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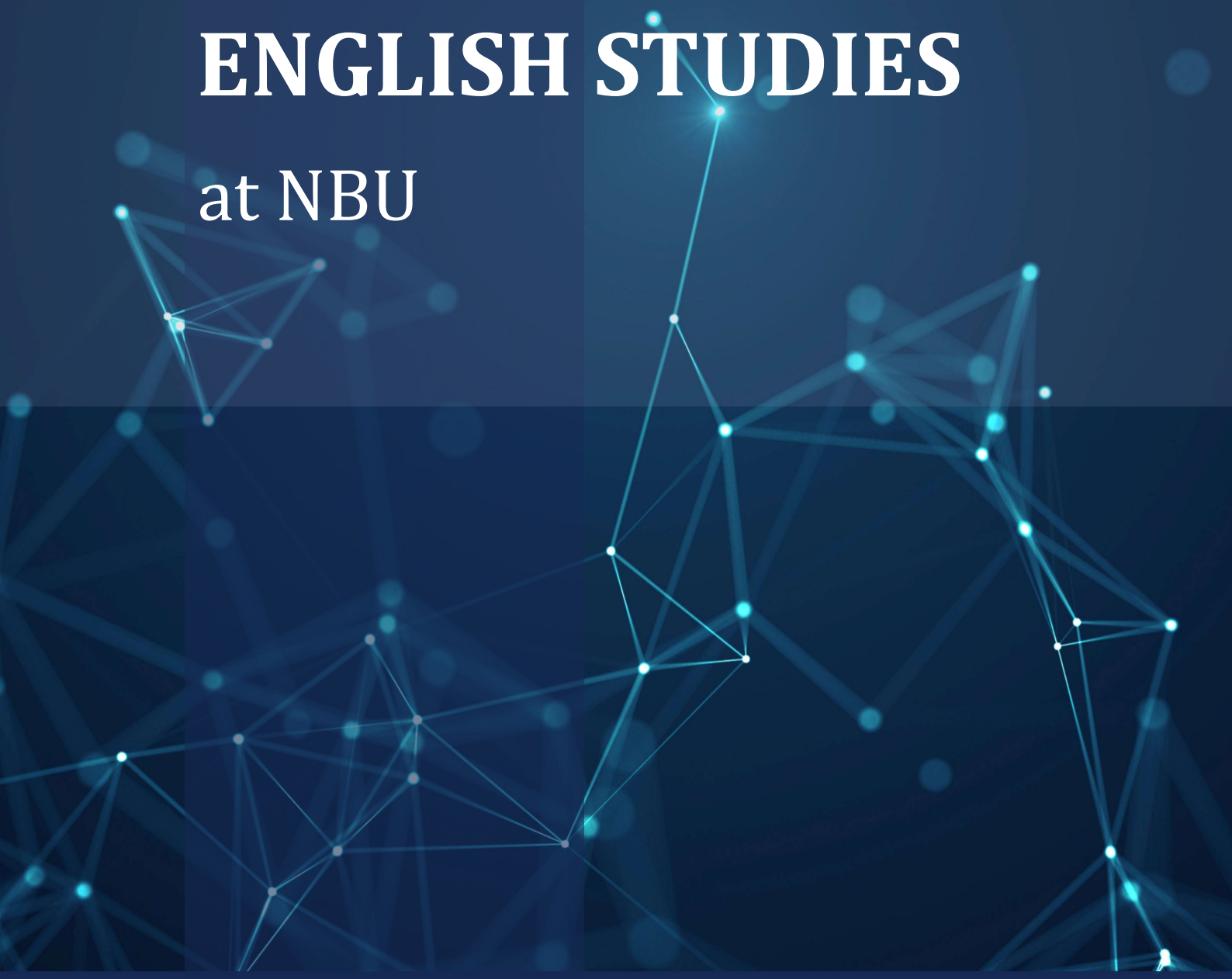

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About the journal

Aims & scope

English Studies at NBU (ESNBU) is an entirely open access, double-blind peer reviewed academic journal published by the Department of Foreign Languages and Cultures, New Bulgarian University in two issues per year, June and December, in print and online.

ESNBU welcomes original research articles, book reviews, discussion contributions and other forms of analysis and comment encompassing all aspects of English Studies and English for professional communication and the creative professions. Manuscripts are accepted in English. Translations of published articles are generally not accepted.

Submission and fees

Submissions are accepted from all researchers; authors do not need to have a connection to New Bulgarian University to publish in ESNBU.

There are **no submission fees** or **publication charges** for authors.

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DOAJ - Directory of Open Access Journals
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Brill Linguistic Bibliography
EBSCO
ICI Index Copernicus - Journals Master list database
RSCI Core - Russian Science Citation Index (РИНЦ)
CNKI SCHOLAR (CNKI) China Knowledge Resource Integrated Database
ZDB - Zeitschriften Datenbank
EZB - Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek
BASE (Bielefeld Academic Search Engine)
iDiscover, the University of Cambridge's search and discovery system
European University Institute Articles+
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EDITOR'S MESSAGE

Stan Bogdanov,
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English Studies at NBU is now bringing out Volume 7!

This issue is focused on literature, although we also feature articles on translation and language teaching.

Starting off with an examination of the attitudes to sexual morality held by the Yankton Dakota author and activist Gertrude Bonnin (1876–1938), better known by her penname Zitkála-Šá (Red Bird in Lakota), we move on through the diasporic trauma in Mira Jacob's "*The Sleepwalker's Guide to Dancing*". We get more 'gothic' with the haunting specter in Daphne du Maurier's "*Rebecca*", and an exploration of a connection between the Puritan writings and gothic literature - "*The Scarlet Letter*" and "*Carrie*", to end up in Atwood's technological dystopian world in "*Oryx and Crake*".

You will also find the '*mokusatsu*' myth – the widespread myth that the bombing of Hiroshima in August of 1945 was caused by a translation mistake – busted, and the collocational knowledge uptake of university students during the pandemic in 2020, when the whole world was forced to go online.

I wish you all good reading.

More news:

In December 2020, the Bulgarian Chapter of EASE held an online workshop "*Correction and retraction policies and procedures. Reaction to whistle-blower's information relating to actual or suspected misconduct, unethical behaviour or malpractice*" where we discussed the anonymity of the whistle-blowers both in relation to the journal policies and the EU DIRECTIVE (EU) 2019/1937 - 23 October 2019 for the 'protection of whistle-blowers', national regulations, at the same time counteracting the breaching side.

The Internal Audit, which we started in January, is underway. We are looking forward to reading the results which will help us find ways to improve.

ESNBU is even more widely recognised:

- ESNBU has been awarded a DOAJ Seal.
- We are now a Level 1 journal on the NSD, the Norwegian Register for Scientific Journals, Series and Publishers.

We have been indexed:

- by the Bodleian Libraries, the University of Oxford.
- in the University of Sheffield's and Leiden University's catalogues.
- in CEEAS - Central & Eastern European Academic Source (EBSCOhost).

Finally, I would like to invite submissions for our next issue in December 2021.

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GERTRUDE BONNIN ON SEXUAL MORALITY

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Abstract

This paper examines attitudes to sexual morality held by the Yankton Dakota author and activist Gertrude Bonnin (1876–1938), better known by her penname Zitkála-Šá (Red Bird in Lakota). Bonnin's concerns encompass several themes: the victimization of Indian women, disintegration of Native courtship rituals, sexual threats posed by peyote use, and the predatory nature of Euro-American men. This critique as a whole — in which a 'white invasion,' in her words, leads to a corruption of Native sexuality — sometimes produces inconsistencies, particularly regarding Bonnin's statements on the alleged sexual perils of peyote. Her investigations into the Oklahoma guardianship scandals of the 1920s, however, strongly buttress recent research by Sarah Deer (2015), whose study, *The Beginning and End of Rape: Confronting Sexual Violence in Native America*, highlights the tragic aspects of Native-white sexual relations under United States settler-colonialism.

Keywords: Gertrude Bonnin, Zitkála-Šá, Native American, Sarah Deer, sexual morality, settler-colonialism

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Brazen love-petting exhibitions

Sex is not a subject commonly associated with the Yankton Dakota writer and activist Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Zitkála-Šá). Nonetheless, the dangers of 'brazen love-petting exhibitions,' as she once purportedly referred to intercourse, make up a prominent theme in her public activism, private letters and statements, and political pamphlets such as *The Menace of Peyote* (1916) and *Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians* (1924) (Hanson, p. 70). Bonnin's distaste for sex outside of church-sanctioned marriage, for instance, became a central motivating factor in her quest to establish a Catholic church at Uintah Reservation in the 1910s. Moreover, her anti-peyote campaign of roughly the same period sought to ban a substance that, she claimed, 'excite[d] the baser passions' and encouraged the sexual exploitation of Native women (*Hearings before the Senate Subcommittee of the Committee of Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives on H. R. 2614*, p. 125). Bonnin's condemnation of predatory sexuality also appears in her investigations in Oklahoma, where, in 1923–24, she directly linked the assault of Native women and girls by white grafters to greed for Indian land and resources. This last aspect of Bonnin's critique bears similarities to recent research by the Muscogee attorney Sarah Deer, whose *The Beginning and End of Rape: Confronting Sexual Violence in Native America* (2015) details the grave threats faced by Native women and girls in the Americas from the beginnings of the colonial era, when new legal systems 'protected (and rewarded) the exploiters [and] therefore encouraged the institutionalization of sexual subjugation' (p. 62). Though Gertrude Bonnin left no dissertation as lengthy, complex, or well researched as Deer's, one can identify several foundations in her discourse of sex under settler-colonialism. Bonnin consistently promotes the exclusivity of intimate relations to Christian marriage as a standpoint from which to criticize both Native and Euro-American sexual immorality; yet in other contexts she employs a vision of past Native rectitude to censure the influence of sexually depraved white males, who, she argues, have encouraged a debauchery unknown to Indians before European contact. This claim that the 'white invasion,' as she puts it, is wholly responsible for the corruption of Native sexuality elides, in particular, inconsistencies in Bonnin's own statements on the alleged sexual perils of peyote use (Hanson, p. 70). Her work in Oklahoma, nevertheless, strongly buttresses conclusions presented in Deer's research.

Biographical sketch

Born in 1876 on the Yankton Reservation, Dakota Territory, to Ellen Taté I Yóhin Win Simmons and a delinquent white father, Gertrude Simmons Bonnin grew up at a time when the U.S. federal government was pursuing a policy of assimilation for Native peoples through white education. Gertrude was around eight when she left her mother's tepee for White's Manual Labor Institute, a government-funded, Quaker-run boarding school in Wabash, Indiana. There, from 1884 to 1895, she completed two terms of schooling that resulted in a profound cultural alienation from her mother and her old life at Yankton. In 1895, she was accepted to another Quaker institution, Earlham College, in Richmond, Indiana, where she studied music and excelled in oratory, even placing second in the Indiana State Oratorical Competition in 1896. Though she did not earn a diploma due to illness, Gertrude later secured a position at the Carlisle Industrial Indian School in Pennsylvania, then the premier off-reservation boarding school in the United States. She soon after came to detest the school's atmosphere, and question its assimilationist mission. In 1899, Gertrude moved to Boston to pursue studies in violin, but instead gained recognition for a series of semi-autobiographical exposés on Indian boarding schools for the *Atlantic Monthly* (1900), which she signed Zitkála-Šá (Red Bird, in Lakota). Shortly after, she returned to the Dakotas, hoping to reconnect with her mother and her birth culture. In late 1901, Gertrude published *Old Indian Legends*, a volume of traditional Lakota stories. Around this time, she met and married Raymond Telephause Bonnin, an Indian Service employee whose work took the couple to the Uintah and Ouray Reservation in Utah, home to the Northern Ute Nation, in 1902 (Davidson and Norris, 2003, pp. xiv–xx).

At Uintah, the Bonnins welcomed their first and only child, Ohiya (Winner), in 1903, and did their best to aid the Ute community amidst circumstances of poverty and corruption. The family spent the winter of 1909/10 at Standing Rock Reservation in the Dakotas. At Fort Yates, the administrative center, Gertrude became involved with the local Benedictine Catholic Mission, which, in her estimation, did 'wonderful work' for the local Lakota community (Bonnin to William H. Ketcham, May 25, 1910). Father Martin Kenel, one of the mission's key figures, befriended Gertrude, and under his tutelage she converted, quite zealously, to Catholicism (Lewandowski, 2016, p. 70).

When the Bonnins returned to Uintah, Gertrude began an artistic collaboration with a Mormon music teacher, William Hanson, co-composing *The Sun Dance Opera* (1913), a mixture of Lakota melodies and western musical conventions based on the Plains Indian Sun Dance religious ceremony (Hafen, 2001, p. xix). In the 1910s, she became increasingly engaged in political organizing, joining the Native-run reform group, the Society of American Indians (SAI) in 1914, and becoming secretary in 1916. After witnessing the spread of peyote use at Uintah, Gertrude began a multi-state, anti-peyote campaign, partnering with temperance groups to ban trade and ingestion of what she considered a dangerous drug. In 1917, deepening participation in Indian activism took the Bonnins to Washington, D.C., where Gertrude expanded her anti-peyote campaign, advocated for Indian citizenship, and largely took over the Society of American Indians. She quit the organization in 1919 upon the election of a pro-peyote president (Lewandowski, 2016, pp. 13–14, 155).

Disappointed but hardly defeated, Gertrude Bonnin continued her activism with the Christian General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC), and published the collection *American Indian Stories* (1921), and *Americanize the First American* (1921), a pamphlet that outlined a road map for eventual tribal self-determination. In 1923–24, with the support of the Indian Rights Association and American Indian Defense Association, she investigated crimes against Oklahoma's Five Civilized Tribes by the state's political and business establishments, which sought to profit from oil-rich Indian lands. Having completed apprenticeships in larger reform organizations, Bonnin founded the National Council of American Indians (NCAI) in 1926. During its existence, the NCAI made lengthy investigative trips to reservations across the United States, while representing indigenous Nations in Washington (Davidson and Norris, 2003, pp. xxvii–xxviii). Sadly, her final years were spent in relative poverty, believing that her work on behalf of Native rights had been largely futile. When Gertrude Bonnin died in 1938, the NCAI collapsed. She herself was quickly forgotten. (Lewandowski, 2016, pp. 184–87). Bonnin was only rediscovered in the 1980s, when her writings were reissued by University of Nebraska Press. Since that time, scholars have produced voluminous commentary on her *Atlantic Monthly* semi-autobiography and other works (Lewandowski, 2019, pp. 33–34). Bonnin's views on sexual relations, however, have never received sustained, concentrated scrutiny.

Sex and settler-colonialism

Examining Gertrude Bonnin's attitudes to sex is, admittedly, not the first path of inquiry that springs to mind when studying her life as a writer and activist. And in truth, she left few explicit statements on her views. As a result, this brief exploration is hampered by the lack of a detailed record of Bonnin's thoughts. Still, there exists enough material in her letters, writings, reminiscences, Congressional testimony, and even her *Sun Dance Opera*, to re-construct her stances and draw conclusions relevant to the ways Native-white sexual relations and sexual violence against indigenous women have affected Indian societies overwhelmed by U.S. settler-colonialism.

In her recent book, *The Beginning and End of Rape: Confronting Sexual Violence in Native America*, Sarah Deer (2015) demonstrates how, since colonial times, Euro-American law has 'encouraged the institutionalization of sexual subjugation' of Native women (p. 62). The result, Indian slavery, was a *de facto* institution in the nineteenth century that enabled sexual transgressions against Native women. At the center of these injustices lay a clash of cultures. Euro-American—and especially Victorian-era—sexual norms ran up against Native perspectives of what constituted healthy sexual practice. This stark contrast meant that Native women who engaged in consensual love-making were, as a group, penalized for failing 'to adhere to Western standards of femininity.' As the settler-colonialist regime evolved, the rape of indigenous women, particularly by white men, 'was not truly considered rape and received little (if any) response from the legal system' (p. 64). Seeking justice in such cases was near impossible. Coupled with this gross legal imbalance was the commoditizing of marriage. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the 1887 Dawes Act, which allotted communally-owned reservation lands to individuals in severalty, began to make landowners of Indian women. Landowner status, however, often made women the targets of white male suitors determined to usurp valuable property. White husbands, protected by a patriarchal legal system, could mistreat or abandon their Native wives with impunity (p. 65–67).

One prominent case of widespread sexual abuse of Native women that Deer does not discuss in her book is 1920s Oklahoma, setting of a short-lived oil boom. There, white men established a system of Indian guardianship through the court system, intended to gain control over profits from resource-rich lands. In the absence of any legal checks, such male

guardians employed rape and even murder to subjugate female Native property owners, with tragic regularity. Gertrude Bonnin had direct involvement in investigating these crimes in 1923–24, though this was hardly her first campaign against sexual exploitation (Bonnin, Fabens and Sniffen, 1924, pp. 23–28, 37; Wilson, 1985, pp. 137–47). Instead, concerns over the exploitation of Indian women and girls had long inspired her activism.

Sexual morality and *The Sun Dance Opera*

Gertrude Bonnin's conversion to Catholicism at Standing Rock Reservation in 1909/10 inaugurated a new (or at least newly expressed) preoccupation with Native sexuality, which took written form following her return to Uintah in 1910 (Lewandowski, 2016, p. 70). Once re-settled, she began correspondences with Father Kenel and his colleague, Father William H. Ketcham, director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. Here, the dangers of pre- and extra-marital sex became a semi-regular trope. In early 1911, she wrote Ketcham to complain that the Utes at Uintah had fallen into a state of deep degradation. Not only did they lack 'interest in spiritual life,' they were 'immoral.' While drinking and gambling were listed among their sins, sexual relations unauthorized by the church posed the greatest threat to potential salvation. The Utes' marriages, regrettably, were 'not legal' (Bonnin to Ketcham, January 29, 1911). Bonnin's anxiety over such issues was, in some cases, arguably legitimate. 'Again,' she wrote Ketcham in May of the same year, 'one of the Agency Policemen has been living with a little girl, who is not 12 years old, as his wife.' The policeman (not identified as white or Native) had since been fired, but the case was proof of 'the very sad condition of these Utes' (Bonnin to Ketcham, May 28, 1911). Bonnin deployed these mentions of sexual impropriety for a specific, activist purpose. She meant to convince Ketcham to open a Catholic mission at Uintah, so the Utes could ultimately be converted and reformed (Lewandowski, 2016, p. 75).

To a degree, Bonnin's complaints could be dismissed as middle-class moral angst, or perhaps religio-centrism. But when looking at the larger picture of life at Uintah, one is better able to comprehend her dismay, and why she—a freshly-minted, ardent Catholic—sought a religious salve. Bonnin's friend and collaborator on *The Sun Dance Opera*, William Hanson (1967), provides a stark portrait of the reservation in his memoir, *Sun Dance Land*. The book describes Fort Duchesne, the agency center, as a 'Hell Hole' populated by drunken soldiers on the lookout for prostitutes. The town's main street,

called the 'Strip,' even includes a cemetery in which every single occupant has been murdered. More relevantly, *Sun Dance Land* gives us insight into Bonnin's views on Native sexual relations in an era of white domination. Hanson states that in public lectures, Bonnin 'boldly condemned the American people for the constant use of force and intrigue in the conquest of the red-man-inherited and occupied territory.' She as well 'extolled the deep-seated national emotions and dreams [of her] people,' while venerating the 'old time culture' of her 'forefathers.' Key to her perspective was the insistence that Native peoples 'did not know immorality until after the white invasion.' By 'immorality,' Bonnin meant sex outside marriage. 'Courting among lovers was modest,' she asserted, 'controlled by selective customs; and was not accompanied by the brazen love-petting exhibitions so often seen today.' In her view, Natives had been despoiled, victims to Euro-America's 'alcohol curse, tuberculosis, syphilis and immorality, greed, broken promises and discarded treaties' (pp. 62, 69–71). The result was a mire of demoralization.

Yet as recorded in *Sun Dance Land*, Bonnin's linking of the 'white invasion' to the 'brazen love-petting exhibitions so often seen today' lacks specificity. A contemporary of hers, the Oglala Lakota chief, writer, and actor Luther Standing Bear, however, may shed greater light on Bonnin's thought process. Standing Bear's 1933 book, *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (2006), discusses the modesty of Lakota women and men, their elaborate courtship and marriage customs, and the negative influence posed by whites. He writes that 'fidelity' in marriage was an 'Indian virtue to become weakened by the disruption of his society, for the white man was wont to take the things that pleased him' (p. 163). This transformation from virtue to vice, as in Bonnin's statement, stemmed from a generalized demoralization brought about through contact with poor examples of conduct. Why Bonnin's solution lay in the adoption of Catholicism rather than a return to Native values, as expressed in Hanson, is unclear. Perhaps she saw Catholicism's sexual morals as compatible with those of the pre-contact past, making them the best model for the future.

Whatever the case, sexual impropriety was certainly on Bonnin's mind when she co-composed *The Sun Dance Opera* in the early 1910s. Seen through this lens, the opera's plot becomes a reflection of what she viewed as proper and improper Native courtship. In the setting of the pipestone quarries near Yankton, a disgraced Shoshone named Sweet Singer, who has stolen 'sacred love leaves' from a medicine man, attempts to seduce the maiden Winona. The heroic Lakota Ohiya, also in love with Winona, warns her of Sweet

Singer's ill intentions and stresses that 'Love is valor, not empty words.' Sweet Singer is meanwhile pursued by a Shoshone woman who has tragically 'fled the rule of modesty' by succumbing to his advances (Hafen, 2001, pp. 131–32, 144). Ohiya eventually wins Winona's hand by courting her in the traditional manner, with a wooden flute, then by taking part in the Sun Dance ceremony to demonstrate his sincerity and stamina. At the opera's climax, Sweet Singer expediently disappears with the 'Witches of the Night,' as all celebrate the triumph of Ohiya's moral virtue. While in fact the Sun Dance was never performed to impress women, Sweet Singer's use of the aphrodisiac 'sacred love leaves' presciently suggests Bonnin's crusade against peyote ingestion at Uintah, which was soon to begin (Smith, 2001, pp. 11–12).

The (sexual) menace of peyote

Gertrude Bonnin's preoccupation with Ute sexual morality intensified greatly approximately a year after *The Sun Dance Opera* premiered. In 1914, an Oglala Lakota named Sam Lone Bear appeared in Dragon, Utah, preaching the benefits of peyote. Lone Bear was born in 1879 on Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota, and remained there until at least 1910 (Friesen, 2017, pp. 68, 71). When he later arrived in Uintah, Lone Bear impressed the local Ute population with his personal magnetism. A local man, Dick Sirawap, allowed Lone Bear to live with his teenage daughters, Ella and Sue, whom he impregnated. One gave birth as early as age thirteen. Lone Bear also looked elsewhere for pleasure. While still staying with Sirawap, he persuaded a teenage girl, Mary Guerro, to follow him to Nebraska. Once there, he kept her confined as a sexual prisoner, impregnated her, and abandoned her. Though Lone Bear was subsequently jailed by Utah authorities, no one would testify against him and he went free (Stewart, 1987, pp. 178-79, 197–201; Simmons, 2000, pp. 241–42).[1] Such bald chicanery and sexual exploits immediately made him a target of Bonnin's ire, and in part prompted her to campaign

[1] Sam Lone Bear's identity has been mistaken for decades. Omer Stewart (1987), in *Peyote Religion: A History,* first misidentified Lone Bear as a Carlisle student from Pine Ridge who posed for photographer Gertrude Käsebier and later traveled with Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show to Europe. Instead, there were two Sam Lone Bears from Pine Ridge, the other of whom was the Peyotist and criminal. This confusion was only brought to light with the publication of Steve Friesen's (2017) *Lakota Performers in Europe: Their Culture and the Artifacts They Left Behind*. Eventually, Lone Bear the criminal ended up serving two years in federal prison, on McNeil Island in Washington state, from 1933 to 1935. He died in 1937 at Pine Ridge (pp. 68, 71–73).

against peyote's use. To her, Lone Bear quickly became the embodiment of Indian sexual devolution in the modern era.

Lone Bear first attracted Bonnin's attention after he convinced an influential Ute chief, John McCook, that peyote could sooth his rheumatism, causing ingestion of the cactus to spread rapidly (Bonnin to Arthur C. Parker, November 11, 1916). By mid-1915, approximately fifty percent of the Northern Utes had begun using peyote in regular gatherings (Simmons, 2000, pp. 241–43). Bonnin was horrified by this growing peyote use and Lone Bear himself, who, along with continuing his sexual exploits, regularly cheated Utes of their money selling tokens that purportedly possessed supernatural powers (Stewart, 1987, pp. 178, 200–01; *Hearings before the Senate Subcommittee of the Committee of Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives on H. R. 2614,* 1918, pp. 125–26). To eradicate Lone Bear and his peyote from Uintah and elsewhere, Bonnin began a multi-state effort to engage groups such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union throughout the West, in Colorado, Nevada, and Utah (Lewandowski, 2016, p. 108). These actions against peyote have often been derided by scholars, cast as a Christian, assimilationist scheme to destroy a burgeoning Native religion (Slotkin, 1956, pp. 47, 121; Warrior, 1995, pp. 4, 10, 13–14; Willard, 1991, pp. 25–30). Such charges, however, amount to an inaccurate simplification. Bonnin saw no religious aspect in peyote's ingestion, and, based on all available evidence, any explicit motive of proselytizing for Christianity was not her immediate goal in banning the substance (Lewandowski, 2016, p. 143).

A full accounting of Bonnin's anti-peyote campaign is outside the scope of this paper. Instead, what is relevant here is how she directly linked sexual immorality to peyote use. That said, it is deeply unfortunate that none of the many speeches Bonnin delivered against peyote have survived. As a result, we do not have her on record explicitly and repeatedly connecting peyote and sexual licentiousness before the women's and temperance groups she addressed in the mid-1910s. However, when reading her public statements from 1918, we can assume with great confidence that she consistently highlighted the issue of sex. Her *The Menace of Peyote* (1916) details the alleged physical and mental dangers of the cactus, which she compares to alcohol—often a bane among Indian populations.[2] 'Men, women,

[2] Davidson and Norris date Bonnin's anti-peyote pamphlet from 1916. However, *The Menace of Peyote* includes references to Bonnin's testimony before a House subcommittee in 1918 (p. 239). This may have been a later version of the pamphlet.

and children on Indian reservations attend weekly peyote meetings every Saturday night to eat peyote,' the pamphlet explains, 'It takes all Sunday to recover somewhat from the drunk. Too often in their midnight debaucheries there is a total abandonment of virtue' (Quoted in Davidson and Norris, 2003, p. 240). That Bonnin mentions 'children' is likely no accident, but a tactic used to attract more attention to her cause. It probably worked. Peyote's ostensible encouraging of the 'total abandonment of virtue' among all ages appears as the main theme in much of her anti-peyote activism.

