but night after night the hope proved illusory: the sharpened pencil lay unused by the untouched sheet of paper. What could be the matter? He didn't know" (Aiken 1966, 195); however he did the majority of the work on it during his stay on the coast of Margate in England and continued while he was admitted in a sanitarium in Lausanne, Switzerland, as a result of a nervous breakdown after his father's death. Initially published in *The Criterion* (magazine edited by Eliot himself in England) in October 1922, it was followed, a few weeks later, by the first American publication in *The Dial*. Upon publication it was received with acclamation since its essence perfectly fitted the period between the two world wars: that of general disgust and despair. "The lost generation" was still haunted by the atrocities of World War I and the survivors were reviewing the fragility of life and the immoral and corrupt traits of human nature.

Both on the way to the sanatorium and on the way back from Lausanne, the Eliots stayed with Ezra and Dorothy Pound, occasion with which Pound helped him edit the raw material, cutting it in half and making valuable suggestions that gave shape to the poem as we know it: "It was in 1922 that I placed before him in Paris the manuscript of a sprawling chaotic poem called *The Waste Land* which left his hands, reduced to about half its size, in the form in which it appears in print. I should like to think that the

manuscript, with the suppressed passages, had disappeared irrecoverably: yet, on the other hand, I should wish the blue pencilling on it to be preserved as irrefutable evidence of Pound's critical genius ...." (Russell 1973, 26).

Besides innovative experimentation in style, structure and point of view that aligned *The Waste Land* with the works of other artists such as Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque in painting, and Gertrude Stein, James Joyce and Virginia Woolf in literature, the poem combined numerous references to works from universal literature, music and art adding to its complexity and impenetrability. In addition, when it appeared in book form, Eliot supplemented it with footnotes that only increased its intricacy. However, unlike the avant-garde literature that worked on theories and manifestos, Eliot's creation seemed avant-gardist but without following a work-plan.

Even though Eliot asserted that the poem was nothing more than his own "grumblings" ("To me it was only the relief of a personal and wholly insignificant grouse against life; it is just a piece of rhythmical grumbling..." – Eliot 1971, 1), his main aesthetic principle exposed in his essays according to which a poet should remove himself from his work, contradicts the statement. By using circumstances and emotions of his personal life to vividly create images in the poem, Eliot managed to depict a larger world that extended far beyond his private one: "the only legitimate meaning of a poem is the meaning which it has for any reader, not a meaning which it has primarily for the author. The author means all sorts of things which concern nobody else but himself, in that he may be making use of his private experiences. But these private experiences are merely crude material, and as such of no interest whatever to the public" (Letter to Claude Colleer Abbott, 13 October 1927, Eliot 2011, 574).

During the creative process Eliot must have probably tried to encapsulate absolutely everything, and used an enormous amount of material as inspiration, since his endeavor was to write a poem about the present (experienced by the individual subject) and about the entire cultural past, thus becoming an instrument of inspiration and of clarification for other complex literary works, and a tool of multi-faceted perception: "The author's way of reading a poem is only one possible way: certainly a good poem should be capable of being recited differently by different people, just as it should be capable of meaning different things to different people" (Letter to Montgomery Belgion, 19 July 1940)[1]. He even tried to explain in "Tradition and the Individual Talent" (1919) the true purpose of source materials:

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1   http://tseliot.com/editorials/in-eliots-own-words-the-waste-land

> What happens when a new work of art is created is something that happens simultaneously to all the works which preceded it. The existing monuments form an ideal order among themselves, which is modified by the introduction of the new (the really new) work of art among them... for order to persist after the supervention of novelty, the *whole* existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered; and so the relations, proportions, values of each work of art toward the whole are readjusted. (Eliot 1964, 5)

From the very first lines, *The Waste Land* presents itself as a difficult reading starting with an epigraph in Latin and Greek followed by a dedication to Ezra Pound in Italian naming him "the better craftsman." The impediment in understanding continues since the poet begins his masterpiece without a proper introduction of the speaker, of the setting or of the narrative thread, beginning the first section, "The Burial of the Dead," abruptly:

> April is the cruellest month, breeding
> Lilacs out of the dead land, mixing
> Memory and desire, stirring
> Dull roots with spring rain.
> Winter kept us warm, covering
> Earth in forgetful snow, feeding
> A little life with dried tubers.
> Summer surprised us, coming over the Starnbergersee
> With a shower of rain; we stopped in the colonnade,
> And went on in sunlight, into the Hofgarten,
> And drank coffee, and talked for an hour
> Bin gar keine Russin, stamm' aus Litauen, echt deutsch.
> And when we were children, staying at the archduke's,
> My cousin's, he took me out on a sled,
> And I was frightened. He said, Marie,
> Marie, hold on tight. And down we went.
> In the mountains, there you feel free.
> I read, much of the night, and go south in the winter. (Eliot 2001, 4)

The central question of the poem, "What are the roots that clutch?" is uttered in line 19 exposing the dilemma it deals with throughout its five puzzling sections but before starting to answer it Eliot poses yet another one in line 20 "[W]hat branches grow out of this stony rubbish?"– revealing that it will examine the interconnectedness between people's lives and their culture and

the paradox between a civilization that cannot thrive and create a worthy culture and the environment which does not provide nourishing conditions.

Even if from the very beginning the poem was received as a poem of fragments striving for an impossible wholeness, Eliot insisted that the poem should be published in its entirety so that to prevent the readers from believing it was not intended to be a whole:

> In the case of *The Waste Land* I feel very strongly against publication of any parts separately. The poem is intended to be a whole and if I allowed parts of it to be printed separately, it might not only spread the impression that it is merely a collection of unrelated parts, but might also appear to give sanction from myself of this impression. I do not want people to read the poem at all unless they read the whole thing, and it is quite impossible for any part of the poem to give a fair conception of the whole. (Letter to Miss J. Colcord, 28 January 1924, Eliot 2011, 571)

Whereas in "Tradition and the Individual Talent" the poet set his mind to stop "at the frontier of metaphysics or mysticism" (Eliot 1964, 11), in writing *The Waste Land* he entered unknown territory, since poetical and metaphysical unity could no longer be separated. He gave much needed explanations on the "mythical method" that applies to *The Waste Land* as well, in his essay on James Joyce's work, "*Ulysses*, Order, and Myth":

> In using the myth, in manipulating a continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity, Mr. Joyce is pursuing a method which others must pursue after him. They will not be imitators, any more than the scientist who uses the discoveries of an Einstein in pursuing his own, independent, further investigations. It is simply a way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history. It is a method already adumbrated by Mr. Yeats, and of the need for which I believe Mr. Yeats to have been the first contemporary to be conscious. It is a method for which the horoscope is auspicious. Psychology (such as it is, and whether our reaction to it be comic or serious), ethnology, and *The Golden Bough* have concurred to make possible what was impossible even a few years ago. Instead of narrative method, we may now use the mythical method. (Eliot quoted in McFarland 1981, 15)

Similarly to the method employed in *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock* (1915), *The Waste Land* presents manifestations of memories reverberating figures from the past. Unlike Prufrock who does not fulfill the destinies of legendary figures, the speakers in *The Waste Land*, even though secluded,

nameless, faceless and oblivious of themselves, accomplish without being actually aware of it, the fates exhibited in myths. Their only purpose is to relentlessly restore what has been lost, endlessly repeating the same frame of the quest and this helps the reader understand their role, acting like a narration thread that unites them to the past. Part II of the poem, with its shifting references performs this very objective. It begins by displaying a classic description of a lady and her surroundings, referencing to Cleopatra's "burnished throne," the rape of Philomela and ends with Philomela's transformation into a nightingale whose cry travels through the ages:

> The Chair she sat in, like a burnished throne,
> Glowed on the marble, where the glass
> Held up by standards wrought with fruited vines
> From which a golden Cupidon peeped out
> (Another hid his eyes behind his wing)
> Doubled the flames of sevenbranched candelabra
> Reflecting light upon the table as
> The glitter of her jewels rose to meet it,
> From satin cases poured in rich profusion;
> In vials of ivory and coloured glass
> Unstoppercd, lurked her strange synthetic perfumes,
> Unguent, powdered, or liquid-troubled, confused
> And drowned the sense in odours; stirred by the air
> That freshened from the window, these ascended
> In fattening the prolonged candle-flames,
> Flung their smoke into the laquearia,
> Stirring the pattern on the coffered ceiling,
> Huge sea-wood fed with copper
> Burned green and orange, framed by the coloured stone,
> In which sad light a carved dolphin swam,
> Above the antique mantel was displayed
> As though a window gave upon the sylvan scene
> The change of Philomel, by the barbarous king
> So rudely forced; yet there the nightingale
> Filled all the desert with inviolable voice
> And still she cried, and still the world pursues,
> "Jug Jug" to dirty ears
> And other withered stumps of time
> Were told upon the walls; staring forms (Eliot 2001, 8)

Part IV, "Death by Water," represents a unique contrast between the symbolism of fire and that of water, whereas the image of the drowned Phoenician Sailor reminds of the drowned god of the fertility cults. Moreover, the death by water resembles the death in Ariel's song in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, even if a clear difference in tone can be noticed: "A current under sea/ Picked his bones in whispers," as contrasted with "bones cast in a little low dry garret/ Rattled by the rat's foot only, year to year" (Eliot 2001, 11). The overall impression of the fourth section is that it offers a glimpse of the conquest of death and time:

> Phlebas the Phoenician, a fortnight dead,
> Forgot the cry of gulls, and the deep sea swell
> And the profit and loss.
>   A current under sea
> Picked his bones in whispers. As he rose and fell
> He passed the stages of his age and youth
> Entering the whirlpool.
>   Gentile or Jew
> O you who turn the wheel and look to windward,
> Consider Phlebas, who was once handsome and tall as you. (Eliot 2001, 16)

The central consciousness turns up also in Part III under the name of Tiresias, helping the readers comprehend the discrepancy between the adulterous past and the modern performance:

> I Tiresias, though blind, throbbing between two lives,
> Old man with wrinkled female breasts, can see
> At the violet hour, the evening hour that strives
> Homeward, and brings the sailor home from sea,
> The typist home at teatime, clears her breakfast, lights
> Her stove, and lays out food in tins.
> Out of the window perilously spread
> Her drying combinations6 touched by the sun's last rays,
> On the divan are piled (at night her bed)
> Stockings, slippers, camisoles, and stays.
> I Tiresias, old man with wrinkled dugs
> Perceived the scene, and foretold the rest-
> I too awaited the expected guest.

He, the young man carbuncular, arrives,
A small house agent's clerk, with one bold stare,
One of the Iowan whom assurance sits
As a silk hat on a Bradford millionaire.
The time is now propitious, as he guesses,
The meal is ended, she is bored and tired,
Endeavours to engage her in caresses
Which still are unreproved, if undesired.
Flushed and decided, he assaults at once;
Exploring hands encounter no defence;
His vanity requires no response,
And makes a welcome of indifference.
(And I Tiresias have foresuffered all
Enacted on this same divan or bed;
I who have sat by Thebes below the wall
And walked among the lowest of the dead.)
Bestows one final patronising kiss,
And gropes his way, finding the stairs unlit. (Eliot 2001, 13)

The end of the poem – "What the Thunder Said" – exhibits the failed quest to find "roots that clutch" and something that is more than "a heap of broken images" (Eliot 2001, 4). "These fragments [he has] shored against [his] ruins" (Eliot 2001, 20) prove not to be completely worthless but they are still the ruins of the poet, or maybe the ruins of the edifice of culture which is fragmented and decayed:

By this, and this only, we have existed
Which is not to be found in our obituaries
Or in memories draped by the beneficent spider
Or under seals broken by the lean solicitor
In our empty rooms
DA
Dayadhvam: I have heard the key
Turn in the door once and turn once only
We think of the key, each in his prison
Thinking of the key, each confirms a prison
Only at nightfall, aethereal rumours
Revive for a moment a broken Coriolanus
DA

Damyata: The boat responded
Gaily, to the hand expert with sail and oar
The sea was calm, your heart would have responded
Gaily, when invited, beating obedient
To controlling hands

I sat upon the shore
Fishing, with the arid plain behind me
Shall I at least set my lands in order?
London Bridge is falling down falling down falling down
Poi s'ascose nel foco che gli affina
Quando fiam ceu chelidon – O swallow swallow
Le Prince d'Aquitaine à la tour abolie
These fragments I have shored against my ruins
Why then Ile fit you. Hieronymo's mad againe.
Datta. Dayadhvam. Damyata.
Shantih   shantih   shantih (Eliot 2001, 20)

The Sanskrit ending alludes to the legend of the thunder and Eliot explains it in a note "Shantih. Repeated as here, a formal ending to an Upanishad. 'The Peace which passeth understanding' is a feeble translation of the content of the word" (Eliot 2001, 26). The poem's finale is also used to close mantras and as a consequence *The Waste Land* concludes with a sacred chant: "As mantra, *shantih* conveys... the peace inherent in its inner sound. ...As a closing prayer, *shantih* makes of what comes before it a communal as well as a private utterance. ...And as the "formal ending of an Upanishad" it revises the whole poem from a statement of modern malaise into a sacred and prophetic discourse" (Kearns 1987, 228). Since almost every literary source for the text can be interpreted as a remaking of the entire poem (prophetic discourse, burial and prayer rites, fertility ritual) and since Eliot himself gave the key to a possible reading from the very beginning (the title of the first section, "The Burial of the Dead", is borrowed from the *Book of Common Prayer* and refers to the ritual of following the corpse from churchyard to graveyard), there is no surprise that Eliot's note on "Shantih" overlaps both Hindu and Christian sacred texts to deliver the last message, the wish for peace. *The Waste Land* remains one of T.S. Eliot's greatest works and one of the most important works in English poetry, and putting aside all the difficulties the poet had to face until publication, even if it had been "a dead end" for the author, "it would still have been a new start for English poetry" (Leavis; apud North 2001, 185).

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Ted Bailey

The Mimetic Ghost
An Exploration of Shirley Jackson's *The Haunting of Hill House*

A group of teenagers goes to spend a weekend in a house in the woods. Doors mysteriously slam shut in the absence of any wind or draft. Lightning flashes in the middle of the night during a summer (or autumn) thunderstorm. A slow, steady tapping comes at the door, but when opened no one is there. The police call back to report that the phone call received minutes before came from inside the house.

Motifs such as these are common to both the literary and film genres of horror, a genre that still leaves critics disagreeing on the specific fascination that horror holds for audiences. Where, for example, does the horror come from in any of the instances listed above and what exactly do they signify? Does a particular type of horror reveal something unique about the culture of that era? In looking at the horror films of the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, Robin Woods takes a psychoanalytical approach and claims that "the true subject of the horror genre is the struggle for recognition of all that our civilization represses or oppresses" (Woods 2002, 28). This he applies specifically to slasher films of the 1980s, claiming that the victimization of young women, frequently right after they have had premarital sex, represents the social urge to control female sexuality. It is an approach in film studies that can be applied similarly in literary studies, for example, in analyzing sexual repression in Henry James's *The Turn of the Screw* (1898).

An alternative approach to a psychoanalytical interpretation is Noel Carroll's emphasis on the audience's cognitive reception of the tale being told or shown. He sees the horror tale as a "narrative of disclosure" which excites a reader's curiosity because it presents beings and events which "violate our conceptual scheme by (for example) being interstitial" (Carroll 1990, 185). Drawn in by the suggestion existence of that which is impossible to actually

exist, audiences respond to the intellectual game of discovering the mystery the narrative promises to unfold. It is this approach to horror as something which "transgress[es] standing categories of thought" (Carroll 1990, 188) which leads to interpretations of horror as an inherently conservative genre that attempts to restore the old order, or, as Stephen King puts it, "horror is Republican" (A.T. Writing 2016).

