

# THE EUROPEAN CONNECTION



Number 16, 2012

ESSAYS IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGE STUDIES  
AT NEW ZEALAND UNIVERSITIES



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Essays in European Language Studies  
at New Zealand Universities

*Number 16, 2012*

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# The European Connection

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## EDITOR'S NOTE

DR TRUDY AGAR

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This special issue of *The European Connection* gathers together the highlights of the Inaugural National Symposium for Postgraduate Researchers: Languages, Literatures, and Intercultural Studies, held at The University of Auckland, 24-25 October 2012. The event brought together postgraduate students from BA(Hons) to PhD levels, working on a wide and interesting range of topics connected with the field of European language and literature studies. The conference proved to be a valuable opportunity for students to present their work, share ideas and approaches, and benefit from feedback from other students and established scholars in their disciplines.

The first essay in this collection is by Benjamin Djain, recipient of the "Panel Prize" for the symposium's best presentation. In it, he argues that the Restoration led English playwrights to internalise religion, thereby creating a literary difference with their Catholic continental counterparts. Djain explores this difference in terms of how Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and Mira de Amescua's *El Esclavo del Demonio* portray religion and salvation.

Also taking an interesting and fertile intercultural perspective, Ian Fookes draws parallels between Pakeha appropriation of Māori culture, C. F. Goldie's portraiture and Victor Segalen's adoption of a Māori perspective in his novel *Les immémoriaux*. Fookes points to tensions present in a postcolonial reading of the text, and analyses its narrative perspective in order to re-evaluate Segalen's exoticism.

Jessica Macauley presents an intertextual and interdisciplinary reading of Thomas Mann's *The Magic Mountain*, in which she traces the prevalence of disease in the novel, demonstrating that it draws the reader into a labyrinth of ideas on the nature of disease and its implications for society. Drawing on Novalis' adaptation of Brown's medical system, and the ideas of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, Macauley underlines the notions of lethargy and tension in *The Magic Mountain* as symptomatic of a pathological state of contemporary society.

Also in an interdisciplinary perspective, Loveday Kempthorne, in our fourth essay, examines a particular instance of the translation of non-Euclidean geometries into poetic metaphor, in works by two twentieth-century Polish poets, Czesław Miłosz and Zbigniew Herbert. Taking into account the particular

views of mathematics held by these poets, Kempthorne finally presents a larger framework for examining the relationship between mathematics and poetry.

Disputing the claim that the First World War marked the end of the European novel of formation, Marta Mazurkiewicz shows in her essay that the Bildungsroman not only existed in post-war Italy but also continues within the nineteenth-century tradition of the genre. She provides a reading of two Italian novels, Italo Calvino's *Il barone rampante* and Giorgio Bassani's *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini*, illustrating the different types of initiation rites (social, sentimental and sexual) that contribute to each protagonist's process of maturation in order to show how this literary genre has been reinvigorated following the Great War.

The next two essays analyse the reception of texts in order to re-evaluate their significance and contribution to the literary fields with which they intersect. Alex Wild Jespersen, who won the symposium's "People's choice" prize, provides a reassessment of Charlotte Wolff's autobiographical writing. By listening to the "deep gossip" of Wolff's texts, Jespersen is able to reveal how this poet, psychiatrist and public figure challenged binary gender distinctions and the concept of sexual identity categories. In so doing, Wolff's autobiographical writing serves as a critique of the tendency of historical accounts to essentialize identity and assume progressive historical linearity.

Marcelo Mendes de Souza analyses the critical reception of Machado de Assis' and J. L. Borges' mature narratives, and demonstrates how early critical misreadings within the English-speaking world revised and renovated these writers' cross-cultural ironies, conveying new relevance to them in broader Euro-American cultural contexts.

The next two essays draw on tools of linguistic or sociolinguistic analysis. Haoda Feng' essay discusses collocations, that challenging area of second language learning as well as translation. Feng examines collocation learning through a comparison of the existing L1 (native language) and L2 models, and analyzes the roles of collocation in the process of translation, highlighting the interaction among collocation, translation units, translation universals and translators' potential knowledge in language operations. Finally, he advances the memory-based chunking mechanism as a key factor in helping translators master collocations.

Ekaterina Volkova employs both linguistic and literary analysis in her essay, which examines examples of loanwords taken from the vocabulary of some Spanish "Generation X" novels. She develops reasons for their emergence by taking into account the cultural and social context of Spain in the 1990s and conveys the disposition of the texts' protagonists towards foreign culture.

In our final essay, Andrea Harmon-Vargas and Sofia Pereira-Lanyon assess the claims made by indigenous peoples of Latin America for intercultural bilingual



education as a vital part of their struggle for equal rights. Harmon-Vargas and Pereira-Lanyon underscore the importance of native languages and their link to the preservation of indigenous peoples' culture, worldview, and sense of self and identity, while showing that some educational systems prioritise economic development under neoliberal principles over indigenous rights. They present an argument in favour of a bilingual education that would recognize difference and cultural diversity.

These essays showcase the exciting array of research being undertaken by students at New Zealand universities. Our thanks go to our authors and their research supervisors, to our volunteer student editors, Alex Jespersen, Yuen May Fung, and Tamaki Tokita, and to the other members of the conference organising committee, Professor Christine Arkinstall (European Studies), Dr Walescka Piño-Ojeda (Latin American Studies), and Dr Vanessa Enriquez-Raido (Translation Studies).



# 1. EXTERNAL VS. INTERNAL WORLDS: COMPARING CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE'S *DOCTOR FAUSTUS* AND MIRA DE AMESCUA'S *EL ESCLAVO DEL DEMONIO* (*THE SLAVE OF THE DEVIL*)

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*Benjamin Djain is a Master of Arts student in English at The University of Auckland. He is currently completing a 40,000 word thesis that explores how the English Reformation shifted the focus of English theatre from external displays of religion to internalised ones through select comparison with Spanish Golden Age theatre. This thesis draws on his interests in English literature and European Studies. This paper was originally presented at the National Symposium for Postgraduate Researchers: Languages, Literatures, and Intercultural Studies held by the School of European Languages and Literature at The University of Auckland 24-25 October 2012*

An event that changed the entirety of English society forever and hence affected the literature we study today is the English Reformation. The English Reformation created a unique rift between English culture and the cultural tradition established by trends followed by a large proportion of a predominantly Catholic Europe. The nature of the rift is superficially religious – this is undeniable since the English Reformation is a religious event that cut England off from a centrally controlled Catholicism.

However, the consequences of this rift are far too numerous for me to go into all of them in detail here. But I am going to focus on one in particular: The shattering of a cultural tradition that had been with the English people for hundreds of years.

Faith is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as:

I. Belief, trust, confidence.

1. a. Confidence, reliance, trust (in the ability, goodness, etc., of a person; in the efficacy or worth of a thing; or in the truth of a statement or doctrine). (Oxford University Press.)

It takes time and consistency for belief, trust and confidence to develop, neither of which were present in the tumultuous changes in religion from the death of King Henry VIII to the ascension of Queen Elizabeth I. The result of this was the development of two possible religious worlds for the English public: An internal world and an external one.

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The meaning of the rift between the external and internal worlds relies on historical context. One of the by-products of the English Reformation was doubt. At first, it might seem odd that the term “doubt” might be used as a product of a change whose implementation was largely dependent on the strength of people’s faith. However, the instability created from the change meant that for the first time a person’s internal belief could be different from the beliefs externally enforced by the monarchy. This is evidenced by the small minority of practicing Catholics and Jews in England. More importantly, the English Reformation meant that people could not put their faith entirely on external entities like the government and religious images. Faith had to come from within, from an understanding, from an internal world.

English drama, being a form of mass public entertainment, reflected these changes and hence developed differences from its Continental European counterparts in the sixteenth-century. In order to be able to ascertain whether the English Reformation was a primary cause for the shift in English drama, another European culture must be used as a point of comparison. I have chosen Spanish drama as a point of comparison for a number of reasons, primarily because Spain is a country that found stability in its Catholic identity. As Henry Ziomek discusses in his introduction to his *A History of Spanish Golden Age Drama*:

During the last quarter of the fifteenth century Spain entered a new period of military power and wealth. In 1479, when Ferdinand of Aragón and Isabel of Castile married, Christian Spain was united politically and religiously. (Ziomek 3)

Spain’s stability stems from consistency, since 1479 Spain had remained an entirely Catholic country. This means that, for the majority of Spaniards, the religious beliefs of their inner world matched those prescribed by the society around them. Hence, it can be argued that there was no need for Spanish drama to portray the tensions of a person’s inner world. Conversely, it makes sense that the divergence between inner and outer worlds created an English drama where tensions between the two may be explored.

In order to explore the tensions between these two different dramatic traditions, it follows that two texts that concentrate on the portrayal of religion on stage must be analysed. Christopher Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* and Mira de Amescua’s *El Esclavo del Demonio* (*The Slave of the Devil*) fit these criteria perfectly because they deal with fate and repentance, two important aspects of religion that continue to be discussed today. Yet, due to having a Faustian legend at their core, *El Esclavo del Demonio* and *Doctor Faustus* have many similarities. Both plays deal with the luring of a successful and intelligent man away from

a virtuous path towards the temptations of Satan and his servants. At the same time, the differences between the two plays draw our attention to how English theatre had begun to move away from its Continental European counterparts. These differences can be attributed to the progressive exploration of the inward space of the individual in English theatre contrasted with the traditional intervention by exterior forces, be they divine or secular, in Spanish Golden Age drama. The different stances of these two theatrical traditions, embodied in these two Faustian plays, can be examined through their treatment of hierarchy and salvation.

The plot of *Doctor Faustus* is known by most people. A brilliant scholar grows bored with the lack of fulfilment given him by every form of learning known to man and hence makes a pact with Mephistopheles for unlimited entertainment for 20 years, after which his soul is claimed by Satan. The plot itself is simple, however, what complicates it is that Faustus' only way out of his deal with Mephistopheles is to repent, a factor emphasised by a battle between the forces of good and evil for his attentions.

Mira de Amescua's *El Esclavo del Demonio* is a plot that will not be familiar to most of readers. Melveena McKendrick has stated that Amescua:

Exemplifies the tendency of dramatists of the time to overstuff their plays with episodic incidents and motifs and to pursue ingenuity and novelty at the expense of credibility – common failings for obvious reasons of popular entertainment, particularly in the hands of lesser writers. (McKendrick 129)

McKendrick is correct in her assertion, as the plot of *El Esclavo del Demonio* is rather convoluted:

Marcelo has two daughters, Lisarda and Leonor. Lisarda disobeys Marcelo's wishes for her to get married to Don Sancho of Portugal and Leonor submits to Marcelo's wish for her to become a nun. Don Gil, a man of saintly status sees Lisarda on the balcony of her house and tricks her by pretending to be her lover, Don Diego. They run away together, both desiring to do whatever they want with their lives now they are free from the shackles of society. In the wilderness they encounter a devil, Angelio, who tells Don Gil and Lisarda that they can have whatever they desire if they become his slave and give him their souls. Don Gil agrees but Lisarda only becomes a slave. Eventually, Don Gil's soul is rescued by an intervention from God and Lisarda has a revelation becoming in her own words "God's slave". Don Gil repents at the end of the play and becomes a holy man once again and Lisarda dies by unknown (but most likely divine) means at the end of the play and all the other characters say she never looked more beautiful.

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While the plot is convoluted and complex, it does provide us with an insight into how drama in Spain operated during this period.

The two plays represent opposing religious and cultural worlds. The action of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* relies on the inner world of the protagonist, on the possibility of redemption. By contrast *El Esclavo del Demonio*'s action is predominantly externally driven.

To show the contrast between external and internal world, it is important to observe how both plays deal with the concept of hierarchy. From the plot it is clear that both plays are concerned with protagonists who defy hierarchy in some capacity but the treatment of hierarchy in both plays is very different.

Amescua, in *El Esclavo del Demonio*, maintains that adherence to an established hierarchy is of the utmost importance to living a good life which is consistent with European, including English, values of the period. Amescua enforces this to such a degree that a parallel is developed between the hierarchy of family and humanity's relationship to God, as observed in the Act 1 Scene 1 where Marcelo says:

Padre soy, hago mi oficio;  
tomad consejo esta vez,  
y sed por tal beneficio,  
báculos de esta vejez,  
columnas de este edificio. (Mira de Amescua 12)

(I am a father and I do my duty  
take my advice this time  
and be, for my benefit,  
structures for my old age,  
columns of this building.)<sup>1</sup>

It is of note that from the first line of the play, position is of immense importance. Marcelo begins by stating his position at the top of the family hierarchy, "padre soy", which in a sense mirrors God's place at the top of a divine hierarchy as the father of creation. Marcelo then states he will do his job as a father by giving his daughters advice and asking that they take it for, in doing so, they become the structure that supports his age. Hierarchy is clearly being invoked in these first few lines of the play with an emphasis on the fact that both father and daughters in the relationship need to conform in order for the household to function properly. It can be argued that this is the relationship that God demands in Amescua's play; that a character must do his duty to God so that God may support him in his times of need.

<sup>1</sup> Passages from Mira de Amescua's *El Esclavo del Demonio* in Spanish are translated into English by the author of this paper.

The importance of hierarchy in Amescua's play is within the title itself, *The Slave of the Devil*. Characters are all slaves to another force in the play, their actions always dictated by an external force and their faith never affirmed by their own internal will. Characters move from being slaves to God's will to being slaves to the Devil with no in-between state. To show there's no middle ground let us look at the climax of the play, where Don Gil realises his mistake in selling his soul to the Devil and something spectacular happens:

Desaparece la visión, suenan trompetas, aparece una batalla arriba, entre un ángel y el demonio en sus tramoyas, y desaparecen. (Mira de Amescua 130)

(The vision disappears, trumpets sound, a battle appears above, between an angel and a demon in a piece of stage machinery and disappear.)

It is important to highlight that the battle for Don Gil's soul is not an internal one but one that is externalised on stage with Don Gil watching for the victor in a helpless state. Don Gil and the audience in this scene are treated to an externalised religious invocation on stage. Unlike in *Doctor Faustus*, Heaven is truly present in this play: Through sight when Don Gil sees a vision of Heaven, through sound when Don Gil hears Heaven's voice, and through action when the battle between the Angel and the Devil is waged above the stage. Don Gil's salvation is assured by the Angel's victory in battle. Don Gil's salvation is assured by the Angel's victory in battle but the choice of words used at the moment of his salvation is curious:

Con ella mi dicha entablo,  
esclavo he sido del diablo  
pero ya lo soy de Dios. (Mira de Amescua 130)

(With her I begin my luck  
I was a slave of the devil  
But now I am a slave of God.)

Don Gil not only admits to his former slavery to the Devil but adds that he is now God's slave. Salvation in *El Esclavo del Demonio* operates by making the characters realise their position in the hierarchical order of things. Salvation is achieved by using their own free will to ask God to be admitted to their rightful place in the universal hierarchy, instead of falling further into despair by continuing the cycle of sin they have chosen. Elizabeth Rhodes draws our attention to the importance of hierarchy in any critical discussion of the play:

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Among these [critical discussions], particularly convincing is Judith Rauchwarger's concise identification of the play's unifying theme as human duty to acquiesce to a high power. (Rhodes 281)

Of course, in *El Esclavo del Demonio* there is another protagonist – the disobedient daughter, Lisarda. Her salvation is less desirable at the end of the play:

Descúbrese Lisarda con música, muerta, de rodillas con un Cristo y una calavera en un jardín. (Mira de Amescua 146)

(Lisarda is discovered with music, dead, on her knees with a Christ and a skull in a garden.)

Unlike Don Gil, Lisarda does not get saved by angelic forces fighting her demons. She is instead struck dead as the source for all the conflict that occurs in the play. On some levels, this seems like injustice on the part of the playwright; Don Gil is restored to his rightful place in the divine hierarchy while Lisarda is punished.

Even in Lisarda's death, religion is externalised on stage in the Christ that Lisarda has with her in death. We are never told exactly how Lisarda dies and the characters do not seem that interested in the matter. Her own father, Marcelo says:

Verdad dijo, ¡santos cielos!  
Más hermosa y más perfecta  
está que en vida. (Mira de Amescua 146)

(He tells the truth, holy skies!  
She is more beautiful and more perfect  
than she was in life.)

With this idea that she is now more beautiful and more perfect than when she was alive, the play concludes with the reconciliation of every character. We are left to wonder whether or not the price of Lisarda's salvation should have been so high when Don Gil got off so lightly by comparison. It is by no means impossible that Lisarda's death was externally enforced by heaven considering she had she her own identity and become simply "God's slave". This means that Lisarda would, in theory, take any order from God even one that would end her



own life and, according to Amescua, such obedience would surpass the beauty of her living form.

However, there is a possible reasoning for this conclusion to Lisarda's story. Lisarda's disobedience is the catalyst for every negative event that occurs in the play. Her sacrifice is, in a sense, Christ-like because she takes the sin of every character upon her. However, most importantly for our purposes she doesn't get to choose to shoulder the burden of everyone's sins but has that state forced upon her. She is truly God's slave, she loses everything, her family, her identity and her life and trades it for salvation – bearing in mind that she does not sell her soul to the Devil in the play but simply watches Don Gil go through the transaction.

Hierarchy in *Doctor Faustus*, on the other hand, works rather differently than in *El Esclavo del Demonio*. For Faustus, Mephistopheles is a way to break free of a hierarchy he does not fit into, as he expresses at the beginning of the play:

All things that move between the quiet poles  
Shall be at my command. Emperors and kings  
Are but obeyed in their several provinces,  
Nor can they raise the wind or rend the clouds;  
But his dominion that exceeds in this  
Stretcheth as far as doth the mind of man.  
A sound magician is a mighty god.  
Here, Faustus, try thy brains to gain a deity. (Marlowe 141)

Clearly, Faustus at the beginning of the play has some very different priorities to Marcelo in *El Esclavo del Demonio*. Faustus is not interested in exercising his role in a predetermined hierarchy. More interesting is the fact that Faustus' role within a hierarchy is not rigidly defined. Characters in Amescua's *El Esclavo del Demonio* are defined by their position in a hierarchy, as demonstrated by the fact that Marcelo is first and foremost a father figure. Faustus, however, is a man very much on his own; Faustus' decisions about his fate ultimately do not affect anyone but himself. This is evidenced by the fact that, in the long time span Faustus' deal with Mephistopheles encompasses, there is no mention of any person close to Faustus. Faustus' place in society is not rigidly defined because his interaction with any other human being in society is limited by the amount of time he spends with his books, both before and during his deal with Mephistopheles.

Faustus's fight throughout the play is one that is purely internal. A major point of difference is that Faustus does not fit into an established hierarchy easily. Faustus' actions do not affect anyone but himself in the play. As a brilliant

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scholar he isolates everyone around him, making his fall a personal and inward one. Throughout the play we are treated to a man who is given every opportunity to repent:

Faustus, repent yet, God will pity thee  
(Marlowe 157)

The audience at the beginning of the play might feel that it is within Faustus' power to repent, however, by the end of the play Faustus truly makes it seem like it is beyond his power to repent:

My heart's so hardened I cannot repent.  
Scarce can I name salvation, faith, or heaven  
But fearful echoes thunders in mine eyes:  
'Faustus, thou art damned!' (Marlowe 157)

On face value it seems that all Faustus needs to do is to redeem himself, and the audience may ponder: Why on earth does Faustus not repent? There seems to be nothing standing between himself and his repentance, except perhaps a few choice warnings by both Mephistopheles and Lucifer. However, Faustus's evil angel provides us with a clue as to why Faustus cannot repent:

Thou art a spirit. God cannot pity thee...  
Ay, but Faustus never shall repent. (Marlowe 157)

'Never' is an interesting word here. The evil angel not only indicates that Faustus will be unable to repent on this occasion but that Faustus will always be unable to repent, almost as if it was preordained. This is because there is a possibility that Faustus' fate is predestined and because of this no manner of persuasion by the good angel will change his inability to repent. The ability for Faustus to repent is the ability to change the ending of his story portrayed in the play. Herein lies the tension between free will and predestination in the play; if Faustus successfully repents then that means free will has the power to change fate. If Faustus fails to repent then it means there is no helping our predestined fate. Of course, there is no way to know what our fate might be but it helps contextualise the inner torment that Faustus experiences when thinking about his ability to repent:

And if these concerns occupy a large space in the plots of Renaissance plays, they are nowhere more explicit than in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (1594), whose protagonist is tormented with questions about theological sufficiency, about what is enough for the effecting of his salvation or damnation. (Hirschfeld 166)

It is a fact that every member of the audience in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* would have been made aware of their importance in the grand Biblical narrative, the great clash between Heaven and Hell. Where they fit in this narrative depends largely on their inner world, their faith, rather than any external intervention by either Heaven or Hell. *Doctor Faustus* demonstrates the importance of every person's conscience to God's plan by making Faustus the prime mover behind his damnation within the play. Yet the play asks quite seriously whether free will is capable of changing one's predestined fate, whether, indeed, salvation is possible for everyone if they have the will.

This terrible limbo which Faustus is trapped in becomes an Early Modern horror show when the audience is exposed to the final scenes of the play. Clocks and lightning strikes as Faustus' doom approaches and the audience feels as desperate as Faustus when they hear:

O soul, be changed into little waterdrops,  
And fall into the ocean, ne'er be found!  
My God, my God, look not so fierce upon me! (Marlowe 182)

Throughout the play Faustus constantly wrestles with himself, attempting to determine whether it is still possible to save himself from his deal with Mephistopheles. Similar thoughts will be crossing the mind of an audience watching the play: I have sinned, yet is it still possible for me to be saved? *Doctor Faustus* does not solely tap into the inner space of its protagonist, but the inner space of its audience, by conveying the tension between free will and predestination on stage. This is a far cry from *El Esclavo del Demonio* a drama whose externalised religious symbolism, while allowing the audience to recognise the meaning of the religious conflict unfolding on stage, isolates them from the characters because they are not exposed as much to their thought processes.

Choosing two plays with the same legend at their core would seem to make it easy to highlight similarities. After all, both plays have as their plot the idea of temptation, by an agent of Satan, of an exceptional protagonist. However, the differences in the play are religious and cultural and serve to highlight the rift between English drama and Spanish drama in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries.

Faustus' drama comes from an uncertainty about faith that can only be a by-product of the tumult generated by the English Reformation. Its internalisation of salvation is unlike anything observed in Amescua's drama of salvation in *El Esclavo del Demonio*, where salvation is dictated by an external force that maintains hierarchy, a hierarchy that ends with God at the top.

Faustus never calls to God for help in the play because he does not have the faith – the belief, trust or confidence that God wants to do anything about his predicament. In fact, God is rather removed from the play, meaning that Faustus' decisions must be made with the strength of his own will; he must freely choose but is unable to and why that is, is never fully explained, which is disconcerting for any audience. The last thing an audience wants is uncertainty about the workings of the universe.

In *El Esclavo del Demonio*, the decisions are made for the characters and for the audience. There is no need to doubt, as God will intervene because maintaining the order of things is what He does – God is always watching in Amescua's portrayal of the universe in *El Esclavo del Demonio*.

If anything, a comparison of these two plays demonstrates some fundamental differences between English drama and Spanish Golden Age drama. These differences are not simply two nations evolving apart, especially considering that until the sixteenth-century Spain and England had a common religion, Catholicism. Such a fundamental cultural shift visible in one of the most popular forms of public entertainment can only be attributed to the change in thought brought about by the Reformation.

In *Doctor Faustus* the audience is encouraged to understand Faustus' plight while watching Faustus think about the significance of each decision he makes that contributes towards his downfall. In *El Esclavo del Demonio*, however, the audience is taken from event to event, much like the protagonists, being told exactly what the decision on each character's fate is, based on an externally enforced hierarchical order. However, there is some comfort provided in the portrayal of religion used by *El Esclavo del Demonio*, and that is, that Heaven is very much present in the play. When Don Gil and Lisarda call to Heaven for guidance, they receive it in a way that is clearly visible to the audience. However, in *Doctor Faustus* the audience is only made aware of Hell while Heaven's voice is surprisingly absent save for a small voice inside Faustus cast as a "good angel." *El Esclavo del Demonio* leaves no room for doubt: The play asks, how can you possibly sin when God, your master, is so clearly visible? *Doctor Faustus*, on the other hand, reflects the psyche of a post-reformation England: Can you stay faithful in the face of doubt?

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## 2. VICTOR SEGALÉN'S *LES IMMÉMORIAUX*: A QUESTION OF PERSPECTIVE<sup>1</sup>

IAN FOOKES

### *Introduction*

Victor Segalen's exoticism is considered as a precursor to postcolonial literary theory on the strength of his first major work *Les Immémoriaux* (1907) and his aesthetics as outlined in a fragmentary collection of notes *Essai sur L'Exotisme* (1955). (Segler-Messner 2009: 53) One distinguishing feature of *Les Immémoriaux* is that the narrative depicts the evangelisation of Tahiti which took place between 1780 and 1800 from an imagined Māori perspective. It is this reversal that enables the work to challenge the euro-centrism characteristic of turn of the century exotic and colonial literature. The article begins by foregrounding tensions that threaten to undermine the postcolonial reading of Victor Segalen's exoticism. It then discusses how the narrative perspective of *Les Immémoriaux* not only challenges the euro-centrism of the period, but equally, how it presents a biting critique of the Tahitian people's attitude towards their own cultural heritage. This latter critique, it is argued, serves to justify the European representation of the Tahitian's own cultural history.

### *Cultural Colonisation and National Identity*

In his article 'Cultural Colonisation and National Identity' (2002), Peter Gibbons calls for a rethinking of the relationship between colonialism and the formation of a New Zealand national identity. Gibbons describes the ways in which colonists in New Zealand from the 1880's onwards attempted to incorporate Māori myth and legend, and knowledge of the indigenous flora and fauna into their own conception of a national identity. The incorporation of Māori knowledge held the singular advantage of distinguishing the colonists from their counterparts in other colonies such as Australia. It could also distinguish those who had been born and raised in New Zealand independently of Britain. In a word, Māori language, culture and history could be incorporated into colonists' burgeoning conceptions of what it meant to be uniquely a New Zealander.

Gibbons is critical of this appropriation, as within the narrative of an emergent national identity, colonisation comes to be seen as a phenomenon restricted to certain towns for a limited period following contact. This notion of colonisation can subsequently be left to fade into the background of a positive discussion of how colonists then sought to affirm their national identity in

<sup>1</sup> This paper was presented at the Inter-University French seminar November 22-23, 2012.

opposition to Mother England. Rather, Gibbons insists that: ‘Colonization is not just an early morning fog that dissipates as mid-morning as the bright sun of national identity comes out.’ (Gibbons 2002:15)

Two key points arise from Gibbons’s argument. The first is that the colonists’ efforts to incorporate Māori lore served to overcome the often limited and sometimes complete lack of interaction with Māori people; the second is that Gibbon describes this process as the ‘textualization’ of Māori:

“Maori themselves and their cultures were textualized by Pakeha, so that colonists could ‘know’ the people they were displacing. It is not too much to say that the colonists produced (or invented) ‘the Maori’, making them picturesque, quaint, largely ahistorical, and, through printed materials manageable. [...] Lore denominated esoteric by Maori was published, in translation, by Pakeha, thereby making it freely available to any curious enquirer. Their material culture was taxonomized, their myths and legends turned into history, their religious beliefs and rituals classified according to current anthropological fashions, their legends loosened from the landscape and tribe to become ‘New Zealand’ legends, retold in Victorian styles, an even turned into ‘fairy tales’ for Pakeha children.” (Gibbons 2002:13)

The emergence of a body of texts at the end of the nineteenth-century which formalised Māori culture notably includes literary and artistic works, educational materials and the popular press. While not normally included within historical accounts of colonisation, Gibbons maintains that such materials are readily deployed within discussions of national identity. Paintings such as *The Arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand* (1898) by L. J. Steele and C. F. Goldie, for example, are used to illustrate how Pakeha could recall their own experience of journeying to New Zealand, whilst presenting a romantic vision of Māori history. Accordingly, Roger Blackley notes: ‘The late 19th-century emergence in New Zealand of the history-painting tradition relates to the European settler (Pakeha) culture’s artistic and literary quest for a national identity.’ He continues, placing the work within a wider historical context: ‘By the 1880s the larger towns had established museums and art galleries intent on acquiring important “national” works, as well as art societies that promoted the achievements of local painters. Pakeha writers were crafting new accounts of the distant Māori past, interrogating and embellishing traditional migration legends. Inevitably, painters appropriated this legendary past for their own artistic purposes.’ (Blackley: 2001)

This supposedly inevitable form of cultural appropriation can be underlined in the official description of the work provided by the Auckland Art gallery Toi o Tamaki. According to the 2001 guide: ‘Probably the best-known history



painting ever produced in New Zealand' is 'essentially a romantic fabrication' that relies on 'European conventions for representing miraculous survivals at sea rather than on traditional accounts of the Maori immigration voyages'. The work is based directly on Theodore Géricault's 'Le Radeau de la Méduse' [The raft of the Medusa] (1818-1819) and 'emphasized the imagined physical suffering en route'. The guide highlights the key inaccuracy of the work, namely that the waka depicted in *The Arrival* were only developed following the actual arrival in Aotearoa. In closing the guide speculates: 'It is likely that the subject struck a chord with colonists, who recognised in the image of people journeying in search of a new land and a new life, fears and aspirations that paralleled their own in embarking for the Antipodes.' (Auckland Art Gallery Guide: 2001)

However, the Auckland Art Gallery's presentation of the work, and in particular its description of its contemporary reception as 'a sensation', is counter-balanced by Blackley who notes that "[a]s early as 1902 there was a report that 'Maoris who view the picture in the Art Gallery are indignant at the manner in which it is represented that the natives arrived in New Zealand' Blackley explains this indignant response as a reaction to the fact that 'the depiction of a desperate band hurtling forward on a broken craft represents a graphic realization of the widespread colonial mythology of the 'dying race'.'" (Blackley: 2001) *The Arrival* is emblematic, then, not simply of a cultural appropriation of Māori patrimony by Pakeha in search for a national identity, but also a reminder of the commonly held view that Māori were inevitably heading towards extinction as a result of their 'fatal impact' with the superior European race. This view was commonly depicted at the turn of the nineteenth-century in popular cartoons and also in the efforts of certain colonists to document and exhibit indigenous culture in an effort to preserve it. Indeed, Goldie's portraiture can be understood in this particular light.