In 1918, Bonnin testified before the House subcommittee of Indian Affairs on the peyote issue in hearings meant to decide the fate of a bill introduced by Arizona congressman Carl Hayden, who had proposed a nationwide ban (Lewandowski, 2016, pp. 118, 136, 141–43). The week she appeared before Congress, Bonnin spoke with a *Washington Times* reporter at length. The paper published her statements in a featured article, "Indian Woman in Capital to Fight Growing Use of Peyote Drug by Indians," on February 17, 1918. The piece, while expounding on the 'mental and physical evils' of peyote, described ceremonies as all-night 'feasts' marked by 'the wildest intoxication and all kinds of orgies in which men, women, and even children take part to the degradation of their minds.' The term 'orgy' may not have been used in an exclusively sexual sense, but instead employed to underline the 'wild' nature of the meetings. Bonnin did nonetheless stress that peyote abolished 'all moral restraint' when 'used in a way which outrages decency and induces intoxication and degeneracy' (p. 9). Any lack of clarity surrounding the 'orgy' issue was eliminated in Bonnin's subsequent testimony before the House committee. At a climactic moment, she described an alleged rape committed by Sam Lone Bear, who had fed his victim, a young woman, a peyote button. Consent was at the heart of the matter. Peyote, in Bonnin's telling, could 'excite the baser passions,' thereby inducing Native women to forgo reticence and behave in ways they normally would not (*Hearings before the Senate Subcommittee of the Committee of Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives on H. R. 2614*, 1918, pp. 124–26). This moral danger was one of the main justifications for implementing a federal ban.

Bonnin's statements in Washington indicate how her anti-peyote campaign was in large part concerned with countering sexual predation, rather than fostering assimilation. One might argue that she did promote assimilation to Christian / Catholic / Victorian sexual norms, but as recorded by William Hanson in *Sun Dance Land*, Bonnin's desire for

a return to pre-contact Native sexual morals could likewise explain her objections to peyote, which she directly associated with Sam Lone Bear's manner of perfidy. Her testimony did, however, include remarks on religion. When questioned on the subject, Bonnin responded, 'I suppose [Christians] would be against [peyote] on the ground that they would oppose anything that was demoralizing. I do not believe…that this opposition can be represented as being made because of a difference in religions. It is not that, because even Indians who are Christians become addicted to the habit of using peyote.' To her, peyote was something akin to alcohol—'twin brothers,' as she called them. As a result, it had to be stamped out to protect the family unit from 'undermining work,' and to shield Native women and girls from its distorting effects on sexual propriety (pp. 128–30).

Nonetheless, Bonnin had to have been at least somewhat aware that there was irony, not to mention a lack of historical and even contemporary context, in her attacks on peyote—all of which undercut her arguments against the cactus, and for her claim of the exclusively white-induced deterioration of Native sexual morality. Although peyote was new to Uintah, it had been ingested in the Americas for millennia. The Spanish first recorded its use among the Chichmeca in present-day Mexico in the 1600s, while the Coahuitec, Hopi, and Taos in the American Southwest had also used peyote for both healing and spiritual purposes, dating back to the seventeenth century. The Peyote Religion, which Bonnin sought effectively to ban, had developed at the end of the nineteenth century among Plains Indians such as the Wichita, Comanche, and Kiowa. In organized rituals that combined elements of Christianity with Native beliefs, such peoples sought to rectify through spirituality the effects of white colonialism by creating intertribal solidarity. This form of the Peyote Religion eventually became prominent among the Navaho, Winnebago, Paiute, and to a degree the Lakota, as a peaceful countermovement that preserved ancient beliefs, and strove to locate goodness within white oppressors (Lanternari, 1963, 65–67, 97–100). Many of the new adherents were graduates of Indian boarding schools, and considered themselves Christian. At a Society of American Indians conference in 1916, one Kiowa delegate, Delos Lone Wolf, even argued that peyote had enabled him not only to discourage alcohol consumption, but convert members of his tribe to Christianity after years of failed attempts by missionaries (Herzberg, 1971, pp. 149–50, 280–81).

But if Bonnin ignored, or chose to ignore, the greater question of the Peyote Religion, its intricacies, and peyote's long and significant history among Native peoples, she may have found it harder to pass over the fact that this ostensibly corrupting force had been promoted not by whites, but by Indians. In the spring of 1917, Bonnin gave an anti-peyote lecture at California's Sherman Institute, and Indian boarding school. The *Friends' Intelligencer*, the largely Quaker-run Indian Rights Association's journal, deemed her speech (which has not survived), a 'very impressive address' in its detailing of 'the degenerating effect of the death-dealing Peyote' (Burgess, 1917, 313). Interestingly, Bonnin apparently refused to implicate, explicitly, Indians in peyote's spread. Instead, she blamed vaguely labeled 'people' for trafficking peyote on reservations, rather than Native peoples themselves, or even Sam Lone Bear (Newmark, 2012, 328). Placing such blame would have naturally undermined her larger discourse of white corruption of Native morals; perhaps, then, figures like Lone Bear merely represented the carnal depths to which Native peoples could sink under the wrong kind of influence.

Oklahoma

Whatever inconsistencies or contradictions might arise in Gertrude Bonnin's recorded statements on sex from the 1910s, her critique becomes much more powerful as her activism continues into the 1920s. In 1923, Bonnin, with the American Indian Defense Association and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, began investigating ongoing crimes against the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma, which had fallen prey to all measure of schemes by white businessmen and government officials attempting to appropriate profits from oil-rich lands. Under a system of court guardianship, white grafters were able to divest thousands of Natives of their wealth, 'managing' their assets while sometimes exploiting their wards to the point of death. As recorded by Angie Debo (1940) in her seminal work, *And Still the Waters Run*, the 'plundering of children' left Native minors subject to kidnapping and rape at the hands of white men—incidents entirely representative of the history of sexual abuse presented in Deer's (2015) *The Beginning and End of Rape* (p. 103). In late 1923, Bonnin, along with attorney Charles H. Fabens and Indian Rights Association representative Matthew K. Sniffen, conducted a five-week inquiry into these ongoing crimes. The result was *Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians: An Orgy of Graft and Exploitation of the Five Civilized Tribes—Legalized Robbery*

(1924), a pamphlet that exposed horrific cases of Euro-American assault on indigenous women and children.

In *Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians*, Gertrude Bonnin writes on, as Fabens and Sniffen put it, 'phases of our investigation that can be presented best by a feminine mind.' This means, precisely, two cases in which white guardians abducted and raped young women. Bonnin discusses the case of a Creek girl, Akey Ulteeskee, kidnapped at age four and, over time, forced to bear her guardian's child. Now an adult, abandoned and robbed of thousands, Ulteeskee lived on a mere five dollars a month awarded her by the courts as parcel of her oil monies. Bonnin also focuses on the story of Millie Neharkey, once owner of lands worth $150,000. A group of men connected with the Gladys Belle Oil Company abducted Neharkey on her eighteenth birthday, and raped her repeatedly over the course of several days. At the conclusion of the ordeal, Robert F. Blair, the group's leader, forced Neharkey to sell Gladys Belle her lands for a mere fraction of their worth. Bonnin describes her meeting with Neharkey, noting 'her smallness of stature, her child's voice and her timidity,' and how she is 'decidedly immature.' The girl's 'little body,' she adds, had been 'mutilated by a drunken fiend who assaulted her night after night' (pp. 23, 25–26).

Though Bonnin's contribution to *Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians* is one of the major works of her activism, few scholars have commented upon it. One that has is Patrice Hollrah. Hollrah (2004) points out how Bonnin uses 'the language of sentimentalism' to add 'pathos' and 'persuasive power' to her stories. She also observes how Bonnin does not present Neharkey as a woman, but a 'little girl' whose 'little body' has been 'mutilated,' making the description of the rape into a consciously sentimental 'seduction narrative' meant to move middle-class female reformers to action (pp. 48–50). One may question this assertion. While Bonnin, in her discussions of peyote 'orgies,' possibly included children as a tactic to gain attention, the stories of rape in *Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians* require no enhancement.

Bonnin's findings in Oklahoma prompted hearings by the House Committee on Indian Affairs, initiated by the Chickasaw Oklahoma Representative Charles D. Carter. Carter, unfortunately, was not seeking justice. At the hearings, the congress*men* involved, New York Representative Homer Snyder prominent among them, famously sought to whitewash the crimes committed and reject any evidence provided, all to exonerate

Oklahoma as a state (Lewandowski, 2016, pp. 169–70). It remains striking how Bonnin's detailing of rape failed to convince any of these congress*men* to take any measures against Oklahoma guardianships, or investigate cases of abuse against Native women and children. It is reasonable to assume that evidence of widespread sexual crimes against white American women concentrated in any given state would have triggered an immediate reaction on the part of lawmakers. But as Sarah Deer (2015) notes, the rape of Native women by white men, historically, 'was not truly considered rape and received little (if any) response from the legal system' (p. 64). This double standard for sexual crimes against Native and white women, we can infer, was certainly at play in Oklahoma. Yet despite its failure to effect change, *Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians* is by far the strongest of Bonnin's works to offer criticism of Native-white sexual relations under settler-colonialism.

Hypocrisy and violence

While this article's brief examination of Gertrude Bonnin's thoughts on sexual morality is hindered by the lack of any explicit dissertation, some conclusions can be reached. Bonnin's fears over sexual immorality and exploitation, without question, informed important aspects of her activism—whether in trying to establish a Catholic church at Uintah, in advocating for a ban on peyote, or in exposing the unconscionable offences of Oklahoma guardianship. Concerning her distinct views on Native sexuality in an era of Euro-American dominance, there appear several main themes: the exploitation of Native women and, especially, girls, the disintegration of Native courtship rituals, the alleged sexual threats posed by peyote use, and the predatory nature of white male sexuality. As a salve, Bonnin promoted the exclusivity of intimate relations to church-ordained, Christian marriage, which she saw as equivalent to stable unions preceded by traditional Native courtship rituals. Disruption of the latter resulted from the negative influence of white males, who had, in her estimation, despoiled Native peoples in a manner unknown in the pre-contact past. Bonnin's *Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians*, finally, exposes extreme examples of white sexual predation linked to rank avarice for Indian lands and resources, as meticulously documented in Sarah Deer's *The Beginning and End of Rape*. This culmination of Gertrude Bonnin's critique—if not its entirety—bears testament to a Euro-American sexual culture marked by hypocrisy and violence, and continues to resonate loudly today.

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A HAUNTOLOGICAL READING OF DAPHNE DU MAURIER'S "*REBECCA*"

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Abstract

This essay focuses on the way the main characters in Daphne du Maurier's novel *Rebecca* (1938) cope with the haunting influence of the past and attempts to read their struggle through the theoretical approach developed by Jacques Derrida in his *Specters of Marx* (1993). This approach, termed "hauntology" by Derrida himself, revolves around the notion of the "specter" haunting the present and emphasizes the need to find new ways of responding to it, especially because of the existing ontological failure to do so. The essay complements this reading with the earlier comparable theory of the "phantom" and "transgenerational haunting" developed by psychoanalysts Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok. A "hauntological" reading of *Rebecca* through these tools yields results that are significantly different from traditional approaches. Suggesting that the main characters in *Rebecca* are complete failures in dealing with the specter in a Derridean sense, the essay argues that the novel expects from the discerning reader a more insightful approach and a better potential to understand the specter. It is suggested further that a proper acknowledgement of the specter in *Rebecca* reaches beyond this particular novel, having subtle but significant implications concerning not only literary analysis but also social and cultural prejudices.

Keywords: Rebecca, du Maurier, haunting, specter, phantom, hauntology

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In the famous opening scene of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* Marcellus desperately asks Horatio to address the ghost that has just appeared to them: 'Thou art a scholar; speak to it, Horatio' (I.i.42). Horatio makes an attempt – 'I charge thee, speak.' (I.i.51) – but it is to no avail. Later in the play Hamlet, who is another "scholar", is able to speak to the ghost of his father himself, but the success of this communication is highly debatable, given that Hamlet's encounter with the ghost leaves him torn through the rest of the play between belief and hesitation, action and inaction, leading eventually to his tragic end. It is these words of Marcellus – 'Thou art a scholar; speak to it, Horatio' – that Derrida refers to early on in his *Specters of Marx* (1993) while expounding on his concept of the "specter". Derrida's major aim in this book is to look into the '"spectral" status of Marxism in a post-communist world' (Clewell, 2009, p. 14). However, the notion of the specter Derrida introduces for this purpose has gone far beyond discussions of Marxism and opened new grounds of criticism especially in literary scholarship. Although quite vague and abstract, what Derrida suggests by the specter is an influence or trace of the past that cannot and should not be erased and that should actually be acknowledged as co-existing in order to enable a fuller life for the present. As Fredric Jameson (2008, p. 39) explains,

> Spectrality does not involve the conviction that ghosts exist or that the past … is still very much alive and at work, within the living present: all it says, if it can be thought to speak, is that the living present is scarcely as self-sufficient as it claims to be; that we would do well not to count on its density and solidity, which might under exceptional circumstances betray us.

While explaining his notion of the specter, Derrida quotes from Marcellus' words specifically to indicate the erroneous nature of the assumption involved here. Marcellus thinks Horatio will speak to the ghost in the best way since he is a scholar. Derrida suggests just the opposite, however. For Horatio it will be even more difficult to speak to the ghost primarily because he is a scholar educated in positivist assumptions concerning ontological categories. In Derrida's words,

> What seems almost impossible is to speak always *of the* specter, to speak *to the* specter, to speak with it, therefore especially *to make or to let* a spirit *speak*. And the thing seems even more difficult for a reader, an expert, a professor, an interpreter, in short, for what Marcellus calls a "scholar". … As theoreticians or witnesses, spectators, observers, and intellectuals, scholars believe that looking is sufficient. Therefore, they

> are not always in the most competent position to do what is necessary: speak to the specter. (Derrida, 2006, p. 11, emphases in the original)

It is for this reason that Derrida coins the term "hauntology" as an alternative to "ontology", which, to him, fails to respond to the notion of spectrality and, to expand this concept a little further, fails to respond to all kinds of liminality which characterize Derrida's thought in general. As Davis (2005, p. 373) explains, in this understanding 'Hauntology supplants its near-homonym ontology, replacing the priority of being and presence with the figure of the ghost as that which is neither present nor absent, neither dead nor alive'. In fact, through introducing this concept, Derrida also imagines a time when another kind of "scholar" will emerge, who will be able to move beyond strict ontological categories and have a much wider perception and understanding:

> … Marcellus was perhaps anticipating the coming, one day, one night, several centuries later, of another "scholar." The latter would be capable, beyond the opposition between presence and non-presence, actuality and inactuality, life and non-life, of thinking the possibility of the specter, the specter as possibility. Better (or worse) he would know how to address himself to spirits. (Derrida, 2006, p. 13)

And when Derrida says this, he obviously has himself and like-minded intellectuals in mind as the new "scholar" who will perhaps effect a change in the understanding of traditional scholarship.

Based primarily on these notions of Derrida, this study attempts a reading of Daphne du Maurier's famous novel *Rebecca*. The paper explores in what ways this novel, in which the specter of the character Rebecca and "haunting" as a theme and motif take a central place, lends itself to a "hauntological" reading as suggested by Derrida. It argues eventually that a conventional reading and a hauntological reading of the novel yield significantly different results, forcing us perhaps to acknowledge the importance of the Derridean notion of the specter for a better understanding of the implications of not only this novel but also of any life situation requiring a fuller perception of the way specters (of the past) might inform the present both on a personal and social basis. Throughout this analysis, Derrida's notion of spectrality will be the primary point of reference. However, the study will also make use of psychoanalysts Nicolas Abraham and Maria

Torok's theory of the "phantom" and "transgenerational haunting," which, despite some considerable differences, is also in line with the Derridean notion of the specter.

Daphne du Maurier's *Rebecca* came out in 1938 and remained a bestseller for more than two decades following its publication. The novel tells the story of a young and inexperienced first-person nameless narrator, who meets a man of serious wealth and influence twenty years older than herself while working as a "companion" to a rich old woman staying at a luxurious hotel in Monte Carlo. She is immediately drawn to this enigmatic man who appears to be courting her, and once the fortnight at the hotel is over and they are about to leave, the man, who is named Maxim de Winter, proposes to marry her. Head over heels in love, she immediately accepts and comes to live with him in his big estate called Manderley, located in the countryside by the sea, presumably in the southwest of England.

During their courtship in Monte Carlo, the nameless narrator learns that Maxim de Winter was previously married to a woman named Rebecca and that Rebecca drowned in a tragic boat accident about a year earlier. Although Maxim himself is highly reticent about his previous wife and the incident of her death, the narrator hears a lot about her mainly through her employer. Therefore, even before marrying Maxim and going to live with him in Manderley, the figure of the dead Rebecca looms before the nameless narrator. Hearing about Rebecca's beauty, influence, and popularity, she almost becomes obsessed with her and develops an acute feeling of jealousy. Going to live in Manderley once their honeymoon is over makes matters even worse. The house appears completely haunted by the spirit of Rebecca, with her legacy and the objects she left behind everywhere and the servants as well as the neighbors, relatives and family friends continually talking about her, as though invoking her from the dead each time they praise a certain outstanding quality of her, making explicit or implicit comparisons between Rebecca and the new bride, who is the nameless narrator.

The narrator, then, is almost certain after several months of marriage that Maxim regrets marrying her because he is still very much in love with Rebecca and cannot really forget her. She is soon to find out, however, that she has been completely wrong. After a number of climactic scenes full of suspense, it is surprisingly revealed that Rebecca did not drown in a boat accident after all, but was murdered by Maxim himself. Primarily

through Maxim's narrative to the narrator, we learn how he actually detested Rebecca's highly independent, promiscuous and threatening ways and how he eventually shot her at a moment of rage, placing her dead body in her boat and letting the boat sink. Interestingly, the narrator takes this in much more calmly than would be expected and does not seem disturbed by the fact that she has married a man who has murdered his previous wife. On the contrary, grateful that Maxim actually loves her, she becomes Maxim's accomplice in helping him clear out of the resuming investigations concerning Rebecca's death. At the end of the novel, the haunted Manderley is burnt down and Maxim gets away with the murder, but all this happens at the price of the couple leaving England and continuing their life in a Mediterranean country in the South.

Despite and perhaps due to its best-seller status for many years following its publication, *Rebecca* has had the misfortune – until fairly recently – to be received and interpreted from a highly traditional perspective, 'as a convention-ridden love story, in which the good woman triumphs over the bad by winning a man's love' (Beauman, 2007, p. 56). Helen Taylor (2007, p. 78) relates that 'On first publication, *Rebecca* was called by *The Times* a "novelette" ... [and afterwards] described repeatedly as "a great love story", "a classic romance"'. Even Alfred Hitchcock, whose famous adaptation of *Rebecca* won the Academy Award for Best Picture and Best Cinematography, said 'The [novel's] story is old-fashioned … [a part of] feminine literature' (cited in Truffaut & Scott, 1985, p. 127) and 'The heroine *is* Cinderella' (cited in Truffaut & Scott, 1985, p. 132, emphasis original). As obvious in the analogy with a fairy-tale, this traditional reading suggests a happy ending for the couple and especially for the nameless narrator, who, after all the terrible events is reassured of Maxim's love for her. Furthermore, as the loyal and loving wife ready to be her husband's accomplice under all circumstances, she has gained his love, respect and gratitude to a point she could not even have imagined possible in the first place. Furthermore, justice has eventually been served: Rebecca, the evil, promiscuous woman, who deserved such punishment, has finally left their lives, never to come back. Manderley is burnt down together with the ghost of Rebecca. Rebecca will no longer be able to haunt Maxim and the narrator, and the couple can now live a relatively happy and peaceful life.

This traditional reading of the novel primarily as a work of romance has been challenged, of course, by subsequent critics, who have focused more closely on the novel's

defining place 'in the genre of the female gothic, understanding it as a psychological study of personal insecurity, class, and national instability, and female Oedipal crisis' (Taylor, 2007, p. 78).[1] Such studies have given Rebecca the attention she deserves as a character by emphasizing how she is not allowed to make her own voice heard within the patriarchal world of the novel, and by exploring Rebecca's possible status as an alter ego of the nameless narrator. Some of these readings consider the encounter with Rebecca's legacy to be a painful but significant learning process for the narrator, whereby she overcomes her initial shyness and insecurity and attains knowledge and maturity. Horner and Zlosnik argue, for instance, that 'the (now older) narrator has finally acquired the confidence for which she envied Rebecca as a young woman' (2000, p. 216). Regarding Rebecca as an alter ego or "doppelgänger figure" haunting the young narrator throughout, they emphasize the narrator's positive transformation at the end. The older narrator telling us the story retrospectively is 'one empowered by her "double" and who, far from being haunted, now exudes an understanding of herself and the world about her which has given her strength and self-confidence' (Horner & Zlosnik, 1998, p. 119). Some other readings, on the other hand, are more hesitant to suggest a relatively peaceful resolution of the plot through an exorcism of the ghost of Rebecca. Alison Light argues that 'The ending of *Rebecca* resists a simple resolution … and the triumph of the ordinary girl is suffused with loss', that 'the image of Rebecca continues to haunt the mental life of the heroine, even in her calm middle age' (2001, p. 178). Margaret Mitchell similarly comments that at the end 'we see the narrator living not the life of a heroine, but one of monotonous exile' (2009, p. 31). In Peterson's view, this life of exile signifies a 'nightmare– a deathlike existence' (2009, p. 62).

This study takes a similar stance: a careful exploration of the novel's preoccupation with haunting raises serious questions about Maxim and the narrator's eventual success in exorcising the ghost of Rebecca. Like the symbolically laden name of her boat – *Je Reviens* – which is at the bottom of the sea together with her dead body, Rebecca is a revenant; she always comes back. Considered from the perspective of Derrida's notion of the specter, she cannot be eliminated. And neither should there be an attempt to eliminate her because that is not the way to deal with a specter. Actually, the

[1] Helen Taylor refers the reader here to the two definitive studies on the work of Daphne du Maurier: Alison Light's *Forever England: Femininity, Literature and Conservatism Between the Wars* (1991), and Avril Horner and Sue Zlosnik's *Daphne du Maurier: Writing, Identity and the Gothic Imagination* (1998).

novel includes many instances where the narrator attempts to eliminate Rebecca and her memory through what Derrida would perhaps call strict and narrow ontological strategies. For example, a famous scene in the novel describes the narrator trying to get rid of the haunting handwriting and signature of Rebecca, which she first encounters on the title page of a poetry book that Maxim has lent her:

> It [the book] fell open, at the title-page. "Max from Rebecca." She was dead, and one must not have thoughts about the dead. … How alive was her handwriting though, how full of force. Those curious, sloping letters. The blob of ink. … It was just as if it had been written yesterday. I took my nail scissors from the dressing case and cut the page, looking over my shoulder like a criminal. (du Maurier, 2012, p. 63)

This does not fully satisfy the narrator, however. She first tears 'the page up in many little fragments' and throws 'them into the waste-paper basket'. Still discontented, she then sets 'fire to the fragments' (2012, p. 64):

> The flame had a lovely light, staining the paper, curling the edges, making the slanting writing impossible to distinguish. … The letter R was the last to go, it twisted in the flame, it curled outwards for a moment, becoming larger than ever. Then it crumpled too; the flame destroyed it. … I went and washed my hands in the basin. I felt better, much better. (du Maurier, 2012, p. 64)

This is a very transitory feeling of well-being, however. As the narrator realizes a short while after this incident, Rebecca's handwriting and her initial – this R which was the last to go in the flame – can be found everywhere in Manderley and become central haunting motifs in the novel. Rebecca's 'scrawling pointed hand' (2012, p. 94) is on the pigeon-hole labels and in the leather guestbook the narrator finds in the drawer of the writing table in the morning room where Rebecca used to do 'all her correspondence and telephoning' (2012, p. 91) so efficiently. Her monogram, "R de W", is 'on the nightdress case … interwoven and interlaced …. corded and strong against the golden satin material' (2012, p. 187) in her bedroom in the west wing, which is still 'fully furnished, as though in use' (2012, p. 185). It is on the used handkerchief that has remained in the pocket of the mackintosh the servant fetches for the narrator to wear on a rainy day: 'A tall, sloping R, with the letters de W interlaced. The R dwarfed the other letters, the tail of it ran down into the cambric, away from the laced edge' (2012, p. 132). Lots of objects in the house

reminiscent of Rebecca have a similar haunting quality. The narrator comes to this uncanny realization one day as she is sitting with Maxim in the library:

> … I was not the first one to lounge there … someone had been before me, and surely left an imprint of her person on the cushions, and on the arm where her hand had rested. Another one had poured the coffee from that same silver coffee pot, had placed the cup to her lips, had bent down to the dog, even as I was doing.
>
> Unconsciously, I shivered as though someone had opened the door behind me and let a draught into the room. I was sitting in Rebecca's chair, I was leaning against Rebecca's cushion, and the dog had come to me because … he remembered, in the past, she had given sugar to him there. (du Maurier, 2012, pp. 86-87)

It soon dawns on the narrator that the words of Mrs Danvers – 'I feel her everywhere. You do too, don't you?' (2012, p. 194) – are not just oddities characterizing a housekeeper obsessed with the legacy of her beloved mistress:

> She was in the house still, as Mrs Danvers had said; she was in that room in the west wing; she was in the library, in the morning-room, in the gallery above the hall. Even in the little flower-room, where her mackintosh still hung. And in the garden, and in the woods, and down in the stone cottage on the beach. Her footsteps sounded in the corridors, her scent lingered on the stairs. … Rebecca was still mistress of Manderley. (du Maurier, p. 2012, p. 261)

All this clearly attests to Rebecca as a very powerful presence in the house even a year after her death, and as will be suggested shortly, even the burning down of Manderley at the end of the novel cannot put an end to her legacy.

