Sandhya Rao Mehta *Editor*

Language and Literature in a Glocal World

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Foreword

In his visionary 'Modernity at Large: The Cultural Consequences of Globalization', Arjun Appadurai pointed towards a fundamental transformation of the social world, and he designed the term "vernacular globalization" for it:

> The megarhetoric of developmental modernization (…) in many countries is still with us. But it is often punctuated, interrogated, and domesticated by the micronarratives of film, television, music and other expressive forms, which allow modernization to be rewritten more as vernacular globalization and less as a concession to large-scale national and international policies. (Appadurai 1996, p. 10)

Appadurai saw this transformation as nothing less than a new stage or form of Modernity, a reorganization both of phenomena in the social world and of our frames for imagining such phenomena. We are now no longer contemplating worldwide processes of linear influencing, borrowing or 'acculturation' (such as 'Westernization'), but rather a highly complex, fractured and multifocal and multi-scalar range of connected phenomena, for which simple binaries such as 'local' versus 'global' can no longer aspire to be adequate. The very big 'global' phenomena (think of cultural templates such as HipHop, or systemic modes of economic transaction such as neoliberalism) cannot be observed as such; they can only be observed in their actual, 'local' realities of enactment and implementation. In other words, we can only see the global through the local, but we must be mindful of the fact that the 'local' itself must now be seen as shot through with features, forces, and influences from other scale-levels. The local *and* the global both assume the empirical reality of 'glocal' phenomena.

Appadurai pointed to the importance of new communication technologies for our understanding of vernacular globalization. In a world in which the infrastructures of social interaction had been dramatically reconfigured, particularly by enabling access to higher-scale-level sources of cultural material, intense patterns of cultural change could be expected. Erstwhile centres and margins would be reshuffled into newly configured spaces of creativity, and bodies of sociocultural knowledge and practice previously called 'traditions' (such as 'African' or 'European' traditions) would likewise be shown to be porous, hybridized, and

dynamic. This fine collection of essays offers up-to-date analyses of just that. The storyline that holds the various chapters together is that of the complexity of 'glocal' phenomena, of the need to analytically re-imagine the processes and practices in which they occur and operate, and of the need to critically revisit (and perhaps surrender) some of the well-established tools of scientific examination: the binaries of the local and the global, the prevalence of the nation-state and of separate 'cultures' as units of analysis, the structuralist and static imagination of language and meaning and that of the linear character of interaction and understanding. The fundamental imagination animating this book is one in which we live in, a world of mobile accents, inflections, dynamically renegotiable understandings, flexible cultural adjustments to contexts and audiences, and relatively unproblematic intensity in engagement over and beyond traditionally, and often normatively, proposed boundaries. This book takes us to the heart of vernacular globalization.

It does so precisely by targeting the complexities of new forms of communication and interaction: the rise and development of vernacular, 'glocal' lingua francae and new modes of 'glocal' discursive practice, the emerging and transforming 'crossover' literature and the heightened relevance (and complications) of translation as a vital 'glocal' competence. All of these phenomena belong to a world in which interaction, sharing and borrowing have been intensified and technologically facilitated. This is a world characterized by new affordances and opportunities—surely—but also by new challenges and problems of inequality, misunderstanding, neglect, and exclusion. The research displayed in the chapters of this book does not suffer from naiveté in this respect, but directly engages with these challenges and problems, aware of their urgency and relevance and aware of the possible contribution of research to addressing them.

I attended the wonderful conference at Sultan Qaboos University in Oman, and found myself in one of those newly configured spaces of creativity predicted by Appadurai. Until that moment, Oman had been part of the 'margins' of my world—geographical margins, but also intellectual margins—as my knowledge of the region and its intellectual life was distinctly insignificant. But I came away from the place with several newly acquired 'accents': I had encountered colleagues and students for whom my ignorance was a trigger for a dialogue in which, inviting me to learn, they quickly became a 'centre' for me, a new but enduring new node in my network. The intense creativity of that formative encounter also shines through in the chapters of this book. I congratulate all those involved in its construction; the result is, I believe, a product the relevance of which cannot be overestimated.

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Preface

The genesis of this critical anthology is a conference entitled *Connecting the Dots in a Glocalized World* hosted by the Department of English Language and Literature, Sultan Qaboos University, Oman. This volume investigates the multiple ways in which glocalization impacts languages as they are used in our world and the literatures it produces. Seen as a critical tool as well as a commercial, social, and political concept, glocalization defines itself in direct continuation of, and opposition to, globalization, which has often been seen to be synonymous to internationalization and standardization. In its attempts to establish a meaningful relationship between global forces and local applications, glocalization can be seen to be one of the most useful frames of reference to understand the new millennium, not only because it questions the binaries of centre and periphery but because it questions the very nature of the centre. Commonly used in marketing and digital contexts, glocalization has much to offer to our understanding of the way in which languages develop, are produced and consumed in a world which has ceased to be defined solely by national boundaries. As languages, particularly English, are spoken by more people across the world, they are also being re-created and re-invented into forms which are unique, not only to a specific region but to its speakers across the world, through its diasporas. This spread of language has repercussions on literature as well, as a whole host of literary production is instantly and simultaneously available in different parts of the world, raising questions about the nature of literature, including what should and could be read, and how the connections between these literatures from different parts of the world and in different languages could be made.

This volume approaches glocality as a disruptive process as well as a critical tool which continues to evolve as it faces an ever-changing world. It suggests that glocalization is a useful lens through which to view a world which is, at once, shrinking through technology, and one where people are also acutely aware and proud of their own distinctiveness. By creating ways of bringing communities together while retaining their individuality, glocalization empowers and creates agency at multiple levels, facilitating a more viable and equitable world.

The contributions in this volume, while testifying to the vibrancy of languages and literatures developing in various parts of the world, also grapple with accompanying predilections as to the nature of glocalization. Who determines what language is spoken where? What are the parameters and limits of a standard language? How does language travel across cultures? What are the implications of translation on language and literature? Who determines what is read by whom? What kind of connections can be made between the many literatures in the world? This volume addresses these and other concerns that are a part of the contemporary world.

This volume is divided into two parts, the first focusing on the role and nature of language in a glocalized world and the other exploring multiple ways in which world literatures can be read and connected to specific, individual contexts, but also to each other. The introductory chapter establishes a framework within which to understand glocalization, both as a continuation of, and contrary to, the forces of globalization. It expands the ways in which glocalization has developed as a theory in the last two decades and establishes its applicability to Language Studies as well as to World Literature, underlining the argument that glocalization allows for increased agency through recognition of diversity.

The nature of this diversity is the focus of Chap. 2, "Language in a Glocalized World", which examines the way in which languages, particularly English, have manoeuvred the centre-periphery divide to create new Englishes which empower the speakers in their local contexts. This is, however, not without its challenges, as Chandrika Balasubramanian suggests in Chap. 2, because the regional varieties of English, while flourishing among the speakers themselves, are not still accepted in formal, academic circles, even by those who are vocal in their advocacy of this diversity. While the implications of this divide continue to be discussed, the vibrancy of regional languages continues unabated, as the next three chapters illustrate. Rani Rubdy, in Chap. 3—"Code Alternation and Entextualization in Bilingual Advertising: The Construction of Glocal Identities in India's *Amul* Butter Ads"—looks at one example of language construction in the media by focusing on one of the most popular, and oldest, series of advertisements in India. Rubdy's chapter examines the various ways in which English is 'owned' by these advertisements which use multiple strategies of addressing a bilingual Indian audience. The two chapters which follow Rubdy's, similarly explore English in two other, very different, contexts and in different forms. Andrew Jocuns' "English in Thai Tourism: Global English as a Nexus of Practice" (Chap. 4) discusses the use of varieties of English in Thailand as they are practiced in different linguistic landscapes, especially in the tourism sector. Glenn Abastillas takes to exploring varieties of English in Philippines in "You Are What You Tweet: A Divergence in Code-Switching Practices in Cebuano and English Speakers in Philippines" (Chap. 5) by focusing on the way in which English is being used and re-created in the digital world. The next two chapters examine language from a semiotic point of view by looking at particular aspects and objects in everyday life to explore ways in which they are identified and owned by different communities. Rashmi Jacob and Alka Sharma—in Chap. 6, entitled "Naming Food and Creating Identity in Transnational Contexts" (Chap. 6)—explore the way in which food travels through

geographical spaces and absorbs different linguistic signs on its way, thus being re-produced at every stop. George Horvath in "The Semiotics of Flags: The New Zealand Flag Debate Deconstructed" (Chap. 7) similarly views the New Zealand flag as a sign, the debate around which offered an opportunity for the community to discuss issues on nationhood, identity, and belonging. Finally, the nexus between language, gender, and translation is explored by Agnieszka Pantuchowicz in her chapter "On Gender Silencing in Translation: A Case Study in Poland" (Chap. 8), which explores the way in which the choices made in language as they are reflected in translation are problematized through gender.

Part II of this volume, "Exploring Glocal Literatures", focuses on the notion of world literatures by exploring ways in which texts travel across physical spaces and address universal concerns of identity and belonging through unique perspectives which point to specific geographical as well as cultural concerns. This is the subject of Ian Almond's chapter "Looking at Myth in Modern Mexican Literature" (Chap. 9), which explores the ways in which myths transform and are re-invented in various cultures, specifically illustrated through Mexican myths. The subsequent two chapters focus on specific texts which grapple with issues of transnationalism in different global contexts. Micah Robbins' "'You Inside Me Inside You': Singularity and Multitude in Mohsin Hamid's *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia*" (Chap. 10) explores the tensions between the global and the local in a Pakistani context, while Fran Hassencahl voices the concerns and subsequent fears Turks felt when confronted with the reality of globalization, which is seen threatening their unique Turkish identity, in "Fears of Dissolution and Loss: Orhan Pamuk's Characters in Relation to the Treaty of Sèvres" (Chap. 11). Two chapters focus on African literature, the first one being Simona Klimkova's "Global Connections on a Local Scale: A Writer's Vision" (Chap. 12), which examines the connections Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o is making in his later novels between globalization and colonialism, with his firm belief in the social responsibility of a writer. The translation of literary texts is itself the subject of a larger discussion but one tentatively brought out in this volume through Mohamed Habib Kahlaoui's chapter, "Textual Deformation in Translating Literature: An Arabic Version of Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*" (Chap. 13), which studies a specific translation of the novel to discuss larger issues of the considerations to be taken into account for an effective translation of a literary text, especially when it is a classic. Finally, the pedagogical considerations of World Literature are considered as being of central importance to the way in which literature could be more immediately connected to the readers' own cultural context. Rosalind Buckton-Tucker's chapter "Pedagogical Perspectives on Travel Literature" (Chap. 14) brings together all the different aspects of glocalization in literature including production, circulation, and reception with the apt example of travel writing in the classroom.

The collection thus points to not only the complexities of glocalization, but to its multiple manifestations in language and literature. Glocality is an essential condition of the postmodern world, and a deeper, more layered, understanding of its various complexities is essential to understanding ways in which diversity and identity could be retained against the embrace of a homogenous world.

The editor would like to thank all contributors to this volume for their enthusiastic support and participation. Special thanks are also due to Prof. Jan Blommaert for his generous foreword, Najma Al-Zidjaly and Andrew Littlejohn for their encouragement, and the support staff of Springer, particularly Shinjini Chatterjee and Priya Vyas, for their suggestions and help in formatting this volume.

Muscat, Oman Sandhya Rao Mehta
2017

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Editor and Contributors

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Chapter 1
Introduction: Framing Studies in Glocalization

Sandhya Rao Mehta

Introduction

The *Matryoshka*, Russian dolls nestled one inside the other, has often been used to project an image of the new millennium, commonly referred to as a 'globalized' world in an economic, technological, sociological, and political sense (Roudometof, 2016a, 2016b). The dolls, one larger than the next, all nestle inside one another, making for an intimate, protective, group of identical objects inside an overarching figure, the largest of them all. As images reflecting a global world go, this one is rather unfortunate as it projects an image of a diverse, multifarious world, all wrapped under one seemingly benevolent but dominant figure. Globalization, a term which began to be frequently used in the early 1990s, pointed towards exciting new ways in which the world would be connected through trade, information flows, language, as well as technology. It was seen to be the great leveller, as access to consumer goods and information would be instantly available across all corners of the world. As such, Thomas Friedman's representation in his *The World is Flat* (2005) reflected the excitement of a world in which opportunities in new industries and trade seemed to abound. Globalization, initially a mercantile term commonly used for consumer goods, became synonymous with access to world markets as well as employment and entrepreneurial opportunities. This had repercussions on language and literature as well, for English instantly became the international language, being the primary language of technology, hospitality, and marketing, as well as a range of other industries, leading to the mushrooming of English-teaching institutions across the world, led by British and American bodies, offering coaching to face the coveted English language exams required to be taken by students aspiring to higher education, by economic migrants to the West, as well as by those joining international consumer

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sectors. With the onset of the new millennium, and corresponding political and economic events like the world recession of 2008, and public protests about the exploitation of workers in the developing world feeding a seemingly unending consumer demand, the price of globalization began to be felt. As newly independent nations attempted to emerge from the scathing effects of colonization and turned to nation building, conversations shifted from such an optimistic focus on levelling the world into a single template, as globalization was seen to be doing. With its focus on one language, one widely accepted way eating, dressing, teaching, and learning, globalization soon began to be seen as neo-colonization, with the West yet again impacting and suggesting best practices. As local, regional, and national communities asked for more representation and voice, largely enabled by digital technology, an intersection between the worlds of the global and the local—the glocal—increasingly became the norm. Viewed both as a unidirectional movement of goods and ideas from the local to the global sphere, as well as a more dynamic process of an intertwining of both, glocalization points to ways in which the transnational hybrid could be linked to associated notions of connecting global ideas with local applications. That this is not a smooth transition is apparent in the emerging tensions as the forces of globalization and localization impact the commercial world. This is largely because there was also "a bifurcation away from the historically powerful nation state in two directions: one upward towards a world increasingly dominated by multinational corporations and international and supranational entities …and one downward (as it were) towards regional aspirations, niche marketing, local inventions" (Swales, 2004, p. 11). Such tensions between micro and macro methods of governance and marketing have powerful implications in other areas of discourse, including sociology (urban studies), philosophy, education, and technology. Their implications of the ways in which language is adopted, adapted, consumed, and used, have led to extensive debates on the nature of international languages, especially English. Such debates have also involved the notion of literature in terms of raising questions about what is read by whom (readership), what is available to whom (access), and what the nature of world literature could be in the new millennium. The power of the local to impact the global is a developing debate whose contours continually change, leading to new ways of exploring and mapping the relationship between different parts of the (virtual, real, and imaginary) world together, underlining the dynamic relation between the two.

Globalization and Its Discontents

In spite of being, often, viewed as a late twentieth century phenomenon, globalization has been around since the early years of the ancient spice trade routes and the silk route, more than four thousand years ago, linking China and the Indian Ocean with western Europe (Finker, 2005; Rodrigues & Devezas, 2007; Foltz, 2010). Vasco De Gama's discovery of the sea route from the Cape of Good Hope and Columbus' arrival in North America have been also identified as key markers in

the establishment of a global world (O'Rourke and Williamson, 2002). The industrial revolution in the late nineteenth century, and the corresponding, and not coincidental, rise of the European colonial empires indicate another such moment of globalization, with the rise in international trade, albeit, at tremendous cost to the colonized territories (Ward, 1994; Gunn, 2003; Parthasarathi, 2011). The rise of digital technology, variously seen to be akin in impact to the invention of the printing press in Europe in the fifteenth century (Renn, 2012; Lule, 2015), most successfully created a global stage upon which the world's markets (and through it, its people and ideas) could equitably operate. While associated concepts, such as the 'global village' (McLuhan, 1964), have been used from the 1960s to refer to the internationalization of the world, 'globalization' as a term emerged in the marketing and academic discourse in the 1990s with the works of Giddens (1991) and Robertson (1992). Levitt (1983) breathlessly announced the winning formula for a global market in manufacturing, which would make products accessible to everyone in different parts of the world:

> The multinational and the global corporation are not the same thing. The multinational corporation operates in a number of countries, and adjusts its products and practices in each —at high relative costs. The global corporation operates with resolute constancy—at low relative cost—as if the entire world (or major regions of it) were a single entity; it sells the same things in the same way everywhere. (Levitt, 1983, p. 3)

Often equated with modernism (Beyer, 2007), early work on globalization suggested that "[w]hile modernization excluded various 'others' that were deemed either pre-modern/traditional or only on the way to modernization, globalization includes us all, even our 'others'" (Beyer, 2007, p. 98). Such enthusiasm was squashed fairly early on as the implications for equitable trade opportunities and worker exploitation, along with environmental and social consequences of unbridled production, came to the fore. As international clothing brands were seen to participate in the exploitation of labour, focusing on amassing profits by using cheap labour in Asia and Africa, as well as being acquiescent in global warming, globalization became suspect. This was equally true in Language Studies, as English rapidly became the single most commonly spoken language in the world (Graddol, 1997; Crystal, 2003), much to the peril of regional and national languages (Fishman, 1991; Kamwangamalu, 2003). The inevitable impact of a global language on literature was equally concerning, as canonical literature in its colonial format continued to retain relevance in the secondary and tertiary curricula of institutions across the world (Hassan, 2000).