### *C. F. Goldie's Portraiture*

In the catalogue for "The Much Debated Portraiture of C. F. Goldie" Auckland Gallery Toi Tamaki Touring Exhibition, the reception and controversy that surrounds his representation of Māori elders is described. Goldie's works were both appreciated and derided for their realism and documentary value: "The minutely observed realism and limited thematic range of Goldie's canvasses led some early critics to question their artistic merit. To many, they appeared no more 'creative' than the factual recording of Maori already being undertaken through hand-coloured photography.' In retracing the reception of Goldie's works, the catalogue notes that 'Regardless of their often mixed reception, Goldie's individual Maori portraits do realistically depict some of the last chiefs and chieftainesses to wear traditional ta moko, or facial tattoos. As such, they

are mementoes of a significant time in New Zealand history, and have become imbued with considerable historical and cultural significance, notwithstanding their artistic importance.<sup>2</sup>

Despite this realism and seemingly transparent form of representation, it is also recognised that his portraits are staged compositions regimented by Victorian aesthetic values which accentuated the perception of Māori as noble yet defeated: 'Carefully painted to ensure maximum pathos, these beautifully executed depictions rarely show young, vital Maori adapting to and embracing the future, but instead focus largely on often tired-looking elders whose pensive faces suggest weary submission and defeat. Titles such as *Tumai Tawhiti: The Last of the Cannibals*, *Patara Te Tuhi: an Old Warrior* and *The Last Sleep* add to the impression that these Maori are the last survivors of a dwindling race.'

Significantly, though, this artifice seems to reinforce the value of the works as a *taonga* for the direct descendants of those who sat for Goldie. The catalogue notes how those Māori relate to the works as sacred parts of their patrimony: 'Goldie's portraits have always been held in high esteem by Maori, and, because of their importance as ancestral images, are regarded as *taonga*, or treasures.' Indeed, '[w]hen Goldie opened at the Museum of Sydney in early 1998, curator Roger Blackley described the effect as that of a Maori shrine, with around 1500 local Maori gathering in an all-day festival to visit with and share information about their *tupuna*, or ancestors.'

That Goldie's paintings emerged out of a context in which Pakeha sought to capture what was essential to a New Zealand identity through the appropriation of Māori culture, and that his portraiture was part of an effort to document a seemingly endangered race has engendered a mixed reception marked by ambivalence. As the title of the 1998 Goldie portraiture exhibition suggests, and the catalogue confirms: 'Whether he is 'our greatest painter,' an 'outdated, academic racist' or no more than a 'second-rate Lindauer,' one thing is certain, the debate surrounding the work of our most well-known painter shows no sign of fading quietly away.'<sup>2</sup> The contested status of painters such as Goldie, and the incorporation of Māori knowledge and culture in to colonist's creative works is a useful foregrounding of similar questions that surround the work of Victor Segalen, a French naval doctor and poet who was working during the same historical period in French Polynesia. The tension between Goldie's motivations for his works, and how they have subsequently been received, presents a complex and ongoing debate that speaks to the context in which Segalen wrote and has been received<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Much Debated Portraiture of C. F. Goldie' an Auckland Gallery Toi Tamaki Touring Exhibition, 12 Dec 1998-07 Mar 1999 catalogue at <http://christchurchartgallery.org.nz/exhibitions/the-much-debated-portraiture-of-cf-goldie/> Accessed 14 December 2012.

<sup>3</sup> A more detailed comparison of Goldie and Segalen, in the context of Gauguin's influence on the latter would be an interesting project but lies beyond the scope of the present article.

*Victor Segalen (1878-1919)*

Victor Segalen was a French doctor who pursued his literary interests within his naval career, which enabled him to travel throughout Oceania and extensively in China. Segalen was a man of multiple interests and his writing is marked by formal and thematic diversity. His first major work, *Les Immémoriaux* (1907) was conceived of during his posting to Tahiti between 1903 and 1904. During this sojourn, Segalen travelled extensively in Polynesia and was struck by the decline in the local population through disease. Upon arrival in the Marquesas in August 1903 he notes in his journal: Fort peu d'habitants: La variole, la syphilis, la ptisie, l'opium les ont progressivement éteints. Ceux qui restent, de teint clair rehaussé de tatouages purement ornementaux, marchent gaîment et insoucissamment vers leur fin de race... (Oci: 424)

In this account of the Māori as 'marching gaily and untroubled to the end of their race...' we can detect echoes of Goldie's attitude towards the Māori subjects of his portraiture. This conception of the Māori as dying race is developed in an article on Māori music dedicated to Claude Debussy and published in the *Mercure Musicale* (October 15, 1907) Whereas the title is merely indicative: 'Voix mortes: Musiques maori', the study itself links Segalen to the context in which Goldie was working; the article discusses the efforts of Sir George Grey to save traditional stories, music and dance in New Zealand. The article's conclusion is thoroughly pessimistic: 'Des chants maori et des danses, s'il en pouvait naître désormais, ne seraient plus que des danses autour d'un mort, et des chants pour les funérailles.' (Oci: 549) For Segalen, evangelisation has marked the end of distinctly Māori musical forms, which have been abandoned in favour of Christian hymns and the use of European instruments. As a result, the contemporary choirs and chants encountered in Polynesia at the beginning of the twentieth-century constitute second rate imitations of European forms, marking a distinct loss of the pure chords of Māori music: Segalen captures the shift in the image of the conch replaced by the European trumpet: 'la conque maori cédant place aux grandes trompettes d'harmonie' (Oci:549) The article 'Voix mortes: Musiques maori' appeared shortly after the publication of *Les Immémoriaux*, and represents an extension of the work's major theme: the bitter recognition of cultural loss resulting from evangelisation.

*Les Immémoriaux (1907)*

Segalen's first major narrative work recounts the evangelisation of Tahiti through the character of Térii, a Haèrè-po or 'récitant' who was of middle rank within his society. Térii is charged with the safeguarding of his people's genealogy through the sacred repetition of its chant. Térii is disgraced due to his inability to recall the genealogy completely, however, and following a failed

attempt at redemption through a prodigal act, is forced to join his father, Paofai in a quest to restore the sacred origins of their genealogy. Twenty years elapses before their respective returns to Tahiti, at which time Térii is confronted by an evangelised society. Within this new world order, Térii decides to convert and pursue his ambitions within the Church. Paofai, by contrast, refuses to convert and is condemned for being a heathen. The narrative thus ties these two symbolic characters together in opposing trajectories. Térii newly baptised as Iakoba, takes his place as a leader within Christian society, whilst the former priest and member of the Aroii Paofai, is condemned for his refusal to adopt the new belief system.

A key feature of *Les Immémoriaux* is the distinct form of narration that it utilises. Segalen presents the story from a third person perspective, informed by a highly developed understanding of Māori cosmology and values. Interspersed with the description of Térii's actions are ethnographic details and Māori beliefs. The normative descriptions about how to complete certain actions, such as preparing a canoe for voyage, present the ethnographic detail as normal. In addition, European's are described through calques and descriptions such as 'les homes au nouveau-parler' that denote an absence of vocabulary to describe new things following the cultural contact. The Tahitian point of view is therefore presented as at once normal and limited in its interactions with a new culture. In addition, through references to 'la voix houleuse du récif' it is suggested that this Tahitian world view is in tune with nature.

In itself, an imagined Māori perspective is not distinctive. One may recall *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville* (1773) by Diderot for example. What distinguishes this point of view from that of an imagined 'noble savage' is that the point of view developed is rooted in the oral culture that Segalen encountered in Polynesia. During his travels on the *Durance* Segalen conducted an ethnographic study of the oral culture in the Marquesas and had the rare opportunity to listen to the recitation of the founding myth and genealogy at the root of Māori culture. (Dollé 2008: 77) These genealogies are included in the text in italics to indicate that they present something of a citation. For this reason, Marie Dollé argues that, more important than the rupture with exotic literature of the likes of *Le Mariage de Loti*, or the critical depiction of the process of evangelisation, is the way in which Segalen created a complex universe in which 'everything is recreated but nothing is invented'; a universe where every detail is anchored in documented research and first-hand observation and where the Other is not simply part of the scenery or an object of pure fantasy. It is the combination of the reversal coupled with the researched nature of that perspective, which sets Segalen's work apart.

*The reversal of the narrative perspective*

Although it is correct to describe the 'māori perspective' as a reversal of the subject-object relation in exotic literature, this notion obscures the shifting nature of that perspective within the text. The cultural markers and ethnographic detail interwoven into the text shift as Térii falls from grace, is exiled, and then converts to Christianity. In the opening passage, for example; Térii is introduced as 'le récitant', but upon his return to Tahiti in the third part of the text he is described as 'L'ignorant'. This shift in title illustrates the shift in perspective from that of a Pagan to that of an evangelized society.

Yet, one of the key features of the text is the way in which the changes within Tahitian culture are described through the gradual shifts in Térii's perspective. Following his failure on the marae, Térii experiences a form of depression, and he muses on the prospect of suicide, which he describes in terms of an incomprehensible and distinctly foreign attitude: 'Chaque matin, sortant d'un assoupissement équivoque, il retrouvait sa tristesse assise au bord de sa natte et plus fidèle qu'une épouse. Il s'indignait qu'elle ne fût pas envolée: c'est le propre des étrangers seuls de se plaindre plusieurs nuit sans répit; de verser des larmes durant des lunaisons entières!' (Oci:143)

However, shortly afterwards during his prodigal act, Térii's attitude towards nature shifts. Rather than seeing it as instrumental and full of religious significance, he begins to see it as this worldly and beautiful. This aesthetic appreciation marks the exile of Térii from his initial Tahitian viewpoint and sets him on a divergent course from that of his father, Paofai. Whereas Paofai is engaged in a quest to restore the sacred origins of his genealogy, and later to discover within Māori culture a form of writing that could rival the European text, Térii, for his part, is engaged in a voyage more deeply into exile from his own culture which he has abandoned. Following the loss of the original genealogy in Raeatea, Paofai and Térii arrive in Havaïi. Térii admires the contours of the islands: Térii, saisi violemment par les coutumes étrangères, se prit à dire des mots sans suite: "cela est beau – cela est beau"... il se dressait, la figure détendu. Paofai is deeply shocked and 'le considéra comme on épie un insensé, et lui parla sévèrement.' (Oci: 176) Paofai reprimands Térii in traditional religious terms, 'c'est un mauvais présage'. The reader can identify not only the growing separation between the two characters, but also the shift in Térii's attitude towards the world.

Segalen continues to present the reader with Térii's uncertainty and mixed feelings towards the new religion. However, as his baptism and conversion superficially take hold, the cultural perspective that informed the first section

of the text shifts. The tragic development of the narrative serves to drive home this critical message and undermine the evangelised Tahitian viewpoint. As the penultimate passage illustrates, while depicting a dialogue between Térii-Jakoba and Aüté; a young naturalist who is attempting to recover the traces of the now defunct traditional Tahitian culture, Segalen is able to expose Iakoba's pious attitudes to the grim realities of colonialism. Aute asks pointedly about the fall in population following the arrival of the Europeans. Thus within the third section of the novel, there is not simply a shift from traditional Tahitian to an evangelised view point, but Segalen's own critical voice begins to be heard.

This critical voice is designed to expose the fallen state of Térii-Jakoba, and thereby illustrate the fall of the Tahitians themselves. As a ruse to distract Aute, in order to prostitute his daughter as a means to procure nails for the construction of his church, Térii-Jakoba promises to recount the original genealogies from the past. Of course, this is the very genealogy which he had not been able to remember, and then failed to recuperate. Térii begins by cynically falsifying his recantation: 'Il riait en lui-même à voir l'étranger recevoir ces racontars païens, de confiance, – les yeux brillants, les droïts agiles, – sans même flairer la tromperie ou le désordre du récit' (Oci: 244) But as his inability to recount the origins of his people becomes manifest, Térii-Jakoba is exposed. He admits to Aüté that he had slept while the ancient words of his genealogy had been spoken. In doing so, he admits to his inability to recount his own origins. The final scene then re-enacts this betrayal of his culture; as Paofai, who is being chased around the reef, in a traditional punishment now applied for transgression of the new law, appeals to Térii-Jakoba for sanctuary, is callously dismissed as 'a pagan'.

For the present article, these final scenes become crucial. They serve to undercut the "reversal" of perspective which enabled Segalen to challenge the Eurocentric point of view characteristic of exotic literature. Whilst accepting that such a decentering occurs, it is important not to ignore this second movement within the narrative voice of the text, through which Segalen's own critical voice makes itself heard. The "Tahitian" point of view, in all its sophistication and cultural detail, undergoes its own "conversion" within the development of the narration.

The third part of the text reveals through its use of irony two competing narrative voices in the same text. This second critical voice provides a cutting critique of the Tahitian's attitude to their cultural heritage. Moreover, it condemns the contemporary Māori to a fallen position from which they cede responsibility for the recounting of their own history. In this regard, Segalen's critical voice allies him with the ideological basis of colonialism, and serves to justify his own role in representing a culture that had abandoned its own origins. In this precise respect, it would be an error, I think, to oversimplify the "reversal of perspective", which

has become a kind of short-hand for Segalen's influence on postcolonial theorists. As Charles Forsdick noted in the 2003 Francophone Postcolonial studies reader: 'Although Segalen is better known through decontextualized quotation than as a result of sustained engagement with his work, his early twentieth-century struggle with *'le divers'* [Diversity] is invaluable to any exploration of exoticism not because it provides such portable and universally applicable definitions, but because it performs a series of contradictions central to our understanding of the concept.' (Forsdick, 2003 54) One such contradiction, it is argued, is the apparently anti-colonial depiction of the evangelisation of Tahiti, and the deeper ideological import of this account.

### *Conclusion*

This article began by suggesting that the incorporation of Māori Knowledge into Pakeha literary and artistic works at the beginning of the twentieth-century could be considered as a form of cultural colonisation. This discussion introduced Goldie's portraiture as an example of how a technically superb artwork was inspired by colonial notions of 'Māori as a dying race'. Despite this viewpoint, widespread at the turn of the century, Goldie's portraits have been welcomed into the Māori patrimony as 'taonga' or treasures. This mixed reception provides a point of commonality with *Les Immémoriaux*. For Rosemary Arnoux, 'Victor Segalen has often been cited alongside the painter Gauguin, as one of the rare authentic voices of Tahitian society. Indeed, *Les Immémoriaux* is the only foreign novel that the Tahitians themselves accept within their heritage' (Arnoux 1995:7) It is a view that Jean Scemla echoes in his account of the importance of *Les Immémoriaux* for the poet Henri Hiro and director Jean-Luc Segarra, who, in 1983 completed a modern adaptation of Segalen's work. (Scemla 1986: 4)

Despite such acceptance of Segalen's work by Tahitians, it cannot be ignored that Segalen's notions of 'Māori as a dying race' informed his literary project. *Les Immémoriaux* is a posthumous reconstruction of a lost world. Indeed, the narrative recounts the drama of this cultural loss. For this reason, Segalen's first major literary work was dedicated to the Māori of forgotten times 'Aux Māori des temps oubliés' and commemorates the loss of traditional Māori culture, through its abandonment in the pursuit of Christianity. So while the narrative voice begins as an "authentic" or informed ethnographically accurate 'Māori omniscience' to use Marc Gontard's term, the point of view undergoes its own conversion as the reader follows Térii in his evangelisation.

The result is a dynamic narrative perspective that undermines the reader's trust in the protagonist. That is, as Térii-Iakoba becomes increasingly pious and

committed to his new role in the evangelised order, he actively turns his back on the past, on his father, Paofai. But not only does he abandon his traditional origins, but he bears false witness to his cultural ancestry. The irony with which this movement, not to say betrayal, is described, enables Segalen's bitter tone to compete with and ultimately undermine the narrative voice. As Charles Forsdick aptly notes: "This gradual metamorphosis of narrative voice, which gradually mimics the disintegration and assimilation of a people's collective identity, is not only a final subversion of the first part of the novel opening *in medias res*, but also a return to the tone of Segalen's original drafts. (Forsdick 2000: 118) Forsdick reads this shifting narrative perspective as both a reflection of the process of cultural transformation from an oral to a written culture, but equally, as a failure of Segalen's "exotic" writing of difference to remain outside of the style of the naturalist novel. The Tahitian perspective drops the reader into the Māori world. However, by the end of the text, the reader is back within the point of view of the naturalist novel. For Forsdick, this exposes the limits of Segalen's writing of difference, which he argues, led Segalen to China in search of a more radical form of writing.

In counterpoint to this reading, this article suggests that the shift in the narrative perspective generates a particular consequence, namely, the systematic loss of voice of the Tahitians' ability to speak for themselves. That is, from the opening description of Térii as the 'récitant' the narrative traces his loss of faith and position within traditional culture, towards his baptism and cynical efforts to attain rank within the new order. This process steadily erodes his credibility as a speaker for traditional Māori culture. Moreover, his voice is undermined by the irony of the final section of the text. The consequence of this movement is that, symbolically, the Tahitians are no longer able to understand or recount their own patrimony, thereby necessitating the intervention of an outsider such as Segalen or Gauguin, who, in virtue of their encounter with the last traces of the traditional world, and their artistic vision, are capable of re-creating the lost world. The narrative perspective of *Les Immémoriaux* therefore justifies Segalen's exotic enterprise.

The incorporation of Māori knowledge by Pakeha was used to overcome the limited contact between Pakeha and Māori thereby making Māori culture available to Pakeha, who in turn could use it as part of their burgeoning identity. Equally, Goldie's works were accepted by Māori as historical images that embody the spirit of their ancestors. They create a connection with those ancestors through the image. Within the Tahitian context, *Les Immémoriaux* is caught in the same double movement. On one hand, the work appeals to nationalists seeking to reconnect with a traditional culture to which they have only limited contact (akin to the distant relationship to Māori by Pakeha at the beginning of the



twentieth-century in New Zealand). But on the other hand, the genuine details within the text, and the description of the process of evangelisation in which the Tahitians were active participants, resonates with Tahitians such as Henri Hiro, it is an accurate and vivid 'representation' of their history and cultural origins. But just like a Goldie portrait, it is a staged image designed to generate maximum pathos. Indeed, *Les Immémoriaux* is a well crafted dramatisation.

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### 3. DISEASE AND DECADENCE IN DAVOS: AN INTERTEXTUAL STUDY OF THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF DISEASE IN THOMAS MANN'S NOVEL THE MAGIC MOUNTAIN.

JESSICA MACAULEY

This paper examines the relationship between disease and pre-World War I society in Thomas Mann's novel, *The Magic Mountain*, which is set at a tuberculosis sanatorium in Davos, Switzerland. The depiction of sanatorium life and the development of the plot are linked to the theme of tuberculosis, yet closer analysis of the novel reveals that tuberculosis is not the only form of disease present. The medical staff, for example, is conspicuously unhealthy: Director Behrens has prominent, bloodshot eyes and blue cheeks (73);<sup>1</sup> his assistant, Dr Krokowski, is as pale as a corpse with yellow teeth, and nurse Mylendonk's face is disfigured by an enormous stye below her eye (254). In the context of the early twentieth-century interest in eugenics, the science of improving the human race often associated with the forced sterilisation of "bad" human specimens, physical abnormalities in *The Magic Mountain* illustrate deviations from an ideal of health: Behrens walks with the posture of a chimpanzee with arms dangling forward and bowed legs (75, 99, 139); Dr Krokowski limps, and nurse Mylendonk's figure is "stunted" and "shapeless" (254). The geographical separation of the sanatorium from the rest of Europe might suggest that the prevalence of disease is contained; however, Europe is introduced to the reader of *The Magic Mountain* in descriptions of the principal character Hans Castorp's diseased and deceased Hamburg relatives. This indicates that the microcosm of the sanatorium is intended to reflect a pathological state of society as a whole, a state taken for granted by Dr Krokowski, who reacts with surprise when the recently arrived Castorp claims to be "completely healthy": "Truly?" exclaims the doctor, "then you are an extremely interesting case! I have never seen a completely healthy person before." (31)

Although the medical staff and Castorp's family introduce the theme of endemic disease in various forms, further analysis of the novel shows that two specific symptoms predominate: exhaustion and tension. In a breakfast scene in the restaurant from Chapter 3, Mrs Stöhr responds to an enquiry about her health with a complaint of "limpness" (70), whereas her neighbour, Miss Engelhart, feels "tense and restless" (71). Exhaustion and tension are also the themes of two sections from Chapter 7: "The Great Stupor" depicts the sanatorium patients in the grip of chronic boredom that they attempt to alleviate with superficial

<sup>1</sup> All page numbers in brackets refer to *The Magic Mountain (Der Zauberberg)*. Translations from the original German by Jessica Macauley.

entertainment such as drawing pigs with their eyes closed and eating copious amounts of chocolate (953). “The Great Irritability”, in contrast, depicts an outburst of irrational violence (1038) as well as a fatal duel between two formerly rational intellectuals (1070). These symptoms of exhaustion and tension are depicted in *The Magic Mountain* without specifying a particular disease. This gap in the meaning of the text directs the reader’s attention outwards beyond the boundary of the novel in search of answers. In my definition of intertextuality, an intertext is a text that contributes to the meaning of another text. As a reader, I am consequently interested in finding intertexts that can address the following questions raised by the text of *The Magic Mountain*: what disease corresponds to the symptoms of lethargy and tension portrayed in the novel, and is this significant to the idea of endemic disease?

The intertext that explains the symptoms of lethargy and tension in *The Magic Mountain* most clearly is a collection of fragments by the early Romantic philosopher/poet Novalis. In these fragments, Novalis refers to a general category of disease he calls *asthenia* following the medical system of the Scotsman John Brown (1735-1788), who classified disease according to an imbalance of two basic elements of life: stimulation and excitability, or the organism’s reaction to stimuli (Neubauer 369). In his adaptation of Brown’s system, Novalis was influenced by the contemporary philosophers Schelling and Fichte (Neubauer 373, 376), and he consequently defines an excess or lack of stimulation as *direct* or *indirect sthenia*, and pathological states of excitability as *direct* or *indirect asthenia*. These two forms of *asthenia* explain the symptoms of lethargy and tension in *The Magic Mountain*: *indirect asthenia* denotes a “constitution lacking excitability”, i.e. exhaustion, and *direct asthenia* denotes a “constitution with an excess of excitability” (Novalis 2: 573), i.e. irritability or tension.

In *The Magic Mountain*, the symptoms of *indirect* and *direct asthenia* can be found together within individual characters. Hans Castorp slouches (52); he finds work arduous (56); his delicate health exempts him from military service (57), and the real reason for his visit to the sanatorium is to rest after the exertion of studying for his engineering exam (59). Although Castorp’s “tendency to “snooze”” (50) can also be explained by his diagnosis with anaemia in Chapter 3 (74), his description as a lethargic “type” (59) suggests a more *general* category of disease. This is a textual trigger indicating that Castorp is *indirectly asthenic*, in reference to Novalis’ conception of *asthenia* as a diseased “constitution” (Novalis 2: 573). Castorp’s lethargic constitution is, however, complicated by symptoms of *direct asthenia*. During a conversation about the effect of emotions on the human body, Castorp discloses a tendency to get goose bumps from the slightest emotional stimuli (401) that illustrates the extreme sensitivity of *direct asthenia* (Novalis 2: 573). This juxtaposition of *indirectly* and *directly asthenic* symptoms

within one person seems, however, to contradict the “constitutional” nature of *asthenia*. Perhaps the combination of lethargy and tension can be explained by another intertext? The answer to this hypothesis presents itself in an essay by Sigmund Freud from 1895, in which he discusses patients with “mixed neuroses” (Freud 1: 340).

In *The Magic Mountain*, clear reference to these mixed neuroses can be found in descriptions of the sanatorium director, who suffers from both anxiety and depression, and thus combines the symptoms of *direct* and *indirect asthenia*. Director Behrens is “nervous”, and “jumps visibly” when he chances across Castorp and his cousin in the garden (383). “[D]ecidedly anxious” (387) after inviting the cousins to view his artwork, Behrens’ hands shake as he unlocks his door to let them in. This nervousness illustrates *direct asthenia*; however, *direct asthenia* is a *broad* category of disease, and Behrens’ anxiety appears to be specifically psychological. Freud’s definition of *anxiety neurosis* describes a nervous disease with no physiological cause with the same symptoms as *direct asthenia*. *Anxiety neurosis* is, just like *direct asthenia*, characterised by over-sensitivity: Increased irritability “is a common nervous symptom [that] consistently presents in cases of anxiety neurosis” (Freud 1: 317), Freud writes in 1895. The reference of Behrens’ nervousness to both *direct asthenia* and *anxiety neurosis* provides insight into Freud’s scientific debt to existing theory: it seems that Freud developed his ideas on *anxiety neurosis* after initially narrowing the focus of *direct asthenia*.

Behrens’ nervousness is contrasted by bouts of depression. In Chapter 3, Castorp learns that Behrens “tends towards melancholy” (95), an observation that is confirmed in the section “Humaniora” from Chapter 5 when Behrens abruptly ends Castorp and his cousin’s visit:

“I am beginning to feel melancholy,” [Behrens] said and placed his huge hand over his eyes. “See, it just comes over me like this. Here we were drinking coffee, which was delicious, and suddenly it just comes over me and I become melancholy. You gentlemen will have to excuse me now” [...] (404)

Although Behrens’ depression is a general reference to *indirect asthenia*, it refers more specifically to an essay by Freud from 1917 on melancholy and mourning (Freud 10: 428-46). In this essay, Freud develops a theory of melancholy as a form of *narcissistic neurosis* caused by the subject identifying with a lost object, for example a loved one, with a consequent weakening of their sense of self (Freud 10: 433). It is interesting to note that Behrens’ history confirms this connection between melancholy and loss: he originally came to the sanatorium accompanying his wife, who subsequently died of tuberculosis.

There is, however, no indication in the text that Behrens' depression postdates the death of his wife.

The "increase in sensitivity to pain" (Freud 1: 324) associated with *anxiety neurosis* and the importance of loss or lack in the development of depression indicates another intertext that contributes to the interpretation of Behrens' mood swings: *The World as Will and Representation*. In this work from 1818, Arthur Schopenhauer describes human life "tossed back and forth" between the states of boredom and pain (Schopenhauer 1: 432), a statement that allows a metaphysical interpretation of the symptoms we have until now associated with physical and psychological disorder.

As we have seen, Behrens suffers from irrational mood swings, in which depression "suddenly comes over him" despite his enjoyment of coffee a moment before. This refers to Freud's conviction that the neurotic symptoms of anxiety and depression are caused by the repression of the irrational sexual and aggressive drives (Freud 10: 444), forms of inner stimuli (Freud 1: 339) that once again link Freud's theories to Novalis' conception of disease. *Anxiety neurosis* is caused by the suppression of the sexual drive (Freud 1: 334), and anxious fear is consequently understood to be a transfigured expression of lust (Freud 1: 336). Similarly, the melancholic person represses hate for some lost object of desire (Freud 10: 444). For the reader aware of these intertexts by Freud, the irrationality of Behrens' mood swings is a natural accompaniment to the fundamentally irrational nature of his neuroses.