It can be argued, then, that Rebecca emerges as a specter in the novel in a Derridean sense. Her memory and the secret surrounding both her personality and her death are potential sources of trauma for both the narrator and her husband, Maxim. Speaking from a Derridean perspective, the narrator and Maxim perhaps need to learn to "speak of" the troubled memory of Rebecca, or to "speak to" it, or even "speak with" it, but obviously this is something neither of them is willing or able to do. Maxim's stance is clear even in Monte Carlo where they have newly met: 'All memories are bitter, and I prefer to ignore them. Something happened a year ago … and I want to forget every phase in my existence up to that time' (2012, p. 42). Although at the beginning the narrator is

not as firm as Maxim concerning memories evoking the past, she is quick to adopt an approach similar to his. In Monte Carlo, disturbed by the comment of her employer, Mrs Van Hopper, that she is making a mistake in marrying Maxim, she confidently reassures herself: 'The past would not exist for either of us; we were starting afresh, he and I. The past had blown away like the ashes in the waste-paper basket' (2012, p. 66). In Manderley, too, the narrator as the new wife learns to curb her curiosity about the past. It is especially after the narrator's unintentional discovery of Rebecca's boat-house at the beach and Maxim's ensuing anger that the subject of the past and particularly the utterance of Rebecca's name turn into a kind of taboo for them. Gaps and silences abound in their communication whenever the topic looks like it will be leading to the past and to Rebecca. 'And if you had my memories you would not want to … talk about it, or even think about it' (2012, p. 130), says Maxim following the incident at the beach, and it is quite often that the narrator makes remarks like: 'It was over …. The episode was finished. We must not speak of it again' (2012, p. 132).

When Maxim confesses to his wife that he murdered Rebecca and tries to justify his act through a long narrative of his tortuous past with her, it initially appears like an improvement of their position in relation to this traumatic memory:

> There were no shadows between us any more, and when we were silent it was because the silence came to us of our own asking. (2012, p. 323)

However, their seeming ability to discuss Rebecca through Maxim's confession is still a far cry from what Derrida means by talking *of* the specter or *to* the specter. This can perhaps be understood better by looking at the way Derrida himself elaborates further on the example he gives from the scene in *Hamlet* where the ghost appears. When Marcellus asks Horatio to speak to the ghost, Horatio obeys. But this is not the kind of communication Derrida has in mind:

> … Horatio enjoins the Thing to speak, he orders it to do so twice in a gesture that is at once imperious and accusing. … ("By heaven I Charge thee speake! … speake, speake! I Charge thee, speake!") … By charging or conjuring him to speak, Horatio wants to inspect, stabilize, *arrest* the specter in his speech …. (Derrida, 2006, p. 13, emphasis in the original)

This kind of 'calling', 'interpellating' or 'interrogating' – again in Derrida's own words – is precisely how *not* to speak to the specter (2006, pp. 12-13). It can be argued that the way Rebecca becomes the topic of conversation between Maxim and the narrator is quite similar to the way Derrida describes Horatio addressing the ghost. It is as though in his narrative Maxim tries to "arrest" Rebecca or "fix" her in the image he has created of her. She is the dangerous, promiscuous woman, the *femme fatale* that should be avoided at all costs: '"I hated her, I tell you. Our marriage was a farce from the very first. She was vicious, damnable, rotten through and through. … Rebecca was incapable of love, of tenderness, of decency. She was not even normal"' (2012, p. 304). Maxim even justifies his own strange changes of mood through the devilish image of Rebecca he has in his mind: '"It doesn't make for sanity, does it, living with the devil"' (2012, p. 305). The narrator, whose primary focus in listening to Maxim's narrative is on how she has been mistaken all along about Maxim's love for herself, is more than ready to join in this act of "arresting" Rebecca: 'Now … I knew her to have been evil and vicious and rotten …. Rebecca's power had dissolved into the air .... She would never haunt me again' (2012, pp. 319-20). In this mistaken understanding of being 'free of her forever' (2012, p. 320), she becomes Maxim's accomplice not only in clearing out of the murder investigation but also in attempting to exorcize Rebecca's specter and wipe her out of their lives altogether.

Maxim's and the narrator's failure in speaking of the specter or to the specter in a Derridean sense can also be observed at the end of the storyline, where the couple are living in a southern country probably never to return to England again. This is presented in the first two chapters of the novel, in which the first-person narrator describes their present situation before beginning her retrospective narration. A careful reading of these chapters makes it quite clear that the past and Rebecca have again become a taboo subject for the couple, and their only way of coping with the past seems to be to refuse to remember it – if this is at all possible – and *not* to speak about it. The narrator makes it very clear that they are highly anxious about going back – either to England or in time: 'The things we have tried to forget and put behind us would stir again, and that sense of fear, of furtive unrest, struggling at length to blind unreasoning panic – now mercifully stilled, thank God – might in some manner unforeseen become a living companion' (2012, p. 5). In these opening pages the narrator tries to put on a strong and confident appearance especially when she claims that they 'have no secrets now from one another'

(2012, p. 6) or that 'it is over now, finished and done with' (2012, p. 9). These remarks, however, are quickly refuted when she has to acknowledge that Maxim remembers the past 'rather more often than he would have me know' (2012, p. 5) and when she relates how she constantly remembers and dreams about Manderley but is highly hesitant to share this with Maxim: 'We would not talk of Manderley, I would not tell my dream' (2012, p. 4); it is best to 'keep things that hurt to myself alone. They can be my secret indulgence' (2012, p. 7). Furthermore, that she is compelled to look back and tell about the past is a clear sign of her inability to put down the specter of Rebecca and all she is associated with. As Alison Light aptly observes, the novel presents 'the reiteration of the past as a kind of exorcism, a calling up of ghosts in order to dispel them, but the … [protagonist remains] haunted by memory, by a past imagined as trauma' (2001, p. 184). Ironically, then, the narrator's retrospective narration backfires: 'A story that ostensibly attempts to bury Rebecca, in fact resurrects her, and renders her unforgettable' (Beauman, 2007, p. 58). The irony becomes even sharper when we consider the novel's popular reception through the years: Rebecca returns forcefully each time the story reaches out to ever newer generations of readers.

It should be clear by now that Daphne du Maurier's novel *Rebecca* portrays two major characters who can be regarded as complete failures in dealing with the specter in a Derridean sense. A question arises here, however. Why should it be important to learn to deal with a specter like Rebecca? On a personal level, the answer is more obvious. Taking these characters as representative of individuals in real life, it could be argued that here is a demonstration of how to and how not to conceive of the past, with all its pleasant and unpleasant memories, disturbances and traumas. The issue, however, definitely goes beyond an evaluation on a personal basis in line with Derrida's concept of the specter, which is similarly meant in a wider social and political sense. As the earlier discussion in this article also suggests, Rebecca cannot be perceived simply as the embodiment of an obsessive jealousy the new wife feels in the face of her influential predecessor. Rebecca's haunting presence throughout the narrative comes to represent something much larger: Rebecca is the much-dreaded figure that has the potential to seriously undermine the firm social and patriarchal order represented by Manderley, Maxim and even by the narrator, who, though fascinated by Rebecca's legacy, still finds it easier to turn against it and adhere to what is expected of her social position as the wife

of an English gentleman and the hostess of an English country house. In his narrative Maxim makes it very clear how he felt great 'shame, loathing and disgust' (2012, p. 306) because of Rebecca, and how he seriously dreaded any 'gossip' or 'publicity' (2012, p.310) that might harm Manderley and all it represented:

> "She [Rebecca] knew I would sacrifice pride, honour, personal feelings, every damned quality on earth, rather than … have them know the things about her that she had told me then. She knew I would never stand in a divorce court and give her away, have fingers pointing at us, mud flung at us in the newspapers, all the people that belong down here whispering when my name was mentioned …". (du Maurier, 2012, p. 306)

Rebecca as specter, then, exposes some of the fundamental and also flawed and hypocritical values of the dominant social patriarchal order represented in the novel. Rebecca's specter unfalteringly points to how this order has been designed to safeguard itself no matter at what cost. As Beauman puts it, 'the novel's milieu is that of an era and social class that, in the name of good manners, rarely allowed the truth to be expressed' (2007, p. 50). Regarding a woman like Rebecca and 'her sexual energies as monstrous' (Wisker, 2003, p. 94), the existing order can go to any lengths – even to the dreadful secret of a murder – to suppress and silence her influence. But by presenting Rebecca as a powerful haunting force, a specter and a revenant, the novel refuses to allow this silencing to succeed. From a Derridean perspective, the novel condemns the narrator and Maxim for failing to acknowledge the specter, let alone speak to it, and expects discerning readers to learn how to address this specter properly and even speak *with* it. This is the only way to face some of the "unspeakable" assumptions and practices of an order that are carried over from the past and continue to reverberate even today.

Derrida's concept of the specter resonates with the earlier theory of the phantom and transgenerational haunting set out by psychoanalysts Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok in order to explain how a secret or 'an unspeakable fact' (Abraham, 1987, p. 288) relating to a loved one, usually a family member, may be completely unknown to the patient but may still have been 'inscribed within … [the patient's] unconscious' (1987, p.290).[2] This kind of haunting is therefore transgenerational: 'The phantom is a formation

[2] See Colin Davis's article "État Présent: Hauntology, Spectres and Phantoms" (2005) for an insightful discussion of how Derrida's 'specter' and Abraham and Torok's 'phantom' are in some ways significantly distinct from each other. Also see Meera Atkinson's chapter, "Channeling the Specter and Translating Phantoms: Hauntology and the Spooked Text" in *Traumatic Affect* (2013) for a convincing exploration of

of the unconscious that has never been conscious – for good reason. It passes – in a way yet to be determined – from the parent's unconscious into the child's' (Abraham, 1987, p. 289). Although Abraham and Torok's "phantom" relates primarily to the individual psyche, like Derrida's "specter" it can also be said to have significant implications for society and culture. In a very insightful article, Allan Lloyd Smith approaches *Rebecca* particularly from this perspective. Defining the phantom as 'the unknowing awareness of another's secret' (1992, p. 291), Smith argues that the haunting secret waiting to be discovered in relation to Rebecca is *not* Maxim's crime of murder, as generally suggested. The secret here is 'the murderous response of a fully socialized adult male to the sexual freedom of his wife' (1992, p. 305). In the world of the novel this secret is transmitted from Maxim to the narrator, as from a parent to a child. It should be remembered that the narrator has lost both her parents at a young age, and her narrative frequently suggests how she feels like a child near Maxim, who is old enough to be her father. In that sense, the narrator may be regarded as haunted by a secret which is not originally hers but which she unconsciously sustains by becoming an accomplice in the crime of her husband/father. The phantom that is haunting her, then, is not Rebecca per se but what Rebecca's story suggests concerning the patriarchal social order they are all an integral part of. Nicolas Abraham talks about how 'shared or complementary phantoms find a way to be established as social practices', and he regards this as 'an attempt at exorcism, that is, an attempt to relieve the unconscious by placing the effects of the phantom in the social realm' (1987, p. 292). It could be argued that this is exactly what Maxim and the narrator are doing to deal with the phantom. Their preference to talk about Rebecca and the past as rarely as they can and their self-justification of Rebecca's murder through arresting her in the evil, monstrous woman image, which is also in line with established social norms, all attest to such an attempt. This, however, is doomed to fail: the novel takes pains to ensure that the phantom will not be exorcised through such means. Rebecca's phantom insistently demands recognition, refusing to be the ghost of a familial, social and cultural trauma 'so collectively well-tolerated as to have become the accepted norm' (Atkinson, 2013, p. 258).

how the concepts of the "specter" and the "phantom" may be reconciled and even regarded as complementing each other.

This discussion could have implications reaching beyond the world of the novel when it is considered that the unspoken or unspeakable secret transmitted from Maxim to the narrator is also transmitted to ever newer generations of readers. Each new reception of the novel invokes Rebecca's phantom and transmits the secret to the reader. One way for the reader to deal with this haunting effect would be to approach the matter like Maxim and the narrator, finding it easier to ignore or dismiss the phantom through a traditional interpretation. Countless readings since the publication of *Rebecca* have been in this direction, reducing the plot to that of a typical female romance with full closure and exorcism at the end. However, as suggested throughout this essay, both the novel and the character "Rebecca" adamantly resist such an "ontological" approach and expect the discerning reader to sincerely face the phantom as suggested by Abraham and Torok, or to acknowledge the specter as suggested by Derrida. This is what the '"scholar" of the future, the "intellectual" of tomorrow' is responsible for doing: 'He should learn to live by learning not how to make conversation with the ghost but how to talk with him, with her, how to let them speak or how to give them back speech, even if it is in oneself, in the other, in the other in oneself …' (Derrida, 2006, p. 221).

In his seminal book on spectrality and literature Julian Wolfreys asserts that 'to tell a story is always to invoke ghosts, to open a space through which something other returns …. Ghosts return via narratives, and come back, again and again, across centuries, every time a tale in unfolded' (2002, p. 3). Daphne du Maurier's *Rebecca* is an apt example for such a phenomenon. A hauntological reading of this novel draws particular attention to the significance of acknowledging these ghosts, which point to certain "unspeakable" and potentially traumatic assumptions and practices of a culture that are carried over from the past and that are very much alive even today. It looks like *Rebecca*'s haunting effect will never go away, and the same applies to countless other works which overtly or covertly deal with ghosts of all sorts. It would be wise, then, to learn to address these haunting effects sincerely and probe their wider social and cultural implications.

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MARGARET ATWOOD'S "*ORYX AND CRAKE*" AS A CRITIQUE OF TECHNOLOGICAL UTOPIANISM

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Abstract

While there are major works tracing the themes of belonging and longing for home in contemporary fiction, there is no current study adequately addressing the connection between dystopian novel and nostalgia. This paper aims to illustrate how the Canadian writer Margaret Atwood uses nostalgia as a framework to level a critique against technological utopianism in her dystopian novel *Oryx and Crake* (2003). The first novel in Atwood's "*MaddAddam Trilogy*" problematizes utopian thought by focusing on the tension between two utopian projects: the elimination of all suffering and the perfection of human beings by discarding their weaknesses. Despite the claims of scientific objectivity and environmentalism, the novel exposes the religious and human-centered origins of Crake's technological utopian project. Atwood's *Oryx and Crake* is an ambiguous work of science fiction that combines utopian and dystopian elements into its narrative to criticize utopian thought.

Keywords: dystopian fiction, Margaret Atwood, nostalgia, *Oryx and Crake*, technological utopianism

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This paper analyzes the Canadian writer Margaret Atwood's novel *Oryx and Crake* (2003) as a ground for the interplay of utopian-dystopian elements and intertextual references to the eighteenth-century texts to question the viability of technological utopianism. At its core, *Oryx and Crake* poses the questions: "*What if we continue down the road we're already on?* How slippery is the slope?" (Atwood, 2003, p. 383). This dangerous path, for Atwood, is the excessive human interference to ecology and its devastating effects. On the other hand, in the context of the novel's juxtaposition of various forms, the slippery slope points out the precarious and unstable nature of such categories as utopia and dystopia. In the novel, the dystopian scenario of wiping out the human race with a virus and replacing it with a genetically modified race, referred to as the Children or the Crakers, is at the center the utopian plan of a scientist named Crake. In other words, the elaborated solutions to the social, economic, and environmental problems can easily evolve into nightmarish possibilities in Atwood's text. *Oryx and Crake* problematizes the potential of science and technology to to actualize an ideal state by focusing on the incongruities of Crake's project. Observing the problems of overpopulation and environmental degeneration, Crake yearns for the simplicity of an idyllic existence. His utopian plan is based on the elimination of all suffering and the perfection of humans by discarding their weaknesses. Hence, a new life form which transcends the limits of the human, will be suspended in time, and enjoy this Edenic existence. Even though Atwood problematizes his utopian project by exposing its latent human-centered vision, and its complicity in the environmental disasters, another utopian alternative, the human-non-human hybrid future, is not welcomed in the novel either.

The novel's critique of the nostalgia for a fixed origin is ambiguous because the novel is nostalgic for a homogeneous identity. In "Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences", Jacques Derrida (1967/2001) argues that an "event" has enabled us to think about "the structurality of structure", meaning that each philosophical system in Western philosophy has a fixed point which governs the entire structure: a center (p. 352). This event corresponds to the influence of the linguistic theory of Ferdinand de Saussure, which shows that the idea of a center is itself a construction (Derrida, 1967/2001, p. 354). Thus, the center is bound to change constantly, as God, human, and reason acted as the philosophical and intellectual centers of Medieval, Renaissance, and Enlightenment thinking, respectively. On the other hand, when confronted with this impossibility of a center which holds a universal truth, there

are two approaches according to Derrida, "the saddened, *negative*, nostalgic" attitude towards the lack of a center or "the joyous affirmation of the play" celebrating the de-centeredness (1967/2001, p. 369). While criticizing science and technology's potential to achieve a perfect state, Atwood's critique falls into the former, nostalgic camp in her treatment of Crake's utopia. Instead of celebrating centerlessness and hybridity, the novel is nostalgic for a unified, structured, and homogeneous identity.

The novel's adherence to the traditional *Bildungsroman* form reflects this paradoxical critique. The *Bildungsroman* believes that there is a linear progression in the protagonist's development leading into the protagonist's emotional and psychological maturity, and his/her conformity to society's norms and expectations. Franco Moretti (1987) defines the *Bildungsroman* as "the 'symbolic form' of modernity" (p. 5). "Youth", who is at the center of the formation or initiation process represents "modernity's essence, [who is] the sign of a world that seeks its meaning in the *future* rather than in the past" (Moretti, 1987, p. 5). In the corporate dystopian atmosphere of *Oryx and Crake*, however, the future cannot promise a better world, hence, the protagonists seek refuge in romanticized visions of the past. However, as noted, this is not a commentary on the modern belief in the individual subject. Rather, the individual is still at the center of Atwood's novel. While *Oryx and Crake* engages in a critique of nostalgia, it has a conservative view in the protagonists' failed initiation into the social norms. To Atwood, there is nothing pleasant in the novel's present. Without any parental guidance, the education of the children of the pre-plague world, Glenn and Jimmy, is under the supervision of violent video games on the Internet, and child pornography. The collapse of the family structure, the invasion of the entertainment industry, and cultural degeneration disrupt the protagonist's initiation process, as much as the environmental catastrophe (Barzilai, 2008, p. 88). In *Home-Countries*, Rosemary Marangoly George (1999) emphasizes the importance of identity formation in relation to one's experience of home (p. 26). Due to this imagined future's inability to provide the individual with a sense of belonging, a healthy identity formation is rendered impossible. In other words, in Atwood's dystopia, as the nucleus of the social fabric, the family, is disintegrating, the youth cannot seek meaning in the future. Their direction lies in the past. In the following two sections, first, I will be discussing the relationship between nostalgia for the center and the search for a perfect society. Second, Atwood's critique of technological utopianism will be analyzed with references to the Biblical flood and Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726).

Utopia, longing, and belonging

In *Oryx and Crake*, the individual's sense of belonging is at stake due to the dissolution of the social fabric and the environmental disaster that is happening so rapidly and so thoroughly that no palpable relation can be found between the individual's past and present. Longing for a simpler and more stable time is Crake's reaction to mend this loss of sense of belonging. Set in the future, the novel's flashback scenes describe the life inside the enclaves owned by the pharmaceutical companies that dominate the world through bioengineered products. The novel's interrogation of the meaning of the home exposes the incongruities and paradoxes of this seemingly perfect society because, under its peaceful façade of corporate suburbs, there lies unethical bioengineering practices and a society under surveillance and coercion. The home in this gated utopia is but a compromised site that can only create an illusory sense of safety and belonging. Due to this loss of sense of belonging, Glenn/Crake longs for a center, an origin to mend his loss. This nostalgia for the center dictates that with the recovery of what has been lost, the effects of the loss would be canceled out.

Oryx and Crake questions home as a physical space that creates an illusory sense of freedom and security via extreme surveillance. One of the corporations which creates genetically modified beings, the OrganInc Farms, houses talented scientists within its gated suburbs, called "Compounds", supposedly protecting them from the chaotic "pleeblands" (Atwood, 2003, p. 27) outside its walls. When the protagonist, Jimmy, enquires as to why the compounds are so heavily protected, his father tries to communicate the situation first by describing the world outside the walls and then referring to what remains inside:

> There was too much hardware around … Too much hardware, too much software, too many hostile bioforms, too many weapons of every kind. And too much envy and fanaticism and bad faith.
>
> Long ago, in the days of knights and dragons, the kings and dukes had lived in castles, with high walls and drawbridges and slots on the ramparts so you could pour hot pitch on your enemies … and the Compounds were the same idea. Castles were for keeping you and your buddies nice and safe inside, and for keeping everybody else outside. (Atwood, 2003, p. 28)

The too-muchness of technology, manufactured diseases, and extremism is kept away from threatening the secluded world inside the walls. Jimmy's father's emphasis on

the intensification of everything, noting the repetition of "too much", shifts from external threats to medieval imagery. Such strong demarcations, "high walls … drawbridges and slots on the ramparts", however, only justifies extreme policing in the name of protecting the scientists inside the walls against the perceived siege. From its examples in early modern period to the twentieth century, the utopian genre's fixation on protecting its boundaries by walls (Dusenbury, 2018, November 20) is satirized by Atwood in this passage. Bülent Somay (2010) observes that "a utopia, when walled in, generates an excess … What remains inside is a series of rules, regulations, and arrangements" (p. 196). This excess, created to protect the scientist elite, ironically limits their movement inside the compounds.

Atwood further complicates what home is through looking at its inability to provide the individual with safety and unity. The scientists in the compounds are yearning for their lives before the ecological and cultural collapse: "*Remember when you could drive anywhere? Remember when everyone lived in the pleeblands? Remember when you could fly anywhere in the world, without fear? Remember hamburger chains, always real beef, remember hot-dog stands? … Remember when voting mattered?*" (Atwood, 2003, p. 63). In the first three questions, the source of their yearning lies in mobility. The next two questions are about what Jovian Parry (2009) calls "nostalgia for meat", or the romanticization of traditionally produced meat over the genetically modified organisms (p. 250), and the last question is about the lack of centralized government. The repetition of "remember" in the passage reveals the insistence of keeping the memory of the sense of control over one's life and actions alive because these questions are posed rhetorically. It is not only the children who do not feel at home in this enclosed utopia but also the scientists. The interlocutors who exchange these questions do not expect an answer to the inquiry of whether they remember a time when voting mattered but expressing discontent with the current authoritarian and oppressive pharma enclaves because what is being limited is the individual's ability to perform certain actions. As an enclosed space limiting the freedom of its inhabitants, Crake's childhood home, as Eleonora Rao (2006) states, "is [already] a 'compromised site'" (p. 108), unable to provide the sense of comfort and belonging.

Nostalgia provides the illusion that going back to a bygone time or space is possible. In his doctoral dissertation, Johannes Hofer coined the term nostalgia from the combination of the Greek words *nostos*, the return to one's native land, and *algos*, signifying pain or sorrow. The term nostalgia was originally used to designate "the sad mood originating from the desire for the return to one's native land" (1688/1934, p. 381).

Yet, as we have seen in the examples above, this wistful yearning does not have to be for a physical location nor is it only a mood disorder. Svetlana Boym (2001) suggests that nostalgia moved from the domain of pathology to a wistful longing for the past with the advancements in understanding human physiology (p. 11). For the children in Atwood's dystopia, there is nothing nurturing. There are only uncertainty and a sense of loss of connection with nature. Due to the loss of a sense of connection with nature, and the non-existence of home as a site providing safety and belonging, a romanticized past acts as a refuge. This romance with the past assumes the form of a pre-historic existence in Crake's case. While there is the acknowledgment of the non-existence of home, the pain of being separated from an origin, of the fall, is also present. Hence, his nostalgia provides the illusion that fixing the past would cancel out the fall. Fixing the past, in this context, is used in two complementary figurative senses: "To 'fix' something is to *secure* it more firmly in the imagination and also to *correct* – as in *revise* or *repair*- it" (Rubenstein, 2001, p. 6). Perceiving history as his playground, as the title of one of his childhood video games suggests, "Barbarian Stomp (See If You Can Change History!)" (Atwood, 2003, p. 77), confronted with the cultural and environmental collapse, Crake seeks the solution in fixing the history of humankind.

Rewinding history through science and technology

The themes of rewinding, resetting, and reversing history to achieve a state that is analogous to the Edenic existence are central to the novel's critique of the scientific utopian ideal of Glenn/Crake. Crake denies the validity of the claims of progress for the sake of overzealous environmentalism. From his perspective, humanity's so-called progress has caused the destruction of nature. For Crake, due to "the ancient primate brain", the course of civilization runs through a thread of "idols and funerals, and grave goods, and the afterlife … [to] slavery and war" (Atwood, 2003, p. 361). Without positive or negative valence, the things Crake lists are all human activities which distinguish human from non-human animals: religious practice, war, slavery. However, Crake confuses human culture with what he perceives as human nature. Due to his insistence on understanding humans as a mechanical being, Crake's basic premise is that human beings cannot be rehabilitated. Hence, the only way to achieve an environmentalist utopia, for Crake, is to destroy humans, and create a genetically modified version of them by eliminating these destructive features so that these hybrid beings can replace humans. As Crake believes that these new hybrid beings will enjoy a paradise-like existence, he names this utopian plan "Paradice Project" (Atwood, 2003, p. 302). Yet, as the extermination of all human beings is required in the realization of this utopia, the alternative spelling of paradise, as "Paradice" in the novel,

suggests that the name can also be read as a "pair of dice" thrown against humanity. The irony in Crake's environmentalist project is that it relies on scientific knowledge in rewinding history to go back to an idyllic state without science and progress. *Oryx and Crake* problematizes the use of scientific knowledge without any ethical or moral oversight in attaining an ideal society by showing that it is not only totalitarian but also inherently human-centered.

