

# Proceedings 2007

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## PREFACE

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*Elizabeth Lavolette, MA Student in Second Language Studies*

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On Saturday, August 14, 2007, the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa held its eleventh annual graduate student conference. Bringing together graduate students and faculty from the Departments of English, Linguistics, Second Language Studies, Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas, East Asian Languages and Literatures, and other departments, the conference opened with a plenary speech by University of Hawai'i President David McClain. The plenary speech was followed by presentations in seven sessions and two panels. Twenty-seven students presented their work, and articles by twelve of those are included in these proceedings.

As editors of the proceedings and on behalf of the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, we thank all of the student and faculty volunteers who devoted much time and effort to make the conference a success. The team of co-chairs, Elise Thomasson, Dominique Meyer, and Dennis Koyama, deserve special credit for their contributions. Our gratitude also goes out to faculty advisor Dr. Justin Ota for his continued support. We are also indebted to all of the abstract readers, publicity and liaison volunteers, food and beverage organizers, audiovisual and technical coordinators, program designers, panel moderators, and other on-site volunteers for their assistance before, during, and after the conference.

We also express our thanks to Dean Joseph H. O'Mealy and the staff of his office for their unfailing support and guidance in the preparation of these proceedings. In particular, we are grateful to Iris E. Chang and her assistants, Do So and Jennifer Hendrix for helping us throughout the publishing process. We thank Zoe Madden-Wood and Kaori Ueki for establishing a strong precedent in preparing the previous year's conference proceedings. We are also grateful to our editing team, which included Gabriel Correa, Nancy Wysard, Maria Herrera, Castle Sinicrope, and Yao Hill. Finally, we would like to thank the contributors for all of their hard work and patience throughout the process. We wish them all the best in their future publishing and academic careers.



## PLENARY SPEAKER HIGHLIGHTS

*Elizabeth Lavolette, PhD Student in Second Language Studies*

*Katya Jenson, MA Linguistics*

We were honored to have President David McClain give the keynote address at this year's conference. Dr. McClain has been at the Mānoa campus since 1991 and has served as the chief executive officer of the University of Hawai'i system since June 2004. Dr. McClain holds a BA in economics and mathematics from the University of Kansas and a PhD in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His teaching career includes Boston University, MIT, Universidad Gabriela Mistral (Chile), Keio University (Japan), and Meiji University (Japan). He has published a book as well as countless newspaper columns and scholarly articles. In addition to his academic achievements, Dr. McClain served as a first lieutenant in the U.S. Army in Vietnam, was an economic advisor to President Carter, and is currently involved in advising and directing businesses worldwide.

Dr. McClain's address focused on his experiences as a second language learner. He was a student of Latin, German, French, and Japanese, with mixed success. He found that for him, "the stick is better than the carrot." Because he missed the chance to study abroad himself, he is a strong proponent of such programs for UH students. Despite missing out on that opportunity, he has had many other chances to work overseas. His experiences have taught him that the English language has great utility abroad, and that native speakers of English enjoy a considerable advantage.

Dr. McClain has had many experiences in Japan, which included a sabbatical year, directing a program in Kobe, and living in Yokohama. He has formally studied Japanese in Japan, on the U.S. mainland, and at UH. He had two recommendations for students of foreign languages, based on this experience. He praised the practice of "nomunication," a combination of the Japanese word "to drink" and the English word "communication," because of the inhibition-lowering properties of alcohol. He went on to propose that the best way to learn a language is with a lover.

Dr. McClain concluded his speech by sharing his eagerness to study Hawaiian and "dive in" to the culture, but that its study will have to wait until he is finished being president. He encouraged the graduate students in the audience by praising the departments involved in this conference.



# I. Languages and Linguistics



# **AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF A RAPIDLY DEVELOPED MULTI-LINGUAL TEXTUAL COMMUNICATION SYSTEM IN SUPPORT OF DISASTER RELIEF OPERATIONS IN THE LAHU VILLAGE OF NONG PHAM**

*Matthew A. Chapman, Department of Information and Computer Sciences*

## **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this research was to field test a rapidly developed machine translation application. The Automated Chat Translation System was developed utilizing a new software engineering framework where a human translator is the only resource into the target language. The field study was conducted in the Lahu village of Nong Pham, located northeast of Chiang Mai, Thailand, to gather critical information for the initial assessment of survivors' needs following a simulated natural disaster. This ethnographic study demonstrates that rapid development of a multi-lingual textual communication system supports the timelines associated with disaster relief operations.

## **1.0. INTRODUCTION**

The international community continues to develop responses to natural disasters worldwide. The purpose of this research was to rapidly create a machine translation application involving a minority language, using a single human translator as the only resource into the target language. An ethnographic study was then conducted to assess the capability of this system to facilitate the gathering of critical information for an initial assessment of survivors' needs following a simulated disaster.

The Automated Chat Translation System (ACTS<sup>1</sup>) is a modular application that provides a communications path for computer-supported collaboration between a relief worker and a disaster survivor. This system was rapidly developed and deployed with a two-man assessment team into the Lahu village of Nong Pham, located Northeast of Chiang Mai, Thailand. The assessment team conducted an interview with a first-time computer user, who role-played as a survivor following a simulated scenario involving a major landslide in his village. Observations were made concerning the accuracy of knowledge gained during the interview as well as usability issues for first-time computer users in a field environment.

This ethnographic study demonstrates that rapid development of a multi-lingual textual communication system supports the timelines associated with actual disaster relief operations. The ACTS system facilitated the gathering of timely and accurate information for the initial assessment of survivors' needs following a simulated natural disaster.

### **1.1. Natural Disasters Worldwide**

According to the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), 249,896 people were reported killed as a result of disasters in 2004 (IFRC 2004). Since 1995, that number has reached nearly one million (IFRC 2005). Over 2 billion people have been affected by natural disasters over the past decade. Of those who are killed, a disproportionate number of victims live in developing nations.

The IFRC's World Disasters Report for 2005 identifies that, during 2000-2004, the average number of disasters reported was 55% higher than during 1995-1999. In addition, over the same period, disasters doubled in the underdeveloped countries of the world.

### **1.2. Accurate and Timely Information**

One of the most critical aspects of disaster response is the exchange of information. The IFRC directly addressed the role and criticality of information exchange between support agencies and victims of natural disasters in its 2005 World Disasters Report. The IFRC Secretary General, Markku Niskala, points out how relief organizations must realize that timely and accurate information is a form of disaster relief in its own right. The gathering of accurate information is vital to ensuring the deployment of appropriate disaster relief and can save precious time and resources (IFRC 2005). The Secretary General writes:

As well as saving lives, information reduces suffering in the wake of disasters... Good information is equally vital to ensure disaster relief is appropriate and well targeted... Information alone can save lives. But there are gaps in the way we gather and share this powerful resource... Aid organizations must recognize that accurate, timely information is a form of disaster response in its own right... Finally, we must put far greater priority on communicating with people affected by disasters.

The rapid gathering of this vital information during disaster relief operations continues to be problematic. While it is recognized that disaster relief should be based on a thorough assessment of survivors' needs and capabilities, IFRC evaluations conclude that agencies often base initial relief distributions on guesswork. Accurate information needs, therefore, must be established.

To address timeliness, it is important to understand exactly what constitutes a timely response. Even though there is no exact answer to this question, evidence collected from international and national relief organizations suggests a timeline for adequate international responses. National and international organizations involved in disaster relief include the United Nations (UN) Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the IFRC, The American Red Cross, the US Agency for International Development (USAID), and many other organizations (IFRC 2006, UNOCHA 2006).

The mobilization procedures for response teams, such as those described in the UN Disaster Assessment and Coordination Handbook (UNOCHA 2000) and the USAID Field Operations Guide for Disaster Assessment and Response (USAID Field Operations Guide 2005), offer some insight into timeliness. Actual mobilization timelines offer additional information on practical response times to natural disasters. This includes the deployment of UNDAC teams to the landslide in the central Philippines, in the province of Leyte on February 17, 2006 (ARC 2005), the scramble for accurate information in Aceh, Indonesia, following the tsunami on December 26, 2004, concerning the devastated town Meulaboh (IFRC 2005), and the deployment of USAID Disaster Assistance Response Teams (DART) to Pakistan after it was effected by a disastrous magnitude 7.6 earthquake on October 8, 2005 (USAID Response to South Asia Earthquake 2005). When Iran experienced a magnitude 6.6 earthquake in the city of Bam on December 26, 2003, an 81-member DART team arrived on location four days later (USAID 2003).

Based on mobilization procedures and these actual mobilization timelines, rapid development of machine translation (MT) systems for multi-lingual textual communication in support of disaster relief operations is defined here as development of the MT application within 48 hours of disaster notification.

### **1.3. Languages Worldwide**

A natural barrier to communication and the distribution of information is the large number languages used throughout the world. As of February 2006, there are over 6,900 known living languages in the world. The Asia Pacific area accounts for over 3,500 of these languages with over 3.4 billion speakers. This high volume of speakers accounts for approximately 61% of the world population (Gordon 2005). Coupling the above requirement for the accurate and timely gathering of information to support emergency disaster response operations with the large number of living languages currently known throughout the world, the facilitation of communication across natural language barriers becomes paramount.

Due to this large number of known living languages, it seems unlikely in the near future that a complete set of translation systems will be available to support multi-lingual networks and organizations that deploy worldwide in response to natural disasters.

### **1.4. Machine Translation (MT)**

Contemporary techniques for MT, including Example-Based Machine Translation and Statistical Machine Translation, have provided a wealth of information concerning rapid MT development. However, taking into account the real-world practical considerations that are demanded by disaster response operations, resource and time constraints render these methodologies unusable. Bilingual term lists, parallel texts, and digital resources into the target language may not be available. The most accessible resource into the target language may in fact be a human translator.

Even if example-based and statistical techniques could be streamlined to develop MT applications within days, the typical accuracy rates achieved by these MT techniques do not meet the requirements of disaster

response operations. Translation success rates in the 50%-80% range are not uncommon (Mitkov 2003, Nirenburg *et al.* 1992, Nirenburg *et al.* 1986, Somers 1999).

### 1.5. The Problem

Taking these facts and the requirement for accurate and timely information into account, the problem can be generally stated as:

The goal of this research was to facilitate the gathering of timely, accurate, and vital information across natural language barriers in support of disaster relief operations.

One approach to solving this complex problem is the rapid development of computer supported translation systems to support disaster response operations.

## 2.0. THE RAPID FRAMEWORK

A new software and knowledge engineering framework was utilized to develop an MT application for the initial assessment of survivors' needs following a natural disaster. This rapid, information-centric, development (RAPID) framework involves five phases. First, an on-line communication path is determined and prepared. Second, domain goals and key information requests are identified. Third, a multi-language model is developed to facilitate the transfer of information and the acquisition of knowledge. Fourth, language resource packages are developed to populate the model. The fifth and final phase is system integration (Chapman 2007).

The RAPID framework was utilized to develop the ACTS application. The first three phases of system development under the RAPID framework are independent of the target language. Therefore, these three phases were completed in a laboratory setting.

During phase I of the framework (Communications Path), I decided to implement a point-to-point, Transmission Control Protocol / Internet Protocol (TCP/IP) connection between two computers. This would enable the relief worker and disaster survivor to easily pass information, wirelessly, between two computers running the ACTS application.

Phase II (Identify Domain Goal and Key Information Requests) is the most crucial step in this information-centric framework. Subject matter expertise was used to determine the goal of the interaction and information requirements. Through analysis of the goal and information required to attain that goal, key information requests (or in other words the most critical unanswered questions) were determined. When developing an MT application for disaster relief operations, the assessment of the survivors' needs is critical to the distribution of resources by initial relief agencies (IFRC 2005). Therefore, the domain goal was the assessment of the survivors' needs.

Utilizing available resources and actual mobilization situation reports, a knowledge map was constructed to model the general subject areas for disaster relief and identify the key information requests. Based on the UNDAC Field Handbook and the USAID Field Operations guide, the initial assessment of survivors' needs following disasters were grouped into domain-specific categories (UNOCHA 2000, USAID Field Operations Guide 2005). Based on the requirements of a multi-lingual text chat application, additional domain-specific categories were then added to complete the top level of the knowledge map. These domain categories were population, food, health, search and rescue, water, sanitation, physical assets, shelter, agriculture, livestock, infrastructure and security. The additional categories added to the knowledge map to support the specifics of conducting an interview via a synchronous text chat were introductions, numbers, common responses, warning and graphical user interface (GUI). The domain map developed for this research is displayed in Figure 1 below:

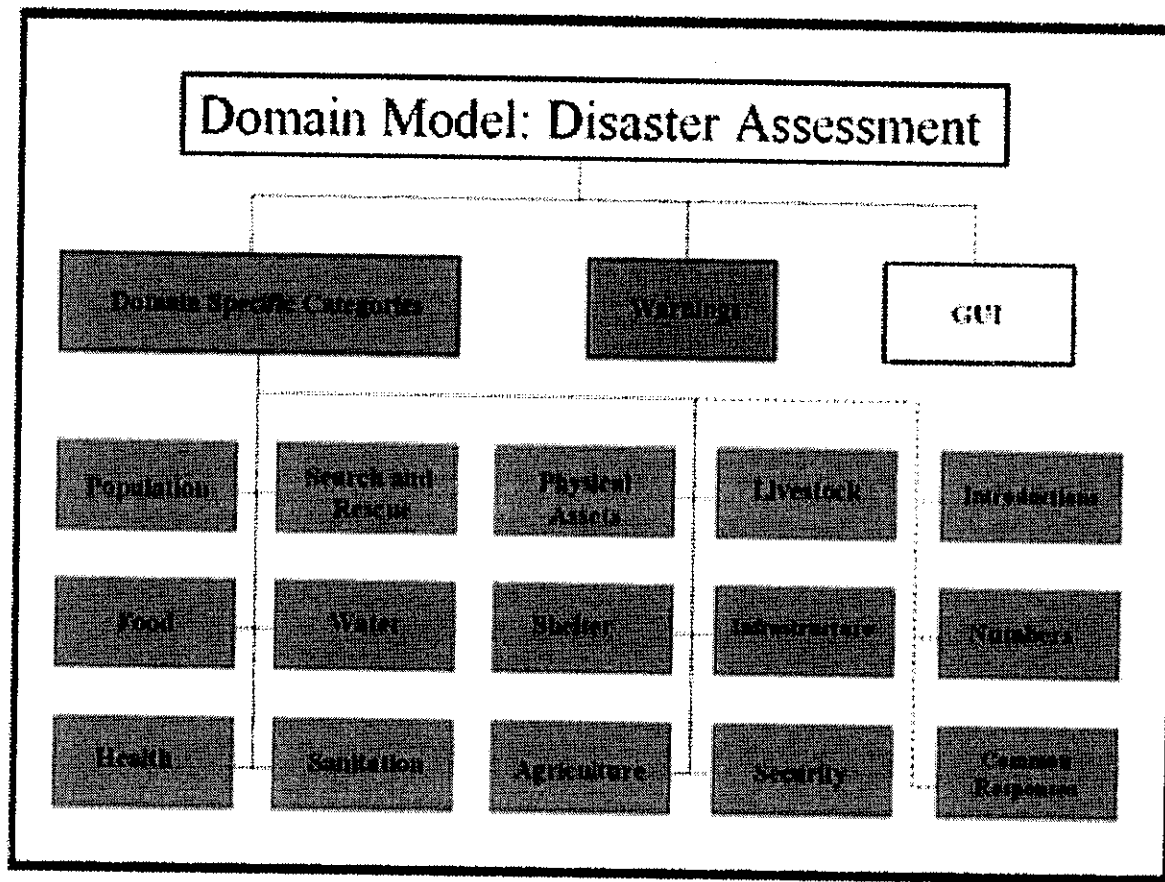


Figure 1: Knowledge Map Developed for Phase II

Phase III is the development of the multi-language model. The actual implementation of the multi-language model in this phase is independent of the RAPID framework. Critical requirements for the multi-lingual model include a bidirectional communication design and multi-lingual modularity. System developers may approach this phase utilizing various techniques developed within the field of MT. In my research, the development of the multi-language model followed a hybrid approach, leveraging advantages of both the direct translation approach and Interlingua approach (Groves & Way 2005, Mitkov 2003, Nirenburg *et al.* 1992, Nirenburg *et al.* 1986).

The final phases of development, namely, phases IV (Development of Language Resource Packages) and V (System Integration) cannot occur until after disaster notification, since the target language must first be identified. These final phases of system development must be completed in less than 48 hours to meet the requirements of actual disaster relief response times.

### 3.0. ETHNOGRAPHIC EXPERIMENTATION

These remaining phases of the RAPID framework were tested during a field study in Northern Thailand, where the framework was utilized to produce an MT application for an actual minority language, the Lahu language, using a single human translator as the resource into the target language.

Lahu is a Tibeto-Burman language and the native language of several hill tribe villages of Northern Thailand. In Thailand, there are an estimated 32,000 speakers of the Lahu language in 199 known villages. The Lahu people are spread throughout several surrounding countries, including China, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam with an expected population of around one half million. Lahu is a tonal language with a vast array of dialects. The written form of Lahu was not developed until the mid-twentieth century by the Christian

missionaries entering the area (Gordon 2005). The translators available for Lahu language experimentation were native speakers of the Lahu dialect used in the villages where computer-assisted collaboration was conducted.

The first portion of the field study was the completion of phases IV and V of the RAPID framework, the Lahu language resource package and system integration. The second portion of the study was the deployment of a relief worker into areas where speakers of the minority language simulated a disaster. While deployed in a field environment, the MT application was utilized to gather timely and accurate information for disaster response operations.

### 3.1. Rapid Development of the English-Lahu MT Application

Upon arrival in Chiang Mai, Thailand, my first task was to complete the Lahu language resource package and system integration. Development time was monitored to compute the work time required to construct and complete the English-Lahu MT application. Complete rapid development of the Lahu language resource package and system integration was measured at 17.91 hours. Besides the actual work time required developing the multi-lingual application, it was important to consider the calendar time required to develop a new language resource package. While automatically recorded development time is an accurate measurement of the time the development team was actively constructing the MT application, it does not take into account human requirements such as sustenance and sleep.

The development of the Lahu language resource package began with a recorded interview between the researcher and the translation team at 9:13 a.m. in Chiang Mai, Thailand on October 26, 2006. The English-Lahu MT application was completed at 1:38 p.m. on October 27. The calendar time required to complete the application was 28 hours and 25 minutes. Both measures of time are well within the goal of MT application development within 48 hours of disaster notification.

Once the Lahu translator and system developer completed the Lahu language resource package, the package was integrated into the ACTS system, creating an English-Lahu machine translation application (see Figure 2: Lahu Chat Window).

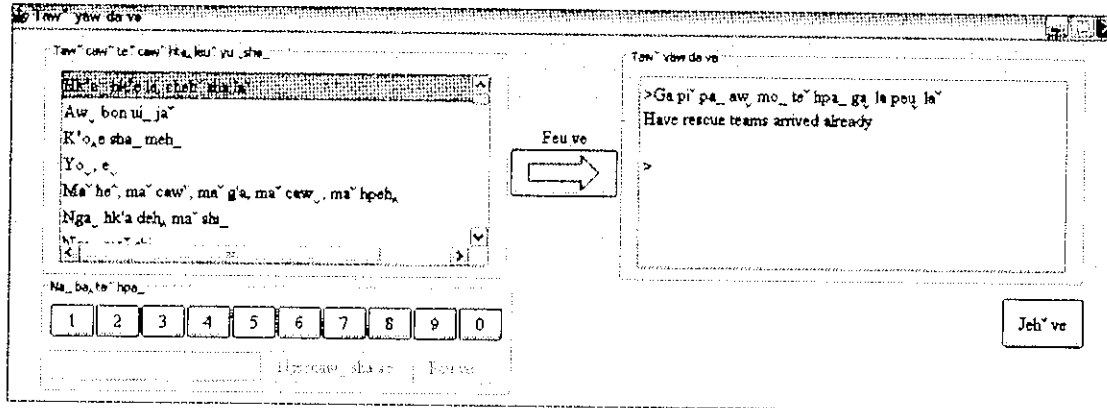


Figure 2: Lahu Chat Window

### 3.2. Lahu Village Experiment at Nong Pham

With the Lahu language resource package complete, I was ready to deploy to the Lahu village of Nong Pham, the location of the simulated landslide. Nong Pham is located Northeast of Chiang Mai, off of highway 118 heading towards the city of Chiang Rai. After leaving highway 118 and traveling over unimproved roads, the assessment team arrived in the Lahu village in the morning of October 28, 2006 (see Figure 3).



Figure 3: Nong Pham

The interview took place in a large room of a cinderblock home, bare of furniture except for a couple of desks and two small tables arranged in the center of the room. The disaster survivor for this interview was a native Lahu speaker who could read Lahu orthography. This gentleman was in his fifties, had lived in Nong Pham for many years, and could not read or speak the English language. In addition, this was the first time that the simulated disaster survivor had ever used a computer.

As this interview concerned a simulated natural disaster, and not an actual natural disaster, the Lahu translator explained the purpose of this study and the disaster scenario to the Lahu gentlemen upon the teams' arrival. From this point in time until the computer-supported collaboration was completed, the Lahu translator did not speak Lahu or participate in the study.

Acting in the role of relief worker, I unpacked the deployment kit, arranged the laptop computers on the center tables and configured the computers. The computers successfully established a wireless TCP/IP connection, and the chat windows appeared on both screens to begin the interview. This process of setting up the equipment took approximately four minutes (see Figure 4).

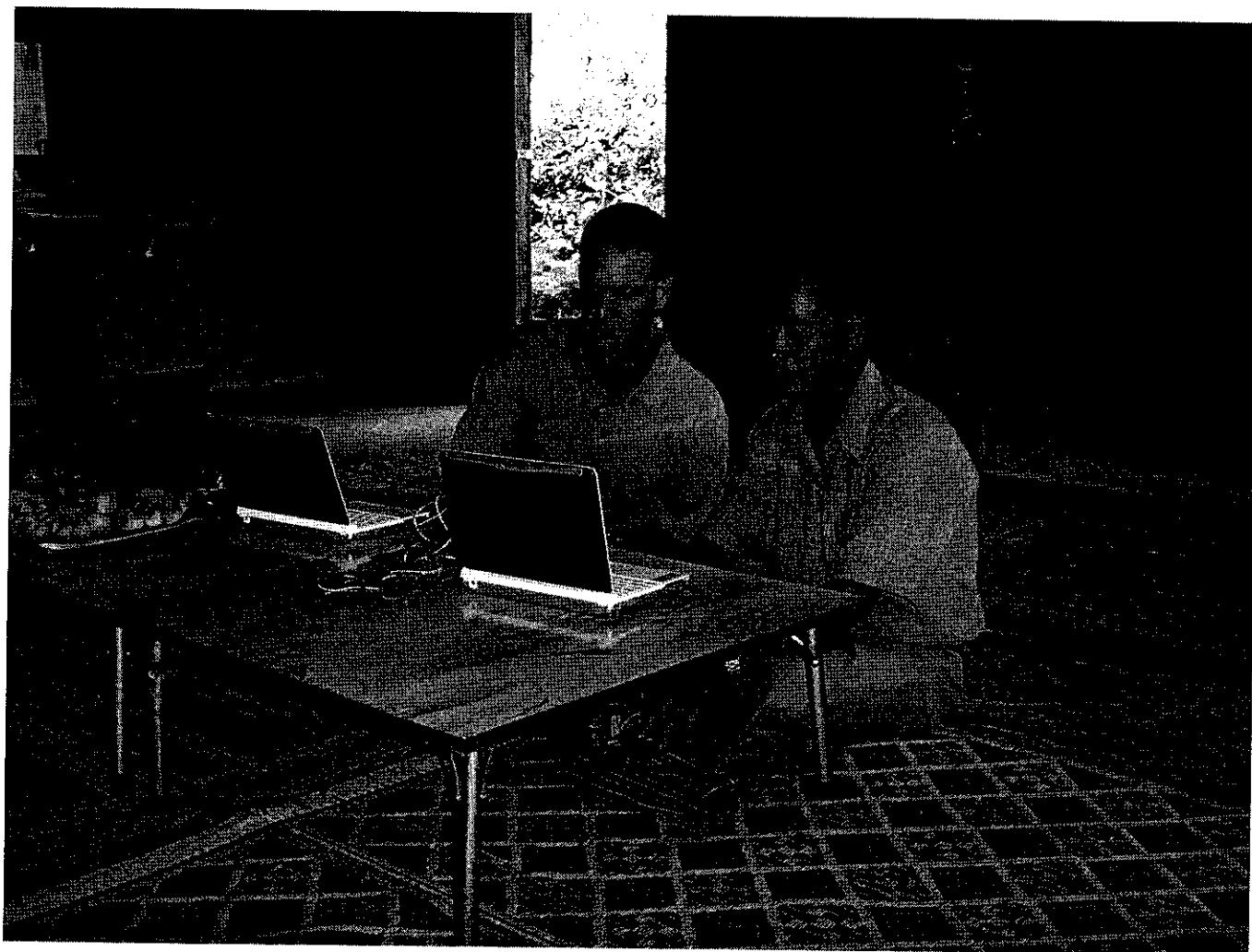


Figure 4: Nong Pham Interview

The actual interview commenced after the equipment was prepared and continued for nearly one hour. The interview spanned 13 of the 17 domain categories of the knowledge map for this domain (see Figure 1: Knowledge Map).

### 3.2.1. Data collection

Multiple forms of data were collected from the interview and village assessment at Nong Pham. These included digital data collection, observations, a questionnaire, and a post-chat interview utilizing a Lahu translator (Creswell 2003).

Digital data was collected directly from the computers involved in the computer-supported collaboration. Chat log files were generated at the onset of the interview and automatically updated periodically in the event of a computer system failure. The chat log files were written in bilingual form according to the language initialization settings selected in the settings menu, in this case English and Lahu.

Observations concerning the interview were collected on both video and still images. The entire interview process and portions of the village layout were recorded on video for additional analysis by the relief worker and for analysis into usability issues for first-time computer users. Still images provide insight into the types of environments where computer supported collaboration may be conducted. The hardware selected for this experiment was selected for easy portability and durability in such an austere environment.

After the computer-supported collaboration was completed, a post-chat interview was conducted in conjunction with the Lahu translator as a free form discussion to explore the first-time computer user's thoughts on the process of computer supported collaboration and its applicability to assessing needs following a disaster (Deek & McHugh 2003).

During the process of developing the key information requests and common responses in phase II (Identify Domain Goals and Key Information Requests), it was determined that it may be useful to provide a way for the survivor to spatially relate interview details concerning the layout of the village itself. Therefore, the infrastructure category included phrases to ask whether a sketch or drawing of the village could be made by the survivor or another villager. To complement this idea, the common category included queries requesting the survivor to point out specific areas on the sketched map. This method of collecting data and gaining knowledge into the domain-specific categories for the assessment of survivors' needs was invaluable. Figure 5 (Sketch of Nong Pham) is the sketch created by the disaster survivor and developed during the computer-supported collaboration. This artifact provided spatial data concerning resources and locations.

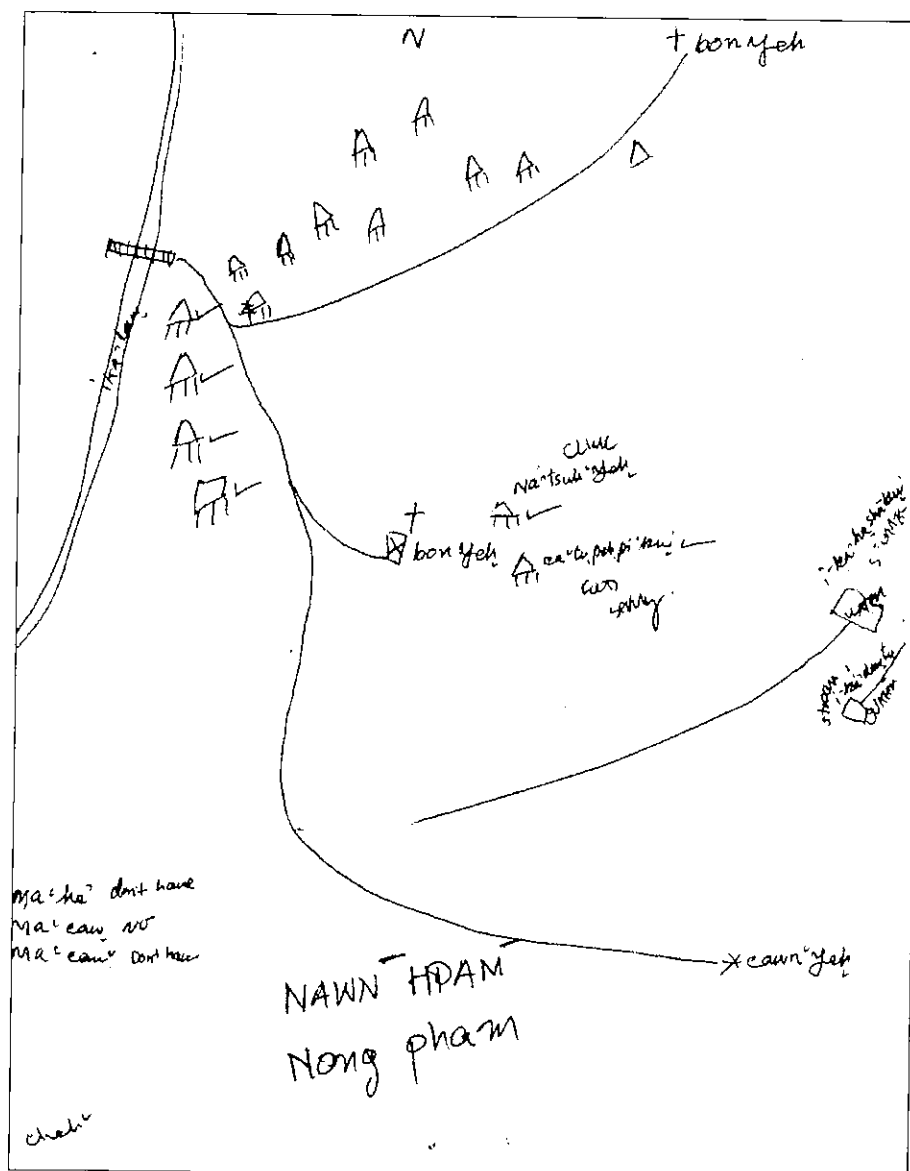


Figure 5: Sketch of Nong Pham

### 3.2.2. Accuracy

The information and knowledge transferred between the relief worker and disaster survivor can be separated into the 13 domain categories of the knowledge map that were discussed in the interview. The data concerning these categories comes from the digital chat log files, the village sketch, the video records and the questionnaire.

The queries concerning population were answered using the numbers portion of the chat window interface when appropriate. The information gained in the chat session and the information gained through the post-interview questionnaire was consistent.

One of the information requests within the population category concerned religious beliefs, as this may impact other areas of disaster relief such as dietary constraints and religious observances. During the chat session, the survivor identified the religion of the village as Christian. The relief worker expected other religions were present, and queried the survivor using available phrases from the common responses category to confirm the survivor's response. The survivor responded that this was the only religion. The information was confirmed in the post-chat interview.

During the chat session, the survivor communicated that he was not aware of any rescue personnel arriving in the village. He also provided specific numbers of personnel who were missing, injured, or dead. In addition to this, the survivor was able to communicate that four small bamboo and straw houses were buried in the landslide. Through the use of the chat tool and the technique of asking the survivor to sketch the village, the exact location of these homes was identified. These houses were marked on the map with check marks by the survivor (see Figure 5: Sketch of Nong Pham). No additional information was gained concerning search and rescue from the questionnaire or post-chat interview, and all of this information was accurate.

In addition to the location of the buried homes, the location of the village water supply, school, medical clinic and other undamaged homes were discussed and identified on the sketch. During the chat session, the researcher was also able to refer to previous data supplied by the survivor by scrolling back the text in the chat window to review earlier topics. This technique was used in addition to phrases available in search and rescue, population, water, food, health and infrastructure categories to gain insight into the layout of the village and gain approval for areas where relief workers could set up logistic sites. This information was clearly understood and confirmed during the completion of the questionnaire.

In response to a query on whether the village contained a hospital or clinic, the survivor initially responded with yes. After seeing the response he sent displayed on his own screen in the chat window, he quickly added two negative responses to show that he answered yes in error. This was understood during the chat session and confirmed in the questionnaire.

Information concerning how villagers cooked their food and any dietary restrictions were accurately communicated. The researcher asked about the main food source of the village and the source of the cooking fuel. Related information concerning food and water were accurately communicated.

The chat session continued with the relief worker asking questions pertaining to infrastructure, physical assets, and shelter. The survivor communicated that the village had electricity and a phone. The survivor was able to communicate the phone number to the relief worker. The survivor identified that there were four families without shelter, and the relief worker correctly understood that this referred to the families of the buried homes identified on the sketch.

Concerning health, the information pertaining to medication and queries about anyone with tuberculosis or AIDS were accurately understood and communicated. The relief worker understood that the village did not contain a hospital or clinic. The village did not have a resident doctor or nurse. Using the chat tool and the sketch, a location to set up a clinic and food serving area was identified and agreed upon.

The final category, security, caused a bit of confusion for the relief worker. When asked if the village was safe from hostile people, the survivor replied that it was not. When asked if the village was safe at night, the survivor replied that he was not sure. He also responded that there was no threat from wild animals. This led the relief worker to be concerned about security at night for relief workers and associated supplies. After the chat

session, the relief worker was able to learn through the questionnaire and Lahu translator that the village could in fact become unsafe at night.

The knowledge gained concerning the applicable domain categories reveals that the relief worker was able to gain situational awareness into these categories for the purpose of assessing survivors' needs following a disaster. Information was transferred between the survivor and researcher with similar accuracy as would be achieved by communicating through a human translator, as supported by the questionnaire and post-chat interview data.

#### 4.0. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this research was to develop and study a process to enable and facilitate the rapid construction of textual communication systems across a natural language barrier in support of disaster relief operations given only a human translator as a resource into the target language. This research clearly demonstrates that this holistic and information-centric approach facilitates the gathering of timely and accurate life-saving information.

The RAPID framework and the ACTS system are software and knowledge engineering products that provide a practical, real-world contribution to the problem of developing multi-lingual textual communications system in support of disaster relief operations. It provides a new strategy for developing these live-saving multi-lingual applications in under 48 hours.

This article represents an excerpt of the research conducted concerning a rapid information-centric development (RAPID) framework to construct multi-lingual textual communication systems in support of disaster relief operations. This article is not intended to explain the RAPID framework in detail or the complete research process of developing this framework. It is offered as an introduction to the concepts and capabilities of this new approach to MT and its application to disaster response operations. A more complete, detailed report of this research will be available in the late summer or fall of 2007. For additional information, the author can be contacted at <MattAChapman@aol.com>.