In spite of the success of globalization to homogenize production and consumption, much of its subsequent impact can be seen to be its disruptive questioning of space and a breaking down of geographical boundaries which point to the problematics of nation-building pitted against currents of transnationalism and representation. Viewed as "multicentric, multiscalar, multitemporal, multiform and multicausal…" (Jessop, 2002, p. 97), globalization became necessarily identified with diversity and difference. It was, thus, co-opted with agendas of localization, as "[t]he reverse side of this mutual relation [of the local and the global] is that the

global cannot be global except as plural versions of the local" (Beyer, 2007, p. 98). Linked with emerging work in hybridity, transnationalism, creole and third-spaces, the movement away from connotations of "homogenization and standardization" (Robertson, 2013, p. 1) transformed perspectives on globalization to a more dynamic relation between global currents and local applications, both in a spatial sense of questioning the concept of the world as well as the temporal nature of globalization when equated with modernization.

Towards a Glocal World

Much like the antecedents of globalization, glocalization remains an economic, social, and political concept that continues to be used without strong theoretical foundations. Originally attributed to the Japanese farming technique of 'dochakuka', meaning to adapt to local conditions (Khondker, 2005, p. 185), it has been used in various academic areas of sociology, linguistics, and Urban Studies, but more successfully in the world of business and technology. It was initially used by Robertson (1995) to suggest the existence of several entities within the global, as "local globalization" (p. 28). As an evolving term to describe the new millennium, glocalization has been seen as the fragmentation of the global while retaining its original associations, much like the avatars in Hindu mythology (Roudometof, 2016a, 2016b), as a way of "experiencing the global locally or through local lenses" (p. 401), or as a top-down form of corporate control with concessions made to local conditions (Ritzer, 2000). It is also seen to be a version of cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2006) which is a "non-linear, dialectical process in which the universal and particular, the similar and the dissimilar, the global and the local are to be conceived, not as cultural polarities but as interconnected and reciprocally interpenetrating principles" (p. 73). This approach relates the glocal to other, more familiar and commonly used terms such as "hybrid, syncretism, transcultural, mestizae and creole" (Roudometof, 2015, p. 2) but is different in that a hybrid need not include the local but can be a combination of two or more different influences, while the glocal is necessarily a result of global ideas and local applications (Khondker, 2003). It is important to view the interrelationships of the glocal outside of the established ones within the Global North and South. Robertson's discussion of cultural exchanges within the Indian Ocean in Tripathi's work points to ways in which points of contact move away from the centres of academia. This is also the point of Khondker (2004) who used the example of Singapore to suggest that "Singapore's development model showed [a] certain mixed or hybrid quality" (p. 7), often without bringing Western models of development. Glocalization can thus be either seen to be top-down with organizations and institutions imposing a template with regional, local considerations, often referred to as 'MacDonaldization' (Ritzer, 2000) and 'Disneyization' (Bryman, 2004), or it could centre participatory platforms through culture, entertainment, and digital games (Jenkins, 2006).

Glocalization can also be usefully seen to have borrowed, or be an offshoot of, notions of hybridity and third space as seen in Bhaba (1994), Gilroy (2000), and of Appadurai (1990) who speaks of multiple 'ethnoscapes' as one of non-spatial geography characterized by "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals…" (p. 297). Such approaches work toward the creation and establishment of identities which are less constrained by space and cultural considerations. The increase in diasporic consciousness and technological nativism create spaces within which essential notions of fixed identities are rejected for the creative potential of fluid selves. Glocalization allows for such a movement across geographical and digital boundaries, allowing for a discourse which is as unfixed as it is open and explorative. As a geographical, spatial concept, the glocal is an outwardly moving idea connecting the local-national-global but, in the absence of these binaries in the transnational context of diaspora, migration, and digitalization, it remains a transcendent concept that is continually evolving beyond physical spaces. The glocal is thus an imaginary space (Roudometof, 2016a, 2016b, p. 777) which is collectively established by a community with shared interests. As Rao (2010) suggests: "The appeal of glocalization is in its conceptual elasticity and its ability to understand that locales (global, regional, national, provincial, local) overlap and mutually influence contexts and identities" (p. 5). It is, or can be, a space of resistance of the global, and in this way, antithetical to it, rather than a continuation of it. Roudometof (2015, p. 4) outlines various areas in which glocalization has been academically framed and, while language and literature remain outside his purview, they would benefit by being added to this list.

You Are What You Speak: Glocalizing Language

The consequences of glocality on language in a postcolonial world encompass not only the rise in awareness of the importance of a common language but also its development in various forms and ways in different parts of the world. With English being accepted as the most commonly used language in the world, as previously noted, it's imperial and annexationist nature could not be ignored for long. Examples of the way in which English has become the Global language is apparent in several anecdotal examples of protestors across the world carrying placards in English for the benefit of the world media, of a Taiwanese company signing a trade agreement with a Russian company in English and the predominance of English in the digital world, all of which have led to the growth of English as lingua franca.

Pennycook (1990) and Swales (1990), among many others, have commented on the way that English has rapidly taken over academic and social discourse, as well as the imperialist connotations of establishing a Standard English through internationally recognized exams like the IELTS and TOEFL. According to Phillipson, "whereas once Britannia ruled the waves, now it is English which rules them.

The British empire has given way to the empire of English" (1992, p. 1). Towards this end, Canagarajah, (1999) suggests that linguistic difference be seen, not as a handicap in language learning, but as an additional resource. Concomitant, however, is the rise of regional versions of language which have rapidly acquired legitimacy in Kachru's (1982) concentric circles. Examples of English as spoken in Singapore and China (Tsou, 2015) point to different uses of the language: as a way of connecting various citizens of a nation, as in Singapore (Alsagoff, 2010); or a way of being able to keep pace with the global market, as in China. The emergence of Singlish, Chinglish, and Hinglish testify to the circulation and development of language, in turn creating varieties of Englishes which are both created *and* consumed by the producers.

Such a rise in World Englishes has major implications on the way in which language is created and consumed at the local and global level (Mehta, 2012). The repercussions of such a rise are interesting, for, while academics argue for various varieties to be encouraged and accepted as legitimate forms apart from Standard English, a number of studies of the learners themselves suggest that students seem to prefer to have access to, and be able to use, Standard English, while notionally suggesting openness to regional varieties (Ammon, 2003; Galloway, 2013; Tsou, 2015; Jenkins, 2015). The synergy of glocalization, in which the local 'talks back' to the centre, runs counter-intuitive to the assumption that regional varieties would privilege established forms of English, but the continuing debates on this topic suggest that the conversation is far from over.

There is, however, a parallel world outside the classroom—in the media, popular culture, digital games, and advertisements—where the vivid world of emerging languages is most obvious. The rise of Hinglish, for example, continues to be documented in India, and amongst its diaspora, for its ability to simultaneously cross and embrace different cultures. The macaronic use of the language, through such strategies as code-switching and substitution, go a long way in situating this new form of language, not only in the metropolitan centres, but also, more importantly, in the suburban and hamlet towns of India where English is not only aspirational but actually reflects the privileged status of the speaker. Inhabiting a particular socio-semantic space (Thakur, 2008), Indian English continues to reinvent itself, both in the real and virtual world as well as in its literary manifestations, spurred by the 'prosumer', the producer who is also the consumer (Ritzer, Dean, & Jurgenson, 2012).

Glocalizing Literature

If the implications of glocalization on language and its use are multifarious, complex, and developing, their role in literature is equally layered, not least because of the questions they raise: What should be read in the glocal world? Who is reading? In what language? Who determines what is or should be read? Does glocalization redraw the lines along which literature is seen or does it reassert

established attitudes and prejudices? If glocalization is "the interpenetration of the global and the local, resulting in unique outcomes in different geographic areas" (Ritzer & Dean, 2015, p. 215), what implications does it have for the literature of the world? In the efforts to universalize the particular and particularize the universal (Robertson, 2013), how does literature retain its originality and still travel across cultures? To what extent has the conversation shifted from investigations of World Literature to 'world literatures'? Such questions are not just academic; they determine the way that literary works are received, both in the regions of production and of reception, following a procedure that still privileges English and the accepted (western) genres of literature. The multiple challenges facing literature in educational institutions are themselves an argument for redefining canonical works, and creating more inclusive literature which reflects on the readers' personal sensibilities.

The question of what is to be included in a 'World Literature' anthology continues to be significant, for the selections thus made represent the choices that determine what goes into the way a particular literary text is represented. As Smith (2011) suggests, World Literature captured the interest of American universities in the years following the Second World War, a time that saw rapid de-colonization, increased migration, as well as the rise of America as a superpower. The anthologies thus produced evoked the sense of a unified America and Europe, with concessions made to non-English works concentrated in Western Europe. This led "the consolidation of a Western world literature canon whose implicit, decontextualized 'greatness' precludes challenge, and whose works dominated the syllabi of world literature survey courses" (Smith, 2011, p. 587). By the 1960s, increased migration and questioning of the State during the Vietnam and Nixon years necessitated a more inclusive approach to the canon, which was achieved by introducing representative texts from the commonwealth, that were primarily written in English. Following the violent events at the turn of the new millennium as well as the hopes of the Arab Spring, there was a recognition of the need to expand the exploration of literatures in other parts of the world, along with the conscious awareness of cultural understanding, of positioning the text, not geographically as had hitherto been done, but as an example of a transnational, borderless text capable of travelling to different parts of the world, and in the process be invented and re-invented.

Such readings of World literature are, of course not new. As famously extolled by Goethe to Eckermann, as he proceeds to pronounce the term *Weltliteratur*: "National literature is now rather an unmeaning term; the epoch of world-literature is at hand, and everyone must strive to hasten its approach" (Goethe, 1827/2013, p. 11). Not only is Goethe, ironically, speaking at the height of German nationalism, and at a time when territorial borders in Europe were more potently being fought for, the notion of World Literature was commonly seen to be essentialist, at best, and actually unimaginable for almost another century. As Casanova (2013) suggests, "The national movement of literatures, which accompanied the formation of Europe's political spaces from the beginning of the nineteenth century, led to an

essentialization of literary categories and the belief that the frontiers of literary spaces necessarily coincided with national borders" (p. 280).

World Literature, like glocalization, is both a concept as well as a critical tool with which to read the world. The various ways of approaching the concept of world literature itself present the complexities of a term that embraces geographical width as well as conceptual depth. There are as many ways of approaching the term as there are disciplines, and all point to specific ways in which the literatures of the world are/can/should be connected in ways that show similarities as well as differences. This is different from the earlier focus on Comparative Literature which is now seen to be essentially western-centric, containing the humanistic values of nineteenth-century Europe (Moretti, 2000; Ramakrishnan, 2013). Literature is now seen to be more multicultural, as, "in constructing the normative discourses often marginalize certain experiences and subjects as the other" (Ramakrishnan, 2013, p. 4). While Moretti (2000) and Siskind (2014) approach the world text in ways which are determined by broad, distance reading of the genre of the novel, Casanova (2013) suggests that literature be seen as a carpet in which each colour and design in its detail contributes to the whole in an individual way.

The notion of World Literature, popularized by Damrosch continues to provide access to reading a variety of literatures in the world. He suggests that "I take World Literature to encompass all literary works that circulate beyond their circle of origin either in translation or in their original language" (Damrosch, 2003, p. 4). His suggestion of focusing on the way in which texts travel across large units of space and time forming a 'wave' is an apt way of approaching world literature, not only as productions of a particular space and time but also capable to being reinvented as they travel. More significant to the notion of glocalization is Damrosch's (2008) idea of how the massive breadth of world texts could be approached, including suggestions of compiling an anthology with digital links that focus on specific works, while choosing from a select range of texts. While looking at the process of glocalization in literature, this bottom–top approach, which embraces diversity while focusing on the few and pointing to specific platforms for exploration of others, empowers the reader as well as the writers, enabling the text to move across time and space. This is, in itself, not without its own problems, for as Trivedi (2013) suggests, if Damrosch's suggestion is to read world texts which are already in circulation and available to readers worldwide, it is not adding to the project of introducing literatures but merely circulating existing ones. Trivedi's own question regarding the problematics of envisaging the role of World Literature point to a recurring concern: "Should a history of World Literature highlight similarities and connections across regions and civilizations and thus attempt to shrink the world or should it, on the contrary, seek to bring out the local distinctiveness of each region and language to seek to show how richly varied our world is[?]" (2013, 30). Continuing debates on readership, access, and choice will certainly contribute to the developing concept of World Literature.

Conclusion

Whether the world can be seen to be glocal or not largely depends on how glocalization as a concept and a process is viewed as it develops in the contemporary context. Whatever focus is given to it, it is clear that glocalization should be seen as a means of connecting global and local (national or regional) forces in a way that is dynamic and constantly transforming. Glocalization has to be a disruptive practice as it projects a world that is constantly in motion, one in which the basis of relationships move beyond the binaries of centre/periphery, native/non-native, citizen/foreigner, consumer/producer, as each of these concepts continues to be re-defined in a changing world. Such relationships may never be simple or fixed, for the question remains whether the peripheries will ever be able to make an impact on the centre in ways that change the nature of the centre. The extent to which these interrelationships have become the focus of debate suggests that glocalization is a significant concept through which the world can be seen. Yet, the political, social, and economic responses to such glocal tendencies, in the form of reactionary currents that point to new forms of nationalism which threaten to break the essentialist notion of glocality, loom large in the contemporary world. This will further impact the way that languages develop and are used, as well as to the connections that are being made between the literatures of various parts of the world. In this way, glocalization as a theoretical and critical tool offers a way of establishing continually new ways of making connections between cultures, languages, and literatures.

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Part I
Exploring Glocal Discourse

Chapter 2
Language in a Glocalized World

Chandrika Balasubramanian

Introduction: Glocalized Englishes

When one thinks of language in today's global world, what immediately comes to mind is the space English occupies in the world. The rapid, and hitherto unprecedented, spread of a language across the four corners of the globe has been the subject of investigation of linguists, sociologists, philosophers, culture theorists, and scholars in diverse fields. Naturally, then, the investigations of this spread have been as diverse as the scholars studying it.

With its spread, English has come into contact with numerous other languages, as a result of which it has changed; the glocalization of English due to its contact with other languages, has, perhaps, been most extensively studied, in the form of World Englishes scholarship. The need for the name 'Englishes' itself, as Rajagopalan explains, "was first felt in the wake of the growing disenchantment with the now-outmoded idea of dividing the Anglophone world into so-called native speakers on the one side and everyone else on the other" (2012, p. 375). In an earlier article, titled 'The Empire Writes Back with a Vengeance' (*The Times*, 3 July 1982), Salman Rushdie claimed that the English language "needs to be decolonized to be remade in other images, if those of us who use it from positions outside Anglo-Saxon culture are to be more than artistic Uncle Toms" (p. 8). In terms of language, then, globalization can perhaps be considered a movement away from a largely monolingual ideology, one that has for so long dominated most North American and British social and institutional contexts (Canagarajah, 2013), and that has, at its centre, the idea that language (English) has a single standard which native speakers are responsible for setting. This dominant model, however, has for decades been at odds with a very rapidly changing reality; that of globalization.

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The developments of new areas of inquiry accompanying the spread of English have ranged from more objective investigations of how English has changed, to far less objective examinations of the impact of the spread to diverse areas of the world. Taking first an objective stance, disciplines such as World Englishes initially focused on the way the language has changed and morphed into many different varieties. World Englishes scholars, perhaps the most prominent being Braj Kachru, have long argued that the spread of English has led to the creation of different Englishes, each a system unto itself, rather than erroneous versions of traditional native varieties. World Englishes scholarship, then, stressed the need to move away from the once fundamental, but now increasingly simplistic, native/non-native dichotomy. While Kachru first explained the spread of English in terms of his Concentric Circle model in the early 1970s, scholars have since then discussed the importance of Kachru's model, which is no less important today than it was then. For example, Canagarajah (2013) explains that the model "established the legitimacy of the new varieties of English in the outer circle, affirming their validity for these communities. The model thus pluralized the English language" (p. 4). Kachru's model, therefore, advocates the rejection of English as a homogeneous language with one uniform grammatical system. Since Kachru first proposed his influential model, research on New Englishes has proliferated, and there are now studies on varieties as diverse as Tobagonian English (Youssef, 1995), on the one hand, to Phillipine English (Martin, 2014), on the other.

New Englishes scholarship went from a proliferation of numerous studies on different varieties of English, a more objective, descriptive line of inquiry, to a more impassioned dialogue on the importance of the recognition of the dissolution of the native/non-native distinction, the necessity of a post-colonial, decolonized, view of English. Both lines of research have been prolific, to say the least, and have stressed the importance of promoting the glocalized varieties of English as opposed to the traditional native varieties. In fact, the latest research on World Englishes has strongly called for new varieties to be regarded as norm-producing, and for classroom teachers to teach varieties such as Indian English in the classroom (Lange, 2011; Mukherjee & Schilk, 2009).

This paper takes a small step back from the immediate research and ponders the implications of such academic scholarship. Let me state, at the outset, that I myself have been a strong proponent of World Englishes scholarship and an advocate of the theoretical descriptions of glocalized Englishes, as well as a supporter and advocate of classroom models, such support appears to require revisiting. It now seems imperative to question the impact of scholarly ruminations on the importance of glocalized varieties of English on the actual stakeholders—the students themselves—in various settings across the world, particularly when the loudest voices advocating the validity and importance of glocalized varieties of English belong to those who also have access to the traditional, and still prestigious, native varieties. The truth of voices arguing vehemently against displacing standard English, such as Quirk (1990) who went so far as to say "to displace Standard English from the centre of attention is to deny learners access to the wider world of international communication" (p. 14), needs to be examined. In this paper, some previous

research on New Englishes is first described, followed by a focus on the attitudes of students and teachers across the world to New Englishes scholarship, as it pertains to the language classroom. The final section of this paper is largely reflective and focuses on the question of the implications of this line of research.