Such interpretative paths have been applied to the text I would like to examine here, Shirley Jackson's *The Haunting of Hill House* (1959). Often referred to as a masterpiece of the horror genre, *Hill House* contains many of the trademarks of the gothic novel that lend themselves so well to psychoanalytic interpretations. A university researcher studying paranormal activity invites three young people to join him for the summer at a distant house in the countryside that is reputed to be haunted. Two of the people joining him are women who have proven in the past to be susceptible to paranormal events, the third a young man who stands to inherit Hill House from his aunt. The events in the novel are filtered through the consciousness (or unconscious of one of the young women, Eleanor, who has spent the last several years nursing her invalid mother and is now excited to be "out in the world" and away from the confinement of her parental home.

Even with a brief sketch such as this, it is easy to see the direction most critical interpretation has taken. Hill House has been called a female Gothic story where the apparent attempt of the house itself to control Eleanor – mysterious writing on the wall indicates that she is the focus of whatever spirits' attention – who is being subsumed into the house, which represents her mother (Rubenstein 1996, 318). Others see the house as a symbol of her repressed sexuality and emphasize the attraction she seems to feel toward the male members of the company, while Castricano focuses on the apparent sentience of the house itself and the paranormal phenomena among members of the small group, concluding that the novel "questions the notion of a unitary subject" (2005, 90). For her, the house is a "site of [. . .] interaction between psyche and matter" (95), and what "is being haunted […] is actually the house of psychoanalysis" (97).

Many of the interpretations thus focus on the psychoanalysis of an individual character, trying to understand why Eleanor apparently goes insane and, in the end, commits suicide. Some critics look at the larger social implications and one – much in line with Robin Wood's ideas about the appeal of horror – finds in the Gothic nature of Jackson's entire body of novels an era's fear of loneliness and a tendency toward schizophrenia (Parks 1984, 25-26).

Jackson's novel spawned two film interpretations: *The Haunting* (1963) and an identically named 1999 film, the first a critical success, the second judged a failure by most critics. Although some changes were instituted – the 1999 version, for example, made the second female character more clearly bisexual, which paved the way for an interpretation of Eleanor as latently lesbian – the general contours of the plot remained the same in both films. Nonetheless, it is Jackson's text itself that I would like to focus on, not the least because the filtering of the narrative perspective through Eleanor presents a much more nuanced and psychologically richer tale than either film version conveys. This limited perspective also offers fertile ground for applying Rene Girard's theory on mimetic desire, a lens which sheds new light on Jackson's book.

Mimetic desire as the source of almost all human desire was proposed by Rene Girard in his 1961 book *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel*. Briefly stated, Girard claims that desire stems not from any intrinsic value of the object (or person) in question, but rather because another person desires this object/person. This is triggered ultimately by a desire not simply to possess what the other (mediator) does, but to actually be the other person and usurp their social role. Where social distance is great, this presents little potential for conflict and, indeed, it goes a long way toward explaining phenomena such as fashion. Where the two parties in question are close, however, the mediator will at first be flattered, but later feel threatened by the attention and perceived attempt to usurp his position, even if the other person is not consciously aware of it. There exists thus a three-sided relationship among the two people and the object, with the two persons developing a superior and subordinate relationship, one potentially fraught with tension.

Girard went on later to develop this idea into a theory regarding violence and the foundations of religion and civilization, based on the conflicts that mimetic desire can lead to. For our purposes, we need not worry about religion, but the ideas surrounding conflict management are instructive for looking at Jackson's text. The need to prevent outbreaks of violence caused by the resent mimetic desire can provoke led to the establishment of social systems and hierarchies to regulate mimetic desire. Signs such as social rankings, rituals and ceremonies, and even architecture can convey a sense of social order in a community or society, preventing outbreaks of conflict and violence by allowing everyone to know in advance what belongs to whom. Signs of the system breaking down, which Girard dubbed "a mimetic crisis," (*Things Hidden* 1987, 19) include the appearance of twins or doubles, signifying the outbreak of rivalry as the inability to maintain

boundaries between individuals threatens to unleash violence. When such systems collapse, order is restored through the scapegoat mechanism, with all members agreeing on a common culprit who is either expelled from the community or killed.

In reading *The Haunting of Hill House*, one is struck by the large number of correspondences with this theory on mimetic desire, in particular, the threats to order and attempts to maintain it. Eleanor Vance is presented as a woman in her early 30s who has spent her entire adult life serving her invalid mother. Lonely, inexperienced and with nothing else to do, she seizes on Dr. Montague's invitation to join his project and spend three months in this remote house far from her mother's and sister's homes. Indeed, "during the whole underside of her life, ever since her first memory, Eleanor had been waiting for something like Hill House" (7). This mission seems to provide her life with a focus she has never had before, and the long car trip she undertakes alone is portrayed as an exhilarating and liberating journey into the unknown. Alone and untethered by any desires, she daydreams dozens of different possibilities for herself, teasing herself with the notion that she "might take it into her head to stop just anywhere and never leave again [. . .] she might make her home forever in East Barrington or Desmond or the incorporated village of Berk; she might never leave the road at all, but just hurry on and on. . ." (17). She imagines years of her life spent in a house she sees by the road. Significantly, at one point she actually does stop at a gateway to a property after passing a stretch of road with oleanders lining the side. The gateway reveals a drive that leads to a square cut into the oleander, indicating that the area was designed for a house, manor, or small estate. But "inside the oleander square there was nothing, no house, no building, nothing but the straight road going across and ending at the stream. Now what was here, she wondered, what was here and is gone, or what was going to be here and never came?" (19)

A house or building here would have provided (quite literally) some structure or order to the area, but instead, Eleanor is confronted with nothingness, much like the nothingness inside herself. She could have projected her dreams onto this blank space by reconnecting to an "original space of dwelling" (Gaál-Szabó 2011a, 17), but with no mediator to guide her in her desires, she can only imagine the fairy tale of an enchanted palace beyond "the magic gateposts" (20) that would come alive if she stepped beyond them, which, of course, she does not. In effect, this 32-year-old woman can only envisage a child's fairy tale. With no guide to her dreams, she draws a blank as to what was or could be.

The missing house also functions as a harbinger of what is awaiting Eleanor at Hill House, where an actual house does stand. Again, a stone gate meets her, beyond which lies a tree-lined road, much like where she had stopped earlier. Both estates, with their real and missing manor houses, are suggestive of an established social hierarchy, where servants wait on the orders of their social superiors, much as in a Jane Austen novel. But the servants of Hill House show little inclination to respect their social betters (or anyone, for that matter) or do much beyond what they have been strictly contracted to do, if even that. Eleanor has to practically drive over Mr. Dudley to get into the grounds, and later Mrs. Dudley tersely repeats again and again, "I don't wait on people. What I agreed to, it don't mean I wait on people" (44). If a house conveys an image of a particular social order, then Hill House and its staff are closer to the collapsing order Faulkner portrays in "A Rose for Emily" than Tara in *Gone with the Wind*.

The sinister architecture of Hill House is a case in point for a looming social crisis. If the solidity, regularity and well-formed geometrical shapes of a cathedral, government building, or aristocrat's home are all meant to reinforce in the populace awe and faith in a social system, Hill House seems designed to make people uneasy. Doors fail to stay open on their own, steps are always sloped a bit to the inside, walls do not come together at right angles; in fact, "[w]alls seemed always in one direction a fraction longer than the eye could endure, and in another direction a fraction less than the could endure" (40). In short, Hill House "had an unbelievably faulty design which left it chillingly wrong in all its dimensions" (40). These features all let the house fit the stereotype of a haunted house, yet they also appear designed to reject order and provoke Girard's mimetic crisis.

Yet into this house settle a small community of people who do attempt to impose order, not the least of whom is Dr. Montague. Both in age and social rank the leader of the group, Dr. Montague plays the part on several occasions, self-consciously behaving like the university professor he is: "He rose and moved to stand by the fire in an unmistakable classroom pose; he seemed to feel the lack of a blackboard behind him, because once or twice he half turned, hand raised, as though looking for chalk to illustrate a point" (70). While this is clearly Jackson adding a touch of humor to her story – her own husband was a college professor and she no doubt enjoyed an occasional poke at the academy – interestingly enough the reaction of Luke and Theodora is to fall into line and behave as students. Tellingly, we learn this from Eleanor's reaction, who, as so often happens, seems to stand outside the action and observe the others. She is the weak link in the chain,

the one most susceptible to the allures of mimetic desire, as she does not have the social experience to know how to behave in a group of strangers. It is time now to turn our attention to her, for it is she who the house – the apparent force behind the breakdown in order that leads to a mimetic crisis – has chosen as the center of its attention.

In Girard's reading of mythology, it is the appearance of brothers or twins – or doppelgänger as the horror genre calls them – that signals the impending mimetic crisis, and at a number of points in the novel, we find Eleanor playing on half of this role. Indeed, from the very beginning, this is how she is introduced to us. She is chosen to participate in the Hill House project because of her supposed susceptibility to psychic phenomena: when she was a young child, stones had mysteriously fallen upon the house she, her sister and mother had lived in. The hail of stones inexplicably stopped after she and her family temporarily moved out, and the cause was never determined, although both Eleanor and her sister "had supposed at the time that the other was responsible" (7). This sisterly conflict is shown as continuing into adulthood when Eleanor argues with her sister over the use of the care, which Eleanor claims is jointly owned, a statement which Carrie simply ignores and continues referring to it as "my car" (12). This scene is the first of many later in the text in which Eleanor is effectively erased from the company. The narrative perspective becomes so limited that at times we find Theo, Luke, or the doctor making comments about Eleanor's actions that have not been revealed to us at all, e.g., that she is frightened or leaning back so dangerously that she almost falls and Luke has to grab her (113). Psychologically, this illustrates Eleanor's increasingly tenuous grasp on reality and her slow slide into madness – but this is also a sign of her merging with the house, itself a symbol of mimetic conflict, and Eleanor slowly losing her status as an individual, identifying more and more with the others at Hill House.

In coming to Hill House, Eleanor flees from her sister, relishing her new-found freedom on the way, but quickly falls into a new relationship that strongly resembles the one she left behind. A strong-willed individual like the sister, Theo rapidly strikes up a friendship with Eleanor and within a short time, after a playful run around the house making up imaginary stories with her, puts an arm around Eleanor and asks her, "Would you let them separate us now? Now that we've found out we're cousins?" (55). It may well be a fateful suggestion, for while Eleanor occasionally remarks to herself how different Theo is from her, events seem to conspire to bring them closer together, both physically and mentally. The second of the supernatural events, for example, involves blood being poured on Theo's clothes and

around her room, thus forcing her to abandon her room, sleep in a bed next to Eleanor, and borrow Eleanor's clothes to wear. Theo's initial reaction is to resent Eleanor and blame her for having done this, and in Eleanor's easy acceptance of the new situation, there is some suggestion that she did desire this outcome. Viewed from the perspective of mimetic conflict, Theo's anger is understandable: Eleanor, she suspects, is imitating her, thus threatening her position as the stronger of the two in the relationship. In subsequent conflicts between them, we see Theo repeatedly putting Eleanor in her place: she condescendingly tells Eleanor that she "has to be in the limelight" (160) when the latter talks about her personality "dissolving and slipping and separating" (159), and later she firmly tells Eleanor they will go their separate ways after Hill House when the latter tells Theo she wants to move in with her.

Indeed, it is at times difficult to differentiate between the two as we see events unfolding from Eleanor's perspective. At one point, she is irritated, for example, by Theo's mentioning the name "Hill House," believing that she is doing it deliberately to provoke her personally. A split second later, Theo appears to do just that: "'Hill House, Hill House, Hill House,' Theodora said softly, and smiled across at Eleanor" (123). At a later point, after Mrs. Montague arrives, Eleanor thinks to herself, "I wonder how long she is going to stay" (184), words which are uttered verbatim by Theo in the very next line. The boundary between her thoughts and the outside world, Theodora in particular, becomes more and more difficult to discern as the narrative progresses.

This melding together of two personalities, two sisters as it were, evokes the specter of mimetic conflict, which Girard identifies in mythology as brought about by the competition between two brothers. This theme is reinforced by the history of Hill House itself, which Dr. Montague informs the group was highlighted by two sisters quarreling over the inheritance from their father. Even after the death of the older sister, the argument between the two continued, with the companion of the deceased sister becoming the new object of the younger sister's hatred. The parallels to Eleanor's situation are hard to overlook: the companion is viewed as the usurper, much as Eleanor feels herself always out of place; the companion is eventually hounded into committing suicide, an act to which Eleanor exclaims "she had to?" (78) upon hearing the story, and foreshadowing Eleanor's own suicide on the final page of the novel. But as with any mimetic conflict, it is difficult to pin down a one-to-one correspondence of a guilty party and an innocent one, for it is the mimetic situation itself which unleashes conflict, not any one particular individual more than another.

It is interesting to note Theo's reaction to the house's history, however, as she immediately blames the younger sister, exclaiming: "First she stole her sister's lover, and then she tried to steal her sister's dishes. No, I don't like her" (78). In fact, no stolen lover is mentioned at all in the story, but the situation echoes her own with Eleanor – early on she claims that "Luke has fallen madly in love with you [Eleanor], and I am jealous," (86) and while this might just be Theo trying to flatter her – Eleanor often seems unable to decide what other people's true intentions are – enough is revealed later on to indicate that Luke does make a pass at Eleanor, but later ends up together with Theo. Eleanor never consciously states that she is jealous, but she does overhear Mrs. Montague and Mrs. Dudley in a suggestive conversation about morality and the goings-on at the house, and on two occasions she stumbles on, or eavesdrops on, Theo and Luke when they are having intimate conversations. These events happen too often and too close to each other to simply be coincidences – it appears that Eleanor is consciously seeking out information about the couple. In the end, who is jealous of who remains unclear, but that one desires what the other does is both obvious and, again, the earmark of a mimetic conflict.

It is a conflict which has been slowly boiling since their arrival, and a conflict which Jackson has taken pains at various stages to identify explicitly in terms of sibling rivalry. When, for example, Theo is forced by the supernatural occurrence to move into Eleanor's room with her, she comments that "[s]hare a room and share our clothes [. . .]. We're going to be practically twins" (158). It is a comment that Eleanor quietly rejects, thinking that she would prefer to remain cousins as they had earlier playfully identified themselves. But this is a process which is hard to reverse once started, and Dr. Montague has already hinted at the dangers associated with the house. In cautioning Eleanor to be grounded in the reality of their small group, he warns her not to let her imagination take hold of her: "You would be venturing too close to the state of mind which would welcome the perils of Hill House with a kind of sisterly embrace" (140). The perils that the house represents to her, and to everyone in the group for that matter, are here distinctly expressed in terms of sibling relations.

In a psychoanalytic interpretation of Jackson's novel, one would see in Eleanor's vacillating attitude toward Theo – at times anger over her selfish behavior, at other moments attempts to draw her closer and be like her – and her inner timidity about expressing herself while at the same time outwardly babbling away her unconscious thoughts as signs of a sexually and socially repressed personality slowly giving way to madness. The house itself

is a symbol of a mind, the "embodiment of [the] extended self" (Gaál-Szabó 2011b, 92) – unhinged and lost in itself. Certainly, such interpretations of this gothic house are fully justified. But viewed from a perspective of mimetic desire, one sees all this happening from a slightly different angle. The ghost that haunts Hill House is the threat of mimetic conflict. In the end, the only possible way to resolve the conflict and restore order is to unite the group in agreement on a cause of the conflict, to agree on a victim they can banish and thus expel all problems from the community. This is done at the end of Jackson's novel when the entire group – five people at this point – get together and force Eleanor against her will to leave the house. The expulsion drives her, quite literally, straight to her death at the end of the road leading away from Hill House. The group's unity is physically emphasized when the five people "make a solid line along the steps of Hill House, guarding the door" (240). This unanimity bears resemblance to Jackson's even more famous short story "The Lottery," where the community gathers once a year, selects a random victim, and then – as part of the pre-agreed upon ritual – all take part in stoning the victim to death, even her five-year-old son.