#### NOTES

1. ACTS, copyright 2006 by Matthew A. Chapman.

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# EDUCATION EXODUS, GLOBALIZATION AND FAMILISM IN KOREAN KIROGI MOTHERS

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## ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the life stories of “*Kirogi* Mothers,” transnational/multinational heads of households who have moved to English speaking countries for their children’s English education. In this study, the investigation focuses on the life stories of *Kirogi* mothers in Hawai’i so as to explore the socioeconomic and cultural reasons of their migration and to understand whether they experience advantages as a result of their relocation to a culturally and linguistically unique region of the United States.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Various lines of research have examined the lives of immigrant women from the perspective of second language studies. More specifically, topics on immigrant women and language are widely explored and these show how women can be empowered through language practice (Lan 2003, McMahon 2001, Norton 2000). In this study, I focus on Korean immigrant mothers called *Kirogi*. The word *Kirogi* refers to wild geese in Korean. This group of mothers can be distinguished from previous generations of Korean immigrant women according to several criteria. First, they are from newly formed Korean transnational families. Also, unlike transnational political-economic immigration such as the crucible of early colonialism (Abelmann & Lie 1995), the main reason why *Kirogis* move to English speaking countries with their children is for English education. Relocated to nations such as the United States, this new group of immigrant women experiences various gendered roles, including matriarch, woman in America and English language learner. In this study, I will observe and reflect on *Kirogi* mothers’ life stories.

## 2.0. WHO ARE KIROGIS?

As an extension of private English education, a new family form for studying abroad called the *Kirogi* family came out in the mid-1990s. *Kirogi* families are considered transnational and multinational Korean households. Since *Kirogis* have immigrated to a new place to live, while the father stays home to feed the family members (like a male goose), the term *Kirogi family* stands for a new form of Korean family whose father lives alone in Korea to support his family abroad economically and flies over the ocean seasonally to visit his family. Meanwhile, the mother and children live abroad so that the children can be educated in an English speaking context. Two underlying qualifications for this arrangement are, first, that the mother should speak basic English, and second that the father should make enough money to support them (Cho, 2004).

For middle-class or upper-middle-class people in Korea, the *Kirogi* family arrangement is a common experience. Thus, *Kirogi* stories in Korea do not apply only to upper-class families. Indeed, it is seen as an unavoidable social issue in Korean society. Around 30,000 mothers have left Korea for their children’s English education during the last five years. The *Donga Daily* (March 30, 2006) reports that 41% of Korean parents who have elementary school students are willing to emigrate for their children’s education if possible, and 20% are willing to be *Kirogi* fathers.

In this paper, I will follow Cho’s definition of *Kirogi family*. He explains that *Kirogi* families are the people from upper-middle class and are “eager to give a better chance to their children at the cost of their conjugal relationship in the flexible globalizing society” (2004: 343). They show strong flexibility and desire for success, which is the major mechanism for advancement of families in society. Therefore, I want to borrow the terms of ‘flexible citizenship’ by Ong (1999), and ‘strategic family’ system by Cho (2004) to characterize *Kirogi* families as globally split families that have very strong flexibility and have been formed under well-prepared plans. Thus, this form of family embodies a globally focused strategy of social mobility through education.

### 3.0. DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH

#### 3.1. Research Questions

In this study, I investigate how living and learning English abroad can result in Korean *Kirogi* mothers' gain of symbolic capital in a globalized world, and I examine to what extent Korean mothers' desire for their children's English skills affect their decisions on education, as well as to what extent such decisions are influenced by familism.

Being a *Kirogi* family or *Kirogi* mother is not only related to English education itself. The identity also has social, cultural, and historical meaning. Based on interviews with *Kirogi* mothers, two historical and cultural discourses emerge: globalization and familism in South Korea. These themes will be discussed in this study in respect of how they are inherent in *Kirogi* mothers' life stories.

#### 3.2. Methodology

I interviewed two *Kirogi* mothers, Robin and Kyung-ah, who moved to Hawai'i for their children's education. Their names are pseudonyms that they chose to use in this study. Narratives were collected from these two Korean mothers through individual interviews. After the interviews, I transcribed the Korean narratives into English, and a Korean-English bilingual assisted me in making the transcript more natural.

In examining this data, I have focused more on the macro-level themes expressed in the mothers' stories. Pavlenko (2007) explains that, "Global or macro-level analysis should attend to historic, political, economic and cultural circumstances of narrative production ... narrative activity allows us to examine multiple linkages and interdependencies between them." As Pavlenko points out, different aspects and layers of macro-level themes cannot be divided clearly. Rather, they should be taken as overlapped, and synthesized analysis should examine them holistically. In this study, the economic aspects of globalized English in Korea and the historical and cultural aspects of education under Korean familism will be investigated to examine *Kirogi* mothers' narratives.

#### 3.3. Narrative Study

This study is based on the narrative data that emerged from the mothers' life histories. Narrative studies show participant's lives so as to provide meaningful evidence to researchers (Bell 2002, Chase 2005, Pavlenko 2002). In addition, this method helps people to organize life experiences through reasoning and representation (Berger 1997). In this study, narratives function as a means for *Kirogi* mothers to draw out their experiences and represent their positions. By "providing the insider's view" (Pavlenko 2007), *Kirogi* mothers can organize or reorganize their lives and become empowered by doing so.

Moreover, narratives are not just individual works, but are instead formed by social, cultural and historical aspects (Pavlenko 2002). In other words, *Kirogi* mothers' narratives are not only about immigrant women's personal lives. They also show how social, cultural and historical aspects are interrelated with each other within their stories. Culture and history shape how people see their world and speak about their roles and identities (Berger 1997, Brown 1990 cited in Fraser 2004: 180). For example, we can see English skills as a type of social capital in Korea, while the historical background of Korean familism naturally shapes how Korean *Kirogi* mothers see their world.

#### 3.4. Participants

##### 3.4.1. Kyung-ah

Kyung-ah is in her mid-forties and has two daughters, who were in first and second grade at the time of the interviews. She is from Jeonju, a city located in the south of Korea. She taught English at a public middle school in Korea, and coming to Hawai'i was the first time for her to live in another country. Her husband worked at the time of the interviews as a public official, and his position was considered very stable and thus prestigious. The family had come to the United States together two years previously, when the father was pursuing an MBA, but he returned to Korea to work after finishing his degree. Kyung-ah decided to stay in America with her daughters for their English education. At the time of the interviews, she was attending ESL courses to maintain her visa status and stay in Hawai'i, and to send her two daughters to the public school with dependent visa status. The interviews were conducted in her apartment with her daughters for about two hours,

but the two girls did not speak very much. During the interviews, Kyung-ah told me that she really wanted to live in the United States, and did not wish to return to Korea.

### 3.4.2. Robin

Robin is also in her mid forties, and she has a son and a daughter who were at the time of the interview in the eighth and ninth grade. She is from Seoul, as are many other *Kirogi* mothers. She had arrived one year previously, and it is her third time to live in America. Her first time was in the early 1990s, when her husband was pursuing a PhD degree in North Carolina, and her second time was five years previously, when her children were in the third and fourth grade. They went to school in a small city in Illinois. One of their father's friends, who was in the same PhD program in North Carolina, had suggested that they could come to his town so that he can help them to settle down. Then they went back to live in Korea for a time before returning again to America. Her husband works as a professor at a university in Seoul. She majored in English and taught English in Seoul before coming to Hawai'i. She was attending a highly advanced ESL course, but the main reason why she was taking this course was to maintain her visa status, since her children have American citizenship. She wants to go back to Korea after her children go on to college. The individual interviews were conducted at a mutual friend's house. Robin told me the story of her immigration and her experiences as a *Kirogi* mother.

## 4.0. CONTEXT OF THIS STUDY

### 4.1. Why Did They Move to Hawai'i?

It is interesting to note, in the context of this study, why these two *Kirogi* mothers chose to live in Hawai'i, a state where there are many Korean immigrants and, recently, many Korean *Kirogi* mothers. In Kyung-ah's case, she had decided to remain in Hawai'i with her daughters for their education after her husband returned to Korea, and she was satisfied with their lives in Hawai'i. Robin had purposely chosen Hawai'i for a very clear reason:

- 1 Korean is their first language, English is second, and I think doing sports is
- 2 a third language. If they are good at sports, it is the same as if they speak three
- 3 languages. Hawai'i is a very good place to practice different
- 4 sports because of the weather. My children's father is a good tennis player
- 5 and, one day, he played tennis with another PhD student in his department
- 6 in North Carolina. The friend was a national badminton player and had never
- 7 lost. However, when they played, my children's father won even though
- 8 he didn't tie up his shoelaces!! After that, the friend started to respect my
- 9 children's father. I think this was possible because of the sport, not English,
- 10 wasn't it?

In order to educate her children in a third language, sports, Robin decided to come to Hawai'i, and this idea had come from her understanding of her husband's experience and how he had been accepted in American society. Also, playing sports is a competitive skill that can prepare children to be global citizens, like learning English. Being good at playing tennis has as much or more advantage as English, and Robin saw this as a necessity.

Aside from the local context, a larger sociopolitical context should also be considered (Menard-Warwick 2005). Watson-Gegeo (1992) mentions that "context is a whole set of relationships," whereby a phenomenon exists both through long-term history and in the immediate situation. Before discussing further, I wish to first introduce the larger context of globalization and how it influences English education in Korea.

### 4.2. Globalization and English Education in South Korea

English skills have served as a marker of class and status in South Korea, and the market for English education has expanded dramatically since the mid-1990s under the *Segyehwa* (globalization) policy regime set forth by the Kim Young-Sam administration (Cho 2002, Kim 1998). At the same time, emphasis has been placed on the use of English as a tool for communication in a global society. As part of the momentum toward English, in 1997, the Korean Ministry of Education announced a new national curriculum that adopted a functional approach toward English, replacing the previous grammatical approach. The new curriculum shifted emphasis toward communicative competence over grammatical knowledge, and on fluency over accuracy (Kim 1998). Thus, the National English Curricula announced on March 2, 1997, marked a step in line with

globalization but also raised concerns that elementary English programs would impose an increased burden via high private tutoring costs, ill-prepared textbooks and inadequately trained teachers.

As expected, these changes have ushered in dramatic increases in private English education, such as group tutoring, private institutes and workshops. Meanwhile, students of all ages wish to study abroad in English-speaking countries. According to data released by The Bank of Korea, Koreans spend approximately \$7 billion per year studying English abroad. This figure is equivalent to one-third of the total national budget for all forms of education. In addition, people spend around \$4 billion annually on private English education within Korea. This indicates that Koreans spend some \$11 billion each year on their children's English education (Hankuk Ilbo 2006). English has become the predominant language worldwide, and South Koreans have placed high value on English competence as a means to get ahead in the global economy. Thus, under globalization, Korean people have clearly invested a great deal of money in English education, making English a crucial asset in Korean society. Cho (2002) explains that, within this structure of globalization, another reason why Koreans pursue English fluency and education is due to the high competition for college entrance examinations in Korea.

Economic development also plays a role in the changes apparent in Korean English education. Park and Abelman (2004) explain that, in the 1990s, South Korea could be understood as undergoing neo-liberal education reform. This refers to the many changes in the educational system, especially for English education, which were aimed at contributing to Korea's successful economic development. In the early 1990s, globalization and development were highly sought after. However, with an unstable economic situation in 1997, the crisis planted doubts that neo-liberalism should be fought against (Gwon 2004). Despite the economic crisis and the anti-globalization movement, English education has continued to remain a key point for job seekers. Indeed, the economic downturn led to increased competition, since many people were fired during the subsequent restructuring. The new government currently stresses English education and technical innovation as primary ways to accelerate globalization (Nam 2005).

## 5.0. THE STORIES

### 5.1. *Kirogi* Mothers' Life Planning: Globalized Mothers

Recognizing that the world is globalizing, Robin considers planning and managing her children's education as part of her duty as a mother, to raise them and empower them as global citizens. Since this is the third time for Robin to live in America, she has a clear and concrete idea of what it means to be a *Kirogi*.

*"If you give birth to a baby girl, you should plant an oak in your yard."*

- 1 R: "Americans might think that we are too sacrificing for our family and children...I
- 2 know...but everybody knows that it is worthwhile, right? If your children become bilinguals
- 3 or go to prestigious colleges, then it's worthwhile. So I planned it for a long time.
- 4 You know the Korean proverb, "If you give birth to a baby girl, you should plant an
- 5 oak in your yard." It means that parents should make plans for their children's future. I
- 6 had thought that I would never make my children learn English in Korea...If I only
- 7 dedicate three years, my children would live happy lives for the rest of their 60
- 8 or 80 following years, right?"

Robin expresses her idea of *Kirogi* motherhood by focusing on the crucial importance of being an educational planner for her children. She sees Korean-English bilingualism as a form of social capital (lines 2 and 3), which is important enough to sacrifice herself and become a *Kirogi*. More specifically, as Moon (2003) addresses in her study of gender, immigration and motherhood, this concept of motherhood is integral to the concern of the middle class with the maintenance or improvement of socioeconomic status through investment in their children's formal and informal education. The duties of a mother that relate to education are strongly linked to social status, and *Kirogi* mothers who have clear goals are well aware of the fact that their actions in this regard can generate social capital. In this narrative, Robin values her sacrifice as part of her motherhood within the broader picture of globalization and social capital.

Bourdieu (1991) explains cultural capital is functionally equivalent to economic capital in linguistic markets. This conveys a sense of the status of English in Korea very well. Shim states that the ability to speak English well is associated with higher status in Korea, and English is not only a symbol of education but also of

success and fortune (Shim 1994: 235). Indeed, there is a widespread belief that English education guarantees success not only academically but also in life. Thus, whether or not it is true that fluency in English can automatically lead to socioeconomic success, such a belief is very strong among Korean intellectuals.

Nam (2005) states that "intellectual standards, promotions, and pay-raises are determined by...English ability, emphasizing that English ability equals a person's body value, and English is like a weapon in a war." Thus, in global competition, English is an indispensable weapon that Korean mothers have to prepare and equip their children with. Mothers value this practice, and they are empowered through the discharge of this duty.

Besides their contributions to social capital, the historical aspect of Korean mothers and motherhood should be considered. In her story, Robin uses a Korean proverb (line 4 and 5) to illustrate an explicitly Korean perspective. She mentions, "if you give birth to a baby girl, you should plant an oak in your yard." This means that parents need to prepare and plan for their children's future even at the earliest stages. In the context of this proverb, parents begin to prepare the material goods deemed essential for their daughters' marriage ceremonies (for example, oaks were traditionally considered as a valuable asset). Just as traditional parents prepared for their children's financial future, Robin has planned her children's educational future and focused on helping them to become confident English speakers. In other words, English education has replaced the oak as a crucial stepping-stone in global society. Here, she draws on the discourse of tradition to help make sense of modern life.

The children-centered family system and the concept of sacrifice for one's children can be understood within the context of Korean familism. The Korean family system centers around the children, and not around the husband-wife relationship (Kim 2002). This means that many parents plan their family's future through their children's educational opportunities. In other words, they are ready to devote their lives to their children's education (cf. lines 7 and 8) for the purpose of building the family's prosperity. In other words, if a child becomes a successful global citizen, such success would be a source of great pride for the parents and the entire family. Thus, family is the link between individuals and society (Cho 1997). This highlights, ironically, how *Kirogi* families pursue stable futures for the families by risking the husband-wife relationship (Choi 2006). Recently, media reports have emerged discussing the unhappy consequences of *Kirogi* family arrangements, such as increasing divorce rates, *Kirogi* father suicide rates and adulterous relationships. However, the desire for *Kirogi* success remains very strong, and parents seem willing to sacrifice their husband-wife relationships for the benefit of their children.

Additionally, familism accentuates distinct gender roles. For example, mothers are the caregivers, who care for children and the home, while fathers support their families financially (Kim 2002). This distinction is diluted in modern society, since many women earn income for their families, and increasing numbers of single parents are raising their children. In the new *Kirogi* family arrangement, distinctive gender roles are revived. Mothers live with and take care of the children, and fathers work and earn the money away from their wives and kids to support them from afar. However, the difference here that mothers must act as heads of their households when living abroad.

***"It is my responsibility to bring them up on English and sports."***

- 1 To speak English perfectly has "incalculable value." So, to give a chance
- 2 to them (the children) to learn English is very important. It is much more
- 3 valuable than leaving billions in an inheritance. As a mother, I need to
- 4 prepare for their future. If I die suddenly someday in the future,
- 5 they have to live without me! They have to live by themselves wherever they are in
- 6 the world. So it is my responsibility to bring them up on English and
- 7 sports so that they can live without me.
- 8 And this is a mother's job, not a father's.
- 9 *Kirogi* mothers in Hawai'i, they have to do everything, and mothers are very busy.
- 10 They have to study, give a ride and participate in activities at schools. So, I gave
- 11 up cooking. I can't!! If I have to cook, I might go crazy.
- 12 So, fathers don't even have a right to argue with me about the children's
- 13 education.

In this excerpt, Robin describes her notion of the distinctive gender roles in her family, as well as her position as a mother and thus an educator. She constructs her role as a *Kirogi* mother differently from that of a mother in Korea, and she separates her job from what the father can do for their children. Furthermore, she justifies her job as educator by emphasizing the importance of English and sports. She also expresses that her devotion is something that only she can perform for her children. Therefore, as a *Kirogi* mother, and as a responsible person of her family, she helps the children adapt to social changes. In doing so, she can "act as a catalyst for social change" (Koo forthcoming).

In summary, Robin's concept of motherhood is influenced by the tide of globalization and the idea of English as a source of social capital. Korean family structure and gender roles are also indispensable to her story. Dominant Korean historical and cultural ideologies are likewise interwoven, allowing for Robin's constructed identity as a devoted mother. This position empowers her, because it embodies a process of obtaining social and cultural capital. Next, I will consider the aspects of *Kirogi* mothers' life transformation, from woman to daughter-in-law.

## 5.2. Escapism from Korean Society as Women

Living abroad as a *Kirogi* mother has a dual meaning in the Korean family system. It means not only doing one's duty as a mother but also shirking one's responsibility as a daughter-in-law in an extended family. Two mothers in this study commonly show that being *Kirogi* is a way of abjuring their roles as women in Korean society. This abandonment allows *Kirogi* mothers to escapes from the burdens they have to bear as members of their husbands' families. In this decade, the first of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, nuclear families have played increasingly central roles due to economic and lifestyle changes (Cho 1997). People tend to focus on 'their' family, not an extended family, and place great stress on family-centered success to ensure a competitive social advantage. This has resulted in views whereby children's education is a vital problem for the nuclear family's decisions (Kim 2002). However, for Kyung-ah and Robin's generation to take such a view is contradictory with the mindset of their parents' generation, who placed ultimate emphasis on the extended family and the role of individuals as members of larger families.

Kyung-ah expressed strong satisfaction with her present position as a *Kirogi*, because this position could liberate her from living as a mere family member, a daughter-in-law, in traditional Korean society.

*"But actually I was all worn out inside!"*

- 1 I don't like wearing makeup because others do, like in Korea.
- 2 I have to visit my husband's parents and, when I visit them,
- 3 sometimes I do not feel like putting on makeup, but when my
- 4 mother-in-law asks me to be always nicely dressed and wearing makeup, it really
- 5 bothers me! They want me to always look good and wear good clothes when
- 6 visiting, and they expect their son to be driving a nice car, but I feel so relieved
- 7 that I do not need to do that anymore, because I am here with my children.
- 8 I feel so free. I might have seemed to be a loyal and submissive daughter-in-law,
- 9 but actually I was all worn out inside!

Kyung-ah constructs an identity for herself as an oppressed daughter-in-law in Korea and recounts how satisfied she is with the fact that she can avoid that role. Her duty to visit her parents-in-law regularly is, for her husband's parents, more meaningful than just a visit. In the traditional Korean view, a pleasant patina for Kyung-ah and her husband's appearances represents their parents' success. Indeed, under the values of familism, one's socioeconomic success is not only individual but is for the larger family's prosperity and social mobility. This traditional idea is considered as a burden to Kyung-ah (see line 9). She said that she was "all worn out inside," and this shows that the strong familism of traditional Korean society was unbearable to her. Thus, being a *Kirogi* provides a chance for Kyung-ah to escape from this burden. However, interestingly, her recognition of this burden emerges from a comparison to her present life in Hawai'i. She identifies herself as a loyal and submissive daughter-in-law in the past (line 8), but now her experience as head of household, far from her parents-in-law, gives Kyung-ah a sense of relief. Therefore, experiencing these different roles in their varied contexts can be seen as an integral part of her identity claim.

Meyerstein (1996) and Choi (2006) make arguments that touch upon the role of in-laws in society. According to Meyerstein, every family in all societies has certain difficulties in dealing with in-laws. This can be seen in how Kyung-ah had difficulties with her in-laws in Korea. Choi (2006) agrees with Meyerstein and adds that difficulties related to in-laws are more complex in Korean society, because Korea is a patriarchal society and "families are enmeshed with each other." As Choi explains, married women in Korea are required to bear strong obligations to their husbands' families, even though they do not live with them. Also, in Korean society, the daughter-in-law's duties toward the husband's family are stronger than those of the son-in-law for his wife's family. Therefore, *Kirogi* mothers often experience a release from their in-law dilemmas while they are living abroad with their children.

Familism stems from the idea that family is the center of all practices and decisions (Cho 2004, Kim 2002, Lee 1996). As previously stated, a *Kirogi* mother's dedication toward her children is the outcome of familism, which emphasizes family-centered norm and sacrifice by parents for their children. Nonetheless, at the same time, a *Kirogi* mother is free from the bounds of the traditional relationship with her in-law family, and thus the *Kirogi* arrangement also goes against the norms of familism to a certain extent. It is ironic that Korean *Kirogi* mothers represent dual attitudes toward familism, and both aspects are linked to simultaneous acceptance and rejection of their gender roles in Korean society. Within the nuclear family, *Kirogi* mothers confirm their role as mothers who manage children's future, make sacrifices on their behalf, and expect recognition of the value of such sacrifices. But at the same time, they deny their roles as daughters-in-law who are to meet their in-laws expectations. The meaning of familism and gender roles have been ambiguously and differently accepted by the two different generations of adults involved in *Kirogi* extended families.

Cho (1997) mentions that, in current Korean families, the traditional, modern, and postmodern aspects of the family coexist. This combination redefines all family relations, including wife-husband, parent-child, as well as mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. With these changes, family members who are in their forties are currently said to be the last generation of pre-modern Korean family members and the first generation of modern Korean family members. They experience the conflict of transforming family values firsthand. Thus, *Kirogi* mothers are a generation that is struggling with different types of family values. In addition, since their parents' sacrifices and expectations for them are different from those they harbor for their own children, this can stir discords in the extended family.

Besides the escape from her family and gender roles, Robin also discussed her escape from Korean society. She told a story about her appearance, and how her small eyes are viewed differently in Korea versus in America.

**"I hated my small eyes."**

- 1 R: "I hated my appearance when I was young,
- 2 especially my small eyes without double eyelids.
- 3 'Why are my eyes so small?' That's the question I have always had.
- 4 In Korea, people on TV criticize other women's appearance without any guilt.
- 5 I do not want my children to learn that.
- 6 It is a bad influence.
- 7 But here, my small eyes are considered attractive...sometimes...[small laughter]
- 8 Now, I know, good appearances are just luck, and that's it.
- 9 To be good looking does not need any effort.
- 10 But think about learning language and sports.
- 11 You need to practice very hard to achieve these.
- 12 Children should learn these from Americans.
- 13 They have to learn the good American values, and also the good Korean values.
- 14 Then they can be global people."

Robin tells how women's appearances are considered in Korean society as compared to how Americans think about beauty. Then she generalizes this point to a broader American way of thinking, extending her idea to education in America. By explaining how her small eyes can be considered attractive, she emphasizes American educational values, which, she believes, focuses on effort. Moreover, this idea is further extended to her concept of "global people" (line 14).

Robin constructs a sense of liberation from Korean perceptions of women's bodies by describing a perceived lack of 'globalness' in Korean values. Even though female beauty also can be subject to public judgment in the United States, Robin discursively constructs Korean female identities as bound by judgments on appearance as she contrasts the two cultures. Though she does not mention any specific good Korean value that is necessary to qualify as a "global person," she does indicate that the feeling of oppression and disempowerment is something that should not be learned from Korean society.

Many other studies on women's escapism and language (Lan 2003, McMahon 2001, Norton & Pavlenko 2004b, Pavlenko 2001, Park & Abelman 2004) introduce and compare types of escapism displayed by *Kirogi* mothers. These studies discuss how women can be liberated from social values or gender roles through the leaning and use of language. For example, McMahon (2001) explores how a group of Japanese women empowered themselves through self-transformation in English class. Thus, the author explains, English works as an 'escape' from the gender roles that are dictated by society. Kyung-ah feels free because she lives away from her in-laws, but on the condition that she is sacrificing herself for her children's English education. Also, Robin is empowered by her distance from Korean society, which she considers oppressive in its standards for beauty.

## 6.0. CONCLUSION

I have investigated who *Kirogi* mothers are, what cultural and historical aspects are inherent in their stories, and how these two mothers have been empowered or disempowered in terms of the broader societal context. In Rhee's (2006) study of Korean immigrant women, she discusses three different positions: Korean, women, and United States higher education. She argues that different privileges account for the distinctly shaped choices that are reflected by these women's identities. As a woman and a mother, the *Kirogi* mother's life is changed. Robin and Kyung-ah both experienced life transformation. This change made both participants recognize their possession of certain privileges.

Being a *Kirogi* mother is a lifestyle choice, but it can also ultimately lead not only to migration but to transformation. *Kirogi* mothers can be empowered through their planning of their children's study abroad, by which they can gain social capital. To Kyung-ah, being *Kirogi* is a way of escaping from Korean society, which places great emphasis on a strong extended family system. Robin can be liberated from the Korean values that oppressed her as a woman. However, at the same time, neither of these women wish to escape from her duty as a Korean mother and family caretaker. Therefore, we can see that living as a *Kirogi* mother involves transformation in terms of gender roles, generational values and social status.

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# ANOTHER LOOK AT OVERPASSIVIZATION IN L2 ENGLISH

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## ABSTRACT

Investigations into the L2 acquisition of English intransitives by adult learners with heterogeneous backgrounds (e.g., Balcom 1997, Kondo 2005, Yip 1990 & 1995, Zobl 1989) indicate that such learners are significantly more likely to overgeneralize passive morphology to unaccusatives than to unergatives, a phenomenon dubbed overpassivization. I extended these previous investigations by comparing elicited written responses from adult and child L2 English acquirers. The results show that, while knowledge of passives leads adults to use passive morphology substantially more frequently with unaccusatives than with unergatives, overpassivization is non-existent in child L2 production data.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

One of the major tasks faced by second language (L2) researchers is to understand why certain non-target-like structures persist in interlanguage grammar. One structure that has been reported extensively in L2 English involves the novel use of passive morphology, as illustrated below:

- (1) \*The most memorable experience of my life *was happened* 15 years ago.  
(Native language [L1] Arabic, advanced learner)
- (2) \*Most of people *are fallen* love and marry with somebody.  
(L1 Japanese, high intermediate)
- (3) \*My mother *was died* when I was just a baby.  
(L1 Thai, high intermediate)  
(above data from Zobl 1989: 1–3)
- (4) \*I found that a big table *was diagonally stood* along the small house's wall.  
(L1 Korean, low intermediate)

In these sentences, the intransitive verbs *happen*, *fall*, *die*, and *stand* have been marked with the passive morphology *be* + *-en*, resulting in non-target-like passives. This phenomenon is often dubbed overpassivization (see Yip 1990).

Zobl (1989) has observed that L2 English learners do not overgeneralize passive morphology to all intransitive verbs. Rather, they were found to be significantly more likely to passivize unaccusatives than unergatives.

According to the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Burzio 1986, Levin & Rappaport-Hovav 1995, Perlmutter 1978), intransitive verbs are of two types, as illustrated below:

<u>surface structure</u>	<u>deep structure</u>	
(5) John laughed. (S-V)	[VP John laughed]	(unergative)
(6) John <sub>i</sub> arrived t <sub>i</sub> . (S-V)	[VP arrived John]	(unaccusative)

Although (5) and (6) appear to be identical in their surface structure, their inherent difference can be seen through their variance in participating in various syntactic operations and in their theta-role assignment. In (5), *John* is the agent of the laughing event and is merged to the subject position as an external argument. In (6), however, *John* is the theme of the arriving event and is the internal argument of the verb *arrive*. Thus, *John* has to move from the postverbal position to the preverbal position to become the subject. Intransitive verbs that take agent subjects like *laugh* are called unergatives, and intransitive verbs that take theme subjects such as *arrive* are called unaccusatives.

Zobl noted that unaccusatives are similar to passives in that they both involve moving postverbal theme arguments to the subject position. However, the NP movement associated with passives is overtly marked with *be* + *-en* morphology, while the NP movement associated with unaccusatives does not have a morphological reflex. Zobl proposed that L2 English learners are sensitive to lexical semantics and overgeneralize passive morphology to unaccusatives but not to unergatives.

This finding has triggered a number of studies on unaccusatives in the L2 English of learners with heterogeneous L1 backgrounds (e.g., Balcom 1997, Kondo 2005, Yip 1990 & 1995). These studies confirm Zobl's original observation and suggest that overpassivization is not induced by L1 background. Rather, it characterizes a developmental stage that all L2 learners go through in their acquisition of English unaccusatives.

This raises two questions. First, if the passive morphology *be* + *-en* associated with unaccusatives in L2 English results from overgeneralization of the passive rule, then how are unaccusatives represented in interlanguage (IL) grammar at early stages of L2 acquisition, especially when passives have not yet been acquired? Second, if overpassivization is indeed developmental, that is, driven by L2 learners' innate linguistic knowledge rather than by the L1 grammar, we would expect to find a parallel phenomenon in L1 acquisition. A cursory examination of the L1 acquisition literature indicates that overpassivization is not as widely reported as in the L2 literature. I wonder why it is so, which leads to the question of how child L2 learners would perform in this regard. Do they behave like L1 children or like L2 adults? The pilot study reported in the remaining sections of this paper is an attempt to address these questions empirically. Specifically, L2 English production data elicited from a class of beginning to lower-intermediate level adult ESL students and eight child L2 learners of English are compared, with the focus given to the presence or absence of passive morphology on unergatives and unaccusatives. The findings will improve our understanding of the sources of overpassivization in L2 English.

## 2.0. THE STUDY

### 2.1. Participants

Two experimental groups were included in this study: adults and children. The adult group consisted of 12 native speakers of Japanese, Korean and Chinese in an ESL program at the University of Hawai'i. All of them had finished secondary education in their home countries and had received some classroom instruction in English. Their stays in the United States ranged from about 4 months to 1.5 years at the time of data collection. They were placed in beginning to lower-intermediate ESL courses based on their scores on listening, speaking, and writing placement tests.

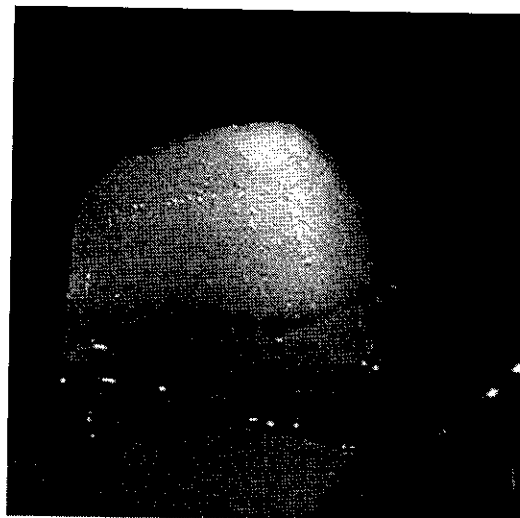
The child group consisted of eight children from 8;10 to 9;11 years old, with a mean age of 9;0. All of them were native speakers of Mandarin Chinese. Two of them lived in Hawai'i, and the other six lived in Canada. They started naturalistically acquiring English as a second language after they moved to the US and Canada with their families. They attended English-medium elementary schools and spoke English at school and mainly Chinese at home.

In addition to the experimental groups, seven native speakers of English participated in the study as a control group.

### 2.2. Materials and Procedures

An elicited production task was used. All participants were asked to look at 12 pictures and then write one sentence about each picture using a given verb.

Eight verbs were chosen: four unergatives (*dance, laugh, swim* and *jump*) and four unaccusatives (*burn, melt, roll* and *drop*). Each of the selected unergative verbs denotes a controlled motional process, which is claimed to be strongly unergative. Each of the selected unaccusative verbs, on the other hand, denotes a change of location or state, which is said to be strongly unaccusative (see Sorace 2000). Note that the unaccusative verbs used in the experiment alternate between transitive (causative) and intransitive (inchoative), depending on the context. Therefore, for each unaccusative verb, two photos were given: one biased toward the causative context and the other biased towards the inchoative context. For example, the following two photos were used for the verb *melt*:



Figures 1 and 2: Sample photos (*melt*, causative bias on left and inchoative bias on right.)

The picture on the left, with a clear indication of an agent, is intended to elicit the causative use. The picture on the right, in contrast, is meant to provide an agentless context where the inchoative use is more appropriate.

The 12 pictures (i.e., 4 for unergatives, 4 for causatives and 4 for inchoatives) and their corresponding verbs were ordered in a pseudo-randomized fashion and printed out for each participant.

The adult learners were tested as a group, while the child learners and the native speakers were tested individually. Participants could take as much time as they needed, but they were not allowed to use dictionaries or discuss the tasks with others.

One week after this task, the adult participants were tested on their knowledge of passives. This time, they were each given a list of transitive verbs and asked to make up sentences in the active voice and then convert the sentences to the passive voice. This test was done after collecting data so as to avoid the priming effect of the passives on the previous picture-description task. Due to its metalinguistic nature, this test was not administered to the child participants.

### 3.0. RESULTS

#### 3.1. Test on Passives

To tease apart the subjects who had acquired passives from those who had not, I first examined the sentences produced by the adult L2 learners. Among the 12 subjects, only 1 did not seem to have a stable knowledge of the passive construction, as can be seen from the data in (7), (8), and (9).

- (7) *publish*  
active: Publishing house has published many books in last year.  
passive: They were published many books.

In the passive pattern, this L2 learner did use the morphology *be* + *-en*, but he failed to upgrade the theme argument *many books* to the subject position.

- (8) *produce*  
active: America produce more apples than any other country.  
passive: The juice was produced from apples.

As in (7), the correct morphology was used in (8), but a new argument, the juice, was added and put in the subject position. The original theme argument *more apples* was changed into *apples*, which was subsequently turned into an oblique.

- (9) *invent*  
active: I invented a new telephone.  
passive: The telephone was invented by me.

In (9), the passive pattern was target-like. When the data is taken together, it reasonably supports the conclusion that this L2 learner was aware that passive voice is marked with *be* + *-en* but that he was still in the process of acquiring the passive mapping rule:

agent => (oblique)  
 theme => subject.

The other 11 adult L2 learners all exhibited target-like passivization, although they showed non-native use in other aspects such as in agreement and tense.

Based on these results, the other 11 participants were pooled together as a group for analysis of overpassivization, and the one without sound knowledge of passives was reserve for individual consideration.

### 3.2. Experiment on Unaccusatives

The rate at which the passive morphology *be* + *-en* was produced using the unergatives and inchoatives is summarized in Table 1. As can be seen from the table, the native control group performed as expected. They did not use passive morphology with any of these two groups of verbs. Interestingly, the two L2 experimental groups behaved substantially differently. The child L2 learners seemed native-like in their production. In their data, passive morphology occurred with neither unergatives nor inchoatives. The adult L2 learners, on the other hand, produced *be* + *-en* with 15.91% of inchoatives and 2.27% of unergatives.