So far, my analysis of *The Magic Mountain* has identified lethargy and tension as symptomatic of both *asthenia* and *neurosis*. The second question I raised at the beginning of this paper was whether these diseases are significant to the idea of endemic disease. Researching the cause of *asthenia* and *neurosis* reveals a common theme of excessive stimuli in texts by Novalis, Freud, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. Novalis describes this excess metaphorically: "[I]ndirect [...] asthenia [...] is caused by blinding – an over-abundance of light" (Novalis 2: 620). Freud notes that the irritability characteristic of *anxiety neurosis* (and of *direct asthenia*) is caused by a person's inability to cope with "an excess of stimuli" (Freud 1: 317). Freud develops this idea in his theory that *traumatic neurosis* is caused by an extreme amount of stimuli overwhelming an unprepared individual (Freud 13: 29 & 31). This individual then attempts to save him/herself from the unbearable pain associated with the trauma by repressing their memory of the event, which in turn leads to the development of neurotic symptoms (Freud 11: 396). Freud's theory of *traumatic neurosis* once again demonstrates his debt to existing theory, this time to the philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer. In *The World as Will and Representation*, Schopenhauer writes: "[I]nsanity [is] the Lethe of immeasurable pain" (Schopenhauer 2: 516), in reference to the

river of forgetting from Greek myth between the world and Hades. This is Schopenhauer's elegant way of expressing the idea that insanity is a disease of memory: in order to avoid intense pain (stimuli), people repress trauma (forget) and consequently retreat into insanity (Schopenhauer 1: 274-76). Nietzsche traces the pathological excess of stimuli to *culture*:

The sum of sensations, knowledge and experience, the entire cultural burden, has become so great that there is a general danger that nerves and mental faculties have become over-stimulated, indeed that the cultivated social classes of Europe will become completely neurotic and almost all the more important families one step closer to insanity. (Nietzsche 2: 204)

Nietzsche's view of neurosis as symptomatic of modern society is underscored in *The Magic Mountain* by the position of the sections "The Great Stupor" and "The Great Irritability" immediately before the final chapter and its portrayal of the outbreak of World War One. This sequence suggests that lethargy and tension in *The Magic Mountain* are intended to reflect the general mood prior to 1914. Ironically, the depiction of lethargy and tension as characteristic of modern, pre-war society refers to intertexts that span more than a century: Novalis describes "the dominant constitution" of the late eighteenth-century as "asthenic" (Novalis 2: 604), i.e. both exhausted and tense, and Nietzsche writes in *Beyond Good and Evil* from 1886: "Nowadays, almost everywhere in Europe one finds a morbid sensitivity and excitability" (Nietzsche 5: 236). The social origin of modern lethargy and tension is also present in Novalis' observation: "An *increase in dis[eases]* [is an] indication of a more advanced culture" (Novalis 3: 349); however, the connection of lethargy, tension and culture in *The Magic Mountain* refers most strongly to intertexts by Nietzsche and Freud. Nietzsche's theory of decadence explains modern society as diseased according to an inverse relationship of Life and Mind. Decadence describes a decrease in life force accompanied by an increase in mental ability, for example cultural and intellectual activity. Nietzsche's theory expresses the lethargy and tension characteristic of *asthenia* and *neurosis*: The decrease in life force inherent to the concept of decadence corresponds to a state of lethargy, and the decadent increase in mental activity reflects a state of irritability. Although Freud rejected contemporary attempts to explain *neurasthenia* (an early twentieth-century version of *asthenia* specific to the nerves) in terms of modern decadence (Freud 7: 148), he recognises a connection between neurosis and "modern cultural life" (Freud 7: 145), arguing that cultural norms are responsible for the drive repression at the root of modern *neurosis* (Freud 10: 333). These intertexts by Novalis, Nietzsche and Freud explain disease in *The Magic Mountain* as

symptomatic of modern society: Behrens' neurosis, for example, shows him to be a casualty of society and also indicates society's decadence. This interpretation of Behrens' symptoms illustrates how knowledge of intertexts can enrich the reader's understanding of the text.

To conclude: I hope to have demonstrated in this paper that the portrayal of lethargy and tension in *The Magic Mountain* is symptomatic of endemic disease in reference to Novalis' adaptation of Brown's medical system, particularly the direct and indirect forms of *asthenia*, that in turn relate to Nietzsche's theory of modern decadence as an imbalance between life and the mind, as well as to Freud's theory of *neurosis* and Schopenhauer's views on memory and insanity. The relationship of lethargy and tension to modern society in *The Magic Mountain* is clarified by intertexts – particularly those by Nietzsche and Freud – that highlight the dependency of these states on a characteristically modern, pathological excess of stimuli. Influenced by these intertexts, the reader interprets lethargy and tension in *The Magic Mountain* as symptomatic of a pathological state of contemporary society.

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#### 4. CZESŁAW MIŁOSZ AND ZBIGNIEW HERBERT: LITERARY RESPONSES TO NON-EUCLIDEAN GEOMETRIES

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##### *Abstract*

Non-Euclidean geometries are alternative models of space first formally postulated by central and east European mathematicians towards the end of the nineteenth-century. Their implications revolutionised mathematical geometry and hold a fundamental place in the overall development of modern mathematics, with its characteristics of multiplicity and uncertainty alongside abstraction and analytical rigour.

This paper will examine a particular instance of the translation of non-Euclidean geometries into poetic metaphor, in works by two twentieth-century Polish poets, Czesław Miłosz and Zbigniew Herbert, both of whom explored issues of modernity, knowledge and expression in their works.

Based in part on their experiences of war-time and socialist Europe, I will argue that both Herbert and Miłosz hold particular views of mathematics and that this might be taken into account in reading their poetry. Lastly I will briefly indicate the directions in which that approach fits into a larger framework for examining the relationship between mathematics and poetry, within the broad context of interactions between literature and science.

*The European Connection*

*Introduction*

*SONG OF A CITIZEN<sup>1</sup>*

*A stone from the depths that has  
witnessed the seas drying up  
and a million white fish leaping in  
agony,  
I, poor man, see a multitude of white-  
bellied nations  
without freedom.  
[...]  
A poor man, sitting on a cold chair,  
pressing my eyelids,  
I sigh and think of a starry sky,  
of non-Euclidean space, of amoebas and  
their pseudopodia,  
of tall mounds of termites.*

*When walking, I am asleep, when  
sleeping, I dream reality, [...]*

*Warsaw 1943*

*Czesław Miłosz*

*PIEŚŃ OBYWATELA*

*Kamień z dna, który widział  
wysychanie mórz  
I milion białych ryb skaczących w  
męczarni –  
Ja, biedny człowiek, widzę mrowie  
białych obnażonych ludów  
Bez wolności. Kraba widzę, który ich  
ciałem się karmi.  
[...]  
Ja, biedny człowiek, siedząc na zimnym  
krześle, z przyciśniętymi oczami,  
Wzdycham i myślę o gwiazdzistym  
niebie,  
O nieeuklidesowej przestrzeni, o  
paczkującej amebie,  
O wysockich kopach termitów.*

*Kiedy chodzę, jestem we śnie, gdy zasnę,  
przydarza się jawa, [...]*

*Warszawa 1943*

<sup>1</sup> Czesław Miłosz, “Pieśń obywatela” first published in *Ocalenie*, 1945. English translation by Czesław Miłosz, in Miłosz 2001.

*ELEGY FOR THE DEPARTURE OF  
PEN, INK AND LAMP<sup>2</sup>*

*Truly my betrayal is great and hard to  
forgive  
for I do not even remember the day or  
hour  
when I abandoned you friends of my  
childhood*

*[...]  
In a Jewish shop  
steps creaking a bell at the glass door –  
I chose you  
[...]  
o silver nib  
outlet of the critical mind  
messenger of soothing knowledge  
that the globe is round  
that parallel lines never meet  
[...]*

*Zbigniew Herbert*

*ELEGIA NA ODEJŚCIE PIÓRA  
ATRAMENTU LAMPY*

*Zaprawdę wielka i trudna do  
wybaczenia jest moja niewierność  
bo nawet nie pamiętam dnia ani  
godziny  
kiedy was opuściłem przyjaciele  
dzieciństwa*

*[...]  
w żydowskim sklepiku  
- skrzypiące schodki dzwonek u drzwi  
oszkłonych –  
wybierałem ciebie  
[...]  
srebrna stalówka  
wypustko krytycznego rozumu  
postańko kojącej wiedzy  
- że ziemia jest kulista  
- że proste równoległe  
[...]*

<sup>2</sup> Zbigniew Herbert, “Elegia na odejście pióra atramentu lampy” first published in *Elegia na odejście*, 1990. English translation [1999] by John and Bogdana Carpenter in Herbert 2008.

Czesław Miłosz (1911-2003) and Zbigniew Herbert (1924-1998) were two major twentieth-century Polish poets neither of whom claimed a particular knowledge of mathematics, but they both used some mathematical imagery in their writing. This essay examines why this might be so, in the context of their approach to modern poetic expression.

This is a discussion that fits into a larger doctoral research project examining the overall relationship between modern mathematics and poetry, and that takes into account various commonalities between the two fields such as a shared attention to precision and form, abstraction and the search for an ideal expression, meaning shifts, and the influence of socio-cultural context. Theories of intersemiotic translation are pertinent, while overall the research fits within the broad context of interactions between literature and science.

The case discussed here centres on one element of that relationship: the overt use of mathematical imagery in poetic metaphor, and in particular the two separate references by Miłosz and Herbert to a specific development in modern mathematics, non-Euclidean geometry. These references, one more explicit than the other, are contained in the preceding two extracts: “Song of a Citizen” by Czesław Miłosz and “Elegy” by Zbigniew Herbert.

In a bid to determine what may underlie the references in these two poems it is fruitful to examine, in the case of Miłosz, his views on science in society<sup>3</sup>, and in the case of Herbert, how he deals with mathematical ideas across a range of his poetic writing. The intent thereby is to illustrate the complexities of mathematical imagery in poetry, suggesting richness and variety behind the metaphors that it invokes. This essay concludes with a brief indication of the more general issues that lie beyond this particular case study.

First, however, comes a brief overview of the development and significance to mathematics of non-Euclidean geometry.

### *Non-Euclidean geometries*

Non-Euclidean geometries are models of space first formally demonstrated in the 1830s by the Hungarian János Bolyai and Russian Nikolai Lobachevsky, independently of one another, and – alongside the work of the German Carl Friedrich Gauss – developed through the 1860s and into the twentieth-century. Their implications revolutionised mathematical geometry and hold a fundamental place in the overall development of modern mathematics.<sup>4</sup>

As a mathematical description of space, Euclidean geometry is the most intuitively obvious, essentially referring to the regular, straight, three-dimensional world that is immediately observable. Non-Euclidean geometries are alternative models of space that suppose different underlying base structures, with results

<sup>3</sup> It should be noted at this point that the distinction between science and mathematics, while not discussed in any detail here, is in fact a critical one.

<sup>4</sup> While Gauss developed in 1815 a result similar to Bolyai and Lobachevsky, but he did not publish. See, for further examples, Weisstein, Gray 2004, Richards, Berlinski.

such that space itself can be curved and otherwise distorted in various ways. Their validity has been demonstrated mathematically in successive fields, most notably perhaps in theories and results around Einsteinian relativity.

The modern geometers' propositions caused, however, some disquiet. Around 300 BC Euclid had set out a number of axioms ("postulates") in his *Elements*, describing relatively straightforward constructions between points and lines, such as the relationship between a circle or a triangle, its centre, and a point on the circumference. For the subsequent two thousand years Euclid's *Elements* formed the foundation of mathematical geometry and hence physical description of the universe.<sup>5</sup> It is for example, the geometry on which all Newtonian mathematics and physics is based. One of the axioms had, however, long stood out as being less 'elemental' than the rest – that which defines parallelism. This axiom states that given a line and a point not on that line, there is a unique second line running through that point that does not meet the original line. That line is called the parallel.

Hence the reference in the standard English translation of Herbert's poem, that parallel lines never meet.<sup>6</sup>

A problem with the "parallel postulate" was that unlike the remaining axioms, it is not a physically verifiable axiom, in part since it relates to lines stretching to infinity. Mathematicians had periodically attempted to dispense with it as an axiom in itself, by deriving it instead from the remaining axioms. But attempts to do so consistently failed. The modern geometers' revelation was to consider that the parallel postulate might in fact be falsifiable: they turned away from trying to derive the parallel postulate, and instead constructed new, mathematically consistent geometries still based on these remaining axioms but in which the parallel postulate explicitly did not hold. They were successful in doing so and this gave rise to the unusually curved spaces mentioned earlier.

This concept changed the nature of mathematics. It opens up many possibilities around multiple, relativistic and, on some level, mutually contradictory models; and the relationship of mathematics to the empirical physical world also apparently changed. The Euclidean model became just one of several possible systems. That said, the other models were very difficult, and from the perspective of the nineteenth-century impossible, to verify empirically. (It takes experiments such as that recently identifying the Higgs boson particle at the Large Hadron Collider near Geneva to demonstrate other models to be valid.) Notwithstanding, the notion of mathematics as an incrementally developed, logically monolithic description of a unique and real world was also

<sup>5</sup> With its regular format of postulates, definitions and axioms, followed by short discussion, the *Elements* are also considered to the founding document and exemplar in Western logical style and expression.

<sup>6</sup> The original Polish translates more literally that straight lines are parallel; but the matter of the English translation used here, by major translators of both Herbert and Milosz, Bogdana and John Carpenter, is a discussion for elsewhere.

put into question, and on the surface of it, this understanding challenged a conception of God-given certainty about the uniqueness of the universe.

This is the context in which twentieth-century poets, whether entirely consciously or not, were writing.

*Czesław Miłosz (1911-2004)*

Czesław Miłosz grew up in and near Vilnius, Polish territory that after the Second World War was subsumed into the Soviet Union and is now independent Lithuania. He began to publish poetry in the 1930s. He spent part of these early adult years in Paris, at which point he was exposed to Einsteinian relativity, French Symbolism and modern metaphysics, thanks to his relative and mentor, Oscar Miłosz.<sup>7</sup> By the time of the second world war Czesław Miłosz was living in Nazi-occupied Warsaw, and became associated with the clandestine literary presses of the time. “Song of a citizen” was written in 1943, one of a cycle of poems reflecting on human behaviour under occupation, the destruction of Warsaw, and in particular the liquidation of the Jewish ghetto. After the war Miłosz served as a diplomatic attaché for the new Communist Polish government in Washington, then in 1951 he sought political asylum in Paris and eventually settled in California, where he worked on a number of projects translating, lecturing in, and otherwise making known to English-speaking readers modern Polish literature. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1980. His work was officially banned in socialist Poland, he returned to live there only in 2000 and died in 2004. Like many Poles, he was Roman Catholic, but of a liberal and sometimes controversial bent (Haven 2006, Haven 2011, *passim*).

Miłosz argued that poetic expression should not be separated from life, history and politics. He consistently expressed concern about the impact of science on society, and in particular held a scientific mindset responsible for nihilism, indifference, and the sidelining of human ethics.<sup>8</sup>

*‘the erosion of religion has its cause in a breakthrough in science and technology [...] and a mechanistic image of the world [...] as created by materialism’*<sup>9</sup>

In his own century, he associated science with Marxist-socialist materialism, the atomic bomb and – most profoundly for him – the rationalised horrors of the concentration camps.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Czesław Miłosz gives much credit to Oscar Miłosz for his formative influences during the former’s early years. See for example Miłosz, 1980.

<sup>8</sup> See for example “The Withering Away of Society”, a 1985 interview with Nathan Gardels in Haven, 2006.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Ayyappa K. Paniker, 1982 in *ibid*.

<sup>10</sup> See for example pp. 26-27 in *ibid*. (The influence of the atomic bomb on the science-literature “two cultures” debate is discussed elsewhere.)

In this light the temptation might be to take Miłosz's evocation in "Song of a Citizen" of the vast expanses of modern geometry, and of microscopic non-human biological detail, as at the very least, a lament.

But in fact Miłosz had a more precise view of science: his aversion was to what he termed nineteenth-century rationalism.

*The transformation which is going on in religion reflects something extremely profound in the sense of nihilism. I am inclined to believe that only when profound shifts appear, for example a new science, will there be a basic change [...] At the present moment science is in the process of transition from the science of the nineteenth-century to a new approach, in physics particularly. The whole society [...] lives by the diluted "pure rationalism" of nineteenth-century science. [...] In this naive view, we live in a universe that is composed of eternal space and eternal time. Time extends without limits, moving in a linear way from the past to the future, infinitely. Functionally speaking, humankind is not that different from a virus or a bacteria. A speck in the vast universe. Such a view corresponds to the kind of mass killing we've seen in the past century. To kill a million or two million, or ten, what does it matter? Hitler, after all, was brought up on the vulgarised brochures of nineteenth-century science. This is something completely different from a vision of the world before Copernicus, where humankind was of central importance. Probably, the transformation I sense will restore in some way the anthropocentric vision of the universe. These are processes, of course, that will take a long time.<sup>11</sup>*

Miłosz argued that the scientific and technological developments of the previous century – including Newtonian physics – had taken an undesirable hold over wider thinking. Rescue lay in modern, twentieth-century science and it was the task of society to catch up with this new science and adapt to it, thereby restoring some sense of anthropocentrism and spirituality. Miłosz's exposure to Einsteinian relativity, in particular through his Parisian relative, Oscar Miłosz, has been referred to already: that said, it is not clear the extent to which Czesław Miłosz was familiar with the details of relativity: he met Einstein apparently only once.<sup>12</sup>

Regardless, Miłosz's more detailed comments would suggest that on several levels "Song of a Citizen" is not intended to be entirely without hope. How and whether to express the horrors of war was a preoccupation for many writers, particularly after the holocaust. While cautioning against seeing his wartime poetry as representative of his overall poetics (Czarnecka 130-132), Miłosz nonetheless commented that in his view poetry had a role to play not only in expressing horrific realities, but also in expressing hope for the future.

<sup>11</sup> Interview with Nathan Gardels in *ibid*, 71-72.

<sup>12</sup> See for example 1994 interview with Robert Faggen in *ibid*. Miłosz's approach is interesting, since the perceived attack on an omniscient, omnipotent God was often supposed to be the reason for the initial reluctance on the part of some mathematicians to propagate non-Euclidean forms of geometry – from which stems relativity.

## *The European Connection*

Alongside the reference to modern geometry, in his “Song of a Citizen” Miłosz also conjures up precise non-human biological detail. This reference is probably not a negative one: in a 1984 interview Miłosz reflected on his childhood enthusiasm for the orderly and Latinate system of biological nomenclature of Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778):

*My [childhood] hero was Linnaeus; I loved the idea that he had invented a system for naming creatures, that he had captured nature that way.* (Haven 2006, 152)

And around the same time, in 1986, he again made quite specific comments on his views of the appropriate place for science: it was not to be rejected, but needed to be brought much closer together again with poetry.

*Goethe has an intuition that something was going wrong, that science should not be separated from poetry and imagination. [...] Maybe we are going to return to a very rich era where poetry and imagination are once again alongside science.* (Haven 2006, 74)

It is in this light that the mathematical and scientific metaphors in Miłosz’s “Song of a Citizen” might best be interpreted: as a reference very specifically to the modernist, perhaps post-modernist, implications of non-Euclidean space, against a backdrop of Czesław Miłosz’s admiration for the metaphysics of his great mentor Oscar Wilde, his nostalgic Romanticism, and against the immediate context of the horrors of rationalist Nazism and Marxist socialism. In other words, Miłosz held some hopes for science, appropriately understood.

### *Zbigniew Herbert*

Zbigniew Herbert was also born in a part of Poland that is no longer Polish: he came from Lviv, which during his lifetime was de-Polonised, Sovietised and subsequently integrated into an independent Ukraine. (Polish Lwów was, incidentally, between the wars a European centre of mathematics, particularly modern logic.) During the war Herbert studied in the clandestine underground universities and joined the resistance. He moved to Warsaw and began publishing in the 1950s. He did not cooperate with the communist regime, but in part due to his status as a writer managed to achieve some form of *modus vivendi* within Poland and travelled abroad as a publishing poet. During the 1970s and 1980s he was involved with the establishment of Solidarity-era underground literary journals and spent some time in Paris where many of the Polish emigré journals were based. He returned again to Warsaw in 1992 after the fall of the communist



government, and died in 1998. Many argue that he was as great a poet as Miłosz, and equally deserving of a Nobel prize. By some he has been praised for, unlike Miłosz, remaining within Poland during the majority of the socialist era, while maintaining a stand against the regime.

Like Miłosz, Herbert held that humanity should be essential to poetics. As a consequence, he was wary of abstraction, seeing the latter as potentially antithetical to the reality of human ethics. Herbert also wrote about the role of language: faced with social-realist propaganda and censorship, he was concerned that language be simple, so as to express ‘irreducible’ truth (Marcus).

These concerns are apparent across Herbert’s poetry, including those poems that touch on mathematics and science. While at first glance Herbert may appear to have a less than positive view of scientific thinking, a closer examination of several of his poems demonstrates what can be construed as a welcoming of the sorts of ideas made ‘real’ by modern mathematical sciences. That said, it can be argued that he retains a far more ambivalent opinion throughout, compared with Miłosz.

An analysis of various poems suggests this ambivalence. At the more negative end of the spectrum, in “Sequoia” for example Herbert depicts a classical geometer who, lacking in emotion, views life only through counting the years:

*the Tacitus of this tree was a geometrician and he did not know adjectives  
he did not know syntax expressing terror he did not know any words  
therefore he counted added years and centuries as if to say there is nothing  
beyond birth and death nothing only birth and death  
and inside the bloody pulp of the sequoia<sup>13</sup>*

In this case, a fairly stark contrast is set up between mechanical mathematics – the recording of passing years through counting – and what to Herbert is far more important, human emotion. This is a theme he returns to in other poems.

The flawed geometer also appears elsewhere: in 1974 Herbert began a long-lasting series of poems about a ‘Mr Cogito’, who examines rationality within a human individual. In “Mr Cogito tells about the temptation of Spinoza”, Mr Cogito has God address Spinoza, acknowledging the value in his rational argumentation but going on to extol human frailty, love and emotion as apparently higher virtues:

*– You talk nicely Baruch  
I like your geometric Latin  
and the clear syntax  
the symmetry of your arguments*

<sup>13</sup> First published in 1974 in *Mr Cogito/Pan Cogito*. Translation by John and Bogdana Carpenter, this version in Herbert.

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[...]  
*let's speak however*  
*about Things Truly*  
*Great*  
[...]<sup>14</sup>

This particular poem goes on to disparage, to some extent, Descartes and Erasmus, both of whom, like Spinoza, were famous for their rationalism. Herbert's God acknowledges them, but ultimately leaves Spinoza alone and lonely, lacking human emotional warmth.

Elsewhere, however, mathematical counting is praised for its capacity to restore some ethical consideration to large-scale death. In "Mr Cogito on the Need for Precision", Herbert laments that the exact number of dead at Troy has been forgotten, suggesting that precision and exactitude in language are necessary to fight carelessness and forgetting:

*Mr Cogito*  
*is alarmed by a problem*  
*in the domain of applied mathematics*  
[...]  
*particles of matter have been measured*  
*heavenly bodies weighed*  
*and only in human affairs*  
*inexcusable carelessness reigns supreme*  
*the lack of precise information*  
[...]<sup>15</sup>

This search for exactitude and precision in language goes beyond mathematics and statistics, and is reflected in Herbert's meditations on metaphor. In one of his earliest publications, "I would like to describe", Herbert already was contending that he would rather do away with all metaphor; that they are an imperfect compromise faced with language that never reaches an ideal precise expression (Wood).

*I would like to describe the simplest emotion*  
[...]  
*to put it another way*  
*I would give all metaphors*  
*In return for one word*  
[...]<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> First published in 1983 in *Report from a Besieged City/Raport z Oblężonego Miasta i Inne Wiersze*, translation John and Bogdana Carpenter in Herbert.

<sup>16</sup> First published in 1957 in *Hermes, Dog and Star/Hermes, Pies i Gwiazda*, translation Czesław Miłosz in Herbert.

Twenty-five years later Mr Cogito, the archrationalist, seems also to spurn metaphor, taking a isomorphic-like approach to language; seeking the perfect, exact expression. In “Mr Cogito and the Imagination”:

*[Mr Cogito]*  
*would rarely soar*  
*on the wings of a metaphor*  
*[...]*  
*he adored tautologies*  
*explanations*  
*idem per idem*  
*that a bird is a bird*  
*[...]*  
*he loved the flat horizon*  
*a straight line*  
*the gravity of the earth*  
*[...]*  
*he would like to remain faithful*  
*to uncertain clarity.*<sup>17</sup>

Yet while seeking precision and exactitude, the concluding reference here to ‘uncertain clarity’ is very interesting, bringing us back to modern mathematics, with known uncertainty an integral part of twentieth-century mathematical thinking. Two key figures in this respect are the German mathematical physicist, Werner Heisenberg (1901-1976), most known for his work in establishing quantum physics, and in particular what is now termed ‘Heisenberg’s uncertainty principle’, that asserts the inherent impossibility of exactly determining both position and momentum simultaneously. Heisenberg won the 1932 Nobel Prize for Physics, he visited German-occupied Poland in 1943 (Bernstein) and Herbert makes direct reference to him in another poem “Revelation” published in 1961. (Quantum physics is central to the modern-day work around the Higgs Boson, mentioned earlier.)

Heisenberg is associated, perhaps, with fundamental experimental uncertainty. Uncertainty in pure mathematics is primarily associated with another central European, the Austrian Kurt Gödel (born in Brno, modern-day Czech Republic) who in 1931 published his ‘uncertainty’ or incompleteness theorems. These demonstrate that no meaningful<sup>18</sup> mathematical system can ever be complete, nor be entirely proven – nor wholly computable – based on its own axioms. Gödel’s work was a fundamental achievement of twentieth-century

<sup>17</sup> First published in 1983 in *Report from a Besieged City/ Raport z Oblężonego Miasta i Inne Wiersze*, translation John and Bogdana Carpenter in Herbert.

<sup>18</sup> ‘Meaningful’ in the sense of a system, usually axiomatic, powerful enough to describe the natural numbers.

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mathematics. Being Jewish, Gödel escaped Vienna in the 1930s and settled in the US where he became a close friend of Einstein.

The discoveries of both Heisenberg and Gödel were well-publicised at the time, and would have been known to the Central European intelligentsia, not least in Poland. Herbert's 'uncertain clarity' is thus well in keeping, consciously or not, with the mathematics of the time.

Elsewhere Herbert invokes some appealing images from modern physics. In "Path", published in 1969, Herbert acknowledged for example the modern mathematical physical concept that it may be possible after all to combine multiplicity and unity; specificity and abstraction:

*Is it truly impossible to have at the same time  
the source and the hill the idea and the leaf  
and to pour multiplicity without devils' ovens  
of dark alchemy of too clear an abstraction<sup>19</sup>*

As mentioned earlier, Herbert's preoccupation with the ethical dangers inherent in abstraction were longstanding.

Towards the end of his life, Herbert appears to yearn almost for the grand expanses of mathematics and physics. In his "Prayer" cycle for example, he petitions for infinite expanses and universal laws:

*Lord, bestow on me the strength and agility of those who build long sentences spread  
out like an oak, capacious  
[...]  
a world [... that] endures inexorably over the movement of the elements, so it attracts  
them as a nucleus attracts electrons with the force of invisible laws of gravitation  
[...]  
my life should have made a circle  
concluded like a well made sonata  
[...]<sup>20</sup>*

The last extract, from "Georg Heym – the Almost Metaphysical Adventure" is perhaps the most explicit about the impact on poetics of notions from modern physics such as simultaneity, non-causality, non-determinism:

<sup>19</sup> First published in 1969 in *Inscription/Napis*, translation John and Bogdana Carpenter in Herbert.

<sup>20</sup> First published in 1998, posthumously, in *Epilogue to a Storm/Epilog Burzy*, translation John and Bogdana Carpenter in Herbert. The reference to circles will be briefly returned to further below.

*If it is true  
an image precedes thought  
one would believe  
[...]  
he was there and here  
he circled around the moving centre  
[...]  
the relativity of movement  
mirror-like interpenetration of systems  
[...]  
the overthrow of determinism  
marvellous coexistence of possibilities  
my greatness-  
[...]  
is based on the discovery  
that in the contemporary world  
there are no direct results  
no tyranny of sequence  
dictatorship of causality  
[...]  
a weighty assertion  
for theoretical physics  
a dangerous assertion  
for the theory of poetry<sup>21</sup>*

Herbert has made a very explicit connection between mathematics (theoretical physics) and poetry, and interestingly retains clear misgivings as to such a connection.

#### *Concluding comments*

This short paper has taken one specific mathematical concept – non-Euclidean geometry – as represented by two twentieth-century Polish poets, both of whom consciously strove to write about the human world around them. It can be argued that in the case of Miłosz, his reference to modern geometry is a generally positive one, with Miłosz equating it with an openness in thought, to both science and poetry simultaneously. Herbert, however, appears to lament the loss of certainty that modern geometry has brought; yet at the same time his poetry suggests that – apparently more so than Miłosz – he examines on a deep level the possibilities for poetics that such a loss offered. In both cases, the specificity of modern, twentieth-century, geometry and all that it entails, is very relevant.

<sup>21</sup> First published in 1974 in *Mr Cogito/Pan Cogito*, translation John and Bogdana Carpenter in Herbert. Georg Heym (1887-1912) was a German expressionist writer.

It was noted in the introduction that that this case study is just one part of a larger analysis of the relationship between mathematics and poetry. There are a number of directions to take this work. Remaining with Miłosz and Herbert, Miłosz did in fact address mathematics specifically (as opposed to his application into theoretical physics), at times rejecting for example trends in formalist poetry as an ugly creature with a head covered by mathematical knobs and excessively large eye lenses, with a simultaneous atrophy of heart and liver'.<sup>22</sup> He did, however, also touch on the mathematical approach to poetry through symbolist studies, and in particular made the odd comment in appreciation of the 'mathematical'-like activity of poetry translation (Czarnecka).

Also noted is a brief reference to circles in one of Herbert's poems, from the "Prayer" cycle. A poet for whom perhaps the most research has been undertaken on the relationship with mathematics is Emily Dickinson. Expressly interested in mathematics she made frequent references to circles, circumferences and diameters, as a metaphor for some kind of perfection, not expressible through ordinary language. The scholarship around Dickinson is a useful comparison for the present work, as is the growing and fairly substantial work on science and literature as a discipline in itself, having developed from around the 1980s, with the work of Gillian Beer for example at Cambridge and Katherine Hayles in the US, as well as a small number of Swiss and German scholars.<sup>23</sup>

The place of mathematics within this science and literature debate is less well examined to date, but there are a growing number of publications and research associations forming.<sup>24</sup>

Further fruitful case studies include the 1960s group of French mathematicians and poets, OuliPo, who came together expressly to try and create new forms of literature through the application of mathematical so-called 'constraints'<sup>25</sup>; Stéphane Mallarmé who, in his struggle to reach an ideal expression, stated his desire to describe everything 'in the language of mathematics' (Mallarmé, 851); and the poet, Ion Barbu, a major figure of modern Romanian literature who was for his entire career a full university professor of mathematics, engaged in particular in developments in modern algebra.<sup>26</sup>

The hope is that these distinct avenues might build up a rich and deep picture of how mathematics and poetry relate to one another.