In conclusion, a Girardian reading of Jackson's classic ghost story thus points us toward a new understanding of where the "horror" in the horror genre comes from. She takes two of the most typical motifs of the genre – the haunted house and the doppelgänger – and presents them through the figure of a lonely and socially awkward woman as reflections of mimetic desire. The uncanny in a gothic house is not just the hidden chambers and unknowable architecture of the human mind that it has come to symbolize; it is the inability of the house to provide us a stable, dependable structure to withstand the threat of mimetic conflict. The eerie in the doppelgänger is not simply the recognition of the duality of one's personality and the ultimate instability of a unified self; it is that the double or twin makes us sense in that our desires are not truly our own but taken from elsewhere. In the breaking down of borders between ourselves and others, we intuitively grasp what our unconscious has been hiding from us – that there is much less to our own agency than we had thought. We are, in essence, prisoners of the processes of mimetic desire.

In *Deceit, Desire and the Novel*, Girard claims that the mark of truly great artists is to understand how mimetic desire functions and then to expose it in their works. Stendahl, Proust, and Dostoevsky, he claimed, were among such writers. Shirley Jackson, one could argue, was also one of these artists.

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3.

LANGUAGE, LANGUAGE USE

Andrea Csillag

Fear Expressions in English and Russian
Metaphors, Metonymies and their Interaction

Introduction

The aim of the present paper is to study the language of fear in English and Russian with a special focus on metaphor and metonymy and their possible interaction.

Kövecses (1990, 2000) gives a detailed analysis of the metaphors and metonymies comprising the American English concept of fear. Goossens (2002) gives an account of the interaction of metaphor and metonymy based on a research conducted on a corpus of linguistic action. He claims that the interaction of metaphor and metonymy results in a phenomenon named metaphtonymy. However, besides the interaction of metaphor and metonymy it is possible that two metaphors or two metonymies are combined in linguistic expressions and I attempt to find examples in my English and Russian corpus of *fear* and *strakh,* respectively, to prove this hypothesis.

Theoretical background – emotion, metaphor, metonymy, metaphtonymy

Fear is one of the six universal basic emotions (Ekman et al. 1972). It is an "emotion caused by the nearness or possibility of danger, pain, evil, etc." (Hornby 1989). We respond with fear to situations in which we are faced with either some physical danger or some other threat to our security. Esenova (2011, 72) notes that the close connection between fear and danger is reflected in its etymology: *fear* comes from Middle English *fere* going back to Old English *fær* meaning "calamity, sudden danger, peril, sudden attack" (The Online Etymology Dictionary).

In relation to fear people talk about a number of details of their experience, mainly the kind and intensity of the danger or threat they are exposed to as

well as their physiological and behavioural reactions, their facial expressions, their cognitive appraisal of the situation (Atkinson et al. 1997, Bányai 2013). Specific details of the aforementioned items serve as distinguishing features between emotions, that is, between fear, anxiety, fright, horror, terror, panic. Lazarus (1991) claims that the term *fear* refers to a family of related emotions and should be used as a cover term for all these emotions and not only to denote one of the six universal basic emotions.

Kövecses (1990, 70–74) gives a list of nineteen metonymies of fear like PHYSICAL AGITATION (*She was shaking with fear.*), INCREASE IN HEART RATE (*His heart pounded with fear.*), and INABILITY TO MOVE (*I was rooted to the spot.*), etc. Based on the metonymies capturing physiological and behavioural reactions Kövecses (1990, 74) proposes a three-stage cognitive model of fear: stage (1) danger, stage (2) fear exists and stage (3) flight.

Kövecses (1990, 74–78) identifies nine metaphors of fear like FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (*Fear was rising in him.*), FEAR IS AN OPPONENT (*He was wrestling with his fear.*) and FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE (*Fear swept over him.*), etc. (Kövecses (2000, 23) presents practically the same list of fear metaphors as in his 1990 study, there are only a few slight modifications that do not make a real difference to my point in the present paper.) Based on his findings Kövecses (1990, 79) proposes a more complex cognitive model by inserting two more stages into the metonymy-based model of fear. By doing so he gets a five-stage model of fear, which is in complete harmony with the prototypical model (or scenario) of emotion (Kövecses 1990, 182–197), on the one hand, and, on the other, the five-stage model gives a more precise representation of the characteristic features of fear: stage (1) danger, stage (2) fear exists, stage (3) attempt at control, stage (4) loss of control and stage (5) flight. At stage (5) of the model fear ceases to exist since the experiencer is emotionally calm again after fleeing from the danger he/she had to face earlier.

It is clear from the above discussion that Kövecses (1990, 2000) takes metaphor and metonymy separately into account claiming that they conceptualize different features of our fear experience. At the same time, he argues that in order to get a full picture and a clear and detailed understanding of fear (or any other emotion) metaphor and metonymy should be viewed together as integral parts of our concept of emotion. In a corpus-based study on the vocabulary of linguistic action, Goossens (2002, 350) claims that the interaction of metaphor and metonymy is possible and coins the term *metaphtonymy* to name the phenomenon. He uses the term as a cover

term for four kinds of interactions, namely metaphor from metonymy (*beat one's breast*), metonymy within metaphor (*She caught the minister's ear and persuaded him to accept her plan*), metaphor within metonymy (*be/get on one's hind legs*) and demetonymisation inside a metaphor (*pay lip service to*). Goossens's discussion (2002) shows that he is not concerned with the possible interaction of more than one metaphor and one metonymy, or else with the interactions of two (or more) metaphors or two (or more) metonymies, the reason for which may be that he has no example of any of them in his database of expressions of linguistic action. However, I think, it is worth checking their occurrence, presently, in my corpora of English and Russian linguistic expressions of *fear* and *strakh*.

My hypothesis, research questions and some methodological issues

Cognitive linguistic research has already demonstrated that (1) the language of emotion abounds in figurative expressions instantiating metonymies and metaphors (Kövecses 1990, 2000, 2015, Goatly 2007, Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Wierzbicka 1996), (2) universal (or near universal) emotions tend to be conceptualized by varieties of generic level emotion metaphors (e.g. EMOTIONS ARE CONTAINERS) and generic level metonymies (e.g. PHYSIOLOGICAL REACTIONS OF EMOTIONS STAND FOR EMOTIONS) (Barcelona, 1986, Kövecses, 1990, 2000), and (3) studies of emotion vocabulary of different languages may shed light on culture-specific peculiarities of emotion concepts of different nations (see for example Apresjan and Apresjan 1993, Levontina and Zalizniak 2001, Lifang 2008, Wierzbicka 1996, 1999, Pinelli 2017, Rewis-Łetkowska 2015, Sharma 2017).

I hypothesize that Kövecses's lists of fear metonymies and metaphors are not definitive even in relation to the English concept of fear, therefore a corpus-based investigation conducted into the language of fear may result in metaphors and metonymies not identified by Kövecses. A similar investigation into the language of *strakh* (the Russian counterpart of fear) may provide us with some culture-specific details of the Russian concept of fear. In addition to this, I might find examples of metaphtonymy, a totally unaccounted for area in Kövecses's research. Thus my research questions are

1. Does my English corpus of fear expressions contain any examples of metonymies and metaphors not presented in Kövecses's 1990 and 2000 analyses?

2. What metonymies and metaphors are instantiated in my Russian corpus?
3. Are there any examples of the interaction of metonymy and metaphor of any kind in my English and Russian corpora?

I have built two corpora of linguistic expressions of fear and related emotions in English and Russian. For the English corpus, I used The Free Dictionary (https://www.thefreedictionary.com) as a source and collected example sentences from the 'cite' section under the headings *fear, anxiety, nervousness* and *tension*. (The 'cite' section of each entry presents quotations from Sommer's (1988) *Similes Dictionary*.) For the Russian corpus, I used the Russian National Corpus (http://www.ruscorpora.ru/) as a source and collected examples using *strakh, ispug, panika* and *trevoga* as search words. In both my English and Russian corpora, I selected the examples that instantiate either metaphors or metonymies or their interactions, which finally resulted in 68 English and 65 Russian example sentences.

Discussion

In the passage below, I attempt to answer my research questions by discussing some representative examples of my English and Russian corpora. Due to paper length limits I only give one example of each metonymy, metaphor and any kind of their interaction.

1. *Does my English corpus of fear expressions contain any examples of metonymies and metaphors not presented in Kövecses's 1990 and 2000 analyses?*

My English corpus contains fourteen examples of 'physiological effect' metonymies. The examples instantiate four metonymies, three of which are included in Kövecses's (1990) analysis. The sentence (1) *(Mildred's) heart leapt with like a bird in her breast* instantiates the metonymy AN INCREASE IN HEART RATE STANDS FOR FEAR. While sentence (2) *Felt chilled as by the breath of death's head* instantiates the metonymy DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE STANDS FOR FEAR, and sentence (3) *His stomach felt like a volcano about to erupt* is an instantiation of NERVOUSNESS IN THE STOMACH STANDS FOR FEAR.

Kövecses (1990) does not mention tension among the physiological reactions accompanying fear (and related emotions), however, in my corpus there are 8 examples instantiating the metonymy TENSION IN THE BODY

STANDS FOR FEAR. Sentence (4) *Body rigid from shoulder to belly as though he had been stricken with elephantiasis* highlights the back. It must be noted that there are no examples of Kövecses's (1990) 'behavioural reaction' metonymies (PHYSICAL AGITATION/ WAYS OF LOOKING/ FLIGHT STANDS FOR FEAR) in my corpus.

My corpus contains 54 metaphorical expressions of fear and related emotions. 17 of these metaphorical expressions instantiate the container metaphor. Kövecses (1990, 2000) identifies fear as a fluid in a container claming that the container is the human body. My corpus proves that the body is very frequently conceptualized as the container of fear, however, it also provides 10 examples of specific parts of the body conceptualized as containers for fear, for example the brain, foot, toes and ankle as in (5) *Brute terrors […] filled the more remote chambers of his brain* and (6) *I pretend my right foot is like a bottle. I pour my fears down into the toes and cork the whole thing at the ankle, so none of my fears can escape into the rest of me.* However, examples like (5) and (6) do not basically modify Kövecses's findings, they serve as considerable additions to them by drawing our attention to the use of certain body parts as containers in several versions of the container metaphor.

A further addition to Kövecses's container metaphor is that fear is almost as frequently conceptualized as a substance (in 8 examples) and as a fluid (in 9 examples) in my corpus. In (7) *Fear … sat heavy in the center of his body like a ball of badly digested food* we can see fear as a substance. Thus the metaphor FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER. It must be admitted that the substance reading of fear is reinforced by the context provided by the simile coming after the metaphorical expression. In (7) fear is understood as a food substance.

Along with the sentences instantiating the container metaphor in my corpus there are 27 examples of several other metaphors in which the body and a number of body parts serve as locations for different entities understood as fear and related emotions. The body parts providing locations are head, face, tooth, chest, heart, stomach/belly, limbs, legs, knees, bones and nerves, whereas the emotions fear, terror, panic, worry, anxiety and fright are conceptualized as animate/animate-like and inanimate entities. The animate/animate-like entities are personified objects, animals or supernatural beings, while the inanimate entities are technical equipments, natural forces or substances.

In (8) *Fear … lay on me like a slab of stone* fear is a personified object on the body as a surface location. In (9) *Felt (the beginning of) panic, like a giant hand squeezing my heart* panic is likened to a giant hand thus instantiating

the metaphor FEAR/PANIC IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING, whose location or operation area is the heart.

Because the natural force metaphor is exemplified in Kövecses (1990, 2000) and the substance metaphor is discussed above, I only present one example of the 5 instantiations of fear as (the operation of) a technical equipment: (10) *The terror inside him acted like radar.* Sentence (10) is a complex example, where terror is an entity in the body and its operation is likened to a radar's. In this example, the following images play together: (a) terror is an animate-like being (*terror acted*) (b) the operation of terror is (like) the operation of a technical equipment and (c) the location for the emotion terror is the experiencer's body (*terror inside him*). I will attempt to identify the combination of metaphors which sentence (10) instantiates when I answer my third research question concerning the interaction of metaphors.

2. *What metonymies and metaphors are instantiated in my Russian corpus?*

My Russian corpus has a wide range of fear metonymies providing several instantiations of the following metonymies: WAYS OF LOOKING STANDS FOR FEAR – (11) *Smotrela na nego s ispugom…* (She looked at him with fright…); CHANGE OF SKIN COLOUR (WHITE FACE) STANDS FOR FEAR – (12) *V eto vremja v komnatu vskol'znul odin iz molodykh. Belyj ot ispuga.* (At that time one of the young slipped/crept into the room. He was white with fright.); TENSION/TIGHTNESS STANDS FOR FEAR (not included in Kövecses's list of metonymies) – (13) *U menja chto-to szhalos' v grudi, kak ot ispuga.* (I had something tightened in my breast just like due to fright.); PHYSICAL AGITATION STANDS FOR FEAR – (14) *Vsë, ja napugan, ja drozhu ot strakha, i ja nemedlenno nachinaju uchit' zarubezhku!* (That's all, I am frightened, I am quivering with fear, and I soon start to study abroad!); INABILITY TO SPEAK STANDS FOR FEAR – (15) *On s ispugu i ot neozhidannosti lishilsja rechi, skoro perezvonil mne, ne verja v slushevsheesja.* (He became speechless because of fright and unexpectedness, soon called me up not believing what he heard.).

My corpus is also rich in metaphors, most of which are included in Kövecses's list of metaphors. The metaphors 'fear as a fluid' and 'fear as a container' have three and four instantiations, respectively: FEAR IS A FLUID (IN A CONTAINER) – (16) *On ponjal tajno i prostuju mysl' Leny, ot etogo ponimanija ispug pronik v ego serdce…* (He understood Lena's secret and simple thought, because of this understanding fright penetrated into

his heart...); FEAR IS A CONTAINER – (17) *A ja tut prebyvaju v strakhe i uzhase, osobenno v svjazi s poslednimi sobytijami.* (And here I am in fear and horror, especially in connection with the latest events.).

Although sentences like (11) *Smotrela na nego s ispugom…* (She looked at him with fright…) quoted above instantiate the metonymy WAYS OF LOOKING STANDS FOR FEAR, it is interesting to consider examples like (18) and (19). In (11) *s ispugom* (instrumental-comitative case in Russian, singular) clearly answers the question *kak* (how) describing the way of looking. In (18) *K nemu shli so strakhom…* (They went to him with fear…) *so strakhom* (instrumental-comitative case in Russian, singular) has a similar lexical function describing the way of going, whereas in (19) *Ne ostavljajte rebënka naedine s ego strakhami* (Do not leave the child alone with his fears.) *so strakhami* (instrumental-comitative case in Russian, plural) seems to have the metaphorical meaning 'companion'. Thus sentence (19) instantiates the metaphor FEAR IS A (BAD) COMPANION, which is not covered in Kövecses's (1990; 2000) studies probably because it is not part of the English concept of fear. Dávid (2016) claims that culture-specific differences of figurative language may be explained by the fact that socio-cultural distinctions may prioratize different scenarios (image schemata), consequently different metaphors may emerge throughout languages.