Despite the claims of scientific objectivity and environmentalism, the novel exposes the religious and human-centered origins of Crake's utopian project. As Crake is convinced that what he perceives as human nature is responsible for the environmental catastrophe, and it is the only obstacle on the path to his perfect society, he develops a method of genetic editing of human embryos to create an enhanced race based on specific pre-selected characteristics to repopulate the earth after he eradicates humanity:

> What had been altered was nothing less than the ancient primate brain. Gone were its destructive features, the features responsible for the world's current illnesses. For instance, racism … had been eliminated … the Paradice people simply did not register skin colour. … [T]here was no territoriality: the king-of-the-castle hard-wiring that had plagued humanity had, in them, been unwired. (Atwood, 2003, p. 305)

This method of gene editing is inspired by the real-life technique used in biogenetic research called "gene splicing" which allows the researchers to edit certain parts of the genetic material of an organism so that certain characteristics or traits can be combined with other organisms. To understand Crake's concealed human-centric understanding, it is important to note his word choice describing the human: destructive features, register, hardwiring, and unwiring. It is as if there is a mechanical aspect to human nature to process the external stimuli, and these mechanical parts are composed of permanently connected circuits. Hardwiring, a term from computer science, describes how the particular function of a device is physically built into the device, as opposed to programming. In other words, what Crake deems as the destructive parts belong to the human's hardware, as opposed to software, that is cultural, social, and political elements that are outside. And by undoing these features, Crake aims to cure "the world's current illnesses".

Crake's method of genetic elimination of certain human features is problematic for two reasons. First, this method presumes a core that defines what is human. By reversing Sartre's central claim in his existentialism, Crake goes back to the thesis that essence precedes existence, i.e., the human is inherently destructive, or in his terms, hardwired to

be evil. The paradox of this thesis is that even though it wants to get rid of what is evil in human, Crake's project posits human in a special place among beings. The salvation of non-human nature depends on one human's *techne*, in other words, the devastating effects of human can only be reversed through ultimate belief in science and technology to isolate the evil. In this way, to rewind history to a pre-historic state is possible. Second, this method reveals the totalitarian aspect of Crake's nostalgia for a paradisiacal existence, as the hybrid beings are renditions of Adam and Eve's state before the Fall. Even though the attempt to redress all existing conflicts is well-intentioned, sacrificing the individual's right to choose between right and wrong for the greater good is imperative to the realization of Crake's utopia. The promise of a peaceful existence through genetic alteration can only be achieved by removing all differences. Hence, Crake's yearning for a paradisiacal existence where Adam and Eve had no choice between good and evil reflects the totalitarian side of his nostalgia: not only does he get to play god but he will enforce a homogeneous, unified vision of (post)human by removing the hybrid beings' ability to tell the difference between what is right and what is wrong.

Despite its scientific claims, this assumption of an evil human essence not only assumes a mechanistic understanding of human, but it is also rooted in the Judeo-Christian belief system. Nostalgic for human's pre-historic unity with nature, Crake can only actualize his utopia by exterminating an entire species. Under the guise of his scientism, he assumes the role of Yahweh who, after seeing the evil in human beings, is displeased with his creation. The Biblical flood is later quoted in the novel where Snowman depicts the time before the creation of the Children: "[S]o Crake took the chaos, and he poured it away … this is how Crake … cleared away the dirt, he cleared room…" (Atwood, 2003, p. 103). Snowman's allegory is simple: Crake cleared human beings, who were the source of the chaos, and made space for the Children. Yet, the implications of this allegory's connection to the Biblical flood are significant because this passage reveals Crake's latent human-centered thought. Crake acts as the judge who condemns human beings to death but at the same time, not unlike the Hebrew God, appoints Noah as the protector of all non-human animals, and appoints a human protector for the Children, Snowman. The same religious story of human ascendancy is given a technological/scientific makeup in Crake's utopian vision of the Children, who still need human protection, despite their genetic superiority over human beings.

Moreover, the novel problematizes Crake's Paradice Project by revealing that the scientific methods without any philosophical or moral supervision are unable to provide a sustainable or a viable solution to environmental problems. During a key scene in the

novel, Crake expresses that "as a species we're in deep trouble" (Atwood, 2003, p. 295) because the problem of overpopulation leads to habitat loss, pollution, and famines. Crake's solution is to develop a drug that would both enhance one's sexual performance and prevent any sexually transmitted disease. In fact, what the drug actually performs is to sterilize the users without their knowledge. During the clinical trial stage of the drug's development, Crake reports his observations to Jimmy:

> It was an elegant concept … though it still needed some tweaking … several [test subjects] had assaulted old ladies and household pets … Also, at first, the sexually transmitted disease protection mechanism had failed in a spectacular manner. One subject had grown a big genital wart over her epidermis … but they'd taken care of that … at least temporarily. In short, there had been errors, false directions taken, but they were getting very close to a solution. (Atwood, 2003, p. 295)

The solution that Crake believes that they are 'getting very close' is the prevention of human reproduction so that he can solve the problems of overpopulation and environmental degradation. However, Crake's mocking tone in this passage reveals a complete disregard for human life under the guise of his environmentalist, humane, or altruist scientific program. While describing the "errors" and "false directions" in the trials, he says that the drug needs some "tweaking," as if the test subjects who suffer from the side effects are mechanical objects. In the experiment, sexual intercourse is also reduced to a mechanical act without emotion or passion. It only seeks an object to satisfy its carnal desire, whether it is "old ladies" or "household pets". Moreover, Crake mentions that they have taken the epidermal eruptions of a test subject under control, only to add "at least temporarily" later in a nonchalant manner. Presuming that the end will justify the means, Crake thinks that to achieve the desirable outcome, the wrongdoings can be disregarded as false directions. Moreover, one of the scientists who is working on the production of ChickieNobs, a genetically modified strain of fast-growing and headless chickens, explains these chickens do not need any growth hormone as "the high growth rate's built in. You get chicken breasts in two weeks … And the animal-welfare freaks won't be able to say a word, because this thing feels no pain" (Atwood, 2003, p. 203). The future corporate scientists believe that by removing their heads or their ability to feel pain, they can override ethical boundaries concerning animal cruelty. In this short passage, Atwood shows that such problematic inventions are not the consequence of overpopulation. The main issue is the intellectual hubris and the predatory mode of production that would allow the scientists and the pharmaceutical corporations to

capitalize on the non-human life forms. Crake, on the other hand, is caught up in his tunnel vision and is unable to reflect on his complicity in the destruction of the environment.

The intertextual references to *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) draw parallels between eighteenth-century scientific utopian thought and the detached scientific attitude in the novel. The ultimate reliance on scientific knowledge and technology only creates tunnel vision, which does not allow the utopian projectors, such as Crake in the novel, to see the social, environmental, ecological problems with their complex dimensions. The first connection with Swift's novel is the epigraph of *Oryx and Crake*. The epigraph appears at the beginning of the concluding chapter of *Gulliver's Travels* when Lemuel Gulliver addresses his "gentle Reader":

> I could perhaps like others have astonished thee with strange improbable Tales; but I rather chose to relate plain Matter of Fact in the simplest Manner and Style; because my principal Design was to inform thee, and not to amuse thee. (Swift, 2005, p. 272)

As Claude Rawson (2005) points out, "the 'familiar' form of the second person singular (thee) is here aggressive, addressed to an inferior" (p. xxvii). Despite the content of his "strange and improbable tales" from flying islands to the land of a race of intelligent horses, Gulliver presents them as "plain matter of fact" to inform his reader who is his inferior. This introductory quotation not only connects *Oryx and Crake* to the tradition of satire but also hints at Atwood's intention of warning the reader: i.e., the technological and scientific developments mentioned in the narrative, the gene-splicing and the creation of hybrid beings should not be taken as "strange and improbable tales," but are already a part of the reader's reality.

Atwood (2011) cites the influence of the Laputans in Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* as a model to the scientific clique in the novel (p. 195). The Laputan scientists are so immersed in their research that they need servants who tap their eyes and ears "with a blown Bladder fastened like a Flail to the End of a short Stick" (Swift, 1726/2005, p. 146) so that they remember to see or hear. Crake's indifference to human life and the unnamed scientist's explanation of the ChickieNob production are, both in tone and content, reminiscent of the experimental projects that Gulliver sees in his visit to "the grand Academy of Lagado" in Chapter 5 of Part III. From "extracting sun-beams out of cucumbers" (Swift, 1726/2005, p. 167) to turning ice into gunpowder (Swift, 1726/2005, p. 168), these experiments are meant to be satirical representations of not only the Royal Society but also of all sorts of planners of political, scientific, or social schemes, as the name of the researchers, "the projectors", suggests. The most striking similarity that

Crake's disinterested, scientific look shares with the projectors is where a doctor tries to solve stomach and bowel disorders with a pair of bellows. The physician's experiment with a dog consists of pumping and withdrawing air from the dog's anus with a bellow. As this experiment explodes the dog, Gulliver reports that "the Dog died on the Spot, and we left the Doctor endeavoring to recover him by the same Operation" (Swift, 1726/2005, p. 169). Crake's indifference despite the failures "in a spectacular manner" is closely connected to Enlightenment thought, which would put the ultimate faith in science and reason; and it also reflects Atwood's skepticism towards scientific exploration without oversight. While Swift satirizes the scientific utopianism of his contemporary Britain, Atwood's satirical tone and her depiction of Crake as a scientist without any moral codes show that Atwood warns her reader against the worst results of this unchecked research. Even though they are presented as utopian solutions to environmental problems, with complete irreverence for human and non-human life alike, these methods are the main cause of environmental degradation. Whether the test subjects are human or animal, the desired products in both *Gulliver's Travels* and *Oryx and Crake* serve a human end.

While most critics praise Atwood's detailed characterization of Jimmy/Snowman and the depiction of his anguish in an apocalyptic world, the same critics perceive Crake as a caricature of a mad scientist whose only function is to give Jimmy/Snowman character motivation. Oliver Morton argues that Crake is a mere a plot device to set the events in motion (2003, May 9), and Michiko Kakutani maintains that he is "a cardboardy creation" (2003, May 3). However, as I have tried to illustrate, as Crake reflects the idiosyncrasies and paradoxes of Atwood's dystopian society, he is the most complex character in the novel. While he argues that god is but a creation of human mind, or "*a cluster of neurons*" (Atwood, 2003, p. 157), he plays the role of god for the Children. He yearns for an idyllic existence but aims to achieve it with technology. He does not believe in progress but aims to perfect the human condition. As the product of the corporate dystopia, he represents everything that is paradoxical in the novel. Atwood imagines the logical conclusion of our prevailing human-centered worldview and its devastating effects on the environment. Yet, the novel also warns against the dangers of relying upon advanced technology and science as the solutions to these problems. The precariousness of Crake's "Paradice" lies in its presupposition that there is a human essence, distinct from non-human animals, and it yearns for a time before this essence. From Crake's perspective, which has been influenced by a wistful yearning, there is a fixed point in human's past, and it is possible to go back to this point of origin. We, as a species, have been separated from this imagined, pre-historic, and pre-cultural origin due to our

"destructive features", which influenced our culture and civilization. However, the Paradise Project's reenactment of paradisiacal existence is unable to provide a solution to environmental problems because it is informed by the Judeo-Christian heritage, an inherently human-centered ideology. Through literary and Biblical allusions, Atwood exposes that the roots of technological utopianism lay deep in the human-centered thinking, and when inspired by a wistful yearning for the pre-cultural existence, these utopian solutions are neither desirable nor viable.

While the novel questions the possibility of unified identity and human's perceived superiority over their environment, the implications of human - animal or animal - animal hybridity is not welcomed in the novel either. Hybridity, as presented in the novel, is used as a technique to intensify certain genetic characteristics of a species by splicing their genes with another species. This type of hybridity is always artificial and depends on the fusion or grafting of different animals. Hybridity is neither a viable nor a desirable solution to Atwood's dystopian imagination. The hybrid beings are a threat to their habitat, as they are the creations of a misdirected group of scientists whose aim is commercial benefit. The myth of Chimera captures the terrifying presence of hybrid beings in the novel. As the fire-breathing lion, goat, and a serpent hybrid, the Chimera is the product of an unusual combination of species. An example of the threat that chimeric beings pose is the wolvogs. A hybrid of a certain wolf and canine species that is created for CorpSeCorps security purposes. However, when they broke free from the control of their creators, the third person narrator describes their rampage: "As for the real dogs: they never stood a chance: the wolvogs have simply killed and eaten all those who'd shown a vestigial domesticated status" (Atwood, 2003, p. 108). We should note the narrator's emphasis on the distinction between "real" dogs and what is perceived as unnatural wolvogs. As the products of a social Darwinist ideology, they represent the survival of the fittest. Hybridity does not present a solution to the environmental collapse in the novel. It rather serves a parodic purpose, to criticize the ultimate faith in science and reason.

Even though the novel criticizes the human-centered ideology, its nostalgia critique is paradoxical because the novel believes in a white, European, human-centered vision. Margaret Atwood's *Oryx and Crake* does not revel in its implications of the death of the human. Atwood's account of environmental catastrophe and the extinction of humanity is a bleak one. As the hybrid beings in the novel are the creations of out-of-control bioengineering, they threaten the habitat. Pigoons, the human - pig hybrids, or wolvogs, the wolf - dog hybrids, are a threat to Snowman, as they are to the other life

forms in their habitat. The hybridity of human and non-human, in the case of the Children, can neither produce a positive change nor is able to promise a better future. Secondly, the novel's literary and philosophical sources are composed of exclusively white, European, male writers, and philosophers.

In conclusion, Atwood's *Oryx and Crake* is an ambiguous work of science fiction that combines utopian and dystopian elements into its narrative to criticize utopian thought. The utopian yearning, Crake's rewinding and resetting of history to achieve an Edenic existence, is problematized on a simple basis. However well its intentions are, so long as it depends on the source which it seeks to contest, the solutions the project offers are unviable. This source is the human-centered ideology that causes environmental degeneration. Crake's nostalgia for an idyllic existence and his utopian solution to the environmental catastrophe are informed by his reliance on scientific knowledge. Yet, the solution he offers is unable to provide an alternative to the environmental or societal issues because it does not directly address the main contradictions and assumptions of the human-centered world. Instead of addressing institutional, social, and cultural causes of habitat loss, pollution or overpopulation, the solution is sought in authoritarianism and the elimination of all differences.

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IDENTITY AND DIASPORIC TRAUMA IN MIRA JACOB'S *THE SLEEPWALKER'S GUIDE TO DANCING*

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Abstract

This article explores the assimilation politics in Mira Jacob's novel *The Sleepwalker's Guide to Dancing* (2013). The intersection of memory, trauma, and mourning with reference to immigrant experience is discussed. In terms of assimilation, Barkan's six stage model is critiqued, and diasporic 'hybridity' is proposed as an alternative to the notion of total assimilation. In the analysis of traumatic experience, the paper makes reference to Caruth's formulations of the 'abreactive model'. *The Sleepwalker's Guide to Dancing* is a transcultural text that represents the gap that truly exists between the first-generation immigrants and their offspring. It is a typical trauma novel featuring timeless and unspeakable experiences. The novel does not present a postcolonial collective trauma but invariably an example of diasporic imagined trauma. By presenting two contrasting generations in her novel, Mira Jacob attempts to highlight the dilemmas that baffle diasporas in the United States particularly of those that resist assimilation. Much of the narrative projects the haunting presence of home, and the anguish of personal loss experienced by first generation immigrants. Moreover, the novel questions the nostalgic and romantic engagements with the past and it promotes a bold affirmation of the culture of the adopted land. In other words, Mira Jacob calls for more genuine engagements with the new culture that the second and the third-generation immigrants are more exposed to than their home culture because their in-between status leaves them with no choice.

Keywords: assimilation, memory, identity, trauma, diasporic experience

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Politics of Assimilation and Cultural Identity

Assimilation is sometimes viewed as an answer to the discontents of diaspora, and it simultaneously affects the way immigrants look back towards their native culture. Robert Park and Ernest Burgess (1993) define assimilation as a "process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life". Park and Burgess' definition of assimilation does not differ markedly from Barkan's six stage model, in which total assimilation is required (1995, p.65). However, postcolonial diaspora critics advocate the multiplicity of identity construction and think of hybridity as a subversive strategy (Bhabha 1993; Trodd 2007; Guignery 2011; Nederveen Pieterse 2001; Papastergiadis 2007). Georgiou (2010), for instance, argues that the extended cultural boundaries that diaspora possess can be enabling for the construction of new and multiple domestic and collective homes. In her view, home is always ambiguous and incomplete; it is never as fixed and permanent (Georgiou, 2010). Similarly, Kołodziejczyk (2018) posits that the more we focus on identity issues, the more we limit migrant experience to the struggle for recognition in the process of settling down. If reduced to this level, the diasporic subjectivity might remain within the confines of 'fitting in' and the issues of loss and gain in the cultural process.

In diaspora studies today, there is a recognized crisis with the 'hyphen'. In his deliberations about diaspora, Vijay Mishra (2007) refers to them as people who would want to explore the meaning of the hyphen, but perhaps not press the hyphen too far for fear that this would lead to massive communal schizophrenia. Pressing either side of the hyphen results ultimately in imbalance and the diasporic subject bears the consequences. This issue is reflected in Mira Jacob's novel particularly in her juxtaposition of two immigrant generations. *The Sleepwalker's Guide to Dancing* (2013) is a diasporic novel that narrates the story of an Indian American family and their loss of a loved son and other family members in tragic circumstances. Though it features several joyful moments, the novel can be read as an elegy because of the tragic events that overshadow the narrative. Jacob's characters of first-generation immigrants struggle with whether to maintain a particular identity or transform it further. Remaining hyphenated, as in the case of the parents Kamala and Thomas in the novel who immigrated to the United States in the 60s, creates identity crisis. More importantly, revisiting the past and taking

responsibility for certain familial decisions determine their engagement with the American culture and society. Their choice of whether to adopt either poles of the hyphen complicates their diasporic experience, very often triggering memories and instituting moments of guilt and remorse.

Apart from personal experience and the route of migrancy taken, other factors determine the type of identity that diasporas form, whether hybrid or hyphenated. The notion of 'imaginary homeland' persists, and it imbalances the position of the designated hyphen. It very often re-defines the relationship of the diasporic subject with the general society. Besides, border crossing in its totality entails mapping and imagining the world, resulting commonly in a particularly frozen view of their homeland. In any case, home, both in its real shape as a place as well as in its symbolic imaginary form, provides the initial and emotional parameters for identity (Georgiou, 2010). The ethnic tag also provides a sense of belonging, punctuating identity and multiplying affiliations. On the other hand, the acceptance and assimilation of racially mixed individuals have always encountered great ambivalence and resistance in American society (Barkan, 1995). The politics of assimilation of the receiving culture determines to a great extent the type of identity diasporas construct. Though there have been attempts to re-write the nation as an entity not associated with a pre-given people (Antonsich, 2009), essentialist identities resurge, demarcating who intrudes and who has the right to be included. De-ethnicizing and writing the nation in civic terms is a bold suggestion, yet it seems inapplicable. Ethnicity and skin colour remain among the defining markers of identity in the United States and elsewhere.

Meanwhile, Mira Jacob in her novels projects the idea that immigrants of second and third generations should be given the opportunity to choose the path that is best for them. The American model of assimilation advocated by Barkan (1995), Park and Burgess (1993) fails to address ethnic difference and the visible identificational and cultural markers of diasporas. For Barkan (1995), assimilated individuals must have lost most of their personal knowledge of their ethnic roots, or those roots had become diffused, merged with what has been absorbed from their new principal societal context. If Mira Jacob's characters are analysed according to this type of assimilation, the result is rather a conflating unconventional identification where both the receiving and sending cultures interact. Assimilation of contemporary diaspora is hybridized, involving multi-steps that

eventually result in acculturation, adaptation, and integration. Jacob's second-generation diaspora really aspire to assimilation but not as Barkan envisions. Though hybrid in cultural identification, Amina and Akhil, Thomas's children, still show considerable association with their roots. The food that Kamala cooks for them at home, the Indian family friends, and the imaginary homeland that they cherish still constitute their Indian American identity. The assimilation that Amina, Akhil, and their friend Dimple envision is bi-directional requiring willingness of the dominant society to accept them without prior conditions. The two-way process of this type of assimilation does not necessarily mean that it is an equal cultural exchange, but it clearly indicates a cultural hybridization in which both the dominant and the diasporic societies affect and influence each other. Hence, the process of integration and Americanization that Amina and Akhil undergo remains inadequate in constituting a sense of self, and they are not in any case able to shed their ancestral heritage.

The novel provides ample cultural encounters where first-generation immigrants are usually depicted as hesitant in engaging in cultural interactions with the dominant society. This sort of resistance can be attributed to the traces of cultural heritage and punctuation of diasporic identity. For instance, Thomas and Kamala, as first-generation immigrants, remain in constant struggle with these variables. They never act as Americans and they sometimes mock themselves for faking being American. Kamala, in particular, does not exert any effort to assimilate or even explore American culture. Hence, her diasporization process is not complete and her loyalty remains to her roots. Similarly, Thomas as a brain surgeon is profoundly respected at his work not for absorbing American cultural values but for his dedication and professionalism in his medical practice. His profession and elite medical profile provide him with a badge to transcend cultural difference which his wife experiences more clearly in her day-to-day life. Though immigrants worldwide are encouraged to adjust and accommodate in order to acquire citizenship, Thomas represents the segment of Indian American diaspora of the sixties categorized often as 'highly qualified professionals'. This category of Indian diaspora obtains citizenship easily not based on assimilation and absorption of American cultural values but because of the demand for their expertise. Their knowledge and services are required more than their cultural integration as in Thomas's case.

One of the central themes in the novel is the complexities for first-generation immigrants and the conflict between the American way of life and Indian tradition. The cultural transition through first generation to second generation diasporas is also very significant in Jacob's novel. Kamala and Thomas, being first generation immigrants, carry their cultural baggage with them and they try to transmit it to their offspring, Amina and Akhil. They expect their children to live by the value system of their Indian culture. Consequently, they force on them certain cultural markers through food, dress, customs, rituals, languages, beliefs, etc. Nevertheless, Akhil and Amina are more exposed to American culture outside their home, and they are eventually sandwiched between two cultural poles. Their cultural negotiations with both sides transform them and they not only absorb from both sides but exist in-between. In connection to this position, Barkan (1995) emphasizes that the federal government in the United States has very early given concrete recognition to the nation's ethnic pluralism. This ethnic pluralism enables both Amina and Akhil to explore both the American culture that they inhabit and the Indian culture that they inherit. Initially, Akhil reflects a negative attitude towards his identity and his 'self'. In a state of dissonance, he suffers from personal conflict with heritage. When Dimple, his cousin and Amina's friend, decides to go to Homecoming dance wearing a sari, Akhil does not approve of it at all. He protests that "Everyone would know that you are Indian, and the next thing you know, you will be asked to make 'samosas' for the whole school" (2013, p. 139). By this response, he attempts to discourage and prevent Dimple from pronouncing her cultural identity.

As a bildungsroman, the novel traces the emotional as well as the intellectual maturation of Akhil and Amina. The continual cultural explorations enable Akhil to understand his in-between position better. He no longer complains about his cultural heritage but embraces who he is and asserts that "I am not trying to be white" (2013, p. 136). All this shows that he has experienced identity crisis. More importantly, it also demonstrates that even the second-generation immigrant spends the whole day outside not to present himself as he is but to pretend to be American. This position is clearly reflected in Barkan's article about assimilation where he remarks that American society, despite its diversity, is not yet ready to be multi-coloured to the core (2013, p. 68). Even though cultural variation demands honest respect, colour remains a boundary that assimilation models are unable to blur. Although "one of the rights in America is the right to be different" (Gordon, 1973), the dominant society in the United States imposes its own

criteria for acceptance and inclusion. This situation offers diasporas an in-between space in which nothing is definite or articulated.

Despite its recent history, Indian diaspora in the United States has gained a recognized visibility and strong presence in different sectors of science and technology. However, the success of any diaspora is usually attributed to its ability to assimilate and integrate into mainstream culture. First generation immigrants as depicted in Mira Jacob's novel usually struggle in their attempt to assimilate into the new culture in order to gain acceptance, and they even at certain occurrences reject associating themselves with the dominant culture. Homeland remains a haunting presence in their minds. For them, the myth of homecoming (return) remains active even though the journey back home is more fictive than actual. Diasporas do not seek return but they desire maintaining a connection with homeland. Practically, "not all diasporas wish to return home" (Brah, 1996, p. 7), and their nostalgic engagements are part of identity formation. In reality, home is a complicated political and cultural terrain where diaspora cannot physically return (Nititham, 2016 p. 41). The exile and the expatriate always envision a possible return, and this insulates the individual. On the other hand, the immigrant seeks transformation and re-rooting with a desire for continuity. This transformation, however, causes a split of the self and brings trauma, self-doubt, and uncertainties. Even when under threat, diaspora retreats and returns only to an imaginary homeland that serves only as "a romantic refuge" (Nititham, 2016, p. 41).

Invariably, diaspora remains in connection with homeland via different means and the finality of the diasporic journey is never realized. Jacob's novel clearly depicts the difficulty in setting the immigrant free from the past and its traces. Through much of the narrative, her first-generation immigrants demonstrate how the past cannot be suppressed easily. First generation diaspora cling to their food and clothes as the most obvious markers of identity that set them apart and highlight their difference. More importantly, what happens back home does not remain there but affects diasporas and re-defines their association with their ancestral past. On the other hand, their children, who are mostly second generation, engage in hybrid social and intercultural interactions. They are caught in-between trying to please parents and their American peers in order to meet both their respective expectations. Hence, they show greater flexibility in adapting and assimilating.

Intersections between Memory and Mourning

Immigration itself is a stressful experience that often leads to altered physical and psychological health outcomes at the individual level. Cathy Caruth in her theorizing about trauma focuses on the complex permutations that unconscious emotions impose on traumatic reactions. She describes trauma as "not locatable in the simple violent or original event in an individual's past, but rather in the way its very unassimilated nature— the way it was precisely *not known* in the first instance —returns to haunt the survivor later on" (Caruth, 2016, p. 4). Based on Caruth's notion of trauma, Balaev describes the traumatic experience as a fixed and timeless photographic negative stored in an unlocatable place of the brain, interrupting consciousness and maintaining the ability to be transferred to non-traumatized individuals and groups (2008, p. 151). A close examination of these characteristics indicates that diasporic experience is traumatic. However, diaspora trauma is different from postcolonial trauma in terms of collectivity. In diaspora, trauma is personal for myriad of reasons and conditioned by the types of routes pursued in the journey of the immigrant. It is about loss and mourning; solely a lived experience of a traumatic event by an individual. What demarcates diaspora trauma from collective postcolonial trauma is the historical absence and re-remembering of collective past.