<sup>22</sup> From *Kontyenty*, 1958, p.68, cited in Carpenter 632.

<sup>23</sup> See for example Beer, Chu, Brubaker, Hayles, Naumann.

<sup>24</sup> See for example Corry, Doxiadis and Mazur, Gray 2008.

<sup>25</sup> There is a substantial body of criticism about Oulipo; for one of their own original manifestos see OuliPo.

<sup>26</sup> For Barbu's complete poetic writings see Barbu; for biography and criticism see, for example, Cioranescu.

*I sigh and think of a starry sky,  
of non-Euclidean space, of amoebas  
and their pseudopodia,  
of tall mounds of termites*

Czesław Miłosz

*Messenger of soothing knowledge  
that the globe is round  
that parallel lines never meet*

Zbigniew Herbert

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## 5. BILDUNGSROMAN ALL'ITALIANA: THE FORMATION NOVEL IN ITALIAN POST-WAR FICTION

MARTA MAZURKIEWICZ

In the second edition of *The Way of the World* Franco Moretti claims that the end of the First World War marked the end of the European (thus also Italian) novel of formation. A successful maturation of the individual, according to Moretti, is not possible after the experiences of the war, as the individual became disintegrated and unable to grow up. The genre thus loses its credibility and cohesion (233). It is also deprived of its pedagogical and moralistic function. Other scholars however disagree with Moretti saying rather that the First World War has reinvigorated the theme by including the war experience into the narratives (Neubauer 118). Engaging with this debate, in this paper I will investigate whether coming-of-age novels persisted in Italy during the 1950s and 60s, and if so what kind of process of growth they represent. By analysing two of the most popular Italian novels in the 1950s and in the 1960s, Italo Calvino's *Il barone rampante* and Giorgio Bassani's *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini*, I will bring to light two types of initiation, social and sentimental, that conclude the protagonists' process of maturation. I will start my discussion with a theoretical introduction of the term Bildungsroman, and then proceed with a close analysis of selected texts.

The translation of the word Bildungsroman itself is problematic because, as James Hardin notes, "there is no consensus on the meaning of the term Bildungsroman" (x). However, Buckley states: "Its meaning should nonetheless emerge clearly from an account of the novels themselves and the steady recurrence of certain common motifs in them" (Buckley viii). The German term refers to the word *Bildung*, which means shaping, formation, and the word *Roman*, which is translated as novel (Buckley 14). *A Glossary of German Literary Terms* defines it as a type of novel "in which the centre of interest is to be found not so much in adventures of a hero (...) as in the effects which his experience are seen to have in his growth to maturity and clarity of purpose, after perhaps fumbling beginnings" (Bruford 39). Bildungsroman refers to a variety of novels that may depict the whole life of a protagonist or just few years or a crucial moment of his life. Buckley distinguishes three variants of the genre: "the *Entwicklungsroman*, a chronicle of a young man's general growth; the *Erziehungsroman*, with an emphasis on the youth's training and formal education; and the *Künstlerroman*, a tale of the orientation of an artist" (13). In the novels classified as Bildungsroman a protagonist (usually male) makes an actual or metaphoric journey, experiencing

many obstacles and difficulties but finally achieving a better understanding of himself and of the society in which he lives.<sup>1</sup> Ilaria Masenga notices that when the transformation process is completed, a hero changes from a passive subject in a state of self-ignorance into an active one that is self-conscious (12). Mikhail Bakhtin argues that the aspect of becoming is of crucial importance for Bildungsroman.<sup>2</sup> “The vast majority of the novels”, he claims, “know only the image of the *ready-made* hero. [...] Events change his destiny, change his position in life and society, but he himself remains unchanged and adequate to himself” (20). The hero thus is a fixed, static point, a constant around which all the events move. In the Bildungsroman, on the contrary, Bakhtin continues, “the hero himself, his character, becomes a variable in the formula of this type of the novel. Changes in the hero acquire *plot* significance, and thus the entire plot of the novel is reinterpreted and reconstructed” (21).

One of the first examples of Bildungsroman was Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* of 1796, the novel in which youth is presented as “the most meaningful part of life” (Moretti 3). In this novel the young protagonist undergoes a self-realization journey that forms his character and helps him find his place in society. This German originated genre also prevailed in other European countries, especially in France and England. The best-known examples of nineteenth-century Bildungsroman are: Stendhal’s *Le Rouge et le Noir* (1830), Dickens’ *David Copperfield* (1850), Flaubert’s *L’Éducation sentimentale* (1896), Balzac’s *Père Goriot* (1834), and Charlotte Brontë’s *Jane Eyre* (1847).

In Italy a narrative genre that treats exclusively the development of a young protagonist does not appear in the nineteenth-century, although the theme of “formation” is quite frequent during that time. According to Guido Baldi, the Bildungsroman never appears in its pure form in Italy, but intertwines with other genres such as the historical novel (*I promessi sposi* by Alessandro Manzoni, of 1827, *Le confessioni di un Italiano* by Ippolito Nievo of 1867), the education novel (*Cuore* by Edmondo de Amicis of 1886), the psychological-erotic novel (*Tigre reale* by Giovanni Verga of 1875) and adventure stories for children (*Pinocchio* by Carlo Collodi of 1883) (40). The twentieth-century introduced further modifications to the genre with some scholars, however, questioning the existence of the genre in the second half of the century. Moretti indicates modernist texts such as Musil’s *Die Verwirrungen des Zöglings Törleß* (1906), Joyce’s *A portrait of the Artist* (1914) and Kafka’s *Amerika* (1927) as the last

<sup>1</sup> In the nineteenth-century there are few examples of Bildungsroman written by and about women. The definition of the genre “presupposed a male prerogative” (Labovitz 2). Female developments of the genre, however, created the novel of awakening, where a female who is incapable of overcoming the limits imposed by society commits suicide; and the novel of development, where a female protagonist achieves a compromise and integrates within the society (Summerfield and Downward 6)

<sup>2</sup> Bakhtin’s text was written in the late 1940s however it was not known to the public until 1986 when Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson “introduced it to an English-speaking audience” (Boes 236).

examples of the nineteenth-century model (233). However, there are a number of novels written in the second half of the twentieth century that were classified by critics as Bildungsroman. Some of the best-known examples of the post-war Italian novels of formation are: Alberto Moravia's *Agostino* (1944), Umberto Saba's *Ernesto* (1953), Italo Calvino's *Il sentiero dei nidi di ragno* (1947) and *Il barone rampante* (1957), Elsa Morante's *L'isola di Arturo* (1957), Pier Paolo Pasolini's *Ragazzi di vita* (1955) and *Una vita violenta* (1959), Carlo Cassola's *La ragazza di Bube* (1960), Giorgio Bassani's *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini* (1962) and Beppe Fenoglio's *Il partigiano Johnny* (1968).

For the purpose of my analysis I have chosen to discuss two novels which achieved an enormous success in terms of both sold copies and critics' reception. The first one is *Il barone rampante* (The Baron in the Trees), written in 1957 as second volume of the trilogy *I nostri antenati* (Our Ancestors)<sup>3</sup>. *Il barone rampante* is one of Calvino's most successful novels; it won the prestigious Viareggio Prize in the year of its publication.

*Il barone rampante* narrates the life of a young boy from a noble family, Cosimo Piovasco di Rondò, who in the course of the story inherits the title of baron. The tale starts in 1767, when the 12 year-old Cosimo refuses to eat the plate of snails prepared by his sister Battista. In an act of rebellion, he climbs on a tree and declares that from that day on he would never touch the ground again.

Although the story cannot be easily assigned to one literary genre – it has been described as a picaresque novel (Bolongaro 120), or a fantasy and historical novel (Sorbera 34) – it shows many elements of a traditional Bildungsroman, such as the main protagonist's transformation and social inclusion, his educational process, and autobiographical aspects. In this article, however, I will focus only on Cosimo's social engagement, thanks to which he finds his place in society.

One of the most important characteristic of Bildungsroman is the protagonist's transformation into a self-conscious, socially useful individual. In a Bildungsroman, the adventures of a hero lead him to maturity and help him find his purpose in life. *Il barone* starts with what appears to be a young boy's act of rebellion. Climbing the tree initially seems a way for Cosimo to prolong his childhood and to liberate himself from strict rules of an aristocratic family. At the roots of this choice is Cosimo's nostalgia for carefree times of childish games, for doing what he wants, without the need or obligation to listen to adults' orders. As his younger brother Biagio, who is the narrator of the story, says:

Mio fratello pensò alle masnade dei ragazzi poveri d'Ombrosa, che scavalcavano i muri e le siepi e saccheggiavano i frutteti, una genia di ragazzi che gli era stato insegnato di disprezzare e di sfuggire, e per la prima volta pensò a quanto doveva essere libera e invidiabile quella vita. (17)

<sup>3</sup> The two other novels that comprise Calvino's trilogy are: *Il visconte dimezzato* (The Cloven Viscount, 1952) and *Il cavaliere inesistente* (The Nonexistent Knight, 1959).

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My brother thought of the rabble of poor urchins from Ombrosa, who scrambled over walls and hedges sacking orchards, boys he had been taught to despise and avoid; and for the first time he thought how free and enviable their life must be. (91)<sup>4</sup>

Initially, his existence on the trees has no purpose but to prolong his childhood:

quelle prime giornate di Cosimo sugli alberi non avevano scopo né programmi ma erano dominate soltanto dal desiderio di conoscere e possedere quel suo regno. (44)

those first days of Cosimo's on the trees were without aim or purpose, and were dominated entirely by the desire to know and possess his new kingdom. (117)

It is not until his first meeting with Viola, his ten year old neighbour, that Cosimo fully commits to his decision to stay up on the trees. Though at first he just wanted to impress her, shortly after he realises that he can only be himself by staying faithful to the choice he made. Although Viola tempts Cosimo to come down from the trees, he is very firm in his decision to stay up. Staying up in the trees is his personal choice, not imposed by anyone else. The earth is for him the enemy territory:

io non scendo nel tuo giardino e nemmeno nel mio. Per me è tutto territorio nemico ugualmente. (20)

no, I'm not coming down into your garden or into mine either ever again. It's all enemy territory to me. (94)

Viola, as well as Cosimo's family, does not understand boy's decision. They all consider his behaviour nothing more than a whim or an act of a boy afraid of a punishment. When Cosimo asks Biagio to help him with building the crane in order to transport tables and canes to build a hutch, Biagio seems confused and thinks that the only reason for Cosimo to stay in the trees is his fear of their parents:

Ma perché? Parli come se tu restassi chissà quanto nascosto... non credi che ti perdoneranno? (25)

<sup>4</sup> This and the following translations of *Il barone rampante* are by Archibald Colquhoun.

But why? You talk as if you're going on hiding for a long time... Don't you think they will forgive you? (98)

At this point, however, Cosimo has already understood that life in the trees is the only one where he can truly be himself. Thus, the reckless decision of a boy who did not want to eat his dinner becomes a conscious choice of a mature individual.

By being faithful to his choice, Cosimo gains respect among people from his home town Ombrosa. While living with his family, Cosimo did not meet anyone outside the close circle of other aristocrats befriended by his father. He stayed isolated in the family villa, separated from the people of Ombrosa and their everyday life. Now he can witness the life of both rich and poor. He encounters peasants, fruit thieves, bandits but also other aristocrats (for instance Viola's family, the Marchesi d'Ondariva). Ironically, only by staying in the trees can Cosimo be in touch with the whole community of Ombrosa. As opposed to his family, which is socially useless and out-of-reach, Cosimo, as the novel says, is "un solitario che non evita la gente" ("a solitary who does not avoid people" 62). The trust that he gained among different social groups allows him to be an important community member. He becomes a messenger who spreads the news and he gets assigned to local committees. Cosimo realises that his mission is to be close to the people. He starts from simple actions: he learns how to prune the trees, and by using this art he helps farmers, garden owners and woodcutters. Yet, when the time comes, he shows his real engagement in social problems. During one very hot and dry summer, a plague of fire affects Ombrosa. Cosimo understands that people who act together are stronger and that a common goal can unite them all by creating a powerful community spirit. He creates "*una specie di milizia*" (103), the guard against fire made of peasants and farmers of Ombrosa whom he recruited. They are working shifts (also at night) and have a ready action plan in case of a fire alarm. He also works together with his uncle, Enea Silvio Carrega, trying to invent a system to quickly and effortlessly extinguish fire. By initiating those actions, Cosimo engages all members of Ombrosa's community, regardless of class. Not only does he help his neighbours to prevent other fires, but he also unites them and shows them how much they can achieve by acting as one. The good of his community is always in the first place.

Engaging in social problems also has a second dimension; it helps Cosimo find his own role in the society that he once wanted to reject. His self-exile, which initially was caused by dissatisfaction with the social class he belongs to, has now created for him a new place in society, and enables him to reinvent his function. Cosimo stays in the trees not because, as Giuliana Sanguinetti Katz claims, he wants to escape from his responsibilities (258), nor because he does not want to

be part of the community. He lives in the trees because from that distance he sees things better. He deliberately wants it. Being at the margins does not mean, in Cosimo's case, being in conflict with the collective. Though separated, he is a fully engaged member of society, involved in common problems. Staying in the trees does not impede him in the life of an ordinary man. On the contrary: he makes friends and enemies, he falls in love and suffers from heartbreak, he does business with peasants and merchants, he knows each member of his community well. From the trees he is able to look at the world in a critical manner and, paradoxically, the distance created from being above the ground, makes him socially useful. In fact, he is of much more use than his aristocratic family, that lives among (yet isolated from) the people. "Cosimo remains in close touch with his family and, in particular, his community. Normal relations are disrupted, but the social bound with individuals and groups is maintained throughout Cosimo's life" (Bolongaro 100). By living in the trees, Cosimo chooses to distance himself from the society, but this is not an act of rejection anymore. As Bolongaro highlights, his "marginality emerges as the efficient cause of Cosimo's growing role in the history of his community" (103). He is a leader, an intellectual who, in order to see clearly, must stay at a distance. For him being a leader means being an inspiration for his people. To command is to inspire, to give people new ideas and show them different ways of doing things (105). Unlike his father, Cosimo "lacks the self-serving obsession for power, title, and status" (Gabriele 96).

This aspect of Cosimo's role in society brings to mind Calvino's own dilemmas about his role as an intellectual and links *Il barone* even tighter to the traditional model of Bildungsroman. According to the definition from the *Glossary of German Literary Terms*, a coming-of-age novel is "often a veiled autobiography of the author" (Herd 39). Domenico Scarpa describes Calvino as "uno degli scrittori più autobiografici che la nostra letteratura abbia mai conosciuto" (305) while T. Olken highlights that "several critics have seen autobiographical reflections of Calvino in the character of Cosimo" (40). Calvino also admits to the similarities between himself and his main protagonist. That is why, he explains, the narrating I is Biagio, Cosimo's brother: "Per *Il barone rampante* avevo il problema di correggere la mia spinta troppo forte a identificarmi col protagonista, e qui misi in opera il ben noto dispositivo cioè: fin dalle prime battute mandai avanti come 'io' un personaggio di carattere antitetico a Cosimo, un fratello posato e pieno di buon senso" (1218). Calvino wrote the novel in 1957, when he was facing the problem of the role of intellectual in the society. In this period the Italian Communist party, of which Calvino was a member, was going through the most serious crisis in its history. The 20th Congress of the CPSU and the USSR's invasion of Hungary in 1956 brought dark clouds over the Italian PCI

(Bolongaro 109). Calvino decided to leave the party and “he gradually distanced himself from politics” (Francese 165). Avoiding direct judgement of political issues is not equal, for Calvino, to a complete retreat from social engagement. The main protagonist of *Il barone rampante* is a perfect example of an intellectual, who, even though separated from the community, still manages to be involved in its life.

*Il barone rampante* is an example of a Bildungsroman that covers the entire life of a protagonist. The second novel I wish to discuss is *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini*, that focuses only on those few years of the protagonist’s life that are most important for his personal growth. *Il giardino* is Bassani’s most famous novel. Like Calvino’s *Il barone*, it won the Viareggio prize in 1962, and few years later it was adapted into a very successful movie by the celebrated Italian director Vittorio De Sica, who with this film won the fourth of his Academy Awards. The novel describes the situation of Italian Jews under fascism, through the story of the lives of its four young protagonists. From the first pages of the novel the reader knows that the narrator, who writes reflectively from a perspective of 20 years later, is the only one who survived the war.

Although some of the events that he recounts date back to 1929, the nameless narrator focuses mainly on a couple of years of his youth, between 1938-1940. Those years, in which the narrator is in his early 20s, are crucial for his personal development. The most important figure for the narrator’s sentimental growth is Micòl Finzi-Contini, a girl from an aristocratic Jewish family. The narrator talks to her for the first time when he is thirteen. After having failed his mathematics exam, afraid of his parents’ anger and disappointment, he wanders around the city walls on his bicycle considering never coming back home. He stops close to the Finzi-Contini’s property when he hears someone calling him. It is Micòl. Though he knew exactly who she was, as he used to see her in the synagogue and at school during final exams, he had never spoken to her:

Era la prima volta che mi rivolgeva la parola. Di più: era la prima volta, in pratica, che la sentivo parlare. (50)

It was the first time she had spoken to me. Moreover: it was the first time, practically, that I had heard her speak. (31)<sup>5</sup>

Micòl invites the narrator to climb over the walls and to enter the garden. This event marks the first stage on the narrator’s road towards his sentimental growth. Though at first undecided, shortly after he agrees to hide his bicycle in a close-by cave and to enter the Finzi-Contini’s garden. From the very first

<sup>5</sup> This and the following translations of *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini* are by William Weaver.

moment he is attracted by Micòl's blond, Nordic-looking hair and by her large, light eyes (50). When he enters the cave, anxiety takes over. He is imagining kissing Micòl on the lips. The possibility of a physical contact with Micòl is disturbing the narrator's calm. Renato Napoli notices that the sexuality, at this stage, is seen with anxiety, it is "pericolo maggiore" (the greatest risk, Bassani 60) that a boy of his age may encounter. The time of the initiation has thus not come yet (Napoli 480). When the narrator leaves the cave he realizes that Micòl was called home and had to leave. The narrator has to wait another nine years to enter the "enchanted garden".<sup>6</sup> However, as Marilyn Schneider notices, "Micòl has already been able to guide him a little; she has by her ironic belittling of his problem relieved his misery by increasing his self-awareness" (55):

D'un tratto m'ero accorto che la questione della bocciatura era diventata secondaria, una faccenda bambinesca che si sarebbe sistemata da sé. (52)

Suddenly I realized that the question of being flunked had become secondary, a childish matter that would work itself out. (32)

Their second encounter takes place nine years later, in 1938, two months after the introduction of the racial laws. Those laws had a major impact on the everyday life of Italian Jews. For example, they forbade mixed marriages, they excluded Jewish children from public schools and banned Jews from military service (Maternini 150-64). Those persecutions affect directly the narrator, who is now a student of Literature and Art History at the University of Bologna. He is expelled from the tennis club that he has attended for years, he cannot use the city library resources, and his brother has to go to France to study at the University. The narrator is angry and disappointed with the new reality, yet still he seems not to be fully aware of the future implications of the new decrees. Micòl is the first to understand the hopelessness and tragedy of the situation in which they, as Italian Jews, find themselves. The girl senses that the future might never come. She believes that what one should do is worship the past and live for the day. "Micòl's zeal for the present is the other side of her awareness of life's end in death. Even in her disdain for the future, there seemed to be, according to the narrator, a presentiment of her own and her family's coming death" (Schneider 46). She is committed to the present and refuses the future:

Micòl ripeteva di continuo [...] che il futuro, in sé, lei lo aborrriva, ad esso preferendo di gran lunga "le vierge, le vivace et le bel aujourd'hui", e il passato, ancora di più, "il caro, il dolce, il *pio* passato". (241)

<sup>6</sup> The expression "enchanted garden" was used by Sacha Talmor in her article under the same title, published in *The European Legacy*. This is not in the bibliography.



Micòl repeated constantly [...] that for the future, in itself, was something she detested, preferring to it by far “*le vierge, le vivace et le bel aujourd’hui*,” and, even more, the past, the dear, sweet, sainted past. (200)

Thanks to Micòl, the narrator gains a better understanding of himself but also of the historic moment they live in. When they hide from the storm in a shed where an old carriage is kept, she teaches the narrator an important lesson about the new reality that history has imposed on them. As Joann Canon observes, the carriage is a point where the story of the two protagonists intersects with the history of the Italian Jews. “The unused carriage symbolizes the loss of function of the Jews in Italy” (128). Micòl’s increasing realization of the lack of future for the Italian Jewish community brings the narrator closer to the truth about their own fate. Micòl understands that under fascism, the two young Jews cannot plan their future. She knows that their relationship is now “useless”. Death is unavoidable and they cannot pretend to live in an illusory reality:

Anche le cose muoiono, caro mio. E allora, se anche loro devono morire, tant’è, meglio lasciarle andare. C’è molto più stile, oltre tutto, ti pare? (95)

Objects also die, my friend. And if they also must die, then that’s it, better to let them go. It shows far more style, above all. Don’t you agree? (79)

This realization makes Micòl reject the narrator’s love. She assumes the role of narrator’s guide through the painful maturation process. Giusi Oddo De Stefanis compares her to Dante’s Beatrice who accompanies the hero in the journey of self-consciousness. Bassani, like Dante, gave his female protagonist superhuman characteristics. In Dante’s poems Beatrice embodies semi-divine attributes; she is often compared to an angel, an unearthly creature. Micòl also shares almost supernatural features. Marilyn Schneider compares her to Demeter, the goddess of harvest, as she represents the principle of both life and death (53). “She does so in purely human terms, as a twentieth century existential type, and she does so also as a superhuman figure, a kind of Earth Mother whose realm both fructifies and shelters the dead” (53). Throughout the novel, she brings the narrator closer to self-recognition and self-awareness. He was attracted by the girl from their very first meeting, however he was too afraid to reveal his feelings. By neutralizing the sexual tension between the two of them, he shows his immaturity and inability to create a valid relationship. When he finally decides to kiss the girl, she stands still, like a statue. It is already too late for the kiss to come. As Harry Davis observes, at this moment, the narrator comes

to realize his “prevailing weakness” which is “inertia and irresolution” (123). He understands that his prolonged passivity destroyed the possible relationship with Micòl. At the end of the novel, thanks to his father, he also acknowledges Micòl’s reasons for rejecting a sentimental relationship between the two of them. Here, the father completes Micòl’s role as a guide, explaining to the narrator the impossibility of a love affair. Micòl will soon become a faded memory for him, but thanks to this experience the narrator will feel enriched and also more mature. The father guides him back from the depths of despair into the maturity and manhood. He helps the narrator to achieve wisdom and to discover his conscious self of a grown up man:

Non andarci più, a casa loro. [...] È più da uomo, fra l’altro. (231)

Don’t go there anymore, to their house. [...] It would be more manly, for one thing. (191)

The tender embrace between the father and son symbolizes the narrator’s final acceptance of the painful reality, both sentimental and historical.

The two novels illustrate the social and the sentimental growth of the main characters. Although neither of them ends in a traditional manner, which in case of the nineteenth-century Bildungsroman would be marriage, they both present the transformation of the main characters into self-conscious individuals, fully aware of their identity and social responsibilities. Valentina Mascaretti argues that there is no coming-of-age novel which does not present some problematic elements that could distance it from traditional patterns. This fact however does not exclude the Bildungsroman from the post-war literary tradition (34). The two novels I presented both have problematic issues. In the case of Calvino’s story, Cosimo’s social inclusion might be questioned. Can one who chooses to live in the trees be fully integrated into his community? Cosimo’s life proves this possible. An intellectual can still make a positive contribution to his society. He can engage himself in social problems and establish true and valuable relations with his community, as long as he remains honest and truthful to himself. In the case of Bassani’s novel, the unwanted sentimental growth may cast doubt on the narrator’s coming-of-age process. The painful realization of the impossibility of having an actual relationship with Micòl raises his self-awareness. To accept the girl’s refusal means to leave behind adolescent infatuation, to accept the historical reality and to move toward maturity.

As I mentioned before, Moretti claims that after the collective disillusion that occurred after the First World War, literary characters fail to conclude their

rite of passage. However, in the two novels I have discussed the coming-of-age process does occur, even if in a slightly modified manner when compared to the traditional model. Moving away from the strict scheme of Bildungsroman only proves the invigorated existence of the genre, its continuous development and ability to adapt to modern reality.

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## 6. THE 'DEEP GOSSIP' OF CHARLOTTE WOLFF'S AUTOBIOGRAPHIES: HOW SHE USED MEMORY TO ARGUE FOR A UTOPIAN FUTURE AND CHALLENGE PRECONCEPTIONS OF THE PAST

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What can the idea of deep gossip add to our understanding of how histories do and don't get written? Of course, we had better start by all reaching the same page as to what I'm talking about when I talk about deep gossip. It's a phrase I like, but it's not one I invented, nor am I the first to find it useful in articulating certain aspects of writing about the past and, even more enjoyably, writing about writing about the past. It's a phrase taken from the poem 'City Midnight Junk Strains', which was Allen Ginsberg's elegy for another poet friend of his, Frank O'Hara, where he describes him as a "Curator of funny emotions, a common ear for our deep gossip." If you've read Frank O'Hara's poetry you might agree with that appraisal. If you haven't, I recommend it. In any case, that line of Ginsberg's sparked, and indeed provided the title for *Deep Gossip*, Henry Abelove's engaging collection of essays on the intersections of literature, culture, history and sexuality. In the introduction to that book, he explains the resonance of Ginsberg's phrasing like this:

*Our deep gossip. Here gossip is illicit speculation, information, knowledge. It is an indispensable resource for those who are in any sense or measure disempowered, as those who experience funny emotions may be, and it is deep whenever it circulates in subterranean ways and touches on matters hard to grasp and of crucial concern. (xii)*

In a charming flourish of academic self-deprecation, Abelove appropriates Ginsberg's description of O'Hara – curator of funny emotions, a common ear for our deep gossip – as an articulation of his own intellectual vocation. What he means is that, for him, studying the meaning of sexuality in literary and cultural histories is to forever aspire towards (but never necessarily succeed in) serving

I like to believe conference proceedings can capture the lively atmosphere of an actual time and place in which people gathered to share ideas – in this case, the national symposium for postgraduate researchers of languages, literatures and intercultural studies which took place a few months prior to and one building away from the time and place in which I write this brief foreword now. It is in that spirit that I have chosen to keep this written version of my presentation in the conversational tone in which it was originally given.

as a common ear for deep gossip. I share that aspiration. At present I am in the process of completing a PhD thesis about the very complex figure of Charlotte Wolff. She was a poet and a doctor practising in sexual health clinics in 1920s Berlin, but had to flee from the Nazi regime in the early 30s. She went into exile in London, and stayed there, where she worked as a psychiatrist and eventually became a prolific writer and a public figure. She wrote two books on human sexuality, one at each end of the 1970s, from her own perspective as a very literary psychiatrist. In 1976 her novel about a love triangle between three elderly women was published. If we accept, at least for the moment, conventional ways to tell arbitrary genres apart, she wrote a memoir in 1969 and an autobiography in 1980. Her final book, published just a few months prior to her death in 1986, was a biography of the German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld, who was considered an authority on sexuality, gender and their many variations in the early twentieth-century. My project clearly has a lot of material to work with – but its focus is, specifically, Charlotte Wolff's significance as a public figure in the 1970s and 1980s.

In that era, histories of homosexuality were mostly being written as linear stories from oppression to liberation through the strengthening of identity categories and related communities. Writing this history was a form of activism, and it was much-needed (Love). In the course of writing these histories, though, many assumptions were made – for instance, that the categorisation of people into heterosexual and homosexual was something innate and which transcended history. That linearity I just mentioned, in which history only ever progressed forward, was also a big assumption to make. Critiques of what have come to be understood as essentialist histories of sexuality are nothing new (Doan, Fenemore, Foucault, Halperin, Lapovsky Kennedy, Scott, Traub). What my research has found is that Charlotte Wolff, as a public figure in the 1970s and 1980s, acted as a critic of how histories were being written by speaking out against the essentialising of sexual identity categories and the presumed progressive linearity of history. Her main method in doing so was to provide examples from her own remembered experiences. Throughout her entire life, she'd only ever had relationships with other women. Activist researchers of lesbian history in Germany in the 1970s and 1980s were, understandably, really keen to get to know her.<sup>1</sup> To some, she was a living connection to the by then legendary golden age of Berlin in the Twenties – cabarets, Marlene Dietrich, Christopher Isherwood, bars and dancefloors to suit every taste imaginable and probably a few that aren't, and dapper women in suits everywhere, amongst them, Charlotte Wolff herself.

<sup>1</sup> One major source in my research is Wolff's archived correspondence. This is mostly held at the Wellcome Collection in London, with small but very significant holdings also found at the Spinnboden Lesbian Archive and the Frauenforschungs-, bildungs- und informationszentrum in Berlin. To cite individual correspondents in such a brief overview as this would be excessive, hence the generalised statements.

These historians wrote to her and, importantly, also succeeded in encouraging her to come back to Berlin to give readings from German translations of her books. But the questions they asked were usually framed around the idea that there was such a thing as lesbian history, and that Charlotte Wolff would have naturally, as a matter of course, identified as a lesbian and felt a sense of belonging to a community centred on that identity. The answers she gave troubled many assumptions which had been inherent in the phrasing of those questions. Obviously, as someone who wrote about her own life across several books and willingly gave several interviews too, Wolff was not shy to tell stories about herself – and her stories were not designed to fit in well with the histories that were being written about homosexuality at the time. Her stories, I have found, articulated things that were, and still are, hard to grasp and which were, and still are, of crucial concern to how history is understood, written, valued and used. In other words, the stories Charlotte Wolff told in reaction to the questions asked and the assumptions made by people writing gay and lesbian history in the 1970s were very deep gossip.