Stefanowitsch (2006, 78-79) suggests that Kövecses's (1998) metaphors FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY, FEAR IS A TORMENTOR, and FEAR IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE should be subsumed under FEAR IS AN ENEMY. My Russian corpus contains ten examples of the enemy metaphor in Stefanowitsch's (2006) sense, however, the use of the verb *preodolevat'* (overcome) highlights the image of enemy as in (20) *Tol'ko togda Kal'vero nachinaet bor'bu, preodolevaja svoj i chuzhoj strakh pered provalom […], potomu chto boretsja … za soldata svoej armii* (Only then does Kal'vero start the fight, overcoming his own and the others' fear before the failure […], because he is fighting … for a soldier of his army.); the verb *okhvatyvat'* (seize) hightlights the image of a vicious enemy as in (21) *No komandir skazal, chto po doroge nel'zja, i Kostju okhvatyval ispug – a vdrug zavedët ne tuda*? (But the commander told not to go on the road and Kostja was caught by fright – whether it (the road) takes you not there?); while the verb *muchit'* (torment) the image of tormentor as in (22) *V etom sluchae ikh ne budet muchit' strakh, chto oni znachitel'no slabee sverstnikov* (In this case, they will not be tormented by fear that they are much weaker than peers.). Sentences (20), (21) and (22) capture different aspects of the Russian concept of fear as enemy.

3. *Are there any examples of the interaction of metonymy and metaphor of any kind in my English and Russian corpora?*

In my English corpus there are some complex metaphor constructs. The examples below instantiate combinations of two metaphors. Sentence (23) is a variation on the container metaphor, in which a body part serves as a container for the emotion: *Brute terrors […] filled the more remote chambers of his brain.* Example (23) instantiates the metaphors TERROR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, A BODY PART/THE BRAIN IS A CONTAINER FOR TERROR, which combine in the specific (double) metaphor TERROR IS A FLUID IN THE BRAIN CONTAINER. In the remainder of the present paper, I will use the term 'combimetaphor' for constructs combining two metaphors. (N.B.: Such combinations are outside the scope of Goossens' (2002) study because he is only concerned with the interaction of metonymy and metaphor.)

The following example conceptualizes fear as a (solid) substance on a location, which can be viewed as a variation of the emotion as substance metaphor: (24=8) *Fear … lay on me like a slab of stone.* Sentence (24) combines the metaphors FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE ON A LOCATION and THE BODY IS A LOCATION FOR FEAR, thus the combimetaphor is FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE BODY LOCATION.

So far I have found combimetaphors comprising two metaphors as components. The following example is a candidate for 'triple combimetaphor', in which fear/terror is conceptualized as an animate-like being (*terror acted*), which is in a location (*terror inside him*), the location is the human body and the operation of the emotion is likened to the operation of a technical equipment as in (25=10) *The terror inside him acted like radar*, where the three metaphor components combine in the combimetaphor TERROR IS AN ANIMATE-LIKE BEING WHOSE OPERATION IS (LIKE) THE OPERATION OF A TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT IN THE BODY LOCATION.

In my Russian corpus, there are three examples of the interaction of metaphor and metonymy as in (25) *V tot moment, kogda na nego padalo eto klounskoe vedro, on, estestvenno, v ispuge vskochil, zaprygal, upal* […] (At the moment, when this bucket of the clown fell on him, he, of course, in his fright jumped, skipped, fell […].) In example (25) the emotion *ispuga* (fright) is a container for the experiencer, while the verb refers to behavioural reactions/physiological reactions/agitated behaviour (sprain, quiver, jump, skip, fall). The first component with the container image is a metaphor, the second

component is a metonymy. Thus, the metonymy AGITATED BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR FEAR/FRIGHT and the metaphor FEAR/FRIGHT IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EXPERIENCER combine in the metaphtonymy AGITATED BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR FEAR BEING A CONTAINER FOR THE EXPERIENCER. In this case the metonymy is imbedded in the metaphor, which produces metonymy within metaphor to use Goossens's (2002) terminology. There are no examples of similar combinations in Kövecses (1990 and 2000).

Conclusion

In the present study, I have used Kövecses's lists of fear metonymies and fear metaphors as checklists to investigate the language of fear in my English and Russian corpus of linguistic expressions of fear. I hypothesized that Kövecses's lists of fear metaphors and metonymies may not include all the metaphors and metonymies that I find in my corpora. My findings show that practically all the metonymies in Kövecses (1990) can be identified in my English and Russian corpora, however, the metonymy TENSION STANDS FOR FEAR, which is not included in Kövecses (1990), is instantiated in both my English and Russian corpora.

As far as metaphors of fear are concerned, I have found several of the ones listed in Kövecses (1990, 2000). In addition, my corpora exemplify the following variations of the container metaphor: FEAR IS A FLUID/SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER; THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR FEAR or CERTAIN BODY PARTS ARE CONTAINERS FOR FEAR. Fear has some further conceptulaziations, too: FEAR IS AN ANIMATE(-LIKE)/INANIMATE ENTITY in English and FEAR IS A BAD COMPANION in Russian. The latter is probably a culture specific-metaphor, which is not part of the English concept of fear.

Kövecses (1990, 2000) focuses on the identification of metaphor and metonymy in the language of fear but does not go into the structural analysis of metaphors and metonymies. I have found that metaphors like FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER have a complex structure and comprise the combination of two (pure) metaphors (FEAR IS A FLUID and THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR FEAR) resulting in the combimetaphor FEAR IS A FLUID IN THE BODY CONTAINER. My English corpus has several instantiations of this metaphor.

My second hypothesis at the beginning of my research was that the language of fear (and most probably the language of emotion in general) may

contain linguistic expressions that are not instantiations of pure metonymies and pure metaphors but may be instantiations of the interaction of metonymy and metaphor (in any combination), too. My findings have proved that two metaphors may combine in the language of fear, however, I have no examples of combimetonymies. Combimetaphors instantiated in my English corpus are: TERROR IS A FLUID IN THE BRAIN CONTAINER, TERROR IS A FLUID IN THE BODY CONTAINER and TERROR IS AN ANIMATE-LIKE BEING WHOSE OPERATION IS (LIKE) THE OPERATION OF A TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT IN THE BODY CONTAINER. The former two are combinations of two, while the latter one is a combination of three metaphors.

The last of my hypotheses was that the language of fear may have instantiations of metaphtonymy in Goosens' s (2002) sense. Although my English corpus has no examples, my Russian corpus has three instantiations of one kind of metaphtonymy, metonymy within metaphor, AGITATED BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR FEAR BEING A CONTAINER FOR THE EXPERIENCER.

As a final note, because both my English and Russian corpora are relatively small further research has to be conducted to produce a more detailed analysis of the language of fear in English and Russian. However, I hope to have contributed to the knowledge and database concerning the English and Russian concepts of fear.

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Szilárd Szentgyörgyi

The RP English accent as a metaphor of distance in the United States[1]

Introduction

The main objective of this paper is to shed light on the changing attitudes towards a Received Pronunciation (RP) accent as reflected by the kinds of characters in Hollywood films having such an accent. The structure of the paper is as follows: first, we are going to present the most well-known pronunciation features of RP English including consonantal phenomena like R-dropping, L-darkening in limited environments, the lack of mandatory flapping and yod-dropping in certain environments, as well as vowel phenomena, such as breaking and the presence of certain monophthongs, diphthongs and triphthongs that are completely missing from General American (GA).

The second section is going to focus on the ways and types of distance a Hollywood movie character speaking with an RP accent may indicate: physical distance, abstract distance, social distance, and distance in time demonstrated by a number of well-known movie characters with an RP accent. Next we will point out the possible sources of these attitudes towards RP English and the way they turned into self-fulfilling prophecies resulting in generations expecting certain characters to speak in certain ways.

Basic notions

Since most people, including linguists and non-linguists alike, use the word accent when referring to someone's way of speaking, let us start by clarifying some basic notions concerning interspeaker differences in language use. These can be classified depending on how wide-spread the characteristics of language use are and what the central organizing idea of the community using this variety of language is: if it is the language use of just one individual, we will call it an idiolect. If it is a larger, general community, we will call it a regional or social dialect depending on whether the community can be identified by geographical or social factors. Our scope of research is limited both geographically and socially – as it is only the RP English accent that we are investigating. Also, we are not going to discuss lexical or syntactic properties distinguishing RP from other varieties, so the scope is limited to phonetics-phonology which even the linguistically untrained layperson will relatively easily identify. It is customary to distinguish between dialects and accents in sociolinguistics on the ground mentioned above: dialects involve differences at all levels of language while accents only differ in pronunciation ([see Holmes 2013] and sources cited therein).

Let us now turn our attention to RP English, the dialect under scrutiny, a sociolect, that is a dialect characteristic of the speech of a certain layer of society, in our case: the upper class, hence its label of prestige dialect. At the same time, RP pronunciation is the typical accent associated with the standard variety. Many of the sources mentioned above classify RP as a placeless accent as it is purely associated with social class but not any region(s) of today's Britain.

> The point is, however, that it is not possible to ascribe any geographical origins to a genuine native RP speaker other than that they are almost certainly British, and probably English. This peculiar lack of regionality must be due to a peculiar set of sociolinguistic preconditions, and has in fact often been ascribed to its origin in British residential, and therefore also non-regional, schools for the children of the upper-classes, the so-called Public Schools. (Trudgill 2001)

In spite of Trudgill's claims above, however, there is one important regional property of the dialect, which is of utmost importance for the discussion at hand: the fact that it is associated with Great Britain in general, and England, in particular, but typically not with Ireland, Scotland, or Wales. This minute geographical association is enough, though, as it is enough to be contrasted with the other dialect serving as the basis for comparison,

General American – a contrast easily explained by the many significant pronunciation differences to be discussed below.

RP Pronunciation Features

Let us now turn to the differences between the two most well-known and influential dialects of the English language, Received Pronunciation and General American. The features to be discussed below characterize a great number of varieties of English and it is only the combination of these characteristics co-occurring with each other that will uniquely identify the variety as RP as opposed to others.

The phenomena below are well-known and widely discussed in the phonetic and phonological literature of the English language as demonstrated by the long list of textbooks devoted to the topic: Balogné Bérces & Szentgyörgyi (2006), Carr (1999), Giegerich (1992), Gimson (1980), Kreidler (1989), Nádasdy (2006), Roach (2000) and Wells (1982) among others.[2]

RP English significantly differs from other varieties of the language in its sound inventory and the rules applying in the sound system, so let us now examine the consonant system followed by an overview of vowels.

In the discussion below, we are going to focus on the behaviour of approximants, /r, l, j/ and the allophones of the voiceless alveolar plosive, /t/. The phenomena under scrutiny include rhoticity, i.e. the presence or absence of the post-alveolar liquid [r] in pronunciation in certain positions; L-darkening, i.e. the velarized quality of the alveolar lateral liquid [ɫ] in certain positions as opposed to its non-velarized nature in others; Yod-dropping, the deletion of the palatal glide [j] after certain consonants and its being retained after others; and flapping, the quick voiced pronunciation of /t/ and /d/ in intervocalic positions as opposed to a non-flapped, and possibly slightly aspirated pronunciation of /t/ in the same type of position.

The deletion of /r/ in some dialects of English is a phenomenon that is most often noticed by foreign language learners listening to native speakers of English speaking the so-called *rhotic* vs *non-rhotic* dialects, GA being an example for the former, RP for the latter. Because of this, R-dropping may be

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2   We limit our discussion to segmental characteristics only – although they also display a vast number of differences, suprasegmental features like stress, rhythm and intonation are outside the scope of the present paper.

called the most widely cited dialectal difference between the two dialects in pronunciation. Let us now see what the ideal contexts for contrast between the two are:

(1) R-dropping in RP

/r/ pronounced	/r/ dropped	
before a vowel	before a consonant	before a pause
ferry	*fort*	*far##*[3]
scar+y	*cure+d*	*her##*
car#is	*car#was*	*car##*

The data in (1) demonstrates that RP speakers will only pronounce an /r/ if it is followed by a vowel.[4] It does not matter whether the vowel is in the same morpheme, as in *ferry*, or in the same word but in a different morpheme as in *scar+y*, or it is in the following word, as in *car#is* – the /r/ will always be pronounced. Note that it is not only RP speakers who pronounce the /r/ in these environments – speakers of all dialects do. The difference between RP and GA (and other dialects) is caused by the other kind of environment, cases when the /r/ is not followed by a vowel but a consonant or a pause, as in the second column in (1): regardless of whether the following consonant is in the same morpheme as in *fort*, in a different morpheme in the same word as in *cure+d*, or in a different word immediately following as in *car#was*, it will always be silent in RP. Also, it is always silent when followed by a pause as in the third column of data. In the environments exemplified by columns two and three, GA speakers will always retain their r's – there is just no environment where the /r/ is deleted in GA.

Consequently, we can conclude that the presence or absence of a pronounced [r] in certain environments distinguishes between RP and GA very well and thus makes rhoticity an ideal reference point. This, in turn proves to serve the purposes of movie directors very well as we will demonstrate below.

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3   The + symbol indicates a morpheme boundary, # indicates a word boundary, while ## indicates an utterance boundary, i.e. a longer period of pause when no speech sound immediately follows.

4   Note that the site of R-dropping can be described by making reference to positions within the syllable: r's are dropped only when in the coda of a syllable. For the exact description of the rule, see Balogné Bérces & Szentgyörgyi (2006) or any of the references mentioned above.

After the discussion of rhoticity, let us now turn to the other liquid, the consonant /l/. It is just very logical to continue our discussion with the contextual variants of /l/ as the environments involved will be very similar to those mentioned in connection with R-dropping above. Again, GA proves to behave uniformly as its speakers will mostly pronounce a more or less velarized, a so-called dark-L, indicated by the IPA symbol [ɫ], while in RP English it displays an absolutely rule-governed behaviour depending on the phonological environment:

(2) L-darkening in RP

Clear [l]	Dark [ɫ]	
before a vowel or /j/	before any other consonant	before a pause
italics	*bald*	*ball##*
call+ing	*call+ed*	*fell##*
call#out	*call#that*	*call##*

As one can see in (2), before vowels or the glide /j/, the lateral liquid is pronounced as a plain, non-velarized clear [l] regardless whether the following vowel is in the same morpheme as in *italics*, in the next morpheme but still in the same word as in *call+ing*, or in the following word as in *call#out*. Before any other consonant it is pronounced as a dark, velarized [ɫ] if the following consonant is in the same morpheme as in *bald*, in the next morpheme but still in the same word as in *call+ed*, or in the following word as in *call#that*. Finally, the /l/ is also pronounced as dark in utterance final positions, before a pause as in *ball##*.[5]

As can be seen in (2), similarly to R-dropping, GA and RP speakers do pronounce their L's similarly in some of the environments,[6] as in the second and third columns demonstrated. However, in the kind of data in the first column of (2), GA speakers would still pronounce dark [ɫ]'s while RP speakers would pronounce a clear [l] in this environment.

Following the behaviour of the liquids, let us now turn to the behaviour of the third approximant consonant, /j/, and its deletion after certain conso-nants, something that we may as well dub the YouTube-rule, as speakers in

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5   Note that /l/ is also pronounced as dark if it is syllabic, i.e. if it occurs as the nucleus of a syllable lacking any vowel, e.g. *bottle* ['bɒtɫ], *bottling* ['bɒtɫɪŋ].

6   While there is a similarity between RP and GA speakers in both pronouncing a velarized L in these environments, the different degrees of velarization might still keep the two accents distinguishable in most cases.

different parts of the world will either pronounce the name of the video-sharing site as [ˈjuːˌtjuːb] or as [ˈjuːˌtuːb], i.e. with or without a [j] before the second [uː] vowel.