Table 1: Passive Morphology Marking on Unergatives and Inchoatives

Groups	Unergative	Inchoative
Adult L2ers (N=11)	1/44 (2.27%)	7/44 (15.91%)
Child L2ers (N=8)	0/32 (0%)	0/32 (0%)
Natives (N=7)	0/28 (0%)	0/28 (0%)

Turning now to causatives, we can see from Table 2 that the results were not as clear-cut as those in Table 1. When given a causative-biased picture, such as one of a man who is melting ice, even some native speakers did not express the agent when producing the inchoative (e.g., *Ice melts*). The same thing happened with both experimental groups.

When the participants decided to linguistically encode the agent, they had a choice of either active or passive patterns. The adult L2 learners clearly exhibited a much stronger preference for the passive pattern than the native speakers did, as shown in Table 2. Two child L2 learners did not use passives at all.

Table 2: Active, Passive, and Inchoative Use

Groups	Active	Passive	Inchoative
Adult L2ers (N=11)	26/44 (59.09%)	11/44 (25%)	7/44 (15.91%)
Child L2ers (N=8)	20/32 (62.5%)	0/32 (0%)	12/32 (37.5%)
Natives (N=7)	16/28 (57.14%)	2/28 (7.14%)	10/28 (35.71%)

Finally, let us examine the sentences produced by the L2 adult learner who had not yet acquired passives.

- (10) Unergatives:  
 (i) A girl is dancing to started.  
 (ii) The man was happy laughed.  
 (iii) The man is swimming in the swimming pool.  
 (iv) A child was jumped to the water.
- (11) Inchoatives:  
 (i) The dry wood burns right now.  
 (ii) The ball was roll on the floor.  
 (iii) The ice is melted in the air.  
 (iv) That is small a drop. (*Drop* is misused as a noun.)
- (12) Causatives:  
 (i) Ice was melted in a pot.  
 (ii) A girl is to roll that balls.  
 (iii) There are many coins to drop.  
 (iv) Some people are to burn the grasses.

This subject appears to use passive morphology somewhat randomly with unergatives, inchoatives and causatives. No clear trend can be discerned in this data to conclude that this subject distinguished among these three types of verbs.

#### 4.0 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

I return now to the two research questions. The first was how unaccusatives are represented at the early stages of L2 acquisition, especially when passives have not yet been acquired. Because only one such learner participated, a firm answer to that question is difficult to give. However, this participant's production data indicate the following. If we examine all the contexts where the passive marker *be* + *-en* was produced, *be* + *en* clearly is not an NP movement marker, as suggested by Zobl, because it occurred with unergatives (e.g., *A child was jumped to the water*) as well as in the supposedly passive pattern where the theme remains in the object position (e.g., *They were published many books*). As a matter of fact, this form seems to be used interchangeably with the active form (e.g., *The man is swimming in the swimming pool*. vs. *A child was jumped to the water*.). Because unergatives and inchoatives were treated alike, it is difficult to maintain the argument that the unergative/unaccusative distinction is specified in the innate grammar of L2 learners. However, the L2 learners who had acquired the passives produced *be* + *-en* at a significantly higher rate with unaccusatives than with unergatives, which confirms Zobl's (1989) finding.

Based on the notable difference in the use of *be* + *-en* among the adult L2 learners who knew passives and the one learner who did not fully know passives, I speculate that *be* + *-en* may have different morphosyntactic status during different stages of L2 acquisition.

The second question I intended to answer was whether child L2 learners would also go through an overpassivization stage in the acquisition of English unaccusatives. Because the child L2 participants were not tested on their passive knowledge, the non-existence of *be* + *-en* can be interpreted as evidence that they had not acquired passives and, hence, could not have reached an overpassivization stage. Alternatively, it could be taken as an indication that child L2 learners do not overgeneralize the passive rule to unaccusatives in the same way that adult L2 learners do. The fact that the adult L2 learner who had not acquired passives did use *be* + *-en* indicates a second possibility, namely, that child L2 learners follow a different route than adult L2 learners in the acquisition of unaccusatives.

One question that naturally follows is why adults and children are so different in their acquisition of English unaccusatives. One tempting answer is that different mechanisms underlie adult and child L2 acquisition.

However, the adult and child L2 groups in this study were crucially different. The adults learned English in formal classroom settings where passive formation usually receives considerable attention. The children, on the other hand, learned English in naturalistic settings where passives are presumably fairly less frequent in the input.

Thus, it is plausible that the salient input of passives that the adults had received made them generally use *be* + *-en* more. If we recall the results, when given causative-biased contexts where both active and passive patterns are permitted, the adult group used many more passive patterns (i.e., 25%) than either the child group (i.e., 0%) or the native control group (i.e., 7.14%), as shown in Table 2. This suggests that the adult learners had a stronger preference for passives than the other two groups.

To answer the question of why adult L2 English learners tend to overpassivize but children do not, additional data is needed on adult L2 learners who have acquired English naturalistically.

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# SIMULATION OF VISUAL AND AUDITORY IMAGERY

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## ABSTRACT

How is meaning represented in the brain? Barsalou (1999) has proposed a framework for embodied semantics whereby “subsets of perceptual states” are stored in long-term memory and reactivated through simulation during semantic processing. Thus, language use is fundamentally grounded in the brain’s modal sensory and motor systems. Studies of the processing of phrases encoding motor action (Bergen & Wheeler 2005), visual characteristics of objects (Richardson *et al.* 2003) and fictive motion (Matlock 2004) support this conclusion. The study reported here employed a sentence-reading task embedded within a multi-modal cued recall task to test whether semantic processing of visual and auditory imagery is indeed situated by modality.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

What parts of the brain are responsible for processing language? How does the physiological process of reading interact with those of thought and understanding? I propose that intensive non-linguistic short-term recall tasks, focused on the visual or auditory modality, can interfere with embedded linguistic tasks that involve descriptions of scenes in the matching modality.

### 1.1. Theoretical Background

Linguists have argued for a variety of contradictory views on how the brain processes language. Chomskyan theorists, for example, envision a serial processing system that adheres to amodal algorithmic rules (Fodor 1983, Chomsky 1984, Frazier 1987). An opposing view posits that language is situated within the brain and body and is processed by inherently modal, interactive, and parallel sensory and motor systems. In this study, I tested specific claims that question the traditional Chomskyan view by demonstrating that semantic processing is distributed throughout the brain by modality.

The processing of language engages Broca’s area, a cortical region sometimes associated with phonological and syntactic functions (Passingham 1981, Smith & Jonides 1999, Grodzinsky 2000, Embick *et al.* 2000). Broca’s area is connected with other brain areas that enable a listener to “recreate” or “simulate” a described scene to derive meaning from language. For example, by combining fMRI imaging with a listening task for Italian speakers, Tettamanti *et al.* (2005) demonstrated that listening to action sentences activates somatotopically organized cortical areas associated with motor control. Thus, mouth-related utterances (*e.g.*, “*Mordo la mela*,” meaning “I bite the apple”) engaged motor areas responsible for controlling the mouth. In contrast, foot-related sentences (*e.g.*, “*Calcio il pallone*,” meaning “I kick the ball”) were found to activate leg-control areas.

Situated models of semantic processing (*e.g.*, Barsalou 1999) posit that resonant patterns in the brain network Broca’s area with one or more semantically situated areas to create meaning. The semantically situated areas may be relatively close to or far from Broca’s area. For example, facial motor control areas are adjacent, while leg motor control areas are about five centimeters from Broca’s area. Pulvermüller *et al.* (2001) have shown that, for German speakers, leg-related words with higher frequency are recognized in a lexical decision task approximately 16 to 32 milliseconds slower than are face-related words with lower frequency. This difference corresponds to the period of time (25 ms) that synaptic signals are estimated to take to travel back and forth along the five-cm neural circuit linking Broca’s area to the leg-control section of the motor cortex.

Barsalou (1999) proposes that “perceptual symbol systems” are the framework by which semantic processing is situated in the brain’s perceptual and motor areas. Perceptual symbols, being “subsets of perceptual states,” are neural activation patterns stored in long-term memory and can become reactivated during semantic processing. Crucially, because perceptual symbols are grounded in perception, they are inherently modal.

Thus, to understand a sentence that includes the phrase “the yodeling echoed across the valley,” the mind reactivates corresponding perceptual symbols, thereby recruiting a subset of the same cognitive resources that were used in processing of the corresponding real sights and sounds. For example, such simulation would trigger the perceptual symbol for “yodeling,” which we might assume is stored primarily in the lateral temporal lobe (auditory cortex), and the perceptual symbol for “valley,” presumably stored in the dorsal parietal and medial temporal lobes (the secondary visual cortex for object recognition).

### 1.2. Prior Empirical Studies

Evidence for mental simulation has been elicited through linguistic tasks involving words and sentences referring to a variety of situated actions, most involving visual and/or proprioceptive imagery. For example, verbs and sentences encoding motor action (Bergen & Wheeler 2005, Tseng & Bergen 2005), words and phrases describing spatial characteristics such as affordances of objects (Richardson *et al.* 2001 & 2003, Bergen 2005), and sentences describing fictive motion (Matlock 2004) have each been shown to produce measurable simulation effects.

To date, however, empirical studies have generally not focused on the role of auditory perceptual symbols in linguistic processing. Nonetheless, brain-imaging studies by cognitive neuroscientists indicate that the conceptualization of sounds - auditory imagery - is situated in the brain areas responsible for high-level auditory perception (Zatorre & Halpern 1993; Zatorre *et al.* 1996; Halpern & Zatorre 1999, cited in Kosslyn *et al.* 2001; Wheeler *et al.* 2000).

### 1.3. Hypothesis

I examined the relationship between perceptual and semantic processing across modalities by embedding a task in which the participants read a sentence and judged its meaningfulness within a multi-modal (visual and auditory) ABX cued-recall task. My hypothesis was that the modality of perceptual symbols, or semantic modality, could like motor-effector and visual-motor affordances situate meaning in corresponding areas of the brain. For example, reading a sentence describing a visual scene - “The witch is grinning.” - was predicted to activate both Broca’s area and sections of the brain responsible for visual cognition. In contrast, an auditory scene sentence - “The witch is cackling.” - would activate Broca’s area and brain regions used for auditory perception.

Because the modal ABX recall tasks would force working memory to maintain incompatible visual and auditory images during the sentence meaningfulness judgment task, I predicted that this overlap would lead to perceptual/semantic interference. Thus, when the semantic mode (sight/sound) and task mode (visual/auditory) matched, the response times (RTs) for both the sentence meaningfulness task and the ABX recall tasks were predicted to be longer. Where the semantic mode and task mode did not match, I predicted that the interference, if any, would be significantly less than that seen in the matching condition.

The predicted effect is summarized in Figure 1.

Sentence Type	ABX Task Type		
	Sight Sound	Visual	Auditory
		Match: Interference Effect No Match	No Match Match: Interference Effect

Figure 1: Predicted modal interference during visual and auditory ABX tasks.

## 2.0. THE STUDY

### 2.1. Procedure

Subjects viewed or listened to non-linguistic stimuli (training items A and B), read and decided on the meaningfulness of a sentence (for critical items, describing either a primarily visual or a primarily auditory scene), and then upon viewing a third non-linguistic stimulus (test item X) were required to recall whether X matched better with training item A or B. The visual and auditory ABX cued recall tasks were presented as two separate and randomly ordered experimental blocks. Each ABX block contained 40 sentences: 10 critical sight sentences, 10 critical sound sentences, and 20 nonsense fillers. All of the critical sentences were meaningful. Because each session included both visual and auditory ABX blocks, each subject read 80 sentences, of which 20 were sight sentences and 20 were sound. The stimuli were presented at random within each block. Before starting the experimental trials for each ABX block, the subjects completed five practice trials using nonsense and meaningful filler stimuli.

The subjects were presented with a preparatory screen displaying "READY?" prior to each trial. To begin, the subjects pressed the space bar.

During the visual ABX block, at the start of each trial, the subjects viewed two images (see Section 2.3 below) appearing separately for one second each on either side of the screen (randomized as left or right first) and were then immediately presented with the sentence stimulus, which occupied two full lines of text centered vertically in 13-point Courier New font. The subjects were instructed to press with their dominant (right) index finger as soon as possible either the *m* key marked with a green tag, for "makes sense," or the *n* key marked with a red tag, for "nonsense."

Immediately after pressing the makes-sense or nonsense key, the subjects were presented with a target image in the center of the screen, which was a portion of one of two training images. This target image remained until the subjects pressed either the *a* key marked with a tag reading "left," signaling that the selection had been taken from the left-hand training image, or the *s* key marked with a tag reading "right," signaling the right-hand training image.

During the auditory ABX block, the subjects completed the same procedure but listened to training melodies presented consecutively in each ear, randomly presented in the left or right first. Each training melody lasted approximately four seconds, such that it could conceivably occupy a space in auditory working memory equivalent to a full linguistic phrase. After reading the sentence and pressing the *m* ("makes sense") or *n* ("nonsense") key, the subjects heard at equal volume in both ears a brief one- or two-second selection of one or more target notes from one of the training melodies. Again, the subjects were instructed to press the *a* (left) or *s* (right) key to indicate which melody the target had been selected from.

The independent variables were the semantic mode - sight or sound - with each critical sentence depicting either a visual or an auditory scene, and the ABX task type - visual or auditory. The dependent variables were the length of time from the onset of a stimulus to a subject's registering the meaningfulness judgment combined with the corresponding accuracy rates and the length of time from the onset of a test image or melody to a subject's registering the cued recall response combined with the corresponding accuracy rates. The RTs were measured in milliseconds and recorded using E-Prime.

### 2.2. Subjects

Fifteen right-handed native English speakers participated. All of them were graduate students at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa who had no experience with cognitive linguistics or psycholinguistic methods. Each subject signed an informed consent form stating his or her agreement to participate in the study voluntarily, anonymously, and confidentially. For participating in the experiment, which lasted 30 minutes per session, each subject received five dollars in cash.

### 2.3. Stimuli

For the reading task, 80 sentences were used: 40 critical and 40 filler. The critical sentences fell into two groups according to their semantic mode, namely, whether they described visual or auditory scenes. Sample critical items from each condition follow:

- (1) Sight Sentences
  - a. The carpet is fraying, and the threads begin unraveling one by one, sticking out in all directions.
  - b. As the professor is pointing at the equation, the student is opening his comic book and beginning to read.
- (2) Sound Sentences
  - a. Since the stoplight is buzzing so loudly, the repairman must wear earplugs to block out the noise.
  - b. The hobo is muttering under his breath, arguing heatedly and asking questions of an imaginary companion.

I also used 40 nonsense filler sentences. Each filler described an incongruous situation, as follows:

- (3) Nonsense Sentences
  - a. The toad is leaping over the nominated syndrome, causing the crazy climate to cap the typesetting gifts.
  - b. After the patient starts trembling, the orderly tries warming him with a thick coat of unsalted butter.

I reviewed each critical item in consultation with colleagues and friends for grammaticality, meaningfulness, and ease of judgment as being either highly visual or highly auditory.

To balance the comparison of modal processing across items, the critical stimuli were divided randomly into two lists and counterbalanced between subjects in a Latin square design. Thus, the comparison of the results focused on the differences in RT for a given item in the two ABX task modalities across subjects.

The visual ABX stimuli were 80 sets of black-and-white fractal designs; the study images were 400 x 400 pixel graphics, and the test images were 100 x 100 pixels. The auditory ABX stimuli were 80 sets of recorded melodies played on a grand piano; the A and B study sounds were four- to five-second melodies, and the test notes were one- to two-second selections. The presentation of the ABX item sets was fully randomized within each block.

### 3.0. RESULTS

Three subjects were eliminated due to accuracies of less than 80% on the sentence meaningfulness judgment task, leaving data from 12 subjects. All subjects and items fell within 2.5 standard deviations of the respective per-subject or per-item mean. All filler stimuli and incorrect responses were excluded from analysis of the results. The RTs for the critical stimuli that exceeded 2.5 standard deviations from their corresponding within-subject mean were replaced with a figure equivalent to the corresponding mean plus 2.5 standard deviations, resulting in modification of less than 3.25% of the data.

The ABX cued recall tasks proved to be difficult for the subjects. Excluding all trials involving incorrect meaningfulness responses, the ABX accuracy counts from the 12 subjects are reported below.

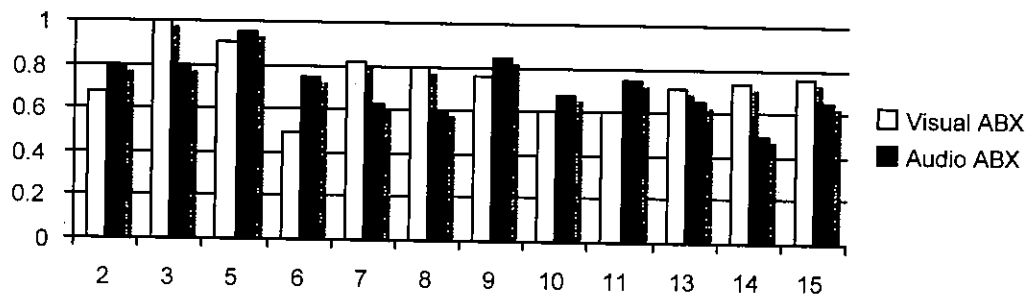


Figure 2: ABX cued recall task accuracy by subject (% correct).

The average accuracy for the visual ABX recall task was 73%, and that for the auditory recall task was 71%. A paired t-test comparing the accuracy scores across the subjects showed no significant variation between the accuracy scores for the two ABX tasks ( $t=0.392$ , 11 degrees of freedom,  $p=0.703$ ). Subjects consistently reported feeling that one task (visual or auditory) was more difficult than the other, but they were split overall about which ABX task they found harder.

Repeated measures ANOVAs were calculated separately for mean RTs across conditions by subject and by item for sentence meaningfulness judgment times and ABX cued recall RTs.

The results for the sentence meaningfulness judgment task are shown in Figure 3.

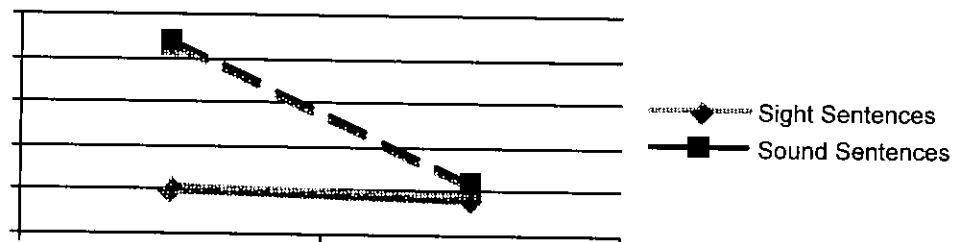


Figure 3: Sentence meaningfulness judgment task RTs (ms).

The sound sentences showed a trend toward the predicted interference effect, with longer RTs for the audio ABX task and shorter RTs for the visual ABX task. However, the sight sentences also trended in this direction, contrary to my prediction, with slightly faster RTs in the matching visual ABX task. The subjects repeated-measures ANOVA showed a significant main effect of the sentence type ( $F(1,12)=7.405$ ,  $p=0.020$ ). No significant main effect of task type was found ( $F(1,12)=1.469$ ,  $p=0.251$ ) nor a significant interaction effect with the limited number of subjects ( $F(1,12)=1.913$ ,  $p=0.194$ ). With a larger number of subjects, perhaps the significance of an interaction effect could have been established. A by-item repeated-measures ANOVA showed a significant main effect of ABX task type for the sound sentences ( $F(1,38)=6.6$ ,  $p=0.014$ ) but no significant effect of task type for the sight sentences ( $F(1,38)=0.218$ ,  $p=0.614$ ).

For the ABX cued recall task, the results are shown in Figure 4.



Figure 4: ABX cued recall task RTs.

The ABX RTs for the sound sentences also showed a trend toward the predicted IE, with longer RTs for the audio ABX task and shorter RTs for the visual ABX task. As with the sentence reading time results, however, the RTs for the sight sentences trended in the direction opposite from that predicted, with faster RTs for the matching visual ABX task.

The relative speed of performing the X-judgment following each sentence type was reversed in comparison to the sentence reading times for the corresponding conditions. Although the sight sentences were read faster in the visual ABX condition, they elicited slower ABX decision times. Conversely, the sound sentences were read slower but elicited faster visual ABX decisions. The subjects may have been primed to pay more attention to the imagery elicited by the sight sentences (perhaps due to the task being reading rather than listening), causing interference with the matching visual X-judgment tasks.

The by-subject repeated-measures ANOVA showed no significant main effect of task type ( $F(1,12)=1.664$ ,  $p=0.224$ ) or sentence type ( $F(1,12)=0.205$ ,  $p=0.659$ ). No significant interaction effect was found ( $F(1,12)=1.327$ ,  $p=0.274$ ). The by-item repeated-measures ANOVA also showed no significant main effect of ABX task type for the sight sentences ( $F(1,38)=0.138$ ,  $p=0.713$ ) or for the sound sentences ( $F(1,38)=1.653$ ,  $p=0.209$ ).

#### 4.0 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Although the general prediction of interference in the matching conditions was not borne out, the stimuli differed in the sizes of the amount of interference effect that they triggered, which may correspond to variance in the intensity of the simulations that they activated. For example, the sight and sound sentences that produced the largest amount of interference were those that involved multiple layers of auditory or visual imagery, as shown below. For the figures cited below, the interference effects (IE) were calculated as the visual response times minus the auditory response times in milliseconds.

##### (4) Sight Sentences

- a. The flashlight batteries have not been replaced in months, and it starts flickering when the beam is pointing forward. (IE:  $5194.50=11491.00-6296.50$ )
- b. The soldiers are saluting, with hands obscuring their faces, and he can't find the one identified in the photos. (IE:  $4765.00=10956.00-6191.00$ )

##### (5) Sound Sentences

- a. When the door is slamming, it shakes the entire house, causing two teacups to tumble to the floor and shatter. (IE:  $11565.00=16660.33-5095.33$ )
- b. While the crowd is cheering, the gunshot is ringing out above the din, followed by two screams and a gasp. (IE:  $10395.83=15064.33-4668.5$ )

This variance in the IEs by item could be due to various reasons, including chance, salience, and the concreteness and/or prototypicality of the described scenes. Considering the sentences above, I would also

suggest that multiple events in a single modality (e.g., "...cheering...gun shot...two screams...a gasp") might cause a snowball effect by piling multiple perceptual symbols into modal working memory, cumulatively leading to heightened interference.

The results of studies on proprioceptive simulation have indicated that the strength of a simulation effect may vary according to semantic concreteness versus abstractness, a first-person versus third-person perspective, and the use of the progressive aspect and present tense (Bergen & Wheeler 2005, Glenberg & Kaschak 2002). To this list we might also add the number and complexity of intra-modal events. For example, a sentence with multiple visual events is likely to elicit more vivid visual imagery and, therefore, more interference. Likewise, using multiple onomatopoeia in a series of complex sound events should trigger vivid auditory imagery.

This study showed a significant IE only with the sound sentences. The sight sentences showed longer RTs for the non-matching auditory ABX task and shorter RTs for the matching visual task, but these differences were not statistically significant. Assuming that these results are not attributable to chance, it appears likely that either the hypothesized model of perceptual symbol systems requires further refinement and integration into an overall model of linguistic processing, or that confounding variables affected the RTs. One such variable, of course, is that the subjects read the sentences, and reading is a visually demanding activity.

Another potentially confounding factor was the difficulty of the ABX tasks. Although the t-test indicated no significant difference in the difficulty of the visual and auditory ABX tasks, the IE for the sound sentences in the audio ABX task condition may simply have been due to the difficulty of the ABX task. Indeed, had the auditory task been easier, the sight sentences embedded within it may have been read faster, which would have been in line with the study's hypothesis. Clearly, the ABX RTs were longer overall for the auditory than for the visual ABX task. Therefore, when conducting future versions of this experiment, norming studies would be highly desirable in order to empirically balance the modal ABX tasks, making them as similar to each other as possible in terms of speed and accuracy. By doing this, any confounding variance between the ABX task types could be minimized.

A third possible confound is the difference in the cognitive integration of the visual ABX task with the sight sentences versus that of the sound memory task with the sound sentences. In other words, the abstract fractal patterns for the visual task may have been comparatively easy to process while simulating visual imagery (viz., lack of integration between a static abstract image and the semantic imagery of something moving), whereas the concrete perceptual stimuli of notes played on a piano may have more directly interfered with the activation of auditory imagery (viz., comparatively high integration between hearing music and imagining people or objects making sounds). If such a confound played a role in skewing the results of this study, perhaps one way to address it in future research would be to have the visual ABX task involve recall of moving stimuli instead of static images.

The results of this experiment suggest that auditory imagery accessed during the course of reading may trigger modal simulation that interferes with the short-term recall of auditory percepts. As such, it provides further evidence that language processing is situated in cortical regions outside of Broca's area and that the language faculty is an inherently distributed and modal system. Thus, meaning can be situated not only by motor effectors but also by semantic modality.

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## II. Literature



# GAINING ENTRANCE: THE CLASSROOM-BASED TUTOR'S ROLES IN MENTORING FIRST-YEAR COMPOSITION STUDENTS

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## ABSTRACT

The following piece presents research conducted on the various subject positions that classroom-based writing tutors assume as they assist first-year students in negotiating the cognitive, social, and cultural dimensions of writing in a university setting.

Since the 1970s, when students first began venturing into university Writing Centers, a body of scholarship has emerged on the subject of tutoring. Recently, Writing Center scholarship has begun investigating how the nature of tutoring changes when tutors venture into college classrooms and sustain contact with student writers throughout a semester. In their 2005 anthology, *On Location: Theory and Practice in Classroom-Based Writing Tutoring*, Candace Spigelman and Lori Grobman argue that classroom-based writing tutoring is a hybrid instructional genre that borrows from and blends the theories and practices of Writing Center Tutoring, Writing Across the Curriculum, Supplemental Instruction, and Peer Writing Groups in order to create a unique learning environment.

In 2006, I participated in a pilot study in this genre of classroom-based tutoring. This study, which was approved by the University of Hawai'i Mānoa's Institutional Review Board and sponsored by the UHM Department of English, paired Teaching Assistants (TAs) with two first-year composition classes consisting of approximately 20 students from a broad range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Each TA was to assist students individually through the various challenges they faced in learning to how write, research and function in the university.<sup>1</sup> As part of the arrangement, the TAs were free from all grading responsibilities; this setup allowed a TA to intervene on behalf of students who faced various cognitive, social and cultural challenges within the composition classroom, particularly since the students understood that the TAs were not evaluating their performance. Over the course of the semester, the two TAs conducted a combined total of 114 individual conferences. At the end of each individual conference and at the end of the semester-long study, both the TAs and the students reflected upon the kinds of interventions enacted and the roles these interventions necessitated on the part of the Teaching Assistant. The aims of our study were to discover more about the nature of students' challenges in learning to navigate the college writing classroom as well as the range of ways that Teaching Assistants can intervene in such challenges.

Our study took place at the intersection of three academic discourses: composition studies, educational psychology, and cultural anthropology. Composition scholars including David Bartholomae, Mike Rose, and Mina Shaughnessy have helped us to understand that the challenges faced by students in a college writing classroom are not only of a cognitive nature (such as framing one's approach to an essay), but also of a social nature (such as framing one's approach to classmates and instructors), and a cultural nature (such as framing one's identity within the college classroom and campus at large). This broadened understanding of what a composition classroom is and does can help us to think more carefully about what it means for students to gain entrance to academic discourse. Lev Vygotsky, an early educational psychologist, theorized that such entrance to new realms of learning occurs within a student's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). In this ZPD, which we attempted to foster throughout our study, students are challenged beyond their previous abilities but also given the support of an intermediary. And yet, even Vygotsky's seemingly benevolent zone is a site of power negotiation, as reflective cultural anthropologists have pointed out. The research I present is part of an auto-ethnographic study, and my inroads to this research were as a Teaching Assistant in one of the experimental sections. In the case of my work, as a Caucasian teacher-researcher from the Continental US working with populations of mostly-local students in Hawai'i, my positionality particularly necessitates an interrogation of the unequal terms of power always surrounding the production of knowledge as a first step toward what Linda Tuhiwai-Smith calls "Decolonizing Methodologies." As I present the "findings" of this study, I am aware that they are far from objective data, and I have endeavored to triangulate my own interpretations with the perspectives of my students, the other TA, and the two instructors.

We found that the TA's interventions fell largely into two broad roles: 1) the role of a tutor who assisted students with cognitive challenges; and 2) the role of a mentor who assisted students through the processes of socialization, enculturation, and even perhaps what Althusser would label as interpellation. As the following figure reveals, the activities of tutoring and mentoring tended to be more fluid than discreet:

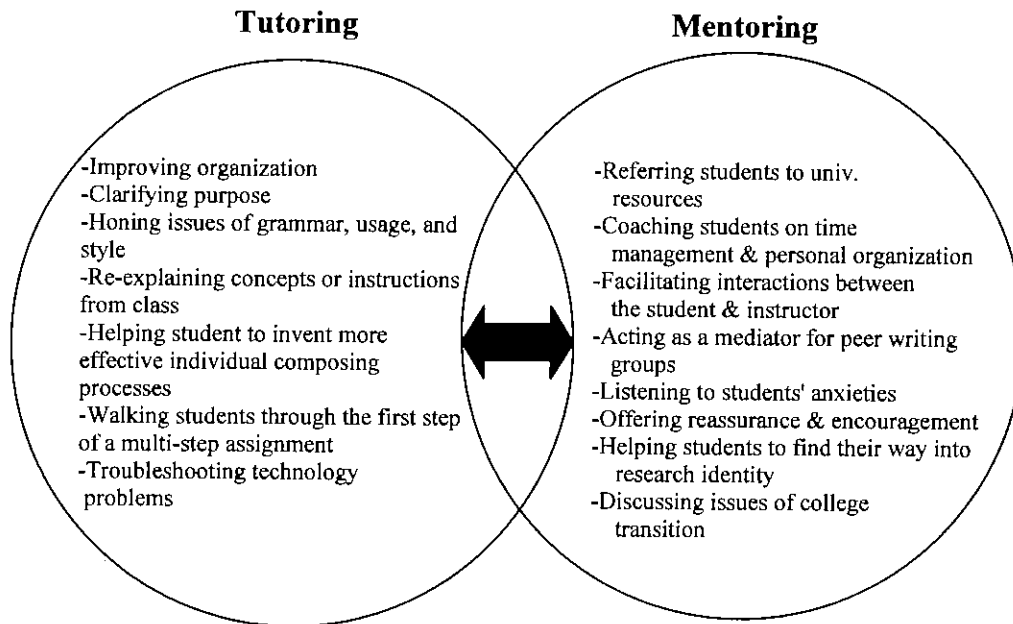


Figure 1: Venn Diagram of Tutoring and Mentoring Interventions as Reported by Teaching Assistants

While this figure renders a quick overview of the study's major categories, it elides much of the situation's richness and complexity.<sup>2</sup> The bold two-way arrow within the zone of intersection is meant to blur the boundaries between "Mentoring" and "Tutoring," indicating an area of overlap within and movement between categories. In particular, the arrow represents two kinds of movement: first, the TA's movement between the roles of mentor and tutor; and second, the possibility that an activity that is classified as "tutoring" in one context could be more accurately viewed as "mentoring" in another context. For example, the topic of "reducing redundancies" might appear to belong most appropriately within the realm of "Tutoring" under the category of "improving organization." However, as happened this semester, when the TA from the other section asked a student why she had once again returned to a particular point in her paper, and this question opened the way for a discussion of "the personal reasons behind the redundancy of her writing," including the student's doubts about the validity of her opinion and her misgivings about her abilities as a writer, the interaction then moves into the realm of mentoring.

As the above categories are formed from the other TA's and my impressions, it is also important that we attempt to capture our students' interpretations, both in order to examine the accuracy of our categories and in order to open our study to additional categories that our students may invent. As an attempt to cross-validate our categories, we administered an anonymous end-of-semester survey that asked students to identify which of our fifteen categories of intervention they had personally utilized at some point during the semester. Students in Section I identified with all fifteen categories, while students in Section II identified with thirteen out of the fifteen categories. Perhaps more revealing, however, were the students' "free responses" to the following prompt:

In your own words, please identify the various roles that the Teaching Assistant played this semester, both in the course as a whole and in your experience as an individual student. Please give as many specific, detailed examples of your interactions with the Teaching Assistant as you can remember.

Using the terms generated from students' responses, I have mapped the TA's shifting subject positions with respect to the students and course instructor in Figure 2:

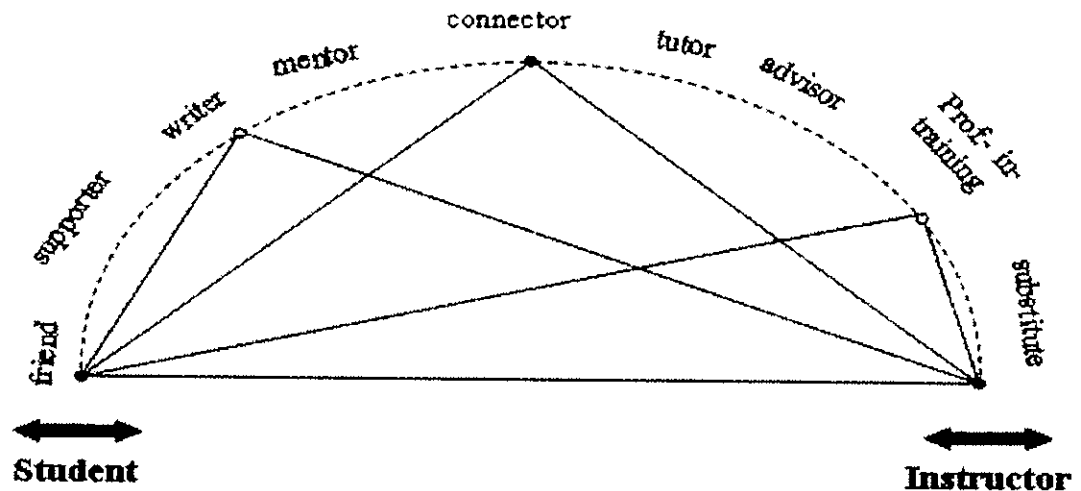


Figure 2: A Continuum of Student-Generated Terms for the Teaching Assistant's Shifting Subject Positions

The TA rarely operated at the mid-way point between the student and instructor positions, either affectively or ideologically, but instead frequently shifted her alignment between their two perspectives. When the TA's alignment shifted most closely towards the position of the student, they perceived her as a "friend." While this proximity can be problematic, and may indicate roles to be avoided or carefully monitored, it could also point toward one of the study's strengths. As Victor Villanueva states in Gail Okawa's article, "Diving for Pearls: Mentoring as Cultural and Activist Practice among Academics of Color," mentoring at its best involves a kind of intellectual friendship that does not necessitate a surrender of professionalism.<sup>3</sup>

There is a knowledge that is assumed, the kind of thing Gramsci says the middle class knows by a kind of osmosis. Mentoring, then, is something beyond the teaching. It is making explicit what is implicitly known, assuming nothing of tacit understanding of academic or white or middle class workings, no matter who ends up being the mentee. And mentoring is being able to enter into an intellectual friendship. (511)

On the other end of the spectrum, the students noted that the TA also functioned as a "professor-in-training" and an occasional "substitute" for the lead teacher, shifting at times to a position quite close to that of the instructor's. Because the TAs were not evaluating the students' performance, the TAs could translate the language and expectations of professors without losing their ability to also take the side of the students. The degree of flexibility possible for the TA is one of this teaching arrangement's greatest areas of potential: indeed, this hybrid genre of classroom-based tutoring and mentoring positions and repositions students, TAs, instructors, and institution in new and productive ways.<sup>4</sup> When our classroom structures grant such individualized and flexible support systems to students, the First-Year Composition course becomes less a matter of demanding that new students either "sink or swim" in foreign waters and more a matter of helping students to gain entrance to the university by making visible the (under)-currents and cycles of academic culture and discourse.