Vijay Mishra links South Asian diasporic trauma to the painful experiences that they underwent, such as the passage, plantation life, or events in the diaspora like the '*Komagata Maru*' incident (2007, p. 3). Trauma in contemporary diaspora is mainly associated with memory, racializing, and troubled relationships with the general society. Mira Jacob's novel is ridden with loss and profound grief since the traumatic death of Thomas's family members, Ammachy, Sunil, and Akhil, causes several implications in the family's life in the United States. In the novel, trauma is mostly associated with Thomas and his mourning of a dying son, a dying mother, and a dying brother. In addition, Amina's mourning of a dying father and the tragic death of a brother, and her role as a witness to all the family's saga, complicates the narrative. The reader ultimately sympathizes with the family's loss.

The notion of an 'imagined' traumatic event is of interest here and it suggests self-consciously ideological narratives of nationalist history as Alexander explains (2004, p.

8), or primarily a sense of loss as recounted in diasporic narratives. Alexander's concept points to the completely illusory, nonempirical, non-existent quality of the original event (p. 9). These features are inherently diasporic and are closely associated with diasporas and their varied routes and experiences of migrancy. It is only through the memory that second and third generation diasporas have the sense of traumatic experience. It is a particular type of trauma originating in uprootedness, ethnic difference, memory, and cultural trauma in the form of racializing and profiling. It is not collective as in postcolonial or holocaust trauma where victimization is a central characteristic. The emphasis in diaspora trauma is on memory and personal experience rather than collective. Though arguments about trauma are based on ontological reality, for second and third generations of diaspora, it is purely imagined or primarily transferred from family associations or ethnic communities. Nonetheless, trauma either imagined or real is a phenomenon that abruptly and harmfully affects collective as well as individual identity.

Though he is not a fully developed character, Sunil from the beginning of the novel is depicted as a reckless individual, relying more on his brother's financial support. His relationship with Thomas is rather complicated and he frequently expresses his objection regarding Thomas's decision to permanently stay in the United States. Sunil's case is introduced early in the novel during Thomas's family's visit to Salem in India. Akhil and Amina realize that their uncle sleepwalks but their grandmother, Ammachy, tells them that it is usual and causes no harm. The title of the novel comes from Sunil's state of sleepwalking which is not truly a guide to dancing but a catastrophic incident resulting in setting the house on fire. This tragic incident results in multiple deaths, Ammachy, Thomas's mother, Sunil and his family.

The Sleepwalker's Guide to Dancing as a diaspora trauma novel offers close exploration of interiority, memory, psychological verisimilitude, and personal isolation. The sudden and untimely death of Thomas's extended family in India leaves him traumatized. His situation worsens and he subsequently traumatizes his small family in the United States. Thomas experiences a sense of guilt for refusing to stay along with his mother and brother back in Salem, India. Balaev (2008) refers to trauma as "a person's emotional response to an overwhelming event that disrupts previous ideas of an individual's sense of self and the standards by which one evaluates society" (p. 150).

Memory of dead family members is not only social but deeply connected to the sense of the self. This sense of self is shattered when Thomas realizes that his mother and brother are dead in a tragic incident. In addition, the house in Salem as a place through metaphoric and material means functions as an effect of remembering. It is also through it as a site inhabited, viewed, or imagined that Thomas develops a melancholic feeling. It is "not only a physical location of experience, but also an entity that organizes memories, feelings, and meaning because it is the site where individual and cultural realities intersect" (Walter, 1988). Once the familial connection is lost, Thomas strongly feels that he has betrayed his family. His mother haunts him, and he spends nights talking to her spirits on the porch of the house. Much of his hallucination is seen to be a result of this guilt-ridden feeling. Ammachy represents an invaluable link to the 'homeland' which Thomas misses greatly after her tragic death. Once this link is broken, Thomas attempts to reconnect with his mother, but all attempts go in vain. He is disturbed and never finds compensation for his loss.

Akhil's bizarre case of oversleeping causes grave concern to the family. Thomas tries repeatedly to figure out his son's case, but the family eventually loses him. The whole family suffers a profound bereavement due to the loss of their beloved son, and it is another traumatic incident causing emotional as well as psychological harm. Akhil suffers a sleeping disorder, an unexplainable excess of sleep, and his sudden and unexpected death doubles Thomas's traumatic grief. The emotional disruption that he endures destabilizes his relationship with his family and he retreats to memory and imagination. These tragic incidents inform much of Thomas's trauma, and he subsequently remains stuck in the past living with the memories of his dead mother, brother, and son. In his prolonged and extreme grieving, Thomas revives memories of these deceased family members. More importantly, he imagines and feels the presence of his son Akhil, leading to frequent hallucinations that annoy his daughter and wife. These traumatic moments heighten Thomas's sense of mourning, and according to Mishra (2007), there is no immediate cure for such traumatic condition because the loss remains abstract (p. 3). Thomas's trauma is deeply internalized, and it causes severe emptiness in his ego itself which cannot be compensated for by his dignified position as a surgeon.

The narrative oscillates to and fro between the past and the present in an attempt to come to terms with the two worlds that the characters inhabit in both the native and

the host countries. Initially, Thomas refuses to return and permanently live in India because he leads a happy life in the United States. But after his mother's death he begins to feel uprooted. Though he is a brain surgeon, he begins to act strangely, attesting to the mental strain that affects diasporas in his case. Ammachy's presence in India signifies traces of home for Thomas. Disobeying his mother and preferring to stay in the United States is equated with betraying homeland. After his mother's death, Thomas experiences an irreparable loss. He undergoes a psychological breakdown due to the series of tragic events that have struck the family: the death of his son, burning of his family's house in Salem in India, and the death of his brother and mother in the fire. In the opening conversation, Kamala casually informs Amina that her father spends his nights talking to invisible figures, including his dead mother:

> "He's fine," Kamala said. "It's not like that. You're not listening."
> "I am listening! You just told me he's delusional, and I'm asking—"
> "I DID NOT SAY HE IS DELUSIONAL. I SAID HE WAS TALKING TO HIS MOTHER."
> "Who is dead," Amina said gently.
> "Obvious."
> "And that's not delusional?". (2013, p.8)

It seems that Thomas experiences a break with his family. He begins to talk with his dead mother and sees his dead son. Thomas is believed to go through a psychotic break; "a loss of contact with reality" (2013, p.197) in Amina's words. It is rather a loss of contact with homeland that he leaves behind in search of a better life in the United States. Losing his mother, brother, and the house where he was born and raised, Thomas is brutally traumatized especially when he finds that his family's house back in India is burned to ashes: "Even from a distance, they [Akhil and Amina] could see the grief radiating from him" (2013, p.147). The narrator's description of Thomas as "curled over the dining room table like a question mark" (2013, p.147) reveals how shocked he is. The presence of his mother in Salem in India was a contact link, a point of return in times of despair and alienation. All this leaves Thomas in chronic melancholia, struggling with memories and visualizations of beloved family members.

The inability to bear the motherly absence is textually depicted when Thomas is seen and heard talking to invisible figures, particularly Ammachy. Jacob illustrates the psychological and emotional bond between mother and son which gets redirected only when Ammachy is dead. The death of Ammachy leaves a void in Thomas as he slowly

starts to drift away from his own family members. Thomas' aloofness not only preoccupied his wife but most importantly epitomizes the quandary of the diasporas at large. Ammachy, being the connecting factor with India, seems to sap this geographical bond with her death.

Thomas is haunted by his mother as she opposed his travel to and stay in the United States. Upon his visit to Salem, Ammachy, Thomas' mother, proclaims "traitors! Coward! Good-for-nothing!" (2013, p.13). Her words come as a response to Thomas' reluctance and objection to staying in India after completing his studies in America. These words may be the root cause behind Thomas's psychological disturbance. In addition, when Thomas decides to leave India for the United States, the last words he hears from his brother Sunil are "your own children will leave you and never come back" (p. 53). These words seem to have done the most damage to Thomas. When Akhil dies, these words recur and ring in Thomas' head as if Sunil's prophecy had come true. All these incidents lead to a sort of illness symptomatic of the condition of earlier generations of diasporas. Thomas' mental condition worsens and the imaginary visitations of his son and mother continue. Another incident at the hospital where he works takes the matter out of the family's confines. He tries to save a dead child, Derrick Hanson, at the hospital, drawing the medical staff's attention to his problem. His medical assistant at the hospital, Monica, meets Amina and embarrassedly informs her that her father acts strangely. Anyan George, Thomas' co-worker, presents a medical opinion about Thomas' case, suggesting a brain tumour. He insists on taking medical examinations and seeking medical support to better understand Thomas's case. Under pressure from family and friends, Thomas decides to seek medical treatment. Nevertheless, after a period of improvement in his case, Thomas does not want to go for chemotherapy. When Amina asks him why, he explains that: "because the chemo will keep him [Akhil] from coming. I want to see my son" (p. 445). Thus, Thomas's hallucinations and visualizations of his dead mother and son continue until he dies in peace.

Refusing to continue treatment, the ghostly visitations are back and even Sunil is back. Thomas sees him and he reveals to Thomas that he wanted to be a dancer:

> He [Sunil] said dancing was one of the things that made him happy. That if I had come back to India like I was supposed to, if he wouldn't have been left to take care of everything on his own, he would have been a dancer. (p. 446)

Sunil's ghostly visitations explain the intersection of memory and grief that Thomas endures. The sense of guilt doubles Thomas' trauma and seizes him from his reality. The memory of Sunil flashes back clear and sharp, and Thomas interrogates himself in the presence of his daughter who acts as a witness: "can you imagine what all might have changed with that one silly thing? Maybe your mother would be happy. Maybe Akhil." (2013, p.446). It is a relief for him to hear his brother again and realize that it was his fault. Most importantly, it is a relief for Thomas to accept the blame for abandoning his family in Salem in India. In his revelation of ghostly visitations, Thomas in a desperate tone mutters: "it was a relief to hear him [Sunil] say that it was my fault. All these years, imagining how he must have hated me, cursed me, and now finally it's done, over, kaput. Now I move on, right" (p. 447). Jelin and Kaufman argue that the personalized memory of people cannot be erased or destroyed by decree or by force" (p. 94).

The popular trauma theory employed today depends upon the 'abreactive model' of trauma, which is used to assert the position that traumatic experience produces a "temporal gap" and a dissolution of the self (Balaev, 2008, p. 150). This model is developed by Caruth and it is now deployed in literary studies. With reference to Jacob's novel, trauma is a metaphor to describe the degree of damage done to the individual's coherent sense of self and the change of consciousness caused by the experience. Consciousness is seen as an inherent characteristic of traumatic experience. Kamala refers to it as 'choices', implying that Thomas understands the situation he is in yet remains reluctant to seek help. His choice seems to be a way to punish his guilt-ridden soul. In any case, Thomas endures a significant component of trauma in the novel, demonstrating the ways that the first-generation diasporas experience and endure various forms of trauma. The act of remembering adds another dimension to the family's narrative. The preoccupation with deceased family members ravages the family and turns their lives into a tragedy. Thomas's childhood photos of his brother and mother trigger memories of distress and enliven his mourning. 'Memory' in his case is, as Seyhan (2001) describes, both poison and antidote (p. 38). Remembering past painful incidents torments him mentally and physically; it is a source of trauma and mourning. Moreover, since the protagonist Amina's profession is photography, there is a recurring motif of the 'image' as a captured moment of time. The photos of people that she takes as part of her job, and the mural in Akhil's room all function as a catalyst to memory. This clearly

reflects Jacob's notion of diasporic memory and she positions it as a double-edged sword. Her characters rely heavily on memory whether mourning catastrophic circumstances conditioned by migrancy or shaping their cultural identity in the United States.

Thomas' responses to traumas are usually attempts to alter the circumstances that caused them. His memory residues surface through free association with the past and remembering as an act situates him in a larger social context that serves as a source of mourning. Before his death, Thomas' case worsens, and he insists that Akhil is alive in the garden and will come to visit him. Even Kamala believes him this time and considers it Thomas' miracle because of his righteous work. This new collaboration between them signals the beginning of the end for the family's patriarch. Kamala lights up the whole house and the garden, believing that the lights will keep Akhil in the garden. She realizes that her husband wishes to go to his son more than he wants to stay with them. The excessive insomnia, loss of weight, and deteriorating health force Kamala to go along with her husband. The change in her evaluation from "evil" to "miracle" suggests that she offers a parting gift and a final agreement with her ailing husband. Realizing this collaboration, Amina yells: "My parents. It's weird. They go everywhere together now. The garden, the porch, probably the bathroom. It is like the sun set on the wrong side of the sky" (2013, p. 465).

Kamala is indifferent to what happens to her husband while he continues to drift away, consumed by his sadness and guilt. Instead of supporting him emotionally and trying to understand his case, she very often attributes it to the devil. Exasperated, she periodically associates her husband's behaviour with a sort of weakness. Kamala accuses Thomas' of being "tempted by bad spirits" (2013, p.307). She considers it as a kind of devilry blaming him for letting this happen. Kamala asserts "All they need is one crack and they will infest an entire soul" (2013, p.308). She here expresses and voices the male weakness in diasporas as Thomas is depicted. She seems to condemn the male weakness in this difficult moment represented by Thomas' choice to settle in the United States. She justifies:

> There are *choices*, Amina! Choices that we make as human beings on this planet Earth. If someone decides to let the devil in, then of course they will see demons everywhere they look. This is not *delusional*. This is *weakness*. (2013, p. 8)

In associating the psychological predicament of Thomas with the 'devil' and 'demons', Kamala confuses the readers with her evaluation. By referring to Thomas' case as 'choices' and 'weakness', she indirectly blames him for choosing this diasporic path of remembering and mourning. She is not only depicted as a cultural heroine resisting assimilation, but she also dominates the family's narrative and takes control of the house. Through Kamala, Jacob cleverly juxtaposes two perspectives on Thomas and his bizarre case. His wife deliberates on superstitious and religious beliefs, Thomas symbolizes the scientific, psychological and emotional reality of the diaspora in the United States. Jacob also intertextualizes Shakespeare's tragedy where the ghost preoccupies Hamlet and wears him down. Amina suggests that Akhil's ghost that visits her father is merely visual imagination. *Hamlet* is therefore an intertext in terms of the ghost tale and even Hamlet's melancholia is similar to that of Thomas's. The irony lies in the fact that Thomas, being a neurosurgeon, cures other patients. However, he fails to help himself in his descent into insanity. More importantly, Kamala, by reinstating that it is a matter of 'choice', not only reduces Thomas' traumatic experience to a personal choice but criticizes immigrating and leaving the homeland. She is from the beginning suspicious of living outside of India. She accompanies her husband to the United States but still longs for her homeland.

Although she is at the centre of the family in the United States, Kamala experiences a sort of uprootedness typical of first-generation immigrants. She is unhappy in the United States, and according to Vijay Mishra, unhappy diasporas are often also traumatized diasporas (2007, p 106). Her unspeakable trauma is reflected in her attitude towards her husband; reluctant and restrained. Through Kamala, Jacob employs 'silences' as a narrative strategy to create a 'gap' in time and feeling. In one sense, the unspeakable trauma of Thomas and Kamala in particular creates unresolved tensions that push the reader to imagine what might have been done or could have happened. In another sense, the gaps and silences are left for various contemplations given the non-conformity of the diasporic experience.

A central argument in literary trauma theory is that trauma creates a speechless fright that divides or destroys identity. This, according to Balaev (2008), suggests that identity is formed by the intergenerational transmission of trauma. Amina is also traumatized and endures considerable grief over the death of her brother and later her father. Her initial trauma is transferred via her father who, as first-generation immigrant,

can be called a "carrier" as termed by Max Weber (2002, p. 468). He transmits the trauma process, inflicting it upon all of the members of the family to varying degrees. A professional photographer, Amina tries to understand the saga of her family. She is a watchfully observant of what happens to the family and realizes that the only way she can help her father is by understanding her family's painful past. In doing so, she must come to terms with the ghosts that haunt all the family. She, therefore, listens to her father's ghost revelations and converses with him in an attempt to alleviate his pain and grief. Amina is also a witness to the mother-son and brother-brother conflict which later overshadows Thomas' life. She closely monitors how her father diminishes as a result of the extreme grief.

Since traumatic experience is contagious, Amina's trauma is not her own but precisely an intergenerational type of trauma. In her unspeakable trauma, Amina refuses to talk to her colleagues and friends about her father's case. Moreover, she experiences a deep psychological break and has to endure the emotional pressure generated by such a dysfunctional immigrant family. She is not only traumatized by her brother's death - whom she recurrently remembers and imagines wherever she goes - but also copes with the case of an ailing father and a ranting mother. In addition to observing the world through her camera lens, Amina is a witness to all the catastrophes that are inflicted on the family.

There are multiple deaths in Jacob's novel rendering it a tragic epic. There are not only the deaths of Akhil, Ammachy, and Sunil that cast a shadow over the narrative but also the deaths of other people not related to the Thomas' family. Though there are certain moments of warmth and unity, a sense of grief and loss dominates most of the narrative. Jacob's novel, according to trauma theory in literary studies, serves as a preservation of diasporic trauma; the themes of victimization and melancholia channel a sort of transferability of the diaspora traumatic experience. Since transmission of trauma is re-conceptualized to include practically all situations where trauma is involved (Visser, 2011), Jacob links her traumatized characters to a place and memory which function as a source of anguish. She does not project a sense of psychic resilience but presents an example of a weak and guilt-ridden immigrant. Thomas cannot dissociate himself from homeland and the memories of his deceased son and mother.

It seems that Thomas and Kamala see themselves as illegitimate in claiming both American and Indian cultures. Their attachment to India is stronger, and in the United States, Kamala in particular, clings to everything that connects her to and reminds her of India. Both Thomas and Kamala remain fearful and suspicious of the new culture that they encounter upon a daily basis. The conflict of loyalties becomes apparent when Thomas loses his brother and mother in a house fire in India. However, they grant their children a chance to take the best of both Indian culture and American cultures. Thomas is deeply saddened by his son's death, and he buries himself in his work at Albuquerque hospital. He refuses to seek help, and he consequently starts hallucinating and speaking to the dead. After the burning of the house in India, memories of the dead flash back and haunt Thomas in addition to the visitations of his deceased son-Akhil. The family is haunted by the presence of Akhil, too. His belongings: - jacket and photos in particular - trigger memories and cause emotional distress. His room becomes a sanctuary for his parents and the narrator indicates that "there was still the smell of him in the room" (2013, p. 357). The simple description of the family is that it is dysfunctional, coping with memory, trauma, and grief. The tragic memories of the family they leave behind in India are, for Thomas in particular, an uncomfortable presence and they loom large over the narrative.

Conclusion

The novel explores how grief defines the life of an Indian immigrant family and how they deal with it in the United States. The textual analysis indicates that total assimilation that involves erasure of ancestral cultural heritage is never achievable as long as ethnic difference is observable. *The Sleepwalker's Guide to Dancing* is a trauma novel, conveying a diversity of extreme emotional states. Through dramatic shifts in family's history, temporal fixtures, silences, and visceral traumatic details, Jacob delineates a painful diasporic experience mediated by loss and trauma. Moreover, by employing a nonlinear narrative strategy, she emphasizes the mental confusion and chaos that penetrated the lives of first-generation immigrants. The intensity of trauma delineated in the novel qualifies it as a diasporic trauma narrative; contagious and intergenerational. It differs from postcolonial trauma, for it merely traces the individual response to traumatic events. The multiple deaths in the novel create a sense of insecurity

and panic. Nevertheless, what Jacob projected in her novel is rather a particular diasporic condition characteristic of first-generation immigrants.

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PURITAN PROJECTIONS IN NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE'S "*THE SCARLET LETTER*" AND STEPHEN KING'S "*CARRIE*"

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Abstract

It is considered that the Puritans that populated New England in the 17th century left a distinctive mark on the American culture. The article explores some projections of Puritan legacy in two American novels of different periods – Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) and Stephen King's *Carrie* (1974). After establishing a connection between the Puritan writings and gothic literature, the two novels are analyzed in terms of some Puritan projections, among which are the problem of guilt and the acceptance of an individual in the society. Some references regarding the idea of the witch and the interpretations it bears, especially in terms of the female identity, are also identified. Despite the different approach of the authors in terms of building their characters, those references are mostly used in a negative way, as an instrument of criticism and exposing inconvenient truths.

Keywords: Puritans, guilt, witch, Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, Stephen King, *Carrie*

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Stephen King and Nathaniel Hawthorne are authors related to the American gothic tradition – a genre usually associated with 'the sublime, the ugly, the grotesque, the formless and, most recently, the abject' (Grunenberg, 2016, p. 145). Relying on means that are sometimes appalling to the common taste, gothic art can afford the luxury to be honest about truths which are inconvenient, painful, or shocking. It can expose the darkest face of the past, as it 'functions as kind of moral valve, releasing repressed memories and revealing the traumas that haunt American society throughout its history and presence' (p. 146). Considering the dark episodes of violence in American history and the flagrant contradiction between this land of supposed innocence and the cruel ways of colonizing it, it is not surprising that 'American fiction became bewilderingly and embarrassingly, a gothic fiction, non-realistic, sadist and melodramatic - a literature of darkness and the grotesque in a land of light and affirmation' (Fiedler, 1960, p. 29).

Edward J. Ingebretsen, S.J. (1996) has established a historical link between the gothic literary tradition and the religious writings of the Puritans in New England. The fearsome visions of gothic fiction are seen as memory projections of the horrendous visions of religious terror. Taking Ingebretsen's idea as its starting point, the article sets out to explore some projections of Puritan legacy in the specific context of two American novels of different periods – Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) and Stephen King's *Carrie* (1974). Among these projections are the problem of guilt, the society's rejection of an individual, the idea of the witch, and some gender issues. Those references are mainly traced in the development of different characters in the two novels – Arthur Dimmesdale, Hester Prynne, Carrie, and Margaret White. They are discussed in terms of their relation to Puritanism and the interpretations they bear.

The Puritans that populated New England during the colonial period are widely believed to have left a distinctive mark on the formation of the American culture. Deserting the supposedly corrupted Europe, they came to the newly found American continent in the hope of establishing a new civilized culture that would be purer than the old one. On the one hand, they held virtues that can be considered wholesome priorities in building a nation, like hard-work and education. On the other hand, however, they were a community of rigid religious rules almost fanatically obsessed with the Book of Revelation and the forthcoming Judgement Day. Their creed that sinners would be inevitably punished, and that crafty Satan was always stalking people in order to drag

them to hell led to events like the Salem witch trials (1692), when people were sentenced to death on accusations of witchcraft. Such violent acts appear to be in stark contrast to what the Bible preaches, as religion usually 'rejects any form of violence or aggressive and authoritative invasion in the world of the other until its total destruction'[1] (Filipov, 2017, p. 99). This dramatic historical episode has been turned into an enduring source of gothic inspiration and 'an American cultural metaphor' that 'has meanings that shift to suit contemporary realities' (Adams, 2008, p. 157). In his attempt to provide a 'collective portrait' of those accused of witchcraft John Demos defines 'the typical witch' as a middle-aged married female of lower social standing, frequently in conflict with her family, previously accused of crimes, 'abrasive in style, contentious in character—and stubbornly resilient in the face of adversity' (Demos, 2004, p. 93-94). Apparently, those deemed witches were usually women who did not obey male authority or social norms. Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum (1974) found outsiders among those who were 'unusually vulnerable' (p. 190) to accusations of witchcraft. Thus, the witch has become an epitome of alienation - the outcast, the marginal, the inability to fit in - and an embodiment of the 'community's rejection of itself' (Ingebretsen, 1996, p. 57). Furthermore, 'the use of Salem resembled the earliest incarnations of the metaphor as a warning about the dangers of public passions, fanaticism, and even backward beliefs that threatened national progress' (Adams, 2008, p. 150).

Despite their high ideals of purity and innocence, the Puritans seem to have been experts at evoking guilt, as illustrated by the line standing next to the first letter of the alphabet in the *New England Primer* – 'In Adam's Fall We Sinned All' (Edwards, 2000, p. 121), which makes it evident that the Puritan kids were introduced to the world of knowledge with the clear realization of their sinful nature - they were presumed guilty because of the Original sin. This implication was further enhanced by the portrayal of God as a judge and inquisitor, a higher institution that administered justice to the sinners and punished them. Unlike the peaceful Quakers, the Puritans rarely saw God as a forgiving friend or light. He was rather viewed as a vengeful dark entity that sooner or later would take His toll.

[1] My translation from Bulgarian.

Puritan pastors were famous for striking fear in the hearts of their congregations. The projection of horror and fear is almost as typical of Puritan writings as it is of gothic fiction. Despite some obvious theological differences, the works of authors like Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards, for example, abound in horrific images that picture the Devil and the awaiting hell that everyone 'flatters himself that he shall escape it' (Edwards, 2000, p. 287). In his famous sermon *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*, Jonathan Edwards strikes fear with warnings of God's wrath expressed in frightening images of the devils like 'greedy hungry lions that see their prey, and expect to have it, …' (Ibid., p. 286). Referring to Edwards as 'proto-Gothic,' Ingebretsen ironically suggests that if he was a contemporary writer, 'he could give Stephen King some competition' (Ingebretsen, 1996, p. 103).

Denial of the self and horrific imagery are observed not only in the strictly religious writings of the period, but also in colonial poetry. The preacher and poet Edward Taylor wrote secretly about his sins:

> My sin! My sin, my God, these cursed dregs,
> Green, yellow, blue-streaked poison hellish, rank,
> Bubs hatched in nature's nest on serpents' eggs,
> Yelp, chirp, and cry; they set my soul a-cramp.
> I frown, chide, strike, and fight them, mourn and cry
> To conquer them, but cannot them destroy. (Taylor, 2000, p. 175)

The vivid imagery and desperate mood of the stanza seem to project a lyric I that is severely polluted by sin, a commonly observed phenomenon in the works of various colonial poets and evidence that the poetry of the period was turned into an instrument of indoctrination, instruction, and not rarely, self-flagellation. From a psychological perspective such psychic tension could be considered dangerous for the mental health. Sigmund Freud even established a connection between the behavior of people with obsessional disorder and high religiosity claiming that: 'The sense of guilt of obsessional neurotics finds its counterpart in the protestations of pious people that they know at heart they are miserable sinners' (Freud, 1996, p. 215). He concludes that 'one might venture to regard obsessional neurosis as a pathological counterpart of the formation of religion'. What the Puritans seem to have comprehended far before Freud is that 'complete backslidings into sin are more common among pious people than among

neurotics,' thus leading to the religious phenomenon of penance (p. 216). The fact that religious people inevitably tend to fall in the traps of temptation may be explained with the moral essence of religion, which is in contrast to the instincts of the human nature and it appears that the Puritans took advantage of this vulnerability turning it into a convenient way of manipulation.