(3) Yod-dropping in RP

/j/ dropped after post-alveolars [r, ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ] and after consonant+/l/ clusters	/j/ optionally dropped before the alveolars [s, z, l]	/j/ retained before other coronals
rude	super	new
sure	exuberant	neurotic
azure	lewd	student
chew	lukewarm	durable
Jupiter	illuminate	tube

The relevant environment for this process is after coronal consonants, i.e. sound produced with the help of the tip of the tongue as the active articulator. GA speakers will always drop their /j/ sounds in such environments, i.e. in all the words in (3) above.[7] RP speakers on the other hand only obligatorily drop the /j/ after post-alveolar consonants and consonant+l clusters as in the first column. After some alveolar coronals like /s, z, l/, RP speakers may optionally drop their /j/ sounds – young and less conservative RP speakers are more likely to do so, as we may expect. Finally, after the remaining coronals, oral and nasal alveolar stops /t, d, n/ the /j/ is never dropped in RP. Hence, pronunciation differences will arise in the third column, where GA speakers always drop the /j/ while RP speakers never do so, and also in the second column, where GA speakers always drop the /j/ while RP speakers will only occasionally do so.

Besides the peculiarities of the approximants, the behaviour of voiceless stops in English has also been the topic of much discussion (cf. Lombardi 1994, 1999 and Szentgyörgyi, Petrova, Ringen, & Plapp 2006 and sources cited therein) in the phonological literature. Focusing on the differences between RP and GA, one of the voiceless stops, the alveolar /t/ and its behaviour requires an explanation.

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7   For an explanation on why we assume that there is a /j/ sound that is or may be deleted in the first two columns of (3), see Balogné Bérces & Szentgyörgyi (2006) or Nádasdy (2006).

When /t/ occurs in a position where it receives so-called variable aspiration – in intervocalic positions before an unstressed vowel word medially and before stressed or unstressed vowels alike across word boundaries (Balogné Bérces & Szentgyörgyi 2006; Carr 1999; Giegerich 1992; Kreidler 1989; Nádasdy 2006), it behaves quite differently in the two varieties: RP speakers tend to have weakly aspirated or plain unaspirated voiceless /t/'s in such positions, GA speakers obligatorily replace their /t/'s with a flap [ɾ].[8]

(4) Lack of obligatory flapping in RP

intervocalic within a word before an unstressed vowel	intervocalic word finally	
	before initial unstressed vowel	before initial stressed vowel
litter	*get it*	*get up*
hater	*write it*	*write up*
writer	*shoot it*	*sort out*

RP speakers tend to behave in one of two ways in the data above (Trudgill 2001): they either pronounce plain unaspirated stops or slightly aspirated /t/ sounds, the latter being representative of more conservative RP speakers. GA speakers pronounce these same words and expressions with flaps exclusively. Some RP speakers, especially non-conservative ones may allow for a third variant in the second and third environment types, i.e. across word boundaries, where the vowel following the /t/ is initial in the next word: besides plain [t] and slightly aspirated [tʰ], a flap [ɾ] pronunciation may also be possible. An important distinction is, however, that while a flap is allowed to occur for RP speakers in the second and third columns, it is never obligatory.

Thus, we can conclude that the pronunciation of the approximants /l, r, j/ as well as the lack of obligatory /t/-flapping are excellent indicators of an RP accent especially in comparison to GA.

After consonants, we turn our attention to vowel differences between the said varieties, which are twofold: on the one hand, the vowel inventories of the two dialects differ significantly, especially in the case of back vowels, and even in cases where they overlap, they often use different members of the inventory in the same word. As a result, we can identify a number of

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8   The same happens to the voiced counterpart, /d/, in identical environments but its behaviour is out of the scope ot this paper.

systematic sound correspondences. Also, there are differences that are not as universal but only affect a number of individual words (Balogné Bérces & Szentgyörgyi 2006). Secondly, there are also differences in the rules that apply within the vowel system.

We start the survey of vowel inventory differences with the back low rounded short vowel of RP, as its behaviour in GA is the simplest: it is completely missing from the standard American variety. Whenever an /ɒ/ is pronounced in RP, GA speakers will always pronounce another vowel instead, a vowel that is very close to /ɒ/ but differs in that it does not involve lip rounding: the vowel /ɑ/.

(5) Back low vowels in RP and GA

Sample word	RP pronunciation	GA pronunciation
bond	[bɒnd]	[bɑnd]
dog	[dɒg]	[dɑg]
shot	[ʃɒt]	[ʃɑt]

As the above examples show, the correspondence is perfect, i.e. if RP has a back low rounded short vowel /ɒ/ in a word, GA will always have the corresponding back low unrounded /ɑ/ vowel instead. The correspondence is not symmetrical, though, as it is not true that wherever GA has an /ɑ/, RP would always have an /ɒ/, e.g. *card* GA /kɑrd/ vs RP /kɑːd/

The behaviour of the other back low vowel, that of unrounded /ɑ/ is different from the previous one in that the correspondence between the dialects is somewhat regular but it does not apply to all the words: some vowels that are pronounced with the /ɑː/ vowel in RP will be pronounced with a low front unrounded /æ/ in GA. The correspondence will not apply to all words but only in some words in a number of special environments.

(6) /ɑː/ vs /æ/ (Balogné Bérces & Szentgyörgyi 2006)

CALM-words	*ASK-words*	
before a silent L + a labial	before a voiceless fricative+ a consonant	before a nasal + a consonant
calf	past	can't
half	fast	dance
halve	mast	shan't

In the first kind of special arrangement, in so-called CALM-words, there are only a few words that display this asymmetry between RP and GA while others will be pronounced identically in both varieties, e.g. *palm, calm* both pronounced with an /ɑ:/ in RP and GA.

In so-called ASK-words, RP speakers pronounce a back low unrounded vowel /ɑ:/ while GA speakers pronounce a front low unrounded /æ/ without exception. Note, however, that it is only in these environments where we can find a contrast between the two vowels in the two dialects while in other positions they will have the same vowel phonemes: in words containing /ɑ:/ followed by an /r/, e.g. *car, star, card*, both dialects have a back low unrounded /ɑ/. Also, in words like *stand, hand, cat* both accents will have an /æ/.[9]

Similarly to the above, the diphthong /əʊ/ shows a very simple behaviour as its first component differs between the two accents: RP speakers start with a central mid unrounded schwa /ə/, thus producing /əʊ/. GA speakers start the corresponding vowel with a back mid rounded /o/. Yet again, the corresponden-ce is regular and exceptionless, even more so as it works both ways.

(7) Closing backing diphthongs

Sample word	RP pronunciation	GA pronunciation
go	[gəʊ]	[goʊ]
won't	[wəʊnt]	[woʊnt]
don't	[dəʊnt]	[doʊnt]

As a result, speakers of the two varieties will have different pronunciations in words like *wrote* RP /rəʊt/ vs GA /roʊt/, *go* RP /gəʊ/ vs GA /goʊ/, and *won't* RP /wəʊnt/ vs GA /woʊnt/.

As for the rules applying to the vowel system of English, we have to start with Pre-R Breaking, which in RP is a very simple allophonic rule: some long vowels are replaced by some other counterpart only if they are followed by an /r/ within the same word.

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9   Note that the exact phonetic realizations of these vowels may differ significantly but they will have vowels with the same frontness/backness features.

(8) Pre-R Breaking in RP

before /r/	elsewhere	before /r/	elsewhere
beard [ɪə]	*bead* [iː]	*fire* [aɪə]	*fight* [aɪ]
curious [jʊə]	*cute* [juː]	*iron* [aɪə]	*pint* [aɪ]
Europe [jʊə]	*unity* [juː]	*hour* [aʊə]	*town* [aʊ]
staring [eə]	*staple* [eɪ]	*flour* [aʊə]	*cloud* [aʊ]
roaring [ɔː]	*broken* [əʊ]		

Pre-R Breaking is one of the most salient rules affecting vowels in RP (cf. Balogné Bérces & Szentgyörgyi 2006 and Nádasdy 2006). The so-called broken vowels in the columns on the left can be analyzed as the result of the influence of the R, which is subsequently deleted if the conditions of R-dropping are met. As for GA, the lack of the obligatory rule of R-dropping results in the absence of /ɪə, ʊə, eə, aɪə, aʊə/. Optionally, Pre-R Breaking may appear in GA but it is never obligatory and it never occurs before a syllable-initial /r/, e.g., *parent* /ˈperənt/.

The differences listed so far make it obvious that RP and GA are easily distinguishable even by the untrained ear as they have many typical consonantal and vowel differences in their sound inventories as well as (the lack of) rule application. Now that we are aware of the kind of data to look for, we can turn to the question of how these differences are reflected in stereotypical movie characters' speech in Hollywood movies.

Stereotypical Hollywood Movie Characters with an RP Accent

The first question we need to discuss is how and why a movie character's speech influences the viewer's attitude to the character. Bleichenbacher notes the following:

> Different strategies used by filmmakers to present manifestations of language contact and code switching in the movies can nurture linguistic stereotyping and influence viewers' stigmatisation of characters, reinforcing the dichotomy between good and evil. These include second language accents, lack of idiomatic expressions, interference of L2 words in L1 and many other interlanguage devices. (Bleichenbacher 2008)

It is also clear that it is not only movie characters having a foreign accent but also in cases when the character speaks with some native regional or social

accents that such an influence is exerted on the viewer. In the discussion below, we will present the most widespread stereotypes most often represented by an actor/actress speaking with an RP accent and their possible sources.

Probably the most well-known type of character with a British accent is the evil genius in Hollywood movies, something that has been the topic of many debates on on-line blogs and fora (Szentgyörgyi, 2015). The source of the stereotype of an evil genius or villain dates back a very long time and it probably is a combination of the legends of gentlemanly criminals and the way Americans in the Wild West perceived the RP accent and the similar American accents spoken on the East Coast (h2g2: The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy: Earth Edition, 2011). It is quite possible that the dialects that were spoken along the East Coast resembling RP in many ways – being non-rhotic, having similar vowels, etc. –stood out among the non-coastal dialects spoken further west, especially along the frontier. As a result, speaking RP was easily identified as an "other" way of speaking the same language.

It also helped that the British Empire was identified as the Old World associated with a place of long traditions, quality education and good schools and most of all class and nobility. The U.S. was viewed as the representative of the New World just starting to lay down its own foundations, founding schools and, most of all, a place where class did not matter. Another factor that may explain the attitude towards British English was the identification of Britain and its citizens as the old masters of America trying to rule the New World from a distance while America was trying to get rid of this yoke.

For the abovementioned reasons an RP accent, though easily understandable for speakers of GA, was associated with these attitudes: a combination of things to be looked up on and to be detested at the same time. Add to this the fact that RP was easily identifiable for speakers of American English as a result of all the pronunciation differences discussed in section 3. Thus RP sounds high class and smart to GA speakers. As noted on one of the blogs on the topic:

> The connotations of the accent come from centuries of anti-imperialistic fashionable thought. Even so, modern Americans don't necessarily associate modern Britons with the big, bad Empire of yesteryear. It's the accent that's seen as evil, not the nationality. It has become merely a stereotypical way of indicating the bad guy, a job once done by white and black cowboy hats or the glow of a cigarette in a dark alley. (h2g2: The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy: Earth Edition, 2011)

To demonstrate the abovementioned stereotype, let us present examples from Hollywood blockbusters. The films under discussion include the

original Star Wars-trilogy (Lucas, Star Wars, 1977; The Empire strikes back, 1980; The return of the Jedi, 1983), the 1990's adventure movie of the Robin Hood mythology (Reynolds 1991) and a Marvel-comic adaptation of X-men (Singer 2000). Following Szentgyörgyi (2015), we will only present the Star Wars movies in a more detailed way and just briefly refer to characters in the other films.

In the original Star Wars trilogy, the ultimate evil genius, Emperor Palpatine, rules the galaxy with the help of the dark side of the power. It just fits perfectly that he and his officers and Darth Vader, must speak with an RP (or RP-like) accent while the rebels fighting against him should all speak with an American accent. This is perfectly borne out in the data from the movies:

**(9) Pronunciation data from the Emperor
in *Star Wars* (Szentgyörgyi, 2015)**

	text	pronunciation	part of movie
(a)	*I can feel your anger*	/aɪ kən ˈfiːl jɔːr ˈæŋgə/	(Lucas 1983) 1:39:56
(b)	*and your journey towards the dark side*	/jɔː ˈdʒɜːni təˈwɔːdz ðə ˈdɑːk ˈsaɪd/	(Lucas 1983) 1:40:06
(c)	*your fleet is lost*	/jɔː ˈfliːt iz ˈlɒst/	(Lucas 1983) 1:39:26
(d)	*let the hate flow*	/ˈlet ðə ˈheɪt ˈfləʊ/	(Lucas 1983) 1:43:45
(e)	*your lack of vision*	/jɔː læk əv ˈvɪʒn/	(Lucas 1983) 1:50:26
(f)	*young Skywalker*	/ˈjʌŋ ˈskaɪwɔːkə/	(Lucas 1983) 1:50:48

Listening to the above excerpts, we can conclude that the Emperor displays many of the features of RP that we identified in section 3. Thus, we can conclude that he produces enough RP features to be easily identifiable as an RP speaker by the audience.

Other characters displaying very similar pronunciation features would include the sheriff of Nottingham in Reynolds (1991), an evil character with an RP accent fighting against GA-speaking hero. The character of Magneto in X-men (Singer 2000) also shows identical pronunciation features and is hence identifiable as an RP speaker. The reader is kindly referred to h2g2: The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy: Earth Edition (2011) for an extensive list of films with similar characters.

When introducing the next stereotype, we have to refer back to what we already noted above, namely that Britain has always been identified by Americans as a place where institutions with long standing traditions exist –

this, of course, applies to schools like Oxford, Cambridge, always identified as flagships of higher education, and are ranked high on the lists of top universities today (QS Top Universities, 2015/16). As a result, their status is continuously high and this obviously helps with maintaining Britain's prestige as a country of many great schools. Paired up with a British accent this is likely to be an irresistible combination for movie directors looking for someone to play a wise person, a mentor or teacher.

Yet again, we will turn to the Star Wars saga for an example. The character whose speech we are looking at is Obi-Wan Kenobi played by Alec Guinness in the original trilogy and by Ewan McGregor in the prequel episodes.

(10) Pronunciation data from Obi-Wan Kenobi in *Star Wars*

	text	pronunciation	part of movie
(a)	*Your father's light sabre*	/jɔː ˈfɑːðəz ˈlaɪtseɪbə/	(Lucas 1983) 0:33:39
(b)	*I was once a Jedi same as your father*	/ˈaɪ wəz ˈwʌns ə ˈdʒedaɪ ˈseɪm əs jɔː ˈfɑːðə/	(Lucas 1983) 0:32:53
(c)	*I have something here for you*	/ˈaɪ əv ˈsʌmθɪŋ ˈhɪə fə ˈjuː/	(Lucas 1983) 0:33:15
(d)	*before the dark times, before the Empire*	/bɪˈfɔː ðə ˈdɑːk ˈtaɪmz bɪˈfɔː ði ˈempaɪə/	(Lucas 1983) 0:34:04
(e)	*Vader was seduced by the dark side of the force*	/ˈveɪdə wɒz sɪˈdjuːst baɪ ðə ˈdɑːk ˈsaɪd əv ðə ˈfɔːs/	(Lucas 1983) 0:34:34

As the examples above demonstrate, Obi van Kenobi, Jedi master and mentor, speaks with an RP accent to hint at good schooling and wisdom.

Another, relatively new tradition is the use of British accents in general, and RP in particular, in fantasy movies. Historically, there are at least three main sources of this tradition: on the one hand, Great Britain is a place with a long history, at least much longer than that of the United States of America. Thus, when depicting events in a story taking place centuries ago, its historical nature can be enhanced by the characters speaking a British dialect instead of an American one as no one spoke an American dialect in medieval times.