## NOTES

1. Assigning a tutor to a first-year composition class is not new for UHM. For over a decade, on-location tutors have helped UHM students who performed poorly on the university placement exam to be "mainstreamed" into first-year composition courses; these first-year students are registered to enroll in

- an additional 1-hour pass/fail writing lab run by undergraduate tutors who attend class and hold weekly out-of-class small group and individual conferences. Our initiative, however, gave every first-year composition student access to an in-class writing tutor for the first time in institutional history. (Bruland)
2. Establishing categories can help to render a meaningful story amidst our spread of data; however, as Kenneth Burke has noted, the inertia of categories once established filters our interpretations, eclipsing the discovery of further grounded conclusions.
  3. Although Okawa's study was concerned with professors mentoring graduate students, and our study is concerned with graduate students mentoring first-year undergraduates, both studies focus on "providing attention to the nature of the relationships and interactions between individuals" (510). Furthermore, our study takes up a number of Okawa's questions about the nature of the mentor-mentee relationship: "What...is the impetus for and nature of that commitment? What aspects of mentoring are conscious and deliberate, and what aspects are less conscious, perhaps culturally based? What influence does the mentoring relationship have on their protégés? What effect does it have on the mentors themselves? How are mentor and protégé perspectives similar and different?" (510). Like Okawa, I too see mentoring as an activist practice, something to be enacted "not for feel-good liberal reasons but for survival as a democratic society" (530). While Okawa's study focused explicitly on creating an entrance for greater minority participation in Departments of English through mentoring, an end I respect deeply, our study is focused more generally on creating an entrance for first-year students within academic culture.
  4. Such roles on the part of the TA also begin to suggest the kinds of additional training that future in-class writing tutors would need. Some of these areas might include negotiating interpersonal conflicts, teaching study skills, and referring students to university resources. (Bruland)

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# A SUGARCANE PLANTATION LABORER'S POETRY AS LIFE WRITING

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## ABSTRACT

I suggest that Lee Hong Kee's poetry can be regarded as an alternative history that represents the lives of first-generation Korean immigrants to Hawai'i who worked on plantations.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

The history of Korean immigrants as an officially organized group in the United States began with 102 people when they arrived in Hawai'i on January 13, 1903. Korean immigration was influenced by internal and external factors. As Korea became a semi-colony of Japan and the West, Koreans left their home country due to unfavorable economic and social circumstances in their homeland such as famine, poverty, and war. External factors included American missionaries in Korea, as well as the work of David Deshler, a recruiter for the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association, and that of Dr. Horace Allen, a trusted advisor of the Korean King Kojong, who publicized Hawai'i as a better place to live, work and learn. Despite the diverse backgrounds of the Koreans who first immigrated to Hawai'i, one thing they had in common was their work on sugar plantations. After becoming the second largest group of sugar plantation laborers in 1905, at about 5,000 people, the number of Korean laborers gradually decreased until none remained in 1942.

## 2.0. LEE HONG KEE AND HIS KOREAN CHINESE POETRY

Lee Hong Kee came to Honolulu at the age of 27 on June 25, 1904, with the second group of immigrants. Before arriving in Hawai'i, he had worked as a low-ranking officer in Hwanghae Province, an area located in present-day North Korea. After his arrival, he worked on the Kōloa plantation on the island of Kaua'i for a short time and then moved to the Kekaha plantation on the island of Hawai'i for a higher wage of one dollar a day. He worked in Kekaha for 35 years until he retired.

He had left Korea because he could not imagine living under the Japanese occupation, and throughout his life his patriotism never wavered. He was an active member of the Korean National Association for the cause of Korean independence. According to his son, Lee was a very strict and disciplined man and a devout Christian. Also, he was a lover of literature and spent most of his free time writing. Because he wished to be loyal to Korea by not learning English, he wrote in Korean and Chinese. He died in 1974, but an interview recounting his experience as a plantation laborer has kept his memories alive as evidence of his life and times.

The poetry that I will discuss was originally written in Chinese and was translated by the poet into Korean. His poetry consists of eight lines in four couplets, of which the two couplets in the middle are antithetical. Under the influence of Chinese culture, Korean poetry written in Chinese was developed as a form of Korean classic literature, which I will call Korean Chinese poetry to differentiate it from Chinese poetry. He used this literary genre to record his stories as life writing. In the manuscript of his poetry, Lee begins with a kind of preface recalling his record of his 60 years of life in Hawai'i based on his memory as the source of truth:

I am recording my sixty-year-long life covering the first and second generations on this foreign soil, Hawai'i, trying to choose some of my stories that present my deep regret, suffering, sorrow, and happiness. Since I translate my poor Chinese poetry into our *Hangŭl* (Korean), I can write more stories.  
(my translation)

The collection of his poems describes his voyage from his hometown, Inchŏn, to Honolulu via Japan, which was historically the main immigration route, as well as his life in Hawai'i and a sense of guilt stemming from Confucian ethics which emphasized filial duties, ancestor worship and obedience to elders in a family-centered patriarchy. Koreans often wrote about human life through poetry rather than prose, and Lee did so even after leaving Korea. He wanted to write Korean Chinese poetry in which his emotions could be expressed, so that

could ease his suffering from homesickness and new circumstances in a foreign land. Regardless of their subjects, most of Lee's poems are filled with unfulfilled responsibilities and consequent *han*<sup>1</sup> but present no great expectations or passions toward the new world upon his departure or arrival, nor during his life there. In this sense, his poetry is atypical of an immigrant's life writing, because it does not touch on issues such as the American dream, Americanization, and racial discrimination that frequently occupy ethnic autobiographical writers in American literature.

### 3.0. TRANSLATION

As a translator, I primarily wish to unveil Lee's life as an early immigrant in an informative way. If possible, I also wish to transmit the cultural specifics of his nuanced Korean expressions. After writing his Korean Chinese poems, Lee translated them into old Korean. I have translated the old Korean into modern Korean and then translated them into English poems. Because three different languages are involved, when the original Korean Chinese poetry is transformed into old Korean, it seems to be a different genre—more like prose or free verse, which focuses on content more than on form. I have tried to abide by the principles of literal translation, which is source-oriented and strives to reproduce the original poem's form and content as accurately as possible, because Lee's poems are the product of the historical circumstances of Korea in the last century. However, in doing so I have often been faced with the challenge of the impossibility of translating simile as a mark of each cultural distinction, because the result turns out to be either “plain” English prose or a confusing literal translation of the Korean. Understanding the essential quality of translation, I have used free and literal translation as necessary complements to each other. While realizing the impossibility and undesirability of a fully exact translation—as Walter Benjamin says, “translation is a mode”—as a reader and a translator of the original text, I nevertheless have tried to at least invoke a similar or parallel response to what Lee Hong Kee conveys in Korean (76).

### 4.0. LEE'S POEMS

집 떠나는 날 밤에

**The Night When I was Leaving Home**

새벽에 몰래 짐을 싸서

이 밤 호롱불을 들고 나가니 수 만가지 생각이 새롭게 드는구나.

Like a thief, I stealthily pack my bag before dawn

And set out in the dark carrying a small kerosene lamp—I am filled with countless thoughts!

부모를 모셔야 하는 윤리를 지키지 못하고

부부의 정, 남편의 도리를 꿈에서나 할 수 있을까.

I cannot fulfill my duty as a son.

And even in a dream is it impossible to be a good husband?<sup>2</sup>

고향을 떠나는 나에 대한 사람들의 조소를 피하기가 어렵고

공연히 슬픈 눈물은 떠나는 수건을 적신다.

It is hard to avoid others' mockery of my abandoning my home;

And vain tears of sorrow drench my handkerchief.

얻고 잃는 일은 남자로서 당연히 겪는 일이니

다시 돌아오는 때에는 넉넉히 풍운한 몸을 가지겠다.

Winning and losing are things I'm bound to experience as a man,

but when I come back home, I will be prosperous!

#### <Commentary>

This poem is developed on the basic structure of modern Chinese poetry: introduction, exposition of the theme, transition to another viewpoint, and summary. The first couplet introduces the circumstances in which the poet has left his homeland, harboring “countless thoughts” before dawn in a secret and shameful manner. The second couplet elucidates the theme of the poem, namely, his anxiety and lamentation about the difficulty of fulfilling Confucian ethics. He feels guilty for leaving his family because his leaving means abandoning the

duties that Confucian virtues impose on him. Overwhelmed by this guilt, he is limited in his capacity for expressing his uneasiness and anxiety about an unclear future. The third couplet illustrates another source of his sorrow, which stems from others' judgment of him. The last couplet underscores his willpower to face his upcoming challenges. The poem reflects on what it means to be a man in Korean society. Finally, he shows a desire common among Korean immigrants, to return home after amassing a fortune.

일본항구에서

**Observing a Japanese Harbor**

시모노세키를 지나 여기에서  
듣고 보게 되는 이 새로운 풍경들이 운명처럼 느껴진다.  
Passing by Shimonoseki, we reach here.  
And this new scenery surrounding me seems to be my destiny.

항구에는 국방시설이 여기저기 병영을 따라 갖추어져 있으며  
항만은 거둑거둑 바다를 따라 이어져 있다.  
The harbor is filled with defense facilities housed in barracks here and there.  
And the seashore is lined with harbors.

(조선의)책국정책은 정말 어리석은 것이구나  
아시아 문명의 실권은 일본의 손아귀에 있구나.  
How silly is the policy of seclusion!<sup>3</sup>  
Japan now holds all real power of civilization in Asia!

물도 보고 산도 보는 시선 밖에는  
무정한 해가 서쪽 하늘에 걸려있다.  
Beyond my gaze, upon waters and mountains,  
A cold-hearted sun sets in the western sky.

<Commentary>

This poem expresses the development of the poet's feelings inspired by his observation of how advanced Japan appears: exclamation, critical realization and sadness. The poet, who stops over in Japan, condemns Korean foreign policies that he believes have caused Korea to be left behind. While the poet wonders at the advanced Japanese defenses, using visual imagery in the second couplet, he cannot help but acknowledge the new rising power of Japan in Asia. As antithesis, he also laments the shortfall of Korean policy in the third couplet. In the last couplet, the visual image of a sunset symbolizes his sadness, which stems from his pitiable fate as well as his country's lot. In addition, "the western sky" symbolizes the developed Western world for which he is heading.

일본을 떠나 하와이를 향해

**From Japan to Hawai'i**

썰썰히 비가 오는 날 일본을 떠나  
뱃길을 통해 목적지로 향해간다.  
On a dreary, rainy day we depart from Japan,  
And head for our destination by sea.

배 이름은 고려환이라고 하고  
바다 이름은 태평양이라 부르더라.  
The name of the ship is Korea,<sup>4</sup>  
The name of the sea is the Pacific.

꿈에 집 생각을 하게 되니 마음이 혼란스럽고  
몸은 뱃멀미로 고생해서 입맛을 잃어버렸구나.  
I lose my calmness after having a dream about home.  
I lose my appetite after suffering from seasickness!

파도 치는 바다 위에 산다는 것이 진짜 힘들구나.  
 언제 목적지인 하와이에 다다를 수 있을까.  
 Living on the waving sea is really tough!  
 When will we get to our destination, Hawai'i?

<Commentary>

This poem describes a scene in which the poet is aboard the immigrant ship Korea. It is raining, as if the rainy and melancholy weather mirrors his suffering. The second couplet highlights the exterior environment in which he is physically located, whereas the third couplet describes his internal pain. We can see another parallel between the lines of the second and the third couplets: the name of the ship is revealed in the third line and the name of the sea in the fourth line. The fifth line illustrates that the poet feels unpleasant with his loss of "calmness," whereas the sixth shows that he is not healthy with his loss of "appetite." As his body travels farther and farther away from his home, his mind draws closer and closer to it. The poet ends this poem with his wish to reach his destination as soon as possible, not because he anticipates any rosy future he might have in Hawai'i, but because he simply wants to end this long, wearying journey.

호놀룰루에 도착해서

**The First Impression of Honolulu**

항해한지 27일만에 호놀룰루에 도착해  
 이민국에서 문답을 잘 하였다.

After twenty-seven days of voyaging and arriving in Honolulu,  
 I gave the right answer at immigration.

솟아오른 산 아래에는 천 개의 집이 둘러져 있고  
 배가 밀집해서 있는 배 머리 옆에는 큰 시장이 즐비하더라.

Thousands of houses are surrounded by a soaring mountain.

A big market opens to the harbor where ships standing close together are at anchor.

섬은 이루되 항상 봄이고 나비가 노는 곳이며  
 나라 이름은 합중국에 잡종의 얼굴이 섞여있다.

Here is the island, where spring is all-year round, and butterflies flutter from flower to flower.

The name of this country is "the Mixed States," and the hybrid faces of its freely mingling people suggest this.

나는 팔려 온 농부로서 자유가 없고  
 노로 배를 저어서 푸른 파도와 흰구름이 맞닿아 있는 바다를 지나갈 뿐이다.

But myself, a sold farmer, I have no freedom;

I am just rowing a boat in the sea where blue waves and white clouds touch each other.

<Commentary>

The poet seems to emphasize "united" and "mixed" by playing with the name of the United States. Because the name is associated with the combination of states, people of the country might be naturally of a mixed breed. This poem, full of vivid images, remarkably portrays Hawai'i as a place of natural beauty with warm temperature and diverse cultures. Instead of being absorbed into the peaceful, beautiful natural environment of Hawai'i, he cannot help but remain an outsider, realizing his position as a foreign laborer. The fourth couplet beginning with "but" determines the whole tone of the poem, that is, the forlorn and distant sense that is felt between nature and himself and Hawai'i and himself.

하와이 생활 몇 달 후

**After Several Months of Having Labored in Hawai'i**

인생이란 성공해서 유명해지거나 곤궁한 삶을 사는 것인데  
 팔려온 신분으로 고용살이를 하는구나.

Life is to be either prosperous or penniless.<sup>5</sup>

But, myself, as an indentured servant, I work for slave wages!

총무의 혀끝은 서리칼날같이 하얗고,  
 역장의 주먹 바람은 피눈물만큼 붉다.  
 A plantation manager's tongue<sup>6</sup> is as white as sharp frost.  
 A luna's<sup>7</sup> clenched fist is as red as tears of blood.<sup>8</sup>

떠나올 때의 옷차림은 고향을 떠나왔다는 허망한 자취만을 남기며  
 고향생각을 하다가 잠이 들어 한밤중에 시린 꿈을 꾸게 되었다.  
 As subsiding waves do, my traveling suit of clothes only reminds me of being far, far away from home.  
 And my homesickness leads me at midnight to have sad and painful dreams.<sup>9</sup>

품팔아 돈을 많이 벌기가 어려우니  
 언제쯤 돌아가 어버이를 만드는 자식이 될 수 있을까.  
 Being a day laborer cannot make me rich.  
 So when can I go back home and be a good son?

#### <Commentary>

This poem is one that best captures the poet's anguish, originating from his new life away from home, while asking about the meaning of life. Lee's poem relies on the literary effects of simile and metonymy to describe the work conditions: "A plantation manager's carping tongue is as white as sharp frost"; "A luna's clenched fist is as red as bitter tears." However, his after-work life is also painful because he cannot escape the sense of emptiness and longing that accompanies homesickness. In the last couplet, Lee doubts that he can go back home with wealth and be a good son after several months of laboring on the plantation. We confirm that filial piety is located in the axis of his life as a source of all virtues, so that his poem becomes an alternative space for him to maintain his integrity as a son of the Confucian Yi Dynasty, unlike the Japanese laborers' plantation song that speaks only of unfavorable experiences:

Hawaii, Hawaii  
 But when I came  
 What I saw  
 Was hell  
 The boss was Satan  
 The lunas  
 His helpers. (Quoted in Takaki 136)

#### 동생을 보내며 A Farewell to My Brother

같은 해 같은 달에 집을 떠나 동행을 시작해서  
 다른 나라에서 방황한지 8년이 되었다.  
 On the same month in the same year, we left home together.  
 And we have lived in this foreign country for eight years.

두 부인의 깊은 수심을 어떻게 헤아릴 수 있을까.  
 자식이 돌아오기를 기다리는 부모는 원통한 눈물을 흘리고 그 눈물은 영겨있겠구나.  
 How can I fully understand the grief-stricken hearts of the two wives?<sup>10</sup>  
 I can imagine my parents shedding endless tears of bitterness while waiting for my return!

아우는 부모를 모시고 가정을 꾸리기 위해 마침내 돌아가는데  
 형인 나는 완전히 삼강오륜을 잊어버리고 돌아가지 못하고 있구나.  
 My brother finally leaves for home to serve our parents and run his family.  
 But I, his elder brother, disregarding Confucius moral ethics, cannot return!

집에 돌아가 부모를 뵈는 자리에서  
 무슨 말로 얹혀져 있는 부모의 정을 풀어드릴 수 있을까.  
 Later on when I meet my parents,  
 What words can I say to comfort their *chǒng*<sup>11</sup> that has grown?<sup>12</sup>

## &lt;Commentary&gt;

Still hoping to go back home sometime in the near future, Lee wrote this farewell poem after his brother had returned to Korea on August 20, 1912. Although early Korean plantation workers generally were able to leave the plantation after a short stint, Lee remained there until his retirement. The two couplets in the middle are antithetical, the first describing how desperately his family wants to have him home again, and the second expressing how guilty he feels when his brother departs for home.

어머니 부음을 듣고

**On Hearing of Mother's Death**

어머니의 부음을 동쪽에서 받고  
엎드려 하나님 앞에 죄를 고한다.

On hearing of my mother's death from the East,  
I prostrate myself and confess my sin to God.

어머니를 봉양하며 은혜를 갚는 것을 하지 못했다.  
어머니는 날 기르고 가르치기 위해 모든 것을 아끼지 않고 희생하셨지.  
I have not given endless thanks to my mother by supporting her;  
She sacrificed all for nurturing and teaching me.

윤리를 배반하고 멀리 떠나 이곳에서 나그네가 되었는데  
어머니는 문가에 기대어 몇 사람이나 붙잡고 내 소식을 물었을까.  
I became a sojourner here, discarding moral ethics and living far away from home.  
How many people did she ask about me, while leaning against the main gate and stopping the passers-by?

나 같은 못난 자식이 어디서나 받아들여질 수 있을까.  
고향에서 친척들이 이를 두고 나를 시비하는 소리가 들리는 것 같구나.  
Is there any place a bad son like me can be accepted?  
I seem to hear relatives back home quarreling over me!

## &lt;Commentary&gt;

Taking his mother's death as a topic, the poet parallels his mother's sacrifice with his own wrongdoing. Being present at the deathbed of one's parent is the ultimate duty to one's parents in the earthly life, according to Confucian ethics. Because the poet cannot fulfill his last duty, the one thing that the guilt-ridden son can do is pray to God to forgive his misconduct. Interestingly, his act implies that Confucian ethics and Christianity coexist in his mind. "Confessing my sin to God" tells not only how immoral he feels as indicated by the words, "my sin" and "bad son," but also how pious he has become since coming to Hawai'i. "Wherever Korean immigrants lived there was always a Christian church," said Mrs. Kim Tai-youn, who came to Hawai'i in 1905; and the Christian church was a center that bound Koreans, given the vital role of Christianity in the Korean immigrant communities in the past as well as now (Quoted in Patterson 96, 97).

진주만 공격

**The Attack on Pearl Harbor**

아침에 예배당에 가는 길에  
왜놈의 비행기가 습격을 했다는 놀라운 소식을 전하자

On my way to church in the morning,  
I am surprised to hear that Japanese bastards' airplanes have attacked the harbor.

시내와 시장들에 인파가 끊어지고  
펄항에는 군인들의 시체가 가득 차 있다.  
Usually filled with surging crowds of people, the downtown marketplaces are empty;  
Soldiers' dead bodies fill Pearl Harbor.

기도하는 정신은 전기와 같이 맹렬하고  
너희들의 패망하는 소식은 우레 소리와 같으리라.

Praying for peace is as intense as a spark of electricity.<sup>13</sup>  
 And the news that will declare your defeat will be as sonorous as a clap of thunder!

가족을 데리고 피난길에 오르면서  
 전화가 동결되어 심정이 몹시 혼란스럽다.  
 Evacuating with family,  
 I feel disconnected because the phone line is down.

습격을 슬프게 맞으니 그만 나라의 원수가 되었구나.  
 일본을 숭배하던 것이 부끄러운 행동이 되어버렸구나.  
 After the sad attack, we have become the country's enemies!<sup>14</sup>  
 Showing respect to Japan now seems like a shameful action!

도조는 수도에서 몰래 공격할 것을 꾀하고  
 구르스는 백악관에서 평화의 추파를 보낸다.  
 While Tojo<sup>15</sup> secretly contrived the attack in Tokyo,  
 Kurusu<sup>16</sup> was casting an amicable glance of peace at the White House

적의 폭탄이 떨어진 곳에서는 저승길로 가는 혼을 만들고  
 항만인 필항은 피바다가 되었더라.  
 The place where the enemy's bomb falls becomes a site where souls depart their bodies and head to the heavens.  
 Pearl Harbor is a sea of blood!

하룻강아지가 맹호의 지역을 침범하였으니  
 너희들이 패망할 것을 아느냐  
 Consider a puppy that invades the lair of a tiger,  
 Don't you know of your doom?

#### <Commentary>

This poem is an invaluable resource because it indicates what happened to Koreans in Hawai'i, a people without a country, during and after the attack. It presents a contrast with typical historical accounts in America, which focus more on the victimization of America and the Japanese-American internment camps. Because Hawaiian affairs were dealt with after the attack under martial law by the military governor of Hawai'i, Koreans were put under the same restrictions as Japanese. Some of these restrictions included curfews and blackout hours, which began earlier than the hours that applied for the general public. Some items, such as liquor, drugs, and medical supplies could be obtained only with a special permit. Given that Korea was a colony of Japan at that time, this poem is useful in revealing the perceptions of Koreans as they watched the sudden attack and predicted its result. The poet has faith that the Japanese will be defeated. As Ch'oe states, "If anything, Koreans hoped for Japanese defeat, for they believed this would lead to Korean independence" (197).

This thematic significance was effectively translated through simile and antithesis filled with visual and auditory imagery throughout the poem. Ending with the rhetorical question, "Don't you know of your doom?", the poet expresses disdain for Japan's foolhardy attempt.

## 5.0. CONCLUSION

What role did writing play in Lee's life? Basically, he wanted to express his thoughts and emotions. His son remembers that his father would always write, and recalls that he might have found comfort in writing. Because Confucian culture taught Korean men not to reveal their feelings to the public, Lee chose to write Korean Chinese poetry in which his emotions were implicitly mirrored in nature. This cultural background, combined with his new circumstances in a foreign land, forced Lee to have an inner sanctum of his own in which he could reveal his *han* and let it go for a moment. He eased his suffering through writing, which seems to have had a purgative effect. At the same time, he tried to maintain or strengthen his integrity by writing about the moral ethics that he could not fulfill as guidelines for himself and his children. The overarching theme of morality also acted as a constant reminder of his ethnic identity. In addition to the cultural aspect, he had another drive to write. He chose to be faithful to Korea by writing in Korean and never learning English. Because he

recognized the crucial relationship between language and identity, writing in Korean helped him to boost his self-esteem as a Korean who could still use his mother tongue freely. He was well aware of the fact that Koreans back in Korea were deprived of the right to use Korean under Japanese colonization, by which the colonizers tried to occupy Korean minds and eradicate a sense of Korean national spirit.

Lee Hong Kee's life and poetry, embodying the lives of early sugar plantation workers, bring our attention to the lesser-known Korean immigrant history and narratives. When it comes to the "redefining of America," Ronald Takaki argues that we need to know the "history of ordinary people who went through the historical moments in their lives" by rethinking Asians and the "little people" who were excluded from history (preface xv, 8). In this sense, it is necessary and important to recognize Lee's history, a history of an ordinary Korean who moved to Hawai'i. His works demonstrate a fraction of the varied immigrant experiences that both shaped and were shaped by the histories of Korea and America.

## NOTES

1. *Han*: a highly traditional Korean sentiment of lingering sorrow, grudging feelings, lamentation and frustration. This sentiment intensified especially as Koreans' national misfortunes increased with the Japanese occupation and the Korean War.
2. Since the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–the present), Confucian ideas have been central to Korean values, including: the three bonds (삼강 Samgang: ethics between king and subject, between parents and child, and between husband and wife) as well as the five moral rules in human relations (오륜 Oryun: distinction between husband and wife, loyalty between king and subject, love between parents and child, order between young and elderly, and trust between friends).
3. A policy of seclusion: The late 19<sup>th</sup>- century Chosŏn Dynasty was under the rule of King Kojong's father, Heongsun, whose foreign policy was well known for being isolationist, open only to China, which was then ruled by the Qing Dynasty and reluctant to trade with other countries (especially Western countries such as France and the United States, whose imperialism sought to open the door to Korea and those of other Asian countries such as Japan and China).
4. Some names of Korean immigrants boats (82 from Bernice B. H. Kim., *The Koreans in Hawai'i* MA thesis, 1937):
  - Br. O. and O. S. S. Coptic
  - Br. O. and O. S. S. Gaelic
  - Am. P. M. S. S. China
  - Am. P. M. S. S. Siberia
  - Am. P. M. S. S. Mongolia
  - Am. P. M. S. S. Korea.
5. Literal translation: Life is destined to be either famous after achieving success or poor.
6. Korean expressions use visual imagery through metonymy and simile. "White" stands for the manager's castigation as a verbal attack, and "red" is for physical violence. A free translation would read: Like sharp frost, a manager's words pierce our heart. / With a luna's clenched fist, our eyes cry tears of blood.
7. Luna: a local word for a foreman in Hawai'i.
8. Tears of blood or bitter tears: culturally specific Korean word, describing literally "blood tears" in a circumstance when people emphasize their excessive resentment and sadness derived from improper treatment.
9. Literal translation: After thinking of home and falling asleep, I had a cold dream in the middle of the night.
10. The two wives are apparently the poet's mother and his brother's wife, because the poet was single when he came to Hawai'i, according to his son's recollection. However, the line gives the impression that he had left a wife in Korea. Literal Translation: How can I ever get to the bottom of the grief-stricken hearts of the two wives? / I can imagine my parents, waiting for my return, are shedding endless tears of bitterness: their tears become coagulated!

11. Chŏng (정) can be translated as “affection” and “love” in general, but it specifically means a combination of love, care, sympathy, yearning, and so on as a part of basic human nature and in Korean culture. For instance, the word can be used in a situation in which a wife might want to divorce her husband because of his bad behavior, and “chŏng” is the feeling of still being unable to live without him.
12. Literal translation: With what words can I relieve their chŏng that has accumulated and entangled?
13. Facing the attack, people pray to God in a more sincere and passionate manner than usual. Free translation: People pray to God sincerely that Japanese defeat will be announced resoundingly.
14. The original text does not say clearly who the enemy of the country is, implying two possible interpretations: one is simply to show the relation between Japan and the United States; the other is to imply the hardship that Koreans went through after the attack because they were considered subjects of Japan and remained enemy aliens during WWII. From the latter perspective, this poem is important to show the attack from the perspective of Koreans in Hawai‘i beyond the conspicuous simple reference that poses Japan as the attacker and the United States as the victim (“How Koreans Repealed Their ‘Enemy Alien’ Status” by Lili M. Kim in Ch’oe Yŏng-ho’s *From the Land of Hibiscus*, pp. 195–219).
15. Tojo Hideki, general in the Imperial Japanese Army, who served as the 40<sup>th</sup> prime minister during much of World War II, from October 18, 1941, to July 22, 1944. He was sentenced to death and executed for war crimes after the war.
16. Saburo Kuruusu was a Japanese special envoy sent to the White House for peace negotiations just before the attack.

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# **BARTHOLOMEW FAIR: MONSTROUS BIRTHS AND THE EARLY MODERN IMAGINARY**

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## **ABSTRACT**

While critics of Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) have read the play's pregnancies and monstrous births as symbolic, contributing mainly to its atmosphere of materiality, fertility, and the world turned upside-down, the original audience would likely have taken them as literal possibilities, through the concept of maternal impression. Early modern beliefs about women's fertility and imagination indict Ursula and Win, the two potential monstrous mothers, far more severely than the modern critical conception of them as embodiments of fairground misrule. I explore the roles that these Renaissance concepts of monstrosity and the animal/human boundary would have played in the original reception of *Bartholomew Fair*.

In his essay "*Bartholomew Fair* and Its Puppets," well-known Ben Jonson scholar Jonas Barish notes, with some dismay, the play's preponderance of images of pregnancy, which he sees as an example of its "insistent emphasis on the physical" (3). Certainly, representations of generation abound throughout the play, including the pregnant Win and the maternal-grotesque Ursula, but these perform a different function than its other descriptions of physicality, feasting, and drinking and running to chamber pots. At the play's beginning, John Littlewit has written a puppet play to be performed at the great Bartholomew Fair. Anxious to watch its debut but fearing that his wife Win's Puritanical family will disapprove of their going to the Fair (this is 1614), he suggests that Win should feign a pregnant craving for roast pork, which can only be bought there. The ruse is successful, and the Littlewits, the Puritans, and their friends all troop off to the fair, where they encounter a band of more or less lawless fair folk, ruled over by the seller of roast pork, Ursula the pig woman.

Kristen McDermott discusses the trope of the "world-turned-upside-down" that the fair emblemizes; she and other critics generally agree that, for the most part, the underworld fair folk come out ahead in the play, "converting" the characters who symbolize religion and law, Wasp, Overdo, and Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, to their own worldview and triumphantly carrying their unruly feasting and play-acting to the magistrate's own house. However, in the case of the female characters' sexuality, the equation of physical and disorderly as triumphant and law-abiding and abstemious as vanquished is not such a simple one, nor is the victory at all complete. The play's images of pregnancy, closely connected here with monstrosity and prostitution, are not merely symbols of riotous physicality and misrule; they are strong indictments of female power and imagination.

As a first example, critics have accepted that, when Win pretends to have such a craving to eat pig, the Puritans acquiesce to her desire solely because they are hypocrites and are not averse to eating some pork themselves, and that the whole farcical business of her pretending to faint for lack of the meat she craves has been created solely to satirize Puritan hypocrisy and as a plot device to get the group to the Fair. These aims are clearly furthered, but the Puritans Dame Purecraft and Busy would more likely have been understood by Jonson's original audience as apprehending an actual danger in not giving Win what they believe she longs for. Told of the "natural disease of women called 'a longing to eat pig'" (1.6.36–37) that has afflicted her daughter, Dame Purecraft worries, "I would not have her miscarry, or hazard her first fruits" (1.6.57–58). Miscarriage was indeed seen as a possible outcome of a thwarted pregnant desire: Laura Gowing, in her discussion of early modern attitudes towards physicality, *Common Bodies*, provides several examples of women who believed—and convinced others to believe—that they had miscarried after being denied some food they desired. For instance, she quotes the midwife of one miscarrying woman who explains that her client gave birth to two stillborn children after seeing some beef she was not able to eat (136). Gowing sees this case and others as stemming from malnutrition rather than the need to indulge pregnant cravings but notes that, in the imagination of the day, the latter was a completely rational and accepted explanation. The seventeenth-century midwife Jane Sharp also warns that "all immoderate . . . passions, desires, longings" (136) may bring on spontaneous abortion.

However, miscarriage was not the outcome most to be feared from pregnant women's passions and desires. To return to Dame Purecraft's fears, the contingency "hazard her first fruits" is distinguished from "miscarry" and thus likely refers to a different outcome. The most reasonable outcome to be dreaded would

have been that Win's baby would be born looking like a pig. The concept of maternal impression, through which an unborn child could be marked or shaped by its mother's desires, taking on the appearance of that which was feared or longed for, was commonly believed and discussed as early as the Bible and as late as the turn of the nineteenth century. Marie-Hélène Huét, in her wide-ranging study of the phenomenon, *Monstrous Imagination*, discusses the implications of the Aristotelian model of gestation, which remained influential in the early modern period:

[The] female contribution to generation was never considered equal to that of the male. In cases of monstrous births, though, particularly those caused by the power of the maternal imagination, the mother's role gained considerable importance. Just as monstrosities challenged the general laws of procreation, imagination challenged the respective roles of males and females in generation. (13–14)

Monstrosity was thus seen as resulting from a woman's taking too large a role in the shaping of her child. Kathryn Hoffmann describes other incidences of children who were born looking like the fruit their mothers had craved during pregnancy ("Monstrous" 524), and Gowing discusses a child whose mother dressed too fashionably and who was thus born with ruffles of flesh on its shoulders (127–128). This last case shows the ambiguous nature of submission to the craving. Gowing explains that early modern doctors "urged women to gratify whatever peculiar tastes they had in pregnancy . . . and warned that unwholesome longings, if they were frustrated, could . . . make 'foul impressions' on the child" (128). On the other hand, as in the case of the ruffled child, giving in to cravings might have the same effect. Thus, in either case, once a woman had given reign to the destructive power of desire within her, whether she gratified that desire or not was immaterial. Her fault was less in what she did than in what she was.

Also ambiguous were the effects of a belief in maternal impression. Hoffmann offers examples of women who "were sometimes given free reign to dupe their husbands or their physicians" ("Structures" 81), due to beliefs about its power. These included the conviction that a child might look like a man other than the woman's husband if she had been frightened by him or had seen a picture of him at a vulnerable time; women were thus sometimes able to escape charges of adultery due to this convenient belief. Despite understanding this as a possible phenomenon, its guiltier applications were also feared. Littlewit evinces doubt as to his own paternity when, attempting to convince Dame Purecraft to let Win attend the Fair, he warns, "I pray you that she may eat some pig, and her bellyful too, and do not you cast away your own child, and perhaps one of mine, with your tale of the Tempter" (1.6.18–20). Thus, by their very nature, by the powerful and lawless sexuality inherent in them, women were feared not only to deform their children but to make cuckolds of their husbands and get away with it.