In this paper I want to retell some of the stories she shared, so we can think more about the effect of her presence as a writer and as a public figure upon her readership in the 1970s and 1980s and the way they approached history. There's one story in particular that I have seen mentioned again and again in the course of my research. It's a chapter from Wolff's 1969 memoir *On the Way to Myself*, called 'A Journey into Russia' – a romantic adventure story of sorts. When young German researchers wrote to Wolff in the mid-70s asking her specific questions about what it had been like to be a lesbian in the 1920s, her initial responses tended to be quite abrupt. She seemed to expect her memoir, especially that particular chapter, would be a perfectly adequate reference point for any questions they might have about her past. A few years later, when she came to Germany as a visiting author and, in her own words, a 'period piece' of Weimar Berlin, she was invited to give readings from her published works. By then, her books on sexuality had been published and she was particularly proud of the second one, which argued against strict categorisations of people based on their gender and their sexuality. She knew very well, though, that her audiences mostly wanted to hear stories about the twenties – about lesbians in the twenties, to be more specific. So she read to them from the German translation of 'A Journey into Russia'. It's a long chapter, so all I shall tell to you today is a very abridged paraphrasing. Here it must be stressed that, in paraphrasing something like this, no concepts from the present are knowingly imposed upon the past. That would be ahistorical, and not very productive. This is how the story goes:

As a young medical student in the mid-1920s, Charlotte was madly in love with a Russian woman called Lisa. It was required. They had a very intense

romance; they even translated poetry for each other. Unfortunately, time went by and Lisa ended up marrying a man – as far as we can tell from this story, this was a reluctant act of familial obligation. She has a baby, too. None of this gets in the way of Lisa's romance with Charlotte. What does, however, is the husband deciding that he, Lisa and the baby should all live in Russia. So off they go, and Charlotte is indescribably heartbroken (I have even found her poetry about it in her London archives). She finds herself at a friend's place in a sorry state, declaring that if she does not get to see Lisa again she will throw herself in the River Spree. At that point, a beautiful young woman called Katherine, who Charlotte hadn't even realised was there, gets up and declares she will help her get to Russia, because she finds that kind of passionate intensity rather attractive, herself. So now Charlotte has a new girlfriend, and their common interest is finding a way to get to Russia to meet up with Charlotte's other girlfriend, the married one. And they make it happen. Getting a visa to enter Russia is horribly difficult, and everyone seems to think they're crazy, but things work out.

Charlotte has prepared a lecture which theorises 'Symphonie Diagonale,' a groundbreaking experimental film by her friend Viking Eggeling, and a Russian university appears interested in hosting her as a visiting lecturer. She and Katherine manage to get character references for their visa applications from their acquaintance, the artist Kathe Kollwitz. She was held in high regard in Russia at the time as a class-conscious artist. So that helped. They go to Russia. Spies follow them around, but they're alright. They track Lisa down, living not in a nice family home but in a sanatorium. And after only a moment of awkwardness, things go very well. The three of them spend time together as if on holiday, and Wolff describes it vividly in here as if she were a travel writer. She also stresses that nobody was jealous at all; she simply had two girlfriends and was with both of them. In Russia, Lisa's husband got jealous and the situation changed. Charlotte and Katherine had to leave. Before getting out of Russia, they found their lives in danger. But I'll stop the story there, because I've told you enough for you to get the idea. If you want to know how the story ends, it's all in Charlotte Wolff's memoir (Wolff, *On the Way* 192-216).

In that story, which Charlotte Wolff read frequently to audiences in Germany, and which she was so quick to tell correspondents contained all they needed to know about her experiences as a lesbian in the 20s, there was no such thing as sexual identity. Nobody gets written about as a lesbian or as a bisexual, by those or any other names. That was not what her readers – and those who sought to write her into history – were expecting. Likewise, that story does not portray a sense of oppression. There is danger, and they experience a menacing sort of persecution as the story goes on, but it's not because they're women in love with each other. It's because they're in Russia in 1924 and yes, even Charlotte



Wolff might care to admit, because they're women. But their adventures are not framed in terms of any sense of sexual identity or community whatsoever, be it as a source of pride or as a source of oppression. It's just not there. Wolff was very keen to promote that story of her past because she was very keen to endorse what it represented: the notion that the past is a very big place, a place in which people's approaches to sexuality and identity are by no means guaranteed to resemble those in other places and times.

That story was a sign of things to come. In 1980, *Hindsight* was published – this was Wolff's more conventional autobiographical work, in which she presented readers with an exhaustive account of her life told in chronological order from her very early childhood up towards reflections on her very recent experiences in Berlin being treated as a relic of history. In the decade that had passed since *On the Way to Myself*, society had changed a lot and Wolff had become acutely aware of how much people wanted to know about how she had experienced her sexuality in her past. I really do think she wrote this book the way she did as a direct response to, a direct rejection of, how histories of sexuality were still being approached at the time. As an example of this, here's just one of the many tales of deep gossip that can be found in *Hindsight*. This is Wolff describing what she remembers of a teenage romance with a girl called Ida – and here I quote:

Neither Ida nor I had ever heard of the term homosexuality, nor did we know anything about love between people of the same sex. We experienced our attraction without fear or label, and had no model for love-making. We just loved.[...] We had no fear, no sense of guilt, and our parents, well aware of our attachment, either did not see anything extraordinary in it, or did not let us know if they did. (Wolff, *Hindsight* 26.)

Here, again, through stories of her fairly successful romantic pursuits as a young woman, Wolff made an effort to trouble what were, at the time of writing, fairly entrenched assumptions that love and/or sex between women was, thanks to society, intrinsically bound with fear, with guilt, with oppression, and also, for better or for worse, with a drive towards turning sexuality into identity. Urgently, I must stress this: Wolff's task here was not to dismiss the idea that homosexuality was and, in certain contexts still is, cruelly repressed by social regulation. She knew she had been privileged in that particular regard, and acknowledged that not everyone was as lucky as she had been as a teenager. But despite that acknowledgement of privilege, due to passages like the one just quoted, reception of *Hindsight* tended to insinuate – and in some cases declare outright – that Charlotte Wolff was dreaming (Gansberg, Hegewisch).

Her stories about eroticism, romance, individualism and adventure were barely compatible with the creation of histories centred on identities, communities and oppression.

Charlotte Wolff was not dreaming, but she certainly was deliberately skewing her narratives towards aspects of the past which other forms of history had not yet managed to articulate. By the time *Hindsight* was written, many books about the histories of lesbians had emerged. What Wolff wanted to demonstrate, first-hand, through the use of her own deep gossip, was that those histories were often missing important points. What she achieved was her own contribution towards a history not of sexual identity categories, but of times and spaces that transcended any need to either invent or make use of such categories. Recent scholarship on the historiography of sexuality in a German context has acknowledged the importance and usefulness of a milieu-specific approach which takes for granted that not everyone's experiences in a certain time and place were identical or even necessarily similar – their cultural surroundings made a significant difference (Fenemore). This is exactly what Wolff sought to demonstrate through the stories she told.

She went on to do this even more overtly when she wrote her biography of the early twentieth-century sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld. Between *Hindsight* and the Hirschfeld book, which was published in 1986, the dynamic between Wolff and young gay and lesbian historians had soured somewhat. Their work was, at the time, dependent on the very ideas which her work – including her own narrativised memories – served to complicate. Someone wrote to her asking if she'd be keen to read from her writing as part of a museum exhibit about gay and lesbian history; she wrote back saying she hated those words. It wasn't just a matter of semantics – it was the idea that those words transcended historical time and geographical space which she could not align herself with. Furthermore, by the early 1980s she was vocally in favour of what she described as 'a bisexual society' as the only solution to the world's problems (Steakley). By this she didn't mean a society in which everyone slept with men and women, but one in which gender distinctions were meaningless. Her message was often rendered confusing by the way she employed the word bisexual to mean two things: when talking about her own theories and ideals, bisexual meant bi-gendered, basically, but in other contexts she used the word the same way everyone else did.

She got to work on her Hirschfeld biography in an era in which his work was being rediscovered. He was being written about as a gay man who campaigned for gay rights – unsurprisingly, she had a thing or two to say about that. Her Hirschfeld biography was very thorough; it made use of every tiny personal detail she managed to access. This included the following deeply gossipy piece of deep gossip: the rumour that Hirschfeld had, for a while, had some kind

of more-than-platonic connection to the well-known and reliably scandalous dancer Anita Berber.

You can probably imagine how Wolff put that very old rumour to use in her biography of Hirschfeld: she saw it as a small but highly significant symbol of what gets ignored when we write histories – or even just have conversations – centred on the assumption people are either gay or straight. This is how she phrased it:

*Hirschfeld has been classed as a homosexual, and it was even suggested that he was also a transvestite. But nobody ever imagined him in an intimate relationship with a woman. I have already pointed out that Hirschfeld admired 'powerful' women, but my interviewee mentioned that he also had some physical contact with the androgynous dancer Anita Berber. [... The interviewee] carefully avoided stating this as a fact, but implied it. In any case, it is of interest as it shows that the fixed idea of Hirschfeld's exclusive homosexuality is probably a fallacy. (Wolff, Magnus Hirschfeld 435)*

It'd be easy to see that as plain old gossip. It really doesn't matter whether Magnus Hirschfeld ever did "have some physical contact" with Anita Berber or not. What's important, though, is considering what that might or mightn't mean to people. Charlotte Wolff wrote that book in the same era in which she felt she could no longer tolerate being written into history as a lesbian. It was also a time during which she sensed hostility towards the idea of bisexuality and gender ambiguity from so-called straight people *and* from gay and lesbian communities. This also manifested itself in the writing of history. Many histories being written at that time in the name of and for the benefit of self-identified gay men and lesbians were distinctly reluctant to embrace nuance and complexity in people's lives. This was fostered by, and in turn, continued to foster a similar aversion to complexity in people's lives in the present. Charlotte Wolff saw that as a form of oppression through language. The stories she told about her own life to her 1970s and 1980s readerships, and the rumours about Magnus Hirschfeld which she chose to highlight when writing about him, were forms of deep gossip designed to address matters which were, to use Henry Abelove's phrasing again, hard to grasp and of crucial concern. They still are.

Those stories are just small moments in the broader context of Wolff's oeuvre and my research, but they clearly demonstrate how Wolff made use of subjective memory and seemingly minor but really quite deep gossip to achieve something historiographically significant – a criticism of how history was being written, by someone who had at first been designated as a character within that history.

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## 7. MACHADO DE ASSIS' AND J. L. BORGES' CROSS-CULTURAL IRONIES: FROM THE AUTHORS' CREATIVE MISREADINGS TO ENGLISH-SPEAKING CRITICAL RECEPTION OF THEIR IRONIC ENGLISH INTERTEXTS

MARCELO MENDES DE SOUZA

*In my ongoing PhD research, I compare Machado de Assis to Jorge Luis Borges in terms of multiple receptions and communities of readers: I am looking at Machado's and Borges' innovative misreadings<sup>1</sup> of English ironists, how their adaptations of these works affect the reception of their own work by critics in different cultural contexts and periods, and finally how this reception defines their roles as precursors of Latin American new narratives of the twentieth-century.*

Machado's mature works were first published in book form at the end of the nineteenth-century in Brazil; Borges' initial short narratives were first published in the first half of the twentieth-century in Argentina. Machado's *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas* was published in 1880, in Rio de Janeiro (J. M. Machado 623-758); Borges' *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan*, in 1941, in Buenos Aires (Borges 509-78). These dates are important because they point out the fact that Machado and Borges were writing in different socio-cultural, historical and geographical contexts. Both authors' fictional production can be divided into two main periods. This division, in both cases, is strongly connected to intertextualities with English ironists.<sup>2</sup> Machado's narrative transition from an initially more literal mode, inspired by French romantic writers, to a mature more ironic mode is defined particularly by his works' metatextuality (or relationship of commentary) with Laurence Sterne, but also with other English ironists (such as Smollet and Dickens). Borges' transition from his initial poetry about

<sup>1</sup> According to Harold Bloom (1997), misreading is a conceptual tool that replaces the notion influence. Therefore, misreading is the description of intra-poetic relationships. Bloom's focus is the poet and the poem himself/itself, the *poet as poet*, as Bloom puts it, and how he "suffers" (93) other poems/poets.

<sup>2</sup> In this paper, the relations between Machado and Borges and certain English ironists should be understood in terms of intertextuality: a given text is understood as a permutation of texts (Kristeva 36). Replacing intersubjectivity, and the agency of a given author regarding his precursors, intertextuality emphasizes the text itself in its structural levels – or the production of structurations, in Barthes' words (20). These intertextual relations are reassessed and categorized by Gérard Genette (1) in more detailed terms. Genette names transtextuality "all that sets the text in a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts" (1), and divides these relations into five types: intertextuality; paratextuality; metatextuality; architextuality; and hypertextuality.

Buenos Aires (such as in *Fervor de Buenos Aires*) and essays to the short stories he is better known for can mainly be represented as architextualities (or links to the genre, Genette 4) with the essayistic mode of writers such as Swift and De Quincey. In both cases, it is possible to talk about a “first” and a “second” author: the first more *naïve*, experimenting with genres and models; and the second, mature, developing his cultural adaptations of the narratives and devices of specific English ironists. Their literary trajectories can be summarized as follows: in their initial mature narratives, both writers proposed a shift from European neo-colonial models and devices to specific English ironists’ traditions, creating new paths for the development of Brazilian and Argentine critical and narrative traditions.

In this paper, I intend to focus on a very important point of comparison between Machado and Borges in terms of communities of readers, the most relevant set of cultural contexts which I address in my research: the critical reception of Machado’s and Borges’ fictional works in the English-speaking world, particularly in North America.

In contrast to the initial production and local reception of Machado’s and Borges’ works, for the most part the early reception of both authors’ mature narratives in English-speaking cultural contexts occurred concurrently. To some extent, Machado and Borges were brought closer to each other by English-speaking critics. Consequently, despite the obvious temporal and spatial differences between them, and the different outcomes of Machado’s and Borges’ misreadings of their different English models, the critical and academic receptions of their work in Anglo-Euro-American cultural contexts can be directly compared and contrasted.

First, and most evidently, these receptions can be compared in regards to a literary historical fact: relevant critical and academic receptions of Machado’s and Borges’ mature narratives in English translation started appearing in North America at the around same time: after the 1960s. According to scholars (U. Machado 339), in spite of early translations of *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas* and *Dom Casmurro* during the early 1950s, the number of Machado’s books in English translation surpassed those in their original language only during the 1960s, at the same time as the first English-speaking critics and translators of Machado started appearing (Caldwell, Grossman); Borges, in turn, had his short fictions translated particularly after being awarded the Prix Formentor International in 1961: *Ficciones* first came out in English translation during the following year.

Second, they share a common critical cultural-literary issue: the evident intertextualities of ironic English models within their works. For instance, *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas* represented a transition in Machado’s

narratives from French models and brief references to canonical English authors in his earlier novels (*Ressureição*, *Iaiá Garcia*, etc) to more specific English ironic models. In *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas*, Machado's narrator not only states that he adopted "a forma livre de um Sterne" [Sterne's free form] (J. M. Machado 625), but inscribes this intertextual relation by adapting certain of Sterne's devices to his own socio-cultural contexts. Machado's narrative in *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas* proposes an ironic dialogue with his reader that can be related to Sterne's.<sup>3</sup> However, Machado intended to criticize Brazilian society by ironically playing with the expectations of the readers of his time: he satirizes the prejudices of the Brazilian upper class of the nineteenth-century in the voice of his protagonist Brás Cubas, a sterile slave owner who, after death, narrates his own life story. In Chapter XI, "O Menino é o pai do homem" [The Child is father to the man], the narrator explains his violent behaviour towards the house servants, and also the complicity of his father, as it were a harmless anecdote: "Desde os cinco anos merecera a alcunha de 'menino diabo' [...] um dia quebri a cabeça de uma escrava porque me negara uma colher do doce-de-coco [...] meu pai tinha-me em grande admiração; e se às vezes me reprendia à vista da gente, fazia-o por simples formalidade: em particular dava-me beijos" [From the age of five, I deserved my nickname of 'little devil' (...) One day, for example, I hit a slave on the head so hard that blood ran from the wound, because she had refused me a spoonful of the egg-and-coconut paste that she had been making (...) my father held me in great admiration; and if at times he scolded me before others, he did so as merely as a formality: in private, he would kiss me] (J. M. Machado 638-9/Trans. Grossman 26). The light tone of this excerpt, like most of Cuba's narration, paradoxically highlights the cruelty of the situation, and it ends up functioning against the character, who, like most readers of the time (part of the nineteenth-century Brazilian elite), would not see this behaviour as faulty.

In the case of Borges, *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* represents a transition from a poetic style to a narrative and more evidently ironic one: short stories like "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius" and "Pierre Menard, autor del *Quijote*" can be understood as parodies of the essayistic mode used by English ironists such as Swift and especially De Quincey. The architextual relations with the essayistic genre, particularly in regards to De Quincey's essay form, was an important feature in Borges' mature works, as well as an important format for Borges to put into question narrative traditions in general, and particularly his own fictions. Nevertheless, Borges' ironies were aimed at his contemporary Argentine reader's cultural and literary expectations and prejudices: in "Pierre Menard, autor del *Quijote*", for instance, Borges connects *Don Quijote* to a French writer, the fictional character Menard, rather than to the real Spanish writer Miguel de

<sup>3</sup> These have been extensively documented by Gomes.

Cervantes. Borges arguably displaced the reference in order to ironically invert his reader's expectations regarding common European models and references: critic Rodríguez Monegal affirms that "Pierre Menard, autor del *Quijote*" "was meant to be a satire of French literary circles (which were, of course, the model for similar circles in Argentina)" (*Biography* 331).

The presence of intertextualities with English Ironists in Machado's and Borges' mature narratives has guaranteed their function as Jaussian "literary events" in the English-speaking world: a concept that attests to the mediation of readers' and critics' response to literary works, according to these readers' and critics' "horizons of expectations" (Jauss 1982); their "literary experience" (22) and the "influence, reception, and posthumous fame" (5) of given narratives within a cultural and literary context. Machado's and Borges' fictions have been constantly read and misread in Anglo-Euro-American contexts, and their posthumous fame is attested by the fact that to this day their works continue to provide critics within these contexts with subjects to be analysed, studied and discussed, and also to find a wider readership in English translations – particularly Borges' short stories. Moreover, the English ironic intertexts in Machado's and Borges' narratives seemed to resonate within the horizons of expectations of the English-speaking world: these authors' preference for English models made them relevant, and, more significantly, made their reception and posthumous fame unbalanced within these contexts. Machado's and Borges' particular choices of literary models, as well as their individual relations with their original socio-historical contexts, helped English-speaking critics establish different places for each of them in cultural contexts outside of Brazil and Argentina. Nevertheless, English-speaking critics have also imposed a fundamental distance between Machado's and Borges' narratives and their original socio-historical and geographical contexts, in order to establish closer relations with Anglo-Euro-American horizons of expectation and literary contexts for the canon of world literary classics in English translation. In sum, whereas Machado's mature narratives were overshadowed by their "major" English literary models (Shakespeare, Sterne and Dickens), by contrast Borges' mature short narratives were helped by his preference for "minor", yet popular, English literary models (De Quincey, Stevenson and Chesterton).

Furthermore, Machado's and Borges' critical reception was unbalanced because of their peculiar relations with their own original cultural and social contexts. The development of the English-speaking reception of Machado's narratives, for instance, was affected by their critical commentary about Brazilian society. The status of Machado's works as literary events in the English-speaking world is limited to their connections with their original socio-historical and geographical contexts, and their difficult cultural adaptations to Anglo-



American contexts. In “Teoria do Medalhão”, for instance, Machado criticized Brazilian society of his time and its tendency towards simply copying European theories and models. In this sense, “o imitador, ou até mesmo o plagiário, vira símbolo nacional [...] o medalhão torna-se um ‘original’” [the imitator, even the plagiarist, becomes a national symbol [...] the *medallion*<sup>4</sup> becomes an ‘original’] (Gledson in Machado *Papéis* 22). In this work, Machado makes an important, yet oblique (or even self-ironic), statement regarding irony, one of the few in his fictional work. When talking about the necessity to reproduce ready-made thoughts and ideologies, the narrator states: “não debes empregar a ironia, esse movimento de canto de boca, cheio de mistérios, inventado por algum grego da decadência, contraído por Luciano, transmitido por Swift e Voltaire” [you should not apply irony, that movement at the corners of the mouth, full of mysteries, created by some decadent Greek, contracted by Lucian, transmitted by Swift and Voltaire]<sup>5</sup> (110). The lack of the fictional character’s own ideas represents the nineteenth-century Brazilian tendency towards uncritical copy of central cultural models. Thus, Machado suggests irony as a mean to transform a mere copy into more intricate textual relation: the narrator’s prohibition, ironically, turns into Machado’s mode of expressing his own narrative project fictionally. Although the presence of intertextualities with English ironies is evident, the relation between the short story and its original socio-historical context gets lost in the assessments proposed by English speaking critics.

The reception of Borges’ short narratives in the English-speaking world, in contrast, was favored by the presumed translatability of his works, not only in terms of language (in the sense that, according to certain critics, such as translator Di Giovanni, Borges dialectically adapts his literary expression in relation to that of his English models), but also in cultural terms. “Pierre Menard, autor del *Quijote*”, for instance, can be read as a philosophical statement about the producing of knowledge by texts (Sarlo 32), and the reading process in general, not only by contemporary but also and most significantly by readers in broader literary contexts. Machado’s and Borges’ fictional projects were thus constructed in dialogue with their contemporary readers and critics. Machado was writing for a limited number of readers in nineteenth-century Brazil, within a more constrained cultural context, trying to challenge certain literary conventions. Borges, in contrast, was writing for a wider and cosmopolitan readership in twentieth-century Argentina, with much more access to other writers and cultural contexts, and was mostly challenging literary and cultural expectations.

<sup>4</sup> In Portuguese, the word “medalhão” has the same meaning that the word “medallion” has in English. In this short story Machado relates the word to a socially outstanding person, someone who shines in society, but, at the same time, does not have any particular reason to do so. This person would be a medallion, in the sense Machado proposes. “Teoria do Medalhão” [Theory of the Medallion] thus becomes an ironic theory on how to be important and recognized by one’s peers, in spite of any real talent, accomplishment or knowledge.

<sup>5</sup> My translation.

These different approaches will be reflected in the reception by English-speaking critics, who would find in Borges a much more recognizable writer than Machado, in the sense that Borges was originally writing to an audience that can be related to that of other transnational contexts.

Therefore, Borges' cross-cultural ironies worked both ways: in his own Argentine cultural and literary cosmopolitan contexts of the early twentieth-century, and in broader Euro-American cultural and literary contexts. In contrast, Machado's cross-cultural ironies were apparently too culturally specific and aimed at his own socio-historical and geographical context. Cultural adaptations of his narratives' original Portuguese language, as well as of his own peculiar literary voice and devices, have continually posed critical problems for English-speaking translators, and have been a barrier to wider English-speaking audiences. Nonetheless, Machado's narratives, particularly his mature novels, have been constantly translated and retranslated into English since the 1950s. The translations of Borges' mature short narratives are widely accepted, however, and the supposedly unproblematic cultural adaptations of his literary expression in Spanish and of his literary devices are a common topic in the development of the critical reception of his short narratives in the English-speaking world. Di Giovanni, for instance, goes as far as to assert that "since English made Borges and since he is giving Spanish an English cast, he fulfils himself in English; his work becomes more itself in English" (137). Unlike Machado's works, Borges' mature narratives easily found a significant place within the canon of world literature, maybe as a consequence of his own literary project, and of his lifelong creative and ironic misreadings of eccentric English and European models within his own cultural context.

Machado and Borges nonetheless can be viewed as examples of culturally dislocated writers within English-speaking cultural and literary contexts in two important ways. First, in historical terms, critics usually considered both as precocious modern writers. For instance, Machado and Borges are considered modern writers in regards to Latin American new narratives, as precursors and as innovators of certain narrative traditions within their specific Latin American cultural contexts, and, particularly in the case of Borges, in regards to wider Euro-American literary, critical and philosophical traditions – for instance, in regards to re-thinking the reading process in "Pierre Menard, autor del *Quijote*". Second, in geographical terms both came from unconventional places within Euro-American horizons of expectations (Brazil and Argentina) and from cultural and literary traditions almost unknown by (or at least not central to) critics and readers within those contexts.

Machado's mature narratives, in particular, are usually considered more unconventional than Borges' short narratives – especially because Machado

was writing in the nineteenth-century. The main critical problem suggested by Machado's works in the English-speaking world is to find a proper place for them both in relation to his English ironic models, and within the canon of world literature. Machado is usually compared by English-speaking critics to the English writers he literally mentions in his narratives and in his critical articles – especially Shakespeare and Sterne, both central names in the English-Speaking world – rather than to other English writers with whom he sustained critical and creative dialogues throughout his works (Lamb, Smollett, Thackeray and Dickens). Furthermore, critics in those contexts did not consider Machado's writing within a wider set of European or local intertextualities. In other words, in regards to his “major” literary models, Machado's narratives are usually considered curiosities: peculiar Latin American adaptations of these writers' narratives and devices, and particularly of English ironic traditions of which Sterne is an important part. Machado's place within the canon of world literature, especially from the perspective of English-speaking critics, is thus compromised by the cultural relevance of his predecessors within these cultural contexts.

Helen Caldwell, for instance, in *The Brazilian Othello of Machado de Assis*, not only develops her theories in regards to the critical relationship between Machado's novel *Dom Casmurro*'s narrative and Shakespeare's *Othello*, but also in relation to Machado's cultural adaptations of the literary expressions and devices of English ironists. For Caldwell, the biased narration of *Dom Casmurro* would not only function as an implicit dialogue with Machado's social and cultural context, but most importantly it would highlight the presence of hypotexts of English ironists within Machado's narratives. It is important to emphasize that Caldwell is mostly concerned with the relation between Machado's hypertextual narrative and a specific twentieth-century socio-historical context: she studies *Dom Casmurro* from the perspective of her early feminist stances. What might be called Caldwell's critical misreadings, nonetheless turned Machado's narratives (particularly *Dom Casmurro*, but consequently *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas* and other novels and short stories translated into English) into works suitable for English-speaking readers of the twentieth-century. In this sense, by connecting Machado's novels to the English literary tradition and analyzing them in their critical and creative relations with English narratives and devices, Caldwell proposes a reading that was only possible for her because of her own knowledge and experience as an English-speaking reader and academic, and because of the social and cultural experiences and prejudices of her own time. Caldwell, in her preface to her study on Machado's novel (v), goes as far as to suggest that English-speaking readers would be the ones who “can truly appreciate the Great Brazilian”, because of Machado's own close and continuous relations to English literary traditions.

In contrast to Machado, Borges is favoured by the same critical strategies of dealing with eccentric writers: English-speaking critics usually relate Borges to the English writers he mentioned as models in his essays and interviews (such as Chesterton, Stevenson and Wells, among others), but, more significantly, critics such as Di Giovanni and Updike praise Borges' mature short narratives for the cultural adaptations of his models.<sup>6</sup> Borges is usually compared to eccentric writers even within the English-speaking world (such as De Quincey and Chesterton), but most importantly, he is recognized, through his cross-cultural ironies, as part of the creative developments of certain English ironic traditions. The cultural adaptations proposed by Borges' narratives are considered not in regards to his original early twentieth-century Argentine context, but mainly to broader twentieth-century Euro-American cultural contexts: North American writers, such as Updike, Barth and Ashbery, saw in Borges' fictions a model for the development of their own, and consequently also for certain Anglo-American narrative traditions. In this sense, it is possible to assert that Borges had been converted by English-speaking critics, academics and writers of the 1960s into a proper (yet eccentric) "North-American" writer. Particularly during the 1990s, he became a best-selling writer of the canon of world literature and also, according to critics (Toro *Busqueda* 53), almost a "pop-star" – his works have been related to and used by artists such as Godard and others, and he was constantly invited to visit other countries (from Brazil to Japan) and universities around the world (from Cambridge to the Crete) in order to receive international literary prizes and commendations.

Updike's reading of Borges' narratives in his essay "The Author as Librarian" can be considered a model for the initial critical receptions of Borges' mature short narratives within the English-speaking world, and more specifically among North-American writers and intellectuals. First, in contrast to the reception of Machado's narratives in the same cultural context, Updike's essay, like the most significant English-speaking critical and academic receptions of Borges' mature short narratives, was of his English translations, rather than of their original versions. Second, English-speaking critical receptions and reviews of Borges' narratives would place them among modern classics of the canon of world literature: Updike, for instance, relates Borges to Kafka and Hemingway. More specifically, in essays and reviews, North American critics would place Borges' fictions within the late twentieth-century discussion of the "technical crisis" of literary expression within English-speaking cultural contexts, as possible revisions and developments of "literature itself" (233), that is, of English literary traditions. Finally, English-speaking critics would emphasize the mentions, quotes and, most significantly, intertextualities of English writers within Borges' essays and narratives in order to, on the one hand, to engage English-speaking

<sup>6</sup> Updike, for instance, praised the innovations proposed by Borges in reassessing English ironic narratives and cultural devices of "*fin-de-siècle* and Edwardian giants" (227).

readers and publicize Borges' narratives to a wider audience, and, on the other hand, to establish critical comparisons and dialogues between Borges, an Argentine writer, and the more usual writers within the horizon of expectations of English-speaking critics. Updike, for instance, suggests that Borges' essays in *Other Inquisitions* would gratify American readers "by the generous amount of space devoted to writers of the English language" (227). Updike then undertakes a brief analysis of the innovations proposed by Borges in reassessing English ironic narratives and devices, such as Chesterton's (227), and considers Borges' mature narratives and cross-cultural ironies in regards to modern writers (such as Kafka) concluding that "[a]s critic and artist both, Borges mediates between the post-modern present and the colourful, prolific, and neglected pre-moderns" (228). In Updike's critical misreading – a partial reading that focuses primarily on more recognizable hypotexts in the English-speaking world – Borges renewed narratives and devices of nineteenth-century English ironists and adapted them to a broader twentieth-century Euro-American literary and cultural context, rather than to specific early and cosmopolitan twentieth-century Argentine cultural contexts.