The second cause of the use of RP in fantasy movies is Tolkien's Lord of the Rings trilogy (Tolkien 1994). This series of books and the films based on them have a long lasting influence on other fantasy books and films that cannot be avoided. As in the Lord of the Rings movies (Jackson 2001)

characters mostly spoke RP or other varieties of British English, many such movies made since then follow this tradition.

Finally, we have to mention Tolkien's indirect influence via the choice of languages and histories in the trilogy: as many of the languages and histories of peoples in the books were based on British, and more specifically Welsh, examples, it is easy to see how that percolated up to the present and thus still has a great influence.

Probably it is best to take a look at the source of it all, the Lord of the Rings movies (Jackson 2001) themselves. The character that we are taking a look at is that of Gandalf, who is also a good example of an old mentor/sage, and thus has to have an RP accent just because of that, too.

(11) **Pronunciation data from Gandalf in *Lord of the Rings***

	text	pronunciation	part of movie
(a)	*So am I dear boy.*	/ˈsəʊ æm ˈaɪ ˈdɪə ˈbɔɪ/	(Jackson 2001) 0:15:02
(b)	*And what about very old friends?*	/ən ˈwɒt əˈbaʊt ˈverɪ ˈəʊld frendz/	(Jackson 2001) 0:15:48
(c)	*You will tell him, won't you?*	/ˈjuː wɪl ˈtel ɪm ˈwəʊnt juː/	(Jackson 2001) 0:18:24
(d)	*He's very fond of you.*	/ˈhiːz ˈveri ˈfɒnd əv ˈjuː/	(Jackson 2001) 0:18:30
(e)	*in the fires of Mount Doom*	/ɪn ðə ˈfaɪəz əv ˈmaʊnt ˈduːm/	(Jackson 2001) 0:38:12
(f)	*the spirit of Sauron endured*	/ðə ˈspɪrɪt əv ˈsaʊrɒn ɪnˈdjʊəd/	(Jackson 2001) 0:38:56

Gandalf obviously speaks with an RP accent as his pronunciation features include almost all of the ones that we discussed earlier. Let us also note that it is enough to think of only one movie series, the Game of Thrones, which is the grandchild of the Lord of the Rings movies in this sense: the Game of Thrones characters speak different varieties of British English, one of them being RP.

Finally, let us take a look at historical movies that go back much further than the Middle Ages, back to the times of ancient Rome and Greece. Interestingly, most of the characters in such movies will also use RP English – also called Queen's English – giving rise to the trope often called 'Queen's Latin' in movie circles. The source of the stereotype is probably similar to that seen in the case of fantasy movies: when showing events taking place in old ages, the historical perspective can be best reflected by using an accent that is closely tied in with a long(er) history, i.e. characters speaking Queen's English instead of an American variety.

The movie we use to represent this type is Julius Caesar (Burge 1970) with John Gielgud playing Julius Caesar and Charlton Heston playing Marc Antony. The first three quotes are said by the former, the second three by the latter

(12) Pronunciation data of Caesar and Marc Antony
from *Julius Caesar* (Burge 1970)

	text	pronunciation	part of movie
(a)	*Nor heaven, nor earth have been at peace tonight*	/ˈnɔː ˈhevən ˈnɔːr ˈɜːθ həv ˈbiːn ət piːs təˈnaɪt/	(Burge 1970) 0:36:17
(b)	*When they shall see the face of Caesar*	/ˈwen ðeɪ ʃæl ˈsiː ðə ˈfeɪs əv ˈsiːzə/	(Burge 1970) 0:37:03
(c)	*She saw my stature*	/ʃi ˈsɔː maɪ ˈstætjʊə/	(Burge 1970) 0:40:42
(d)	*your swords made rich*	/jɔː ˈsɔːdz ˈmeɪd ˈrɪtʃ/	(Burge 1970) 0:54:02
(e)	*I love you all*	/aɪ ˈlʌv juː ˈɔːl/	(Burge 1970) 0:56:26
(f)	*I'm moreover suited*	/aɪm ˈmɔːrəʊvə ˈsjuːtɪd/	(Burge 1970) 0:56:50

It is clear from the text presented above that both characters speak RP, even Charlton Heston, an American actor. All in all, we can see that the prediction is born out in all respects, all the characters demonstrate the use of RP in all the stereotypical roles discussed above.

Conclusion

In this paper we have pointed out and argued for three claims: on the one hand, that RP is often used to indicate several types of stereotypical characters in Hollywood movies: evil geniuses, wise mentors, and characters in fantasy and historical movies set in ancient Rome and Greece. The way it is performed is simply by the use of typical characteristic features of RP including R-dropping, a distinction between clear and dark L's, the lack of obligatory flapping, and the lack of Yod-dropping before /t, d, n/, as well by the use of the distinctive vowel qualities only occurring in RP but not in GA.

We have also come to the conclusion that the abovementioned stereotypes had their historical and sociological roots in the way Americans related to the old British Empire and its people, traditions and institutions, but that these roots are not relevant any more. Instead, we can claim that RP has become a self-fulfilling prophecy: several generations of Americans – and

movie-goers around the world – have grown up hearing the RP accent in films spoken by such characters and thus it has become an icon of villainy, class, knowledge and history.

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The Case of the Subconscious Language Planner
Chief Executives and Language Policy from George Washington to William McKinley

1. Introduction

According to the Constitution neither the President nor Congress is explicitly empowered to make language planning decisions although executive orders as well as laws enacted under the authority of the Necessary and Proper Clause may sometimes be related to language status decisions: they can set or modify access-type policies to government services in non-English languages or even shape language-in-education policies. Today it is not uncommon for any president to sign bills into law that at least partially focus e.g. on (bilingual) education, indigenous language revitalization or foreign language teaching/learning. However, before the enactment of the first Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1965 and the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) in 1958, this level of federal involvement would have been regarded inconceivable.

In addition to the routine approval of the reauthorized versions of the ESEA since the 1970s, at least one incumbent president got involved in the Official English controversy: in 1996 Bill Clinton's veto threat blocked the introduction of the "Bill Emerson English Language Empowerment Act" (H.R. 123) in the Senate after the measure had easily cleared the Republican-dominated House (Crawford 2000, 49). In his official statement Clinton denounced the bill as "highly objectionable… unnecessary, inefficient, and divisive" as "language alone is not the basis for nationhood" (Clinton 1996).

Besides language-in-education policies and officialization, Schmidt identified the debates concerning the need to provide access to government services as the third major area of potential language policy conflict since the 1950s (Schmidt 2000, 11). Probably the two most significant (and hotly debated) federal-level policies that belong here are the provision of

multilingual election materials in certain circumstances (first required by the Voting Rights Amendments of 1975) and Bill Clinton's Executive Order (EO) 13166 (issued in August 2000), which has required federal agencies to end possible "national origin" discrimination (prohibited by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) by ensuring that limited English proficient persons can "meaningfully access" the services provided by the respective agencies (Executive Order 13166, Sec. 1). Republicans have been continuously arguing for the repeal of EO 13166 ever since (see e.g. ProEnglish.org).

A special form of "access" provision that has been gaining heightened public and political attention since the 1970s is Plain English. Although its roots can be traced back to the Founding Fathers – both John Adams and Thomas Jefferson are said to have criticized the verbosity and overcomplicated syntax of contemporary legal language (Tiersma, n.d.) – the Plain English movement gained real momentum at federal level when Jimmy Carter issued an Executive Order in 1978 to make federal regulations "as simple and clear as possible" (Executive Order 12044, Sec. 1). In 2010, Barack Obama signed the first Plain Writing Act into law (Plainlanguage.gov).

Despite the successful promotion of Plain English policies for the past four decades, earlier corpus planning attempts turned out to be futile enterprises, including the abortive proposals in 1780 by future president John Adams to set up an American Language Academy "for correcting, improving, and fixing the English Language…, [which would] Strike all the World with Admiration and Great Britain with Envy" (Adams Papers Digital Edition 2018).

As a smaller-scale corpus planning exercise, early in the 20th century Theodore Roosevelt (in office between 1901 and 1909) actively promoted spelling reform launched under the aegis of the Simplified Spelling Board, founded in 1906 by Andrew Carnegie. Roosevelt was also noted for his (by today's standards: extreme) assimilationist views, in recognition of which Israel Zangwill dedicated to the president his recently published play, titled "The Melting Pot" (Zangwill 1909/1921). During Roosevelt's presidency, the Naturalization Act of 1906 made the ability to speak English a prerequisite to obtaining American citizenship (Johnson 2013, 134). Theodore Roosevelt continued to campaign against linguistic diversity even after leaving office: in his 1917 essay, titled "The Children of the Crucible" he stated in no uncertain terms: "We must have but one flag. We must also have but one language. That must be the language of the Declaration of Independence, of Washington's farewell address, of Lincoln's Gettysburg speech and second inaugural" (Roosevelt 1917, 2).

The tumultuous year of 1917 also witnessed the passing of the Immigration Act over Woodrow Wilson's veto, including the provision for a literacy test. Previously, a similar measure was vetoed by Grover Cleveland (1897); William Howard Taft (1913), and Wilson himself (1915) (Fairchild 1917, 453-457). Eventually, the test was to consist of "reading not less than thirty or more than forty words in ordinary use, printed on a slip of paper, in any language or dialect chosen by the alien" (Fairchild 1917, 458). Presidential opposition to the employment of language or literacy as a gatekeeping mechanism in the context of immigration restriction had already been present in the late 19th century. Otherwise, very little is known about possible presidential involvement in language policy formulation or about presidential attitudes toward language-related issues in general before the early 1900s.

2. Aims, corpus and method

In order to fill the gap in scholarship noted above, the present paper examines the language-related attitudes, policies and ideologies as reflected in U.S. presidential documents from 1789 to 1901. By doing so, the investigation attempts to fine-tune previous generalizations about the nature of prevailing language ideologies prior to the 20th century, often characterized by "great tolerance" toward European immigrant languages before the 1880s, after which a generally language-restrictionist (and markedly anti-immigrant) period started (Wiley and de Korne 2014, 3). Indigenous languages and especially African languages were routinely subjected to linguistic genocide, although the former sometimes enjoyed a degree of tolerance and even autonomy for brief periods prior to the implementation of Indian removal policies in the 1830s.

The corpus of the analysis was built with the help of the *American Presidency Project* online database (maintained by John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters at the University of California, Santa Barbara). The online search carried out in January 2018 focused on all the presidential documents from George Washington (1789) to William McKinley (assassinated in September 1901) that contained the word "language" and/or "languages." After removing the irrelevant instances (which referred to e.g. a particular choice of words by an individual), 41 documents remained with at least one relevant language-related reference. The distribution of the documents shows the following pattern:

Figure 1. Distribution of language-related remarks by year

Already the first, casual glance reveals that presidents were practically uninterested in linguistic matters before the 1820s: in fact, even John Adams, who had previously argued for the establishment of a Language Academy, had remained silent in this respect throughout his presidential term. The sole remark by George Washington in 1796 referred to a specific situation: the English translation of the French- and Spanish-language documents related to Pinckney's Treaty (Washington 1796). After a conspicuous hiatus more or less corresponding to the Civil War years, the frequencies of language-related references increased during the period overseas territorial expansion.

Obviously, these remarks frequently carried very different weight. In order to gauge the scope and potential impact of each, taking into consideration that they may range from informal, individual remarks to enforceable national policies, I propose to apply a language policy spectrum framework with four quadrants:

Figure 2. Language Policy spectrum framework (Source: author)

The two quadrants on the left side represent symbolic policies, defined in the public policy context by James E. Anderson as policies that "have little real material impact on people"; "they allocate no tangible advantages and disadvantages"; rather, "they appeal to people's cherished values" (2003, 11). On the other hand, substantive policies (the right quadrants) "directly allocate advantages and disadvantages, benefits and costs" (2003, 6).

The "general" vs. "specific" criteria hinge on the scope of the policy, statement, or opinion in question. National-level policies or sweeping, stereotypical statements about languages are definitely considered "general"; whereas policies affecting one single language in one particular situation (or one single individual, for example, a translator or an interpreter) are classified as "specific." Today's most controversial language policy-related laws, proposals, executive orders, and regulations (including, for instance, the provision of multilingual ballots, the federal-level officialization attempts and Executive Order 13166) belong to the top right quadrant; therefore, they are "substantive" and "general" in nature.

3. Findings and discussion

3.1 Symbolic remarks and substantive policies

As Figure 1 shows, the overall distribution of presidential remarks and policy proposals was fairly uneven throughout the examined period. A closer examination reveals that the English language was dominant overall, mentioned 26 times, followed by foreign languages (18 occasions), while minority languages emerged only 4 times (mostly after the 1870s). Native American languages were mentioned only once, and there was not a single reference to classical languages.
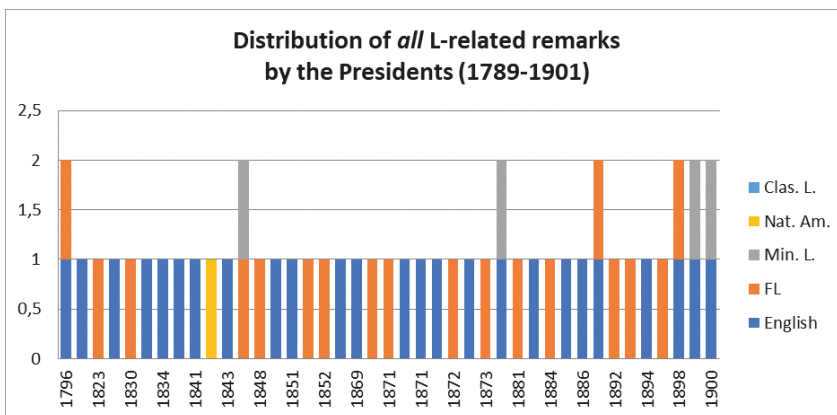

Figure 3. Chronological distribution of all relevant references
in the entire corpus according to languages (Source: author)

The symbolic references (altogether 17 records) were dominated by the English language (13 records). All of these remarks were general, stereotypical statements: mostly optimistic observations about the successful unifying and nation-building role of the English language at home, in addition to its key foreign policy function in cementing an early form of special relationship with Great Britain.

Foreign languages also appeared in a general, nation-building context. Ironically, the first such reference – James K. Polk's Third Annual Message in 1847 – emphasized how easily foreign (more precisely: immigrant minority) languages were given up by the newcomers, who were described as being eager to Americanize: "Numerous emigrants, of every lineage and language, attracted by the civil and religious freedom we enjoy and by our happy condition, annually crowd to our shores, and transfer their heart, not less than their allegiance, to the country whose dominion belongs alone to the people" (Polk 1847). The other two symbolic references – two special messages by Ulysses S. Grant from 1870 and 1871 – stressed the nation-building potential of the Spanish language in the (hopefully soon-to-be-independent) Cuba and Puerto Rico (Grant 1870), and the unique role of German in the context of the German unification process (Grant 1871a).