Fruits, fashionable accessories, and other men were thought to mark vulnerable children, but animals were the most common marker, since they caused the most spectacular deformities and produced of the most anxiety. As Jan Bondeson describes, as late as the eighteenth century, the Englishwoman Mary Toft was thought to have given birth to seventeen rabbits due to an unsatisfied craving for potted rabbit during her pregnancy (122). Gowing argues, "In the literature of monstrous births, women become the conduit by which bestial features or body parts—in some cases, whole animals—found their way into human reproduction" (131). Multiple births—seen as litters—and breastfeeding also exposed women to charges of resembling animals: the boundary between woman and beast was seen as more tenuous than that between beast and man. The uterus itself was thought to be connected with animal nature; as Jorden explains, disorders of the womb might lead the sufferer to make animal noises: "Croaking of Frogges, hissing of Snakes, crowing of Cockes, barking of Dogges, garring of Crows" (qtd. in Camden 391). As Gowing notes, the association was considered both symbolic and literal:

Comparisons to pigs and cows were more than simple animal analogies . . . they played on the boundaries between human and animal and the ways in which pregnancy might undercut them. One mark of beastliness was lust, and women were less able than men to civilize their sexual urges. (131–132)

The anxiety surrounding Win's pregnancy comes to fruition in the person of the pig-woman, Ursula, who may be seen as an object lesson in what not to do—and be—when pregnant. A prostitute and bawd, Ursula is profoundly physical, profoundly sexual, and far too closely related for comfort to the pigs she purveys. A look at the concepts of maternal impression and monstrosity, moreover, shows that her expansive and

unrestrained nature has not gone unpunished. Melinda Gough has noted the echoes of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* in *Bartholomew Fair*, one of which is the name of "mooncalf" (69). Shakespeare's misshapen Caliban, birthed of the witch Sycorax, is called a mooncalf, which is also the name of Ursula's servant, the tapster. As an echo of Sycorax, then, Ursula has a quasi-maternal relationship with Mooncalf, which is also evident in their familiarity and her attempts to teach him and bring him up to a "position of trust." Mooncalf, too, displays an almost filial attitude toward Ursula, accepting unmoved the abuse she metes out, explaining her to those who would insult her, and tending to her when she is burned by boiling pig fat. He acts as a sort of son. But what sort? The "Mole or Moon-calf," as Jane Sharp writes in her 1671 guide to midwives, is "an ill shaped lump of flesh which grows greater every day in the womb, and is fed by the Terms that flow to it" (84). The tapster's name, coupled with his relationship with Ursula, suggests that she has birthed something monstrous. Sharp's humoral explanation for the mooncalf is telling; she writes:

Widows have been known to have had these Moles formed in their wombs by their own seed and blood that flows thither. But ordinarily I think this comes not to pass, but it proceeds from a fault in the forming faculty, when the mans seed in Copulation is weak or defective and too little, so that it is overcome by the much quantity of the womans blood. (85)

That is, as in the related concept of maternal impression, a mooncalf is formed either entirely by a woman or when the woman's share in generation overpowers the man's. This is an appropriate comment on Ursula, whose presence and power overawe the men with whom she associates.

Ursula is also associated with the birthing of other monstrosities, primarily pigs. She is repeatedly referred to as a "mother o' sows," and while it is easy to take these references in the figurative spirit in which they are obviously meant, the literal image does obtrude and should not be obscured. She is being accused, for whatever reason, of having given birth to animals. Not simply babies who look like animals, but actual pigs. This accusation cannot be taken in a solely symbolic sense in early modern England. Edward Topsell, a seventeenth-century naturalist, reprints as fact Simonides' description of "a Woman born of a Sow," a description which corresponds surprisingly to the picture of Ursula built up by other characters' descriptions of her. Simonides' sow woman "sitteth at home suffering all things to be impure, unclean, and out of order, without decking, dressing or ornament, and so she groweth fat in her unwashed garments" (522).

The implication here, that a woman could actually be born of a sow, is taken for granted, the more so because, as we also learn from Topsell, the sow "is so delighted with this pleasure of carnal Copulation, that . . . she setteth many times upon men and women" (519). As Erica Fudge has shown, punishments for bestiality in the early modern period became steadily more stringent, culminating in the 1521 edict calling for the death of both the human and the animal participant; this had been renewed several times and was still in effect in Jonson's day (21). Joyce Salisbury argues that this increasing severity points to a correspondingly increasing anxiety about the human/animal boundary: "Such repressive legislation brought with it the idea that the separation between humans and animals was a matter that could not be taken for granted, and thus had to be actively preserved" (183). Physicians of the day were convinced that animal-human hybrids could—and did—result from what Gouge calls "the detestable sinne of buggery with beasts" (qtd. in Callaghan 60), and that women who birthed "monstrosities" might be accused of bestiality, often in the context of a further accusation of witchcraft.

Win is shown as possibly about to birth a monstrosity, a pig-human hybrid, and Ursula is accused of already having done so. These pregnancies are salient to the structure of the play. They contribute to the atmosphere of lawless ribaldry at the Fair that has been a focus of criticism of the play. But pregnancy and the fears associated with it function as more than symbols and plot devices. They crystallize fears of women's power and imagination, of the evanescent animal-human boundary, and of the tenuous border between what is thought and what becomes flesh.

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# THE IMAGINED ROLE OF PALESTINE IN SEPTEMBER 11<sup>TH</sup>: THE LOCUS OF TERRORISM

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## ABSTRACT

September 11<sup>th</sup> initiated a new index of terror, which has been utilized as a paradigm for conceptualizing and discussing current violence. This index has been deployed by pundits in the United States in post-September 11<sup>th</sup> Leftist discourse. Dangerously, and incorrectly, this paradigm collapses Palestinian resistance into an image of violence. Such representations utterly ignore the context from which Palestinian resistance emerges. By investigating various texts by Puar and Rai, Churchill, Ferguson, Spivak, Chomsky and Israel government officials, this paper attempts to confront invocations of the Question of Palestine and challenge the use of 9/11 as an index for representing Palestinian resistance, thereby privileging Palestinian voices which re-frame Palestinian resistance within anti-occupation national discourse.

Central to this paper are two often-misunderstood terms. In this essay, I use the category "Palestinian" to include those living in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, as well as refugees and those in exile. The term "Zionist," as used herein, encompasses those who subscribe to the belief that historical Palestine not only was but is now and should fully become the "homeland" of Jews. Thus, the term does NOT mean Israelis or Jews, but instead those who subscribe, regardless of religion, nationality, ethnicity, etc., to a belief and thus support policies to reclaim Palestine in whole.

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In an eloquent article aptly entitled "We Are Nobody's Trump Card," Palestinian writer Samia Khoury boldly states:

Under the guise of a peace process we have been brutalized for daring to resist the occupation. To add insult to injury we have been used as a trump card in all of world politics. The United States, the Europeans, and our dear Arab neighbors have had their share of bartering on our account, and this includes our own Palestinian Authority. And the last of the list is the statement of Osama Bin Laden who swore by God that "Neither America nor the people who live in it will dream of security before we live it in Palestine." (1)

Koury's article was written on October 18, 2001, following 9/11. Her text is one of many written by Palestinians in response to September 11<sup>th</sup>. Palestinians knew that the world's ignorance of the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict would allow Palestinians to be blamed, at least in part, for September 11<sup>th</sup>. Palestinian Ramzy Baroud wrote: "Not one Palestinian was accused of taking part in the September 11 attacks, despite desperate attempts by Israel, whose role in the attacks remains dubious and yet to be confronted by the US government" (3). *The New York Times* reported that "Palestinian officials" asserted their position as "deploring terrorism and urging sympathy for the Palestinian plight. They argued that a handful of extremists were being treated as representative of all Palestinians" (Bennet 2). A handful of extremists, again, none of whom were Palestinian. So how is it that Palestinians were so quickly associated with September 11<sup>th</sup>? Why are Palestinians or Palestine invoked in such a wide range of post-9/11 discourse? Perhaps Palestinians are thoroughly aware that they have been the image of "Arab" violence for decades. Perhaps Palestinians understand the one-dimensional image much of the world associates with them: violence. Post September 11<sup>th</sup>, Palestinians were represented celebrating in the streets. Not reported were the many Palestinians who responded with sympathy and the request to be *heard*, which means that Palestinian writers would, if read, be able to create a framework for understanding the position of Palestine in the context of September 11<sup>th</sup> and in so doing disabuse readers of the misconceptions and assumptions which enable people to associate Palestinians not only with violence but with terrorism.

This paper is taken from a longer text, which is able to more thoroughly critique invocations of Palestine/Palestinians in post-9/11 discourse. The examples here have been limited to a select few, and even those have been drastically reduced. Jasbir Puar and Amit Rai's "Monster, Terrorist, Fag"; Ward Churchill's "'Some People Push Back' on the Justice of Roosting Chickens"; Niall Ferguson's *What We Lost: How our response to 9/11 reshaped the century*"; Gaytri Spivak's "Terror: A Speech After 9/11"; and Noam Chomsky's

"9-11" are varying examples of invocations of Palestine/Palestinians in post-9/11 Leftist discourse, all of which have the effect of equating Palestine and Palestinians with violence, either as terrorists or as objects of Israeli violence. My intent in discussing these works specifically and pointing out how they reinscribe media images of the violent Palestinian, is to suggest that a more thorough context, one created in part by Palestinian voices, would powerfully transform our understanding of Palestinians and their desperate quest for liberation.

It is my observation that many Palestinians feel isolated in their struggle for freedom. I have often heard Palestinians bitterly lament how their Muslim brothers and sisters in other Arab nations don't care about them. The sense of abandonment seems an understandable sentiment for Palestinians who are indeed isolated from one another from Gaza to the West Bank, as well as within the West Bank, due to roadblocks and the wall. The geographical separation does not, however, justify the abandonment that Palestinians recognize, for even if they or other Arabs could enter and travel within Palestine, that would not automatically result in heightened Arab support for the Palestinian cause, whatever form that may take. It is essential to recognize this common sentiment of abandonment in order to identify a certain abuse on the part of non-Palestinians who invoke Palestine as what Khoury in the opening of this paper calls a trump card of sorts. Western journalists and academics as well as Al Qa'eda representatives invoke Palestine for various purposes in their post-9/11 communications, always reducing Palestine and Palestinians to that most concentrated image of violence. Most of these invocations fail to provide contextualization, by which I mean discussion of the occupation, in their discussion or consideration of Palestinian voices. Indeed Palestine is often invoked as an excuse for violence in or from the Middle East (in the case of 9/11 and 7/11—the violence is located in the so-called West yet rooted in the Middle East). The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is frequently seen as a source of other conflicts. Invocations of Palestine demand consideration, and should be used carefully. In this paper, I am not suggesting that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is not of utmost importance or a factor that demands consideration in light of September 11<sup>th</sup>, but rather I argue that an understanding of Palestine which represents Palestinians beyond the binary of perpetrator/recipient of violence is essential to progress.

I will begin my discussion with Jasbir Puar and Amit Rai's "Monster, Terrorist, Fag: The War on Terrorism and the Production of Docile Patriots." In their invocations of Palestine, the authors grossly misuse the *Intifada*.<sup>1</sup> Writing about "terrorism studies" and its attempt at reducing the suicide bomber's motives to sexual rather than political frustration, the authors state: "As if the Palestinian *Intifada* [...] can be simply boiled down to bad mothering or sexual frustration!" (Puar and Rai 124). While I appreciate Puar and Rai's suggestion that the Palestinian *Intifada* is a complex historical event, I am horrified by their ignorant confusion of the *Intifada* with "terrorism." Demonstrations, boycotts, and underground institutions characterized the first *Intifada*. In fact, the *Intifada* is widely recognized, and commended, as a striking effort on the part of the Palestinians to construct underground economic and social networks to sustain their communities while living under siege and curfew. The only violence associated with the *Intifada* is typically rock throwing. The categorizing of rock throwing as "terrorism" is common in U.S. and Israeli representations of Palestinian resistance. In collapsing the *Intifada* into "terrorism," the authors wholly reduce a significant, complex, and legitimate resistance movement to an act of terrorism, and in so doing they reproduce the common and intentional Zionist conflation of Palestinians with violence.

Ward Churchill's response to September 11<sup>th</sup>, entitled "'Some People Push Back' on the Justice of Roosting Chickens" is challenging and problematic for multiple reasons. Significant to the scope of this paper is his invocation of Palestine under the section "Meet the 'Terrorists.'" First, Churchill frames the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks and his consequent invocation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as rooted in that "intractable" and "incomprehensible" history that serves to falsely validate inaction and ignorance: "A good case could be made that the war in which they were combatants has been waged more-or-less continuously by the 'Christian West' — now proudly emblemized by the United States against the 'Islamic East' since the time of the First Crusade, about 1,000 years ago" (3). Edward Said critiques a similar rhetoric used by Peter Rodman, a rhetoric which serves to implicate Islam as the enemy of Christianity and subsequently the source of current terrorism (*Covering Islam* xvii). Similarly to Rodman, Churchill asserts that one could make "a good case" that September 11<sup>th</sup> is a military attack by combatants (hijackers) in "the war," which he suggests is an ancient and violent rivalry of sorts between the "'Christian West'" and "'Islamic East.'" In "The Clash of Ignorance" Said criticizes Samuel Huntington's article "The Clash of Civilizations?" for its "reckless" personification of "the West" and "Islam" (1), enemies, Huntington claims, who are engaged in a war—the same supposedly intractable war Churchill cites. According to Churchill this war began a thousand years ago with the First Crusade and was exacerbated by, among other historical events and persons, "Lyndon Johnson [who] first lent significant support

to Israel's dispossession/displacement of Palestinians during the 1960s [...]" (3). If this war, in which September 11<sup>th</sup> is a battle of sorts, is rooted in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict – a conflict Churchill traces back to the crusaders, Palestine becomes complicit among the "terrorists" and essentially becomes the locus of terrorism. Churchill goes far beyond the image of violence to assert Palestine as the source of conflict. The vital distinction between the political violence of Palestine and that of the September 11<sup>th</sup> perpetrators is wholly collapsed into the Palestinian-Israeli conflict which is further collapsed into a Muslim-Christian ancient rivalry. Churchill's claims participate in a discourse that is used to justify the brutal Israeli binary, aligning the Christian "us" with Israel, disappearing Palestinians into the Muslim "them." Churchill's framing simply exacerbates the "us" and "them" military occupation of Palestine. By thus positioning Palestine and the "terrorists" of this "war" as one and the same, Palestinian political violence loses its specific context, goals, and motivations; further, Palestinian resistance becomes obscured in a global fight of terrorist versus "the West" rather than understood within regional history and current situation.

On September 11, 2006, Time Magazine released an issue entitled: "What We Lost: How our response to 9/11 reshaped the century. Historian Niall Ferguson looks back from the future." Ferguson writes his article from the perspective of a future historian in 2031, reflecting on the last 30 years since the events of September 11<sup>th</sup>. He states in a rather apocalyptic voice: "It is no coincidence that, outside Iraq, the terrorist organizations causing the most trouble in the region were operating out of southern Lebanon and the Israeli-occupied Palestinian territories of Gaza and the West Bank" (39). No specific information is offered to contextualize who these terrorist organizations are or what they are fighting for. He does elaborate by offering two names, though surely these aren't the only two groups to which he refers: "In all those places, elections had been held. Yet those who won them—Hizballah in Lebanon and Hamas in the occupied territories—were historically terrorist organizations" (39). The de-contextualized invocation of these organization's names is dangerous, as Time readers are not given any information beyond the affirmation that these are terrorist organizations "historically." Furthermore, the elections, representing democracy, is clearly incompatible with what someone (outside the electing community) terms a terrorist group. This article, published and read in 2006, comments on a faction of the current Palestinian government and serves to illegitimate that faction and reinforce the empty identity of "terrorist." Earlier in the article Ferguson likens Saddam loyalists with Al Qaeda. Then, when he invokes Palestine, he links Iraqi, Lebanese, and Palestinian "terrorism." According to Ferguson, the line between Palestinian Hamas and Al Qaeda is not long, and his analysis serves only to reinforce the misconception that Hamas is a terrorist organization comparable to Al Qaeda. Rather I would clarify what Hamas is—a resistance organization established to oppose and combat the Israeli occupation of Palestine through the use of political violence. Al Qaeda, unlike Hamas, has no ambition of establishing itself as a governing body or attempting social and political reform through legitimate means. On the contrary, Al Qaeda aims to disrupt governing bodies and does not engage in either social or political reform as Hamas has historically done and continues to do today. There is only violence in Ferguson's rendition of Palestine.

Another academic response is offered by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak who claims that it is the responsibility of the humanities to teach students through an "uncoercive rearrangement of desires" to imagine the space of the other. Although she mentions Palestine multiple times in her essay "Terror: A Speech after 9-11," Spivak focuses on the idea of terror. Her first reference to Palestine is found almost mid-way into her essay when she invokes Hamas as the opposing model to her ideal of an "uncoercive rearrangement of desires":

An extreme violation of this responsibility is seen in groups such as Hamas or Islamic Jihad, which coercively rearrange desires until coercion seems identical with the will of the coerced. I, like many others, think that the conduct of these groups is tied to the extremist politics of the state of Israel. It must, however, be admitted that these groups are now out of control, not a little because it is not possible to credit any offer of "peace" as reliable. (93)

Spivak offers no explanation of why Hamas merits such a condemnation, nor does she imagine how Palestinians might disagree. Furthermore, Spivak's suggestion that "these groups are now out of control" begs the consideration of when "these groups"—which I understand to mean Palestinian resistance organizations—were in control? The syntactical construction of Spivak's statement leads me to understand that unreliable peace offers equal Palestinian resistance groups as "not a little" out of control, an equation I find to be a stretch of the imagination rather than a valid criticism of the groups. In fact, such a suggestion echoes Israeli and American claims that valid peace offers have been made to Palestine, and the Palestinians (specifically their violence) have obstructed peace efforts. Furthermore, Spivak positions Hamas and Islamic Jihad together, which is, I am

certain, an intentional move. Aligning Hamas and Islamic Jihad suggests violent resistance. These are the groups within Palestine who often claim responsibility for suicide attacks. That is all the knowledge most non-Palestinians have of them; however, militant Hamas is not one-dimensional. Hamas, like Hezbollah, is a social and political organization that is deeply invested in sustaining its community. Here, however, Hamas is Islamic Jihad, for they are violent groups out of control.

Through her invitation to imagine, Gayatri Spivak calls upon her reader to take the initiative and contextualize, to imagine the other. In her last reference to Palestine, she asks the reader: "Have you ever heard Palestinian mothers lament the transformation of their sons and daughters to suicide bombers by the current situation?" (109) Spivak has the opportunity here to discuss the humanity and complexity of the individual driven to resist occupation through the use of political violence, and yet she does not embrace such an opportunity. Spivak does not imagine the subjective position the son or daughter might inhabit. The suicide bomber is transformed, someone or something transforms him/her; he or she is coercively reconfigured by the ideology of extremists. The mother only exists in relation to the child, who has been marked for and by violence, and marked by someone else. Can the Palestinian *choose* a violent form of resistance? What forms of resistance did the suicide bomber attempt before opting for violence? What circumstances might have informed the violent Palestinian's decision? The question, then, is this: does the reader better understand Palestine and its situation or people after reading Spivak's essay? Rather Palestine remains the locus of violence, the production site of violent people—of suicide bombers or as Nicole Nasser has called it, "the violence-breeding incubator." Spivak asks us to imagine but gives us only one image—the violent Palestinian—the Palestinian without subjectivity. She limits herself to invocation and thus declines the responsibility to imagine. So, while I applaud Spivak's efforts, even see her invocations as useful in providing a space for potential discussion of Palestine, the effect of Spivak's text is to reinscribe the image of the violent Palestinian, the suicide bomber Palestinian and in so doing reduce the conflict and those Palestinians living in it to violently coerced objects.

Even Noam Chomsky, a well-respected academic and activist whose politics are clearly not aligned with Zionist goals, unwittingly offers the same image of violence that Spivak utilizes. Chomsky granted interviews internationally post-September 11<sup>th</sup>, which were gathered in the book *9-11*. Granted interviews are by nature limited to direct questions and responses, it becomes clear after reading several that Chomsky has a set of stock responses which he repeats in order to emphasize the failure and antagonism of US foreign policy. It is his rhetorical recital, in which he repeats brief discussions, which limits the discussion of Palestine to one part of this recital. Note the image of Palestine:

***What are the consequences for the Middle East? In particular for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?***

The atrocities of September 11 were a devastating blow for the Palestinians as they instantly recognized. Israel is openly exulting in the "window of opportunity" it now has to crush Palestinians with impunity. In the first few days after the 9-11 attack, Israeli tanks entered Palestinian cities (Jenin, Ramallah, Jericho for the first time), several dozen Palestinians were killed, and Israel's iron grip on the population tightened, exactly as would be expected. Again, these are the common dynamics of a cycle of escalating violence, familiar throughout the world: Northern Ireland, Israel-Palestine, the Balkans, and elsewhere.  
(20)

Chomsky merits credit for his efforts through which he brings attention to Israeli attacks that were carried out in the name of September 11<sup>th</sup> anti-terrorist action; however, the effects of his invocations are that the Palestinian people are collapsed into that single image of violence, always either as perpetrators or recipients. While Israel did take advantage of anti-Arab, anti-terrorist sentiment post September 11<sup>th</sup>, Palestine exists in our imaginations as the victim of Israeli violence or perhaps as the celebrator of September 11<sup>th</sup> violence. What of non-violent Palestinian resistance to these Israeli attacks? Or Palestinian responses to September 11<sup>th</sup>, like candlelight vigils, blood donations and moments of silence? Chomsky's final reference to Palestine comes toward the end of the collection of interviews when he asserts again that September 11<sup>th</sup> surely hurt the Palestinians, a reality the Israelis immediately recognized (112). A stock response is offered that again situates the Palestinians as the recipients of Israeli violence. It is significant that even Israel admits the Palestinians are the targets of their military attacks, the recipients of retaliation. Vital to the situation is the context in which Israelis commit violence against Palestinians, not as retaliation to Palestinian-initiated violence but as an occupying military enacting a sustained attack. That Chomsky invokes Palestine is indeed valuable as he offers a platform for the Palestinians' cause and aligns Palestine with other U.S. complicit or U.S. exacted violence and atrocities—which is no insignificant action; however, the effect of the invocation is that it effectually limits the Palestinian reality to violence alone, apart from occupation and resistance. Chomsky ultimately reinscribes the binary image

that reduces the Palestinian to a figure constructed by Israel subjectivity. One can only hope that the reader already possesses the context in which to place Chomsky's comments and expand the image he offers, which is not likely considering the incredible ignorance and misinformation surrounding the conflict. Further contextualization of the state and history and people of Palestine is necessary in order that Chomsky's invocations may become useful in creating a new narrative of Palestine and the conflict, one that goes beyond violence.

In *Covering Islam*, Edward Said points to Israel's consistent attempts since 1948 to characterize Islam and Arabs as fundamentalists (xxi)—when paired with the adjective “Islamic,” “fundamentalist” means terrorist. A post-September 11<sup>th</sup> example was articulated by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon when he equated Arafat with Bin Laden following the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks: “Prime Minister Ariel Sharon told Colin Powell that Yasir Arafat was ‘our Bin Laden’” (Hodge 2). This comparison is particularly problematic because, while Bin Laden is the leader of a self-proclaimed militant organization that aims to undermine non-Islamic regimes in the Middle East, Yasser Arafat was the legitimately recognized President of the Palestinian Authority and Chairman of the PLO. This equation of Arafat with Bin Laden serves to align the international, anti-imperial, anti-global network of Al Qa’eda with the nationalist Palestinian political organizations. Al Qa’eda is not comparable to Fatah or Hamas the political parties. Such an equation aims to justify the Israeli occupation by presenting the image of Palestinians as threatening, as violent, and as terrorists. And this is where I must again point out how careful people like Chomsky must be in discussing Palestine, because the image of Palestine and violence is so easily conflated as Sharon has done through his comment. Palestinian activist and government official Marwan Barghouti suggests that Palestinian political violence is motivated by factors which are easily isolated and understood, as well as easily eliminated: “[The] despair, after enduring so much injustice, for too long,” requires consideration and acknowledgement. He offers three factors that he believes are the major impetuses of Palestinian political violence: “instinctual struggle for freedom/independence, despair and in reaction to the provocative Israeli policies (including mere vengeance)” (2). Palestinian political violence, unlike that of Al Qa’eda, is comprehensible when considered within the context of the Israeli occupation and national resistance. Furthermore, when contextualized, Palestinian agency is acknowledged and political resistance, reveals Palestinians as humans who employ methods OTHER than violence to fight for social justice.

In a lecture given at Chapman University, Edward Said encouraged his audience “to try to understand” an “interdependent world” because it “makes life livable” (“Politics, Power, and Culture”). Palestine is unique; nonetheless, it is part of a greater history and context. There is violence in Palestine, and it is in distinct ways connected to violence outside of Palestine. My claim is not that there are no connections or that there is not violence in Palestine, but Palestine's particular situation is significant to understanding its so-called terrorist organizations and resistance that respond to the Israeli occupation of 1967, which continues today. Moreover, differences are significant in allowing us to recognize that the Palestinian struggle for liberation is characterized by far more than violence, whether Palestinian or Israeli instigated. And thus, the image that collapses Palestine/Palestinians with violence must be expanded. We must imagine Palestinians and the agency with which they challenge the occupation.

When Palestinian voices are legitimated, so too will be their questions, opinions, and experiences—at which point a response will be offered to those “[...] Palestinians [who] have asked for decades what compels a country like the United States that stands for freedom and democracy to soak its hands in their endless genocide, to conspire with their murderers in a war against an undefended nation seeking freedom and justice” (Baroud 2-3).

## NOTES

1. There have been two Intifadas, a word which translates to “uprising” in English. The authors do not specify to which they refer but I assume it is the first and the second is typically called the second Intifada and first only Intifada.

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# MILITARY AND MATRIMONY: SPECULATION AND INTERROGATION OF HETERONORMATIVITY

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## ABSTRACT

This paper explores the idea of nationalism and the notion of a singular, unified and coherent “national identity” as a concept that is continuously constructed through a hegemonic discourse to map out specific places or origins concerning the concept of “home.” Drawing on Roland Barthes’s concept of a “spectacle of excess” and Judith Butler’s notion of gender performativity, I examine how the films *Soldier’s Girl* and *Brokeback Mountain* present the male body and hyper-masculinity in ways that attempt to cope with the “crisis” of heteronormativity through visual and linguistic performance.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

The idea of nationalism and the notion of a singular, unified, and coherent “national identity” are continuously constructed within hegemonic discourse as a way to visually map out specific places or origins that circulate around the concept of “home.” Although such locations can be sites of acceptance and belonging, where one’s identity is defined in relation to others, they can also function as spaces of constant mobility and instability that are mapped out on the body of the “other.”

Using theoretical frameworks developed by Roland Barthes and Judith Butler, I examine how the films *Soldier’s Girl*<sup>1</sup> and *Brokeback Mountain*<sup>2</sup> present the male body and the spectacle of hyper-masculinity as ways to cope with the “crisis” of heteronormativity through the perpetuation of visual and linguistic performances that are emblematic of an imaginary notion of national identity. The films portray two highly exclusionary institutions, marriage and the military. These institutions regulate bodies, modes of identification, and social interactions through complex systems of recognition. In order to ensure the continuance of these institutions, such systems of recognition heavily rely on heteronormativity as a means to forcefully forge kinship ties and mediate social relations among those who partake in their institutional activities. These kinship ties are representative of the fraternal bonds that soldiers create while on duty as well as the fidelity and trust that is created within a familial unit, particularly between husband and wife. As a result, the relationships that emerge from these interactions are a product of shared experiences and communal identities. They become both an affirmation of heterosexuality and a way of asserting one’s loyalty to the nation.

In order to secure the perpetuation of heteronormativity, the desires of individuals are continually policed via imagined threats to notions of “home.” When the body or another physical locations becomes a contested site, the subject’s enactment of the spectacle highlights the performativity of masculinity and draws attention to the instability of a heteronormative framework, eliciting a violent reaction from those who adhere to a regulated system. This violence not only disrupts social order but also displaces the “home,” allowing for the emergence of queer positionalities that adopt alternative modes of identification in resistance to dominant ideology.

## 2.0. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & METHODOLOGY

Social institutions reinforce the establishment and maintenance of constructed hierarchies that regulate an individual’s physical body, modes of identification, expression or repression of voice, sexual practices, and desires so that they fall in accordance with what is conceived as heteronormative, or adhering to the dominant scripts of heterosexuality. Through privileging heterosexuality, social institutions sanctioned by the nation-state, such as the military or marriage, provide guidelines for assessing and policing bodies, marking who is considered a “member” and who is not.<sup>3</sup> We can also extend Butler’s argument on gender to other areas of identity politics, allowing us to recognize that the exclusionary aspects of particular identities, which reinforce a “natural” divide, are always politically motivated. In relation to heterosexuality, individual participation in and compliance with these regulatory frameworks secures the perpetuation and reinstatement of its naturalization, directly affecting the individual and the ways in which he or she can and cannot identify. These scripted identities are based on cultural conceptions of an ideal that transforms into an imagined “real.”<sup>4</sup> In the United States, we are often held hostage by Western hegemonic ideals regarding beauty, truth, power, masculinity and femininity, only to name a few. Even for the privileged subject, these ideals are unattainable; yet, they are

imagined as “real,” materialized through objects, and are called into being through a continual enactment that assigns value to them. By locating one's own position in relation to others, we recklessly enter into the complexities of performativity.

In *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler discusses the complexities and limitations of performativity. She notes, “the limits of the discursive analysis of gender presuppose and preempt the possibilities of imaginable and realizable gender configurations within culture. This is not to say that any and all gendered possibilities are open, but that the boundaries of analysis suggest the limits of a discursively conditioned experience” (Butler 1990: 13). Even though the hegemonic discourse of a culture may adopt a finite number of realizable gender performances, the imagined possibilities of multiple gender configurations are endless. Butler further articulates the manifestation of the fantasized body: “The body sets limits to the imaginary means that it occasions, but is never free of an imaginary construction. The fantasized body can never be understood in relation to the body as real; it can only be understood in relation to another culturally instituted fantasy, one which claims the place of the ‘literal’ and the ‘real’” (Butler 1990: 90). Despite its limitations, Butler recognizes the illusory state of an imagined form of the “real” where the construction of the body is fantasized. Yet, if bodies operate on culturally inscribed knowledge of specific reiterative performances of a given social context, then such knowledge can be used, as in the case of “passing,” to work on and against dominant modes of knowledge production through a process of disidentification.

According to Judith Halberstam, we must distinguish between what “realness” and we perceive as the “real.” She defines “realness” as something that “is not exactly performance, not exactly an imitation; it is the way that people, minorities, excluded from the dominant real, appropriate the real and its effects” (Halberstam 2005: 51). I would argue that even the “dominant real” is an appropriation of a type of “realness” that only exists in imagined form, but is culturally reinforced through hegemonic ideals. Nonetheless, the legitimacy of one's status must be claimed through articulating a particular type of agency. How can an individual lay claim to the “real,” when the “real” is an evasive concept that individuals can only grasp through an appropriation of “realness” manifested through imagination and desire? In other words, can an individual glean specific knowledge regarding socially instituted values in order to negotiate various bodies of knowledge and reveal the unstable states of being through performativity and simulation of an imagined “real”?

We cannot ignore that the identity one assumes, or is visually coded as embodying, influences the communities that one associates with. However, it is important to note that memberships among multiple communities can lead to conflict and contradiction. Additionally, as political, cultural and socio-economic climates change, group affiliations or group rights may shift, and memberships in a particular community may be redefined. In either circumstance, individual motivations for choosing or rejecting membership vary. Regardless, each membership in a specific community maintains and polices the artificial divisions that heteronormativity perpetuates.

Heteronormativity is imagined through a continual performance that is reinforced by structures of power deeply embedded in social frameworks of recognition and sustained through hegemony. These frameworks are maintained through a constant regulation of the self and others, and are monitored by the state apparatus, creating a violent battlefield for those individuals who vacillate between various modes of *being* and *becoming*.<sup>5</sup> Since one's desire will continuously be narrated within or in relation to the privileged heteronormative framework, one's performance of heterosexual behavior becomes a spectacle. This process is similar to Roland Barthes's description of the wrestling audience in his book *Mythologies*: “the public...abandons itself to the primary virtue of the spectacle, which is to abolish all motives and all consequence: what matters is not what it thinks but what it sees” (Barthes 1972: 15). The visual performance of heterosexuality, via saturated and reiterated gender presentations, is a key factor in upholding the production of the myth and all of its accompanying “virtues.” In other words, one's “membership” as a heterosexual is contingent on one upholding various notions of heterosexuality and participating in its system of regulation that is not concerned with why one is straight (read: motive) or what penalties and injustices might erupt from its reinforcement (read: consequence). In other words, the battle is not over how queer forms of being do or do not operate within the dominant ideology; rather, it is in showing how dominant ideology is already highly fabricated and unstable, and in deprivileging its position from a binary dichotomy.

### 3.0. ANALYSIS

In the film *Soldier's Girl* (2002), directed by Frank Pierson, we find a volatile love story that transgresses the confines of heteronormative desires. The story is based on the events leading up to the death of Private First Class (PFC) Barry Winchell (played by Troy Garity) and his love affair with Calpernia Addams (played by Lee Pace), a pre-operative transsexual woman. Following Winchell's death, activists and news reporters cast his violent murder as a product of repressed homophobia which resulted from the military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy regarding homosexual conduct in the service. The Army's "Homosexual Conduct Policy" defines homosexual conduct as: "An act or a statement by a soldier that demonstrates a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts, the solicitation of another to engage in a homosexual act or acts, or a homosexual marriage or attempted marriage" (United States Army 1999). Homosexual conduct is distinguished from heterosexual conduct here, yet neither is clearly defined. The policy's emphasis on creating a distinction relies on the performance of a homosexual "act" or an imagined act being realized through an excitation of speech—the linguistic performance of announcing one is "homosexual" allows for imagined "acts" to be realized. In other words, one can be gay and serve in the military as long as the soldier does not (intend to) act on, display or speak of his or her same-sex attraction. The creation of this "double bind" allows for the soldier to serve, but serve in silence: it is fine if the soldier is gay, as long as it does not disrupt the framework of heteronormativity and as long as the soldier's behavior is consciously policed and appears heterosexual. Although the policy does regulate what is deemed "appropriate" behavior (read: heterosexuality) for a military workplace, it is inadequate in accounting for the multiplicity of sexual desires. Moreover, since the policy cannot account for desires that are not defined by the hetero-/homosexual dichotomy, we are left to wonder whether Winchell's attraction to Calpernia Addams was grounds for him being labeled as "gay."

Despite their presumed advocacy for inclusion and diversity, policies such as "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," result in a proliferation of binary thinking. The acknowledgment and false acceptance of "difference" focuses on the importance, or privileging, of a dominant discourse within an ahistorical framework of predominately Western, middle-class, white, male heteronormativity. Such modes of thought refuse to engage with the systems of power that regulate our desires. Instead, individuals are violently cast into frameworks of recognition or, if their bodies and desires are rendered unintelligible, their subject positions become delegitimized. The policy's flaws and contradictions reflect the instability of compulsory heterosexuality, yet they also draw our attention to Winchell's continual assertion of masculinity as a way to prove his desire is not homosexual: "I'm not gay!" (Pierson 2002). Surprisingly, Winchell never chooses to say, "I am straight," calling into question the way in which he narrates his own mode of identification. Judith Butler suggests that,

*self-questioning of this sort involves putting oneself at risk, imperiling the very possibility of being recognized by others, since to question the norms of recognition that govern what I might be, to ask what they leave out, what they might be compelled to accommodate, is, in relation to the present regime, to risk unrecognizability as a subject or at least to become an occasion for posing the questions of who one is (or can be) and whether or not one is recognizable. (Butler 2005: 23)*

With this in mind, the function of stating one is not gay becomes twofold. Winchell is aware of the norms of recognition that call his identity into question, causing his statement to be a defense for his compliance with heteronormativity. On the other hand, Winchell risks being rendered unrecognizable since he continually gives an account of himself in relation to what he is not during moments of self-interrogation and self-reconstitution.