Previous Research on Glocalized Varieties of English

The way regional and social factors have influenced the growth of New Varieties of English, and fostered change, has formed the subject matter of sociolinguistics and dialectology from both theoretical and practical standpoints, and, today, nobody would deny the fact that "World English exists as a political and cultural reality" (Crystal, 2003, p. xii). Further, as Schneider (2003) explains, "present-day English as a global language is more than the world's predominant lingua franca—it is also a language which is currently growing roots in a great many countries and communities around the world, being appropriated by local speakers, and in that process it is diversifying and developing new dialects…" (p. 233). Gargesh (2006) claims that the "nativization of English has enriched English as well as the indigenous languages through processes of borrowing and coinage of new words and expressions, and through semantic shifts" (p. 90). While New Englishes have been studied in one way or another for centuries (for example, The Hobson-Jobson dictionary of Indian English was first published in 1896), Kachru, a pioneer of studies on World Englishes, popularized the field of scholarship in the 1960s, and his work has given way to extensive scholarship on the subject.

Initial studies of New Englishes focused on what contributed to such the differences between New Englishes and traditional native varieties such as British or American English, mainly at the phonological and lexical levels. Bolton (2006) explains that, "[d]ictionaries are profoundly important for the recognition of world Englishes" and noted that "it is only when a world variety of English is supported by codification (chiefly expressed through national dictionaries) that one can make a strong claim that such a variety is 'institutionalized'" (p. 255). Other studies on New Englishes included those that were concerned with establishing how these Englishes differ from traditional native speaker varieties; these studies focused on identifying characteristic features—lexical, phonological, and grammatical—of the variety.

Schneider (2003), outlined a process of development that he claimed all new Englishes go through. The five stages of his process include "Foundation, Exonormative Stabilization, Nativization, Endonormative Stabilization, and Differentiation" (p. 243). Foundation, as Schneider explains, is the initial phase where "English begins to be used on a regular basis in a country that was not English-speaking before" (p. 244); he characterizes this phase as a "complex contact situation" (p. 244). In this phase, contact between the two language groups remains restricted, with cross-cultural communication being achieved by just a few people. Further, during this phase, indigenous languages do not influence the

English spoken by the settlers. During Phase 2, Exonormative Stabilization, the external norm, "usually written and spoken British English as used by educated speakers, is accepted as a linguistic standard of reference" (p. 245). Also, during this phase, Schneider notes that Structural Nativization occurs where "as soon as a population group starts to shift to a new language, some transfer phenomena at the level of phonology and structure are bound to occur" (p. 246). According to Schneider, Phase 3, or Nativization, is "the most important, the most vibrant one, the central phase of both cultural and linguistic transformation in which both parties realize that something fundamental has been changing…" (p. 247). It is during this phase of Nativization that the New English starts to construct its identity independent of the 'native' English. It is during this phase, then, that characteristic 'features' of the new English emerge. Endonormative Stabilization, stage 4, is "marked by the gradual adoption and acceptance of an indigenous linguistic norm, supported by a new, locally rooted self-confidence…" (Schneider, 2003, p. 249). During the fifth phase, Differentiation, as Schneider explains, "the focus of an individual's identity construction narrows down, from the national to the immediate community scale…consequently, new varieties of the formerly new variety emerge as carriers of new group identities within the overall community" (p. 253).

Early studies on New Englishes focused largely on identifying the features that arise during the Nativization phase of the new variety's development, and did not focus on variation within each international variety, treating the variety, instead, as a homogeneous entity. Studies such as these abound in literature on New Englishes, and include the following: Ahulu (1995), Bamiro (1995), Bansal (1976), Bakshi (1991), Banjo (1997), Barbe (1995), Bauer (1989), Baumgardner (1996), Coelho (1997), D'Souza (1997), Gisborne (2000), Huber (1995), Kallen (1989), Mazzon (1993), Setin (1997), Skandera (1999), Watermeyerm (1996), Youssef (1995), Zhiming (1995), to mention just a few. It is clear from this list, though, that in the late 1980s and 1990s, the study of New Englishes, with a view to determining that they were indeed their own varieties, was tremendously popular.

More recently, advances in corpus linguistics and the development of a methodology that utilizes both qualitative and quantitative research traditions has allowed us to study variations within these new diversified varieties of English with a depth not formerly possible. The use of the corpus linguistics methodology to study variation within dialect by studying register variation is perhaps best exemplified by Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, and Finegan (1999), who strongly advocate its use; they argue that using corpus linguistics methodology would allow a researcher to provide a linguistic analysis of the whole range of spoken and written registers in English, something that dialectologists had hitherto not done. As Biber and Finegan (1991) explain, such studies are significant, among other ways, in that "they analyze particular constructions in naturally occurring discourse rather than made-up sentences" (p. 209). Biber claims, "the use of computer-based corpora provides a solid empirical foundation for general purpose language tools and descriptions, and enables analyses of a scope not otherwise possible" (p. 377). Biber et al. also claim that "corpus-based analyses of linguistic variation have provided fresh insights into previously intractable issues" (1999, p. 257).

Today, numerous corpus-based studies of both New Englishes and less-studied Englishes, such as Australian and New Zealand Englishes, exist, many of which draw from the relevant sections of the International Corpus of English (Greenbaum 1996) for their analyses. Others rely on existing corpora of their national variety, like the corpus of Australian English, and the corpus of New Zealand English. Examples of corpus-based studies of New Englishes include: Banjo (1997) on syntactic features of Nigerian English, and Schmied's (1994) study on syntactic features of Indian English; Starks, Christie, and Thompson (2007) on Niuean English; Mukherjee and Gries (2009) on verb construction associations in the International Corpus of English; Mukherjee and Hoffman (2006) on verb complementation in Indian English; and Peters (2009) on Australian English.

The latest scholarship on New Englishes focuses more specifically on how these glocalized Englishes themselves are transforming in a changing world. That this is tremendously popular as a field of inquiry is evident from the numerous new studies of different national varieties. Studies such as these include: Kperogi (2015) on the changing face of Nigerian English in a global world; Balasubramanian (2016) on Indian English; Tan (2013) on Malaysian English; Hickey and Vaughan (2017) on Irish English; Dovchin (2017) on Mongolian English. Further, in addition to these shorter studies on different national varieties, the field has more recently seen several books on corpus-based investigations of variation within new varieties. These include Hundt and Gut (2012), Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008), Schneider (2007), Kirkpatrick (2010).

Glocalized Englishes in the Language Classroom: Teachers' and Students' Attitudes

What, then, are some of the implications of studies on glocalized varieties of English that demonstrate how the English used in diverse settings has changed and indeed, is continuing to change? Researchers like Mukherjee and Schilk (2009) and Lange (2007, 2011, p. 45) claim that one of the outcomes of the descriptions of post-colonial Englishes is the "handbooks and textbooks that are available today," that they stress can, and need to, become models for the second language classroom. Speaking specifically of traditional Outer Circle Englishes such as Indian English, Mukherjee and Schilk explain that New Englishes studies point to the fact that there are a number of "new emerging epicenters" that are developing (or have developed) into "potential norm-providers and model varieties for smaller post-colonial Englishes in their immediate neighbourhood". A logical question that arises, then, is what the attitudes of teaching practitioners and students are toward New English norms in the language classrooms. It is this point that is discussed next.

Attitudes towards New Englishes seem to differ between scholars of New Englishes, on the one hand, and teaching practitioners and students, on the other.

For example, Wang (2016) concludes that in EFL contexts like China, even today, "English language teaching and testing have been exclusively oriented toward native English" (p. 35). Similarly, Martin (2014), on Philippine English, explains that even though many Filipino scholars reject the dominance of a traditionally native English such as American English, many remain ambivalent in their attitudes towards Philippine English, and particularly the place of Philippine English in the language classroom. Hickey, Vaughan, Diskin, and Regan (2017) explain that in an EFL context like Poland, by and large, the teaching materials still conform very much to traditional native-speaker Englishes, like British and American English, and that students remain ambivalent toward New Englishes. Of English in Mongolia, Dovchin (2017) explains that students prefer "standard" English because of being mocked for using Mongolian English. Similarly, Ren, Chen, and Lin (2016) explain, in their study of 400 students in mainland China and Taiwan, that students, by and large, still favour native-speaker English. Another recent study on attitudes towards Indian English revealed that "listeners tend to hold negative attitudes towards speakers of non-standard English, and judge them unfavourably" (Hsu, 2016, p. 367). Similarly, Balasubramanian (2017) found that, even in India, teachers were reluctant to teach their students Indian English structures. Based on his study of IELTS test takers' perceptions of World English structures in the IELTS test, Hamid's results, perhaps, best exemplify the non-researcher's stance towards New Englishes. He says of his test-takers that "while the majority of them supported WE in an abstract, ideological sense, they were against the inclusion of WE in the test for reasons related to maintaining standards, fairness, equality, and test-taker interests" (Hamid, 2014, p. 263).

With the contrasting attitudes towards New Englishes of scholars, on the one hand, and students and teaching practitioners, on the other, the movement toward truly accepting different glocalized varieties of Englishes as norm-providing models seems ideal, and indeed, necessary. Whether the challenging of the status of native-speaker norms is indeed a reality, or is simply a politically correct idea propagated by the academic community, remains to be seen. Erling's (2005) theory about the need to "shape a new ideology for English language teaching (ELT) which more accurately reflects the global nature of the language and its diverse uses and users" (p. 40) is definitely valid. However, it is uncertain whether we are even close to moving away from the days of the "so-called native speaker unilaterally (and self-reassuringly) invoking authority to legislate over what is and what is not acceptable as 'passable' English" (Rajagopalan 2012, p. 380). It is important to question Milroy and Milroy's claim that "the attitudes of linguists (professional scholars of language) have little or no effect on the general public, who continue to look at dictionaries, grammars, and handbooks as authorities on 'correct' usage" (Milroy and Milroy, 1985, p. 6). In general, then, if we see students as the ultimate stake holders, the attitude of Kenyan students towards English—in particular, Standard English—perhaps best shows how removed academics are from the lives of the masses based on this student quote:

> Professor, what you are proposing [prestige planning for African languages] will not work. Let us move on. English has brought us development; it has brought us jobs; it has brought us education; it has brought us literacy; but what have African languages done for us? Nothing! Let us just move on! (Kamwangamalu, 2013)

Quirk, as early as 1990, warned against the advocacy of New Englishes for just this reason. As he explained, if students were permitted to use their new variety of English, they would be defenceless in front of the harsher reality of those in authority over them, people with the power to employ or promote them, or indeed, evaluate them on an examination.

Implications of Glocalization

Kamala Das, in 1965, wrote a poem called *An Introduction*, in which she expresses the complexity of writing in a language that is not hers:

> I am Indian, very brown, born in Malabar,
> I speak three languages, write in
> Two, dream in one.
> Don't write in English, they said, English is
> Not your mother tongue….
> …The language I speak
> Becomes mine, its distortions, its queerness
> All mine, mine alone, it is half English, half
> Indian, funny perhaps, but it is honest,
> It is as human as I am human…
> …It voices my joys, my longings, my
> Hopes…

Exactly how a language that is traditionally not considered one's own does become one's own prompted extensive scholarship on World Englishes. Kachru and other World Englishes scholars, far from calling the English, in different contexts, 'queer' or 'funny', have pointed out how the language, as represented in the literatures of various parts of the non-English speaking world, has become a vehicle of the various cultures it now inhabits. Thus, in the Indian context, it has become a vehicle of Indian culture, and one familiar with this culture does not raise an eyebrow at expressions such as 'coconut-breaking ceremony' and 'spluttering mustard-seeds'.

Glocalized varieties of English have consistently been encouraged in certain registers, notably the creative genres. Very early scholarship on New Englishes, for example, prompted Kachru's inquiry into what he called the bilingual's creativity, which he explained as referring to "those creative linguistic processes which are the result of competence in two or more languages" (1988, p. 20). He went on to explain that the bilinguals' creativity "entails two things: first, the designing of a

text which uses linguistic resources from two or more—related or unrelated—languages; second, the use of verbal strategies in which subtle linguistic adjustments are made for psychological, sociological, and attitudinal reasons" (1988, p. 20) It is clear from Kachru's description that this type of creativity is only possible from someone with equal or almost equal competence in both languages; one who is, therefore, able to exploit characteristics of both languages to achieve a certain end. With specific reference to Indian English, this kind of creativity is obvious from certain very specific registers such as advertising, for example. India's *Amul* Butter advertising campaign, described in detail by Rubdy (2013) exemplifies this perfectly. An analysis of any of the *Amul* Butter advertisements also reveals that they will, by and large, be lost on an audience who does not have competence in both Hindi and English. The audience is not the common person in India, but rather, members of a small middle/upper middle class; I argue, therefore, that such uses of English in India hardly democratize the language in this context, as Rubdy claims. Further, as Rubdy herself points out, this type of code mixing is mostly typical of casual conversation where it is important for Indian middle class youth to show their mixed identities, and not other, more formal, registers of the language.

Indian linguistic features also feature prominently in the more conversational registers, as evidenced by the large volume of research in this area (see Balasubramanian 2009). Gargesh (2006) quoted a poem by Nissim Ezekiel, and I would like, here, to take the liberty of using the same poem to make a point, albeit a very different one from the one Gargesh made.

In *The Patriot*, by Ezekiel (1989), the poet says this:

> I am standing for peace and non-violence
> Why world is fighting fighting
> Why all people of world
> Are not following Mahatma Gandhi
> I am simply not understanding.

In the rest of the poem, Ezekiel uses many progressive verb forms (with both stative and active verbs), neglects to use articles almost everywhere that British or American English might deem necessary, inserts them where not, and uses 'no?' as a tag (Balasubramanian, 2009). Kamala Das, I am sure, would enjoy how 'queer' this writing is. The exploitation of such Indianisms is not only acceptable, but almost expected, in certain genres of written English, namely the creative genres. Similarly, an Indian character represented in film or TV is depicted with a sing-song, almost outrageously stereotypical voice, one liberally peppered with numerous examples of every Indian feature identified in popular literature. Apu on *The Simpsons*, for example, comes to mind.

Llamzon (quoted in Bolton 2006) uses a horticultural metaphor to describe the spread and diversification of new Englishes, where he argues that "a new variety of English…if properly nurtured, will grow into a healthy and vigorous plant and contribute to the beauty of the international landscape not only by virtue of its lush

verdant branches and leaves, but more importantly by its fruits—the literary masterpieces of novels, short stories, poems, dramas, and songs of its speakers and writers" (p. 242). Llamzon's reference to creative writing is, again, significant; we are more responsive to the use of 'non-standard', or 'new', or 'glocalized' (to use less politically-charged terms) features in creative genres such as poetry and fiction than we are in other more traditionally formal genres such as news and academic English. I argue that, despite the volumes of work on identifying what makes glocalized varieties of English unique and systems unto themselves, the systems will be valued (by their use) in certain genres and not others. Authors of such creative genres do indeed feel "freer" (Iyer 1993, p. 53; quoted in Bolton, 2006, p. 242) to use the different Englishes to create different and special literatures. Mesthrie (2006) expresses a similar sentiment by saying "The work of creative writers, particularly, needs to be cited with care, as they are concerned with creating a general effect via language, rather than using constructions with sociolinguistic veracity" (p. 274).

This is not the case with non-creative genres, where one still maintains the standards of traditional native varieties such as British and American English. This was apparent from all the analyses presented in Balasubramanian (2009); by and large, the written registers (the unpublished academic writing notwithstanding) seem to be held to a different set of standards than are the spoken registers. Kumaravadivelu (2016) begins a paper with a personal anecdote on how he discovered that his "life as a non-native professional was being managed and manipulated by subtly invisible, and seemingly invincible forces" (p. 68). He describes the process he went through to get his scholarship on teaching methods published, and realized, after years, that mainstream publishers were not interested in his work simply because of his status as a "non-native" academic. He goes on to explain that at his university in California, a large public university, he found that non-native students at the university's MA-TESOL program were not allowed to complete their mandatory practice-teaching at the campus' intensive English program. Painting a bleak picture of the state of affairs of the non-native academic in this discipline over a 25-year period, Kumaravadivelu states that, despite the fact that during this time the discourse around marginalization has become pronounced (in terms of scholarship on World Englishes), the very marginalization that disciplines such as World Englishes speak against have continued to thrive. Distinguishing between scholars from the 'centre' and the 'periphery', he stresses, in this paper, that it is time for scholarship from scholars from the periphery to be strengthened, and the voices of non-central scholars to be stronger and louder. The solution, he stresses, needs to come from not the dominating power, the centre, but the dominated, or the periphery. Canagarajah (2013) expresses a similar sentiment: that it is time to recognize and embrace the difference. He goes so far as to argue for pluralizing even academic writing, while acknowledging, however, that standard English, particularly in the written mode, is still the norm for success. While theoretically in agreement with scholars such as Kumaravadivelu and Canagarajah, and hosts of others, and, as mentioned earlier, having been a strong voice of support for pluralizing Englishes, the situation is more ambivalent. The nagging question

which remains is why these loud voices originate from those who have access to the language of power—the standard language. In other words, voices such as those of Kumaravadivelu and Canagarajah, although attempting to represent the dominated, are entirely expressed in the language of the dominant. Voices such as these, therefore, seem almost hypocritical in that they call for change, but do not represent the change they are calling for in their own writing. One has to wonder, then, about the validity, and indeed, the reality, of claims such as Lange's (2011) in calling for the creation of handbooks of new English usage for pedagogical purposes, when it seems clear, to use Phillipson's words, that "linguistic imperialism is still alive and kicking" (*Guardian Weekly* 13 March 2012, p. 8). In fact, in an earlier paper, Phillipson (2001) stressed the strong need for scholarship to investigate the forces that work hard to create an impression that English serves all citizens of the world equally, when this is absolutely not the case.