Later evolutions in local critical receptions of their works, particularly after their dissimilar English-speaking critical reception, took different paths. Within the English-speaking world, and in wider Euro-American cultural contexts, the critical reception of Machado's and Borges' mature narratives came to reflect different developments: Machado was restricted to his literary models and to a specific and reduced academic and intellectual readership; Borges became part of the canon of world literary classics in English translation, having even renewed interest in his almost forgotten English models (like Chesterton, for instance) and created new narrative traditions, particularly in trans-American contexts (notably outside Argentina). Nonetheless, the critical reception of both Machado's and Borges' works by English-speaking critics can be seen as revisionist because it allowed for different reassessments, particularly by looking at their production not as a mere copy of more central literary models, but as creative adaptations of certain English ironists. English-speaking receptions of Machado's narratives renewed their interest for local critics, helping to establish views of a canonical, ironical Brazilian writer; receptions of Borges' works in the same cultural contexts helped further the distance, which had been denounced by early and local critics, between the Argentine writer and his own time and place. Consequently, following English-speaking rediscoveries and reassessments, Machado was seen by local critics as a fully-fledged ironic Brazilian writer, sometimes even being confined by later Brazilian critics to his own critical relations with nineteenth-century Brazilian society. Borges, in contrast, became a model for transnational writers, whose ironies would be constantly reassessed

by different critics and readers and adapted by writers in different cultural and literary contexts, and was constantly criticized by younger Argentine and Latin American writers because of his alleged coldness and Europeanism.<sup>7</sup>

English-speaking receptions of Machado's and Borges' cross-cultural ironies can also be considered revisionist because they were fundamental for the development of local Brazilian and Argentine criticism, particularly after the 1960s. Critics within the English-speaking world, such as Caldwell, gave new meanings to Machado's unreliable narrators and narratives. Consequently, later Brazilian critics, such as Roberto Schwarz, highlighted Machado's unreliable narrators in their complex and critical dialogues with his socio-cultural context. Caldwell's contribution in the early 1960s, with her study of *Dom Casmurro's* narrative, is one example of revisionist critical reception. The main contribution of critics in the English-speaking world was the establishment of new critical parameters to assess Machado's cross-cultural ironies and unreliable narrators. Between the 1960s and 1980s, therefore, important critical reappraisals of Machado's narratives mainly appeared in Brazil. Critical works by Antonio Candido and Roberto Schwarz, for instance, mediated initial Brazilian critical traditions, and later English-speaking critical developments in regards to Machado's works: they re-connected Machado's works to their original Brazilian society, but they did so while accepting the presence of the intertextualities with English ironists as part of the critical problem. Nevertheless, rather than establish Machado's narratives amongst literary canons or in relation to specific literary traditions, Brazilian critics changed the focus to socio-historical terms. According to Gledson (239), Roberto Schwarz was the first Brazilian to find a balance between Machado's narrative innovations and his socio-historical and geographical constraints, particularly with *Um Mestre na Periferia do Capitalismo*. Gledson summarizes this balance between literary and cultural irony in Machado's works as follows: the inseparability of Sterne's stylistic innovations (269), and the narrator's point of view as a member of the high classes of nineteenth-century Brazil (270).

In broader Latin America cultural contexts, Machado would sparingly appear in the works of critics such as Rodríguez Monegal (*Biography*) and Fuentes (*Herida*), reinforcing the misreadings of Machado's works by English-speaking critics: they primarily search for a proper place in the Latin American canon for such an eccentric, misplaced and dislocated writer. Latin American critics would usually relate Machado's narratives to other Latin American writers or literary traditions, particularly to the new Latin American narratives of the 1960s and 1970s. In these contexts, Machado is usually pointed to as a precursor of the Latin American boom of the 1960s, and briefly compared to Borges (Rodríguez Monegal *Boom* 52-3), the writer who is usually considered the main precursor of

<sup>7</sup> Cuban critic Roberto Fernández Retamar, for instance, censured Borges for his supposedly overwhelming European literary models and his place within the Argentinean elite (Stabb 112).

these Latin American narrative developments (Fuentes *Mundo* 21). It is possible to suggest, thus, that Machado's mature narratives were not as important as Borges' short narratives within the Latin American literary context – particularly in Argentina, where Machado's works remain to be discovered by critics and readers.

The intertextualities of English ironists within Borges' mature short narratives, in contrast, were essential to their acceptance within Anglo-Euro-American cultural contexts. Initially, these English ironic hypotexts were instrumental in publicizing Borges' short narratives, but more significantly in establishing productive dialogues within the horizons of expectations of English-speaking critics. Borges was considered by early Argentinean and Latin American critics (such as Sabato and Fernández Retamar) to be a writer disconnected from his own socio-historical contexts, and the reception by English-speaking critics just helped to further this apparent distance. This reinforced local critiques of Borges as a writer too connected to “the cosmopolitan taste of Buenos Aires intellectuals” (Stabb 111). Critics in the English-speaking world assessed Borges' works primarily in regards to recognizable literary models, rather than to Borges' own creative dialogues with the literary expectations and social prejudices of his contemporary readers. In this sense, Borges was de-nationalized (or internationalized) by these critical misreadings, to the extent that some critics had to argue for his place within Argentinean society of the early twentieth-century.<sup>8</sup> This corroborates Borges' own view in regards to the reading process (for instance, that there are as many canonical writers as there are readers willing to respectfully read books – in Schwartz 275). Borges' narratives have been critically assessed and culturally adapted to different Euro-American contexts, and in regards to different literary and cultural theories, from structuralism and post-structuralism, to postmodernism and postcolonialism (Echavarría in Toro *Siglo* 18). In this sense, Borges' short narratives were essential to the development of Latin American later narratives.

Thus, initial and unbalanced English-speaking receptions of Machado's and Borges' narratives in North America during the second half of the twentieth-century were essential for the different (mis)placements of these two authors within the canon of world literature. More significantly, misreadings of Machado's and Borges' works in the English-speaking world opened new critical paths for Latin American critics: initially, Brazilian and Argentinean critics looked at Machado's and Borges' works as mere copies of English ironists; after this international reception, particularly during the 1960s, critics in Latin America had to consider the presence of the intertextualities with English ironists in more critical terms. Misreadings of Machado's narratives in the English-speaking world thus helped renew later Brazilian criticism and narrative traditions. Most

<sup>8</sup> Works of Beatriz Sarlo, in Argentina, and Daniel Balderstone, in North America are examples of studies trying to reconnect Borges to his original socio-historical and cultural context.

importantly, misreadings of Borges' short narratives in the same cultural contexts also pointed directly to broader Euro-American literary and critical traditions, rather than to specific Brazilian or Argentinean contexts, creating new places for both authors within the canon of world literature. The reception of Machado's and Borges' narratives by the English-speaking world, therefore, connected both writers to English ironists, but also established their roles as precursors of new Latin American narratives of the twentieth-century.

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## 8. COLLOCATION IN TRANSLATION

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Learning collocations is widely acknowledged to be one of the most challenging fields associated with second language (L2) acquisition. Translators, as a special group of learners, are confronted with similar difficulties when dealing with collocations in their L2. This includes both recognising collocations for what they are and translating them appropriately. However, the mechanism of collocation learning has not been fully clarified in Translation Studies (TS). For researchers in this area, identifying the roles of collocation in the translation process is the basis for providing constructive solutions to bridge the 'gap' between those translating into an L2 and native speakers of the Target Language. Therefore, this article intends to review the rationale of researching L2 collocation in linguistics and the important functions of collocation in TS. More importantly, it also attempts to establish a theoretical framework to clarify the roles of collocation in the process of translation, within which it will demonstrate the interaction among collocation, translation units and translation universals in language operations.

### *Defining collocation*

The discussion regarding collocation in language studies can be traced back to the 1960s when John Firth suggested that “[y]ou shall know a word by the company it keeps” (Firth 179). This argument indicates that a word or a lexical item is never isolated from the context in which it appears; rather a word always ‘predicts’ the occurrence of other words (or word strings), both semantically and functionally. In this sense, collocation is essentially referred to as a kind of linear relationship of co-occurrence between words, and it can be defined as a prefabricated, structurally coherent and semantically complete lexical combination consisting of at least two words. The co-occurrence exists more frequently than by chance and can be shown to be statistically significant. Therefore, it is obvious from this definition that adequate knowledge about collocation in a language is a crucial step before language learners learn to master the language.

*Types of collocations*

The method of classifying collocations varies with different researchers and analysts. Nevertheless, there have been very few direct discussions regarding how to classify collocations, due largely to the different approaches adopted. Rather, most studies normally elaborate on classifying collocations through analysing the nature of collocation under a particular framework. For instance, collocations can be classified according to parts-of-speech, so researchers can look at the grammatical/syntactical relationship between the words that constitute a collocation, such as verb-noun collocations (e.g. *foot the bill*) and adjective-noun collocations (e.g. *strong tea*). Alternatively, collocations can be explored by genre, so they can be divided into general collocations (collocations used universally in language) and specialised collocations (collocations used frequently in a particular register, e.g. commerce and academics). If collocations are discussed by their co-occurrence in a statistical sense, they can also be classified as casual collocations and significant collocations. Furthermore, when people look at the mechanism of producing language continuums, collocations can be viewed as open choices and idioms.<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, researchers look at collocations from different perspectives to meet the needs of their studies. Therefore, the methods of classifying collocations are, to a great extent, determined by the research methodology employed.

*Collocation and Translation Studies*

Even though collocation has always been a widely discussed topic in linguistics, the roles of collocation have not been given enough attention or discussed systematically in Translation Studies (TS). In addition, to date, no translation theorist has fully clarified the mechanism of learning and utilising collocations in TS, by which translators may acquire receptive and productive knowledge of collocations in their L2. Few studies in this area provide substantial theoretical support attempting to explain the functions of collocation in the whole process of translation.

Nonetheless, along with the paradigm shift in Translation Studies<sup>2</sup> and the emergence of large-scale corpora<sup>3</sup> in recent years, researchers in Translation Studies<sup>4</sup> are provided with more opportunities to look at some of the important issues<sup>5</sup> from a new perspective. This indicates that TS has reached a new phase, when TS not only develops as a discipline in its own right, but also requires researchers to “develop a descriptive branch of the discipline with well-defined

<sup>1</sup> See for example Jones, Susan and John Sinclair. “English Lexical Collocations.” *Cahiers de Lexicologie* 24(1974): 15-61.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. from prescriptive to descriptive approach; from equivalence to norms.

<sup>3</sup> A corpus is a collection of authentic and representative language materials, stored in an electronic or machine-readable format and used for linguistic research purposes.

<sup>4</sup> See for example Baker (1993, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> For example, the difference between translational language and natural language.

objectives and an explicit program” (Baker 248). This insight also emphasises the importance of choosing a reliable target of research, as “... questions relating to how one selects the features to be compared and, more importantly, how the findings may be interpreted, invite us to elaborate our methodology far more explicitly than in other types of research” (ibid.167).

Collocation can be a very good starting point for those researchers who attempt to ‘marry’ linguistics and TS. Firstly, collocation serves as a differentiating factor to distinguish translational language from natural language, because the use of collocations will demonstrate some distinctive features of translational language. In this sense, one of the primary tasks of a corpus approach in TS is to analyse collocations with authentic language data by comparing analogous corpora built with translational and natural texts. Secondly, collocation helps form language formulae because in language operations words (or lexical items) become largely phrasal to constitute chunks and formulaic sequences by collocating with each other. In this respect, collocation can help language learners construct a solid knowledge system to facilitate their language output. Thirdly, by examining collocations in a corpus of translated texts, researchers can obtain more reliable information regarding the universal features<sup>6</sup> in translational language. For this point, Xiao argues, “[t]he distinctive features of translational language can be identified by comparing translations with comparable native texts” (8). This offers a convincing method to assess language learners’ (particularly translators in this study) L2 competence, and enables researchers to provide constructive solutions in helping professional translators and L2 learners reduce or avoid such universal features. Once these points are established, the roles of collocation will become much clearer in the translation process, which will, to a great extent, help translators produce native-like L2 and facilitate their translation work. In turn, all these aforementioned points will also need to be incorporated and explained in a more systematic way. That is to say, it is crucial to sketch out a theoretical model.

#### *A theoretical framework of collocation in Translation Studies*

Within the intended theoretical framework, collocation essentially plays a pivotal role in facilitating the natural rendition of the target text and consolidating L2 knowledge at both implicit and explicit stages. This would appear to be important because of the nature of collocation constituting form-meaning composites. In this account, the production of L2 collocations in translation is strongly associated with the conceptual knowledge as well as the actual renderings of the target texts. Apart from that, when translators acquire their L2 producing L2 collocations is also strongly influenced by register and is largely determined by exposure to collocations. Therefore, to provide a clear

<sup>6</sup> Such as explicitation, simplification and normalisation. These are termed as translation universals in TS.

picture of the interwoven relationship among the elements around collocation, I have illustrated this framework as follows:

\*This model applies to human translation (HT) and machine-aided human translation (MAHT) only. Human-aided machine translation (HAMT) and machine translation (MT) may require a different model.

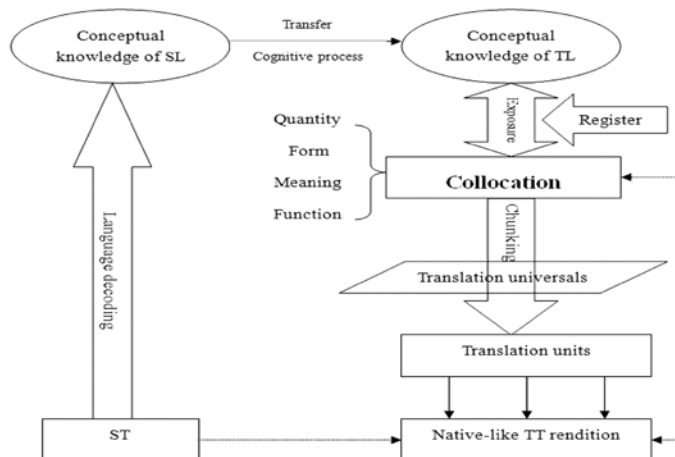


Figure 1. The roles of collocation in the translation process.

This model demonstrates clearly that transferring a source text (ST) to a native-like target text (TT) undergoes a complicated process. Translators start with understanding the source text and transforming the language information into their conceptual knowledge system of the source language, all of which can be regarded as a language decoding process. Then translators transfer the decoded information into their conceptual knowledge system of the target language through a cognitive process. This process involves an interface between the source and target cultures, which largely determines translators' production of the target text. Finally, translators employ collocation as the strategy to transform the decoded information into linguistic representations, all of which can be regarded as a language encoding process. In this process, collocation serves as a core part when translators intend to use a large variety of appropriate lexical chunks in the hopes of producing native-like target language. Therefore, the functions of collocation can be analysed from the following aspects.

First of all, in this model collocation is directly associated with translators' conceptual knowledge of the target language. It should be noted here that language knowledge is composed basically of implicit knowledge and explicit knowledge. According to Paradis, implicit knowledge refers to "the knowledge inferred from individuals' systematic verbal performance" (7) and a thoroughly learnt implicit rule is used without awareness or effort. Contrary to implicit knowledge, explicit knowledge refers to the knowledge that "individuals are aware of" and that "they are capable of representing to themselves and verbalizing on demand" (8). When translators are exposed to L2 collocations they will, to some extent, accumulate their knowledge in their 'database' system, implicitly or explicitly. In turn, translators' implicit and explicit knowledge of the L2 jointly interact with their control of collocation use when they render the target text. In this respect, the implicit and explicit proportions in a translator's knowledge system directly determine the naturalness of the L2 collocations they produce. If implicit knowledge exceeds explicit knowledge in the system, translators will be more inclined to produce L2 collocations without awareness and consolidate their implicit knowledge of the target language, which will make them 'closer' to native speakers regarding collocation use. In contrast, if explicit knowledge is greater than implicit knowledge, translators will be more inclined to produce their L2 collocations consciously and think about what they are doing while handling translation tasks, which may deviate them from the use of native-like collocations. This kind of 'dialectic relationship' between the two types of knowledge in motivating the use of L2 collocations can be illustrated in the following schema:

$$\frac{\text{Implicit Knowledge}}{\text{Explicit Knowledge}} = \text{Native-like Collocation}$$

To achieve the native-like use of collocations, translators will need to enlarge their implicit knowledge or transfer their explicit knowledge to implicit knowledge as much as possible. Only by doing this can they know, in their translation work, 'how to do' rather than 'what to do'.

Secondly, it is obvious in this model that the use of collocations is influenced by register. Halliday asserts that "the language we speak or write varies according to the type of situation" (32), so this kind of situation or area is regarded as 'register'. This indicates that a high-frequency collocation in a particular register may not be necessarily frequent in another register or in a general sense. For instance, the phrase *cash flow* can be seen as a common collocation in commercial language, but it is rarely used in the medical area. Similarly, the frequently used nominal collocation *hypersensitivity vasculitis*<sup>7</sup> in the medical

<sup>7</sup> A disease of the blood vessels.

area is hardly seen in business English. In this sense, researchers need to take account of register while examining collocations because different registers may demonstrate different collocation patterns. Researching specialised collocations in a particular register would bring up more insightful theoretical achievements when compared with a study of general collocations. Only in such a way can language researchers working in this area observe language behaviours in more detail and provide more valid and precise descriptions about the relationships between lexical items.

Thirdly, this model shows clearly that collocation serves as a determining factor in producing translation units and reducing translation universals. A translation unit<sup>8</sup> refers to a segment of text which translators regard as an independent cognitive entity during the course of decoding the source language and encoding the target language. A translation unit is not necessarily consistent between the source text and the target text. In other words, a translation unit in the segmentation of the source language might not be processed equivalently when encoded in the target language, which thus implies a kind of 'shift' in translation. In addition, a translation unit varies in length. It can be a word, a phrase, a lexical chunk, a clause, a sentence and even a paragraph. Therefore, when translators are producing translation units, collocation plays an important part through the chunking mechanism. The accurate use of collocation will enable translators to 'unite' lexical items more smoothly to constitute chunks or formulaic sequences according to the conventions of the target language. In this sense, the larger the translation units, the more likely translators are able to achieve native-like linguistic representations and the greater the chance of rendering native-like target texts in their L2. For instance, if the collocation *income and expenditure circular flow* in business English is regarded as one translation unit, it would greatly reduce the chance of some developing translators replacing the constituent elements of this lexical combination. Otherwise, if translators break this collocation into two translation units, such as *income and expenditure* and *circular flow*, it would increase the probability to replace *circular flow* with *circulation* (the word combination *income and expenditure circulation* is not a significant collocation in business English). In this sense, appropriate formation/enlargement of translation units would also reduce the deviation from native-like linguistic expressions to a minimum, which is, to a large extent, determined by collocation.

Meanwhile, the theoretical framework presented in Figure 1 also depicts that translation universals, as 'screening factors', counteract the natural formation of translation units. As a result, this kind of 'interference' from translation universals would result in some universal features in translational language, such as explicitation, simplification and normalisation, and would become obvious

<sup>8</sup> See for example Baker, Mona. *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies*. London: Routledge, 2001.



obstacles when translators attempt to produce native-like target texts. Therefore, I have created another schema to indicate the relationship among translation units, translation universals and native-like rendition of the target language:

$$\frac{\text{Translation Units}}{\text{Translation Universals}} = \text{Native-like Target Texts}$$

This schema indicates that the accurate use of L2 collocations can help translators bring together words to constitute reasonable high-frequency translation units, which are strong enough to break the constraints of translation universals and show naturalness in the target text. To a great extent, this will not merely help promote translators' L2 proficiency but also facilitate their translation work. Contrary to this, the inaccurate use of L2 collocations would restrict translators from producing appropriate translation units and make them more inclined to present translational universal features in the target text. As a result, translators would be constrained by these features and they would find it very hard to produce natural target language. For this point, to render native-like target texts, I propose that translators should build up a strong database of translation units; to construct this database, translators should recognise the importance of acquiring L2 collocations and apply them in their translation practice.

Last but not least, my theoretical model argues that collocation in language operations, especially translations, is a multi-dimensional composite and should be analysed from different angles. Some studies have already constructed conceptual frameworks to incorporate these perspectives.<sup>9</sup> Based on such previous studies, I propose that the use of L2 collocations by translators can be assessed with a quantitative approach, so their L2 collocation patterns can be compared statistically with those by native speakers of that language. I further suggest that the analyses of the features of L2 collocation patterns can be carried out with regard to frequency, form, meaning and pragmatic function. These factors, in turn, constitute a complete conceptual framework of collocation. Therefore, the next part will look at how to evaluate the conceptual framework of collocation from these aspects.

#### *Evaluation of the conceptual framework of collocation*

In this conceptual framework of collocation, frequency indicates that researchers can investigate the quantitative features of translators' use of L2 collocations through the comparison of comparable corpora, where one of the corpora involves natural language produced by native speakers and the other involves translational language produced by translators. This perspective looks

<sup>9</sup> See for example Ellis (2001) and Wray (2002).

at overall frequencies and collocation types, taking into account the general proportions of collocation use by employing authentic language data from the comparable corpora. This perspective also reflects the so-called 'dual mode' system which advocates that the preponderance of language use lies in "the open-choice principle" and "the idiom principle",<sup>10</sup> or that the alternation in language use reconciles between "holistic" and "analytical" systems,<sup>11</sup> because it uncovers the mechanism of how collocations are learnt based on the comparison between L2 translators and native speakers.

In this sense, evaluating the proposed conceptual framework from a quantitative perspective will shed some light on the assessment of the existing models of collocation learning. A number of researchers, such as Ellis (2001), believe that collocation learning relies heavily on language users' memory system, in which language data is processed into chunks or formulaic sequences, rather than individual words, to convey meanings. According to Ellis, this chunking mechanism does not merely hold true for L1 acquisition but also works with L2 acquisition, that is, all language learners adopt a "formulaic approach" to learn collocations. In stark contrast, some other researchers, such as Wray (2002), argue that L2 learners (especially translators in this study) basically adopt a 'non-formulaic' approach, which is quite different from L1 learners' memory-based approach. L2 learners tend to ignore collocations when they see or hear them; rather, they are more inclined to 'notice' individual words than recognise formulaic sequences or memorise them as wholes. As such, L2 learners can hardly 'capture' any information about the lexical co-occurrence and the intrinsic relationship between the words to which they are exposed. As a result, L2 learners normally do not retain any information about collocations. With regard to this type of discrepancy, the conceptual framework in this study can provide convincing evidence to re-assess the validity of these two models (i.e. Ellis' model and Wray's model) through the comparison between the corpora of natural and translational texts. In addition, evaluation from a quantitative perspective can also provide researchers with an opportunity to observe translation universals. Statistical results can show how and to what extent translational language is made explicit, simplified and normalised regarding the use of collocations. Such statistical results would make researchers recognise the recurring problems that translators are confronted with, and would motivate researchers to elaborate reasonable pedagogical strategies to solve these problems in translator training. Furthermore, the theoretical knowledge of collocation learning through this conceptual framework would also benefit translators when they try to master their L2 production and facilitate their 'code-switching' work.

This conceptual framework also indicates that collocation from a formal perspective concerns largely the relationship between lexicon and syntax. This

<sup>10</sup> See Sinclair (1991) for more details.

<sup>11</sup> See Wray, Alison and Michael R. Perkins. "The Functions of Formulaic Language: All Integrated Model." *Language and Communication* 20 (2000): 1-28.

means that a certain meaning must be carried by a certain kind of grammatical form that determines the combination of words. Researchers in this area need to consider this syntactical relation because collocations are assigned formal properties and forms impose grammatical restrictions on the formation of collocations. Hence, in a strict sense, collocation is referred to as the restricted word combinations within a particular grammatical structure. Sinclair stresses that “there is a close relation between the different senses of a word and the structures in which it occurs” (53). This is also echoed by Hoey’s concept of “lexical priming”, in which he claims that lexical priming can be discovered at all levels of language, stating that “every word is mentally primed for collocational use” (8).<sup>12</sup> Put another way, words do not function alone; they always bring the co-occurrence of their collocates to mind. In Hoey’s view, all of these result largely from the way they are “acquired through encounters ... in speech and writing” (8). In particular, Hoey emphasises that words are primed to co-occur with other words to favour or avoid particular grammatical associations (43). He has examined lexico-syntactical co-selection under the heading “colligation”, which represents a category of collocations or collocational types, such as noun + verb, noun + noun and verb + noun. In Hoey’s case study on *consequence*, he finds that this word is primed to occur as an adjunct<sup>13</sup> or complement, and does not normally occur as an object (46). It should be noted here that complement in Hoey’s viewpoint is different from object and is referred to as “having the same referent as Subject” and it normally comes after some link verbs, such as “be”, “become” and “seem” (45).<sup>14</sup> In this account, syntax is thus one of the factors influencing the formation of collocations. Examining collocations from the formal perspective requires a phraseological approach, with which a number of researchers have already provided detailed analyses.<sup>15</sup>

What this perspective brings to TS is that translators can utilise these theoretical findings when they formulate their knowledge of L2 collocations. This means that these findings from theoretical research will help translators construct a solid knowledge system of how to use their L2 collocations appropriately, or align some colligation patterns directly into translation memory when they employ translation software tools (e.g. SDL Trados) in practice. For instance, Yang has summarised 12 categories of colligations most commonly employed in language research, namely, N+N (e.g. *opinion poll*), ADJ+N (e.g. *intuitive evidence*), N+PREP (e.g. *argument against*), N+PREP+N (e.g. *investigation into collocation*), V+N (e.g. *perform a function*), V+ADV (e.g. *respond promptly*), ADV+V (e.g. *seriously affect*), V+PREP (e.g. *apply to*), ADV+ADJ (e.g. *densely*

<sup>12</sup> See Hoey, Michael. *Lexical Priming: A New Theory of Words and Language*. London: Routledge, 2005.

<sup>13</sup> Such as *as a consequence* and *in consequence*.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. *These are the consequences of vandalism* [Complement].

<sup>15</sup> See for example Nesselhauf, Nadja. *Collocations in a Learner Corpus*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2005.

populated), PREP+N (e.g. *in time*), N+V (e.g. *study demonstrates*) and phrasal verbs (e.g. *kick off*).<sup>16</sup> Therefore, translators can have a strong indication about how, and to what extent, native speakers use their collocations. In particular, in a specific colligation pattern, translators can have more opportunities to be exposed to a large variety of L2 collocations, through which translators will see clearly their own weakness and awkwardness in using L2 collocations. Furthermore, the proportion between different colligation patterns in natural language can also help L2 learners and translators recognise the flexibility of transferring language data across different colligation patterns. Once these points are achieved, translators will, to a great extent, lower the probability of deviating from natural use of collocations in their L2.

Furthermore, some studies in the last two decades have shown that a collocation serves as an extended unit of meaning.<sup>17</sup> This indicates, on the one hand, that individual words do not always correspond to the primary units of meaning. On the other hand, the variety of the senses of a word allows for a valid grammatical or syntactical relationship with the different words it collocates with. In this sense, researching collocations from a semantic perspective mainly looks at the “close relationship between the different senses of a word and the structures in which it occurs” (Sinclair 53). In other words, recognising the semantic features of collocations and establishing the association between lexical patterns and meanings have become the primary tasks in this type of research.

In terms of semantic analysis, a lexical-grammatical approach is normally adopted and is seen to be prevalent in some relevant studies.<sup>18</sup> Stubbs proposes two strategies, namely, “from n-grams to content” and “from lexis to co-text” for semantic analysis. With the former strategy, i.e. “from n-gram to content”,<sup>19</sup> researchers are able to examine the semantic features of a particular collocation or formulaic pattern and explain further the distribution of the major senses of this word string by employing comparable corpora. For instance, Stubbs uncovers that “the most frequent 4-grams in the BNC [British National Corpus] are the beginnings of prepositional phrases (e.g. *in the middle of, as a result of*), [and] that their lexis falls into a small number of semantic sets (mainly spatial, temporal and causal)” (6). With the other strategy, i.e. “from lexis to co-text”,<sup>20</sup> researchers can investigate how the patterns of meanings are realised through collocations or formulaic patterns in comparable corpora.

<sup>16</sup> See Yang, Huizhong. *An Introduction to Corpus Linguistics*. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press, 2002.

<sup>17</sup> See for example Hunston, Susan and Gill Francis. *Pattern Grammar: A Corpus-driven Approach to the Lexical Grammar of English*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000; Stubbs, Michael. *Words and Phrases: Corpus Studies of Lexical Semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

<sup>18</sup> See for example Stubbs, Michael. “The Most Natural Thing in the World: Quantitative Data on Multi-Word Sequences In English.” Conference Presentation at *Phraseology 2005*. Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, 2005.