By narrowing the focus of religion, breeding fear (frequently relying on demons and witches), and underscoring the superiority of their group, the Puritans preached obedience and stigmatized any form of Otherness. As Ingebretsen has pointed out: 'If the lands of New England were thought to be utopic and gracious, its wildernesses, conversely, were demonized – darkened, populated with demons (and later, their agents, the Indians, or "heretical" persons)' (p. xx). According to Sacvan Bercovitch (1991) the Puritans of New England 'invented' a myth, which 'had provided the culture with a useful, flexible, durable, and compelling fantasy of American identity' (p. 977-978). The American progress and dynamism, the pride to be American and the readiness to wage war against anything that is not (p. 978) seem to be partly rooted in the Puritan ideology and 'their success in making a dissenting faith the cornerstone of community' (p. 984). The idea of the superiority of one nation, especially in terms of religion, that found its expression in the doctrine of the Manifest Destiny, was essential in founding the US capitalist economy, as suggested by Aqeeli (2020). However, achieving prosperity by rejecting the Other can hardly be considered heroic or progressive and as literature could have the function of exposing the flaws of the society, it is not surprising that the roots of many demons that populate American fiction can be traced in the nation's history and Puritan projections are identified in Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* and in Stephen King's *Carrie*.

Nathaniel Hawthorne, who lived and worked a couple of centuries after the Salem witch trials, can be viewed as both a critic of Puritanism, on the one hand, and its inevitable heir, on the other. Considering the fact that he had Puritan ancestors and was one of the representatives of Dark Romanticism (a literary subgenre with a focus on human fallibility), it seems that he had never been too far away from the problem of sin and guilt and it is observable at the center of his novel *The Scarlet Letter*. Supposedly based on evidence that the author found while working at the custom house, the book offers a bleak view of the past. As Leslie Fiedler (1960) suggested: 'At the heart of the

American past, in the parchment scroll which is our history, Hawthorne has discovered not an original innocence but a primal guilt – and he seeks to evoke that past not in nostalgia but terror' (p. 510). Fiedler connected the novel to the Puritan past claiming that the very letter 'A,' which Hester Prynne was made to wear, might be considered indicative of "*Adam's Fall*" rather than of *Adultery* (p. 497). This suggestion, which reveals only one of the many interpretations of the significance of the symbol, is in tune with the fact that guilt and not adultery seems to be the novel's main preoccupation.

Traditionally *The Scarlet Letter* is termed a historical novel associated with Hawthorne's uneasiness about his Puritan forefathers. It exposes and criticizes the Puritan creed and proposes a sort of literary confession of Hawthorne's guilt on behalf of his Puritan ancestors, who persecuted Indians and Quakers and took part in the Salem witch trials. More recently, however, the historicism of the novel has been questioned at the expense of different aspects in its interpretation. Hal Blythe and Charlie Sweet, for example, have observed that 'Hawthorne erred with his dating, undercutting his own extensive attempt to establish the reality of his characters and their lives' (Bloom, 2011, p. 63). According to David S. Reynolds the novel bears sensational rather than historical features, in other words, Hawthorne used literary elements which were considered attractive to the reading audience ('a hypocritical preacher, a fallen woman, an illegitimate child, and a vindictive relative') against the background of Puritan New England setting (Bloom, 2011, p. 58). Leslie Fiedler also doubts the historicism of the novel claiming that it is 'dream-like rather than documentary, not at all the historical novel it has been often called – evoking the past as nightmare rather than fact' (p. 498). Such narrative haziness might be interpreted as a highly personal approach to the past and it definitely gives a gothic touch to the story. *The Scarlet Letter* is about the past, but not the past of the cold and precise facts one can find in any historical novel. It is a personal gaze at the past, subjective and emotional. It is not the past as it was, but the past as how the author felt about it, not a journal, but an intimate revelation.

The new perspectives of literary criticism, however, cannot change the fact that the novel is inextricably bound to the Puritan heritage as it displays constant references to it. In its very first chapter, for example, the author problematizes the Puritan mindset by opposing their *purity* to their brutal way of imposing righteousness. The ideas of innocence and guilt clash on the very first pages of the book. The optimistic image of

America suggested by words as 'new colony,' 'Utopia,' 'human virtue,' 'happiness,' 'virgin soil,' 'youthful era' seem to be strikingly opposed to terms like 'sad-colored,' 'gray,' 'antique,' 'iron-work,' 'ugly edifice,' and 'unsightly vegetation' (Hawthorne, 1986, p. 45). The promise of the new land is confronted by the deadly symbols of the prison and the cemetery. What should be fresh, new and fertile is actually obsolete, morbid, and dead. However, the chain of gloomy images is abruptly interrupted in the end of the chapter by the appearance of a blooming rose-bush that offers an array of positive interpretations, but mainly, giving hope for the future. This imbalance in symbols according to Hyatt Howe Waggoner (1959) might be a way to imply 'that moral good will be less strongly felt than moral and natural evil' (pp. 5-6).

The novel seems to be imbued with guilt and one must agree with Fiedler that the focus of the book is not on sin, but rather on its aftermath, as the very carnal act of adultery is implied but not described in the narrative (pp. 497-498). The primary focus on guilt is one of the most obvious references to Puritanism in the novel, as it is related to the Puritan idea that people are damned sinners who will be punished accordingly. Guilt can be identified at different levels in the novel. One can speak of Hester Prynne's guilt of being unfaithful to her husband, Arthur Dimmesdale's secret guilt that torments his conscience, the stigmatizing symbol of guilt – the scarlet letter 'A,' and finally Hawthorne's own guilt because his ancestors were an essential part of this narrow-minded society.

Hawthorne's approach to the problem of guilt, however, differs significantly regarding the two main characters in the novel. While Hester Prynne silently bears the public symbol of shame on her chest, Arthur Dimmesdale choses to suffer in secret. Frequently viewed as weak and unworthy, even 'too weak to be tragic' (Bloom, 2011, p. 9), Dimmesdale can be compared to a child. For Fiedler, he starts as 'child-like' and finishes as 'childish' (p. 499), and even in the act of adultery he seems to be 'more seduced than seducing' (p. 508). By stripping Dimmesdale of all typically male characteristics, Hawthorne turns him into 'an "emblem" of the fate of the American male' (Fiedler, p. 508). Thus, the character development of Arthur Dimmesdale can be considered a criticism of both - the Puritan and the man. The fact that Arthur does not take responsibility for his act underscores the inability of the male individual against the background of his female counterpart.

Dimmesdale is an impressive example of Hawthorne's exploration of the psychological effect of guilt on the Puritan mind. If one can claim that Hester's public punishment sets her free and she transforms her guilt into beauty by decorating and adorning its symbol, the letter, Arthur remains confined in the prison of his guilt because it remains secret. The character is trapped in the hypocrisy of preaching good sermons and being tormented by secret guilt at the same time. It might seem easy to call Dimmesdale weak and unworthy, but the real problem seems to be rooted in the working of the religious mind. The feeling of guilt is inextricably bound to the idea of the pure Christian, and if in Puritan terms sin is inevitable, then we are all destined to fall in the hands of guilt. The feeling of profound guilt, however, especially in its religious sense, seems to be typical only of those who are predisposed to feel it. James Gilligan (2003) finishes Freud's claim that 'no one feels guiltier than the saints' with the idea that 'no one is more innocent than the criminals' (p. 1172). At the essence of this statement one can find the implication that saints, unlike criminals, are *capable* of feeling guilt. Although the feeling of guilt involves the need for punishment, Dimmesdale never dares to expose himself, to confess publicly, until the end. Undoubtedly, a confession could liberate him, but Hawthorne seems to be more interested in the masochism the young preacher is willing to subject himself to because of his inability to confess. The author seems to demonize not Dimmesdale as a person, but the system that trains a mind to function in this manner – the hypocrisy of the character is indicative of the hypocrisy of the Puritan community. Dimmesdale's inability to purify himself from his guilt by the only logical way of confession and penance[2] and his supposed fear of punishment and shame are in obvious contradiction to being pious as 'pain and punishment increase feelings of shame but decrease feelings of guilt' (Gilligan, 2003, p. 1164), and consequently could liberate him from this devastating feeling.

By contrasting Dimmesdale's moral and psychological confinement to Hester's individual freedom, Hawthorne as if contrasts Puritanism to Romanticism being quite explicit on which one he favors. Feminist criticism tends to analyze 'the process whereby Hester subverts the laws of patriarchy and lives according to a law of her own' (Bloom, 2011, p. 66). Certainly, in the eyes of the Puritan society, Hester Prynne is guilty, if not guiltier than Dimmesdale because of her sex, but Hawthorne's approach to her guilt is

[2] 'Confession is self-exposure or self-shaming. And penance is self-punishment' (Gilligan, 2003, p. 1164).

different as, unlike the young preacher, she does not show the inner need to suffer, to be punished or humiliated, she does not seem to be subdued to his intrapsychic tension. Thus her guilt can be interpreted as something that is thrust upon her rather than a deep and personal sensation. This is the guilt she is supposed to experience, but which obviously does not come from within. It is attached to her like the scarlet letter itself. Hester does not flee from New England because it 'had been the scene of her guilt' and it 'should be the scene of her earthly punishment' (Hawthorne, 1986, p. 73). However, it is clearly suggested that her guilt is rather a social construct, than a personal feeling by the statement that it was something 'she compelled herself to believe' being 'half a truth, and half self-delusion' (p. 73). Unlike remorseful Dimmesdale, Hester seems to be convinced by others that she is guilty. She bravely faces her punishment, willing to become a martyr in a society, in which 'there was nothing that made her feel as if she belonged to it' (p. 76). Both Arthur and Hester seem to be prisoners of their guilt. But if he is a prisoner of his secret spiritual torture, she seems to be incarcerated in the constraints of a society that does not accept her. The fact that she would not flee from it only underscores her bravery and willingness to take responsibility contrasting Dimmesdale's lack of confidence. By putting a courageous and self-confident individual against the background of a cruel and narrow-minded society, Hawthorne makes it clear who should feel ashamed and guilty: 'The scene was not without a mixture of awe, such as must always invest the spectacle of guilt and shame in a fellow-creature, before society shall have grown corrupt enough to smile, instead of shuddering at it' (p. 53).

According to Paul Ricoeur (1968) 'the symbol of sin is at one at the same time the symbol of something negative (rupture, estrangement, absence, vanity) and the symbol of something positive (power, possession, captivity, alienation)' (p. 104). Thus, the material expression of Hester's sin and guilt, the scarlet letter, the same one, which has become an epitome of shame and disgrace in the American culture ever since, actually appears to reveal notions of female power, individuality, and resistance. After witnessing Hester's mercy, talent, and willingness to help, even the same Puritan society that condemned her becomes more lenient and 'many people refused to interpret the scarlet A by its original signification. They said it meant Able; so strong was Hester Prynne, with a woman's strength' (Hawthorne, 1986, p. 141).

Hester's strength, independence, and individuality demonstrate the potential of a female energy that was thought to be demonic and not rarely in those days labeled as witchcraft. Apparently, her mere sex stands as an opposition to the Puritan society, since God had created her a woman – a creature thought to be inferior to its male counterpart. Female power and energy were thought to be dangerous and condemning women for being witches was a way to limit it. Thus witches could be considered 'the natural byproduct of female subjugation' (Collar, 2017). By underscoring Dimmesdale's inadequacy turning him into a weak, even pathetic, character and representing Hester Prynne as a courageous and responsible heroine, Hawthorne questions the Puritan belief in the preeminence of one of the sexes. His clearly articulated suggestion of the divinity of the female nature reveals a belief in the female power in male-centered Puritanism: 'The angel and apostle of the coming revelation must be a woman' (Hawthorne, 1986, p. 228). Hawthorne's sympathy for women regarding the Puritan patriarchal subjugation is observable in his description of the women in need of Hester's help - 'in the recurring trials of wounded, wasted, wronged, misplaced, or erring and sinful passion, - or with the dreary burden of a heart unyielded, because unvalued and unsought – came to Hester's cottage, demanding why they were so wretched, and what the remedy!' (p. 227). Thus, the treatment and attitude to women and their place in the society can be considered another important aspect in the novel.

About a century after *The Scarlet Letter* was published, Stephen King wrote a novel about a telekinetic schoolgirl who, like Hester Prynne, does not fit into her community. Critical of the society and sometimes a dark visionary, King seems to be 'the inheritor of a set of preoccupations from America's literary past' (Magistrale & Blouin, 2021, p. 11). Although the author has been severely criticized for his portrayal of female characters, especially in his early works, *Carrie*, which in his own words 'is largely about how women find their own channels of power, and what men fear about women and women's sexuality' (King, 1981, p. 198), is one of his most successful novels. The writer's uncertainty about the subject of the female nature, almost cost the publishing of the novel[3]. According to Erica Joan Dymond (2013), in *Carrie*, he 'frequently employs overtly masculine images in reference to his female characters' (p. 95). Despite such well-grounded claims regarding his use of gendered language, the portrayal of King's female

[3] The manuscript was literally 'saved' by his wife from the trash bin.

protagonist suggests deep undercurrent meanings that, despite his immaturity, are related to serious social and gender issues.

Carrie has been associated with the genre of suburban gothic, which 'disturbs readers on a personal level' (Madden, 2017, p. 9) and deals with the 'xenophobia of small town America' (Strengell, 2005, p. 14). The typical of King 'gothic disruption' (Magistrale & Blouin, 2021, p. 12) arises mainly from the telekinetic ability of a molested female outsider. Madden relates Carrie to the abject regarding the scenes of her first menstruation (p. 14), for example, and the repeated associations of the girl with pigs (p. 17). A classic school outsider, who ultimately turns into a monster that serves justice by burning down the whole town of Chamberlain, Carrie seems to have become a witch (she uses her superpower in a malevolent way), and she is sometimes referred to as one even by her mother. Ingebretsen observes the relation between Hester Prynne and Carrie White:

> Like Hawthorne's Hester, Carrie's fatal difference from other people is her knowledge and her vulnerability. She knows too much and disowns too little. Less possessed by demons than by her own dark self, Carrie's social sin – […] - is, again like Hester's, the power she refuses to give over to society, and so she becomes, for all practical purposes, its witch – a word whose Old-English roots show traces to its cognate connection to "victim". (Ingebretsen, 1996, p. 60)

Both Carrie and Hester can be considered victims, but Carrie's victimization turns her into a dark instrument of revenge, which is her basic difference with Hester. While Hester is silently bearing her punishment, Carrie dares to confront her victimizers. The way in which Carrie uses her telekinesis against other people is reminiscent of the Puritans' fear and demonization of the female body. Menstruation has long been considered abject and feared (Madden, 2014, p. 14) and by relating the activation of the girl's superpower to her late first period, this power is 'inextricably bound to the most quintessentially abject dimension of her femaleness, reinforcing her association with that most abject spectre of American history: the witch' (p. 15). Carrie's passage to womanhood, which unleashes her telekinetic gift, turns her from a victim into a powerful Other that threatens the whole community (Ingebretsen, 1996, p. 61). King describes Carrie as a 'Woman, feeling her powers for the first time' (King, 1981, p. 198) and the capitalization in the word "Woman" above is quite suggestive of his point. Similar to *The*

Scarlet Letter, the woman stands against the background of a society that is guilty of treating her unjustly. Another typically female feature that Hester and Carrie share is that both of them are skilled in sewing.

Despite the characteristic that both women have in common, their images are radically opposing. One essential difference between Hester Prynne and Carrie White is that while Hester is punished because of her overt femininity (passion, beauty), Carrie is humiliated and ostracized because she does not conform to the norms of femininity in her society. Hester's mere figure is the exact opposite of Carrie. Described as 'lady-like,' 'a figure of perfect elegance,' with a beautiful face and 'abundant hair, so glossy that it threw the sunshine with a gleam' (Hawthorne, 1986, p. 50), this alleged sinner seems to be the quintessential beauty. For Ghasemi and Abbasi (2009) Hester's 'sin is rooted in the most perfect of all feelings: love,' and her religion is of the heart rather than of the head (p. 12). The fact that she has soon become a mother only adds the final sketch to the portrait of her blooming femininity. Hester is an epitome of womanhood, a *woman* in the full sense of the word, while Carrie, on the other hand, displays few purely feminine characteristics. Unlike her classmates, she does not wear make-up or date boys, which is why she is rigidly excluded from her social group.

> […], Carrie White is as much burdened by innocence as she is by the guilt of others. She is innocent of knowledge concerning her body's disruptive physicality (she thinks that tampons are for applying lipstick), guilty because she lives out her mother's pathological religious denials and her society's social repudiations. (Ingebretsen, 1996, p. 61)

Despite the striking difference in the image of the two female characters, they are both outcasts. In Carrie's case the problem of the outsider is linked to the problem of femininity as she seems to be isolated on her way to maturity from other females and is thus turned 'into an outsider to the feminine world' (Anastasova, 2019). Even when she appears beautiful in a formal dress and accompanied by popular Tommy Ross at the prom, she still cannot fit in and 'the ritual that could have effected this rebirth, the coronation of the King and Queen, turns out to be a ritual of humiliation' (Weller, 1992, p. 14). The Cinderella-like fairy tale ends in flames. *Carrie* might be a story of the hidden power, which every woman seems to possess, but it is also a story of how 'straying from

the groupthink results in the destruction of the individual' (Magistrale, 2010, p. 58). For Ingebretsen, in the culminating moment of the novel, when Carrie is poured with pig's blood at the prom, she resembles Hester at the marketplace. The society punishes both of them as they fail to conform to its standards. However, unlike Hester, Carrie takes her revenge and turns into a monster, but speaking of guilt and innocence, here again one can hardly avoid the question of who is to blame, the monster, or the society that created it.

References to early New England Puritanism are observable in *Carrie*, especially in relation to the character of the girl's religiously fanatic mother, who sees the Devil everywhere, but mostly in her daughter. Having left the Baptist church because 'Baptists were doing the work of the Antichrist' (King, 1992, p. 344), Mrs. White relates to the Puritan's exclusiveness of other religions and prefers to practice religion at home. Her clothing, with prevailing black, also resembles the apparel of a Puritan. She even mentions the Black Man, a figure associated with Puritan tales, supposedly representing Satan. One of the most suggestive allusions to Puritanism, however, is her idea of God – an angry higher authority, chasing sinners in order to torture and punish them. It is not surprising that in the closet in which Margaret locks Carrie one can find 'Jonathan Edwards' famous sermon, *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*'. Margaret's pathologically distorted vision of religion and her fixation on the sinful nature of her daughter turns Carrie into 'the victim of her mother's religious mania'. By demonizing her female features and even calling her breasts "dirtypillows" Momma might be considered a worthy successor of Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards. She is as distressed over the blooming femininity of her only child as 17th century New England preachers were over those deemed witches. Margaret White is a person 'to whom fear, guilt, and faith are synonymous, and she brought her daughter up accordingly – to worship, to placate, and to fear an inscrutable, inescapable deity' (Ingebretsen, 1996, p. 61). The deadly consequences of her attempts to raise her daughter as if they lived in the colonial period can be interpreted as a severe criticism of her obsolete means.

The representation of God in the White family is clearly one of the most direct references to Puritanism in the novel and His complete withdrawal in one of the final episodes, when Carrie is kneeling down to pray in the church after punishing her classmates, is indicative of her inability to rely on the deity she was disciplined to worship and fear: 'She prayed and there was no answer. No one was there – or if there was, He/It

was cowering from her. God had turned His face away, and why not? This horror was as much his doing as hers' (King, 1992, p. 416). The final sentence points out in a straightforward way to the Puritan belief that sinners are severely punished, and God shows no mercy. Whatever she has done was not without His help. The feeling of being abandoned by God together with the uncertainty which pronoun to use ("He/It") to refer to Him suggest the idea that the girl does not recognize this deity and her mother's cruel attempts to impose it on her daughter were to no avail. She feels empty and deprived of God's presence.

Margaret White's self-loathing for having conceived Carrie in carnal pleasure is successfully transferred to her daughter turning her into a miserable creature equally tormented at home and at school. Greg Weller (1992) sees Carrie as 'a young person lacking all sense of ego, of self,' who seems to be concerned with 'finding *anything* beyond the utter emptiness that is her soul' (p.13). Carrie's psyche seems to react with nightmares about Christ chasing her and states in which she feels 'so miserable, empty, bored, that the only way to fill that gaping whistling hole was to eat, and eat, and eat…' (King, 1992., p. 339). Such incidents are indicative of the character's mental state. As it has been mentioned above, James Gilligan (2003) has claimed that 'pain and punishment increase feelings of shame but decrease feelings of guilt' (p. 1164). However, Gilligan also has suggested that humiliation leads to violence and that 'the basic psychological motive, or cause, of violent behavior is the wish to ward off or eliminate the feeling of shame and humiliation […] and replace it with its opposite, the feeling of pride' (p. 1154). Thus, Gilligan's view about shame as the psychological reason for violence explains quite satisfactory the novel's finale. The severe and frequent punishment, torture, and humiliation stimulate aggression in Carrie and eventually the victim becomes a victimizer, the protagonist has been transformed into antagonist.

It is evident that both Nathaniel Hawthorne and Stephen King had something to say about Puritanism and the two analyzed novels display clear references to it. It can be concluded that in both literary works those references are mostly used in a negative way, as an instrument of criticism and exposure of unpleasant truths such as female subjugation and bigotry. The problem of sin and guilt permeate the two stories and despite the different literary approach to each analyzed character (Dimmesdale's secret suffering, Hester's willingness to live in a society that has stigmatized her, the grotesque

caricature of religious extremism represented by Margaret, and Carrie's metamorphosis into a powerful revengeful being), the insights into the psychological effect of guilt reveal the destructive effects of religious constriction.

Another Puritan projection might be traced in the opposition of individuality to the community. Both Hester Prynne and Carrie White do not fit in their society because of their inability to conform to the collective. Both novels present a critical view of a society that refuses to accept the Other and Tony Magistrale's claim that *Carrie* as one of King's novels in which 'evil is represented in the community collective united with the malefic avatar — a monological merging of speech, thought, and action' (Magistrale, 2010, p. 59) can be considered valid for both analyzed works. The two outcast females are developed in a different way - Hester is turned into martyr and Carrie is transformed into antagonist, but both are deprived of happiness primarily because of their community's maltreatment.

By putting female characters against the society's norms both authors tend to manipulate the idea of the witch as a metaphor revealing truths about feminine power and male uncertainty. The general attitude to the two fictional women in the novels resembles the Puritans' approach to the alleged witches. Excluded from their society and made to suffer, the two characters find their inner power, which helps Hester survive and turns Carrie into a monster. The representation of Arthur Dimmesdale as weak and vulnerable and the complete absence of a male figure in Carrie's family, together with the focus on female power, are indicative of the authors' criticism of the disparagement of the female sex.

The two novels differ essentially in tone. While Hawthorne centered on the human drama behind his story of guilt and remorse turning it into a private tragedy, in King's work, some of the Puritan projections, like the absurdity of Margaret White's character, add a clearly humorous touch to his otherwise horrific tale. Certainly, it must be noted that the 20th century obviously allowed greater freedom of ideas, tastes, and literary experimentation than the 19th century, when echoes of Puritan voices were still audible. Although Hawthorne dealt with the times long gone before he was born, and King posed his book in the near future, both authors used Puritanism and its inherent antagonism to expose the society's flaws, ineptness, and inadequacy. *The Scarlet Letter* seems

anachronistic and *Carrie* - prophetic. For Hawthorne, it was important to share, King, probably appealed for a change. Finally, the fact that the two American narratives display unquestionable gothic elements is indicative of the idea that the 'gothic is particularly active where underlying moral ambiguities, ideological contradictions and social tensions fail to enter public discourse and therefore manifest themselves in other forms – literature, art, music and popular culture' (Grunenberg, 2016, p. 147).

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HIROSHIMA, MOKUSATSU AND ALLEGED MISTRANSLATIONS

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Abstract

This paper revisits the issue of the importance of context and critical thinking in translation and translation training by examining the linguistic controversy over the translation of the word *mokusatsu* in the statement of Japan's Prime Minister Suzuki in response to the Potsdam Declaration. There is a widespread belief that the bombing of Hiroshima in August of 1945 was caused by a translation mistake. The author sides with the opposing view, i.e. that such an approach takes one word of the statement out of context in order to shift the focus of the problem from politics to linguistics. The message of the statement is unambiguous when analyzed in its entirety. As a result, it is obvious there was no translation mistake and the bomb was dropped for reasons other than translation quality. Sadly enough, the myth lives on as a textbook example of 'the worst translation mistake in history" whereas it should be taught as an example of probably 'the worst translation myth in history'.

Keywords: translation mistake, translator responsibility, context, mistranslation, myth

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In translation and interpreting, mistakes (errors, blunders) happen every now and then. Some of them become textbook examples taught to probably every student of translation the world over. If you google "translation mistakes", you will see a great many results with titles such as "Five translation mistakes with serious consequences," or "Top Ten Translation Errors of All Time," or "Nine Little Translation Mistakes That Caused Big Problems," etc. Therefore, students are surely exposed to a lot of information about translation mistakes that have "caused big problems" and even "changed the course of history."

Teachers of translation and interpreting usually do not put this information to doubt and readily incorporate it in their lectures. At least, that is what I used to do when I was making my first steps in teaching translation. I used to teach about the horns of Moses in Saint Jerome's Vulgate and about the mistake of Khrushchev's interpreter who rendered literally the Soviet leader's outburst "We will bury you" and, of course, about the tragic mistranslation of a single word that resulted in the Hiroshima bombing. All this information is readily available in Translation Studies course books as well as in many articles on the Internet.