It is undeniable that studies on international, glocalized varieties of English have provided, and will continue to provide, the field with invaluable information on how English is diversifying, the directions in which the language is changing, and with information on the structural similarities and differences amongst various new varieties of English. How close we are to truly accepting entirely new sets of norms, particularly grammatical norms, for the language—specifically the written versions of the language—remains unanswered. In other words, while the English in India, for example, might indeed have developed its own set of grammatical norms that are appropriate to, and might even be the pedagogical model within, the cultural and educational contexts of India, what about the acceptance of these norms outside of India? Within the written academic discourse community outside India? Put more simply: while I would be accepted as a member of this academic discourse community if I *spoke* with an Indian accent, or if I used stative progressives, or lacked articles, or peppered my conversational English with *isn't its?* and *nos*?, and used more non-initial existential *there*s than a speaker of Indian English did, say, 30 years ago, how accepting would they be if this academic paper were *written* in this variety of English? Realistically, how comfortable are we with accepting sentences such as '*I was having headache on fourth July, isn't it?*' in our students' formal writing in our language classrooms? This sentence contains 4 features of Indian English commonly cited in the literature, and might seem an extreme example, but as Balasubramanian (2009, 2016) points out, sentences such as these occur commonly in certain spoken registers of the English used in India.

As Bolton, Graddol, and Meiercord (2011, p. 474) explain, what we need to do is to investigate "the realities of English(es) in the world from the perspective of folk domains and less privileged communities at the grass roots of such societies," and not merely base our descriptions (and our academic calls for New English usage guides) on academic research on English worldwide that has "typically tended to focus overly on official accounts and elite contexts of use" (Bolton et al. 2011, p. 473). Bolton (2006) sums up the problem by concluding that "[d]espite what may be the best intentions of Western practitioners to develop an unbiased or at least politically neutral applied linguistics at the level of theory as well as pedagogic principles, it is difficult to ignore the imbalance between the developed

and the developing world in many of the contexts of English language teaching today" (p. 263). He goes on to say, accurately, that "[a]cademics from these societies have parallel difficulties in finding a voice in major journals in the field (although notable exceptions include *English Today* and *World Englishes*), as well as in book production" (p. 263). How realistic is it, then, that we see a glocalized variety of English produced by young university students in an academic register, being entirely acceptable in the larger academic discourse community? And how can we academics, knowing well what the stakes are, encourage this?

Lord Macaulay, in his famous educational Minute on India in 1835, explained that the purpose of British education in India, necessarily English, was to produce "a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect" (cited in Kachru 1976, p. 7). It is precisely such sentiments that the discipline has, to some extent successfully, fought against. Certainly, we have come a long way from attitudes and opinions such as these. Today, nobody would argue that literature from different parts of the world is much appreciated, post-colonial literature extensively studied, and calls for the dismantling of the traditional literary canon are frequent and loud. However, one has to ask how far we have actually come in terms of language use. If glocalization is seen as the solution to the hegemony of English in a global world, is it actually so? How can an advocacy for more widespread acceptance of glocalized varieties of English possibly be sufficient when those making the strongest arguments for glocalization are those with direct access to the power of native speaker English, and worse, are making the very argument in Standard English? I must conclude with Quirk's summation of an attitude toward the academic elite's advocacy of glocalized Englishes in different contexts, that, loathsome as it may be to accept, continues to be relevant: "It is neither liberal nor liberating to permit learners to settle for lower standards than the best, and it is a travesty of liberalism to tolerate low standards which will lock the least fortunate into the least rewarding careers" (1990, p. 23).

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Chapter 3
Code Alternation and Entextualization in Bilingual Advertising: The Construction of Glocal Identities in India's *Amul* Butter Ads

Rani Rubdy

Introduction

In analyzing processes such as entextualization, Blommaert (2011) introduces the term "supervernaculars" as relevant for depicting how the resultant "new forms [can] especially shed light on the cultural dynamics of superdiversity". Within this framework, the de-/re-territorialized texts and semiotic codes utilised in the *Amul*[1] Butter ads are seen as the outcome of complex yet simultaneous processes of what Blommaert terms *englobalization-and-deglobalization* that operate upon the globally circulating affordances and that, "always and inevitably get taken up within the possibilities and constraints of local sociolinguistic economies" (Blommaert 2011, p. 2). The analysis of the *Amul* Butter ads in this study shows that, in keeping with worldwide interaction of English with local languages in public spaces, the use of English in these ads also works as a carrier of global associations of prestige, sophistication, and modernity, and thus plays a crucial role in constructing transcultural consumerist and cosmopolitan identities for the educated, English-knowing, middle-class Indians who are the major targets. At the same time, the power of the local to influence, and act upon, the global is very much in evidence, resonating with Appadurai's (1996) and Robertson's (1992, 1997) perspectives on globalization/glocalization. The clever exploitation and meshing of local with global semiotic and cultural elements illustrates the domestication of

[1]*Amul* is a leading Indian dairy production company whose genesis in a vast cooperative network has symbolized the triumph of indigenous technology. Registered in 1946 as a response to the exploitation of marginal milk producers by unfair trading practices, Amul spurred India's White Revolution, which transformed India from a milk-deficient nation into the world's largest producer of milk and milk products. Technological developments at *Amul* have subsequently spread to other parts of India.

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English within the Indian sociolinguistic context, on the one hand, and the manner in which global cultural influences on identity construction are tempered by local cultural forms and nuances, on the other. The recycling, reconstitution, and transformation of linguistic and semiotic elements resulting from this global–local interface (Rubdy & Alsagoff, 2014), then, becomes a two-way process that constitutes just one example of language use in today's post-modern glocal world.

Key Concepts and Analytic Orientations

Code-Alteration/Switching as an Index of Social Identity

Code-switching has long been associated with "acts of identity" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) where our use of language is said to reveal both our personal identity and sense of social and ethnic solidarity and difference. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller note that identity formation can be attributed to a high level of individual agency (hence their framing as 'acts'), and that such acts are motivated by the desire for establishing social/ethnic affiliation with, or distinctiveness from, identifiable groups. Auer (2005) likewise states that, "bilingual speakers do not group themselves together by claiming co-membership simply because they speak more than one language. Usually, code-switching stands for something else. It symbolizes identities beyond the linguistic fact" (p. 404). Bilingual speech is usually an index not only of ethnic membership but also of some extralinguistic social category. In such cases, particular semiotic constellations come into play, sometimes reflecting distinctions between local versus regional languages, indigenous versus colonial languages, lingua francae versus national languages, or minority versus majority languages, so that language alternation often signifies attempts at acts of identity, although these constellations may be enacted in different ways under different circumstances.

Auer goes on to suggest another, quite different way of looking at code-switching as an index of social identity: "This perspective considers mixing/switching itself a style which indexes different types of social membership beyond the memberships indexed by the monolingual varieties involved. Hybrid ways of speaking symbolize social identities which can be considered to be equally hybrid (multiple, flexible, changing, malleable)" (p. 407), although he warns against rashly establishing an iconic relationship between "mixed identities" and "mixed languages". This new bilingual speech style, he writes, becomes a natural resource for bilinguals living in or between two worlds. Part of the creativity and play that characterizes the *Amul* Butter ads results from their attempt to imitate the Hindi-English code-mixed styles (Hinglish) of the Indian middle-class youth who use Hinglish in everyday casual conversation and in-group interactions in just this manner to index their hybrid identities.

The concern in this study is mainly with consumer identity. Recent scholarship has noted that the multilingual dynamics of late modern societies are increasingly marked by a pervasive culture of consumerism (Baudrillard, 1988; Bauman, 1998), where "people define themselves through the messages they transmit to others through the goods and practices that they possess and display" (Warde 1994, p. 878). The burgeoning middle-class in India, driven by intense social aspirations and consumerist orientations following India's economic reforms in the 1990s, is no exception to this trend. Added to this, rapid technological advances and expanding intercultural interactions, brought about by globalization, expanding media exposure and worldwide network communication systems, have inevitably generated new sources of identification in terms of language and culture in a post-liberalized Indian society. Advertisers, movie makers, popular magazines as well as the music industry have been at the forefront in exploiting this phenomenon in creative and imaginative ways to construct and cater to particular consumer identities.

The *Amul* Butter ads are of particular interest in this regard because they exemplify how code-alteration in conjunction with entextualization (Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Blommaert, 2005, pp. 46–48; Silverstein & Urban, 1996), and at times resemiotization (Iedema, 2003; Scollon & Scollon, 2004, pp. 101–103), work as key resources to discursively produce a particular sense of identity among middle-class English-knowing bilingual Indians. Hindi and English constitute India's two co-official languages that function as intra-national (inter-state) lingua francae, with Hindi playing an important role in day-to-day social interaction, especially among non-English-educated speakers. In addition, English is the pan-Indian language of educated middle-class Indians, especially the youth in India today. Furthermore, the use of English in the print media, popular magazines, advertising and, more recently, in Bollywood movies and song lyrics, all illustrate its wholehearted acceptance in the genres of popular culture (Kachru, 2006; Viswamohan, 2011). Consequently, given the rising trend of Hindi–English code mixing or *Hinglish*, a marketing strategy that has gained immense popularity as a means of appealing to the urban youth is to use the language *they* use—a mix of English with Hindi or one of the regional languages. This is especially prevalent in targeting a wider pan-Indian clientele, so as to produce a flavour of youth culture through *Hinglish*, widely spoken by young people on college campuses and in informal speech on the streets. This study shows how the *Amul* ads successfully exploit the bilingual's creativity for play, humour, and memorability through code mixing and entextualization by constructing new globally-oriented consumer identities which are, nevertheless, strongly rooted in the local.

Globalization and Mobility

Entextualization represents one key aspect of globalization in the context of bilingual advertising—specifically, in relation to how texts travel in space and

time—the material interaction of signs, and how signs interact (dialogically) with each other to produce new meanings (Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009). Drawing on insights from globalization scholars, a critical feature of current globalization is what Appadurai (2003) refers to as "objects in motion" (p. 5). Many individuals today are crossing borders for trade, employment, education, diplomacy, travel, and so on. Hence, globalization is often characterized as the intensified flow of capital, goods, people, images, and discourses across the world, thus pointing to a general increase in the pace of global interactions and processes. Other scholars, like Pennycook (2003, 2007, 2010) and Blommaert (2003, 2010), have pointed out how the transnational processes—in which people from different national, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds move across their traditional group boundaries and come into close contact with each other—are transforming the communicative environment and modes of contact in late modernity. Above all, they are creating new forms of social, cultural and linguistic diversity, or "super-diversity" to use Vertovec's (2007; see also Blommaert & Rampton, 2011) term, through processes that are far more dynamic and complex than can be adequately explained in terms of existing conceptual frameworks for analyzing multilingual and multicultural divergence.

Hence, while arguing that "a sociolinguistics of globalization must rethink itself as a sociolinguistics of mobile resources, framed in terms of trans-contextual networks, flows and movements", Blommaert (2010, p. 1) introduces the term "supervernaculars" to describe these new forms of semiotic codes, which in turn create new possibilities and opportunities for identity making and the creation of new deterritorialized communities which he calls "supergroups". He notes that such vernaculars which are characterized by specific sociolinguistic resources, and are shared and deployed by these "supergroups", have all the features commonly attributed to "languages"; yet, sociolinguistically, they operate in a very different way, not being predicated on the traditional connections between languages and speech communities but rather influenced by new information and communication technologies, as in Jacquemet's (2005) description of transidiomatic and deterritorialized sociolinguistic resources (p. 5). The English-knowing, media-literate, middle-class Indians targeted by the *Amul* ads may be said to constitute such a subgroup, possessing the linguistic and cultural capital to tap into more than their knowledge of both English and Hindi, since they must rely on their abilities to decipher a third code (in this case, Hinglish), indeed, "to interpret the 'voice' of English in these multilingual advertisements as the voice of global and local modernity" (Higgins, 2009, p. 124).

Entextualization, Englobalization-and-Deglobalization

Central to a discussion of mobile resources is the concept of entextualization (Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Blommaert, 2005, pp. 46–48; Silverstein & Urban, 1996). The concept highlights the re-use or relocation of language and discourse

materials by embedding them in new contexts as resources of meaning making. Silverstein and Urban (1996) define entextualization as the way speakers "take some fragment of discourse and quote it anew, making it seem to carry a meaning independent of its situation within two now distinct co(n)texts" (p. 2). Entextualization involves two related processes: a process of decontextualization, in which linguistic, discursive, or cultural elements are detached and lifted out of their original context; and a process of recontextualization or recentring, which refers to the insertion of those elements into new contexts. The process may involve integrating and modifying this material so that it fits into the new context. Thus, entextualization refers to "the process by means of which discourses are successively or simultaneously decontextualized and metadiscursively recontextualized, so that they become a new discourse associated to a new context…" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 47).

Similar to these notions in discourse analysis are the concepts of *deterritorialization* and *reterritorialization*, used by anthropologists and sociologists in explaining the relationship between place and culture. As Inda and Rosaldo (2008) put it, historically, there has been a tendency for people to assume an isomorphism between place and culture, subscribing to the notion that culture is tied to a fixed social and geographical territory, with each culture radically set apart from every other. Nowadays it is impossible, or at least unreasonable, to think of culture strictly in such localized terms. Globalization has radically pulled culture apart from place and has visibly dislodged it from particular locales. Deterritorialization speaks of this loss or general weakening of the "natural" relation between place and culture, pointing to how cultural processes readily transcend specific territorial boundaries (Inda & Rosaldo, 2008, p. 14). However, this does not mean that cultures are free-floating, without anchors. This uprooting of culture is only half the story of globalization. The other half is that the deterritorialization of culture is invariably the occasion for the insertion of culture in new time-space contexts. In other words, cultural flows do not just float ethereally across the globe but are always re-inscribed (however partially or fleetingly) in specific cultural environments/milieus. They are, in fact, localized or reterritorialized in very specific time-space contexts. The point of all this is that globalized culture is never simply deterritorialized; it is also always reterritorialized. These are not two separate processes. Rather they occur simultaneously: "You can't have one process without the other. It is a matter of both at once" (Inda & Rosaldo, 2008, p. 15).

This simultaneity of the two processes is also emphasized by Blommaert (2011) who recently coined the terms *englobalization-and-deglobalization* to describe such relocation of cultural forms triggered by globalization and the resultant interplay between global elements and their local realizations. As he puts it, because English is a globally dominant language, we believe we observe globalization processes whenever we encounter 'English' in various parts of the world. But while we do indeed encounter globalization, what we, in fact, see is *en-globalized forms*; that is, semiotic forms that have a global orientation. Blommaert says: "when we look at their actual deployment, we can see them only through the actual phenomenology of *de-globalization*—the instant localization of globally distributed resources, the

instant adjustment of resources to locally valid economies of material and symbolic resources …" (pp. 6–7). In sum, Blommaert argues, whereas globalization is an abstract process, the actual semiotic forms we observe (empirically) are the outcome of an interplay between global circulation (englobalization) and local deployment (deglobalization) (p. 7). What this means is that the affordances of a global supervernacular system such as English will always be adjusted to the constraints created by the local sociolinguistic economies in and across which it circulates. "The global resources are thus localized, and the global supervernacular becomes, locally and within certain niches, an instrument for small-group communication…" (p. 11).

These concepts resonate with the insights of scholars of globalization such as Appadurai (1996) and Robertson (1992, 1997). Appadurai argues that globalization is, in actuality, largely a localizing process: "There is an influence from the global, and to be sure places do change but the local is quite resilient as well and local criteria and norms define the processes of change. Global influences become part of the context-generative aspect of the production of locality: they become part of the ways in which local communities construct a social, cultural, political, and economic environment for themselves" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 187). Robertson introduced the concept of "glocalization" to capture the complex and dynamic process of the two-way flow between the local and the global, and emphasise "an understanding of globalization as a process which is grounded in the local even while taking into account global perspectives and actions" (Robertson, 1992). These insights support Blommaert's view that "globalization and its new supervernaculars offer us a rich terrain for exploring such phenomena and their effects" (Blommaert, 2011, p. 14), providing a sound conceptual basis for data analysis.

Resemiotization and the Concept of Third Space

Another useful concept in analyzing the data is that of resemiotization (Iedema, 2003; Scollon & Scollon, 2004, pp. 101–103), the process of semiotic change or modification in the circulation and flow of discourses across social and cultural boundaries. Pieces of discourse—including socially, culturally, and historically situated unique events—are lifted out of their original context and transmitted, by quoting or echoing them or by inserting them into another discourse. These can involve a range of semiotic materials—linguistic, textual, visual, multimodal, and cultural—which are modified, reconstituted and transformed, frequently, to create new meanings in a process of resemiotization. But in attempting to appropriate and relocate the original instance of discourse, the baggage of the history of contextualization is dragged along, carrying over something from the earlier context to the new context. The analysis of data surrounding the *Amul* ads reveals how through extracting "instances of culture" (textual forms, images and cultural discourses and other semiotic material), and relocating these in the discourses and repertoires of

these ads, the copy writers construct particular identities for their consumers that are simultaneously global and local, through such processes of entextualization and resemiotization.