<sup>19</sup> See Stubbs (2005).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

Therefore, the semantic analysis in the conceptual framework of collocation provides researchers with more opportunities to generalise the features of collocation patterns in a learner (especially translator in this study) corpus. This will also provide L2 learners and translators with convincing evidence of how their use of L2 collocations deviates from that of native speakers. For instance, with the “from n-grams to content” strategy, Deng focuses on the formulaic pattern *the+N<sub>1</sub>+of+N<sub>2</sub>*<sup>21</sup> and has found that the typical collocates of this pattern in the Chinese Advanced Learner Corpus (CALC) only convey six meanings as opposed to seven meanings in a sampling of the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE).<sup>22</sup> Using the “from lexis to co-text” strategy, Deng has discovered that Chinese advanced EFL learners are heavily dependent on the literal meanings in L2 communications, whilst native speakers of English are more inclined to employ delexicalised meanings for pragmatic functions.<sup>23</sup> Such findings indicate that translators, as a special group of L2 learners, are inevitably confronted with similar problems and they should develop strategies to make up for these shortcomings in their translation practice. For instance, through a semantic analysis, translators can realise whether they keep ‘balanced’ proportion between the literal sense and the extended sense when they use L2 collocations. If they under-use the extended sense and over-rely on the literal sense, this means that, on the one hand, they have not mastered appropriate knowledge about their L2 collocations; on the other hand, they have not been exposed to an adequate L2 collocation variety in context. In this respect, the analysis regarding the semantic features of collocations can bring translators authentic rather than intuitive results, which can, in turn, give them a general idea about how to improve themselves to bridge the “gap” with native speakers.

Apart from the perspectives above, some researchers also propose that collocations are strongly related to communicative situations.<sup>24</sup> According to Nattinger and DeCarrico, collocations (or “lexical phrases” in their words) are assigned “functional meanings” and can be referred to as form-function composites (11), so collocations are not only syntactically structured but also capable of “performing pragmatic acts” (ibid). They believe that collocations serve as basic forms for “speech acts” such as promising, complimenting, asserting, and so on (ibid). The hypothesis of Fillmore et al., where a collocation is “a repertory of clusters of information including, simultaneously, morphosyntactic patterns, semantic interpretation principles...and, in many cases, specific pragmatic functions” (Fillmore, Kay and O’Connor 535), echoes this point.

<sup>21</sup> Abbreviated as TN1ON2, e.g. *the amount of energy and the number of species*.

<sup>22</sup> See Deng, Yaochen. *An Investigation into Formulaic Sequences in Chinese EFL Learners’ Spoken English*. PhD thesis, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, 2007.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> See for example Nattinger, James R. and Jeanette S. DeCarrico. *Lexical Phrases and Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

With the aid of data retrieved from comparable corpora, studies from this perspective can demonstrate the distribution patterns of overall functional categories of collocations, such as referential function, interactional/interpersonal function and discourse function. In addition, it can also help exhibit the functions the collocations perform in a translational corpus and assist to generalise the distinctive features derived from translators' use of collocations. In TS, this means a functional analysis from theoretical research can provide convincing evidence to examine whether L2 translators are producing appropriate words or word combinations 'in the right place' when they are practising translation. For instance, Deng has found that Chinese EFL learners tend to over-produce some particular collocations that are assigned the discourse organising function in spoken language, such as *for example, at first, according to, in fact, generally speaking, on the other hand, in that case* and so forth.<sup>25</sup> Such collocations are mostly academic and are more likely to appear in written language. However, Chinese learners employ them in their spoken language, which, according to Deng, "undoubtedly created an impression of detachment and formality" (198). Therefore, such findings indicate that when translators intend to use a L2 collocation, they need to know not only 'what to use' but also 'how to use', 'why to use' and 'where to use'. Only in this way can they essentially construct a solid system of L2 collocation knowledge and avoid these so-called 'language markers' in their L2 operations. In this respect, a functional analysis is vitally important when researchers look at the features of translational language.

#### *Concluding remarks*

In summary, this article has attempted to sketch a picture of the important roles that collocation plays during the whole process of translation. To translators, the accurate use of L2 collocations will not merely determine the smooth formation of translation units which they employ in the natural rendition of the target language, but also help them reduce, or even avoid, translation universals in their translation practice. In this sense, knowing the mechanism of how collocations operate in language code switching, as well as how the properties of collocations can be recognised, will increase translators' bilingual skills and enable them to construct a consolidated knowledge system, in which they will find it much easier to produce language formulae. This will, in turn, benefit them by increasing language proficiency in their L2 acquisition and appropriate use, thus helping facilitate their future translations.

<sup>25</sup> See Deng (2007) for more details.

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## 9. WHEN LITERATURE MEETS LINGUISTICS: THE STUDY OF LOANWORDS IN SPANISH “GENERATION X” NOVELS

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This paper offers an intersection of two areas of research: one is the examination and classification of linguistic borrowing; another is narrative techniques of the Spanish “Generation X” fiction in the cultural and social context of Spain of the 1990s. The present work intends to merge these two substantially different areas in order to analyze examples of Spanish loanwords taken from the vocabulary of some “Generation X” novels and to discuss them in a linguistic and social-cultural framework. The first part will introduce some theoretical concepts related to linguistic borrowing; the second will present the main characteristics of Spanish “Generation X” fiction and will examine specific examples from three novels.

A language is a living organism and is always in a process of development. One of the most common ways to renew the lexicon is to import words from a donor language and incorporate them into a recipient language. This process is called “lexical borrowing”. There are two basic strategies for linguistic borrowing: adaptation and adoption. Loanwords are those that have been adapted, or assimilated phonetically and/or orthographically into the new language. In contrast, words that have been adopted or have not been assimilated are defined as “foreign words”. This distinction goes back to the nineteenth-century opposition proposed by German scholars (Bussmann 169; Gómez Capuz 2004: 87).

In the case of the Spanish language, the official institution responsible for regulating this distinction is *La Real Academia Española*, the Royal Spanish Academy. In its most famous publication, *el Diccionario de la lengua española*, the most authoritative dictionary of the Spanish language, whether the linguistic item has been adapted to Spanish or not is always indicated. For example, for the foreign words *gentleman* (Voz inglesa<sup>1</sup>) and *gourmet* (Voz francesa<sup>2</sup>), the Dictionary indicates that they are English or French words and they are given in italics. In the case of loanwords, the Dictionary treats them in a different way, giving them in regular type and indicating their origin: *béisbol* (Del inglés<sup>3</sup> baseball), *bulevar* (Del francés<sup>4</sup> boulevard).

However, linguists commonly agree that the distinction between loanwords and foreign words is questionable. (Gómez Capuz 2004: 87). Very often, the

<sup>1</sup> English word

<sup>2</sup> French word

<sup>3</sup> From English

<sup>4</sup> From French

term “loanword” is used in a broader sense (Bussmann 287), and for the purpose of this study, we will do the same, using the term “loanword” for any borrowed linguistic item.

There are many aspects to the study of linguistic borrowing. One of the most important is the classification of loanwords, to which there are usually two main approaches. One of them focuses on the study of the characteristics that are included within the realm of language, and for this approach the linguists use the term “intra-linguistic”; on the contrary, “extra-linguistic” refers to something that does not belong to the language as a system. An example of extra-linguistic classification is a grouping according to the language of origin or according to semantic fields, which we will see in the second part of this paper through examples from novels.

To classify loanwords according to their internal linguistic characteristics, we need to remember the concept of the linguistic sign (Fig. 1). Every unit of language, beginning from the morpheme, is bilateral and can be seen as the union of a physical form, a signifier, and a meaning – a concept –, which is a signified. Generally, the relationship between the aspects of a sign is an arbitrary one (Piñeros 5). Which aspect of the linguistic sign is borrowed, and how, determines the class of loan words.

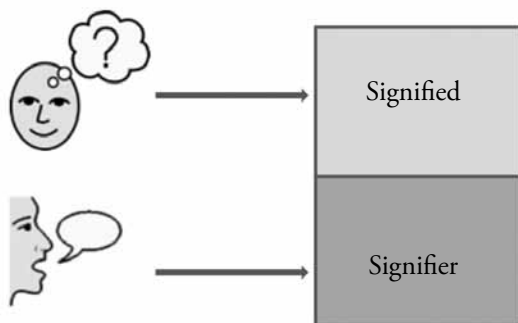


Fig. 1 The linguistic sign.

The most common and extensive category of loanwords is produced when both the signifier and the signified are being imported. Linguists refer to such borrowings as “integral” loanwords (Gómez Capuz 1997: 53), where the imported linguistic items can be simply adopted (Fig. 2) or adapted to the system of language (Fig.3).

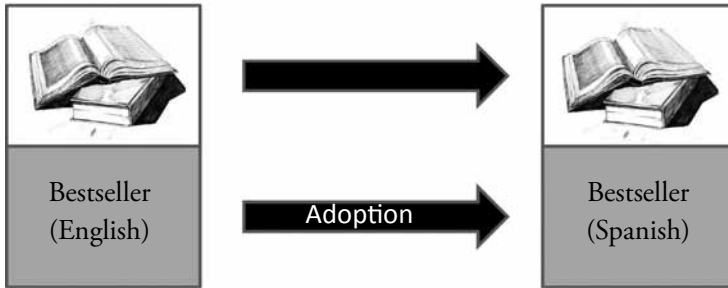


Fig. 2 Integral loanwords, adoption.

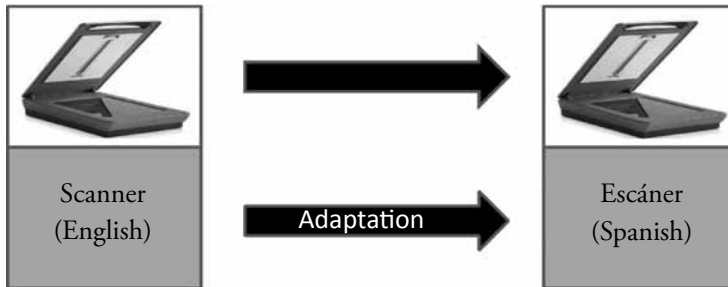


Fig. 3 Integral loanwords, adaptation.

Substitution occurs when compound words or expressions are being borrowed; it occurs by means of the literal translation of each element of a compound word. This type of lexical borrowing is called loan translation (Gómez Capuz 2004: 53; 1997: 88), for example the Spanish *rascacielos* is a loan translation from English “skyscraper” (*rascar* means “to scrape”, *cielo* means “sky”) (Fig. 4).

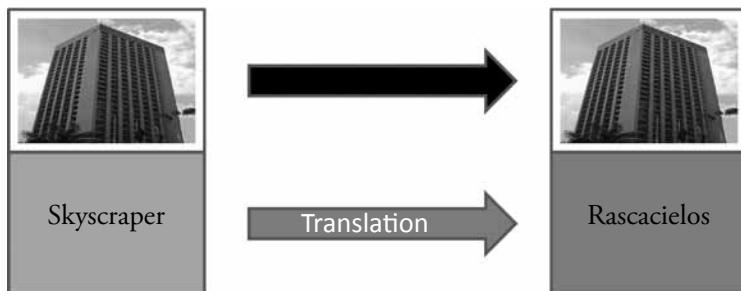


Fig. 4 A loan translation, substitution.

A process of partial substitution occurs in so-called loan blends. This type of loan combines importation and substitution (Gómez Capuz 1997: 88). For example, in the Spanish *boxeador*, the stem is borrowed integrally and the suffix is translated (Fig. 5).

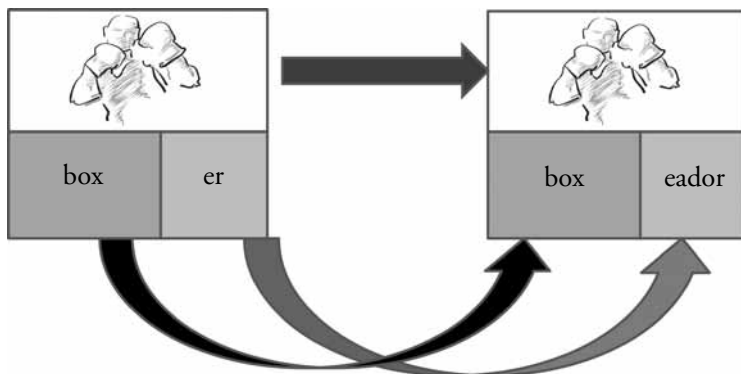


Fig. 5 Loan blends, partial substitution.

When only a signified participates in a process of borrowing, in other words, an existing item in a recipient language takes over a semantic meaning from an equivalent item from a donor language, linguists call it semantic borrowing (Gómez Capuz 1997: 86). And here there are two main groups:

The first one is a pure loan concept. The classic example of this in Spanish is the word *ratón* which initially meant “mouse”, a small rodent, and which also acquired a new meaning as a “small hand-held device that moves the cursor on a computer screen” (Gómez Capuz 2004: 50-51) (Fig. 6).

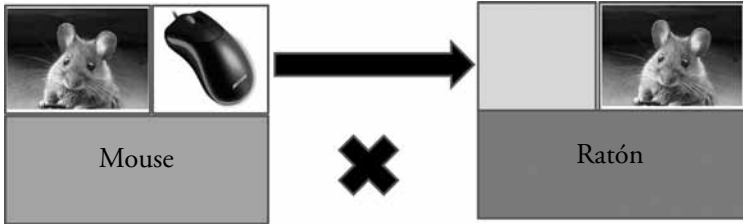


Fig. 6 Semantic borrowing, loan concept.

The second situation, loan shift, occurs when a formal similarity between two signifiers in donor and recipient languages exists, which facilitates semantic transfer. For example, in Spanish the word *villano* initially meant a rustic person, a peasant. But under the semantic influence of the English word “villain”, *villano* is now used to designate the bad character in a film or in a play (Gómez Capuz 1997: 46-50) (Fig. 7).

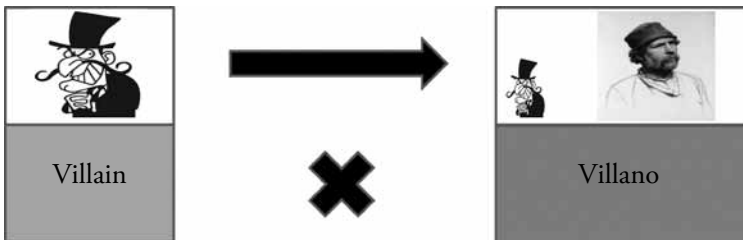


Fig. 7 Semantic borrowing, loan shift.

## *The European Connection*

Spanish can be faced with the problem of how to fit borrowed items into its own linguistic systems, therefore another important aspect of the study of loanwords is the examination of the ways and mechanisms of linguistic adaptation into the systems of the recipient language. Adaptation can be phonological, orthographical or morphological, or combine various types.

The attitude of the Royal Academy seems to obey a firm policy: to adapt the spelling to the actual pronunciation of Spanish (Guerrero Ramos 38). However, sometimes the original pronunciation and spelling do not contradict Spanish phonetics and orthography, and the Royal Academy keeps their original pronunciation and spelling:

*el bar* (from Eng.), *el comité* (from Fr.), *la sauna* (from Fin.), *la taiga* (from Rus.).

In addition, the Academy accepts some items of wide international use in their original form, although their spelling is quite strange for the Spanish orthographic system:

*el software* (from Eng.), *el ballet* (from Fr. ), *la pizza* (from It.).

In this case, their pronunciation in Spanish depends on the degree of familiarity its speakers have with the donor language (Castillo Fadic 484; Stranzy 621).

In some cases, Spanish keeps the original spelling but adapts the pronunciation, and, if necessary, indicates the stress with a tilde:

<i>quiche</i> (from French ['kish])	pronounced	['ki.che],
<i>airbag</i> (from English ['ɛə.bæɡ])		[aĩr. 'bag],
<i>master</i> ['mɑːstə]	with tilde <i>máster</i>	['mástɛr].

In some cases, Spanish imitates the original pronunciation as far as possible but adapts the spelling, replacing unusual letters and letter combination, for example:

*fútbol* from football (Eng.), *cruasán* from croissant (Fr.).

Recently, there has also been a tendency to retain the spelling, so sometimes both forms coexist: *güisqui/whisky*, *folcllore/folcllore* (Rodríguez González 117).

In many cases, these strategies do not have satisfactory results, and Spanish must first adjust the pronunciation according to phonological norms and then

fix these changes in orthography as well (Pratt 142). For example, since Spanish does not tolerate clusters with an initial *s-*, the solution is generally the insertion of a prosthetic “e-” (Rodríguez-González 114):

scanner [ˈska.nə] →	<i>escáner</i> [es.ˈka.nɛr];
slogan [ˈsləo.ɡən] →	<i>eslogan</i> [es.ˈlo.ɣan].

Some consonants in Spanish do not occur in the final syllabic position and consonant clusters are also often simplified:

standard → <i>estándar</i> ,	roastbeef → <i>rosbif</i> .
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Also, it is necessary to remember that besides phonological and orthographical changes, morphological adaptation is also required. For example, when a noun is borrowed into Spanish it is necessary to assign it a grammatical gender (Strazny 621; Zamora Munné 424). Usually, loanwords receive masculine gender: nylon → *nailon* (m), bingo → *bingo* (m). But sometimes Spanish assigns them the feminine gender, which is based on a word’s original morphology, because generally in Spanish nouns ending with *-a* are of feminine gender: bazooka (Eng) → *bazuca* (f), opera (It) → *ópera* (f).

Now, having equipped ourselves with linguistic knowledge, it is time to move from linguistics to literature. What is Spanish Generation X fiction?

In 1991 Canadian novelist Douglas Coupland published his first novel *Generation X: Tales for an Accelerated Culture*, which has become a landmark of a generation. The term “Generation X” has been adopted by the media to describe those born during 1960s-1970s and has been, and still is, used worldwide (Fouz-Hernández 83). In Spanish literature Generation X is a designation that has been used to describe Spanish novelists who were born between 1960 and 1970 and who published their first novels in the last decade of the twentieth-century. They write within a transnational context and locate their subjects and their narratives in the so-called free market economy, consumer culture, and the media environment (Henseler 9; Odartey-Wellington; Song 198).

These writers belong to the generation whose early childhood coincides with the so-called *desarrollismo* period of 1960 to 1975, which effectively moved Spain into a modern society before the death of Franco. They matured after the death of Franco in 1975, in the years of Transition<sup>5</sup> to democracy, which was a time of change, not only in politics but also in society as a whole. Spanish culture was revolutionized by access to previously taboo topics, such as sex and drugs, as well as by unprecedented contact with the outside world. The Transition was a time of expansion beyond national parameters, when technology and the new, global

<sup>5</sup> The Transition is a term for the historical period in Spain between 1975 and 1982/1986.

economy brought rapid change across the developed world, of which Spain was now part (Fouz-Hernández 84; Henseler 10; Song 198; Urioste 457).

The Spanish Socialist government from 1982 to 1996 implemented a vigorous programme of economic reforms. Spain's entering into the European Union in 1986 demanded an opening of its economic borders, an increase in foreign investments, and a move toward industrial modernization. The year 1992 was a glorious year in contemporary Spanish history. It marked the *quinto centenario*, the 500-year anniversary of the Columbus voyage, the Barcelona Olympic Games, the year in which Madrid was hailed as "The European city of Culture", and the year when the World Expo took place in Seville (Henseler 11). The socio-political atmosphere that followed in the 1990s was marked by political scandals, economic recession and subsequent unemployment. Spanish youth of the 1990s experienced profound pessimism as a result of a rapid and drastic decline in socio-political circumstances. This generation demonstrated a cynical lack of interest in work and politics, did not embrace any ideals, and, due to lack of ambition combined with a feeling of impotence, many of the youth of those years turned to the violent and self-destructive counterculture that was available for them (Bourland Ross 155; Fouz-Hernández 84).

In this context, Spanish "Generation X" fiction came to be seen as a reflection of the tastes of disenchanted Spanish youth. Some critics catalogued these authors as "neorealists", as their fiction shares some common narrative characteristics. These authors often use first-person narrative or an autobiographical tone in combination with quite a simple plot, along with detailed descriptions of everyday life and an abundance of dialogue. Their style is notable for the orality that allows them to capture the immediacy of youth communication, with an extensive use of slang, swearwords and loanwords (Dorca 314; Gullón 31-32; Urioste 458).

For this study, I have been selected three novels, which are representative in terms of "Generation X" fiction and which display a broad vocabulary of loanwords. All the novels are set in the Madrid of the 1990s and portray protagonists who are twenty-something urban consumers.

José Ángel Mañas's (1971-) *Historias del Kronen* (1994) (Stories from the Kronen) is considered one of the most emblematic examples of Spanish Generation X fiction, and chronicles the summer activities of a protagonist, Carlos, and his friend, who spend most of their time in bars and are trapped in a cesspool of drugs, sex, and senseless violence (Odartey-Wellington 24).

Gabriela Bustelo's (1962-) *Veo veo* (1996) (I spy...) is a detective story that is organised around the present-day nightclub scene in Madrid. Its protagonist Vania is obsessed with the idea that she is under constant surveillance, and she also looks to sex, drugs, and contemporary popular culture for stimulation and significance (Odartey-Wellington 24).



Lucía Etxebarria's (1966-) *Amor, curiosidad, prozac y dudas* (1997) (Love, curiosity, Prozac and doubts) examines the lives of three sisters, of which the youngest, Cristina, exhibits characteristics typically identified with Generation X, such as her immersion in popular culture, her early experimentation with sex and drugs, and her pragmatic view of life (Bourland Ross 153).

Now let us consider how the novels reflect the reality of the Spanish social and cultural context, and how it is manifested in their vocabulary of loanwords, which will be systemized according to their semantic fields.

As mentioned above, the 1990s in Spain were accompanied by a boom in audio-visual culture, thanks to huge advances in technology, mass media, and an increasingly materialistic consumer society. All the novels are almost encyclopaedic lists of current films, actors, directors, marketing icons, designers and recent popular music, which are reflected in their vocabulary. Their plots unfold to panoramas of musical references that largely point towards American and British pop music and cinema.

Various groups and artists of different genres and styles – rock and pop, or electronic dance music – are mentioned in the novels: the Rolling Stones, Jimi Hendrix, Jim Morrison, The Sex Pistols, Iggy Pop, David Bowie, Michael Jackson, Madonna, Whitney Houston and, probably most importantly, Nirvana and its leader, heroin-addict grunge-rock star Kurt Cobain, who himself was an embodiment of the apathetic Generation mentality and whose death in 1994 affected grunge-rock fans worldwide and perhaps caused the migration towards the techno musical style (Bourland Ross 153).

We find in the vocabulary of the novels, among the imported terms for all the imported styles and other words related to music, different classes of loanwords:

- not adapted: *el walkman, el play, el stop, el rock*.
- adapted phonetically with original spelling:

el trance [ˈtraŋ.θe] (comparing with English “trance” [tra:ns]),  
el funk [fuŋk] (from English “funk” [fʌŋk]),  
la rave [ˈra.βe] (from English “rave” [reiv]),  
el flash [ˈflas] (from English “flash” [flæʃ]);

- adapted phonetically and orthographically: *el baffle* [baffle], *el jarcotezno* [hardcore techno];
- loanblend: *el rockero* [rocker].

Loanword *la rave* is an example of the allocation of gender, based on semantic criteria. *La rave* receives the feminine gender, probably because “rave” implies “a dance” or “a party”, and equivalents in Spanish of dance (*la baile or la danza*) or party (*la juerga or la fiesta*) are feminine nouns.

## *The European Connection*

The many cinematographic references are predominately to American cinema. Carlos and his friend from *Historias* are obsessed with Kubrik's violent work *A Clockwork Orange*, the thriller *The Silence of the Lambs* and the crime drama *Drugstore Cowbo*; they are also fascinated with porn. Normally, they do not tolerate books, except Easton Ellis's *American Psycho* with its graphic violence and sexual content. Vania from *Veo veo* often mentions the sex-symbol of the 90s, Mickey Rourke, and erotic dramas in which he stars, *9½ Weeks* and *Wild Orchid*. Furthermore, Cristina from *Amor* also mentions other sex-symbols of that time: Richard Gere, Bruce Lee, Matt Dillon, also she refers to Quentin Tarantino, his *Pulp Fiction* and many others. Here there are some examples of the loanwords related to cinema and video:

el gore puro	[the pure gore]
los esnafmuvis	[snuff movies]
rewind la escena	[rewind scene]

Naturally enough, under the influence of American cinema, the protagonists of the novels, like many Spanish youth, like to incorporate aspects of American culture into their life and implant a lot of Anglicisms in their vocabulary, trying to speak “*como en Yanquilandia*” (like in Yankeeland). The protagonists of the studied novels use in their vocabulary:

- some simple phrases: *olrait*, *okei*, *hola beibi* (all right, okay, hi baby);
- descriptions: *muy grunge* (very grunge), *muy trendy* (very trendy), *muy cool* (very cool), *totalmente out* (totally out), *sobre todo sexy* (mainly sexy), *la gente biutiful* (beautiful people), *niu luk* (new look);
- and some related to business: *de alto standing* (of high standing), *el broker* (broker), *el marketin* (marketing), *los yupis* (yuppies).

Early and frequent drug use is considered a characteristic of Generation X. The Socialist government legalized the consumption of narcotics in 1983, but nine years later, the public consumption of drugs was made illegal again. By 1990, around 900,000 Spanish people admitted to having tried cocaine and 75,000 were addicted to the drug. By 1993, these figures had multiplied by more than four and eight, respectively, an increase helped by the fact that Spain lies on the main European routes of both marijuana (from Morocco) and cocaine (from Colombia). Also this alarming rise in the figures reflects in some measure Spain's rapid economic and social change and its attempts to cope with the dizzying speed of such change (Bourland Ross 155; Fouz-Hernández 84).

The use of drugs is an integral part of the plot of the novels and of the life of their protagonists, and correspondingly is an integral part of their vocabulary. In

the novels, we find an extensive list of terms related to drugs, and many of them are borrowed items:

*ella yonqui* (junkie); *la sobredosis* (overdose); *el espidbol* (speedball) (mixture of cocaine and heroin); *el jachís* (hashish); *el éxtasis* (ecstasy); *la anfetamina* (amphetamine); *la codeína* [codeine]; *la cocaína* (cocaine); *la heroína* (heroin); *el caballo* (heroin). The word *caballo*, which literary means “horse”, is a good example of semantic borrowing because in English drug slang “horse” means “heroin” and Spanish borrowed this meaning as well.

In 1985, the Spanish government took on a bold and broad initiative to promote scientific and technological growth and modernization. With the national plan of technological development, the government succeeded in attracting large electronic companies. The results were spectacular: they led to a doubling of scientific output from 1982 to 1990, and in 1992 Spain became the seventh-largest market in the world for electronics (Henseler 13). Naturally enough, another source of loanwords is found in the field of technology:

*el hardware*, *el disco duro* (hard disk), *el microprocesador* (microprocessor), *la memoria RAM* (RAM memory), *la interfaz* (interface); *el slot de 16 bits*, *el driver*, *los transistores*, *el compact*.

Having studied the basic theoretical concepts related to linguistic borrowing and the social and cultural context of the 1990s in Spain, we have had the opportunity to examine the vocabulary of Spanish “Generation X” novels in both linguistic and social-cultural frameworks. As we have seen, loanwords taken from Spanish “Generation X” fiction represent almost all groups of the intralinguistic classification of loanwords, which proves that here the employment of them is not an isolated case, but a recurrent part of their vocabulary. In turn, vocabulary is an integral part of language, and the language of any literary work itself is a literary device. Therefore, we can conclude that loanwords in Spanish “Generation X” fiction may be considered as one of the literary techniques that create the stylistic particularity of this fiction.

In Spanish “Generation X” fiction, which is considered a reflection of the Spanish youth of the 1990s, the characters of the novels are constructed mostly through dialogues and first person narration, and extensive use of loanwords conveys the disposition of the protagonists towards foreign culture, especially American and British, since the majority of loanwords in the novels are Anglicisms. Moreover, loanwords taken from Spanish “Generation X” fiction represent a broad selection of semantic fields: music, cinema, technology and

drugs. This reflects the tastes of characters, which in turn reflect the social and cultural context of the 1990s.

The examination of loanwords in Spanish “Generation X” novels from various standpoints thus reveals interconnections between different aspects of language in literature and linguistics; it also gives the scholar the opportunity to explore literary texts more completely with linguistic tools and to extract lexical material from literature for linguistic studies.

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## 10. THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE TO CITIZENSHIP: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SHAWI NATION IN PERU AND MAPUCHE PEOPLE IN CHILE

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### *Abstract*

Part of the struggle for equal rights that Latin American indigenous people are currently facing includes the demand for an intercultural bilingual education that would recognise difference and cultural diversity. To achieve this, indigenous people's right to an intercultural education needs to be respected, and fully incorporated into national development policies and practices. However, the neoliberal influence on development policies aiming to produce citizens to serve an economic model, has excluded indigenous knowledge in some Latin American countries. Thereby, multiculturalism has dominated within these governments, controlling language education policies in order to prioritise economic development under neoliberal principles over indigenous rights. This situation has marginalised indigenous people from development processes, reinforcing their historical oppression. This paper explores the space between being considered an equal citizen and the right to be indigenous at the same time in Chile and Peru, two Spanish-speaking Latin American countries. The relevance of indigenous people's native language and its direct link to the preservation of their culture, worldview, and sense of self and identity will be discussed. We argue that a mutual learning is possible between cultures; nevertheless, the uses of inclusive notions of development are necessary in order to effectively address indigenous people's cultural claims.