Winchell's statement asserts his incessant need to comply with military modes of recognition. If he is coded as "heterosexual," then he is not only rendered recognizable. He also gains acceptance and protection within the military's system of kinship and fraternity. Yet, obtaining membership is not an easy task by any means. The violent interrogation of the self emerges during moments in the film when those who operate in compliance with the military framework label Winchell's sense of being as a non-normative mode of identification. Upon entering into the barracks at Fort Campbell for the first time, Winchell uses his first name during his introduction to Fischer, his future roommate and "battle buddy." In response Fischer verbally attacks Winchell: "You're Barry-the-fuck who?...No first names in the infantry unless you want everyone to think you are a pussy" (Pierson 2002). Fischer's response is an interrogation of who Winchell is within the military's framework of recognition, and it is also an assertion of how one's identity is continuously regulated in accordance with heteronormative ideals of masculinity and heterosexist speech acts. As Winchell later learns, a soldier's membership and acceptance into the infantry is contingent upon his continual gender performance.

Within the military, this reiterated (linguistic and theatrical) gender performance appears “natural.” Although we might initially regard Winchell as conceding to a normative gender presentation, he circumvents the dichotomous oppositional framework of hetero-/homosexual desire, allowing for the possibility of multiple forms of becoming to emerge during moments of contestation. However, when his subject position is called into question, the unnaturalness of his assertion of hyper-masculine behavior reveals a crisis of Heteronormativity. Thus, the more Winchell “acts” hyper-masculine in order to ensure he is never regarded as effeminate, the more constructed and volatile the framework he operates within appears to be. This denaturalization of Winchell’s gender performance and the heterosexual norms put forth in the film display a “spectacle of excess” (Barthes 1972: 15) that highlights the homogenizing effects of the military. During one scene, Winchell is disciplined for being late to formation. As he continues to perform push-ups, the Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO) in charge of the formation yells, “Do you deserve to be called a ‘Screamin’ Eagle?!” (Pierson 2002).<sup>6</sup> Winchell bellows in response, “No, ‘cause I’m an asshole, Sergeant!” as he continues to count the number of push-ups completed. This spectacle draws attention to the performativity of constantly reproduced normative regimes and all of its accompanying contradictions. In other words, Winchell must “earn” his membership into his unit through a hyper-masculine performance of physical feats—completion of one hundred push-ups with his rucksack and weapon—while, at the same time, suggesting his unworthiness of inclusion to the group through self-deprecation. Since the continuance of the spectacle relies on emphasizing both the speech act (linguistic performativity) and the visual coding of Winchell’s actions by others (the reiterative theatrics of hyper-masculinity), Winchell’s identity is always being contested as his body turns into a mobile, one-man stage within the military’s system of (mis)recognition.

Winchell’s exclusion suggests the rite of passage that must be crossed in order to enter into the fraternity of the military’s “elite” airborne infantry unit. Once he earns entry into the group, his identity is still continually called into question. After failing to qualify on his weapon, Winchell’s loyalty to the unit is challenged by Fischer: “You cannot let the company down. Everyone has to operate at the utmost of their capability” (Pierson 2002). Fischer sees Winchell’s failure to qualify as not only a failure that impacts the unit, but as a disruption to the normative framework of competence and cohesion that ensures the unit’s stability. In other words, Winchell’s failure becomes another site of contestation that destabilizes and threatens the functionality of the military. Just as the function of Barthes’s wrestler “is not to win,” but instead, “it is to go exactly through the motions which are expected of him (1972: 16), Winchell’s compliance and eventual qualification on his weapon give the illusion of his acceptance and recognizability. Like the wrestler’s excessive gestures, Winchell’s display of hyper-masculinity remains as the performance that is expected of him in response to the “crisis” of heteronormativity.

According to Dennis Sumara, “because heteronormativity regulates the ways in which sociality is dominated by ideas and practices that privilege those persons whose public performance of identity appears to conform to the very narrow understanding of what constitutes a heterosexual identity, it also organizes what does not count as a heterosexual identity” (2001: 14). In these terms, Winchell’s physical altercations only erupt when his identity is perceived as “not heterosexual.” In fact, it is Winchell’s unwillingness to engage in the spectacle of hyper-masculinity that provoke various violences.<sup>7</sup> At several points in the film, he attempts to diffuse arguments that erupt between him and Fischer, and later Glover, the person who eventually murders Winchell. Winchell continually asserts: “I don’t want to fight you!” and, when physical violence is forced on him, Winchell yells, “You made me do this” as he vigorously fights back (Pierson 2002). Although his statement is intended for the person he is in conflict with, we can also read it as a rhetorical strategy that places the focus of blame not on Fischer or Glover, but on the social institution of heteronormativity that forces Winchell to enact a spectacle of violence within the military. Despite the film’s representation of Winchell’s endorsement of hyper-masculinity as a mode of survival and as a way to give an account of himself, his behaviors and actions evoke a refusal of participation in rigidly set categories of sexual identity. His simultaneous compliance and resistance creates a queer positionality that complicates the intersections between sexuality, masculinity, and notions regarding devotion and allegiance to the military as well as the nation it serves.

Winchell’s queer positionality prompts his vulnerability to the violences enacted within the military’s framework of recognition, and his queerness becomes apparent when notions of “home” are put forth as sites of stability and acceptance. Upon entering the Fort Campbell, the army post that Winchell is assigned to, the audience sees a sign at the front gate reading: “Home of the Screaming Eagles.” “Home” is typically viewed as a site of sanctity, security, and safety. Here, these notions of home are transformed into acts of violence, exclusion, and continual interrogation of Winchell. Later in the film, Winchell drives Addams to her family “home.” After refusing to enter the household and recounting the painful memories of her last encounter with

her family, Addams states: "I have to be more of myself before I walk up to that house again" (Pierson 2002). Addams recognizes the anxiety that her queerness causes for her family. Unfortunately, Winchell is unaware of the ways in which his own positionality threatens the stability of the "home" and the dominant ideology.

Similar to *Soldier's Girl*, the film *Brokeback Mountain* (2005), directed by Ang Lee, portrays an emergence of queer positionalities that erupt from the regulation of non-normative desires. The story explores the intimate relationship of two cowboys, Ennis Delmar (played by Heath Ledger) and Jack Twist (played by Jake Gyllenhaal), who meet in the summer of 1963 while herding sheep on Brokeback Mountain. These men negotiate systems of recognition and regulation through their participation in heteronormativity as a way to survive the real and imagined violences that erupt from their desire for each other. Both Ennis and Jack's investment in their marriages to women, and their perceived investment in the sanctity of the family, highlights the performativity and fabrication of the "home" within the rural context of the West. Their marriages function as a necessary apparatus of the state and help create the illusions of monogamy, security, family and happiness within a national context. Participation in this institution allows for the continued production of a series of signifiers that perpetuate the mythical exclusivity of heterosexuality and its monopolization of sexual desire within a homo-/heterosexual dichotomy. Ennis and Jack's relationship with one another not only distorts the idealized vision of married life but also redefines their own gender performativity as resting outside of a heteronormative framework.

Mostly set in a rural, impoverished Wyoming town, the film evokes the solitary specificity of the American West. The iconic, nonverbal culture is reflected in the picturesque landscape and is representative of a need to survive the economic and intimate strains placed on the primary characters. Despite the depiction of the setting as desolate, rural and even primitive, it is the isolation of the landscape that offers a space of privacy away from the pressures of regulated social interactions. For Ennis and Jack, the sharing of everyday experiences during their initial summer on Brokeback Mountain served as a space for private interactions. These shared communal interactions involved conducting intimate, and often private, tasks necessary to function and survive. Regardless of the lack of enclosure, a close and personal space emerges for private activities such as bathing, urinating and eating within the campsite area. These domestic functions become emblematic of a temporary displacement of the "home," juxtaposing privacy with the expansive landscape of the West.

Notions of "home" continue to become distorted from the onset of the film. After receiving instructions from their employer, Ennis and Jack settle down for a drink at the town bar. Attempting to make conversation with Ennis, Jack asks him about his family. Ennis describes that, following the death of his parents, he lived with his brother at the family ranch. However, Ennis solemnly admits that after his brother married, "Then no more room for me" (Lee 2005). Ennis' comment alludes to the central institution that family revolves around. Yet, those who do not get married are excluded from the sanctity of the "home." Such ideology perpetuates the incessant need to get married, since marriage is viewed in this context as a site of stability and security but not love. Although marriage is anything but secure and stable, it gives a romanticized notion of love, when in fact marriage is based on convenience and places a great deal of focus on the child as reassurance for the preservation of heteronormativity in the future.

Ennis' wife, Alma, views her children as central to the sanctity of their relationship. Alma sees Ennis as violating this sanctity of marriage and of the "home" when she witnesses Ennis and Jack kiss as they reunite with each other after a four-year separation. This transgression creates a "crisis" within the domestic realm. As Ennis departs to take off with Jack for a "fishin' trip," Alma peers out of the living room window and clutches her daughter in her arms as she weeps. At first, Alma does not articulate her knowledge of Ennis' relationship with Jack. The audience is forced to read her visceral and nonverbal actions as an expression of her emotions. She fears for the future of her child as her own imagined heterosexual ideal is shattered. A distortion of "home" and violation of the domestic sphere occurs for Alma as she recognizes that her marriage to Ennis has become anything but a site of stability and security.

Similar to the repression of non-normative desire in *Soldier's Girl*, many of the characters in *Brokeback Mountain* refrain from openly articulating their thoughts or emotions, creating sites of continual yearning and desire that are never entirely fulfilled. Even the initial sexually intimate encounter between Ennis and Jack occurs with little verbal communication of their desire for one another. While laying in the tent next to each other, Jack wraps his arm around Ennis. Surprised and half-coherent, Ennis asks Jack, "What are you doing?" (Lee 2005). A violent physical struggle ensues that erupts into an intense erotic charge as Ennis penetrates Jack. The privatization of Ennis's emotions serves as a marker for desire that cannot, or at least

should not, be articulated since it violates his presumed heterosexual identity. The day after their intimate encounter, Ennis and Jack engage in a brief dialogue, giving an account of the night's events and their own positionalities within a framework of recognition:

Ennis: This is a one shot thing we got going on here.

Jack: It's nobody's business but ours.

Ennis: You know I'm not queer.

Jack: Me neither. (*Brokeback Mountain*)

Ennis alludes to the temporality of his desire. He believes that his attraction is momentary and cannot be encapsulated within a timeframe that predicts or anticipates a future. In fact, since their relationship cannot lead to reproduction, there can be no investment in children. Thus, Ennis can only live in the making of the present. Although Ennis' masculinity is not called into question at this point in the film, he, like Winchell, gives an account of himself to Jack in relation to what he is not. His brooding and distant personality is held in stark contrast to Jack's optimism for the future. Jack, however, recognizes Ennis' need for the privatization of his desires and acknowledges his declaration of being not "queer."

As the film progresses, both Jack and Ennis marry women and have children of their own. They continue to see each other a few times a year, escaping from their heteronormative lifestyles. While in a bed at a sleazy motel, Jack whispers to Ennis: "I swore to God I wasn't going to get into this again." Over the years, Jack's optimism of wanting to build a life with Ennis persists despite his attempt to regulate his own desire. Jack is caught between living in a moment of queer temporality—where his specificity of desire allows him a momentary mode of identification and embodiment that is not static nor afforded to him as being a heterosexual—and hoping for a future with Ennis that reflects the illusory security and stability of a heterosexual union. Jack proposes his fantasized notions to Ennis: "You know it could be like this. Just like this, always." By resisting the domestication of their intimate affair, and as a way to avoid the physical and linguistic violences that occur toward individuals whose desires are considered non-normative, Ennis replies, "It ain't goin' to be that way" (Lee 2005).

Throughout the film, Ennis and Jack's vulnerability within their social framework of recognition is highlighted by various violent incidents. After spending a night with Jack at the campsite instead of sleeping on the herding grounds to ward off coyotes, Ennis returns to find one of the sheep dead with its innards torn out. The death of the sheep serves as a metaphor, symbolizing the violence that is inflicted on those who stray from security of the dominant group. It directly references Ennis' transgression, his inward guilt of having betrayed a heterosexual identity, and alludes to the potential violences that are enacted on those individuals who remain on the fringes of recognizability within a heteronormative framework. Ennis continues to internalize a self-loathing hatred and projects his violence outward at specific moments in the film. These violent acts serve as spectacle for Ennis' hyper-masculinity as he attempts to cope with his lost heterosexual privilege. One of the first physical altercations emerges between Ennis and Jack after Jack informs him that their employer said they must bring the sheep off the mountain. Since bringing the sheep back to town signals an end to their relationship, Ennis storms off in a rage unable to cope with his new, emergent desire for Jack or entirely reclaim a heterosexual identity. As Jack tries to playfully coax Ennis off of the hill where he is still brooding, a fistfight erupts between the two of them. After accidentally giving Ennis a bloody nose, Jack attempts to comfort him. Without words, Ennis forcefully punches Jack in the face. This violence is repeated once they return to town. When Jack drives off, Ennis crouches in a small alleyway, vomits, and then proceeds to punch a brick wall. As a passer-by takes notice of Ennis' emotional outburst, Ennis shouts, "What the fuck are you lookin' at?" The scene immediately crosscuts to Ennis' marriage to his betrothed, Alma (Lee 2005).

Any threat to Ennis's private sphere or his intimate relations, whether they are with Alma or Jack, becomes a site where Ennis feels he must assert his heterosexuality through hyper-masculine behavior. For example, at a Fourth of July fireworks display, Ennis provokes a fight with two bikers who were using vulgar language around his family. His actions perpetuate heterosexist notions of the husband and father figure as protector and savior of the wife and children. Yet, Ennis' hyper-masculine behavior can also be read as a survival strategy within a system of continual regulation. He is cognizant of the real violences that might occur if his desire for Jack becomes a site of contestation: "If this gets a hold of us in the wrong time, wrong place, we're dead" (Lee 2005). Ennis narrates a story to Jack, telling him about two men who ranched up together and consequently were murdered. Because of the immanent threat of death that their relationship holds, and regardless of what freedom Ennis' divorce from Alma might afford him, Ennis can only give Jack temporality

and isolation: "We can get together once in a while out in the middle of nowhere...If you can't fix it, Jack then you got to ride it...there ain't no reins on this one" (Lee 2005). Feeling a loss of control and that the future can bring nothing but violence, Ennis offers an ever-fading present that is located "nowhere" within a heteronormative system of recognition. In fact, it is a future of imagined desires that never comes to fruition, as Jack is brutally beaten to death on a highway.

#### 4.0. DISCUSSION/IMPLICATIONS

*Soldier's Girl* and *Brokeback Mountain* are not simply about the transcendence of love and romanticized notions of how love is portrayed as a universal quality. Instead, they tell narratives about loss and how it results from the continual regulation and policing of queer positionalities within heteronormative frameworks of recognition. Winchell and Ennis' queer positionalities are intricately woven into their surrounding environments. Winchell's queerness<sup>8</sup> in relation to others is accentuated not from his encounters with Calpernia Addams but by the continual interrogation he receives from his peers and superiors as well as his disidentification with being either hetero or homosexual. In *Brokeback Mountain*, Ennis functions in a similar fashion as he attempts to retain his heterosexual privilege and his non-normative desire for Jack, vacillating between the institution of marriage and the momentary freedom that *Brokeback Mountain* offers him. Jose Munoz describes how the process of disidentification is a "mode of dealing with dominant ideology, one that neither opts to assimilate within such a structure nor strictly opposes it; rather, disidentification is a strategy that works on and against dominant ideology" (1999: 11). This process allows for individuals to resist identification with or assimilation of normative scripts, while acknowledging the impossibility and unproductive effort of counteridentification, since the dominant sphere has proved inescapable. The mutability and specificity of desire<sup>9</sup> creates multiple subject positions, which forges a "queer" space in relation to the dominant sphere through an individual's disidentification with the mythical exclusivity of heteronormativity.

Since the dominant ideology is always privileged, a great deal of attention is drawn to individuals who do not fit within the parameters of normative scripts. We often look at the queer body and one's queer desires as texts for interrogation based on the moments they offer for subversive action. This constant encoding and decoding of queerness or queer modes of identification become violent processes acted out by those individuals, like PFC Winchell and Ennis del Mar, who exist on the peripheries. Instead of privileging heteronormativity and labeling Winchell or Ennis as marginalized because of their queer positionality, their stories show how queer modes of identification and temporality function to illuminate the instability of restrictive identity categories. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick posits "queer" as "the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone's gender, of anyone's sexuality aren't made (or *can't be* made) to signify monolithically" (1993: 8). These mobile conceptions resist defining the term "queer" as an identity category. In fact, it is a term that resists any particular identity category and is a form of *being* and *becoming* that defamiliarizes the constructed nature of all identity categories.<sup>10</sup>

If we adopt a post-identity politic, then we can view Winchell and Ennis as not belonging within a polarized framework and instead see them as oscillating between set categories. This queer positionality informs the audience that the construction of the "I" does not suggest we, or any of the characters in the film, are outside of language. Yet, the "I" that is expressed is not solely determined by the language that allows the "I" to come into *being*. For example, in a response to Addams's questioning of Winchell's fidelity and insinuation of repressed homosexuality, Winchell cries out: "I don't know what people want from me. I just want to be fucking happy" (Pierson 2002). Here, Winchell narrates his desire for happiness as a desire to be a part of the military and to be with Addams. Like Winchell, Ennis understands the production and performance of the position he must maintain in his marriage to Alma, although not solely confined to it, in order to have what he desires in Jack Twist. Therefore, despite Ennis and Winchell's compliance with certain heteronormative conventions, it is the spectacle of their hyper-masculinity that displays a performative and highly constructed heteronormative framework. Their performances draw attention to the unnaturalness of this structure and the forced policing of its codes of behavior and sexual conduct.

Although Ennis and Winchell's performances might be viewed as similar to the ludic parodies of heteronormativity, which occur in "drag" performance, violence is a constant threat to them if they cannot effectively perform the imagined "real." This inability is similar to "one of the most conventional forms of male neurosis," which is "performance anxiety" (Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* 235). During several moments in both of the films, Ennis and Winchell display an anxiety surrounding a loss of heterosexual privilege. This

illustrates the tensions that exist between the continual need to assert their masculinity and how their gender performativity is endemic of compulsory heterosexuality in the military and marriage.

The inability to successfully perform the imagined “real” may result in an individual’s *becoming* highly visible because of marked ambiguity. For example, even though Ennis and Winchell pass as biological males, it is their marked sexual ambiguity<sup>11</sup> that calls their masculinity into question. Such ambiguity creates complications for others, compelling them to shuttle the individual into a “fixed” identity category. Depending on the various subject positions of others, the individual may be viewed as inhabiting multiple identities at once, momentarily remaining in a “fixed” identity, or becoming the indistinguishable “other” that does not belong to a particular static identity. However, the agency of the individual is not taken away when others are attempting to define a specific identity. Instead, the responsibility and difficulty of rethinking how and why identity is constructed, and how to negotiate or read an individual’s difference in relation to oneself, rests entirely on those who are conducting the reading. Therefore, the individual’s agency is exercised through a continuous process of momentary destabilization that often resolves in a restabilization as others attempt to render an unintelligible identity intelligible.

## 5.0. CONCLUSION

PFC Winchell’s murder and the violences enacted on the characters in *Brokeback Mountain* suggest an explicit need to rethink the social conditioning that facilitates the shuttling of bodies into a categorical identity index. Whether an individual is in compliance with hegemonic discourse or is against it, these brutal acts show how each individual can impact the lives of others through oppressive tactics of silence, shame, and marginalization, sometimes ending in death. Where the “crisis” of masculinity and instability of a heterosexual identity leads to subsequent policing and regulation of non-normative desires, a site of discomfort emerges that forces those of us occupying privileged subject positions to consider our own positionality on individual and collective levels—the communities that we associate with and how our (imagined or lived) identities are constructed by our adherence to various hegemonies.

Although many cultural productions, whether or not they are based on a true story, may not always cause us to rethink the systems of power that regulate our modes of identification or behaviors, *Soldier’s Girl* and *Brokeback Mountain* allow us to recognize how identity is more than a refashioning of a limited attitude but also contributes to the proliferation of a myth that reinforces the hegemonic discourse encapsulating heteronormativity. In order to circumvent the perpetuation of institutions that secure heteronormativity, and in an effort to destabilize dominant ideology, we should consider negotiating a post-identity politics platform that would allow for more fluid and flexible modes of identification—one that focuses on the specificity of desire and accounts for the multiple positions of privilege and oppression that we each embody. Perhaps we can only hope for a system that does not violently force an individual to give an account of oneself in relation to who he or she is, but instead, allows for the precisions of desire to be expressed in relation to who or what one is not.

## NOTES

1. This film is based on the events leading up to Private First Class (PFC) Barry Winchell’s death and his love affair with Calpernia Addams, a pre-operative transsexual woman.
2. This film is based on Annie Proulx’s short story.
3. Butler mentions how feminists naturalize gender by attaching it to a free discursive body. In response to Wittig she states: “the category of sex and the naturalized institution of heterosexuality are *constructs*, socially instituted and socially regulated fantasies or ‘fetishes,’ not *natural* categories, but *political* ones” (Butler 1990: 161).
4. The ideal is an unattainable form of the materiality of what is considered “real.” However, the “real” can never be entirely manifested into being, since it is imaginary. Here, the imagined “real” is similar to the conceptual framework Judith Butler uses for gender performativity, drawing from Jacques Derrida’s reading of Kafka’s “Before the Law.” Butler states: “The one who waits for the law, sits before the door of the law, attributes a certain force to the law for which one waits” (1990: xiv). In this sense, the imagined “real” is brought into *being* through the anticipation which conjures it as an object. Yet, the “real” only exists in an imagined form as it is reiterated through the linguistic and theatric performances of *becoming* an illusory state of *being*.

5. Concepts of *being* are static notions of fixity (a state), whereas *becoming* never allows for one to occupy an immobile physical location. Nonetheless, *becoming* is the constant reiterative performance (a process) that produces an illusory effect, allowing one's identity to be perceived as stable.
6. Military units often have nicknames that correspond with their unit's history, traditions, customs, or mottos. The nickname "Screaming Eagles" represents the patch worn by soldiers of the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Infantry Division.
7. Violent (physical, verbal, psychological, etc.) encounters have always been a constant threat for individuals who inhabit continuously shifting modes of identification. The mutability of my own identity is a result of my current social location as a graduate student at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and as a former US Army officer—a paradox that continuously creates tension in private and public spheres as well as within my personal and professional life. From hearing stories that resemble PFC Winchell's experiences, I have discovered that when there is resistance to dominant ideology, and especially institutions like the military, those who belong to the dominant group will *always* react with counter-resistance aimed at bodies that do not fit nicely within the defined parameters.
8. The term "queerness" is used here to suggest a constantly mobile state of *becoming* that draws attention to the instability of other identities that are perceived as fixed.
9. Desire is never static, as it is constantly performed through, oftentimes repeated, physical and linguistic acts. I am not suggesting that the mutability and temporality of desire advocates for free will. Instead, this approach of negotiating through and subverting dominant ideologies is always power cognizant and recognizes the importance of lived experiences as well as the real or imagined violences that occur against individuals who experience particular modes of embodiment.
10. Although I am advocating for post-identity politics, I do acknowledge how particular identity-based groups have used their political identities as a means of empowerment against hegemonic discourse and dominant ideology that allow the promotion of unity and solidarity among its members in order to collectively combat oppressive systems of power and fight for equality. Indeed, identity politics all too often operates within a binary of inclusion and exclusion, deeming who can and cannot gain membership to a particular identity.
11. The sexual ambiguity refers to Winchell's involvement with a preoperative transsexual and Ennis' involvement with another biological male, Jack, while still maintaining his marriage to Alma. Both relationships are ambiguous because of the difficulty in classifying their sexual desires within a hetero/homosexual binary.

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# CULTURE CLASH: LA AUTOETNOGRAFÍA DE SANTA TERESA

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## ABSTRACT

En este ensayo, analizo *El libro de la vida* a través del marco de los estudios culturales para demostrar como Santa Teresa critica con su texto el sistema patriarcal hegemónico de España durante los siglos XV y XVI.

Cómo ser una mujer en la España de los siglos XV al XVI está prescrito en la Biblia:

Las mujeres deben estar calladas, escuchando con humildad, porque no acepto que la mujer dé lecciones o ejerza alguna forma de dominio sobre el hombre porque Dios creó primero a Adán y luego a Eva. Y no fue a Adán a quien engañó Satanás, sino a Eva, que se dejó seducir e incurrió así en la trasgresión. Sin embargo, se salvará siendo madre, siempre que con modestia permanezca en la fe, el amor y la pureza. (1 Tim 2:11-15)

Este texto especifica que la mujer no tiene el mismo valor que los hombres porque “Por los varones de cinco a veinte años de edad se pagarán veinte monedas, y diez monedas por las mujeres de la misma edad” (Lev 27:5). El pensamiento que domina estas citas prescriptivas se llama misoginia y, por ende, aquellas reglas sociales o políticas basadas en éstas, son misóginas. El problema de la misoginia ha progresado mucho desde esa época gracias al trabajo de varios textos antimisóginos.

En la historia española, Santa Teresa es una de las creadoras de esos textos. Famosa por haber sido mística y reformadora, ella trata en *El libro de la vida* la situación misógina de las mujeres en su época como una zona de contacto, un término que Mary Louise Pratt usa para describir un lugar o espacio donde dos grupos se reúnen y chocan en relaciones asimétricas. Infiero que ella trataba su situación como una división de culturas, la femenina y la masculina. Por eso es importante estudiar su texto a través del marco de los estudios culturales. Entonces, yo analizo *El libro de la vida*, como una autoetnografía la cual, según Pratt, es un texto en el que un sujeto (usualmente subordinado) escribe para describirse en métodos (términos?) que interactúan con representaciones que otros han hecho de ellos (Pratt 35).

Como es necesario ubicar *El Libro de la vida* en su contexto cultural, describo las estructuras de poder y el ambiente histórico que rodeaban a Santa Teresa para explicar porqué ella aprovechó la oportunidad de escribir sus experiencias espirituales como una autoetnografía. Con esta escogencia, Santa Teresa intenta desestabilizar las representaciones que los hombres hacen de las mujeres para justificar su autoridad sobre ellas. Como base de mi investigación, aplico el enfoque crítico de los Estudios Culturales para demostrar cómo Santa Teresa trataba el sistema patriarcal como una zona de contacto entre dos culturas y cómo ella usaba técnicas autoetnográficas al desestabilizar los pensamientos misóginos.

En los siglos XVI y XVII, la corona española creó unidad política a través de la homogeneidad religiosa cuando declaró el catolicismo como la religión oficial del país. Como resultado de esta declaración, los poderes autoritarios en España eran muy fuertes: el Papa, como sumo pontífice de la Iglesia Católica Romana, tenía poder ilimitado. Él le otorgaba este poder a las monarquías que se avenían a sus propósitos religiosos y mediaba situaciones políticas entre éstas. La monarquía era responsable de su territorio y de la gente, incluyendo la nobleza que poseía la mayoría de riquezas. Pero la monarquía también usaba la iglesia para ejercer autoridad divina: como los reyes eran designados por Dios, su autoridad era incuestionable. Debido a esta relación simbiótica, la monarquía y la Iglesia eran una poderosa presencia patriarcal.

Esta influencia dividía el mundo en una dualidad basada en el sexo de cada individuo que, clasificaba a las mujeres como un grupo subordinado. Como la jerarquía y la ideología predominante se basaban en la religión--la ley de Dios--formaban un patriarcado que le garantizaba a los hombres una posición dominante en la sociedad. Podemos intuir los efectos que esta posición causaba en la esfera femenina cuando analizamos las implicaciones de las citas bíblicas mencionadas anteriormente. Esas citas describen la posición subordinada de la mujer con los términos específicos de la siguiente tabla:

Tabla 1: Características impuestas en los mujeres por la Biblia

*Subordinante	<i>No acepto que la mujer dé lecciones</i>
*Inferior	<i>Dios creó primero a Adán y luego a Eva</i>
*Callada	<i>Estar calladas</i>
*Débil	<i>Escuchando con humildad</i>
Amoral	
*Madre/Esposa	<i>Se salvará siendo madre</i>
*humilde	<i>Con modestia</i>
*Tonta	<i>No fue a Adán quien engañó Satanás, sino a Eva</i>
*Virtuosa	<i>Permanezca en la fe, el amor y la pureza</i>

Según la Biblia, los hombres eran tan superiores que tenían acceso al poder eclesiástico y político y, “Además, escogerás de entre todo el pueblo hombres capaces, temerosos de Dios, hombres veraces que aborrezcan las ganancias deshonestas y los pondrás sobre el pueblo como jefes de mil, de cien, de cincuenta y de diez” (Éxodo 18:21). En esta cita, se muestra la posición superior de los hombres porque son fuertes, honestos, dominantes y poderosos.

Cualquier individuo que deseara poseer autoridad espiritual en esta época tenía que ser intelectual y letrado, lo cual implicaba saber latín. Esta lengua se aprendía en los colegios con temas filosóficos y teológicos. Debido a lo limitada que era la educación española en los siglos XVI y XVII, muchas personas estaban restringidas por estas condiciones de la autoridad espiritual: los pobres, los analfabetas, los conversos y, por supuesto, las mujeres. Para ellas era imposible obtener una posición de autoridad. Todo el poder se le daba a los hombres. Describo esta interpretación histórica la siguiente tabla:

Tabla 2: Las características de los hombres según la Biblia

Hombres capaces	Fuerte
Temerosos de Dios	Bueno
Veraces	Honroso
Pondrás sobre el pueblo	Dominante
Jefes de mil	Superior/autoridad
Acceso a los estudios	Inteligente

Estas restricciones de la Iglesia causaron la Reforma Protestante alrededor de 1512. Humanistas como Erasmo, Kempis y el Cardenal Cisneros--el confesor de la Reina Isabel--buscaban limitar el poder absoluto de la Iglesia y definir un contacto más directo con Dios. Por eso se inclinaron hacia el misticismo, el cual que proponía que la espiritualidad real se basaba en la sinceridad interior y la devoción piadosa en vez de las ceremonias. De este pensamiento derivan ideas como la igualdad espiritual propuesta por Fray Luis de León y el estudio de la filosofía cristiana propuesto por Erasmo en *Desiderius*, cuando dice: “Esta doctrina deliciosa [...] no le niega a

ninguna edad, ninguna clase [ni hombre ni mujer], ninguna riqueza, ningún estado y consideración” (Weber, 21). Porque cruzaban las fronteras de clase y género, estas ideas le daban un poco de libertad espiritual a las mujeres.

La Contrarreforma nació en respuesta a esta doctrina. El objetivo de este movimiento era recuperar el control que la Iglesia había comenzado a perder con la Reforma protestante y contrarrestar los ataques ideológicos que los protestantes constantemente hacían. Por lo tanto, la Contrarreforma pretendía crear y difundir una cultura popular religiosa que incluía a todos los miembros de la sociedad mediante la diseminación de hagiografías-- textos acerca de la vida de santos-- y la implementación del *Devotia Moderna*, un texto que tiene sus raíces en el misticismo. Como acentuaba la relación directa y personal con Dios, *Devotia Moderna* hacía el catolicismo accesible a un mayor número de personas. Consciente de este efecto, la Iglesia promovía la lectura de hagiografías. Ésta era una herramienta que de controlaba del pensamiento popular porque, de acuerdo acon la Iglesia, las hagiografías inspiraban la emulación (Haliczzer 29), fomentando el control de la Iglesia al promover el conformismo en los lectores. Pero la Iglesia tenía que protegerse de la nueva autoridad que las mujeres podían adquirir mediante esta ideología. Como resultado, la iglesia “justificó la reafirmación de la misoginia tradicional” (Weber 25) (mi traducción).

Mientras que la Contrarreforma trajo el catolicismo a todos, la Iglesia debía observar estrictamente a las mujeres y controlar los posibles abusos del misticismo. Por lo tanto, el patriarcado estaba listo para negar las experiencias místicas de las mujeres, afirmando que eran causadas por el diablo. Esta afirmación le restaba autoridad a cualquier mística. Este efecto lo confirma Weber en la siguiente cita:

The devil had kept her as his lover from the time she was six years old. At first she must have innocently believed that he was an angel of light, but afterwards she must have understood who this lover was, but did not want to turn back; ... perhaps she did not want to lose her widespread fame” (45).

Aunque las mujeres podían estudiar la religión durante la Contrarreforma, este movimiento todavía promovía como válida la representación de la mujercilla que carecía de autoridad. Tal representación era una herramienta de opresión que transformaba a las mujeres en una cultura subordinada. Ya que las mujeres debían seguir las leyes que los hombres creaban y ejecutaban, ellas no tenían voz. Según el ambiente histórico de esta época, podemos dividir a los hombres y a las mujeres en sus propias culturas al considerar las características que la Iglesia les atribuía en la siguiente Tabla:

Tabla 3: El dualismo de las características entre los géneros

<u>Cultura de Hombres</u>	<u>Cultura de Mujeres</u>
<u>Superior</u>	<u>Inferior</u>
Fuerte	Débil
Letrado	Analfabeta
Capaz	Mujercilla
Intelectual	Callada
Dominante	Subordinada
Poderoso	Virgen-honrada
Honroso	Seductora-deshonrosa
Autoritario	Infieles
	Humilde

Al comparar estos adjetivos usados para describir a las mujeres y a los hombres, se hace evidente que la Iglesia establecía la diferencia de sexos como la diferencia entre dos culturas que tenían relaciones de poder atípicas. Esta relación atípica de poder es lo que caracteriza a una zona de contacto, donde una cultura dominante coexiste con otra subordinada. Los Estudios Culturales exploran cómo se estructura esta relación de poder y cómo las prácticas simbólicas, los sistemas de creencia y los textos en una sociedad reflejan esa estructuración (Canclini 12-23).

En la España de los siglos XVI y XVII, la cultura masculina es la dominante porque impone sus ideales, valores, prácticas y autoridad sobre la cultura subordinada--la femenina. Aunque existía en este ambiente tan negativo para las mujeres, Santa Teresa desafía la cultura dominante al utilizar el misticismo como la ideología para obtener su voz, aún cuando se arriesgaba a ser acusada de herejía. ¿Cómo logra ella evadir tal peligro? Conciente de que la iglesia percibía las hagiografías como una herramienta de control popular y de que las verdaderas experiencias místicas le daban prestigio a la iglesia española, Santa Teresa escribió la suya como una autoetnografía.

De acuerdo a Mary Louise Pratt, un texto autoetnográfico es aquel que el autor utiliza para describirse con métodos que calzan con las representaciones que otros han producido (Pratt 35). Es decir, que una etnografía funciona para describir el estilo de vida y la cultura de un grupo de gente extraña--generalmente la cultura subordinada--a través de la perspectiva privilegiada de la cultura dominante. Por lo tanto, el etnógrafo aparece en el texto como el sujeto y la cultura subordinada como el objeto. Por consiguiente, el etnógrafo construye la representación de la cultura subordinada con las ideologías y la ignorancia de la cultura dominante. Contrastando con este tipo de texto, la autoetnografía sustituye la representación creada por la cultura dominante con las "representaciones que los llamados 'otros' construyen en respuesta o en diálogo con esos textos" (Pratt, 35) (mi traducción).

Según Pratt, una autoetnografía selecciona y se apropia de los modismos del conquistador para establecer un diálogo con los textos dominantes. Además, la autoetnografía se dirige a la cultura subordinada y a la dominante, lo que hace la recepción del texto indeterminada porque cada miembro de la audiencia lo interpreta de acuerdo a su posición en la zona de contacto. Como a menudo está escrita en dos lenguajes, la autoetnografía también puede ser para el grupo subordinado el punto de entrada en el circuito de la prensa de la cultura dominante. A estas características autoetnográficas se agregan las técnicas típicas de este tipo de escritura: el uso de la parodia al escribir sobre las estructuras de poder que posee la cultura dominante, la comparación de las formas culturales que aplican la cultura dominante y la subordinada, y la crítica.