A final related perspective on globalization and the resulting processes of cultural exchange significant for this study comes from Bhabha's (1994) discussion of "hybrid identities" or "third space", wherein post-colonial subjects by virtue of living in the slippage between dominance and subordination are said to possess a "double vision" or "in-betweenness" that results in the creation of new languages and new socio-cultural identifications. Elsewhere (Rubdy, 2014), I have characterized these formations as reflecting hybrid identities—wherein linguistic and cultural affordances emanating from the global in interaction with the local are reconstituted and resemiotized into a third space—an in-between space which is neither wholly global nor wholly local, but takes on the features of both to form a third entity. In similar vein, the *Amul* ads construct middle-class Indians seeking to align themselves with globalization as modern, young, educated and cosmopolitan, while blending English, a global resource with the local language and culture to *reframe, reconstitute* and *re-signify* their complex, evolving subjective identities. However, the processes of hybridization through Englishization are not unilateral; even as the local is reshaped in adapting to new frames of reference opened up by the in-between-ness of a "third space", the semiotic reconstructions resulting from the fusion of linguistic codes, modes, genres, repertoires and styles in the ensuing two-way dialogue show that the local too acts upon the global to de-Anglisize, domesticate and democratize English.

Background to the *Amul* Butter Advertisement Campaign

Amul is a leading Indian dairy production company whose billboard advertising campaign over the years has provided many interesting, intelligent, and amusing examples of code-alteration and entextualization. The *Amul* brand, derived from the Sanskrit word *amulya*, meaning 'invaluable', launched its billboard campaign in 1966–67 and continues to the present as India's longest running advertising campaign. The ads comment on a range of themes related to current events and issues of social, political, cultural, and economic interest and various other aspects of urban life. In this sense, the *Amul* billboards are more than a campaign for promoting a product; they tell a story of India as an independent nation through their ongoing commentary on its social and political culture over fifty years.

The *Amul* Butter ads have a simple template, with a header positioned at the top, a copy comprising a well-recognisable visual cue, and a tagline (which initially ran the slogan *utterly butterly delicious!*) placed beneath the product brand name at the bottom. Typically, the header alludes to information that is not directly related to the product but references a contemporary global or local event that is mirrored in the visual cue. The tagline, usually a pithy text appearing below the brand name, serves to highlight some positive attribute of the product itself that links it to the

header, or provides a slogan. The advertising strategy which has its brand ambassador, the *Amul* butter girl, a round-eyed, chubby-cheeked girl in a polka-dot dress, playing the role of a social observer, serves various purposes such as evoking humour, satire, irony, or simple playfulness, and has been highly successful in connecting with the target consumer, thus enhancing the brand image. By playfully chronicling the history and evolution of India through showcasing prominent events in politics, sports and entertainment, the *Amul* billboards have captivated Indians of all ages and backgrounds. Much of their charm lies in the effectiveness of the witty one-liners that produce the kind of simple humour anybody would find amusing. As Kathpalia and Wong (2015) state, the accumulated impact of its catchy slogan "utterly butterly delicious"; its trademark "Amul—The Taste of India"; its brand ambassador the Amul butter girl; its topical messages delivered in a humorous style; and the local flavour infused through the use of Hinglish and other Indian languages have enabled Amul to achieve an iconic status and to become "an integral part of the collective Indian consciousness" (p. 557).

What is unique about these ads is the way code-alteration and entextualization are strategically used in combination with figurative language and other literary devices, such as bilingual puns and word play, allusions, blends, intertextual references, irony, metaphor, parody, assonance, rhyme, and so on, reminiscent of what Kachru terms the "bilinguals' creativity" (1985, p. 20). By combining the resources of the two language systems in these inventive ways, the ads aim, not only to appeal to a fairly sophisticated bilingual audience, but also to achieve special socio-psychological effects for creating a positive attitude and memorability that promote brand recall. Readers are expected to make the appropriate links between the message content in the ad and the relevant local and global events referenced, both through the verbal and visual dimensions, as visual resources provide affordances to embed additional modalities for meaning-making.

The ads achieve several micro-level purposes as well: (i) to capitalize on the affordances offered by the multilingual repertoire shared by the copywriters and the target audience by exploiting the meaning-making potential of the linguistic and cultural resources engaged by them; (ii) to stretch, modify, and extend the meaning potential of the English items employed by juxtaposing and often blending them with (partially homophonous) indigenous items to create new meanings—a process of resemiotization; (iii) to achieve a range of playful, humorous and/or satirical effects—referred to by Pennycook (2007, p. 30) as performing a "ludic" function, a playful language act, requiring advanced competence in literacy as well as a particular critical political stance; and (iv) to generate an interplay of the traditional/local and the modern/global, both along linguistic and cultural dimensions—much to do with hybrid identities. Texts are thus recontextualized, reinterpreted, adapted, and re-presented to reflect orientations and identifications that are simultaneously local and global, that is, glocal. Their wide and continued popularity is an attestation of the cultural capital and linguistic sophistication of the middle-class Indians they largely target.

Data and Methodology Used in the Study

The data for this study comprise an eclectic sample of bilingual ads representative of the kind of semiotic (textual, visual, and cultural) entextualization described above. Given that prints of these ads are readily available on the *Amul* website[2] and have been chronologically arranged in the order of their appearance, the samples were drawn from the electronic print copies displayed on the *Amul* website rather than from photographic copies of the billboards for reasons of clarity of focus and sharpness of the visuals they provide.

Table 3.1 indicates a broad categorization of some 750 ads, spanning the years 1999–2016, examined as a preview to selecting the final set of ads analysed in this study. As the main concern of this study is the content of the ads and the entextualization of the socio-cultural and political elements featured in them, rather than adopting a survey-based quantitative approach, a qualitative approach has been used, focusing on discourse/genre and semiotic analysis of the textual and visual items therein. Hence, the use of broad descriptive such as 'typical', 'frequent', 'rare' in categorizing them in Table 3.1, instead of the numerical figures usually provided in conventional quantitative studies of billboard advertising in linguistic landscapes. It is still possible to indicate a rough estimate of their numerical occurrence: The ads previewed contained roughly 7% of Hindi-only texts, while a far larger number, around 33%, constituted English-only texts, with a small handful of ads (less than 0.10%) employing pictures only with no verbal texts to support them. The rest of the ads employed language mixing or code-alteration and accounted for a little under 60%, with a majority of them displaying Hindi–English code-mixed texts and a handful containing English combined with other regional languages such as Marathi.

Not surprisingly, ads containing Hindi only texts generally tend to be accompanied by visuals that reference local knowledge and culture, less frequently indexing globally oriented issues or events. In similar vein, ads containing English-only texts predominantly reference globally oriented events and personalities, and draw upon global cultural knowledge, although several of these ads also drew on local knowledge and experience. Ads with pictures only are few and far between and do not fall within the purview of this study. More interesting for the purposes of this study are Hindi-English (or Hinglish) bilingual ads (double starred in Table 3.1) that freely draw on both global and local knowledge and culture. From among these, the data set selected for analysis here is confined to the second sub-category: ads that use a mix of Hindi-English and draw on global socio-cultural knowledge. These ads constitute cultural amalgams, using textual, discoursal, generic, and visual mixes by utilizing multiple semiotic resources that extend and transcend the canonical 'standard' forms, creating spaces for multimodal expression that accommodate the two languages in juxtaposition, hybrid formations, and multimodal ensembles.

[2]See page 'Amul Hits' http://www.amul.com/m/amul-hits.

Table 3.1 *Amul* ads by language choice[a] and cultural knowledge (re-)entextualized

1. Hindi only	**2. English only**
Local language + local knowledge and culture [typical]	Global language + local knowledge and culture [typical]
Local language + global culture knowledge [relatively fewer]	Global language + global/cosmopolitan culture knowledge [frequent]
3. Pictures only	**4. Hindi-English code-mixing (Hinglish)**[b]
Visuals + local knowledge and culture [rare]	Local and global language + local knowledge and culture [typical]
Visuals + global/cosmopolitan culture knowledge [rare]	Local and global language + global/cosmopolitan culture knowledge [frequent][b]

[a]Regardless of the language used, all verbal texts generally appear in the Roman script, except for a handful of ads where Hindi letters in Devanagari script or other Indian languages are used for effect

[b]The ads analysed in this study that exemplify processes of entextualization are only from this sub-category of Hindi–English language mixing. Samples from the other three categories (that do not qualify as bilingual) as well as from category 4 that draw solely on local cultural knowledge are precluded

Data Analysis

Entextualization of Global Events Through Puns and Word Play

A much-favoured device in the *Amul* ads is that of puns or word play. Typically, this comprises the use of a linguistic item, usually in English, referencing a global socio-cultural or political event or personality, but one which also presents a match with either a homonymous or partially homophonous word in either English or Hindi to produce ambiguity of meaning, thus creating possibilities for heteroglossia or 'double-voicedness' in interpreting the message. The wit and humour conveyed emerges from the remodification of the meaning suggested by the second word, which is called up in the readers' mind by the first, in order to correctly interpret the in-text message. The accompanying visual is crucial in contributing to the totality of the message in that the in-text interpretation is often dependent on the knowledge of the social/cultural/political events or elements drawn on (englobalization) and (re)-entextualized (deglobalization) in the visual. Hence, to fully appreciate the intended message, readers must make appropriate connections between the in-text message and the relevant global socio-political events depicted in the visual.

In Fig. 3.1, the header, *Terrorism ab Kabul nahin hoga!* (Terrorism will no longer be acceptable now!) has a Hindi matrix sentence but uses the globally familiar words *terrorism* and *Kabul* (capital of Afghanistan), the latter a homonym of the Hindi verb *kabul* (accept), to playfully create a pun. The tagline, *Laden with taste*—an apparently innocuous reference to the product being advertised—cannot seem to resist simultaneously targeting Bin Laden with yet another homonymous

Fig. 3.1 An allusion to notorious world terrorist Osama Bin Laden

cheeky pun. The image of the *Amul* Butter mascot in army gear, rifle in hand, and displaying capabilities of wielding other weaponry, is foregrounded to present an effectively aggressive anti-terrorist stance and add punch to the header. Quite in contrast is the image of Bin Laden, making off on camel-back in the distance, in apparent dread. Entextualization is thus produced by drawing on global socio-political knowledge and linking the image of an internationally known terrorist with textual references to *Kabul* and *Laden* that evoke global terrorist activities in the context of promoting the sale of butter in the local Indian context.

Entextualization Involving Global Celebrity Names Through Puns and Word Play

The ads often capitalise on the names of global celebrities and the events or achievements they are associated with, as in Fig. 3.2. The in-text message plays on the words (Martina) *Hingis* and *hinges*, the second word being prompted by the first, in order for the reader to make sense of the header in correctly interpreting the text.

It should come as no surprise that the Hindi word *maska* (butter) appears in several of the *Amul* ads, it being the prime object of these advertisements. A point of interest to note, though, is that the word is often used with a double meaning: not only in the literal sense of 'butter', but also in a figurative sense, in everyday colloquial parlance, to insinuate one is 'pandering to someone' or 'flattering someone', as in the phrase *maska maarna*. Hence, the punchline *Maska Maar-Tina* in Fig. 3.2 represents word play at two levels: one, simply to invoke the name of

Fig. 3.2 Martina Hingis hailed for her double win at Wimbledon, July 2015

tennis celebrity, *Maar-Tina* and promote *Amul* by association of ideas, and two, basically flattery, by heaping her with accolades in the case of *Maska-Maar-Tina.*

Maska once again features in Fig. 3.3, where the first line in the header, *Neeche bread* ('bread below') is followed by the line *Ooprah maska* ('butter on top'). The Hindi word for 'on top' is actually *ooper* (necessitating the phrase *ooper maska*), but the copywriter's propensity for punning results in the modification of the spelling to match the talk show host Oprah Winfrey's name by eliding the last two letters and adding a 'rah' although the elongated 'o' in the original Hindi word is maintained. The fact that the ad came out during Oprah Winfrey's debut visit to India in January 2012, created much topical interest.

Fig. 3.3 Upon the visit of American talk show host, Oprah Winfrey, to India, January 2012

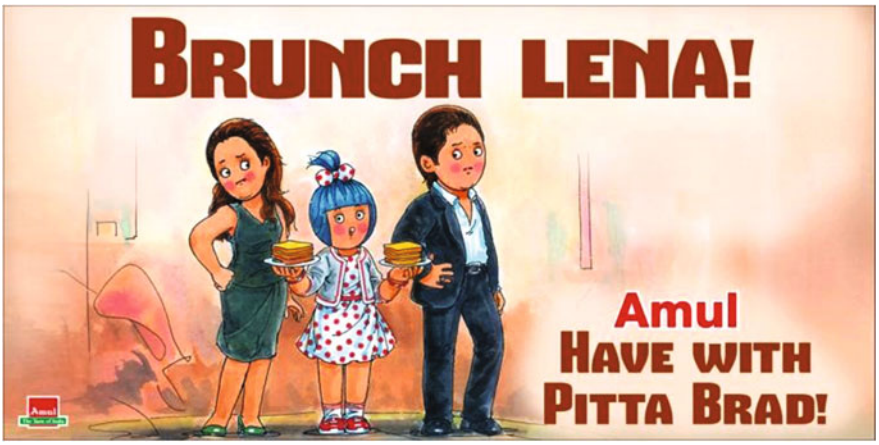

Fig. 3.4 Commenting on the Brad Pitt-Angelina Jolie split, September, 2016

The ad in Fig. 3.4 has a simple bilingual header *Brunch lena!* ('Have brunch!') with an aim to create humour by partially echoing the word 'Brangelina', the term coined by news reporters to brand the iconic Hollywood power couple, Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie, whose marriage was on the rocks at the time of conducting this study. Here, the pun on the words *lina*, the last syllable of Angelina, and *lena* (Hindi verb meaning 'have' or 'take') contributes to the light-heartedness of the barb aimed at the couple. A similar play on the words *Brad* and *bread* appears in the tagline *Have with Pitta Brad*. By reversing the first and last names of Brad Pitt and playing with their spelling, the aim is simply to poke fun. The tagline thus extends the message in the header against the image of the couple facing off against each other—an entextualization of a news item of global interest within the local every day context of eating brunch consisting of pita bread and *Amul*.

Entextualization Through Reduplication and Word Play

Reduplication is a common feature of most Indian languages, including Hindi, and is usually employed for emphasis or intensification. In Fig. 3.5, reduplication of the English *buddy,* which functions as a modifier of *baatein* (talk/discussion) not only acts as an intensifier (great/close buddies) but also exploits the word-for-word match with the homophonous Hindi word *badi* (big/important) which the word *buddy* in turn calls up. In order to appreciate the humour, readers must be able to interpret the intended ambiguity created by the two versions this generates through word play: In the first version, the phrase *buddy buddy*, combined with the Hindi *baatein* (talk/discussion) highlights the camaraderie and positive vibes (buddy talk) between the US President Barack Obama and the Indian Prime Minister,

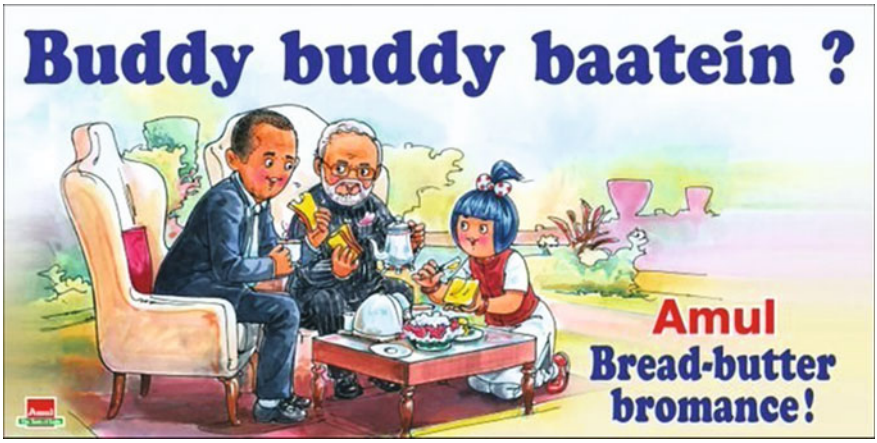

Fig. 3.5 Commenting on US President Barack Obama's meeting with India's Prime Minister Narender Modi during the latter's visit to India, January 2015

Narendra Modi, during Obama's visit to India in January, 2015. The image of the Amul Butter girl serving breakfast, alliteratively described as *Bread butter bromance* in the tagline, is further suggestive of this friendly relationship. In the second version, a similar reduplication of the Hindi word (*Badi badi*) combined with *baatein* (big talk) now focuses on the import of the discussions taking place between the two world leaders. The ambiguity of meaning created by the reduplications *buddy buddy* and *badi badi* produces heteroglossia; in this case, entextualization involves knowledge of both global and local political events.