The only reference to Native American languages in the entire corpus was made by John Tyler in 1841, who remarked that the Sioux tribes "though speaking a common language, are independent in their occupancy of portions of country, and separate treaties may be made with them" (Tyler 1841).
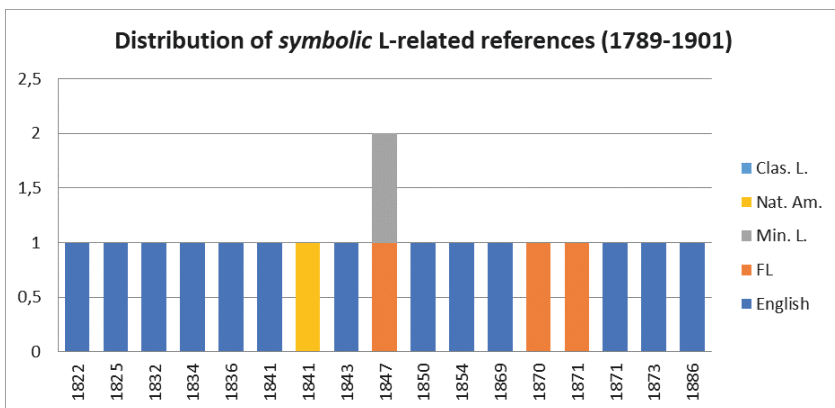

Figure 4. Chronological distribution of symbolic references in the entire corpus according to languages (Source: author)

Among the substantive references (24 records) foreign languages were mentioned 15 times. Until roughly the early 1850s, foreign languages appeared very specifically in the context of foreign treaties, mostly referring to the French version or translation of the given document. An early exception to the aforementioned pattern was the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), which concluded the Mexican-American War. This particular treaty was drafted and signed in English and Spanish versions (Polk 1848).

The Spanish language appeared in a problem-oriented context four years later: Millard Fillmore warned against a possible acquisition of Cuba since "It would bring into the Confederacy a population of a different national stock, speaking a different language, and not likely to harmonize with the other members" (Fillmore 1852). (Forty-five years later these fears were conveniently set aside.)

In the 1870s, the need to boost Japanese and Chinese language proficiency among the U.S. diplomatic corps emerged. In order to address the shortfall, Ulysses S. Grant proposed that at least four American youths be sent to these countries "to serve as a part of the official family of our ministers there", since at present "our representatives in Japan and China have to depend for interpreters and translators upon natives of those countries" (Grant 1872).

Foreign languages (and also English) emerged in the context of literacy in 1897: it was the first instance that a Chief Executive vetoed an immigration reform act because it sought to implement a literacy test, excluding from admission to the U.S. "All persons physically capable and over 16 years of age who can not read and write the English language or some other language" (Cleveland 1897).

The English language appeared 12 times among the substantive remarks (there were a few overlaps with the "foreign language" category), the vast majority of which were "general" at the same time, i.e. they may be regarded as genuine language policy proposals. The first general policy proposal focused on the promotion of Plain English (although it did not use exactly that designation):

> The statutes should therefore, as far as practicable, not only be made accessible to all, but be expressed in language so plain and simple as to be understood by all and arranged in such method as to give perspicuity to every subject. (Fillmore 1851)

In order to achieve that particular goal, Millard Fillmore proposed the appointment of a commission "to revise the public statutes of the United States, arranging them in order, supplying deficiencies, correcting

incongruities, simplifying their language" (ibid.). Whether that commission was ever set up is not known; however, there is documentary evidence available which proves that the early Plain English idea also appeared on the agenda of the federal legislature. According to the Journal of the Senate, Republican Senator Charles Sumner introduced a similar resolution in the upper chamber for the first time on April 8, 1852 (U.S. *Senate Journal*, 339). The Senate agreed to the resolution (and, obviously, President Fillmore was also supportive of the idea), yet it must have failed as Sumner introduced the very same resolution 5 more times: his last recorded attempt happened on December 15, 1863 (U.S. *Senate Journal*, 28).

The majority of other language policy proposals concerning the English language were born in the broader context of the long Civil Service reform from the 1870s to the early 1890s. The rules of Civil Service employment had already been made more stringent during the first Grant Administration: "No person shall be admitted to any position in the civil service… who shall not have passed a satisfactory examination in speaking, reading, and writing the English language" (Grant 1871b). The reform drive was given a boost by the assassination of James A. Garfield in 1881 by a disappointed office-seeker. After the passage of the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act (1883), further rules and regulations were implemented, including the practice of open, competitive examinations for Civil Service applicants, including "Orthography, penmanship, and copying;… elements of the English language, letter writing, and the proper construction of sentences" (Arthur 1883). The linguistic aspects of the reform appeared five times in the examined corpus.

In the meantime, following the disputed elections of 1876 between Samuel Tilden and Rutherford B. Hayes, outgoing president Ulysses Grant recommended the enlightenment of the electorate by supporting free schools "and the disfranchisement of all who can not read and write the English language, after a fixed probation" (Grant 1876). This was the first (and only) occasion that the right to exercise someone's political rights was to be tied to English language literacy by a Chief Executive. (Meanwhile, literacy tests were routinely used to disfranchise African-Americans in the Southern states.)

The English language also became associated with the imperialistic ventures of the late 19th century. The last two (substantive) references from the corpus are related to the language spread policies of the McKinley Administration in the Philippines in the wake of the Spanish-American War of 1898. The U.S. was to establish free public schools "throughout

the populous districts of the island, in which the English language shall be taught" (McKinley 1899). In reality, initial U.S. educational policies in the newly-acquired territories (in the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico and Guam) amounted to deculturalization, language shift and Americanization (Spring 2011, 192). Consequently, from the perspective of Spanish and that of the local languages these policies qualify as genuinely repression-oriented ones.
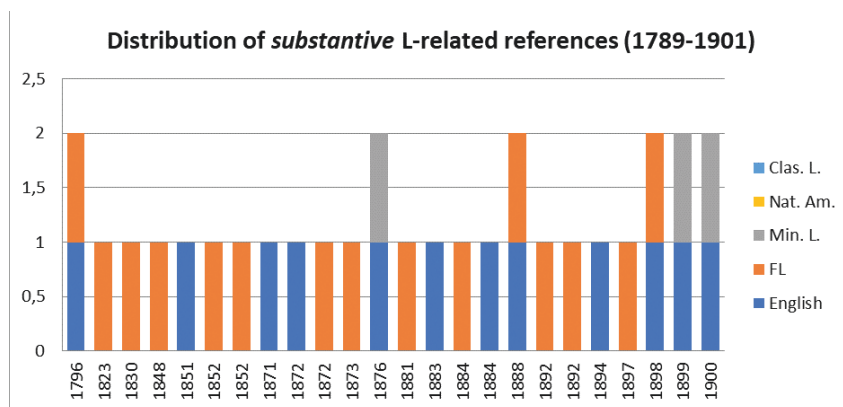

Figure 5. Chronological distribution of *substantive* references in the entire corpus according to languages (Source: author)

3.2 Policy proposals and language-related remarks in context

The proposed Language Policy Spectrum Framework (hence: LPSF) reveals that during the examined period (1789-1901) symbolic and general statements were the most numerous in language-related contexts. A classic example of this type of remark was James Monroe's characterization of the American people, described as

> descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, having the same religion and universal toleration, born equal and educated in the same principles of free government, made independent by a common struggle and menaced by the same dangers, ties existed between them which never applied before to separate communities. (Monroe 1822)

	Symbolic	**Substantive**
	E unifies the US (and enables the settlement of debates with GB)	E proficiency as a prerequisite to civil service employment
General	**17**	**13+2**
	Eng. (9)	Eng. (9+2)
		Plain English (1);
		Vetoing the literacy test-based immigration reform (1);
	Human Ls are imperfect (4).	E spread policies in PHL (2).
		Copies of specific treaties in FLs
Specific	**0**	**11**
		Fr. (4)
		Sp. (2)
		Jap. and Chi. (2): interpreter training.

Figure 6. Distribution of LP-references in the entire corpus (1789-1901) according to the LP spectrum framework. (The red numbers indicate the total number of references; the yellow fields show the most significant language in the given quadrant, while the remarks at the bottom of each quadrant refer to the 2nd and 3rd most important language, policy or reference) (Source: author)

The other type of symbolic, general observation stressed the importance and advantage of having a common language with Great Britain, which was considered helpful in settling issues stemming e.g. from the ill-defined Northeastern boundary (Jackson 1834) and from Civil War losses and disputed fishing rights near Canada (Grant 1871b). Prior to the Civil War, several Chief Executives also complained repeatedly about the imperfect nature of human language (including the language of the Constitution), which necessitated the judicial interpretation of the basic law from time to time.

However, while the symbolic remarks do reveal certain key aspects of language ideologies, the true policy proposals can be found in the general, substantive quadrant. Here the English language proficiency requirements dominated official discourse in the general context of the merit-based Civil Service reform. These policies were indeed implemented, as well as the Americanization campaign in the Philippines (and in Puerto Rico, Cuba,

Guam and Hawaii) after 1898. Equally important was the precedent set by Grover Cleveland's veto of the immigration reform act with the literacy test provisions (1897) (See 3.1). Finally, the proposed Plain English policy (although it took another 125 years to embrace at federal level) proved to be a harbinger of our present-day language policy realities.

The specific, substantive records mostly focused on the translation of treaties into English and/or French (or other languages, including Spanish and Persian). These references indicated already existing practices; consequently, they cannot be considered as new policy proposals – as opposed to the small-scale but nevertheless significant initiative by the Grant Administration to teach Japanese and Chinese to selected American diplomats through immersion in the given countries (Grant 1872).

All things considered, the language policy profile of the 19th century as reflected in the presidential documents was largely formulated after the Civil War. Previously, the "substantive, general" quadrant had almost totally been empty (except for the Plain English proposal), but the "symbolic, general" and the "substantive, specific" fields had already contained elements of future policies or ideological observations.

4. Summary and Conclusion

The current examination shows that language had practically been a presidential nonissue before the 1820s and during the Civil War. Genuine presidential language policy involvement started in the 1870s with Ulysses Grant, the Civil Service reform and overseas expansion. Nevertheless, Plain English proposals had already been present on the presidential (and Congressional) agenda before 1860. By and large, relevant presidential discourse was dominated by the English language and foreign languages: minority language-references appeared only a few times, but when they did, the immediate context was practically always problem-oriented. Classical languages were not mentioned at all.

The symbolic remarks concerning the English language stressed its unifying role: functioning as social glue at home and as a common bond between the U.S. and Great Britain, helping to solve differences concerning boundary issues and settle post-Civil War claims. Foreign languages also appeared in the nation-building context in the symbolic remarks: ironically, they were regarded as easily disposable communications tools on the one hand (when thrown into the U.S. "melting pot"), while, at the same time, capable of fulfilling the same unifying and nation-building role attributed

to (American) English in the U.S. when used in their respective countries, e.g. in Cuba and in Germany. In both cases, however, the nation-building expectations also included the construction of a system of government that was similar to that of the U.S.

The substantive records included significantly more references to foreign languages than the symbolic ones, yet there were relatively few genuine policy proposals among the foreign language-related records: the majority simply referred to the practice of translating foreign treaties into or from English. Post-Civil War records, however, reflected the heightening interest of the U.S. to exert more effective diplomatic influence in the Orient. Foreign languages, minority languages and English all overlapped in one substantive area: literacy, which was to be used as a gatekeeping mechanism in three different contexts:

1. As part of the immigration reform process, new arrivals were to pass a literacy test (initially understood as involving a simple reading and writing test), which was routinely vetoed by the Chief Executives;
2. The literacy test idea also appeared briefly in Ulysses Grant's proposal to disfranchise those who could not read and write the English language;
3. In a broad sense, English literacy (or rather: spoken and written proficiency) represented the backbone of the Civil Service reform initiatives of the 2nd half of the 19th century. Only this point was implemented during the examined period.

The substantive proposals concerning the English language also reflected the overseas empire-building ambitions of the U.S. towards the end of the 19th century: the presidential remarks about the Americanization of the Philippines through an English language-based education system epitomized the nature of the assimilationist education policies implemented by the U.S. in all of her newly-acquired colonial possessions from Hawaii to Puerto Rico.

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Gyula Dávid

Conceptualising Language Through Idioms

Introduction

The analysis below examines what earlier sources considered appropriate in the analysis of idioms, what aspects were manifest in idiom behaviour, and it is pointed out what implications culture-specific scenarios exhibit in language. As socio-cultural manifestations of language use may be quite varied, owing to historical, social or language-specific features of language communities, a potentially high number of discrepancies in idiom use can be observed.

To begin with, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) laid down the foundations of metaphorisation playing an important role in the elaboration of conceptuality. Similarly, other authors, investigated other aspects of metaphorisation, developed the theory further as Lakoff (1987), analysed from psychological factors as Sweetser, (1990), Gibbs, (1994), or found cultural reasons for the emergence of metaphorisation and conceptuality as Kövecses, (1990, 2000).

The theoretical considerations expounded in the various articles offered suitable grounding for a comprehensive view of investigating the way set expressions behave in a variety of cultural settings. The overall databank of idioms seems to comply with rules of a conceptual array characterizing idiomatic thought. However, reasons for the emergence of only partial metaphorical and metonymic grounding can possibly be explained by assumptions such as 'language users are selective' and only prioritize aspects of thinking that are crucially important in various socio-cultural scenarios. Other instances of conceptuality are 'frozen', inept for extensive use, that is why they only rely on one-single conceptual rendering. The examples below might throw some light upon this assumption, owing to socio-cultural motivation supporting the emergence of new idioms. This may be the reason

as well why idioms come and go in language; 'fade away' and disappear after a while. Permanent changes in language use as well as interactions with other languages may inevitably lead to changes in vocabulary, too.

Economical language

Language users, inevitably, choose the appropriate linguistic tools consciously, by developing the ones available further or, in an innovative way, creating novel expressions for new scenarios. This is facilitated by the fact that social, technical, lifestyle, psychological, economic and other changes encourage language users to instantiate new scenarios and phase out 'obsolete' expressions. This obviously involves corresponding with changing life and the potentially more intensive interactions with other cultures and social communities.

Schemata mapped

The extension of language use is clearly facilitated by language patterns available and re-usable for novel scenarios. Image schemata seem to contribute to meaning extension, owing to the fact that they provide a skeleton of language expressions re-usable for new purposes. They might be considered structural information shared by a variety of lexical units. For instance, UP-DOWN schemas are applicable in idiomatic language to express 'emotional outbursts' or 'depression', cases of 'success' and 'failure' and so on. The potential offered by schemata may lead to *interactions metaphorized* emerging from *domain mapping*, i.e. mapping physical onto figurative domain to elaborate more sophisticated abstract thought. In this process, *vehicles* carrying core-information applicable for novel scenarios are telling signs. Undoubtedly, *non-compositional approach* involves the dominance of overall meaning over meaning composed from building blocks. The appearance of *double-embedded meaning* allows for physical observations to be extended to conceptuality, which seems to emerge from literal language. It may be argued that even figurative scenarios can be examined from the aspect of their literal meanings, but, in fact, what matters is the contextually relevant semantic message.

Databank

The databank of this analysis is based on a corpus of not less than 250,000 words of different sources such as journalism, internet sources and even films. Undoubtedly, the corpus could be extended more, which might lead

to an even more comprehensive study and more convincing results, but this limited databank can also offer useful conclusions as to how idiomatic language is construed.

METAPHORICAL AND METONYMIC MOTIVATION
- layers of dictionary – Conceptual - metaphorical - metonymic - idiomatic
- most idioms are only conceptual
- motivation: socio-cultural, psychological, historical, environmental and so on
- cultural ubiquity - common
- mismatching intercultural, historical, behavioural etc. aspects

The theory of conceptual thinking presumes that realities and phenomena manifest in concepts, as described by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) pointing out that language is metaphorically-structured. Their theory entails that conceptual metaphors allow us to conceive of the world in terms of metonymically or metaphorically motivated concepts. While imagining a concept-based world, we soon realize that motivating idioms is only possible to varying degrees. An important argument is that some develop and reveal rich metaphorical mappings arising from physical domains to facilitate the emergence of abstract domains to re-employ existing patterns available to enlarge the lexicon. However, not all idioms provide an abundance of shared features suitable for domain mapping evolved to facilitate our needs of vocabulary extension exhaustively. Source-goal domain shift is vitally important to prove that the ubiquity of lexical correspondences can frequently employ cultural scenarios unfolding a variety of social settings in discourse.