### *Introduction*

The arrival of European conquerors to the Americas represents an incontestable milestone for both Amerindians and foreigners. Spaniards and Portuguese introduced a completely different way of perceiving the world into the new continent, which was mixed with local cultures, and later with

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African and Asian practices in those places where slaves and forced labour were introduced (Keen and Hayes). The encounter between the two worlds has been a distinct experience, due to the European cultural imposition and the resistance of Amerindians. Across 500 years, the European and the Amerindian embarked on a never-ending redefinition process, which has had socio-cultural and economic implications for Latin American countries and its people. Social transformations driven by Eurocentric standards have reciprocally shaped the identities of indigenous peoples and Latin American states, leading to the marginalisation of indigenous culture and people (Jackson and Warren).

This paper explores the space between being considered an equal citizen and the right to be indigenous at the same time in Chile and Peru, two Spanish-speaking countries. Both the Mapuche experience in Chile and the Amazonian Peruvian (taking the Shawi as a case study) will be outlined, to better understand national dynamics that influence processes of self-identification of the Chileans/Peruvians and the Mapuche/Shawi which are reflected in multicultural education policies. According to international standards, intercultural education is a proposal of dialogues among cultures towards their reciprocal complementation (López). It fosters mutual learning between cultures, based on recognition and respect for different understandings, as a means to foster positive social change (Riedemann). The relevance of intercultural education for indigenous people's native language and its direct link to the preservation of their culture, worldview, and sense of self and identity will be discussed. We argue that a mutual learning is possible between cultures; nevertheless, the use of inclusive notions of development is necessary in order to effectively address indigenous people's cultural claims.

## *Latin American (R)evolution*

The relationship between Indigenous Peoples and Latin American states converges in the struggle the former have gone through to be recognised as citizens. This struggle has been on-going since the arrival of the European conquerors during the sixteenth-century. Spanish and Portuguese conquerors introduced new political and socio-economic systems, which rearranged the existing structures by which indigenous peoples were previously organised (Keen and Hayes). The new structure brought a new understanding of difference and otherness into Latin America, which were driven by a Eurocentric stance putting indigenous peoples in a disadvantaged position compared to that of the 'foreigners'.<sup>1</sup> Local indigenous peoples were identified as underdeveloped

<sup>1</sup> It has to be said that the worst position in this new order was that of African slaves, which constitutes one of the differences within Latin American countries, as slavery did not exist in every country of the continent. Peru was one of the Latin American countries in which African slaves were introduced, generating another excluded minority from the Peruvian society. Benjamin Keen and Keith Hayes, *A History of Latin America*, 8th ed. (Belmont: Wadsworth, c2009).



individuals who had to be 'educated' by modern Europeans in order to become civilised (Restall and Lane), an idea that, as we will see, persists today in some parts of Latin America. The new order that European conquerors established forced indigenous peoples to enter a process of re-definition, being identified as farmers (*campesinos*) by Europeans and their descendants especially in the Andean region (Schwittay; Van Cott).

Independence movements within Latin American countries were, in general terms, led by *mestizos*, or Spanish creoles, who wanted to build one sole country, in one territory, and with one language (Boccara and Seguel-Boccara). Hence, as soon as independence was achieved, the new Latin American governments implemented assimilationist policies, which aimed to integrate ethnic groups into *mestizo* culture. Thereby, unilingual education became one of the strategies to erase ethnic features from Latin American societies, imposing Spanish as the only official language (Hornberger).

Assimilationist policies enabled the establishment of a social structure articulated by dominating social groups that aimed to maintain land owners' political and economic control, as well as the social supremacy of their families. Under the 'campesino' identity, indigenous peoples were vastly impoverished, due to their lack of land ownership, and limited access to resources (Montecino; Van Cott). However, the farmer identity enabled indigenous peoples to remain on the land where they belonged and to work the land as they used to for their self-maintenance. This trend facilitated the claims indigenous communities were making to local and national governments. Based on their identity of first inhabitants, important concessions were granted by some Latin American states for legal recognition of indigenous peoples, to gain land restitution later in history (Boccara and Seguel-Boccara; Schwittay).

Assimilationist policies and unilingual education prevailed in Latin America until the 1970s. By this time, indigenous movements started to get better organised and began to claim to their governments for the recognition of their rights. Thereby, by the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s, indigenous rights based on difference started to be recognised among Latin America. Indigenous claims were fruitful due to the convergence of several factors affecting Latin American countries. First, international development agencies, such as the United Nations and the World Bank, fostered democratisation processes within Latin America, which included the recognition of indigenous rights based on difference (Chang; de la Peña). Closely linked to democratisation processes, international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) were involved in advocacy activities, organisational training, and financial support to Latin American social movements, such as those of indigenous peoples.

Indigenous movements, INGOs, and international development and financial organisations put pressure on Latin American governments, at

different levels, to recognise indigenous rights. Human rights treaties, such as the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, and the ILO Convention 169 were signed and implemented in different degrees within Latin American states. However, alongside the adoption of human rights international treaties, the neoliberal economic ideology was imposed within the region, fostering economic liberalization and decentralisation towards economic development. As part of this process, Latin American governments were forced to sign bilateral and multilateral economic agreements, opening their markets to international investment (Briones; Jackson and Warren). The convergence of these factors led to the implementation of multiculturalism, which delivered complex implications to the notion of citizenship (Hale; Gustafson).

*The path to the Neoliberal Multicultural State*

Neoliberal multiculturalism has been understood as a response to issues of social exclusion based on race or ethnicity (Hale). In this way, and as Charles Hale argues, neoliberal multiculturalism can be understood as a “*mestizaje*”<sup>2</sup> discourse for the new millennium” (p. 491, italics in original), which interprets an apparent blend of indigenous and western ideologies. The concealed purpose of neoliberal multiculturalism in Latin America has been to erase the ethnical features of the national identity in order to facilitate the prioritisation of the neoliberal state’s economic interests. In general terms, for the neoliberal state, citizens are those who can afford what the market offers, whereas indigenous people have a balanced relationship with nature which often do not match neoliberal principles (Dagnino). Thus, neoliberalism understands citizenship in exclusive economic terms – in which exclusive means to exclude those perspectives that do not fit within its parameters (Gustafson).

Guillermo de la Peña, on the other hand, highlights some positive aspects of multiculturalism. He argues that it has facilitated the establishment of an ‘*ethnic citizenship*’ (p. 129, italics in original) through the convergence of different but consistent interests. Indigenous people, supported by international development agencies, struggled against their corresponding Latin American states, by demanding the recognition of indigenous rights at a constitutional level. In parallel, the international community fostered the recognition of indigenous rights, based on difference, as part of the democratization processes among Latin American states. As states were seeking prestige and a position within the international community, they implemented constitutional reforms to enshrine indigenous rights, and adapted their administrative structure in order to implement the provisions of the law (Gustafson; Jackson and Warren; Van Cott). Consequently, Latin American states shifted from assimilationist policies towards more democratic ones (Jackson and Warren; Hale). In some

<sup>2</sup> Mestizaje, understood as the concept of erasing Indigenous identity by way of colonization and immigration. M García, *Making Indigenous Citizens: Identities, Education, and Multicultural Development in Peru* (Stanford University Press, 2005).

Latin American countries, Indigenous peoples have obtained their recognition as *pueblos*, at a constitutional level, implementation of political decentralisation to foster indigenous people's participation in local governments, land reforms, including titling and land redistribution on behalf of indigenous people, and the implementation of educational reforms which replace monolingual education with bilingual curricula. A few Latin American countries have gone further, such as Colombia, which has included customary law within criminal processes, to be applied in those criminal cases in which indigenous people are involved. Another example is the recognition of Mother Earth's rights – Pachamama's rights – as equal to human rights in the Bolivian Constitution of 2011 (Jackson and Warren; Van Cott; Briones; Vidal).

These legal reforms implemented in some Latin American countries have been presented as a possibility for indigenous peoples to be recognised as citizens; that is, as the chance to exercise a set of rights which are based on the recognition of their difference. Nevertheless, according to indigenous peoples' understandings, citizenship is related to the term *pueblo*. This term includes not only indigenous rights, but also self-determination and autonomy, which are attached to land and closely linked to the right to difference. From an indigenous perspective, the right to be different is related to autonomy and self-determination, because it implies the right of indigenous peoples to make their own decisions about the way of life they want to have, even if these decisions do not align with western structures and perspectives (Briones; Van Cott; Jackson and Warren). In this context, the recognition of indigenous peoples as *pueblos* enhanced the importance of other aspects relevant to the exercise of their indigenous citizenship, such as political participation in local governments, land claims, and cultural preservation (Briones).

As stated above, Indigenous citizenship has been implemented through the constitutional recognition of indigenous rights based on difference. However, in the context of the neoliberal system, citizenship has been understood as the individual's integration into the market, prioritising economic interests over cultural or social rights (Jackson and Warren; Hale; Dagnino). The set of legal reforms oriented to materialise the recognition of indigenous rights based on difference is determined according to non-indigenous standards, which undermines the real possibility to enable indigenous citizenship (Gustafson; Hale). This is the case of bilingual education in Peru and Chile, which, as will be illustrated in this paper, has materialised in highly contested policies and programmes regarding indigenous citizenship effectiveness (Hornberger; López).

#### *Citizenship, the right to difference, and indigenous identity*

Notions of citizenship and indigenous identity influence each other. In that sense, assimilationist policies were a strategy to erase indigenous peoples' identity

and enhance *mestizos'* features (Jackson and Warren). During post-colonial times, Citizenship was something to be gained through acquiring western culture that would progressively make ethnic groups similar to the hegemonic majority. Those who refused to participate in this project, were considered non-citizens or 'citizens from below' (Dagnino5). In modern times, the notion of '*right to difference*' has been considered as a break in the existing social order. Indigenous peoples' identity was constructed as different, and they became visible and accepted under indigenous citizenship (Schwittay; Jackson and Warren; Hale; Dagnino). Nonetheless, the adoption of international agreements on indigenous rights threatened the hegemonic majority's neoliberal economic interests.

In this context, multiculturalism was presented by Latin American neoliberal states as a powerful tool to overcome social exclusion and inequalities. Based on the notion of indigenous citizenship, multiculturalism opened space for new ethnic identities grounded in the right to be different (Dagnino; Briones). However, the notion of difference grounding indigenous rights has not been effective enough to broaden the concept of citizenship in order to include indigenous rights. Conversely, based on the right to difference, indigenous citizenship represents a parallel structure of rights especially tailored for indigenous peoples. States have adapted their structures to apparently include the indigenous agenda, creating specific departments or agencies, and passing specific laws, to address indigenous issues, such as bilingual education, participation in local governments, and land reforms (Jackson and Warren; Van Cott). This apparent determination of neoliberal multicultural states to accept indigenous political claims hides a strategy to maintain the economic, social, and political status quo (Hale; Boccara and Seguel-Boccara; Gustafson).

The notion of indigenous citizenship based on difference represented by a tailored rights structure for indigenous peoples has brought contradicting implications for citizens' identities (Hale; Jackson and Warren). The existence of an indigenous citizenship paralleling the Peruvian and Chilean ones, has determined people's processes of identity formation to the extent that to exercise the same rights as a first class citizen, one cannot be indigenous. In general terms, people can be marginalised based on differences, such as gender, age, race, ethnicity or disability, to name a few, as their identities can be considered as a threat to dominating groups (Rappaport and Dover). Ethnicity and citizenship are two of several dimensions of an individual's identity, in the sense that they reveal one's membership to a country and to a specific culture, respectively. Based on economic perspectives, the neoliberal state has presented ethnicity and citizenship as incompatible dimensions to construct one identity. In the specific case of indigenous people in Peru and Chile, their ethnic identity is grounded in their worldview which significantly influences a notion of citizenship away

from neoliberal economic principles (Holder and Corntassel; Dagnino). This incompatibility leads to the marginalisation of the ethnic dimension in the construction of people's identity.

Marginalisation is enforced through barriers to exercise citizenship, limiting adequate access to resources that are essential to cover basic needs, such as good education, health or housing systems. Regarding indigenous culture, current intercultural bilingual education policies and programmes in Peru and Chile have been shaped by multiculturalism. This has enabled the prioritisation of economic interests by implementing Intercultural Bilingual education programmes which have been poorly designed, failing to effectively preserve indigenous culture, which undermines the possibilities for indigenous peoples to become citizens based on difference (Hornberger). The experiences of the Shawi Nation in Peru and the Mapuche people in Chile are examples of this situation.

### *The Shawi Nation in Peru*

In Peru, Indigenous Amazonians (as well as Indigenous Andeans) have traditionally been marginalised by mainstream Spanish-speaking society (Fuller). This has meant, among other things, inadequate educational infrastructure and content for a significant group of Peruvians, which has contributed to their discrimination and has positioned them as the poorest members of society. The Amazonian region has not been a priority of the Peruvian state in the past (Zúñiga and Galvez), and although the situation today has improved, some basic standards are still not fully met.

After approximately 400 years of Spanish colonial rule, followed by an oligarchic and elitist state, what makes a "Real Peruvian" of a full-fledged Peruvian citizen entitled to their full set of rights is unfortunately still a complicated issue in Peru. A clear example of this can be seen in statements made to the press by former President Alan García in 2008 that Indigenous Amazonians were not first-class citizens.

### *The Peruvian Amazon*

The arrival of Spaniards and other Europeans to the area now known as Peru meant the establishment of a complex colonial apparatus, followed by more than 300 years of Spanish colonial rule. During this time, the new arrivals (with the help of firearms and disease) quickly accumulated wealth and took over indigenous land in the name of progress (Starn, Degregori and Kirk). However, with the exception of some missionary groups, the Amazon jungle region was largely left untouched during this time, and has since then been characterised for its isolation and lack of State presence (Aikman; García and Lucero). Following independence in 1821, and up until the early twentieth-century, the Amazonian

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region was uninvolved or unaware of much of the turmoil and unrest (military regimes, civil war, and economic downfall) the country went through (Soria). The area was largely ignored except for the missionaries, until the first half of the twentieth-century, when it began to be colonised by immigrants and Andean workers.

Despite the lack of State presence in the Amazon, there have been other external presences. This was mainly in the form of religious or missionary organizations and some NGOs. The most notable influence that these organizations had, especially the missionaries, has been in education. The missionaries put into place a system of boarding schools designed to convert Indigenous Amazonians to Catholicism and part of the strategy was to put on record several native languages, for the purpose of translating the Bible. This had the unintended purpose of preserving some languages and became a notable contribution for future intercultural education (Huaman Cosi). Boarding schools also became a place where members of different communities and Indigenous groups came together for the first time, setting up important relationships that would eventually lead to the formal organization of grassroots Amazonian groups (Yashar). Due to the region isolation and remoteness, the Peruvian state effectively left some of its duties – most notably education – in the hands of those who were already there, such as the missionaries. The fact that the Peruvian state was willing to trust others with the task of educating a significant part of its population was a clear sign of how it failed to recognise them as full-fledged citizens deserving the same privileges and rights as coastal and Andean Peruvians were receiving.

### *Education in the Amazon*

Intercultural and bilingual education have had an erratic presence in state and governmental policies in Peru, going through several changes until reaching its present incarnation as the *Dirección de Educación Intercultural y Bilingüe* (Directorate of Intercultural and Bilingual Education, DEIB) within the larger *Dirección General de Educación Intercultural, Bilingüe y Rural* (General Directorate for Intercultural, Bilingual and Rural Education, DIGEIBIR). This means that its influence is limited to rural education, and it does not have a meaningful influence on larger nation-wide educational policies (Ames). By isolating intercultural education in this way, an intercultural focus cannot be applied to the entirety of the educational system, as is suggested by intercultural education experts (Ames).

At present, the Peruvian State uses the concept of intercultural education as developed in 2005 by Catherine Walsh and a team from the Unit for Intercultural and Bilingual Education. The document highlights the importance

of an intercultural approach in all aspects of Peruvian society, not just in education, and especially not limited to education in rural, indigenous contexts. Despite this document and others having been prepared for the explicit use and implementation of the Ministry of Education, intercultural practice has been implemented in a meaningful way in most classrooms. This is in part a result of the little effort of the State to adequately train teachers in what an Intercultural Education practice consists of, causing many fall into the trap of understanding interculturality in a folkloric sense (Ames). There is no real attempt to make education truly intercultural in terms of incorporating local or traditional knowledge and the complexities they entail into the curriculum. Instead, traditional songs or dances are added, pointing to a superficial understanding of what intercultural means (Ames).

There have been some alternative attempts to incorporate an intercultural discourse into the Peruvian education system in a more meaningful way, although they have not been initiated by the state. The *Programa de Formación de Maestros Bilingües de la Amazonía Peruana* (Programme for the Training of Bilingual Teachers in the Peruvian Amazon, FORMABIAP) for example, is a teacher-training programme that has devoted itself to training native Amazonians to be Bilingual Intercultural Education teachers in their respective language since 1988. It does so with a critical and reflexive approach that incorporates interculturality into all aspects of its teachers' educational practice. This programme, however, is not a state-run initiative. It was begun by *Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana* (Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Amazon, AIDSESEP) in partnership with the *Instituto Superior Pedagógico Público de Loreto* (Loreto Pedagogical Training Institute, ISPPL) in the Amazonian city of Iquitos, in response to AIDSESEP's recognition of the need for native bilingual teachers for indigenous communities' schools (Trapnell). This is once more an example of the State passing off their responsibility to the hands of others.

The situation described above has affected the Shawi of the northern Peruvian Amazon in a particular way. One of several different ethnic Amazonian groups found in Peru, and along with Quechuas and Aymaras in the Andes, they make up the country's diverse indigenous population. The Shawi number approximately 20,000 people, and because they are not a majority within the Peruvian indigenous groups (such as Quechuas in the Andes or Ashaninkas in the Amazon), they still face difficulties in getting the State to recognise and consolidate their right to education, and to be recognised as full citizens.

Until 2010, there was a lack of adequate teaching materials available in Shawi language, and no apparent desire from the Ministry of Education to produce any, under the reasoning that their language did not have an "officially recognised" written alphabet. Besides the contradiction of demanding a written

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alphabet for a traditionally oral language, was the issue that there were in fact, two versions of a written alphabet. The Ministry of Education held the position that, because there were two versions, the State could not produce materials in one version and not the other, and would not be producing materials using both alphabets.

This problem eventually prompted a response from the Shawi *Apus* (elders and community leaders) and educators, who organized workshops and meetings with representatives from the Ministry of Education in order to decide on which alphabet to use. Meetings took place in 2010, during which the need for a single alphabet was discussed. They were also an opportunity for the *Apus* to come together in one place to discuss other issues. Because of the lack of adequate infrastructure and remoteness of some communities in the Amazon, it is not often that representatives from the most remote communities can attend. In fact, the final meeting regarding the alphabet took place over several days, given that it was the first time in many years that a significant number of Shawi had been able to gather, an event that will likely not happen again in several years. An agreement was reached, and the State officially recognised the chosen Shawi alphabet, and a commission was formed to begin producing educational materials in the Shawi language.

This achievement, however, was diminished by the lack of teachers trained in IBE and who spoke Shawi. This was further aggravated by the passing mark for the entrance exam to be able to train as an IBE teacher being raised to 14 out of 20. This did not consider indigenous students who had to take the exam in Spanish, and not in their native language (which they would be teaching in). As a result, the FORMABIAP saw a drastic drop in class size meaning that there were no intercultural bilingual education teachers available for many communities and different Amazonian ethnic groups. This is yet another way in which the State kept indigenous students from being able to fully experience their right to education, as the rest of the Spanish speaking population is able to. At present (after four years), the passing mark has been returned to 11, and there are now 88 men and women in place to be trained at the FORMABIAP. Among this cohort there are Shawi students, who will now be able to go into their communities and provide Shawi children with the education they are entitled to receive (TAREA Informa).

### *The Mapuche People in Chile*

The relations between Mapuche people and the Chilean state followed a similar process to that of the rest of Latin American indigenous peoples. Nevertheless, unlike many Latin American states, the Chilean state has been reluctant to commit to recognising indigenous peoples as '*pueblos*'. After its



democratisation process, the Chilean state has limited its discourse to ethnic diversity in the Indigenous Law passed in 1993, which establishes rules on protection, promotion, and development of indigenous people, acknowledging ethnic diversity in Chile. It also created the *Coordinadora Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena* (National Coordinator of Indigenous Development, CONADI), a department dependent to the central government to connect indigenous interests with those of the state. However, the strong Neoliberal influence on the Chilean Constitution created in 1980 under the Pinochet dictatorship, gave way multiculturalism to proliferate, and economic interests have been prioritised over indigenous rights. Complex economic, political, and social issues converged, and prevented the full implementation of a broad scheme that had been politically negotiated between Indigenous peoples and left wing politicians in order to become citizens.

### *Intercultural bilingual education in Chile*

After 190 years of assimilationist policies aiming to erase ethnic features from the Chilean society, IBE was adopted in Chile, yet through a different process compared to the rest of Latin American countries. The 1973 coup d'état interrupted indigenous movements' articulation in Chile, and forced them to divert their efforts from achieving citizenship towards defeating dictatorship alongside the rest of Chilean social movements. Hence, when democracy was reinstalled in 1990, Chilean indigenous movements inherited the experience of the rest of Latin America (López), enabling the *Pacto de Nueva Imperial* (Pact of Nueva Imperial) between the left wing coalition and indigenous organisations.

In exchange for political support, the left coalition committed to establish an institutional and legal framework to recognise indigenous peoples as *pueblos* at a constitutional level for them to finally become citizens (Tricot; Donoso; Boccara and Seguel-Boccara). Indigenous citizenship would ignite the process of legal reforms necessary to adjust national policies accordingly, including education policies. However, for political reasons,<sup>3</sup> the Pact of Nueva Imperial has been partially implemented, resulting in the passing of the 1993 Indigenous Law and the creation of the CONADI. Aiming to connect indigenous interests and those of the State, CONADI is commanded to work in coordination with the different public agencies in order to enable the protection, encouragement, and development of indigenous people (Aylwin). Accordingly, CONADI in coordination with the correspondent governmental agencies – namely, the Ministry of Education and local governments – is responsible for developing an intercultural bilingual education system (Planificación).

<sup>3</sup> Due to undemocratic features included in the Political Constitution of 1980, Pinochet and right wing political party representatives kept a strong influence during the first decade of democracy, hindering the Chilean democratisation process. Consequently, many of the reform proposals, among which were Indigenous constitutional recognition did not succeed.

The current Chilean Constitution establishes education as a right for every person. Its goal is the integral development of human beings and is considered a means to prepare them to exercise citizenship, and to preserve culture, heritage, and cultural legacies, among other things (Presidencia; Educación). Consistent with the strong neoliberal influence informing Chilean regulation, the right to education is understood from an individualistic perspective: it is a path to work, which is considered as a major income source, linked to the accomplishment of tax duties and the individuals' contribution to the country's economic development. The State has a subsidiary role, which is limited to guarantee parents' rights to determine educational paths for their children (Saforcada and Vassiliades).

IBE in Chile is situated within the legal frame recently described as an expression of the right of Indigenous peoples to receive education in their own language (López). Established in the 1993 Indigenous Law, IBE's original goal was to '*... prepare indigenous students to function properly in both their society of origin and the global society*' (Planificación, art. 32, my own italics). In this context, IBE was oriented to protect indigenous rights and culture, which was consistent with the ethical stance from which it was originally understood: a means to repair historical grievances affecting ethnic groups, especially Mapuche people. Since 2000 onwards, the government shifted its ethical perspective towards efficiency, emphasising academic success as a major goal of IBE (Riedemann). From this efficiency stance, IBE Programme's main goal is to 'help to improve learning achievement of children of primary educational institutions located in context of cultural and linguistic diversity' (Chile). As a result, IBE is implemented in rural areas, where the ratio of Mapuche students is higher than in the city; it is compulsory only during primary education, and teachers are trained in intercultural studies. However, IBE in Chile has several shortcomings. First, the majority of Mapuche people live in urban areas, where IBE is not implemented. Thus, urban Mapuche students do not receive IBE, leaving identity-related issues unsolved. Additionally, non-Mapuche students are neglected, undermining cultural complementation and reinforcing contempt for Mapuche culture (Ortíz; López; Riedemann). Secondly, professional training does not include indigenous language learning, hence, intercultural teachers do not speak Mapudungún, which is an oral language, undermining the possibilities to preserve Mapudungún throughout time. Thirdly, the interruption of IBE through the whole period of study leaves Mapuche students unprepared to succeed in secondary and tertiary education. As a result, high rates of school failure and dropout can be observed among Mapuche students. Additionally, the IBE system is evaluated according to mainstream educational standards and procedures, which conceals the improvement resulting from IBE application (Riedemann).

The shortcomings of the Chilean IBE, as previously outlined, are evidence that it does not fulfil international standards. IBE in Chile is understood as education for rural indigenous students designed, implemented, and evaluated according to mainstream education criterions, which are in Spanish (Ortíz; Riedemann). This situation reveals that IBE in Chile is another form of assimilationist policy that pursues the integration of indigenous people into Chilean society (Hornberger). Under these circumstances, the concept of diversity established as a goal of IBE is a narrowed one, limited only to rural indigenous students (Riedemann). The narrow concept of diversity is consistent with Chilean society's limited understandings of Mapuche culture. As a result of colonialism and the subsequent one nation-one language mestizo project based on Eurocentric standards, the Chilean society has been hierarchically structured around class, ignoring race differences (Hornberger). This dynamic has prevailed throughout time, even after Chile's independence from the Spanish crown, maintaining Mapuche people in an underprivileged position. Moreover, the 1989 Pact of Nueva Imperial did not improve that situation; as a matter of fact, during democracy the state's behaviour towards Mapuche claims has been contradictory: while it has made some contributions related to the preservation of Mapuche culture, such as the implementation of an IBE programme, Mapuche people have been permanently criminalised due to their political dissent of the neoliberal economic model through the application of the Anti-Terrorist Law. This stigmatisation has had negative effects among Chilean and Mapuche people, who are reluctant to ground their sense of identity within a culture that is openly rejected and socially marginalised (Donoso et al.).

Nevertheless, Mapuche parents have found a way to overcome difficulties affecting cultural preservation, as they manage to provide both mainstream and traditional Mapuche education to their children. Exercising the constitutional right to choose an educational path for their children, Mapuche parents send them to school and reinforce traditional education at home by including children in the development of everyday tasks. Daily activities are a space where parents teach Mapudungún and ancient traditions to their sons and daughters, which are neglected at school. This way, although formal efforts to preserve Mapuche culture through IBE have not been as fruitful as intended and the notion of citizenship remains under exclusive, economic Eurocentric terms, Mapuche culture is preserved at the core of Mapuche society, and Mapuche children receive both mainstream and Mapuche education.

### *Conclusion*

In this paper, the Mapuche experience in Chile and the Shawi Nation case study in Peru have been outlined, regarding IBE. The Chilean and Peruvian IBE

programmes have not delivered the expected – and promised – outcomes, due to the strong influence of multiculturalism. Rather than fostering reciprocal and mutual learning between different cultures and knowledge, multiculturalism has been utilised by the Chilean and the Peruvian states as a strategy to undermine the full recognition of Mapuche people and the Shawi Nation as first class citizens.

The Shawi Nation case study and the experiences of the Mapuche people both illustrate that although IBE represents an important advancement towards the recognition of cultural diversity in Peru and Chile, many of its aspects are still mainstream-dominated. Current education policies still aim to integrate Mapuche people and the Shawi Nation into the Chilean and Peruvian societies, respectively. In this context, IBE not only openly disregards international standards, but, most importantly, it neglects indigenous people's standards. From a historical perspective, IBE responds to Peruvian and Chilean society's Eurocentric structures and dynamics, which leads to the vulnerability of indigenous people's rights, given that states have failed in their protection, reinforcing and reproducing Mapuche and Shawi social marginalisation (Hornberger).

The shortcomings that IBE presents in Chile and Peru undermines the preservation of their culture, as they affect new generations' appreciation for indigenous knowledge and worldviews as crucial components of their identities and sense of self. In addition to the lack of efficient efforts to implement education programmes in indigenous languages, the criminalisation of Mapuche people in Chile and the disregard of the Shawi Nation in Peru have significant implications for people's identity formation. Indigenous peoples are strongly encouraged to abandon their cultural roots in order to be considered as citizens and non-indigenous people remain reluctant to assume ethnicity as core component of our identity.

The reinforcement of this status quo, based on exclusive notions of citizenship, also has implications for development issues. Segregated education in the Chilean and the Peruvian educational systems leads to indigenous peoples' permanence at the bottom of social structures, as they will always lack the skills necessary to have access to services to cover basic needs, not only in neoliberal terms, but also in indigenous terms. They will always be considered as different by the hegemonic majority, which perpetuates social inequalities affecting these two countries. Nevertheless, the Shawi Nation case study and the Mapuche people's experiences also show that their strategies to preserve their culture have led to a broader notion of citizenship, as they have learned to exercise their rights in a more efficient way regarding education. Currently, indigenous children receive both mainstream and traditional education, making

the learning process a more comprehensive one compared to non-indigenous children, whose education is limited to the mainstream one. Consequently, the western notion of citizenship linked to the right to education oriented towards human development becomes highly contestable and its imposition affects us all, indigenous and non-indigenous people. In conclusion, alongside the several adjustments that need to be made to current IBE in Chile and Peru, two major changes are crucial to effectively ignite positive changes: the upgrading of IBE to indigenous standards and the inclusion of non-indigenous students in IBE programmes. This could be a good way to achieve mutual learning between cultures – and perhaps we can all become citizens.

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