An interesting example of reduplication is presented by the ad in Fig. 3.6. *Kiss kis per case!* (A case against whom!) involving a word-for-word match between the homophonous English *kiss* and the Hindi *kis* (whom), once again creating ambiguity of meaning and heteroglossia. The visual alludes to the firestorm that swept India following a seemingly innocuous—and obviously staged—celebrity kiss on the cheek of Shilpa Shetty from Hollywood actor Richard Gere at an AIDS-awareness event in New Delhi meant to entertain the crowd. The nationwide furore—a result of the apparent clash between Western and Indian cultural values and practices—had conservative Indians claiming the incident violated traditional social rules on issues such as public displays of affection. It sparked several demonstrations by hardline Hindu groups and a flurry of legal complaints, prompting Gere to issue a statement of apology for the cultural gaffe. The visual entextualizes the conflict between modernity and global cultural values and practices, represented here by the persona of Richard Gere on the one hand and the purported erosion of traditional Indian practices and values that incited some Indians to go after him in this way. The remark *Kiss kis per case!* (Against whom would you launch such a lawsuit?) is an oblique comment that lampoons and ridicules such a narrow mindset.

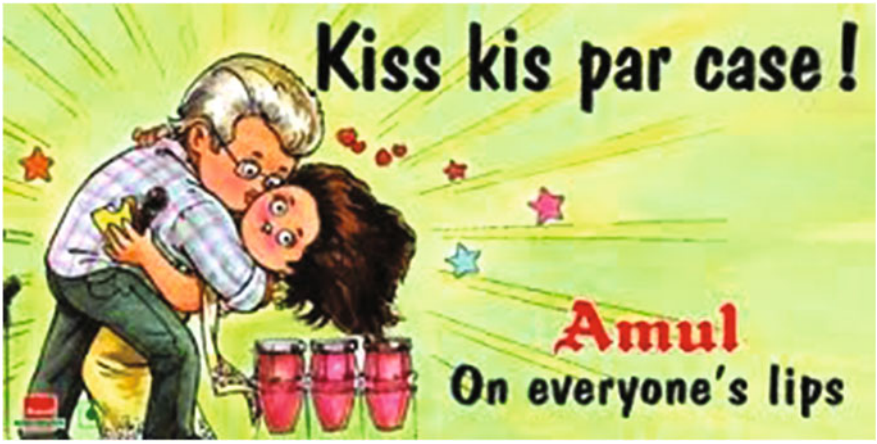

Fig. 3.6 On the Richard Gere and Shilpa Shetty kiss controversy, May 2007

Intertextuality, Allusion and Word Play

Another interesting technique used in the *Amul* ads is the strategic use of bilingual puns with intertextual references and allusions to prominent social, cultural, and political events or issues, both global and local, where the English part of the text is typically used as an intertext for creating bilingual word puns. Allusion, irony, and word play nearly always involve stretching the meaning-potential of English lexical items by blending them with partially homophonous indigenous items and fusing their meanings. For the pun to work successfully and the message to be interpreted correctly, the reader has to deduce the English word that is used as an intertext by deriving it from the Hindi word that has been exploited for the purpose, as in the example below.

The global dimension of the ad in Fig. 3.7, alluding to the worldwide furore raised over Dan Brown's novel *The Da Vinci Code* (modified to *Da Vinci Krodh*) is cleverly exploited by a play between the English *code* and the Hindi word *krodh* (rage), which are semi-homophonic. The word *krodh*, connoting 'religious rage' in many a narrative of ancient Indian mythology, captures particularly well the brouhaha caused by the controversy, and the opposition that followed the publication of the book, whose phenomenal success had Christians demanding that its copies be burned and its movie adaptation be banned. A larger-than-life image of Da Vinci's Mona Lisa, and angry posturing by the public, in the visual conjure up the strongly negative reactions hurled at the author of the international best-seller. By contrast, as the tagline implies, the products of *Amul* invite *No opposition*.

Thus, recognizable elements of the source text *The Da Vinci Code* are decontextualized, modified, and embedded within a new textual context, epitomized by the substitution of *code* with *krodh* whereby they are now made to fit within an Indian cultural connotations of religious rage. In this way, the new text can still

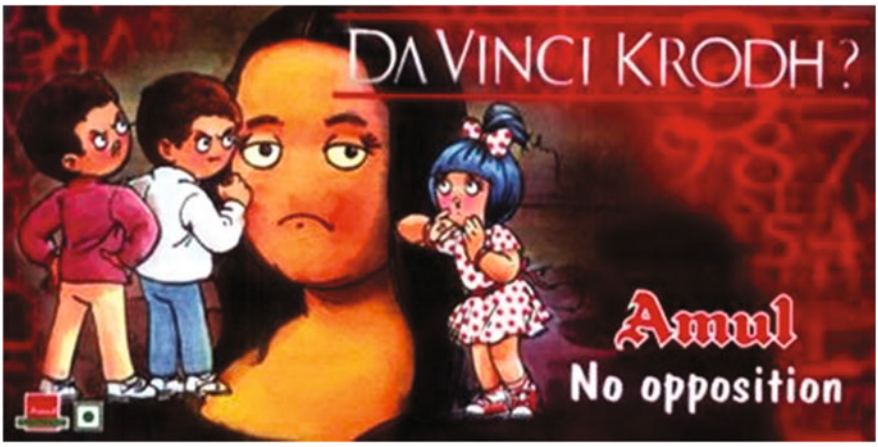

Fig. 3.7 An allusion to Dan Brown's *The Da Vinci Code*, 2003

appear to readers as a recognisable version of the original text. At the same time, the re-entextualized aspects of the source text, when integrated within the new text, makes the header in the *Amul* ad a new construction.

Considering that fiction, like myth, is part of the conceptual repertoire of contemporary societies, the reference to Dan Brown's novel in fact provides an example of intergeneric intertextuality, thus constructing the reader/consumer as an intelligent, educated, well-informed Indian who has the necessary cultural capital (knowledge of western popular culture, best-selling fiction, media news, etc.) to appreciate the underlying humour.

In Fig. 3.8, another example of intergeneric intertextuality, the visual of the main protagonists of Kipling's *Jungle Book* stories, Mowgli and Baloo, along with the textual references to 'jungle' and the lyrics of the song from the movie (*The bare necessities*), are all harnessed to promote the marketing of *Amul* through effectively entextualizing the positive cultural aspects of this Walt Disney blockbuster movie. The header *Jungle mein bhook mitaaye* ('alleviate your hunger in the jungle') plays on the words *book* (as in *The Jungle Book*) and the semi-homophonous Hindi *bhook* (hunger) to exploit the double meanings they produce. The tagline *The Bread Necessity!* is a clever adaptation of the popular song 'The bare necessities' from the movie, in which the anthropomorphic bear Baloo expounds upon the importance of taking it easy.

These ads optimize the fact that today's cosmopolitans combine experiences of various media with other forms of experience—cinema, video, restaurants, spectator sports, tourism, and so—that have different national and transnational genealogies (Appadurai, 1996, p. 64). They also illustrate how images of the media are quickly absorbed into public discourse and moved into local repertoires of irony, humour and resistance.

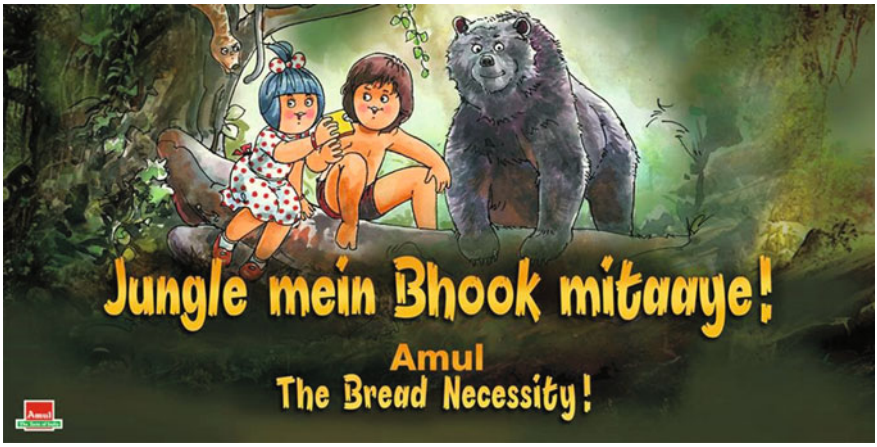

Fig. 3.8 On the success of Walt Disney's 2016 remake of Kipling's *The Jungle Book*, November 2016

Intertextuality, Word Play and Resemiotization

The ad below (Fig. 3.9) draws upon knowledge of yet another international event by using word play to raise a laugh; a ludic function. The image of President George W. Bush ducking a shoe thrown at him by journalist Muntadhar al-Zaidi, during a press conference in Iraq, closely resembles the slew of pictures that appeared in the international press at the time. The humour derives from the word play between the Hindi *joota* (shoe) in the text, *Joota Kahin Ka!* which calls up the semi-homophonous word, *jhoota* (liar), in the original idiomatic Hindi expletive,

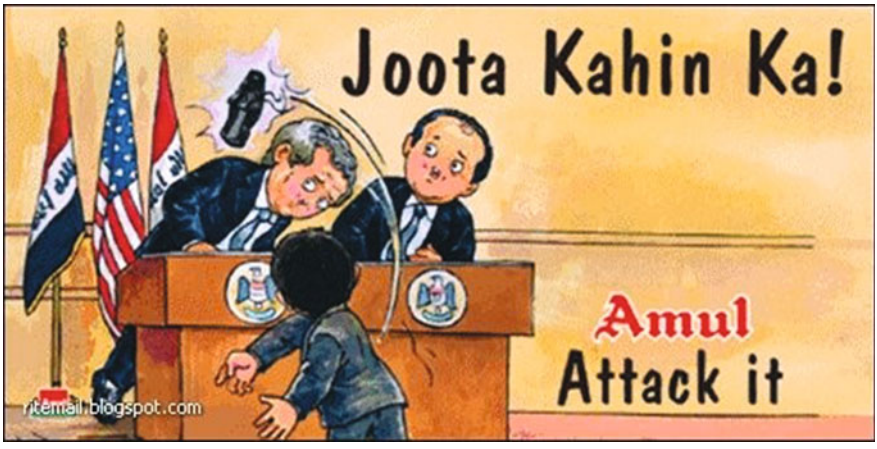

Fig. 3.9 An allusion to the shoe episode with President George W. Bush, December 2008

Jhoota Kahin Ka! ('You big fat liar!' or 'Liar! Liar!')—a social comment on Washington's invasion of Iraq, engineered by George W. Bush under false allegations that it held weapons of mass destruction. Such double layers of meaning in the *Amul* ads are immediately accessible to bilingual Indians who will not miss out on the humour implied.

The play on the words *joota* and *jhoota*, thus, not only grabs the reader's attention by exploiting this double meaning and adding to the satirical effect of the ad, but serves also to resemiotize the episode by introducing a tone of frivolity into it. This is because the expletive *Jhoota Kahin Ka!* (which the header obliquely invokes) tends to conjure up rather frivolous, informal, highly theatrical, contexts of use, deriving from its frequent utilization in Hindi commercial cinema, usually in verbal exchanges among intimates, as between lovers. Similar to filmic ways of speaking, its use would appear hugely contrived and out of place in contexts of serious international import. By invoking such frivolous localized usage to charge Bush with responsibility for grossly misleading the world through his foreign policy, the text creates a sense of the absurd with a view to mock and ridicule, and hold Bush up to ridicule, thus completely modifying and resemiotising the rather innocuous reference to *joota* (shoe) in the original source text.

The tongue-in-cheek *Attack it* in the tagline, likewise, has a double meaning depending on the readers' interpretation of the ambiguous referent 'it': whether (i) referring to the 'liar' (George W. Bush) inferred from *jhoota*, in which case the phrase *Attack it* can be taken to mean 'sound and explicit approval of the shoe throwing act depicted in the graphics'; or (ii) as 'the butter marketed by Amul', in which case the phrase may simply be urging the consumer 'to eat it with relish'. Such double layers of meaning underlying the intended ambiguity in these 'multivoiced' texts are illustrative of Bakhtin's (1981) concept of dialogism and his view of dialogue in making sense of identity construction.

Another instance of intergeneric intertextuality and resemiotization appearing in the ad in Fig. 3.10, is clearly intended to ride on the popularity of the hit song it alludes to. Every aspect of the song *Mambo No. 5!*, a western cultural product relocated within the context of an Indian domestic market, has been transformed through remodification of the original song's name as well as its catchy lyrics. The slogan partially echoes the lyrics of the song ("A little bit of Monica in my life, a little bit of Erica by my side, a little bit of Rita is all I need…"), but inserts *slice* in place of *life* and *side* in the original to suggest the mundane and far less romantic context of 'bread and butter'. Likewise, the word *maska* is foregrounded in the one-liner, in place of all the 'hot chicks' mentioned in the lyrics. But as any Indian bilingual would know, *maska* here is also employed in its figurative sense of 'currying favour or pandering to someone'. This additional cultural overtone with its local connotations is depicted in the visual of the *Amul* Butter girl, sandwich in hand, playfully smacking her lips as she rides beside her debonair escort, representing singer Lou Bega himself. At the same time, some elements of the visual link it to the original Western context (e.g. A European Lou Bega wearing a hat and driving an open-top car), thus connoting an image or identity that is relatable to both Western and Indian contexts. The witty use of the tagline *Combo No. 1* to

Fig. 3.10 An allusion to the hit song 'Mambo No. 5!' by Lou Bega, 1999

parallel the song title *Mambo No. 5!* Is meant to evoke a positive attitude towards the product by transference, representing both a process of resemiotization and performing a 'ludic' function for easy recall and relatability.

Word Play, Metaphor and Resemiotization

In the ad in Fig. 3.11, Federer's first name *Roger* undergoes something of a metaphoric transformation when replaced by the partially homophonous *Raja*, an Indian royal title meaning 'king', historically used on the Indian subcontinent. The title bears strong connotations of the sovereign power bestowed on a monarch or princely ruler of the *Kshatriya* (ruling military elite) *varna* (social order) in the Vedic-Hindu social hierarchical system. The phrase *Raja Federer!* thus, not only reflects the localization of *Roger* but imbues it with the attributes fit for royalty, within the Vedic-Hindu social system, as a way of heaping accolades on the international tennis player for his victory at Wimbledon; a locally oriented salutation for one victorious in a global sporting event. The global sporting star's successful performance is thus co-opted within an Indian ethos and social structure, wherein the word *Raja* is evoked as part of the collective consciousness of Indians in order to bestow him with a position of honour reserved only for royalty in a process of resemiotization. While the visual still grounds Federer within a Western cultural context (seated beside Britain's Queen Elizabeth II, and offering a generous slab of *Amul* butter to Rafael Nadal who lost the match to him), it nonetheless entextualizes and resemiotizes his persona into an emblem of royalty through the phrase *Raja Federer!* lifting Federer's celebrity status as one of the world's topmost tennis players, to 'king' of world tennis.

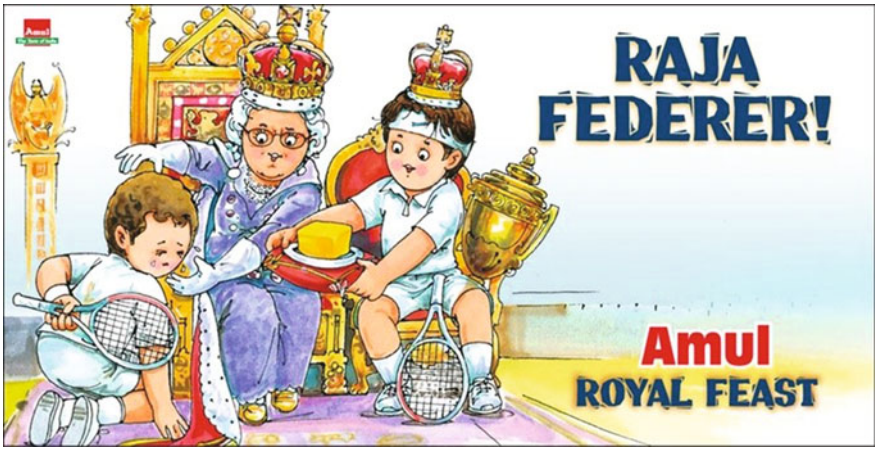

Fig. 3.11 Roger Federer winning his 7th Wimbledon title, July, 2012

Because the *Amul* ads embody sensibilities that are both global and local, and are redolent with allusions requiring considerable intelligent processing and inferencing, it is clear they are tailored for a target group with the required linguistic and cultural literacy, in both Hindi and English, to decode them. Moreover, it must be noted that, in these glocal ads, English is not merely an emblematic tool used for its symbolic value in indexing sophistication, prestige, or modernity (Kelley-Holmes, 2005), or exhibiting a sort of "fake multilingualism" (Higgins, 2009: 116) where consumers do not even need to understand English, as long as they recognize the connotations it is associated with. On the contrary, in the Indian multilingual setting, English not only performs a truly communicative function by requiring readers to decipher the meanings it conveys but it is also used in subtle, creative, and humorous ways through code-alteration with Hindi to satisfy the creative needs of advertisers and consumers alike, as evidenced by the presence of bilingual word puns, metaphors, allusions, and intertextuality which capitalize on their readers' knowledge of multiple languages and cultures.