Al escribir su autoetnografía, Santa Teresa adopta la humildad prescrita a las mujeres por la iglesia para no aparecer como una mujer deshonrada. Si ella no hubiera adoptado esta humildad, se hubiera representado a sí misma como una escritora que descartaba la autoridad de la jerarquía divina. Esta representación le hubiera impedido ser escuchada en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII. Pero al retratarse como humilde, Santa Teresa les demuestra a sus confesores que los respeta por su autoridad y su superioridad. Aunque esta actitud aparentemente se amolda a la imagen de la mujer ideal que la cultura dominante propone, en realidad le permite a Santa Teresa aparecer como respetable. La siguiente cita es un ejemplo de esta técnica autoetnográfica: "Se si digo desatinos, si lo son, vuestra merced los rompa, si no lo son, me suplico ayude a mi simpleza con añadir mucho" (De Jesús 7:4). Con esta actitud, Santa Teresa crea un espacio intelectual en el que ella puede trabajar, aún cuando las restricciones patriarcales de la representación dominante la limita. Por lo tanto, ella logra en esta cita apropiarse de esta representación para obtener una voz cultural femenina.

Otra técnica etnográfica que Santa Teresa utiliza es la parodia del término "mujercilla", que expresa la representación dominante de la cultura de la mujer en una palabra. Ella usa este término excesivamente para complacer a sus lectores masculinos y al exagerar su sentido, Santa Teresa descarta el significado dominante de esta palabra. Un ejemplo de esta técnica se encuentra cuando ella escribe:

Para mujercitas como yo flaca con poca fortaleza, me parece a mi conviene, como ahora lo hace Dios, llévame con regalos porque pueda sufrir algunos trabajos que ha querido su majestad tenga. Mas para serviros de Dios, hombres de tomo de letras y entendimiento, que veo hacer tanto caso de que Dios no los da devoción, que me hace disgusto oírlo. [...] cuando no la tienen, que no se fatiguen; [...] anden señores de sus mismos (De Jesús 11:14).

Al establecer una comparación entre ella—una mujercita "flaca con poca fortaleza"—y los hombres letrados, Santa Teresa critica a aquellos hombres débiles que carecen de devoción. Por oposición, también les manda tener fuerza, la cual no es una acción que se amolda al papel que las mujeres debían asumir por mandato divino en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII. Esta manipulación es parcialmente aceptada por la cultura dominante porque Santa Teresa adquiere autoridad espiritual con su experiencia mística. Pero ella también procura obtener esta autoridad con el uso de la humildad y del término "mujercilla" porque atenua la manipulación del papel femenino que ella propone. Además, el uso de estos elementos la protege de las posibles repercusiones que se dan cuando un individuo descarta el papel que la cultura dominante le asigna.

Otra de las maneras en que Santa Teresa descarta este papel se ve cuando ella critica la superficialidad del concepto de la "honra" al comparar formas culturales dominantes y subordinadas. El concepto de la honra justificaba la posición dominante de la nobleza española porque equiparaba "la estima social" con "la manifestación de ciertas virtudes [ . . . ] características de la nobleza" (Callahan 4). Además de diseminar en varios estratos sociales una ideología que beneficiaba exclusivamente a la nobleza, "la honra" también imponía normas patriarcales en el resto de la sociedad española. Por lo tanto, las mujeres debían amoldarse al papel prescrito en la Biblia y reinterpretado por la sociedad española para ser honradas. Como se ha discutido previamente, este concepto de honra le quita autoridad a las mujeres porque se la da exclusivamente a los hombres--los miembros de la cultura dominante. Incluso en la ideología del misticismo, la mujer debe ser callada y no letrada. Esta imagen es descartada por Santa Teresa en la siguiente cita, cuando ella dice:

Porque si en esta edad tuviera quien me enseñara a temer a dios, fuera tomando fuerzas el alma para no caer. Después, quitado este temor del todo, quedame solo el de la honra, que en todo lo que hacia me traía atormentada. Con pensar que no se había de saber, me atrevía a muchas cosas bien contra ella y dios. (De Jesús 2:6)

Santa Teresa critica cómo la jerarquía usa la honra para justificar el control de la gente por la religión. En España, la honra se adquiría automáticamente al ser buen cristiano cuando se iba a la iglesia y se rezaba en voz alta. La superficialidad de este criterio que valora solamente las formalidades la demuestra Santa Teresa cuando afirma que, "[D]espués quitado este temor de todo"--el temor de Dios--el ser humano pierde la fé. Entonces, al perder la fé, el ser humano se apoya en la honra que le permite actuar incorrectamente mientras a los ojos de la sociedad se actúa decorosamente. Por lo tanto, Santa Teresa demuestra desde su perspectiva de monja virtuosa cómo la honra encubría el mal cuando ella seguía las reglas sociales.

Esta idea de la honra como encubridora de maldad la afirma Santa Teresa al decir que ella "engañaba la gente porque en lo exterior tenía buenas apariencias" (De Jesús 7:5). Al revelar esta transgresión, Santa Teresa expone la ideología de la autoridad divina que sustenta la jerarquía de la sociedad española en los siglos XVI y XVII al compararla con la del misticismo que, creando una conexión con Dios desde el interior del ser humano, garantiza una fé más profunda. Que Santa Teresa lo cree así se entiende en la siguiente cita, cuando ella comenta que "Hace de notar mucho-y digo lo porque lo se por experiencia-que el alma que en este camino de oración mental comienza a caminar con determinación" (De Jesús 12:13). Además de establecer su preferencia por el misticismo, esta cita le da a Santa Teresa autoridad: cuando menciona que conoce debido a sus experiencias místicas como la fé se profundiza, ella le da a las mujeres un ejemplo de cómo deconstruir el poder de la honra. Otro ejemplo de esta capacidad para deconstruir la imagen femenina que la cultura dominante propone como adecuada se evidencia en como Santa Teresa usa el lenguaje femenino para desafiar la creencia de que el hombre es superior por ser fuerte y que la mujer es inferior por ser débil. En la siguiente cita, ella narra cómo ayuda a un confesor al hablar con él de Dios y de otras cosas virtuosas:

Mi intención buena era, la obra mala; pues por hacer bien, por grande que sea, no había de hacer un pequeño mal. Tratable muy ordinario de Dios; esto debía aprovecharle, aunque mas creo le hizo al caso el quererme mucho; porque por hacerme placer me vino a dar el ídolo, el cual hice echar luego en un río. (De Jesús 5:6)

Aquí ella descarta las características estereotípicas que la cultura dominante ha impuesto en la subordinada. Por ejemplo, ella invierte las características masculinas--fuerte o superior--por las femeninas--débil o emocional--con sus acciones y las de su confesor. Ella es la confesora y él el pecador que le pide ayuda espiritual. Su pecado es un amor pecaminoso que lo controla a través de las emociones. Es más, tan débil es este hombre que, en vez de controlar sus emociones y respetar a Santa Teresa, transfiere su afecto a ella. Al describir este episodio en estos términos, Santa Teresa se apropia de los estereotipos que la cultura dominante presenta como

verdades naturales: aunque el confesor está calificado por su género como superior, no puede cumplir con las responsabilidades que la cultura dominante le asigna.

Santa Teresa invierte aún más estos papeles cuando asume el de confesor. Aunque la cultura dominante propone que las mujeres no tienen la capacidad emocional o la inclinación natural para asumir tal papel, Santa Teresa lo adopta exitosamente: aún cuando el "pecador" transfiere su afecto hacia ella, ella continúa siendo virtuosa y, con su ejemplo, le ayuda a reencontrar el camino divino hasta su muerte porque "Murió muy bien y muy quitado de aquella ocasión" (De Jesús 5:6). Al invertir los papeles asignados por la cultura dominante, Santa Teresa demuestra que no son válidos porque el hombre también puede ser débil y la mujer fuerte. Aún cuando descarta estos roles, Santa Teresa obtiene autoridad al enfatizar su papel de monja virtuosa y humilde cuando también es confesora.

Pero Santa Teresa no se conforma en esta cita con descartar solamente el estereotipo de la mujer inferior al hombre, sino también el de la mujer seductora de los hombres, inspirada por el diablo. Esta acción se hace evidente cuando Santa Teresa describe la afección que su confesor sentía por ella:

Él se aficiono en extremo de mí [...] aquella afección grande que me tenía nunca entendí ser mala, aunque pudiera ser con mas puridad [...] Tenía entendido de mí que no me determinaría a hacer cosa contra Dios que fuese grave por ninguna cosa, y él también me aseguraba lo mismo. [...] con el bebecimiento de Dios que traía, lo que más gusto me daba era tratar cosas de Él; y como era tan niña [...] (De Jesús 5:4).

Ella reemplaza la imagen de la seductora diabólica por la de la mujer pura, poseedora de una profunda fé y, al hacer esto, hasta las cualidades que pueden ser diabólicas en la mujer se vuelven una ventaja para Dios. Por ejemplo, Santa Teresa utiliza la cualidad seductora que la cultura dominante le atribuye para hacer actos de fe. Según la cita, el encanto femenino que ella posee por su belleza, su espíritu y su juventud es una de las características que atraen al confesor a ella e, indirectamente, a Dios. Combinado con la inocencia y las buenas intenciones que dirigen los actos de la santa, este encanto logra librar a un hombre del pecado. Como expliqué arriba, él continúa ofreciéndole su afecto a ella, pero Santa Teresa transforma esa atracción en un elemento puro de la relación con su confesor cuando ella utiliza sus cualidades femeninas (que son la fuente de este estereotipo) para salvarlo.

Cómo Santa Teresa utiliza las cualidades de la mujer descritas como diabólicas se hace aún más claro cuando ella narra como actúa para que él descarte el ídolo que le ha dado su amante. Éste es "un idolillo de cobre que [...] nadie había sido poderoso de podérselo quitar" (De Jesús 5:5). Gracias a que Santa Teresa posee el encanto femenino, ella utiliza esta cualidad para ayudarlo a quitárselo: "[P]or hacerme placer me vino a dar el ídolo" (De Jesús 5:5). Ella enfatiza que él se deshace de este símbolo del pecado *para darle placer* a ella. Esta escogencia de palabras connota las cualidades negativas de una seductora como lo señala la definición de la Real Academia Española: "satisfacción, sensación agradable producida por la realización o suscepción de algo que gusta o complace; diversión, entretenimiento." Sin embargo, Santa Teresa descarta la connotación negativa que la escogencia de palabras tiene al asociar la frase con un resultado positivo dentro de la ley de Dios. Por eso, ella logra reescribir el estereotipo de la mujer seductora desde el punto de vista positivo de la cultura femenina: los rasgos femeninos no se relacionan con el diablo en este ejemplo, sino con Dios.

En la siguiente cita Santa Teresa se aprovecha del estereotipo de la mujer seductora y de la virtuosa para exhibir la hipocresía que la cultura dominante impone. De acuerdo a esta cultura, las mujeres son buenas o malas. El problema con esta categorización es que es rígida porque la cultura dominante no admite la existencia de más de dos categorías y tampoco acepta que pueda haber mujeres que no calzen en ellas. Además, una vez que una mujer cae a la categoría de seductora, siempre es mala. Esta categorización es respaldada por Santa Teresa al hablar de la amante de su confesor para aparecer como una mística que acepta las prescripciones de la cultura dominante. Ella demuestra que acepta la categorización rígida cuando advierte que, "Para aviso que se guarden los hombres de mujeres que este trato quieren tener y crean que, pues pierden la vergüenza a Dios (que ellas más que los hombres son obligadas a tener honestidad); que ninguna cosa de ellas pueden confiar" (De Jesús 5:6). Al mismo tiempo, ella critica la situación de su confesor, un hombre que ha prometido ser célibe. Entonces, al decir que las mujeres deben ser las honestas, Santa Teresa enfatiza la hipocresía de las categorías que la cultura dominante impone en la subordinada.

Ésta es también una crítica a la moral doble que la cultura dominante fomenta. Al criticar la rigidez de la caracterización impuesta por la cultura dominante, Santa Teresa también critica a los hombres que pecan pero que no se aplican una categorización similar al juzgarse a sí mismos. Sin embargo, para no aparecer como una mujer que descarta la categorización de la cultura dominante, ella usa el lenguaje masculino de esta cultura para describir la hipocresía. Así, ella cuestiona la validez de la categorización rígida. El hecho de que Santa Teresa estructura su crítica utilizando el lenguaje de la cultura dominante identifica su texto aún más como una autoetnografía porque ese lenguaje se dirige los miembros de la cultura dominante y a los de la subordinada. Mientras que la santa exhorta con su ejemplo a las mujeres para que desafíen la honra, a los hombres parece estarlos apoyando al reprender a las mujeres.

Por qué Santa Teresa hizo una autoetnografía puede ser explicado en la siguiente cita de Cheréis Kramerae: "Women, like men, will act to seek personal gains. But since women do not have the same status or the same resources as men, women will often use different means in order to have an influence on their own and others' lives" (Rhetoric 13). Como la historia nos muestra, la jerarquía de la sociedad española de los siglos XVI y XVII estaba estructurada para que la cultura dominante de los hombres tuviera todo el poder. Santa Teresa contradice esta jerarquía al cuestionar y reescribir las representaciones impuestas en la cultura subordinada por la dominante. Para alcanzar este objetivo, ella aplica técnicas autoetnográficas en *su texto*: ella hace una parodia de los estereotipos impuestos en las mujeres para reconstruirlos desde su punto de vista y usa el tema de la humildad para que la jerarquía no la acuse de hereje. Al usar las representaciones estereotípicas de las mujeres para describirse, Santa Teresa aparece humilde y subordinada, lo que le garantiza autoridad en el contexto de la cultura dominante. También, estas técnicas dirigen su texto a la cultura dominante y a la subordinada, haciendo que la recepción sea indeterminada.

Posiblemente, la Contrarreforma promovió este texto porque la Iglesia necesitaba diseminar más hagiografías y ganar prestigio nacional con los logros espirituales de Santa Teresa. Sin embargo, parece que la Iglesia no se percató de que esta autoetnografía podía ser el punto de entrada del grupo subordinado en la cultura de la prensa. Debido a esta característica, podemos ver la influencia de *El libro de la vida* en otros textos, como los *Desengaños Amorosos* de María de Zayas. En conclusión, la autoetnografía de Santa Teresa cuestiona el poder de la jerarquía al reescribir las representaciones que la cultura dominante hace de la subordinada. Al desafiar el poder jerárquico utilizando los términos que la cultura dominante ha creado para referirse a la subordinada, Santa Teresa le da voz y autoridad a las mujeres.

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# EL CUBISMO Y LA NIVOLA: LAS MISMAS TECNICAS EN MEDIOS DISTINTOS

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## ABSTRACT

This study identifies stylistic advancements in painting and literature at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, focusing on aspects of technique and structure of *Les demoiselles d'Avignon*, painted by Pablo Picasso in 1907, as well as the novel *Niebla*, written by Miguel de Unamuno in 1907. Independently, Picasso and Unamuno each influenced the direction of their respective media through technical and theoretical innovation. *Niebla* involves five concentric circles. Each circle corresponds to a specific pictorial element of *Les demoiselles d'Avignon* or to the theoretical framework of cubist painting. This research offers a new perspective on these two monumental works, which mark the beginning of the modern age of art and literature.

El Arte y la literatura se comparan a veces como manzanas y naranjas, pero debido a sus diferencias ambas son las dos son frutas redondas. Este trabajo va a emplear metáforas y la sobreposición de una teoría para comparar dos medios distintos. El cubismo y la nivola rompen con las estéticas y formas del pasado. Estructuralmente están basados en elementos que ya rompieron aspectos tradicionales de su medio pero con la re-interpretación y aplicación experimental de ellos, tiran hacia el futuro los movimientos literarios y artísticos. Es posible aplicar los conceptos y teorías sobre la invención creativa de Miguel de Unamuno, *Niebla* (1907) al movimiento del cubismo (1907-1920), y viceversa. Propongo en este trabajo identificar y analizar los paralelos estilísticos y temáticos entre el concepto de la *nivola*, y del cubismo.

El pintor cubista más notable es indudablemente Pablo Picasso; y su obra que más representa el cambio de ideas estilísticas y conceptos visuales es *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (1907). En esta obra, Picasso presenta “un tratamiento completamente nuevo de espacio, y de estados emocionales y psíquicos” (Fry 12). “En *Les Demoiselles* Picasso plantea y ataca muchos problemas a la vez, algunos se resolvieron durante el curso de los siguiente siete años.” (Fry 13) El cambió la manera de hacer y de pensar en el arte.

Por el mismo rumbo, la novela *Niebla* (1907), de Miguel de Unamuno, revitaliza el concepto de novela porque cambia la estructura y temática, sobre todo, surge el conflicto de la búsqueda de la existencia en un mundo falso en el que se podrían asociar insinuaciones de la vista hacia la sociedad y su inherente falsedad. Este concepto es un aspecto de la filosofía pesimista de Schopenhauer adaptado por Unamuno a su ficción.

Miguel de Unamuno describe los conceptos de la nivola en una manera experimental a través de su personaje Víctor Goti. Aunque hay una descripción bastante clara de los elementos esenciales de una nivola en el capítulo diecisiete, no es una cosa muy tangible. Según la introducción, “*Niebla* es un juego de espejos, un laberinto de apariencias y simulacro” (Valdéz 22). Al identificarse como un juego de espejos, aparece la relación de la estructura narrativa con el cubismo. Una idea clave para el cubismo es la implementación de perspectivas múltiples en una sola figura. En *Les demoiselles*, la perspectiva se destruye con la cara de la figura de debajo y derecho. La figura está de espaldas, pero su cara está de frente. (Véase a la ilustración número uno.)

La nivola, como describe Víctor Goti a “su” invención literaria, es una especie de novela en que se desarrollará con una cantidad desproporcionada de diálogo donde “no habrá descripción, ni acción, ni argumento (será el que vaya saliendo), los personajes no tendrán carácter, pero se irá formando poco a poco (Unamuno 199). Y sin otra persona con quien dialogar, habrá monólogo, que es exactamente lo que pasa en *Niebla*. Los personajes que entablan una conversación sobre los elementos de una nivola están concientes de que la descripción que hace Goti sobre su nivola describe su propia situación. “—¿Sabes, Víctor, que me antoja que me están inventando?” (Unamuno 201) Cuando el lector se da cuenta de que los personajes se están explicando. Por lo tanto, el hecho de que los personajes sean viéndose objetivamente hace que el lector se vea desde fuera. El cambio de perspectivas de los personajes que cambia la perspectiva del lector es igual a un cuadro cubista que pone en relieve la perspectiva del artista que lo pintó, la del espectador que re-construye el objeto del cuadro y el objeto original antes de ser desconstruido por el artista.

Es todo un juego, una farsa y un truco narrativo. Es un estilo literario completamente nuevo, aunque Unamuno incorpora varios elementos de otros escritores y técnicas literarias. La influencia del Quijote, por ejemplo, está bien marcada en las cinco historias interpoladas. Con *Niebla* nacen conceptos de la literatura española pos-moderna como la meta-novela, la intertextualidad, la auto-conciencia, y el simulacro.

Unamuno juega con el concepto de escribir su novela de forma “vivípara,” o sea, “a lo que salga.” Es una gran mentira al lector porque es muy claro que la escribió con mucho cuidado. Escogió cada palabra, cada cambio de eventos y los metió en una estructura muy bien pensada. Relacionando esta novela con el arte, algunos han dicho que las obras de Picasso se parecen al arte de niños. Pero el empleó elementos estilísticos infantiles y primitivos con buena intención de dejar arte representativo. El arte primitivo se enfoca en los aspectos físicos más importantes para sus creencias a través de la exageración. Los personajes femeninos en *Niebla* están exagerados por la reducción de sus personalidades a su función en la narrativa. Llegan a existir por su relación con los deseos y necesidades físicas de Augusto; el amor, el sexo, y la comida.

Este trabajo va a tomar como guía una teoría conceptual sobre la estructura de la nivola y la aplica como metáfora al cubismo: la teoría es de los cinco círculos concéntricos. Mi propósito es que cada círculo corresponda a un aspecto conceptual o histórico del desarrollo del cubismo. Por lo tanto, la nivola puede ser analizada como un reflejo de este tipo de arte. Esta concepción enriquece el análisis porque sitúa la nivola en un contexto artístico. La teoría de los círculos aparece en la introducción de la edición Cátedra de *Niebla*, escrita por Mario J. Valdéz:

Los cinco círculos concéntricos son los siguientes: (1) la realidad textual de quien escribe (consta del prólogo y post-prólogo); (2) la realidad textual del protagonista en la narrativa (comprende del capítulo I-VII); (3) la realidad textual de los personajes como entes de ficción (engloba los capítulos VIII a XXX); (4) la realidad textual del protagonista ante el que escribe (abarca los capítulos XXXI-XXXIII); (5) la realidad textual del protagonista y el que escribe ante el lector (constituida por el epílogo). (Valdéz 22)

La metáfora va en ambas direcciones; de la nivola al cubismo y del cubismo a la nivola. Entonces, aparece como el juego de espejos que Valdéz menciona, la reflexión va y viene hasta el infinito. Habrá un reflejo del reflejo continuando. Así comparo los medios de pintura y literatura. Los dos son arte y las técnicas se aplican en maneras distintas que corresponden a su medio, pero las teorías y métodos son los mismos.

El primer círculo juega con “la realidad textual de quien escribe”(Valdéz 22). En el prólogo, vemos el primer truco conceptual de la nivola. Tenemos a un personaje escribiendo el prólogo. Víctor Goti, como prologuista, introduce el texto en el que él aparece. Esto es una técnica nueva. Pero lo más interesante es que da su comentario sobre las preguntas que surgen al final de la novela: ¿Se suicidó Augusto Pérez? ¿O le mató D. Miguel de Unamuno?

Un prólogo normalmente lo hace el autor de un texto. En este caso, un personaje de la novela dice que el autor le pidió introducir su texto. De esta narración surgen las preguntas, ¿de quién es la voz del personaje? ¿Es su propia voz? ¿O es la voz del autor? Cuando Goti dice que es la historia trágica del suicidio de su amigo Augusto Pérez, al lector se le niega una posición objetiva porque ya se ha enterado de una opinión sobre la conclusión. Se predispone al lector a un tipo de narrativa.

Cuando el lector coge una novela, ya sabe que es una creación del autor, pero la técnica normal es intentar seducir al lector a perderse en el texto con un buen cuento. Este prólogo da al lector una perspectiva distinta hacia al texto de la normal a la que él está acostumbrado. Con esta técnica, Unamuno no deja al lector disfrutar la novela de manera tradicional. El resultado es que uno empieza *Niebla* con una cierta cantidad de escepticismo. Esta es la misma técnica que emplearon los cubistas en los principios de su movimiento artístico. Los primeros pasos del cubismo están marcados por el abandono de los estilos y el desafío de la tradición artística del pasado. Estos cambios modificaron las posiciones de los espectadores en relación al arte porque lograron un nuevo estilo como una burla a la sociedad y a los críticos. Su recepción al principio del movimiento no fue positiva.

Los críticos, al ver el primer cuadro cubista, *Les demoiselles*, usaron adjetivos como “brutal” y “primitivo” para describirlo. De hecho, una de las grandes influencias en el comienzo del cubismo fue lo que llaman “arte primitivo”. Elementos claves del primitivismo para los cubistas son la distorsión y la simplificación de la forma humana que se ve en el arte de culturas antiguas. Sobre todo, se nota la influencia de las máscaras africanas. (Véase las caras de las figuras en la derecha del cuadro número uno.)

Para explorar algunos elementos del primitivismo, se puede considerar el punto de vista del americano Gelett Burgess quien visitó a París en el invierno de 1908 para evaluar la escena y las renovaciones artísticas que estaban surgiendo en aquella temporada clave para el movimiento. Dijo sobre el primitivismo que “there was a rationale of ugliness and there was a rationale of beauty; that, perhaps, one was but the negative of the other, an image reversed, which might have its own esoteric meaning” (Antliff 25). Lo inverso, lo feo y estos elementos que no caben dentro de la estética europea señalan que a los artistas no les importaba la belleza.

En cierta forma, los cubistas re-evaluaron el significado de la pregunta ¿qué es el arte? En el mismo sentido, Unamuno hizo la misma pregunta sobre la novela. Al impedir la suspensión de ficción en su novela desde la primera palabra, Unamuno rechaza la fórmula tradicional novelesca. La suspensión de ficción es el elemento clásico que señala al lector cómo leer una novela. La falta de ella deja la perspectiva e interpretación completamente abierta para el lector.

Como Unamuno, los cubistas rechazaron el status-quo estilístico de la época. Si no fue un rechazo, fue una sátira. Los dos se burlaron de las formas tradicionales de sus medios, del público y de los críticos de arte. Los dos pidieron al público que viera sus obras con ojos distintos. El primer círculo de la novela y el primer cuadro cubista sacan a la audiencia de su posición previa en frente de las obras.

El segundo círculo trata de la realidad en que vive Augusto, su mundo textual. Según Valdéz, este mundo está caracterizado por la ambigüedad. Augusto comienza como un personaje completamente ensimismado. El narrador describe a Augusto como un “paseante de la vida” (Unamuno 110). Al principio, casi no es un ser humano. Los primeros siete capítulos marcan el comienzo de su vida. Su primer paso fuera de su casa en el primer párrafo es su primera salida en el libro y él en turno existe por primera vez en la mente de sus lectores. Es importante porque es su primer paso al mundo de conocimiento y conciencia.

Augusto ve las cosas como si las viera por primera vez, asociando su propio significado a ellas semejante a un examen Rorschach. No es que tampoco existieran antes de que Augusto las ve. “Las cosas concretas aparecen espontáneamente en el momento en que Augusto las observa” y el lector ve el mundo también a través de los lentes de Augusto.

La ambigüedad se desarrolla en el cubismo a través de la forma en que los objetos y los retratos están dibujados. Muchas veces no se sabe de qué trata un cuadro hasta que se lee el título. En *Les demoiselles*, por ejemplo, se ve claramente que hay cinco mujeres posando en distintas maneras y definidas por distintos niveles de claridad, reducción a un plano dimensional y de geometría. “As individual figures were transformed from three-dimensional bodies into flattened silhouettes, the composition as a whole had to be reorganized as a unified two-dimensional pattern.” (Karmel 53)

En la pintura tradicional, las figuras estaban representadas y contenidas en su superficie. O sea, su piel marcaba la distinción entre figura y espacio. Picasso rompió esta regla estilística y abrió su cuadro empleando perspectivas múltiples y mezclando las formas con el espacio en que están realizadas. Las figuras tradicionales en pintura son rígidas o aún decorativas. No hablan a su espacio ni al espectador. Las figuras de *Les demoiselles* hablan al mundo artístico en su combinación con su espacio. La combinación de sujeto y espacio se ve muy claro en el cuadro de Braque. (Véase la ilustración una)

La figura de arriba y a la derecha casi desaparece en el fondo gris como si se metiera sus brazos en una tela. La distinción no está marcada por nada más que color. No hay delineación, sino desaparición. La de abajo a la derecha, está en cuclillas y de espaldas. El brazo izquierdo está bien dibujado con sombras y líneas mientras que el otro brazo hasta la espalda, la cadera y el muslo se conectan con la pierna en una forma muy aplanada.

El aplanamiento hace que el cuerpo se retrate en sólo dos dimensiones. Eso enfatiza el hecho de que un lienzo es algo inherentemente plano y artificial. Esta técnica se relaciona con *Niebla* porque la novela sitúa al lector frente a sí, como si estuviera contemplando una pintura. Unamuno no les permite a los lectores olvidarse de que están leyendo una creación suya porque quiere que el lector esté conciente de que la construcción es lo que tiene en la mano. Es igual en el cubismo cuando las figuras se reducen a siluetas sólidas para enfatizar que el espectador está viendo una construcción. Con esta base, los cubistas empezaron a jugar con el espacio.

El espacio se convierte en la forma de la figura y al revés. La figura en la izquierda del cuadro se desintegra en el espacio con su pierna derecha. El lado derecho de la figura es casi monocromo y está casi dibujado como silueta. La pierna, por otra parte, empieza a convertirse en varias formas geométricas que parecerían igual a su fondo si no fuera por el contraste de color. (Vease a la ilustración una)

El cuadro entero también tiene el aspecto de organización de un patrón bi-dimensional repitiendo la forma de la almendra. Las figuras contrastan las formas planas de rectángulos y triángulos con curvas y tonalidad. Los triángulos representan los torsos y los diamantes los pechos mientras la curva de almendra representa los muslos y los brazos. Este contraste entre formas geométricas y orgánicas posó un problema que el cubismo emprendía a resolver en los siguientes años de desarrollo.

Así como Picasso da este tipo de contraste, en los primeros capítulos de *Niebla* Augusto aparece casi como un objeto inanimado. En sus relaciones con otra gente, se ve que su capacidad social es muy infantil y vive en su mundo interior. Es un ser completamente invertido. Su crecimiento se adelanta cuando empieza expresarse. A través de sus monólogos y luego sus mono-diálogos con su perro, al final del séptimo capítulo Augusto logra la “capacidad de exteriorizar sus pensamientos íntimos” (Valdéz 26).

Desde entonces, parece que Augusto dirige el curso de su vida, en vez de dejar al azar la dirección que toma. Eso es un gran cambio de la personalidad que muestra Augusto en la primera salida de su casa. No sabe por dónde ir hasta que pasa una moza. De repente, está enamorado de ella. Es el amor de niños, por el cual se enamora de alguien que apenas ha visto. También, con la ayuda de su perro Orfeo, convierte su monólogo en mono-diálogo que lleva su capacidad de expresarse y ver el mundo a un nivel más profundo de que correspondería a un ser humano.

El tercer círculo pasa en el cuerpo del texto y trata de “la realidad textual de los personajes como entes de ficción”(Valdéz 33). Comienza en el capítulo siete cuando Augusto logra el poder de hablar sobre su existencia. Sus pensamientos le llevan a preguntar “¿Qué soy yo?” (Unamuno 140), que contrasta con la pregunta existencial por excelencia de ¿quién soy yo? Esto es la clave para entender la idea de que todos los personajes son entes de ficción. Los personajes y el mundo en que viven son construcciones del autor.

Los deseos, las acciones, aún las propias palabras de los personajes no son nada más que invenciones del autor. Unamuno juega con la idea blasfema de que es el dios del mundo literario que creó. Este concepto está presente desde el primer párrafo del prólogo cuando Goti dice que “los deseos del señor Unamuno son para mí, mandatos...” (Unamuno 97) Eso liga la concepción de mandatos de dios con los del autor.

Surge aquí el propósito de la vida de Augusto, la búsqueda de su ser. Cuando ya puede hablar de ello, Augusto dice sobre la existencia:

“Mira, Orfeo, las lizas, mira la urdimbre, mira cómo la trama va y viene con la lanzadera, mira cómo juegan las primaderas; pero, dime, ¿dónde está el enjullo a que se arrolla la tela de nuestra existencia, dónde?” (Unamuno 142)

El conflicto existencial es un aspecto muy desarrollado en la obra de Unamuno. Pero para Augusto, su viaje hacia el auto-conocimiento le llevará a un lugar muy problemática—que no existe. Así que su vida, literaria o no, es un juego. En este sentido, Unamuno juega con el lector también. El personaje principal deja de ser el centro de la novela. El lector se da cuenta al final del capítulo veinticinco, cuando el autor habla directamente al lector en la forma de un aparte y relata que gracia le hacía de ver sus personajes justificando lo que estaba haciendo con ellos. Eso es una técnica de la meta-novela pos-moderna Española. Eso tiene el mismo

efecto al lector que la falta de suspensión de ficción. El diálogo dirigido directamente al lector, le da una autoconciencia que no es típica de una novela que también está producida en el acto de ver un cuadro cubista.

Este círculo de la búsqueda y la falsedad de la existencia refleja la recepción del cubismo por los artistas y a partir de eso, la continuación del desarrollo del movimiento. La inherente falsedad del propósito de la búsqueda de la existencia de Augusto paralela el divorcio del cubismo de la estética de la realidad. El cubismo intenta mostrar figuras híper-reales. Las imágenes son construcciones de la imaginación de los pintores como los personajes en *Niebla* son entes de ficción.

El cubismo y *Niebla* se deshacen de las convenciones estilísticas y estéticas de la tradición del siglo XIX. De acuerdo a este modelo, el arte siempre tiene que romper con el pasado para avanzar. Si el arte no se cuestiona lo que es, está condenado a estancarse. El arte nuevo tiene que preguntar "¿Quién soy?" y "¿Que soy?" las dos preguntas claves para entender Augusto y la niebla en que vive.

El auto-cuestionamiento y la crisis existencial se relacionan con una temática muy tradicional en el arte, el retrato y el auto-retrato. Los dos son temas muy desarrollados en arte visual. Pero su uso en el cubismo fue para otros propósitos. El movimiento intentaba definirse y re-definirse en cada obra experimental. Pero, al definirse, se acaba el movimiento porque establece una tradición que debe ser descartada. Como Augusto, cuando llega a la respuesta del propósito de su vida, se muere. Después del cubismo, hay Dada; ¿o seguirán pintando cuadros cubistas? Después de la vida de Augusto, hay nada; ¿o vivirá en las mentes de sus lectores hasta que no haya copias de *Niebla* para leer?

Otro aspecto del tercer círculo es el homenaje que Unamuno da a Cervantes porque casi toma el Quijote como modelo para su trabajo. Como dice Valdéz:

Teniendo en cuenta que *Don Quijote* parte de una parodia de los libros de caballería, el juego paródico de Unamuno en *Niebla* se convierte en una red intertextual de libros que se refieren a libros, personajes cuya realidad se muestra en relieve con personajes de otros libros. (Valdéz 35)

Desde el capítulo VIII hasta el XXX, la realidad textual de Augusto se está desarrollando. El lector se da cuenta de que la realidad de Augusto, quien no es más de un ente de ficción, se está desarrollando en una lucha existencial que se da por la búsqueda de la razón por la que existe. Esto sólo podría pasar si no supiera de su realidad ficcional.

La relación que el homenaje tiene con el cubismo está clara. En la misma obra *Les Demoiselles* hay un dibujo de naturaleza muerta que señala y agradece la influencia que Cézanne tuvo en la fundación visual y temática para Picasso y los cubistas, quienes vieron en los cuadros de Cézanne usos de pintura y composición innovadores. También el homenaje está en las uvas flotando arriba del cuadro de Braque. (Véase a la ilustración una)

Se puede ver muy claramente en sus naturalezas muertas y también en sus paisajes que Cézanne rompió el espacio creando tres dimensiones con áreas planas de color. Algunos ejemplos aún se parecen a los mosaicos. (Véase la ilustración dos) Los cubistas imitaron esta técnica incorporándola experimentalmente a sus conceptos de espacio y representación.

El cuarto círculo trata de "la realidad textual de los personajes ante el que escribe, o sea el descubrimiento de la realidad de ser un ente de ficción y las consecuencias de ello. Los conceptos incluidos en este círculo hacen la relación quizás más natural al arte. La cuestión es de perspectivas. *Niebla* pone en relieve las relaciones tradicionales entre autor, texto y lector. El cubismo, en el mismo sentido, cambia el lugar cómodo de espectador y crítica en relación al arte.