It is argued by Cuffari (2004) that meaning emerges from cognitive construals or conceptualizations of experience. This assumption is based on earlier arguments by Allbritton et al. (1995) associating the role of schemata in domain mapping, which allows for vehicles of the source domain to be manifest in the target domain. The role of source-domain mappings in metaphorisation is also corroborated by the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, which focuses on several factors cognition can emerge from by saying: "features of an agent's physical, social, and cultural environment can do more than distribute cognitive processing: they may well partially constitute that agent's cognitive system." This is in line with what Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Clark and Chalmers (1998) as well as R. Wilson (2004) point out.

Understanding and incorporating idioms into speech seems a privilege of native speakers, who often omit them from their speech when they realize that non-native speakers cannot grasp the meaning of set expressions. Researchers tend to point out that it is mostly native speakers that can integrate idioms into their speech, cf. Keysar and Bly (1995), Fernando (1996), Gibbs et al. (1997), Ranong (2014). In contrast with natives, second-language learners have developed a strategy to avoid using idioms as suggested by Laufer (2000), while teachers of English as well as other languages may make use of certain cognitive linguistic considerations in enabling their learners to develop techniques and strategies to learn idiomatic expressions (Csillag 2013).

Idioms obviously upgrade literal language by offering compact, entertaining phrases rooted in experience of the physical world and open up a variability of abstract notions. It is our innate cognitive capacities that enable us to process and develop vocabulary in discourse to facilitate enlarging the lexicon. As far as the uneven division of metonymic meaning support and metaphorisation potential is concerned, it is vital to consider what Boers and Demecheleer (1999) calls the role of source domain in triggering metaphorical projections.

The hypotheses of the paper: the guiding principle of conceptuality
The first hypothesis challenges earlier analyses about idioms only focussing on structural traits of idiomatic language and examining semantic opacity and clarity. At the same time, most papers and books do not even attempt to classify idioms in terms of conceptuality. Contrary to those assumptions, cognitively speaking, it is presumed that conceptuality can be extended over idiomatic language in general.

The second hypothesis is that idiomatic language is metaphorically and metonymically motivated to varying degrees which can be observed in the Conceptual Dictionary of English Idioms (2017), providing the databank of this paper.

The third hypothesis presumes that there is mismatching cultural motivation of conceptually-based idiomatic language in different languages, such as English and Hungarian. It is assumed that the two languages may be rooted in different socio-cultural backgrounds due to a range of factors.

The idioms in the Conceptual Dictionary of English Idioms (2017), are classified by concepts of the human lexicon and reveal a large number of cultural aspects indispensable for metaphorisation and metonymic meaning

extension. Idiosyncratic idiom behaviour, however, is present due to the fact that some aspects of life are prioritised over others.

Some historical facts may influence the way certain notions are instantiated in idiomatic language. For example, several phenomena expressed in terms of military expressions or ones related to fighting (*a long shot, a clear shot*) may be formulated to refer to other concepts (*meddő kísérlet,* literally 'prove abortive', *tiszta alkalom* lit. 'a clear chance') in another, for instance Hungarian.

So it seems that the historical path inevitably reflects language, and that meaning-extension (such as the need for offensive or defensive wars) seems crucial in the manifestation of cultural scenarios. Many metaphors emerging in one language are composed differently in another. Consequently, scenarios reflective of certain concepts tend to be based on patterns derived from culturally-grounded experiences, which may manifest completely different facets in another environment.

Conceptual metaphors and metonymies related to help and support

The environment language users share offers a unique potential for both metaphorical and metonymic grounding of conceptual meaning.

HELP

For instance, the idiom *carry water for someone* meaning to help sb (in Hungarian: *valaki malmára hajtja a vizet*, literally: 'gush water to someone's mill') can be proliferated in an community where *water* is crucial in daily life and its metaphorical role can be exploited for conceptual meaning development. On another note, *come up trumps* (to get help from someone, in Hungarian: *adu-ásza van*, literally '(s)he has a trump-ace'), can only arise in a game-focussed environment, where the vehicle 'trumps' is grounded in the human experience of playing games, a social event. Some idioms such as *back-scratching; you scratch my back I scratch yours* (if you help me I'll help you too, in Hungarian: *kéz-kezet mos*, literally: 'their hands wash those of the other person') even reflect scenarios unlikely to be common in real life, but, much rather, activities that presuppose a fair rate of intimacy. This idiom is, in a way, inconsistent with the other, well-established patterns of daily activities fundamental for metaphorisation. *Any port in a storm* meaning 'anywhere you can obtain help', Hungarian: *az utolsó szalmaszálba is belekapaszkodik*, literally: 'stick to the last straw') implies seafaring as an important aspect of survival or death, which is missing in Hungarian. Perhaps less frequently, some idioms can be embedded in historical roots, a different social and

political order and hierarchical as well as ethical environment: *a knight in shining armour* (someone who can help you out of difficulty; Hungarian: *mentőangyal* - guardian angel).Unlike English, where fighting and hitting (SUCCESS: *a big hit, have a hit with sth, hit the mark*) is common in language use, Hungarian expresses SUCCESS in terms of size '*nagy siker*', '*eléri a szintet*', literally: 'big success', 'meet high standards'.

The idiom *a tower of strength* (someone who helps another person when they are in trouble, Hungarian: *biztos támasz*, (literally: 'firm support' exemplifies a coincidence in the two languages where the vehicle carries weight and supports. The idiom *charity begins at home* (you support your own family first and other people only later, in Hungarian: *minden szentnek maga felé hajlik a keze*, literally: 'every saint's hands bend towards them') describes a scenario where self-support is predominant over supporting others. Another expression, *cry wolf* (to ask other people for help when it is not really necessary) is rooted real-life historically-based scenarios of being threatened by invading wolves. Similarly to other experiences, fishing may also involve help: an animal caught let off is metaphorically extended to helping others, e.g. *get sb off the hook* (to help sb out of trouble, expressed differently in Hungarian: *kiránt a gödörből*, literally: 'pull out of a pit'). However, not only a physical realm can be extended to the abstract one as is exemplified by the idiom *put in a good word for sb* (talk to people in order to influence their decision about someone, (Hungarian: *szót emel az érdekében*, literally: 'raise a word for someone'). Even physiological processes can be triggered metaphorically to express the same concept, as is suggested by *give sb the kiss of life* (something that helps someone or something to survive a difficult period, Hungarian: *életet lehel valakibe,* literally: 'breathe life into someone'). Finally, in popular culture right is considered standard and acceptable as in *sb's right-hand man/woman* (someone who helps you by doing an important part of your job, Hungarian: *valaki jobbkeze,* literally: sb's right-hand man/woman), whereas left implies something unconventional. In this sense, right is of help, while left is not so.

From another aspect, metonymic meaning extension features body parts (BODY PART STANDS FOR HELP), such as HAND provides elaborate patterns to express help: *give sb a strong hand* (to help sb a lot, Hungarian: *nagyot lendít az ügyén*, literally: 'give their cause a big push'). In contrast with English, Hungarian creates a metaphorical pattern involving dynamic motion. Metonymic meaning extension may also imply a one-sided business transaction: *give/lend sb a hand* (to help someone, Hungarian: *segítő kezet nyújt*, literally: stretch out a helping hand'). Similarly, *not raise a hand* (not

to help sb) differs from Hungarian in the sense that the latter refers to little finger to highlight the insignificance of the potential: *kisujját sem mozdítja*, literally, 'they won't even raise a finger'.

HELPLESSNESS
In contrast, the concept 'helplessness' is similar to failure (FAILURE IS DOWN: *a fallen angel, a sinking ship*), *be down* (to be helpless, Hungarian: *támasz nélküli*, literally: 'with no support'). Metaphorical meaning extension can also emerge from body language replacing verbal expression: *spread your arms* (to show that you cannot help sth, (Hungarian: *tehetetlenségében széttárja a karját*, literally: 'spread your arms helplessly').

   Health-related scenarios can also facilitate meaning extension, where a helpless person is handicapped and unable to move as is implied by *without crutches*, without any help, Hungarian: *mankó nélkül*.

PROMOTION
'Promotion' emerges from physical elevation as shown by *climb the ladder* (to get promoted, Hungarian: *felkapaszkodik a ranglétrán*, literally: 'climb a couple of rungs of the (rank) ladder'). Here, rising in status draws on rising physically in space. Hungarian describes the concept identically. Promotion can be age-related, and a pre-requisite of advance in rank as is implied by *dead men's shoes* (the fact that people can often be promoted only when an older colleague has retired, Hungarian: *kihalásos alapon alkalmazzák*, literally: 'get employed when someone dies'). Similarly, *get to the next rung on the ladder* (to be promoted in a job, Hungarian: *a ranglétra következő fokára hág*, literally: climb up the next rung of the (rank) ladder'). Promotion is a special position as is suggested by *the name in the frame* (to have a good chance for promotion or professional advance, Hungarian: *név a kalapban*, literally: 'the name in the hat'). Pragmatic aspects of 'promotion' cognitively project a parallel between getting into a higher position in space and figuratively, *work your way up* (to be promoted to a higher position, Hungarian: *felküzdi magát*, literally: 'manage to reach a higher rung of the ladder').

SUPPORT
The concept support profiles various underlying metaphors based on *military action*, *verticality* as well as *game* and *hunting*.

SUPPORT IS A MILITARY ACTION

The metaphors below provide a broad picture of metaphorical instantiations: *a camp follower* (fans or supporters of an organization, Hungarian: *egy követ fúj valakivel /zászlóvivő,* literally: 'blow the same stone with someone'/'flag-carrier'). Again, the Hungarian counterpart focusses on cooking or military action. In line with *close ranks* (to support someone in crisis, Hungarian: *mellé áll / hóna alá nyúl*, literally: 'stand up for someone/ reach under someone's armpit'), the presence of army-related expression is the lynchpin between the military often involving indispensable assistance and helping someone. From another perspective, as is suggested by *a foot in both camps* (to be part of and supportive of two sides, Hungarian: *két malomban őröl*, literally: 'grind grain in two mills') one can support both sides. Another idiom, *a shot in the arm* (to help in difficulty, Hungarian: *vérátömlesztés*, literally: 'blood-transfusion') projects healthcare-related aspects readily incorporated into the vocabulary, while Hungarian highlights the same image.

Orientational metaphors seem to play a crucial role in expressing support: in human cognition standing up in support of someone, raising a flag in support as well as the idea of being backed up ensure a metaphorical mapping between the physical domain and the abstract one.

SUPPORT IS UP; LACK OF SUPPORT IS DOWN

Fly/show/wave the flag (to support your country, Hungarian: *lengeti a zászlót*). The idea of 'elevation' can be seen to apply to another, abstract domain as is exemplified by *get a lift from someone* (to be supported by someone, Hungarian: *a hóna alá nyúlnak*, literally: 'reach under someone's armpit'), which involves physical support mapped onto an abstract domain. As pointed out before, raising a flag indicates taking a side for someone: *keep the flag flying* (to support an idea even in difficult times, Hungarian: *tovább viszi a zászlót*, literally: 'carry the flag on'). Military support also involves *lining up behind someone* (to support a person, Hungarian: *felsorakozik valaki mögé*). Military troops tend to do so, to be supportive of their allies. Here, a common pattern is revealed with *stand up and be counted* (to support or oppose something and declare it openly). As can be seen above, the same scenario can be construed in multiple ways as specified by *take up the cudgels for someone* (support someone).

Opposite to the way the metaphor SUPPORT IS UP arises in cognition, *pull the carpet/rug (out) from under someone's feet* (not to support someone, Hungarian: *kihúzza a lábai alól a talajt, literally: 'pull the soil (out) from under someone's feet) suggesting that a person's position is weakened.*

Another instantiation of the concept SUPPORT is the conceptual metaphor SUPPORT IS A GAME /HUNTING, where the hunter or gambler is on one side, while the prey or game-related entity is on the other side: *back the wrong horse* (to support the wrong person: *rossz lóra tesz*, literally: 'bet on the wrong horse'). Sometimes, this presence is divided, when an actor is on both sides, as is suggested by the following idiom: *run with the hare and hunt with the hounds* (to support two sides, Hungarian: *nem lehet egy fenékkel két lovat /nyerget megülni*, literally: 'you cannot ride two horses at the same time').

As earlier, metonymic instantiation can be observed in LIMBS STAND FOR SUPPORT. Limbs seem to be vital in making support manifest in the cognitive process of meaning extension. The relevance of metonymic change in meaning is observable in *be out on a limb* (to be weak without any support, Hungarian: *csetlik-botlik / esetlenül mozog,* literally: 'move around in a clumsy way'). On a similar note, the 'hand stands for help' relationship is integrated into language as *hold sb's hand* (to support someone, Hungarian: *tartja a kezét,* literally: hold sb's hand).

Conclusion

To sum up, idioms, in general, can be conceptually classified, although the current classification is far from being completely comprehensive. However, several other related articles are in line with the presumptions of this paper. We have argued in this paper that the concept 'support' relies on a variety of metaphors and metonymies reflecting the physical domain human cognition elaborates vehicles that are crucial in the figurative domain. Several socio-cultural phenomena emerge in the instantiation of conceptualization.

A conclusion can be drawn as is reflected by the databank surveyed suggesting that idiom behaviour in a conceptual setting as well as its antonyms largely present a ubiquity of socio-cultural linguistic manifestations. This is clearly exemplified by notions such as *game, fishing, hunting, charity, health-care, seafaring* and *standard orientation.* Another synonymous manifestation of help/promotion is obviously grounded on UP-DOWN schemas of ORIENTATIONAL METAPHORS. This reflects the physical roots of cognitively elaborated hierarchical relationships, where UP implies higher rank (in the physical world: higher elevation), whereas a low point on the hierarchy-scale involves being in a subordinate position.

Help, being such a central issue of human interactions and social settings, inevitably draws on metonymic scenarios, the focal points of which are

human limbs such as 'hand' (in Hungarian it can be 'finger'). Two metonymic manifestations can be observed here: BODY PART STANDS FOR HELP and LIMBS STAND FOR SUPPORT.

On the metaphorical level, the idea of help is instantiated by the following metaphors: SUPPORT IS A MILITARY ACTION, SUPPORT IS UP; LACK OF SUPPORT IS DOWN, SUPPORT IS A GAME /HUNTING, all tightly linked with socio-cultural scenarios or bodily sensation.

It has also become obvious that LACK OF SUPPORT IS DOWN shares a common pattern with FAILURE IS DOWN in providing evidence for 'failing' or 'missing' as is suggested by *be down*, that is being helpless.

As pointed out above, idioms are motivated metaphorically (or metonymically), or they are simply manifest conceptually. The lack of metaphorical-metonymic motivation may be caused by environmental conditions, socio-cultural interactions or the way humans prioritize phenomena around them.

The second hypothesis, assuming that idiomaticity is motivated by varying degrees of metaphorical and metonymic meaning extension, proves relevant in instantiating concepts such as HELP, PROMOTION and SUPPORT where the first two do not seem to be metaphorically or metonymically motivated, only at the level of conceptuality. Idioms underlying these two concepts only manifest instantiations conceptually, but they do not offer metaphorical motivation. On the other hand, SUPPORT a semantically-related concept reveals more fine-grained, metaphorical foundations.

The third hypothesis, aimed at unfolding differences between English and Hungarian idiomatic language has proved true. Based on experiences gained in the source-domain, it has been found that socio-cultural factors provide a certain degree of discrepancy in describing the same scenario in the two languages. These socio-culture-specific traits emerge from historical, psychological, social and community-based conceptualizations.

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