Compounding, Splitting and Blending

A fairly common device used in advertising is that of word formation through compounding, the process of combining existing words in a language to create new words. The compound *Wonderbolt*, on the analogy of *thunderbolt* in reference to Usain Bolt in Fig. 3.12 is a good example. The tagline *Asaan for Usain* (easy for Usain) obviously alludes to the effortless ease with which he achieved his record-breaking wins in the 2016 Olympics. In bilingual advertising, this process of word creation is extended by combining words from two different source

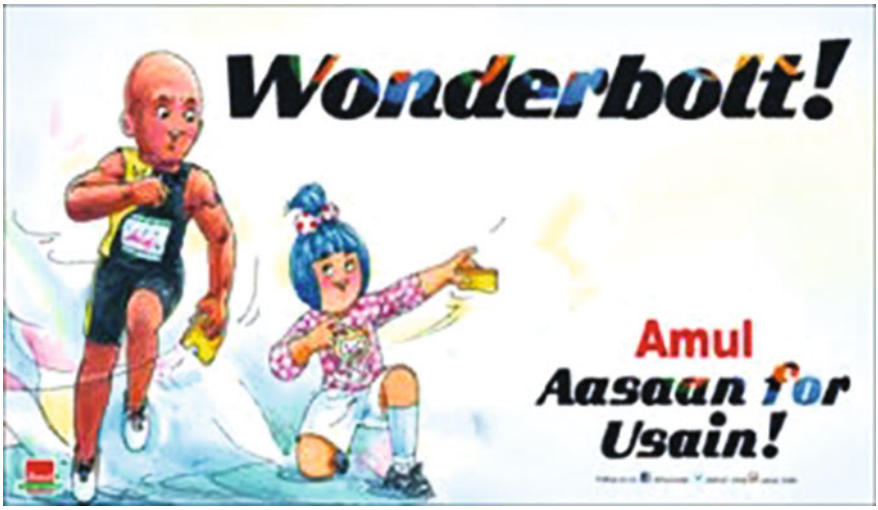

Fig. 3.12 Celebrating Usain Bolt's record winning performance in the 2016 Olympics

languages, resulting in new coinages. The ads that follow exemplify the tendency among copywriters of *Amul* to exploit this strategy to create novel compounds and blends by combining Hindi and English words. The resulting Hinglish compounds or blends then derive their meaning from a fusion of the component parts of the newly created coinage, as illustrated by the ad in Fig. 3.13.

The header in Fig. 3.13, *Sabki bolti bandh* (Everybody has been made speechless) is a tribute to Usain Bolt's stupendous performance in the 2016 Olympics 100 m dash. It has a Hindi matrix sentence containing the neologism *Bolti*, formed by

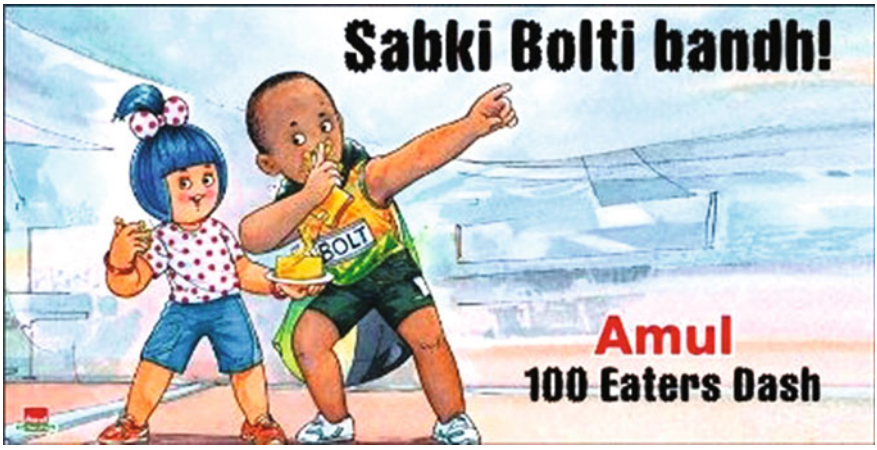

Fig. 3.13 The once-in-a generation athlete makes it a hat trick of 100 m Olympic gold

combining the name of the athelete Bolt with the last syllable of the Hindi word *boli* (speech), which has some phonemic as well as graphemic overlap with it. In effect, the fusion of *boli* with *Bolt* produces a non-linear blend, from which readers must derive the double meaning intended, one that simply refers to Bolt, the athlete, the other which calls up the word *boli* (speech), to indicate the way his record-breaking performance virtually put a stop (bandh) to it and rendered everyone speechless.

While blending is similar to compounding in that, in both cases, words from the two source languages are combined to form a new word, it is often the case that in the process of blending, one or both of the source words are clipped or fused so that there is partial phonemic blending between them. Splitting, on the other hand, takes apart the component elements of a word to produce new meanings either by keeping them apart or re-combining them with new elements. The ad in Fig. 3.14 utilizes both these devices: name-splitting in the headline *Barack fast in the White House* to produce a phrase that echoes the partially homonymous 'break fast' with a pun on 'fast' thrown in for good measure; and blending in the tagline *Obamul*, first by means of clipping and then fusing the source word 'Obama' with the product name *Amul*.

The ad in Fig. 3.15 exudes a celebratory note with its playful repetition of the Hindi word *do* (two), first in the Hindi *dobara* ('twice' or 'two times'), and again in the blend *dobama* (do + Obama, meaning 'OBAMA times two!') to signify his two-time win. The tagline alludes to his popular 2008 campaign chant, *Yes We Can* which got him his first term as America's first *African-American* president—a slogan that would not fail to produce an exhilarating effect of nostalgia at his re-election—here being redirected at *Amul.*

The hosting of the Commonwealth Games in 2010 was something of a debacle for the Indian government, one that was accompanied not only by chaos and mismanagement, but also fraught with allegations of corrupt practices and financial

Fig. 3.14 Barack Obama elected first African-American president of the United States, November 2008

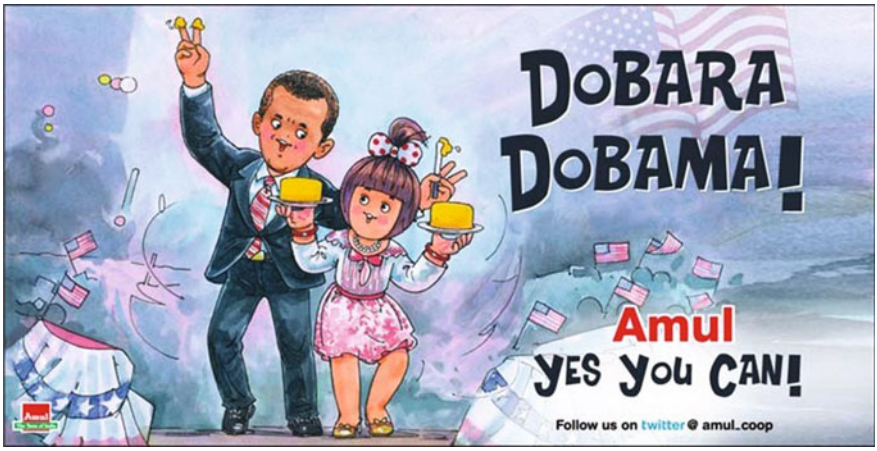

Fig. 3.15 A congratulatory message on President Obama's re-election, November 2012

irregularities against the president of the Indian Olympics Association himself. The Hindi verbal predicate *Kha gaya?* (literally '[Who] ate it up?' implying 'Who misappropriated it?') in Fig. 3.16 speaks to this. The splitting of the compound word *Commonwealth* into its component elements in the header deliberately reverses the metaphoric sense of the word to its literal meaning of 'wealth belonging to the common man'; a sardonic allusion to the allegations of corrupt financial practices of the politician heading the organizing committee of the Games. This is evidenced also by the tongue-in-cheek comment in the tagline, *Don't grease palms, butter them*, an example of resemiotization indexing irony, satire, and critique.

Fig. 3.16 An allusion to the controversy surrounding the 19th Commonwealth Games organizing committee in New Delhi, October 2010

The *Amul* ads have remained unsparing of the scams and scandals involving Indian politicians and politics, often brimming over with opportunities for parody and lampooning in this way.

Entextualization Through Rhyme and Assonance

The ads in Figs. 3.17 and 3.18 make use of rhyme and assonance to produce a catchy headline and add to their memorability. The header in Fig. 3.18, *No maafi for Gaddafi!* (No mercy for Gaddafi), is accompanied by a visual of the eccentric leader on one side, known to stand out not just with his outlandish clothing, but also his blunt speeches and unconventional behaviour. On the opposite side is President Obama, likely representing NATO and the international community whose intervention contributed to immobilising the convoy in which Muammar Gaddafi and his loyalists were escaping before they were killed by Libyan rebel forces. *The taste of freedom* in the tagline is obviously a reference to the sense of relief his ignominious end would have brought to the long-suffering Libyan masses.

The ad in Fig. 3.18 entextualizes India's victory in the World Cup finals in 2011 in the game of cricket, one of India's huge obsessions. The visual of M. S. Dhoni, the captain of the Indian cricket team, accompanied by the cheering *Amul* Butter girl, mirrors the sweet *taste of victory* echoed in the tagline. The playful use of the English preposition *up* as a noun to mean 'on top'/'on top of the world' and the assonance with *cup* is an example of creative improvization, one which deliberately flouts the grammar rules of both Hindi and English. Yet the header, *Cup hai toh up hai!* (If we won the [World] cup, then, hey, we are on top!) succinctly and pithily

Fig. 3.17 On the political unrest created by Libyan dictator Gaddafi, March 2011

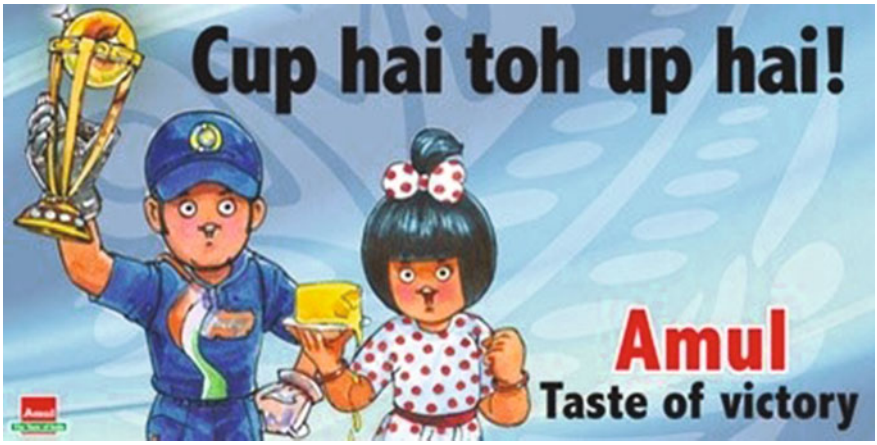

Fig. 3.18 Celebrating India's victory at the World Cup finals in 2011

captures the sentiments of India's 'cricket-mad' public in a way that would not be as effective if expressed in an entirely English or Hindi monolingual sentence. The use of *up* as a noun in a Hindi matrix sentence is also symbolic of the way the cosmopolitan culture of cricket has become indigenized and decolonized in India, 'unyoked' as it were from its Englishness, not only by the way its terminology has been drawn into the world of the vernacular languages, but also the way English itself has been appropriated and domesticated for local creative use.

Reflecting on the challenge advertisers are presented with by savvy media-literate viewers grown too acclimatized to advertising's conventional messages and reading rules, Kuppens (2009) notes that the advent of postmodern intertextual advertising is an attempt to appeal to a generation of critical, media-literate, and sceptical viewers: "The creativity, humour, and reflexivity that are typical of intertextual advertisements, constitute an exciting way of appealing to advertisement-literate viewers who 'see through' classic advertising strategies" (119) and, crucially, function as "a source of ego enhancement" for viewers who recognize the intertextual references. By positioning the viewer as the holder of the necessary cultural capital, the advertiser "appears to speak to the viewer as a peer". Kuppens further points out that, "the enjoyment and pleasure that viewers derive from such advertisements, potentially contribute to positive attitudes towards the advertisement, and hence to the brand", "rendering the viewer more permeable and responsive to the commercial message" (119).

Discussion

This study focused on the construction of consumer identities of English-knowing middle-class Indians in the *Amul* Butter ads and the way code-alteration, combined with processes of extextualization and resemiotization, plays a key role in it. The ads examined here illustrate a good deal of hybridity and multivocality. They showcase the ways bi-/multilingualism involving English and Hindi in such identity construction work continually yields new meanings that plays off against old ones, and how, through processes of linguistic and cultural hybridity, they dialogically index global and local references, achieved here through a process of entextualization, or to use Blommaert's (2011) terms, through simultaneous processes of englobalization-and-deglobalization.

The overall aim of this study was to demonstrate how meanings of texts change as they travel across boundaries of social life, and how they pick up new meanings through dialogue with sets of new discourses in new contexts. As the analysis shows, these processes frequently lead to resemiotization in which the original meanings are remodified and transformed to create new meanings and identifications through textual, discoursal, and semiotic resources that represent both global and local cultural identifications. Importantly, the analysis demonstrates that meaning does not always reside in a text, and is made and remade as the text moves through a set of overlapping 'scapes' or spatialities generated by global cultural flows and mobility. Even more importantly, the clever exploitation and meshing of local with global semiotic and cultural elements represents the domestication of English within the Indian sociolinguistic context, on the one hand, and the manner in which global cultural influences on identity construction are tempered by local cultural forms and nuances, on the other.

Conclusion

In explaining the role played by these *englobalization-and-deglobalization* processes within the Indian billboard advertising context, this study suggests that the hybridized, multimodal, and often resemiotized, texts and visuals in the *Amul* Butter ads, represent an agentive, highly localized, response that constitutes the cultural expression of what may be called an alternate reality; a reality that allows modern-day Indians to construct for themselves identifications that are *simultaneously* traditional and modern, indigenous and cosmopolitan, local and global, in creatively reworking and remaking their inherited sociolinguistic resources. In other words, the Amul Butter ads may be said to be characterized by *translocality*: they are neither purely local nor wholly global, yet they simultaneously align with both the local and the global as meaningful co-ordinates. Finally, in connecting the dots between the local and the global, Bhabha's (1994) insightful perspective on

"hybrid identities" or "third space" has been found significant for the explanatory light it helps shed on such processes of cultural exchange that result from transcultural flows in a rapidly globalising world.

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Chapter 4
English in Thai Tourism: Global English as a Nexus of Practice

Andrew Jocuns

Introduction

Since Kachru's (1990, 1992) notion of circles of English first emerged, there have been widespread contributions to the study of English as a global language, with a seemingly endless stream of new varieties of English emerging in places where English is a lingua franca. The present study discusses one such variety of global English which is considered to be an emergent form of English, Thai English. This paper explores how we can examine local/global relations through an investigation of the micro and macro orders of discourse that exist within the particular nexus of practice that is Thai English by exploring the perceptions of Thai speakers of English spoken in Thailand by Thai speakers, and aspects of Thai English which emerge in Thai tourism. Together, these two sets of data reflect a glocalized form of English that has emerged, and is continuously emerging in Thailand. The current paper thus seeks to address the following questions:

- Do Thai speakers of English believe that Thai English is a variety of English?
- What are the subject positions that make up Thai English?
- How can we characterize the English that we observe in the tourism linguistic landscape in relation to those subject positions?

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Thai English, Tinglish, ThaiE

One of the features of what has come to be known as Thailish, Tinglish, or ThaiE is the fact that there has been some reluctance on the part of Thai speakers of English to accept that Thailand has its own form of emergent English, due in part to the language ideology of the standard language, Thai (Trakulkasemsuk, 2012). This study utilizes two sets of data from interviews and opinion surveys, and an examination of the linguistic landscape to present the nexus of practice of English in the context of Thai tourism. At the micro level of interaction, as well as the linguistic landscape, are observed tokens of Thai English used among Thai vendors in their various interactions with tourists from all over the world. At a macro level, we can observe the value placed upon an emergent form of English in Thailand through an examination of tourism and the presence of English in the linguistic landscape of Thailand. One aspect of Thai English as an emergent language that needs to be considered is how it relates to the ideology of the national standard language. As Schmitz (2014) has observed, standard language ideology is an issue for expanding circle Englishes in much the same manner as it is in inner circle nations. In order to consider how Thai English is an emergent form of English one must examine how the standard language, Thai, relates to the glocalized form of English, as well as the communicative practices that have emerged in Thailand. In sum, Thai English is a matter of a series of different subject positions (Clark 2013) that emerge in a nexus of practice relative to speaker status and identity. This paper illustrates one way in which a local variety of global English emerges in glocalized practices, and is identified by the community in terms of a series of subject positions that speakers take up in relation to this variety both at an ideological level and in the linguistic landscape.

The term subject position can be defined using Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning theory where they note that subject positions enable speakers to take up certain identities or positions towards notions, concepts, people, and other entities in the world. In taking up a subject position, a speaker takes up the conceptual discursive code that makes up that position. This notion enables an understanding of how identities are fluid in casual conversation as well as the fact that speakers take up multiple positions, some of which may be conflicting. The notion of subject position also has its origins in the philosophy of Foucault who argued that a subject itself does not produce knowledge but is rather the object of knowledge, as a part of the construction of the discourse that the subject is engaged in. Hence, subject positions taken by a subject are constructed by larger orders of discourse that exist in the world.

Many studies in sociolinguistics over the past 40 years have drawn attention to not only the varieties of languages that exist within a particular context, but also how those varieties are perceived by the local inhabitants for whom that variety makes up the soundscape. To that end it is equally important to not only identify the features of a variety, but also that variety's 'status' within the wider community in which it is used. Of concern is the status that the varieties of English spoken in

Thailand have amongst Thai speakers of English, as well as the ability of Thai speakers of English to identify specific features of something we can call Thai English. What follows is a discussion of some of the literature on mediated discourse analysis and nexus analysis, studies of Thai English, and perceptions of Thai speakers towards varieties of English.