However, things are not always as straightforward as they may seem. For instance, the horns of Moses in Saint Jerome's Vulgate are not the result of a translation mistake but of a translation dilemma he faced. Jerome was proficient in Hebrew and consulted with Jewish people on his translation. He was perfectly aware of the two possible interpretations of the passage in Exodus 34:29, and made this clear in his Commentary on Ezekiel as well as in the Commentary on the Book of Amos. However, in the first commentary Jerome accepted the interpretation of the Septuagint, i.e. "the appearance of the skin of his face was glorified", while in the second commentary written a few years after his own translation was completed he opted for the literal translation by Aquila, i.e. "his head had horns" (Bertman, 2009, pp. 97-98). He must also have been aware of the fact that "some Jews did believe that Moses was literally horned" (Gilad, 2018). On the other hand, some researchers have argued that this translation has underlying Anti-Semitic intentions (Bertman, 2009). I am confident that students of translation will only benefit from a discussion of this dilemma and the reasons why Jerome turned to the literal translation; otherwise, we end up taking a word out of context

and presenting Jerome as a laughing stock, which he does not deserve, while missing an excellent learning and teaching opportunity.

The same is true for the widespread myth that the bombing of Hiroshima in August of 1945 was caused by a translation mistake. I support the opposing view, i.e. that it is a myth that served a specific aim of shifting the focus of the problem from politics to linguistics, and that the meaning of the statement is unambiguous, irrespective of the translation of the word *mokusatsu* (cf. Johnson, 1980; Rhodes, 1986; Bix, 1995; Torkai, 2009). Unfortunately, this myth still lives on as an example of "the worst translation mistake in history", presupposing that an "incompetent translator" was solely responsible for the bombing and that a "competent translator" would have been able to prevent the tragedy. As Chase (1954) put, "One word, misinterpreted". The thing is that Chase was just repeating the arguments put forward by Kazuo Kawai back in 1950. In fact, Coughlin (1953), Butow (1954), and Chase (1954) took up Kawai's point and cemented the myth that *mokusatsu* had not been intended to communicate a refusal to surrender.

Taking refuge in alleged mistranslations

In 1950, Kazuo Kawai, a lecturer in Far Eastern history at Stanford University, whose family moved to the USA in 1908 when he was four, published a short article entitled "Mokusatsu, Japan's Response to the Potsdam Declaration" (Kawai, 1950). In it, he argues that the translation of *mokusatsu* as "ignore" in the response Japan's Prime Minister Suzuki to the Potsdam Declaration (also known as Proclamation) resulted in the bombing of Hiroshima and asserted that a "correct" translation as "withhold comment" would have prevented the tragedy. Discussing a single word outside context, Kawai performs verbal somersaults in an attempt to convince the international public that Japan never intended to reject the Potsdam Declaration and followed the policy of *mokusatsu*, which was "quite a different thing from rejection". Kawai went on to argue that this message to the Allies was tragically misunderstood. In addition, he blamed the Russians for their failure to inform their Western Allies of Japan's readiness to surrender.

To support this myth, the third revised edition of the Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary added a new meaning of *mokusatsu* as "remain in a wise and masterly

inactivity" (Senkichiro, 1954, p. 1129). The two previous editions (1918 and 1931) featured *mokusatsu* with the meaning of "take no notice of, ignore" and "treat with silent contempt" (e.g., p. 1256 of the 1931 edition). In my opinion, "ignore", "take no notice of" and "withhold comment" send absolutely the same message in this context. It does not really matter whether you "withhold comment", "remain in a wise and masterly inactivity" or "take no notice" of the ultimatum warning you that any other answer except unconditional surrender would cause "prompt and utter destruction". In other words, if you do not accept it, you reject it. And that is exactly what this statement did. No translator can be blamed for making this "most tragic translation mistake in history" because there was no translation mistake.

More recently, Polizzotti (2018) came up with the interpretation that *mokusatsu* in the response of Kantaro Suzuki conveyed to Harry Truman as "silent contempt" was actually intended as "No comment. We need more time." First, the translation that Truman received, as can be seen below, said "ignore entirely", not "silent contempt". Second, "we need more time" is a manipulative interpretation in line with the new meaning of *mokusatsu* added in 1954 ("remain in a wise and masterly inactivity") and is a logical development of Kawai's verbal somersault approach.

The only problem is that all these manipulations are only possible out of context. However, if we look into the full text of the statement translated by a US translator (Dougall, 1960, Document No. 1258), we will see that this statement is impossible to be misunderstood or mistranslated irrespective of the translation of *mokusatsu*:

> **Question**: "What is the Premier's view regarding the Joint Proclamation by the three countries?"
>
> **Answer**: "I believe the Joint Proclamation by the three countries is nothing but a rehash of the Cairo Declaration. As for the Government, it does not find any important value in it, and there is no other recourse but to ignore it entirely and resolutely fight for the successful conclusion of this war."

Japan's warring enemies send an ultimatum requiring unconditional surrender. Japan replies that it "does not find any important value in it" and will "resolutely fight for the successful conclusion of this war". The meaning of the part "there is no other recourse but to *mokusatsu* the Proclamation" is more than obvious, i.e. the Proclamation is

rejected, ignored, left in silent contempt, etc. In addition, Japan was not asking for more time – can you imagine the enemy telling you, "We need more time and in the meantime we will fight"? On the contrary, the message is clear – at this stage, Japan is not prepared to surrender and is determined to fight on. Period. And there was no mention of any "mistranslation" until 1950, when Kawai came up with his myth finding refuge in an alleged mistranslation.

The vagueness of the Allies' call for unconditional surrender also contributed to the decision to reject the Proclamation (Butow, 1954, p. 136). Both the hawks and doves in Japan's government and military found it impossible to accept the ultimatum requiring unconditional surrender without any comment as to the Emperor's fate. This remained an obstacle to peace even in the wake of Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and the Soviet declaration of war (Sherwin, 1975).

At the same time, the Japanese government was pursuing Soviet mediation for a peace for Japan that would not be unconditional (Butow, 1954, pp. 118-120). President Truman was aware of these efforts from the intercepted and decoded messages between Foreign Minister Togo, one of the leaders of Japan's doves, and Japan's Ambassador to Moscow Sato.

Thus, in the first of the three messages of July 12, 1945, Togo asks the Ambassador to convey to the Soviet side a statement on behalf of the Emperor. The statement reiterated that "as long as America and England insist on unconditional surrender, our country has no alternative but to see it [the war] through in an all-out effort for the sake of survival and the honor of the homeland" (Dougall et al., 1960, 761.94/7–2145: Telegram, No. 582). In other words, the Emperor wants the Russians to know that unconditional surrender is unacceptable for Japan and the country is prepared to fight on. And Kawai blames the same Russians for their failure to inform their Western Allies of Japan's readiness to surrender. The same Russians, who, on the one hand, favored unconditional surrender but on the other hand, were angered by the fact that the U.S. did not even consult with them on the Potsdam Proclamation (Byrnes, 1947, p. 207). Togo himself admitted in the third message of July 12 that "the possibility of getting the Soviet Union to join our side and go along with our reasoning is next to nothing" (Dougall et al., 1960, 761.94/7–2145: Telegram No. 584).

Johnson (1980) notes that if the Prime Minister really meant "no comment," that is not what he said, because "*mokusatsu* does not imply it, even obliquely." To him, the claim Suzuki's nuance was misunderstood illustrates "the tendency of the Japanese to take refuge in alleged mistranslations."

In his book "The Making of the Atomic Bomb", Rhodes (1986) says, "Historians have debated for years which meaning Suzuki had in mind, but there can hardly be any doubt about the rest of his statement: Japan intended to fight on."

Torikai (2009, p. 35) notes that finding an excuse in an alleged translation mistake is "too naïve a view of international politics" and that "US President Truman would have dropped the bomb with or without *mokusatsu*."

However, an unclassified article from the US National Security Agency Technical Journal argues that (Rosenbluh, 1968):

> "Whoever it was who decided to translate *mokusatsu* by the one meaning (even though that is the first definition in the dictionary) and didn't add a note that the word might also mean nothing stronger than "to withhold comment" did a horrible disservice to the people who read his translation, people who knew no Japanese, people who would probably never see the original Japanese text and who would never know that there was an ambiguous word used. As a matter of principle, that unknown translator should have pointed out that word has two meanings, thereby enabling others to decide on a suitable course of action."

In other words, according to Harry G. Rosenbluh, a Research Analytic Specialist, Translator-Checker and Cryptologic Linguist at the US National Security Agency, "ignore and fight on" means "reject" but "withhold comment and fight on" means "we need more time". I find it hard to believe that a person can blame an "unknown translator" for a "horrible disservice" after reading the full answer of the Prime Minister. My guess is the expert just repeated the comfortable myth created by Kawai without even bothering to read the original text. The same refers to articles and/or books by Coughlin (1953), Butow (1954), and Chase (1954). Coughlin entitled his article "The Great Mokusatsu Mistake: Was This the Deadliest Error of Our Time?" Chase, who was interested in general semantics and penned books such as "The Tyranny of Words" and "The Power of Words", must have been thrilled by the myth demonstrating the power of a single word.

Translating the messages

The Declaration was broadcast by the US Office of War Information on the evening of July 26, first in English and several hours later in Japanese, and also via millions of airdropped leaflets. The Japanese government received the text diplomatically via Swiss intermediaries at 04.30 am on July 27. The censored Japanese translation was released to the public by the Domei News Agency.

On the afternoon of July 27, one day before Prime Minister's press conference, the Domei News Agency was the first to report on the ultimatum. The report informed the Japanese public that, according to authoritative sources, the government would ignore the Declaration and "Japan will prosecute the war in Greater East Asia till the bitter end" (Hasegawa, 2006). Unfortunately, there is no information as to whether this first announcement already used the word *mokusatsu*. This broadcast was caught and published in the July 28 issue of the *New Your Times* under the headline "Japanese Cabinet Weighs Ultimatum: Domei Says Empire Will Fight to the End—[Speaker of the House Sam] Rayburn Reports Tokyo Has Made Peace Bid". The article went on to say that the "semi-official Japanese Domei news agency stated today the Allied ultimatum to surrender or meet destruction would be ignored, but official response was awaited as Japan's ruling war lords debated the demand."

On the morning of July 28, Japanese newspapers, including the Asahi Shimbun, wrote about the intention of the government to *mokusatsu* the declaration as unacceptable. The press conference for the Japanese media was held in the afternoon of the same day.

At the press conference, Prime Minister Suzuki, as expected, announced that Japan ignored (*mokusatsu*) the Declaration as having no value and that the country would fight till the end. Once again, let us reiterate that the policy of *mokusatsu* had already been announced the previous day. The following day after the press conference, the US Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service caught the Domei Agency transmission of this statement in romaji (Latin script); the English translation of this intercepted statement is given above. Later, the Domei News Agency released the official English translation of Prime Minister's statement with *mokusatsu* rendered as "ignore".

As we see, translators on both sides of the war lines were involved in the translation of the statement. The American translator(s) rendered into English the intercepted transmission in Japanese translating *mokusatsu* as "ignore entirely". Hasegawa Saiji, a translator for Domei Press, also translated *mokusatsu* as "ignore". It is interesting to note that he attended the press conference and distinctly remembered that, when asked whether the government would accept the Potsdam Declaration, Suzuki said: "No comment" (Hasegawa, 2006, p. 168). Another thing worth mentioning is that he once said he should have translated *mokusatsu* as "no comment," but that nobody in Japan at that time knew the expression (Torikai, 2009, p. 34).

It is a very interesting remark. As we remember, the core of Kawai's reasoning is exactly the existence of a specific policy of *mokusatsu*, which was "quite a different thing from rejection". And it turns out that "nobody in Japan at that time knew the expression", even an experienced translator at Domei Press. Obviously, there was no "tradition of *mokusatsu*" in Japanese culture at that time. This policy was announced one day before the release of the official statement and then found its way into the statement. We are not even sure whether Prime Minister Suzuki actually used this word during the press conference and who exactly came up with the idea of this "policy of *mokusatsu*".

As a result, both the Japanese and the American translators must have had to look up the word in their dictionaries. The dictionaries gave them two very close meanings, i.e. "take no notice of, ignore" and "treat with silent contempt". Both translators opted for "ignore," but nothing would have changed had they chosen to use "treat with silent contempt" instead of "ignore".

Conclusions

In this paper, we looked at the linguistic controversy over the translation of the word *mokusatsu* in the statement of Japan's Prime Minister Suzuki in response to the Potsdam Declaration demanding the country's "unconditional surrender," and the circumstances of its translation into English.

The text of the Prime Minister's response clearly and unambiguously shows the position of the government on the issue. Suzuki did reject the Potsdam Declaration and did not ask for more time. Any rendering of *mokusatsu* as either "ignore" or "reject" or

"withhold comment" does not change the message of the statement. Consequently, there was no translation mistake and thus no blame for the bombing of Hiroshima can possibly be fixed on any US or Japanese translator. The Potsdam Declaration was rejected, and the A-bomb was dropped for reasons other than translation quality.

The myth of the "most tragic translation mistake in history" takes a single word out of context in order to switch the focus of the problem from politics into linguistics and to exonerate the Japanese government for its rejection of the Potsdam Declaration. Today, it is time to exonerate the translators. Sadly enough, the myth lives on as a textbook example of "the worst translation mistake in history" or "the deadliest error of our time," whereas it should be taught as an example of probably "the worst translation myth in history."

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COLLOCATIONAL KNOWLEDGE UPTAKE BY UNIVERSITY STUDENTS UNDER ONLINE LEARNING

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Abstract

The article discusses an experiment that looked into the acquisition of collocational knowledge in three university groups studying online, each subjected to different learning conditions: incidental acquisition, intentional acquisition, and intentional acquisition with an extra productive output (essay), the latter having been assessed for the amount and accuracy of target lexis usage in their texts. The aim of the study was to see how well upper-intermediate university students could identify collocations in an input text, and how the text-based output affected the collocational uptake outcomes. The study showed that the productive output group outperformed the other intentional learning group, while incidental acquisition group failed to complete a productive knowledge posttest. Although the study revealed only slightly higher gains in the output group, their results appeared more consistent than those demonstrated by the other intentional uptake group, whose retention rate decreased by the time of delayed posttest.

***Keywords*:** collocational knowledge, ESP, vocabulary uptake, involvement load, written output

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Acquisition of Formulaic Language

It is obvious to both teachers and learners of a foreign language that the mastery of L2 vocabulary is impossible without solid command of formulaic language, therefore the importance of acquiring vocabulary in chunks and attending to the collocability of lexical units has been a cornerstone of the communicative approach to L2 teaching.

Formulaic sequences or multi-word units are split into several categories, which traditionally include idioms, commonplace quotations, phrasal verbs, and collocations. Fernandez and Schmitt (2015) suggest the following definition of collocation: 'the tendency of two or more words to co-occur in discourse' (p. 95). Collocation is approached differently by phraseology and corpus linguistics, the former viewing it as a combination of words with a different degree of fixedness, whereas the latter identifies collocations based on statistical calculation and frequency of the co-occurrence of the elements of a collocation (Adamcova, 2020). Thus, although originally collocation was viewed by Firth (1968) as a purely textual phenomenon, later corpus linguists who adhere to 'neo-Firthian' tradition have given the notion a psychological interpretation. Sinclair (1991, p. 110), for example, sees collocation as 'a number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they might appear to be analyzable into segments available to the speaker'. For Ellis (2003) collocation is a linguistic phenomenon associated with chunking, viewed as a common learning mechanism. Hoey's (2012, p. 1) lexical priming theory views collocation as 'the product of drawing upon a mental store of lexical combinations'. Regardless of the approach taken, collocation is universally defined as a set sequence of words, which – if altered – deprives linguistic output of fluency and idiomaticity.

Literature Review

Previously understudied in phraseology, lately the concept of collocation has been gaining popularity (Adamcova, 2020), and discussion as for the acquisition of formulaic knowledge by language learners has been held by methodologists and linguists alongside traditional research into vocabulary uptake. Despite a growing number of publications looking into the subject, there still seem to be more questions than answers once it comes to the specificity of acquiring formulaic knowledge depending on the source of such vocabulary, the acquisition of collocations from

professional input materials in the academic setting, the difference in the learning gains depending on the mode of learning (intentional vs incidental), the factors which impact the efficiency of the uptake, etc.

Although the communicative theory of second language acquisition emphasizes learning vocabulary in chunks or collocations to promote speaking fluency and idiomaticity, in a way similar to a child acquiring their first language, formulaic sequences remain notoriously difficult for learners, especially in productive use (Snoder, 2017). In his *Lexical Approach,* Michael Lewis (1999) cites the ability to 'chunk' language as 'a central element of language teaching' (p.vi), similarly, Nick Ellis (2003) maintains that chunking is a basic associative learning process and a ubiquitous feature of human memory. Lewis (2000) foregrounds the skill of noticing collocations in input texts, however other studies argue that it does not seem to yield enhanced learning outcomes (Boers & Lindstromberg, 2012). The scholars also question Lewis's overreliance on learners' ability to identify and learn collocations on their own (Boers & Lindstromberg, 2009). Alison Wray (2002) argues that adult L2 learners are bound to resort to an essentially non-formulaic approach to language learning. Their analytic treatment of the language, largely caused by their ability to write in a language, gets them to perceive individual words as separate entities. This in its turn leads to the commonplace way of second language acquisition in vocabulary and grammar mode, which can hardly be changed.

A number of studies into factors behind the efficiency of the formulaic language acquisition have been conducted by Norbert Schmitt and his colleagues. Fernandez and Schmitt (2015, p.100) maintain there is a tendency of 'higher frequency leading to a greater chance of learning phrasal verbs to a productive degree of mastery'. Garnier and Schmitt (2016) view corpus frequency as the main predictor of knowledge of phrasals, while the rest of pre-requisites including a student's year of studies, their immersion in L2 environment, and semantic opacity of the phrasal are dismissed. These results are in line with the research conducted by Ellis et al. (2008), which showed that processing of formulaic language in non-native speakers is frequency sensitive, while native speakers are attuned to MI (mutual information, or the degree of the formula fixedness).

As for collocations, González Fernández and Schmitt (2015) found only a relatively weak link between frequency of occurrence in input materials and their productive knowledge, and concluded that frequency cannot be used as the major predictor of collocation learning. This correlates with Durrant's (2014) analysis of nineteen collocation studies, which found that frequency was only modestly responsible for the collocation uptake. According to Gonzalez and Schmitt (2015), the success in mastering formulaic sequences is more dependent on the amount of meaningful language use and informal exposure to the target language that engages learners in everyday communicative situations (reading, watching TV or films, social networking, etc.). The results are supported by the study done by Macis and Schmitt (2017), which suggests the importance of students' engagement for learning gains, and Schmitt, who points out that 'students' motivation and attitude matter, as even the best materials are no good if students don't engage with them', and that 'there is an effect of students' strategic behavior [...] where one's self-regulation of learning leads to more involvement with and use of vocabulary learning strategies, which in turn leads to a better mastery of their use' (Schmitt, 2008, p. 338) .

The hypothesis of involvement importance has been supported by the research conducted by Reuterskiöld and Van Lancker Sidtis (2012), who explored comprehension and retention of L1 idioms by 9–14-year-old girls from a single spoken exposure in a natural interactive context. High rates of the accurate recognition and comprehension of the target idioms suggest a special relationship that formulaic expressions have to linguistic and social context, 'since the meaning of an idiom as a holistic unit is more strongly linked to the non-linguistic context than to the meaning of the individual linguistic components' (Reuterskiöld & Van Lancker Sidtis, 2012, p.16). It might be concluded that learners subjected to greater amounts of *meaningful* interaction will likely learn more formulaic sequences, as formulas can be viewed as 'consolidation of a specific, concrete explicit memory', which later become 'more schematic linguistic constructions' integrated into the system by implicit learning during subsequent input processing (Ellis, 2005, p. 320). The above findings are in line with Laufer and Hulstijn's (2001) hypothesis that draws attention to the need for vocabulary activities to promote depth of processing, by demanding learner involvement.

Meanwhile, an important limitation pointed out by Schmitt and Macis (2012) is that most L2 collocation studies to date have mainly focused on collocations with literal meanings, not figurative formulaic sequences. Therefore, it is still an open question to what degree the previous findings about frequency also apply to figurative collocations.

As for the results of intentional vocabulary uptake comparable with our experiment it is worth quoting Paul Pauwels (2018), who cites the outcomes of a number of experiments into intentional word acquisition, according to which the retention rate varies from about 25% on passive recall to about 52% of target lexis on passive recognition (Laufer & Rozovski-Roitblat, 2011), to the retention rates of over 70% in the research by Laufer and Fitzpatrick into intentional (word list) learning (Laufer 2005; Fitzpatrick et al., 2008). The limitations of the above studies in respect to our experiment is that primarily all of them targeted single words rather than collocations, and secondly final posttests to check the amount of retention were administered in various formats and over different time spans from the moment of initial lexis introduction.

A study into incidental vocabulary retention was conducted by Nguyen and Boers (2018), who discuss the outcomes of content-focused activities in the input-output-input sequence based on a video recording serving as an input text. According to the experiment results, which featured incidental vocabulary uptake, the summary group demonstrated twice better retention rates compared to comparison group (44.44% vs 22.22%) or 8 out of 18 target words vs 4 words. It should be noted though that the above retention rates have been demonstrated in single word learning procedures. The authors observe that although the difference between intentional and incidental learning is not always straightforward, the former can be emphasized by an explicit task given to the students to use the vocabulary presented in some practical activities of their own.

When it comes to the intentional learning of collocations, some previous research has proved its effectiveness (Peters, 2014, 2016), but relatively little is known about the outcomes of incidental acquisition of L2 collocations, with a number of factors viewed as essential predictors of collocational knowledge by some studies and dismissed as such by others (Garnier & Schmitt, 2016). Ana Pellicer-Sanchez (2017)

looked into the incidental acquisition of collocational knowledge from reading input. The research demonstrated that collocational knowledge is gained at a similar rate to the form and meaning of individual words. Incidental uptake of formulaic sequences from audio-visual input was in the focus of attention of Eva Puimege and Elke Peters (2019), who revealed a positive relationship between learners' prior vocabulary knowledge and the learning gains, while the strongest predictor of learning the form of formulaic sequences was established to be the pre-knowledge of the meaning of such formulas. At the same time, according to scholars (Pellicer-Sanchez, 2017; Szudarski, 2017), research into incidental uptake of L2 collocations is still relatively scarce, and the limited empirical evidence available now leaves a lot of questions unanswered as for the factors affecting their incidental acquisition.

The present study draws on Laufer and Hulstijn's hypothesis of task-induced involvement (or involvement load hypothesis) (Hulstijn & Laufer, 2001), which suggests three components of engagement that act as predictors of vocabulary uptake from a text—need, search, and evaluation. Both groups subjected to the experiment felt either an artificially created *need* (when learners had to find collocations in the article stimulated by their first translation task), or actual *need* of students (when they had to find collocations they would want to use in their essays); the tasks also prompted the learners to *search* for the vocabulary pieces in the input article to fill in the lexical lacunae they detected when trying to express their ideas; Group 2 students supposedly also had to *evaluate* the accuracy of their essays against the input text (Nguyen & Boers, 2018). Thus, the objective of this paper is primarily to assess the efficiency of collocational uptake by university students in two instances of intentional acquisition, which at the same time differ in the nature of their need component, and one of the groups being subjected to the evaluation element of the involvement load triad. It also aims to examine how additional productive output influenced the learning outcomes; and analyse what factors may have affected the target vocabulary uptake. A sub-aim of the study is to see how well upper-intermediate university students can identify collocations in an input text, and to assess the accuracy of the actual usage of the target lexis in Group 2 students' written output.

Our study is different from the available research in the following aspects: the object of study (we compare two ways of intentional acquisition of collocations in the

academic setting and look into the outcomes of collocation retention (productive form recall) after two weeks from the date of the initial encounter, and then after a month from the date of the first posttest); assessing the actual accuracy of the target lexis usage in the students' written output; the mode of learning, as the experiment occurred under the online mode of instruction due to the covid-19 pandemic. Initially it was also planned to compare the scope of collocational uptake in intentional vs incidental acquisition groups, in the course of the experiment though this part had to be cancelled.

Method

All the classes described below were conducted via Zoom application during the covid-19 lockdown in the spring of 2020. The tasks featured in the experiment in Groups 1 and 2 were part of their regular studies plan, while Group 3 students were asked to volunteer to participate in the study. Groups 1 and 2 are first-year students at the Faculties of History and Philosophy, who have a B1+/B2 level of English. After they completed the posttests, Group 2 students were informed about the intention to use quotations from their essays and results of their tests for the purpose of writing this article, without disclosing any of their names, to which they gave their oral consent. Group 3 are third-year students at the Faculty of Philosophy at B1+/B2 taking an English for Specific Purposes (ESP) course. Group 3 learners participated in the experiment on a voluntary basis in extracurricular online sessions and were aware of the fact that their participation would not affect their semester score.

A quantitative method was employed to calculate the number of lexical items used in the written output and later recalled in posttests. A qualitative method was applied to analyze the accuracy of the learners' productive output.

Participants

Group 1 consisted of 14 students altogether, while Group 2 of 15; and Group 3 of 18; the total of 29 students took part in the experiment (6 of Group 1; 12 of Group 2; 11 of Group 3), which equals the number of students who sent in their essays and wrote posttests, with female students prevailing (5/6 in Group 1; 7/12 in Group 2, 8/11 in Group 3).

Group 1

Group 1 students wrote an essay on the prospects of higher education under new circumstances, and over the following week they were given feedback on the essays via email. The subject was selected due to its topicality at the time of conducting the experiment to enhance the students' involvement with the task and provide them with an opportunity of meaningful engagement with L2 in their classroom activities. In the next class they read an article on the same subject and were asked to find the collocations that could have been useful for them in writing the essay. The text was a part of the article *Is online learning the future of education?*[1], which had been abridged for the purpose of classroom usage. Then the students compared the lists of their collocations and did some gap fill exercises. Because the group had initially been planned for incidental uptake experiment, the learners were neither asked explicitly to memorize the lexis, nor warned of the forthcoming test. After two weeks they were offered a translation task based on the detected collocations. The sentences did not offer any necessities for translation transformations and could be translated into L2 mostly keeping the L1 grammar structures, the focus there was on identifying the target lexical items. Only 6 students out of the group's 14 completed the task, with absolute majority of the target collocations unidentified.

Initially, it had been planned to conduct a second posttest in this group a month later but after the first test it became clear the initial plan would not make sense, as the students seemed quite reluctant to participate and the test outcomes turned out rather poor.

The study therefore concentrated on revealing the difference in the learning gains between Group 2 and Group 3 subjected to intentional mode of acquisition. The groups were different in their *need* component: an actual need of Group 2 students which arose in the course of their essay writing, and an artificially created need of Group 3 stimulated by the initial test they were offered. The experiment also aimed at examining the impact that the additional productive output (essay writing) had on the learning outcomes in Group 2, which gave the group an extra opportunity of the target lexis *evaluation*.