En el capítulo treinta y uno cambia la voz narrativa de tercera a primera persona. El cambio de narrador en los últimos tres capítulos se enfrenta al lector. Es un acto de desafío que saca al lector de su posición tradicional al leer una novela, con una relación pasiva con autor. Tradicionalmente, el autor no es nada más que el que escribió la obra. En cambio, Unamuno refleja su concepto de la narración *mimética*. La narración mimética, se entiende en comparación a la teoría dialéctica en la narración que dice que hay dos

relaciones claves de una novela. La primera es entre escritor y lenguaje y la segunda es entre lector y el texto. Esta teoría no deja espacio para una relación entre lector y escritor. La teoría mimética enfoca la consciencia del lector en el hecho de que el autor es el productor, el texto es el producto y el lector es el consumidor. Cuando Unamuno aparece como personaje y dirige desde dentro de la novela el curso de eventos hacia la conclusión, utiliza un truco muy puntual. En un momento, toda la tradición literaria está descartada y una nueva tradición nace.

Cuando Augusto recobra el poder de relacionar y pregunta a Unamuno, “que sea usted no yo el ente de ficción, que no existe en realidad ni vivo, ni muerto” (Unamuno 279), se ejemplifica el crecimiento de Augusto. Él cruza la línea de ficción al plano creativo del autor, tiene plena conciencia, y lo usa para destruir la posición autónoma del autor sobre su creación.

Eso refleja los métodos de los cubistas al cambiar en los sistemas de pensamiento, del estético y de conceptos sociales del pasado. “The cubists purposely grappled in their art with contemporary ideas about modernity, society, and the ‘nature of reality’”(Antiliff 8). También emplearon aspectos de collage en construcciones muy experimentales y usaron objetos reales para representarse. No hacía falta hacer representaciones si las cosas sirven como elementos del collage. (Véase la ilustración tres) Esta incorporación cumple uno de los propósitos fundamentales del arte moderno: “the breaking down of barriers between art and life” (Antiliff 16). Los cubistas cruzaron la línea entre realidad y arte, y *Niebla* cruzó la línea entre realidad y ficción.

Es una cosa aceptada que la época moderna de arte nace alrededor del cubismo. La tendencia hacia el modernismo empezó con los impresionistas, pero no llega a su culminación hasta unos años mas tarde con el desarrollo del cubismo. Los nuevos elementos estilísticos hacen ecos de las tendencias de cambio a la vista global del mundo. Los sistemas sociales, políticos y económicos andaban hacia el mismo futuro que dirigía la filosofía y la ciencia de cuestionamiento total del pasado y, eventualmente, al rechazo de normas tradicionales. Ni el arte ni la literatura perdieron la oportunidad de adelantar la consciencia moderna con sus renovaciones estilísticas:

Cubism, arguably the seminal art movement of the twentieth century, initiated a pictorial revolution through its radical approach to imagemaking, employing some of the most important features of modernism in Europe and the Americas: visual abstraction and obfuscation, spatial and temporal disorientation, avant-gardist rejection of past values, and breakdown of class hierarchies in the embrace of popular culture. (Antiliff 7)

El resultado fue un derrocamiento del patrimonio del siglo diecinueve. El cubismo hizo que el mundo viera el arte con ojos distintos y la nivola hizo que el mundo viera. Los dos movimientos artísticos reaccionaron contra la estética y los estilos que dominaban a los artistas por la mayor parte del siglo anterior.

El quinto círculo realmente concluye todos los trucos e innovaciones en una vuelta de perspectiva final. El epílogo es, “La realidad textual del protagonista y el que escribe ante lector” (Valdéz 45). Aparecen todos los elementos de la nivola en las últimas cuatro páginas. Es como enfatizar que todo ha sido una creación del autor, pero que no existe sin la perspectiva del lector para inventar los eventos del texto en su propia visión del mundo escrito. La pregunta que se hace es ¿existiría Augusto sin tener un público que lee su historia? Se parece a la pregunta existencial de ¿Suenan el árbol cuando se cae en el bosque si no hay alguien que lo escuche? La pregunta parecida para el arte sería ¿para quién pintaron los cuadros?

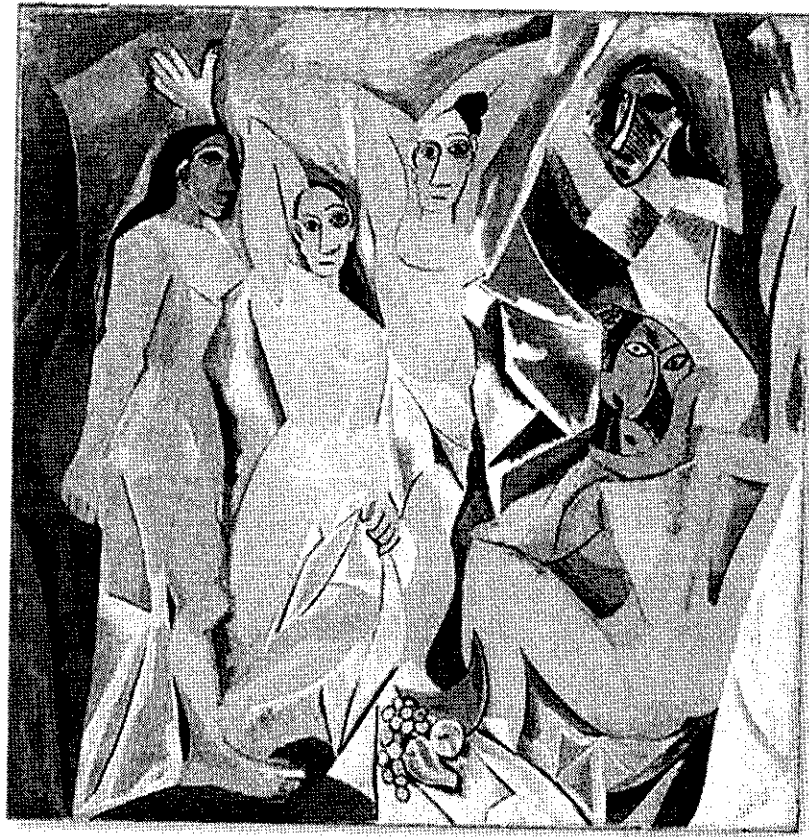
Es posible relacionar el punto de vista de Unamuno a través del título de la novela, *Niebla*. Una niebla es esencialmente una conglomeración de moléculas de agua que pueden cambiar de forma; de sólido a líquido a vapor, pero físicamente, siempre existen. Esta metáfora aplicada a la vida de Augusto y *Niebla* indica que, una vez escrito, el texto es real e inmortal. Unamuno buscaba la inmortalidad a través de su escritura. Los personajes siempre existen en las mentes de sus lectores. Al incluirse en su novela, Unamuno ha asegurado su existencia en el futuro indefinido, mientras que los cubistas, con su reto hacia la tradición estética, se pintaron en los libros de historia del arte.

Tanto el cubismo como *Niebla* están en la misma posición relativa hacia las formas tradicionales de sus medios. La coincidencia es que surgieron en el mismo año, 1907. Algunos elementos estilísticos están relacionados metafóricamente y otros directamente. La comparación está en la recepción y el juego; la ruptura y el renacimiento; la autoconocimiento y la falsedad; lo anti-tradicional y la experimentación. Son unos primos que tienen las mismas metas, pero que se distinguen por sus medios y sus procesos. Se puede ver la *Niebla* como escritura cubista, y los cuadros cubistas como pintura *nivolesca* por las semejanzas en técnica, teoría y la experimentación.

#### OBRAS CITADAS

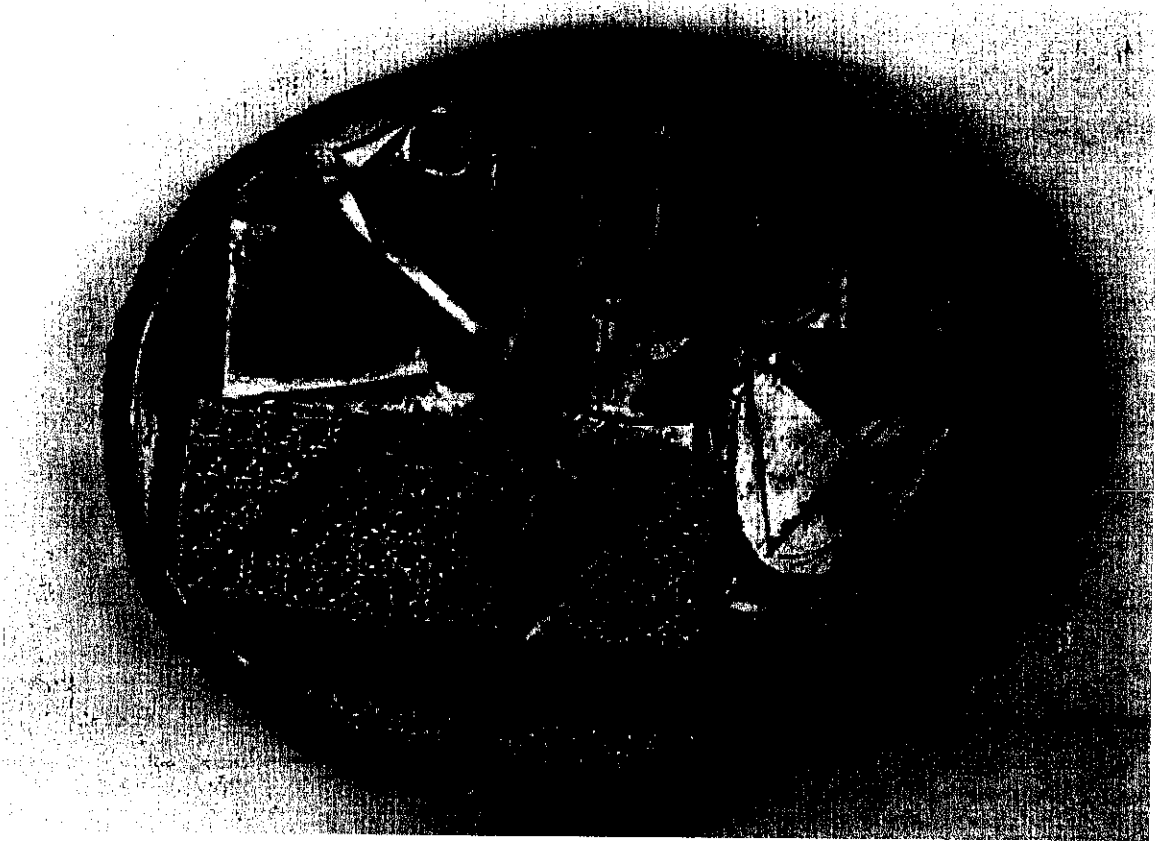
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*Ilustración una*



*Ilustración dos*

*Ilustración tres*



# ENTRE GATOS Y RATONES: EL EFECTO DE LA ANIMALIZACIÓN EN TIEMPO DE SILENCIO

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## ABSTRACT

Animalization is a common technique used by writers to attribute animalistic traits to human characters. Employing Austin Dias's theory of "La animalización" with regard to Martín Santos' *Tiempo de silencio*, we can see animalized characterization through three techniques: animalistic actions, juxtaposition of animalistic and human characteristics, and animalistic adjectives and descriptive phrases. Martín-Santos criticizes the extreme differences between social strata that the Franco regime promoted during the Post-War years and forces the readers to associate the animalized characters with the degraded Spanish society. In doing so, Martín-Santos promotes awareness of the problems that this society was forced to ignore due to the "franquista" regime. By identifying with the animalization, the reader becomes aware of the alienation and lack of compassion that was promoted by the "franquistas".

En *Tiempo de silencio*, Luis Martín-Santos critica duramente la sociedad española de su época específicamente la situación sociopolítica impuesta por el régimen franquista. Su obra refleja la extrema diferencia entre los estratos sociales de la posguerra utilizando la animalización de los personajes en su estilística. Martín-Santos explora las complicaciones que se dan cuando los individuos no se adhieren a los estratos impuestos por la sociedad. Estas complicaciones se reflejan en la animalización de los personajes cuando estos interactúan negativamente. Vemos así que los personajes que Martín-Santos describe como pertenecientes a una especie animal—los gatos, por ejemplo—interactúan negativamente con los personajes descritos como otra especie.

A pesar de que la animalización es un tema que salta a la vista en la obra general de Martín-Santos y particularmente en *Tiempo de Silencio*, pocos críticos se han enfocado en esta técnica de caracterización como tema independiente. Uno de estos críticos es Robert W. Fiddian, quien identifica la animalización como una de las técnicas que Martín Santos utiliza para plasmar "imágenes arquetípicas" (221) y luego criticarlas en su contexto social. Un ejemplo de este análisis se ve cuando Fiddian identifica a la vedette "cubierta [ . . . ] de [ . . . ] escamas de pez" (221) como una "sirena" (222)—un arquetipo que representa "lo prohibido y lo ansiado" (221). Después de identificar este arquetipo, Fiddian señala como Martín-Santos lo usa para criticar "las formas tradicionales de representar a la mujer" (222). Aunque este análisis es efectivo, Fiddian escoge omitir la animalización que Martín Santos usa en la frase "rodeado de escamas de pez" (265) y esta omisión hace menos rico el análisis de la caracterización. Claramente, la imagen de la vedette cubierta de escamas critica la representación de las mujeres. Pero esta crítica no se elabora solo a través de la imagen arquetípica de la sirena reflejada en la animalización. Esta animalización en sí critica la representación de la mujer porque, al tener características de pez, ella se puede identificar como el objeto exhibido en la pecera. Su rol aparece entonces como pasivo y Martín-Santos lo critica. Se hace evidente entonces que la animalización se debe analizar por sí misma en la obra de Martín-Santos.

Y para analizarla efectivamente, este ensayo expande la teoría explicada en la sección "La animalización" de *Martes de Carnaval de Valle-Inclán: Examen estilístico. Sistema y deformación*, escrita por Austin Dias. Para analizar a Valle-Inclán en esta sección, Dias identifica tres técnicas que el escritor utiliza para animalizar a sus personajes. Primero, Dias explica que Valle-Inclán utiliza palabras "animalescas" para describir sus personajes. Estas palabras "tienen en sí dos ventajas: son eminentemente visuales y muchas veces sugieren una calidad figurativa que añade otro aspecto al retrato del personaje" (Dias 187). Este ensayo identifica la mayoría de estas palabras animalescas en *Tiempo de Silencio* como los verbos que describen acciones ejecutadas exclusivamente por animales. La otra técnica que Dias identifica en Valle-Inclán es "una juxtaposición de lo humano y lo animal [en la cual las] distintas categorías naturales del mundo humano y del animal quedan mezcladas, confundidas" (190). Este ensayo define esta juxtaposición en *Tiempo de Silencio* como la asociación de ciertos personajes con animales específicos. Esta asociación se da a un nivel físico y no verbal: como un mismo tipo de animal aparece regularmente en las mismas escenas que un personaje, el lector termina asociándolos. La tercera técnica que Dias identifica en Valle-Inclán es "la caracterización sistemáticamente animalizada" (196) de los personajes. Este ensayo identifica esta técnica principalmente en los adjetivos y frases descriptivas que Martín Santos le asigna a sus personajes.

Uno de los ejemplos mas interesantes de como Martín-Santos emplea la connotación de los verbos para animalizar a los personajes se ve en la descripción que la madre de Dorita da del futuro de Pedro y su hija. Ella dice “[Pedro] Todavía ha de picar. Yo creo que picará” (Martín-Santos 93). Importa aquí la connotación del verbo “picar” porque se usa para describir a los animales con pico cuando cazan. Por ejemplo, el gallo “pica”. Usado en el contexto de *Tiempo de Silencio*, este verbo animaliza a Pedro: en la mente del lector la connotación animal del verbo picar se transfiere a Pedro. Y esta animalización se confirma durante el resto de la novela cuando Martín-Santos caracteriza a Pedro como “un gallo” (115).

Otro de los ejemplos de animalización verbal que llama la atención es la mujer que interrumpe a Jaime cuando él y Matías están en un bar. Ella maúlla: “—¡Jaime...!—” (Martín-Santos 229). Utilizando el verbo “maulló” el autor caracteriza a la mujer como una gata. Esta caracterización informa al lector acerca del tipo de ambiente en el que se encuentran los personajes: se sabe que este bar tiene una clientela más refinada que puede languidecer (227) porque pertenece a un estrato social más alto. Si Martín-Santos hubiera querido representar un lugar menos refinado, donde la clientela es de la clase trabajadora, la mujer hubiera “ladrado” el nombre de Jaime. Se puede suponer esta escogencia debido a que Martín-Santos establece el contraste entre el bar y un ambiente más ordinario—la cafetería—con los adjetivos que usan: “cualquier brutal cafetería” (Martín-Santos 227).

Otro ejemplo de la animalización verbal es la caracterización de la mujer de Muecas. La siguiente cita presenta la observación que Cartucho hace al verla: “Piando para ella misma o para quién sabe qué dios escucha-hembras” (Martín-Santos 123). Aunque Martín-Santos usa “la redonda consorte” para cosificar a la mujer de Muecas, él decide animalizarla con el verbo “piar”. En la mente del lector entonces emerge la imagen de los pájaros que pían. Y como estos son generalmente los polluelos que no cesan de llamar, el efecto de este cambio es negativo porque aumenta la distancia emocional entre el lector y el personaje. Percibiendo a la esposa como un objeto redondo que pía hasta más no poder, el lector no puede relacionarse con el sufrimiento de ella. Este ejemplo de animalización enseña claramente la desvalorización de la mujer.

Otro aspecto interesante de la animalización verbal es que Martín-Santos varía su técnica utilizando verbos que se aplican tanto con seres humanos como con animales. Por ejemplo, cuando Martín-Santos describe algunas acciones de Cartucho, Pedro y las mujeres de la pensión, el usa verbos particulares que pueden tener más de una connotación. Cuando Cartucho espera fuera de la casa de Florita, él “ronda” (Martín-Santos 123). El verbo “rondar” se puede asociar tanto con animales como con personas porque se puede definir como “To go round by night in order to prevent disorders” o como “to follow anything continually, to haunt” (rondar). Se puede decir entonces “los guardias están haciendo la ronda” y también “hay un animal rondando la villa”. Estos significados múltiples se pueden apreciar aun más cuando Martín-Santos le asigna el mismo verbo tanto a un animal como a un personaje. Por ejemplo, Pedro se siente como “un gallo encaramado” (Martín-Santos 115). Hay que prestar atención al adjetivo encaramado porque Martín-Santos lo utiliza con animales. Ese detalle nos indica que efectivamente el verbo encaramarse se usa con animales.

El efecto de esta ambivalencia del significado de encaramarse en *Tiempo de silencio* se vuelve aún más relevante cuando Martín-Santos lo utiliza para describir las acciones de las tres mujeres de la pensión: “Las tres diosas se encaramaban cada una en diferente podio” (43). Es posible interpretar esta cita como evidencia de que las mujeres son elevadas a un estado divino. Como están situadas en un podio, se puede asumir que son diosas. Sin embargo, también se puede asumir que Martín-Santos las animaliza con el verbo encaramarse porque, aunque uno de los significados de este verbo es “Levantar o subir a alguien o algo a lugar dificultoso de alcanzar” (RAE), también significa “to perch” (perch). Aplicando este significado animalizante, el lector lee la frase “se estremecían ofendidas y fulguraban destellantes miradas” (45) y puede visualizar a las mujeres como una manada de leonas alrededor del macho. Se puede deducir entonces que Martín-Santos está jugando con las palabras. Si ese es el caso, se puede decir que Martín-Santos sigue el ejemplo de Clarín y Galdós, quienes animalizan a sus personajes femeninos dándoles las características de fieras felinas como la tigresa o la leona (Bourne 57).

Como se ha mencionado anteriormente en este ensayo, la segunda técnica de animalización que Martín-Santos usa es “una yuxtaposición de lo humano y lo animal” (Días 190) que se ve en la asociación de ciertos personajes con animales específicos. Uno de los ejemplos más obvios de esta técnica se ve cuando Martín-Santos asocia a ciertos personajes con animales específicos en la descripción y modo de vida de Muecas y Cartucho. Martín-Santos asocia a Muecas con los ratones. Este personaje tiene éxito en la cría de ratones por su extraña forma de criarlos: él hace que su esposa e hijas cuelguen las bolsas con los ratones en sus pechos para

que su calor corporal proteja sin interrupción “la mucosa vaginal de las ratonas” (Martín-Santos 64). La asociación se hace cuando el lector se da cuenta de que el calor que necesitan los ratones para copular solo se puede adquirir en la cama que comparte toda la familia de Muecas. Entonces se puede deducir que en esta cama simboliza promiscuidad incestuosa: para que los ratones sean de calidad tienen que ser producto de “hermano con hermana y a lo más hija con padre” (62) y las condiciones necesarias para que se de la copulación se encuentran solo en la cama donde se da una mezcla animales con personas—una mezcla que es, por lo menos, grotesca. Martín Santos desarrolla la similitud entre los ratones y Muecas cuando el narrador nos dice que todos los vecinos saben que el es el “padre-abuelo” (127) de la cria(tura) que lleva Florita. Sarcásticamente se puede deducir que Muecas tiene una pasión más bien afrodisiaca con este negocio suyo porque se relaciona con las mujeres de su hogar como los ratones se relacionan con sus hembras. Además, se excita cuando los ratones copulan (Martín-Santos 65). Y la asociación de Muecas se hace mas profunda cuando el lector se percata de que los ratones reflejan estrato social en el cual la familia de Muecas vive: ambas familias viven bajo circunstancias parecidas. En la mente del lector esta asociación causa profundo asco de este estrato social.

Otro de los ejemplos de animalización por asociación que llama la atención es cuando Cartucho persigue a Pedro: “En la tasca entró un sujeto de mala catadura. Pidió aguardiente. Llevaba una barba rala, pelirroja. La chaqueta de paño pardo tenía manchas de cal. En la puerta se había quedado un perro rubio mirándolo fijamente, sin atreverse a entrar” (253). Importa aquí que la similitud entre Cartucho y el perro se da por el color de pelo que tienen. Aunque los colores no son los mismos, ambos son claros. Entonces Martín-Santos asocia a Cartucho con el perro. Generalmente, el perro representa lealtad y protección; pero raramente tiene características negativas. Martín-Santos utiliza estas características negativas de los perros, que “Can be a depraved animal, cursed their enemies [ . . . ] a scavenger, envy, flattery, fury, war, greed, pitiless, bragging and folly” (Protas). Efectivamente, Cartucho se comporta de esta manera. La caracterización se informa no solo porque Cartucho se asocia con el perro en la escena descrita sino también porque el vive como un perro. Por ejemplo, Cartucho abandona a la mujer que le da su virginidad y niega a su hijo aunque sabe que tiene que ser suyo. El se comportan entonces como un perro que abandona a la perra una vez que pare los cachorritos. La similitud se vuelve aún más evidente para el lector cuando se considera la connotación de la palabra “perro” en algunos países latinoamericanos: un “perro” es un hombre que no puede tener una relación estable con una sola mujer.

La última y tercera técnica de animalización que Martín-Santos usa es “la caracterización sistemáticamente animalizada” (Días 196) con características, adjetivos o frases animalísticas. Estas frases son usadas por el narrador y otros personajes, por ejemplo, para describir al Muecas. Uno de los ejemplos mas consistentes de como Martín-Santos emplea esta técnica es el origen del nombre de Muecas, quien obtiene su nombre debido a que tiene una “sonrisa de ratón” (238). A esta sonrisa se le agrega a un tic nervioso (Martín-Santos 56) que le puede recordar al lector la expresión facial de un ratón al chillar. La similitud entre Muecas y los ratones se hace más marcada cuando el narrador explica que Ricarda se comporta como un hembra de ratón: ella tiene que parir en diferentes lugares, buscar y comer lo que podía incluyendo lo que encontraba entre “los estercoleros” (239).

Martín-Santos continúa animalizando sus personajes con descripciones que otros personajes le asignan. Por ejemplo, Cartucho llama continuamente a su novia “zorra”. Cuando el se convierte en el narrador, el dice: “Ella, la muy *zorra* poniendo cara de susto [ . . . ] la muy *zorra*. Y luego ‘que es tuyo’, ‘que es tuyo’ [ . . . ] Que hubiera tenido cuidao la muy *zorra* [ . . . ] ¿Para que anduvo con los otros la muy *zorra*?” (53). Martín Santos le asigna al discurso de Cartucho este sustantivo porque, en el contexto de Tiempo de Silencio, zorra significa “tramposa”: la novia es así porque, según Cartucho, ella trata de asignarle la paternidad de su hijo. Esta sería una acción “astuta y capciosa” (191), los términos que Días usa para caracterizar la zorra en su ensayo. Curiosamente, Cartucho llama a su novia zorra cinco veces en una sola página, en cuatro oraciones que están casi todas una junto a la otra. El efecto de esta repetición en el lector es que asocia directamente la palabra zorra con la novia. Pero al mismo tiempo, hace que el lector sospeche la objetividad de Cartucho.

El próximo ejemplo de esta tercera técnica que llama la atención es la caracterización de las mujeres del burdel. Tanto las prostitutas como la dueña son descritas como animales repulsivos. Doña Luisa, por ejemplo, “tiene ojos de batracio” (176) y las prostitutas son “criaturas nocturnas” (176) que habitan en un “hormiguero.” Aunque Martín-Santos podría esperar que el lector asociara a los habitantes de un hormiguero con “diligence and industriousness” (Protas), el hecho de que las mujeres sean descritas como animales que habitan bajo la tierra le da una connotación negativa a la caracterización porque son animales que generalmente causan repulsión. Esta negatividad se asocia con Doña Luisa porque el sapo es también una criatura nocturna

que, durante el invierno, se refugia bajo la tierra para sobrevivir. Para expandir en la animalización el narrador la describe como “inmóvil pero siempre providente, reposaba, como hormiga-reina de gran vientre blanquecino, la inapelable y dulce Doña Luisa” (Martín-Santos 175). Ella no rechaza a los jóvenes y provee un lugar de descanso y refugio temporero. La hormiga es un animal trabajador que se adapta en ambos lugares subterráneos y sobre la tierra pero ella en su ‘colonia’ o burdel solamente permite a “los lebreles, las gacelas, [o sea] los elegantes felinos indomesticables” como Pedro y Matías (176). Doña Luisa no es de la clase alta, sin embargo mantiene una relación con hombres de estratos sociales más altos que pueden pagar por las mujeres. La descripción de la reacción de Doña Luisa al recibir dinero de Matías prueba la animalización a un nivel más alto y reacciona de forma peculiar: “los párpados inmóviles de Doña Luisa oscilaron lentamente” (Martín-Santos 178). Doña Luisa es caracterizada como una reina hormiga que tiene a las demás hormigas proveyendo para ella.

Curiosamente, la animalización que Martín-Santos asigna a sus personajes de estratos sociales altos es el pájaro. Sin embargo, Martín-Santos varía la especie de las aves al describir a los diferentes personajes. Por ejemplo, describiendo a la madre de Matías, el narrador se enfoca en su vestimenta para que ella aparezca como un pingüino: “Una dama vestida de negro con una túnica muy ajustada que llevaba los botones a la espalda y un escote triangular muy blanco sobre el que brotaba el delicado cuello y la cabeza armoniosamente constituida, artísticamente peinada, avanzaba hacia ellos con sonrisa amable que revoloteando la precedía” (147). Lo importante de esta descripción es que revela las características del personaje mediante su similitud con el animal. El pingüino es un ave que, además de requerir clima y alimentos muy particulares para poder sobrevivir, no vuela. Además, es un ave que se asocia con elegancia por sus colores y delicadeza de comportamiento—la distribución del plumaje del pingüino se asocia generalmente con un “tuxedo” y sus modos motores son gráciles o pausados porque solo nada o camina. Como Martín-Santos identifica a este animal con la madre de Matías mediante la descripción de la vestimenta de ella, el lector identifica también las otras características del animal como propias del personaje. Por lo tanto, el lector identifica a la madre de Matías como un personaje fuera de lo común porque no sobrevive en el mismo ambiente que otros animales y hasta se desplaza de manera diferente a ellos. Ella emerge entonces en la imaginación del lector como delicado ser que pertenece a una minoría poco común.

Analizando más profundamente como Martín-Santos animaliza a sus personajes de estratos sociales con características de pájaros, el lector también ve como relevante el ejemplo de los invitados en la conferencia del filósofo. El narrador describe a estos invitados como “pájaros culturales que encaramados en tales perchas y con un vaso de alpiste en la mano, lanzaban sus gorgoritos en todas direcciones” (Martín-Santos 160). También son “aves jóvenes de rosado pico apenas alborotadoras” que escuchan a un filósofo, quien es “un pájaro sagrado de vuelo nocturno” (Martín-Santos 160). A este filósofo lo protegen los jóvenes de algún ignorante o “pájaro-bobo” o irresponsable “avestruz” (Martín-Santos 161). De nuevo, el lector transfiere a los personajes las características de los animales que Martín-Santos menciona. Por ejemplo, las características de las aves de “rosado pico” y el “búho” se transfieren en la mente del lector a los jóvenes y al filósofo. El hecho de que los pájaros tengan el pico rosado indica que son animales de lujo, de esos que lucen colores extraordinarios debido al cuidadoso planeamiento genético de un criador. Considerando esta descripción, el lector deduce que son pájaros sumamente caros, de los que sólo se mantienen con una dieta especial y cuyo único propósito es la exhibición. Por lo tanto, el lector asocia estas características con los jóvenes de clase alta. Con la descripción del búho ocurre el mismo fenómeno: como el búho es asociado tradicionalmente con la sabiduría, el filósofo aparece como sabio. Curiosamente, Martín-Santos utiliza estas características de los pájaros porque también ellos “represent the human desire to escape gravity [ . . . ] free of its physical constrictions” (Protas). Hay que prestar atención a esta última característica porque, mediante ella, Martín-Santos contrasta los invitados de la conferencia con los habitantes de las chabolas. Por un lado, los jóvenes de clase alta pueden elevarse a un mejor ambiente como los pájaros. Por otro, los habitantes de las chabolas exhiben el conformismo y rudimentario estilo de vida de los animales rastreros.

Otro de los ejemplos de animalización por descripción que llama la atención es la introducción de Don Similiano, un hombre de “largo cuerpo [ . . . con ] pupilas verde-doradas puntiagudas y brillantes (232) [ y ] cuello fibroso y en el rostro una ligera coloración rojiza, como si por debajo de su complexión moreno-verdosa, ardiera un oculto temperamento sanguíneo” (233). Si el lector analiza desde un punto onomatopéyico el nombre de Similiano se percata de que éste imita el siseo de las serpientes. Martín-Santos no solo juega con la cualidad onomatopéyica de las palabras, sino que también establece la semejanza entre Similiano y la serpiente con la apariencia física de él: su piel tiene el mismo color verdusco de las serpientes y sus pupilas tienen la misma forma. Con esta similitud, el lector asocia a Similiano con una serpiente. Y aunque la serpiente tiene

características negativas, Martín-Santos explota las características positivas que la serpiente puede adquirir con las circunstancias que la rodean. Por ejemplo, "when intertwined with the tree of life (Christian) [the snake] represents good, and it can also be associated with healing and/or rebirth" (Protas). Como Similiano representa la ley, la animalización con que Martín-Santos lo caracteriza lo asocia con la justicia. Esta caracterización se informa no solo porque Similiano se parece a una serpiente en la escena descrita, sino también porque él le explica a Pedro como comenzar una vida sin problemas legales. Similiano le dice: "Deje usted tranquilos a los de las chabolas que ellos ya se las arreglan solitos" (243). Y en efecto, los habitantes de las chabolas están solitos porque el gobierno prefiere ignorar sus problemas y, si no los ignoran, los consideran ajenos a las personas de estrato social alto.

Una vez que estudia la animalización en *Tiempo de silencio* Martín-Santos con los ejemplos mencionados, el lector puede concluir que, aunque no ha sido analizada por sí sola, esta técnica es relevante en la obra de Martín-Santos. Y aunque los críticos de *Tiempo de silencio* la analizan en conjunción con otros elementos estilísticos de la novela o no la analizan del todo, si concuerdan en que Martín-Santos critica con su estilística la situación social—particularmente "las formas tradicionales de representar a la mujer" (Fiddian 222)—y política del régimen franquista. Se puede decir entonces que a las técnicas Martín-Santos utiliza para organizar su crítica—el juego de palabras, el esperpento, el lenguaje subversivo, la imitación de la estilística de Clarín y Galdós—se agrega la animalización. Claramente, Martín-Santos aplica esta animalización con tres técnicas: emplea verbos "animalescos" para describir sus personajes, asocia a los personajes con animales específicos y utiliza adjetivos y frases descriptivas para identificar a los personajes con animales específicos.

Aunque el desglose de esta técnica es relevante para el análisis de la novela, no explica por qué Martín-Santos escoge animalizar a sus personajes. Para sustentar esta explicación, hay que considerar la definición de naturalismo que Bressler presenta *Literary Criticism*: "the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century view of life that emphasizes the importance of scientific thought and determinism literary study. A naturalistic critic views humans as animals who respond in deterministic ways to their environment and internal drives" (275-77). Con la animalización, Martín-Santos critica desde un punto de vista naturalista la sociedad franquista. Esta crítica es efectiva porque la animalización le permite al lector asociar inmediatamente las características de los animales con el modo de vida con los personajes.

Además, la animalización le permite a Martín-Santos a evitar la censura sus metáforas animalizantes son: "powerful indicators of how people understand their surroundings, and even what they expect from them [especially when] analyzing human organizations" (Knutson 278). El lector puede concluir que, aunque la estilística de *Tiempo de silencio* se caracteriza por lo innovadora que es, Martín-Santos la utiliza principalmente para sustentar una crítica social. Evitando la censura mediante la animalización, Martín-Santos también le indica al lector cual actitud debe asumir hacia los problemas sociales que el régimen franquista promovió porque, al reflejar el estrato social al que pertenecen, los personajes animalizados predisponen la reacción de los lectores: al ver a los personajes que se comportan como ratones, el lector siente piedad por ellos; pero al ver a los de clase alta que carecen de conciencia social, el lector los juzga negativamente.

Martín-Santos critica entonces el régimen franquista que censura la interacción entre individuos de diferentes estratos sociales. Esta crítica se puede visualizar en los efectos negativos que ocurren cuando interactúan los personajes animalizados como ratones, perros y pájaros—como animales subterráneos o rastreros, los terrestres, y aéreos. Esta interacción entre los estratos sociales de los personajes animalizados y sus negativos resultados también se puede analizar considerando que, mientras más alto es el estrato social, más alto es el nivel de la biosfera en el que los animales pueden habitar.

Concluyendo, se ve que Martín-Santos asigna características animales a sus personajes y que esta técnica (dependiendo del caso) causa que el lector sienta por los personajes alejamiento, asco, falta de compasión o asombro. Sin duda alguna, Martín-Santos utiliza esta técnica de animalización para criticar la extrema diferencia que el régimen franquista promovía entre los estratos sociales durante la posguerra. Esta crítica se basa en las condiciones de vida que los individuos de estrato social bajo soportaban y en la indiferencia que el gobierno tenía hacia ellos. Acereda confirma que, con esta crítica, la obra establece "una subversiva protesta contra el sistema social y político de la España del momento" (Acereda 51). Y al forzar al lector a asociar a los personajes animalizados con la degradación de la sociedad española, Martín-Santos promueve la concientización de los problemas sociales en una sociedad que, por el régimen franquista, estaba forzada a ignorarlos.

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