[1] https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/09/is-online-learning-the-future-of-education

Group 2

Twelve students out of the group's 15 participated in the study. In the first class the learners were offered the same article as Group 1, in which they had to identify collocations. After their suggestions had been put forward, the whole group discussed various kinds of formulaic language, and the students were offered a final list of the target collocations. As homework the learners were asked to write a 250-300 word essay on the online prospects of higher education. They had to use as many target collocations as they could in their essays. Thirteen students sent in their essays, although just 11 used at least one target lexical item, and one essay was a copy-paste from the internet. The author of this text was not included into the final results analysis. Over the course of the next two weeks the essays were received from the group and feedback was sent to them on the accuracy of their collocational usage. In the class following the essay submission deadline, the students took a module test assessing their target lexis recall through offering them sentences in Ukrainian containing target collocations which they had to translate into English. The test was similar to the one offered to Group 1 and did not call for any complex translation solutions. The test addressed the learners' productive form recall of the target lexis. The students had been warned about the test; therefore, their mode of learning was intentional. The second posttest was conducted after about a month from the date of the first posttest. It aimed to see change in the amount of recall. The second (delayed) posttest was done in a list-format with target collocations given in Ukrainian and a task to render them into English. The translation format was chosen deliberately to streamline the learners' recall task without supplying them with any L2 cues, like initial letters of target collocations. The items in posttest 2 were listed in a sequence different from the sentence-based posttest 1.

Group 3

Eleven third year students out of the group's 18 volunteered to participate in the experiment. In the initial stage the learners were asked to do a translation test, which was sent to them by email. The test, the same as the one given to Groups 1 and 2, consisted of sentences in Ukrainian which called for the target collocations to be used in their English translation. This stage was supposed to have the learners feel the lacunae in their vocabulary stock and create an artificial *need* for the lexis they might be missing.

The only target expressions the learners came up with were "in (the) face of" (4 students) and "achieve an aim" (3 students). After that, in a zoom session, they had to find the target collocations in the offered article, which turned out quite easy for them to do. They were asked to memorize the target vocabulary in any way that they usually do, and after 14 days from visiting the article the students were asked to do a list based posttest where they were given the target phrases in Ukrainian and they had to reproduce their meaning in English. They took another identical posttest a month from the first one, with the items given in a different sequence. Ten students out of the eleven who had initially agreed to participate in the study did the test at home and sent their results by email. Because the learners were explicitly asked to memorize the target vocabulary and were aware of the test dates, their mode of learning was intentional.

Results

The main aim of our experiment was to research and assess the perception, internalization, and application of collocations by B1+/B2 ESP students of a Ukrainian university. First-year students took part in the experiment as part of their English language syllabus, while third-year students participated in the experiment on a good will basis. A sub-aim of the study was evaluating upper-intermediate learners' skill of identifying L2 collocations in an input text.

Group 2 and Group 3 turned out to have different recall rates per collocation. Whereas Group 3's delayed posttest top recalled units were *dire need*, *in face of*, and *prospective students* (recalled by 90-100% of students), Group 2's top recalled was *prospective students* (92%), followed by *in face of*, *tertiary education*, and *achieve an aim* (75%). The item least recalled in the delayed posttest by both groups was *make great strides* (recalled by only 34% of Group 2 as a full unit with the right adjective, and only by one student in Group 3, who recalled its form as 'make a great strides'). The final learning gains in Group 2 appear to have no direct relation to the usage rate of a corresponding collocation in the learners' essays (difference in the recall rate vs usage rate can amount to 40% in the case of *in face of*), while the final results of Group 2 and 3 generally are more consistent with the uptake both groups demonstrated in their first posttest (the recall rate stays on average within 10% fluctuation between the posttests).

At the same time, the gains demonstrated by Group 3 are characterized by extreme values, unlike those of Group 2: two items (*dire need, in face of*) were recalled by all Group 3 students, while the least remembered item by just 10% of the students vs 92% and 34% rate respectively for Group 2. Table 1 summarizes the results demonstrated by the students in the conducted tests and the written output.

Table 1

Group 2 & 3's Summarized Learning Outcomes

Collocation	**Group 2 times recalled (used)/total Sts**			**Group 3 times recalled /total Sts**	
	Essay	***Posttest 1***	***Posttest 2***	***Posttest 1***	***Posttest 2*****
Dire need	50% (6/12)	75% (9/12)	67% (8/12)	100% (11/11)	100% (10/10)
In face of	34% (4/12)	75% (9/12)	75% (9/12)	100% (11/11)	100% (10/10)
Tertiary education	84% (10/12)	67% (8/12)	75% (9/12)	55% (6/11)	40% (4/10)
Make good on	17% (2/12)	50% (6/12)	42% (5/12)	27% (3/11)	20% (2/10)
Achieve an aim	42% (5/12)	75% (9/12)	75% (9/12)	81% (9/11)	70% (7/10)
Prospective students	58% (7/12)	67% (8/12)	92% (11/12)	81% (9/11)	90% (9/10)
Traditional classroom features	50% (6/12)	34% (4/12)	50% (6/12)	63% (7/11)	40% (4/10)
Make strides	75% (9/12)	75% (9/12)	50% (6/12)	36% (4/11)	30% (3/10)
(Make) great strides*	67% (8/12)	67% (8/12)	34% (4/12)	18% (2/11)	10% (1/10) ***
Insurmountable obstacle	42% (5/12)	34% (4/12)	50% (6/12)	45% (5/11)	40% (4/10)

Note: *Due to frequent usage of 'make strides' instead of 'make great strides' it was decided to split this idiom into two for final analysis, as both forms of the idiom are defined as correct by dictionaries.

**Results are calculated for the ten students who participated in the second posttest, not the eleven students who had initially participated in the experiment.

***The collocation form was recalled as "make a great strides".

A more detailed target collocations usage in the students' written output is displayed in Table 2. On average the learners managed to integrate over a half of the vocabulary into their essays (5.3 collocations out of 10). The most frequently encountered vocabulary items were *tertiary education* used by 11 out of the 12 students (92%) and *make great strides* by 10 out of 12 (84%), the least popular lexical item was *make good on*

used by only 2 learners (17%). The expressions which featured on top of the usage list were also those used mostly incorrectly: *make great strides* and *make good on.*

Table 2

Target collocation usage in written output by Group 2

Vocabulary aspects	**Written Output**
Students who used at least one expression	11/12
The average number of expressions used per students	5.3/10
Mostly incorrectly	make great strides (2/9); in the face of (1/4); make good on (1/2)
The highest scored student	10/10
The least scored student	3/10
The most frequently used	tertiary education (11/12); make great strides (10/12)
The least used	make good on (2/12)

The use of target vocabulary by student is represented in Table 3.

Table 3

Target Vocabulary Usage/ Recall by Student

Group 2				**Group 3**			
Student	**Essay**	**Posttest1**	**Posttest2**	**Student**	**Pretest**	**Posttest1**	**Posttest 2**
St 1	5	8	5	St1	1 (face*)	9	8
St 2	8	6	7	St 2	1 (face)	8	8
St 3	6	4	7	St 3	1 (face)	9	7
St 4	4	6	8	St 4	0	7	6
St 5	3	6	4	St 5	1 (face)	6	6
St 6	9	4	6	St 6	1 (aim**)	7	5
St 7	5	10	6	St 7	1 (aim)	6	4
St 8	0	3	4	St 8	0	6	3
St 9	4	6	6	St 9	1 (aim)	5	4
St 10	3	7	5	St 10	0	4	4
St 11	7	4	7	St 11	0	3	--
St 12	10	4	6				
Average:	**5.34/10**	**5.67/10**	**5.92/10**	**Average:**	**0.64/10**	**6.36/10**	**5.5/ 10**

Note: * *face* stands for "in (the) face of"; ***aim* = "achieve an aim"

Group 2 on average used 5.34/10 collocations in their essays, demonstrated the average recall rate of 5.67/10 expressions in the earlier posttest, and 5.92/10 recall in the last posttest. The learner gains in the delayed posttest do not seem to correlate with the amount of the target vocabulary in the essay, e.g. the student who did not come up with any target vocabulary items in their essay still managed to remember 4 target

items, which was even higher than the result in the first test. While the students who used maximum vocabulary (9 and 10 items) managed to recall 6 expressions. Meanwhile, the recall rate of Group 3 fell from 6.36 from the first to 5.5/10 in the second posttest.

Discussion

One of the aims of our study was to see how effectively upper-intermediate university students can identify collocations in an input text. It was observed that both Group 1 and Group 2, asked to identify collocations in the input text without any extra prompts, tended to go for phrasal verbs rather than verb/ adjective + noun constructions. This confirms Boers and Lindstromberg's (2009) doubts about the learners' ability to identify collocations on their own, and a notorious vagueness of the definition of 'collocation' for English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learners.

Initially, it had been planned to conduct the experiment in three groups, with one of them subjected to incidental acquisition. In this group (Group 1) only 6 students out of 14 completed the online test (sentences in Ukrainian featuring the target collocations to be translated into English), which followed the classroom discussion of the target vocabulary. In absolute majority of cases the target collocations failed to be identified. It could seem that the two collocations which were unfamiliar to the students - 'make great strides' and 'make good on' - would have attracted their attention and required extra mental effort to retain, which may have resulted in higher retention rates. However, it was not the case – the items were recalled by only two learners. The most popular collocation turned out to be 'achieve an aim' which was recalled by 5 students out of 6, the next was 'in (the) face of' – 3 times, and 'tertiary education' (2 times) – all the rest of students stuck to the old favorites like 'higher' or ('high') education. 'Prospective students' were forgotten in favor of 'future' or 'students to be', 'classroom' in favor of 'learning', 'insurmountable obstacle' was replaced by 'unbeatable'. Due to the learners' reluctance and poor results the second part of the experiment in their group had to be cancelled, while the few results obtained in the first test turned the incidental uptake research into unrepresentative.

Another objective of the study was to assess the accuracy of the target lexis usage in the students' written output: eleven students out of Group 2's 13 used at least

one target collocation in their essays, the most popular being 'tertiary education' and 'make (great) strides in', which could be explained by the relevance of this vocabulary for the subject of the essay, and the students' desire to practice the collocation that was new to them. Other popular expressions included: 'in dire need', 'prospective students', 'traditional classroom features', 'in (the) face of'. The least used multi-word unit turned out to be the collocation 'make good on' which had most probably been unknown to the learners before they read the article and which the context did not readily call for. The expressions used mostly incorrectly were 'make great strides' and 'make good on', which was quite foreseeable as they were unfamiliar to the students, and their idiomatic component turned their correct use into a challenge, as well as 'in the face of', a close equivalent of the learners' L1 idiom, which had seemed unlikely to pose difficulties.

Sample incorrect usage of target collocations can be found in the following extracts from the learners' essays:

- "people have *made great strides* in advances in technology": pleonasm, as the collocation means 'advances';
- "*in the face* of almost two months of self-isolation, we need to improve methods…": it sounds like these two months will come in future, although in fact they had been over at the moment of essay writing. The author most probably meant "based on";
- "a large number of self-study tasks […], *making good on* which is also a difficult challenge": the student obviously confused the meaning of the collocation with 'performing well on a task'.

Another frequently misused item was 'traditional classroom features', in which *classroom* –despite explicit discussion in the lesson - was not viewed as a metonymy, a synonym to 'learning', but in its more familiar meaning of 'premises where studying occurs': "Traditional classroom education features form social skills" or in: "traditional features of seminars and classrooms'', where 'classroom' is wrongly used as a synonym for 'a lecture'.

In the first posttest in Group 2 one of the worst remembered items turned out to be 'make good on' – recalled by only 50% of the students, which was only surpassed by 'insurmountable obstacle' and 'traditional classroom features' (34% recall rate each).

The former posed problems recalling the correct adjective, while in the latter 'classroom' was commonly replaced by 'educational' features, which corresponds to the adjective with the same meaning in the learners' L1. The most well remembered items were 'dire need', 'in face of', 'achieve an aim', 'make strides' with 75% retention rate each. At the same time, there was no direct correlation between these recall rates and the usage of the items in the students' essays: it ranged from 34% ('in face of') to 75% ('make strides').

The Group 2 immediate and delayed posttests showed different learning gains for different items: two items were recalled by 75% of the learners in both tests; four items increased recall rate in the second posttest; and other four decreased, including 'make great strides' and 'make good on'. The overall recall rate in Group 2 slightly increased – from 5.67 to 5.92 items. The most well remembered item was 'prospective student' (92%), although it had not been frequently used in the essays (58%), 'dire need', 'in face of', 'achieve an aim', 'tertiary education' all showed consistently high recall rates in both Group 2 posttests. Something unexpected was the idiom 'make great strides in' which was one of the students' top used expressions in essay writing, had a high recall rate in the first posttest, but after a month was retained by only half of the group, with only four students able to recall its full form with the adjective 'great'. Incidentally, the idiom was among the worst recalled for Group 3 as well. The only student who was close to the reproduction of its form came up with 'make a great strides', other two remembered 'make strides' with the right adjective missing. The other three collocations with 75% recall rate in the first posttest showed approximately the same retention rates after a month.

As for the impact of the written output on the final learning outcomes, unlike the results demonstrated by the single word recall experiment by Nguyen and Boers (2018), where the output group demonstrated a twice better learning rate, the present study Group 2 subjected to written output did not come up with radically better results compared to Group 3, who did not write essays: nearly 6 items out of ten remembered by Group 2 in the delayed posttest, vs 5.5 items recalled by Group 3. Meanwhile, there is no consistent correlation between the recall rate of certain items by the Group 2 students in the delayed posttest and their usage in the essays. In other words, although 'in face of' was among the least used items (34%), it then was recalled

by 75% of the learners in the delayed posttest, or 'make strides' used by 75% of the learners in their essays and later recalled by only half of the group. A more or less consistent result however is demonstrated here by the unfamiliar 'make good on' – the lowest usage in the essays (17%) and one of the lowest recall rates (42%) in the delayed posttest, testifying to the importance of the prior (at least passive) awareness of the meaning and the form of the collocation.

Against this background it is worth looking at the results of the no-output Group 3: although their final score was only slightly lower than Group 2's (Group 2's 5.92 vs Group 3's 5.5), in fact it dropped from 6.36 in their first posttest: while three learners managed to come up in the delayed posttest with the same results as in the first one, the rest of the students performed worse, forgetting from one to three expressions in the course of four weeks. Unlike Group 3, Group 2 demonstrated a tendency to improving their gains. It could be therefore assumed that in a longer perspective Group 3's recall rate might continue decreasing, while Group 2's prospects appear more hopeful. The learning outcomes attested in this research (55-59% of the target lexis retained in productive recall) are somewhat higher than the results cited in Pauwels (2018) for single words recall rate. Generally, it could be concluded that although the written output did not seem to dramatically increase the group's recall rate, it is still likely to have benefitted retention in a long-term perspective. These findings may suggest a higher effectiveness of the *actual need,* which motivated the Group 2 students to find collocations they would like to use in texts of their own, combined with the *evaluation* component, compared to the *'artificial' need*, when learners had to find collocations in the article stimulated by their first translation task.

The items best remembered by the groups 2 and 3 were 'in face of' (75% and 100% recall respectively), and 'prospective students' (92% and 90%), which could be explained by the closeness of the form and meaning of the collocation to corresponding lexical items in learners' L1. These observations are in contrast with the fact that the Group 3 learners were rather poor at recalling the collocation 'achieve an aim', equivalent to their L1 phrase, whose meaning the learners had definitely known prior to the experiment. The reason behind it could be the students' awareness of other synonyms of the verb 'to achieve', e.g. *to reach a goal* which rather did

learners a disservice in this case. Similarly to Group 2, the worst recalled items were 'make great strides in' and 'make good on', whose form and meaning had been unfamiliar to the learners before the test. Overall, the results of the present research correlate with the findings attested by the research by Puimege and Peters (2020), which suggested that the learners' pre-knowledge of the meaning of formulaic sentences was the strongest predictor of their learning gains.

The experiment revealed unexpected psychological implications connected with the unconventional online mode of instruction. First-year students of the Faculty of Philosophy appeared quite reluctant to participate in the research; as a result, the initial plan of the study had to be altered accordingly. Under normal conditions of study, before the lockdown set in, the learners had acted responsively in class, so the change in our rapport came as a surprise. At the same time, the other two groups took an active part in the experiment, although for the third-year group the participation was conducted on a good will basis.

Limitations

As any classroom-based experiment, the present study has temporal limitations. Learners' recall rate can only be assessed over a certain time span, which correlates with a course duration. This makes it impossible to attest the students' longer-term learning gains, unless the teacher is lucky enough to teach the same group over longer spans of time. So, in the case of this experiment, it remains a question how durable the attested results are, if with time the learners' uptake will turn into receptive recognition, or the learners will manage to keep the items in productive usage. It is also impossible to analyse with a large degree of objectivity the amount of learners' productive use of the target lexis, as the teacher fails to hear 100% of the students' spoken output even in the regular classroom, not to mention online classroom chat rooms or the learners' engagement with L2 outside of the classroom. Therefore, only productive form recall could be attested more or less objectively.

Another limitation is related to the mode of conducting the study. Because all the posttests had to be run online, it was impossible to see how diligent the learners were while doing them.

Conclusions

The productive collocational competence is crucial for English language learners to become fluent and instrumental in their use of L2 in various contexts, including the academic environment. The implications of the present study for the classroom indicate that the most challenging type of collocations are those which have nothing in common - form or meaning - with the students' L1 and that the most effective way of acquiring the collocational form-meaning link is intentional learning with the possibility of using the target items in a productive output. EFL and ESP university syllabuses should accommodate activities aimed at explicit teaching and further revisiting of collocational vocabulary in communicative classes, which traditionally favor meaning-oriented tasks instead of intentional memorizing of vocabulary lists. Another indispensable condition of internalizing collocations is regular recycling, which should feature in corresponding lesson planning and appears feasible in university context, which offers regular L2 instruction in groups with consistent participants.

The experiment was conducted under the online mode of learning, new for the ESP university environment, which calls for further investigation of effective strategies applicable under such studying conditions, given a major shift to online learning due to the current circumstances.

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ANÁLISIS DEL DISCURSO EN LA ERA DIGITAL. UNA RECOPILACIÓN DE CASOS DE ESTUDIO – BOOK REVIEW

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Book details

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Análisis del discurso en la era digital. Una recopilación de casos de estudio

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Communication among human beings cannot be stopped. More specifically, digital communication is the sign of our times and the main symbol of developed western civilization in the late 20th and early 21st century. Even though the "digital era" was inexorably on the rise in recent decades even before the coronavirus raised its ugly head in 2020, now it is relentlessly bound to increase its presence and keep a firm grip on our daily routine. Digitalization has come to stay and the number of routes deriving from the new circumstances of imposed limitation of human contact, interaction and intercourse are expected to grow and grow: the sky is the limit. The research currently carried out worldwide on discourse analysis continues to be constantly updated and enriched. This has been more so in the last forty years thanks to the new-fangled approaches provided by the seminal contributions of Spitzer, Harris, van Dijk or Keller, to name but a few of the most relevant scholars. Evidence of this increasing trend of exploration within the boundless confines of the new technologies in linguistic communication is the latest book by editors José Belda-Medina and Ricardo Casañ-Pitarch.

Análisis del discurso en la era digital consists of a collection of eight samples of the research currently in progress in Spanish universities and in some other southern European universities. The volume first attracts the scholarly reader's eye due to the variety of different approaches employed by its authors. The eight chapters demonstrate the sheer abundance and diversity of paths that discourse analysis offers the digital era in which we are deeply immersed today and which we will presumably still be in the following decades to come. Each one of the eight chapters introduces a new way of showing the power of digitalization in Arts and Humanities.

Belda-Medina and Casañ-Pitarch's choice of contributions aims to pursue this fashion of exploration. Indeed, their book deploys the profound research duly carried out by a number of (mainly) Spanish authors and boasts a wide number of distinct approximations in the multidisciplinary field of digital discourse, a subject in constant growth. The book is "about" different digital perspectives used to address discourse analysis, as the editors clearly write in their "Introducción" (xi-xiii). It does not aim to scrutinize the different approaches of discourse analysis (nor does it offer an updated taxonomy) but to provide specific and realistic cases within the digital context, especially now, in the times of irritating curfews, lockdown and confinement due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Raúl Díaz Rosales, author of "Avances tecnológicos en lexicografía: las fronteras de una revolución (pendiente)" (pp. 1-13), focuses on the technological advances of lexicography and the clash of commercial interests existing between more conservative lexicographers who struggle to maintain paper dictionaries and more modern lexicographers who aim at digitalizing reference books for practical and economic reasons (low cost, constant updating, hyper-textuality, compatibility, multimedia, personalization, easy portability, reduced space, democratization of knowledge, etc.). Díaz Rosales pays special attention to electronic formats and digital editions of *Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua Española*, *Diccionario Clave*, María Moliner's *Diccionario de uso del español*, RAE's *Nuevo Diccionario Histórico*, etc.

Rocío Díaz-Bravo and Gael Vaamonde have authored "Creación de ediciones digitales para lingüistas de corpus: el caso del *Retrato de la Loçana andaluza*" (pp. 15-36), where they have diligently shown the simultaneous philological and linguistic possibilities of the digital edition of the Renaissance priest Francisco Delicado's dialogued novel. Indeed, *Lozana Digital* constitutes an example of an analysis of a literary text (which is characterised for its abundance in oral and colloquial expressions) through the creation of a normalized, lemmatised and annotated corpus. In this specific case, the authors have combined discourse analysis methodology with corpus linguistics and the employment of the online platform TEITOK.

Juan Rojas García uses his chapter "Application of topic modelling for the extraction of terms related to named bays" (pp. 37-55) to explain how to obtain geographical terminology about worldwide bays from coastal engineering texts, for which he employs LexiCon, a terminological resource specially created by the University of Granada. His purpose is to aid the user/translator to have access to different types of relevant knowledge on vocabulary and terminology about this specific domain of environmental science (such as their categorization, the relationship existing between different levels and the semantic roles of these geographical terms, etc.).

In "Primeras catas en un corpus de textos museísticos traducidos (inglés-español)" (pp. 57-73), Jorge Leiva Rojo has concentrated on the analysis of twenty-one museum and art gallery webpages of New York City originally written in English and later translated into Spanish in the last twenty years and collected and grouped into two different sub-corpora, *musa19en* and *musa19es*. Special attention has been granted to the

use of the word "curator", usually translated as "comisario" or "conservador" in Peninsular Spanish and "curador" in overseas Spanish. The author also shows his surprise at discovering that the key terms most amply used in these texts are related to cognitive deficiencies such as "Alzheimer" and "dementia" and their Spanish equivalents.

In Elena Domínguez Romero's chapter "Digital newspaper readers' use of visual evidential positioning strategies towards immigration" (pp. 75-85), the author constructs a corpus based on the reactions of Spanish online newspaper readers to the current Spanish Prime Minister's immigration policies. Her intention is to study the readers' use of visual, conceptual and social communication-based evidential positioning strategies which, she concludes, are based on distribution and usage and are conditioned by the presumed ideologies of the readership of each of the selected Spanish newspapers. She pays special attention to the use of the verb "ver" and subsequent visual-based constructions in the digital press.

In "Stative and dynamic perception verbs at the syntax-semantics interface" (pp. 87-101), Rocío Puerto-Cano uses SynSem Interface and the Sketch Engine corpus tool to elucidate the connection existing between syntax and semantics by analysing the relationship between stative and dynamic verbs of perception found in several relevant monolingual dictionaries and the databank The British National Corpus. She reaches the conclusion that it is more relevant to speak of different stative and dynamic meanings than of stative and dynamic verbs. She attributes this change of meaning in stative and dynamic verbs to the role of metaphorical language ("metaphorical extension").

Amal Haddad-Haddad uses her chapter "Climate change neologisms: a case of direct translation in an English-Arabic corpus" (pp. 101-116) to concentrate on the generation of scientific neologisms in Arabic, a specially challenging process taking into consideration that English and Arabic are culturally very distant languages. Haddad-Haddad emphasizes the need to use sets of metaphorical linguistic expressions to be able to realise the appropriate translation processes. She therefore analyses the metaphorization process in the domain of climate change, more specifically in the "coral bleaching" metaphor in both languages. In order to do so she applies the principles of the cognitive approach known as Frame-Based Terminology.

Finally, Raluca Levonian, author of "Virtual war and real peace: the presentation of the North-Atlantic alliance in social media discourse" (pp. 117-135), studies the corpus

of messages that has been published in the last two or three years in Facebook by the NATO Force Integration Unit of Romania in relation to issues related to peace and war. A pragmalinguistic perspective has been employed by Levonian to show the relevance of Facebook messages and other social media discourse to create a positive atmosphere and disposition in the shaping of public opinion and the popularization of specialised knowledge.

Another aspect of the book is the two languages employed. Out of eight chapters, three (as well as the Introduction) are written in the Spanish language and five in English. This is undoubtedly a clear sign of the intention of universality that the editors wish to grant to the scope of their book. Although the different chapters have been predominantly written in Spanish and English, other languages are also analysed on its pages: examples are provided in Arabic, Italian and Romanian too. From a more formal stand, even though the written idiolects of the nine contributions do naturally vary from one author to the other, the editors have made sure that they all have in common an admirable academic decorum and clarity of speech that denote an efficient editing technique. However, as any human work rarely reaches perfection, some minor slips of the pen have been found, the most serious of which appear in the titles in two of the English contributions: "an english-arabic corpus" (ch. 7) or "north-atlantic alliance" (ch. 8), or even in the use of the odd colloquial expression such as "pretty similar" (p. 100) in the main text.

Belda-Medina and Casañ-Pitarch's *Análisis del discurso en la era digital* constitutes a multifarious mosaic of digital approaches used to spread knowledge. The joint effort made both by editors and contributors is an attempt to construct an innovative (and certainly colourful) palette in the ever-changing world of linguistic research. The book fulfills its two main objectives, that is, to allow the avid researcher to get to know and understand the digital revolution from a practical linguistic perspective and to encourage future scholars to search for new paths towards a more interlinked world to disseminate culture, knowledge and wisdom. Indeed, this work certainly constitutes a fine example of an updated snapshot of the current state of digital linguistics and should therefore not be absent from scholarly library shelves.

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