Mediated discourse analysis has changed the focus of discourse analysis from text to action(s) (Scollon, 1995, 2001, 2002; Scollon & Scollon, 2007). From studies of linguistic landscapes (Hult, 2009; Lou, 2012; Pan, 2010; Troyer, Cáceda, & Eguíbar, 2015) to analyses of novice/expert interactions (de Saint-Georges, 2004, 2008) to the actions involved in children's play time (Wohlwend K., 2011, 2013; Wohlwend K. E., 2009), mediated discourse and its methodological component, nexus analysis, have changed the scope of discourse analysis by drawing attention to the actions of social actors. Nexus analysis thus seeks to identify the various practices that are interrelated, conflicting, or contradictory, as well as a means of changing the nexus through which such contradictions emerge. This study is specifically concerned with how Thai English emerges in the linguistic landscape as well as the actions embedded within the perceptions that speakers take up towards it.

The Changing Status of English in Thailand

Traditionally, English in Thailand has been seen to be part of the outer circle of Kachru's circles of Englishes (Kachru, 1990, 1992; Kachru & Nelson, 2006; Kachru & Smith, 2008) where it exists as a lingua franca during interactions with speakers who may come from both inside and outside of Asia. The status of English in Thailand emphasizes the fact that the value placed upon a code or variety is constantly in flux, a fact which is equally true of the scholarship on English in Thailand where the focus has been on some local nuances of speech, rather than the fact that Thai English deserves the status of variety. While it has seldom been found to be the case that Englishes shift between circles, it is possible that the status of English may vary considerably across populations within a country. There is no doubt that English, in many contexts, serves the purposes of a lingua franca for many people in Thailand. For example a recent study of Thai graduate students found that using English as a lingua franca was commonly accepted, and that participants found little difficulty in communication (Ploywattanawong & Trakulkasemsuk, 2014). Yet Thai English has recently been identified as an emergent form of English within the context of the study of global English (Huebner, 2006; Rogers, 2013; Trakulkasemsuk, 2012).

Since Huebner's (2006) study of the linguistic landscape of Bangkok, several studies have attempted to repeat those results in different contexts, for example Troyer's (2012) study of the use of English on-line in Thailand. Taken together, such studies have added to the discussion on the status of Thai English, most notably suggesting that the status of English may be changing in Thailand to that of an emergent form that is used more widely for communication than it was previously.

Perhaps, as Huebner's study suggests, it is fulfilling the role once filled by Chinese Mandarin in Thailand. Despite its status as an emergent form of English, there is still some resistance to this notion within Thailand. This resistance is due in part to the Thai language policy which imposes restrictions on borrowings through literacy practices which employ Thai speakers to transliterate borrowings from foreign languages into Thai through the implementation of Thai literacy rules (Fitzpatrick, 2011; Kaur, Young, & Kirkpatrick, 2016; Rappa, 2006; Smalley, 1994). Also, there is historical ideological resistance to Thai English as Thailand was never colonized by a western power, and an established variety of English did not arise for a long while, making it challenging to include Thai English as a variety.

Is Thai English a Variety?

Some recent approaches to sociolinguistics are worth noting in the context of the variety of English spoken in Thailand. Taking Barbara Johnstone's recent study of the variety of English spoken in Pittsburgh, USA as a point of departure, opens the door for a much broader and refined discussion of varieties of English in a global context (Johnstone 2013). Johnstone found some interesting ideological implications of the Pittsburgh dialect; of the people she interviewed, the speakers who did not have the features of the Pittsburgh accent in their repertoire believed that it existed, whereas speakers who had the features of this variety of English did not believe that there was such a variety. In the context of Thailand, this finding is interesting to consider: whether or not speakers in Thailand who have features of Thai English believe it to exist, and likewise, whether or not Thai speakers of English who do not have the features of Thai English believe it to exist. This distinction is interesting for two reasons: firstly, it illustrates the ideological value that speakers have of a spoken variety, based on whether or not they maintain those features within their respective idiolects; and secondly, considering Johnstone's methodology and analysis, we can shift the focus from Global English to also include dialect studies of varieties of English. If we think about orders of indexicality and the pragmatic weight of varieties, it can be observed that different populations place different ideological values upon both spoken and written English in Thailand (Blommaert, 2005, 2010, 2013, 2015; Clark, 2013; Silverstein, 2003).

Many studies of Thai English, or Thai English practices, have been limited in scope. For example, the study by Rogers (2013) is one such example, for it included 12 participants across two countries, the USA and Thailand. The study found, in a similar manner to Huebner, that many of the features of Thai English are unique to it, not just known linguistic characteristics identified as "postcolonial English" (Jenkins, 2014); a term which does not work for Thai English especially because attempts to make Thailand a colony of western powers were in vain. Another body of research on Thai English has focused on perceptions of Thai speakers, implementing large questionnaires using quantitative methods. For example, Snodin and Young (2015) developed a questionnaire that attempted to glean the perceptions

that students have of varieties of English in Thailand. Their findings indicate that many Thai students believe they are speaking American English and emphasizing that such perceptions can be explained by the void between policy and practice in education in Thailand. Where Thailand's English curriculum is severely lacking, students still have positive attitudes to the language, thus opening up the possibility for policy change. In a similar vein McKenzie et al. (2015) examined perceptions of Thai speakers towards different varieties of English using a competence-warmth scale. In their findings, Thai participants scored a Thai English speaker higher than other English native speaker varieties (such as, Midwestern USA) and other Asian varieties. In addition, their findings also indicated that Thai participants who were positive to Thai language diversity were also positive towards speakers of Thai English. This also suggests a positive attitude towards what Canagarajah (2013) refers to as translingual practice, where speakers in some parts of the world are living in such diverse linguistic environments that the fluidity between varieties of a language and other languages is commonplace.

Glocalization and Global Englishes

Much of the research presently being done on Global Englishes has emphasized the fact of globalization and the changing nature of languages in relation to globalization which have, in effect, created contexts in which English is being used everywhere on the one hand, yet the rise of local variations of English has questioned traditional notions of what encompasses standardized English on the other. This surge of research on global Englishes has identified localized nuances of English use as well as non-Standard varieties of English which exist outside of what was assumed to be English's domain of origin (or so-called inner circles Englishes). The introduction of the term and theories associated with globalization into sociolinguistics has also sparked an ever-increasing interest in the multilingual nature of speech communities the world over, including those which have also been dubbed "superdiverse" (Blommaert, 2010, 2013), of which Thailand and the majority of communities in insular and mainland Southeast Asia would certainly be a part. What is more, numerous studies have contributed to this sociolinguistics of globalization through research on localized particulars of language use in identifying such global forces which are thus dubbed "glocal", with English being the most often studied "glocal" phenomenon (Hsu, 2008; Inagawa, 2015; Joseph & Ramani, 2012; Saxena & Omoniyi, 2010). If we are to assume, as many do, that English in Thailand, as a language of wider communication, is present due in part to the forces of globalization, then we must also assume that localized nuances have emerged to produce a glocal Thai English (Anderson-Levitt, 2003; Kosonen, 2008).

The terms 'glocal' and 'glocalization' are of Japanese origin, and were introduced as terms in Japanese business during the 1980s where they were used in marketing, specifically micro-marketing (Robertson, 1995). In order to alleviate what Robertson believed to be the tension of using the term 'globalization,' when in

fact localization of global concepts was evident when one considered both space and time, the term glocalization was thus preferred. Of course, since Robertson first introduced the idea, the term glocalization has continued to be used extensively and been incorporated across disciplines, including in sociolinguistics, where the term 'glocal' began to refer to what was earlier termed world Englishes. Yet, given the fact that English is used in every part of the world, its implications on understanding how space and time are constructed makes 'glocalization' an implicitly relevant term to Language Studies. As such, it is not surprising that the idea of the glocalization of language and communicative practices has been shown to be equally related to the recent development of notions of Global English, as well as sociolinguistics, most notably in the study of fluid bilingualism, also known as "translanguaging" (Blackledge & Creese, 2010), which is meant to capture the idea that bilingual speakers maintain their linguistic repertoire not in discreet bits of languages, but in a more fluid translinguistic capacity, thus allowing speakers to move fluidly between languages without strict boundaries between codes.

Translanguaging between English and Thai, as a communicative practice, is by no means ubiquitous throughout Thailand but it does appear in some interesting forms in Thailand; in particular, code-mixing on TV or on the radio. In fact, a recent video poked fun at the practice of inserting English words in Thai speech in a translanguaging video. The video plays on the humorous side of translanguaging. Perhaps in an effort to maintain the purity of the Thai language, the Royal Academy of Thailand issues a series of new "Thai" words for things that are often borrowings from other languages every year,[1] yet many of these words are neither known nor used by Thai speakers; rather the borrowed English words are more prevalent, as seen in Facebook conversations. Regardless, the importance here is that a Thai speaker with marginal English ability would recognize this translanguaging practice involving the insertion of English words into Thai speech. Part of what is glocal in Thai English has to do with how English is managed in relation to Thai, specifically in lexical borrowings. In fact, this domain of glocalization is resistant to local government pressures to create new Thai words, and to resist the influence of foreign languages, most notably English, on Thai language. Despite the fact that The Royal Academy publishes a list of new words, their spellings, and pronunciations, these new terms are often not used, rather the borrowed word is preferred. Yet what emerges is a glocalized practice of lexical borrowing or code-mixing. This is one example of how Thai English emerges in a glocalized form. Another example is how English is used to not only denote new things but also connote a chic-ness to things in the world in Thai (Huebner, 2006; Troyer, 2012). Using English words without Thai influences still renders an upper class constituency.

[1]For example the word for 'computer' as designated by the Thai Royal academy is คณิตกรณ์ /kánít gon/but the preferred usage is the English borrowing, คอมพิวเตอร์/kom-piw-dter/, or the word for 'modern' in Thai is officially ทันสมัย/tan sà-măi/and yet the preferred usage is โมเดิร์น/moh-dern/. Note, also, that the Thai writing system may affect English pronunciation production for Thai speakers of English, but the factors involved in this go beyond the scope of this paper.

The Nexus of Practice of Thai English

The present study has implemented a mixed-methods methodology to attempt to untangle the complex web that makes-up the nexus of practice of Thai English. A series of perception-based interviews were conducted with 116 speakers of Thai English, aged 20–35, gauging their opinion on the status of Thai English as a variety. One of the interesting findings from these interviews was that respondents often identified speakers of English as a lingua franca as those who spoke Thai English, and assumed that these speakers were in occupations where they were likely to interact with tourists (taxi-drivers, vendors, merchants at tourist markets). From such findings, it was determined that a site of engagement that was integral for the study of Thai English had to do with tourism, specifically examining contexts for the presence of English as a lingua franca.

When using the ethnographic and sociolinguistic methods outlined in nexus analysis (Scollon & Scollon, 2004), one identifies an interconnected web of relationships between communicative practices, objects in the material world, social actors, and the larger orders of discourse to which all are a part. An important characteristic of using a nexus analysis framework is that it offers a framework with which to change behaviours or, at the very least, perceptions. One of the benefits of conducting a nexus analysis is the ability to make connections between macro-level societal discourses with micro-level interactions that people engage in, as a routine part of their daily lives; the presence of glocalized patterns of English use in Thailand. Specifically, the various subject value positions that Thai speakers of English have towards something called "Thai English" are an equally important part of the glocalization of English in Thailand. How speakers in some cases distance themselves from Thai English, and attach certain identities upon speakers of Thai English, is a part of the discourse that makes up this variety.

There are three steps to a nexus analysis, which will be outlined briefly below and later specified in terms of timeframe for this study. These are engaging the nexus, navigating the nexus, and lastly changing the nexus. The nexus in question has to do with Thai English and, because this is such a broad categorical framework with which to launch a nexus analysis, the decision was then made to focus on one domain of Thai English that I believe is representative of the variety of English that one may encounter in Thailand; namely, English in Thai tourism. Tourism is one of the most important sectors of Thailand's economy and one of the most likely contexts within which one would encounter English in Thailand, primarily because of the presence and need for English as a lingua franca for sustained interactions. In engaging the nexus of practice that makes up the English used in Thailand's tourism industry, the following social actors are of primary importance: tourists, tourism professionals, and local vendors who interact with tourists on a regular basis. There are, in effect, three types of tourists in Thailand: tourists from outside of Asia (locally referred to as *farang* or Europeans); tourists from other Asian countries, most notably the recent influx of Chinese tourists to Thailand; and, of equal importance to the English represented in Thai tourism, the local Thais, who

are also patrons of the local tourist industry. In addition to tourists, there are tourism professionals who exist in a number of capacities such as tour guides, tour sales personnel, employees who work at tourist sites, as well as those in the hotel industry. Another group of social actors important here are Thai people who have some knowledge of English and/or who interact with English in their everyday lives; more importantly for this group of social actors, the concern is with the value that they place upon Thai English for it is through such perceptions where we can glean at least one domain in which the various subject positions that make up Thai English are understood. The last type of social actors of relevance to English in the Thai tourism industry are the vendors of various types who exist throughout Thailand, but there are any number of vendors who operate in and around tourist sites, not to mention those who operate within specified tourist markets such as the Chatuchak weekend market and the floating markets in Samut Prakan, Bangkok, and Ayuthaya. Whether the tourist as social actor is from Asia or outside of Asia, one common characteristic of tourism interactions in Thailand is the use of English as a lingua franca in tourist sites and in interaction with tourism professionals. Another important aspect of engaging the nexus of practice is determining the cycles of discourse that are present. English in Thai tourism exists in both overt forms of discourse and covert, spoken as well as written. Some of these covert discourses include the various subject positions that emerge from open-ended interviews with Thai speakers concerning their representations of who speaks Thai English. In many ways, these covert subject positions are evident in the linguistic landscape of Thai tourism.

Navigating the Nexus of Practice

In this study, part of navigating the nexus of practice involves not only determining the various discourses that surround Thai English, but also determining the overt and covert discourses that make up the various statuses of English in Thailand. What are the subject positions that Thai speakers of English take up towards the emergent variety of English known as Thai English? One of the interesting observations about Thai English has to do with the ways in which Thai speakers position other speakers of English in relation to this variety. At the beginning of this study, one major question that was addressed had to do with identification of the variety itself. In other words do Thai speakers of English believe that Thai English exists, and in order to attach a value to this variety, Thai speakers were also asked who they believe speaks Thai English. Interviews were conducted, that included some open-ended and follow-up questions, with 116 Thai people between the ages of 20 and 55. The majority of respondents were members of the local university community, so they were educated but not necessarily educated in English, and we did not access their English abilities. While we asked a number of questions during these short interviews, the questions that were most relevant to the present study were: “Have you ever heard of Thai English?” and “Who speaks Thai English?”

In the initial interviews that were conducted, the latter question was altered because an overwhelming number of respondents mentioned something to the effect that "of course it is Thai people" who speak Thai English, so the question was altered to ask 'Who in Thailand…' and 'Who among Thai people speak Thai English?'. The majority of respondents interviewed identified a variety of English known as Thai English. Only 10 respondents out of the 116 queried, responded *no*, they had not heard of something called Thai English. When asked if they spoke that variety they overwhelming said no—despite the fact that they were equally likely to use some of its features, although at this time we had not examined all of the phonological features of the respondents' English. When pressed further as to who spoke this variety, an adequate response was not received to this question, many respondents did not answer this; when respondents said "I don't know" this was equated that to non-response for this question.

Of the 77 respondents who were able to mention a group of people who speak Thai English, their responses tended to be quite varied. They identified groups of people who were uneducated, who did not speak English well, Thai people who never took an English class, or only did so in high school, Thai people who do not normally use English, or who lived in certain parts of the country far away from Bangkok where the quality of education was perceived to be poor (like the north-eastern region of Thailand known as Isarn). Additionally, many respondents also identified a variety of occupations where they believed Thai English to be used: merchants/vendors, vendors who worked at Chatuchak weekend market, prostitutes, taxi drivers, tuk-tuk drivers, and people who interact with foreigners regularly. In sum, they identified the entire category of people who speak English as a lingua franca, or more likely to speak English as a lingua franca, in Thailand. Hence, without knowing it, many of these respondents identified speakers of ELF as a category of people who speak Thai English. What is interesting about this is that the logic of the ideological weight of such responses tended to be perceptibly negative: someone who speaks Thai English is uneducated, people who are uneducated in Thailand occupy jobs in the service sector, Thai people who work in the service sector in Thailand will interact with foreigners regularly, and as such Thai tourism is a site for Thai English. The logic behind the negative subject positions identified as 'those who speak Thai English' is certainly flawed. We can consider the possibility that it is equally likely that speakers of ELF have a larger repertoire for handling non-native accents for English. From this variety of responses to this question, we can derive a number of subject positions, attached to 'big D' orders of Discourse, that indicate the ideological weight that Thai speakers of English place upon the glocalized variety of Thai English. These would include education, certain occupations, as well as certain ethnicities in Thailand. However, despite the fact that speakers do maintain these ideological subject positions, they have yet to be examined in their entirety. In the next section, some of the findings from examining English in the tourist linguistic landscape as well as ethnographic observations are discussed.

The discussion has focused on two seemingly disparate sets of data: perceptions which Thai speakers have concerning Thai English; and how Thai English emerges

in the linguistic landscape, specifically in tourist areas. One way to connect these two data sets is to consider what they index in terms of identity. We can describe the subject positions that make up the interview data as those that index particular types of Thai identities, 'educated' and 'uneducated' being the most salient. For the Thai speakers who take up this subject position, the fact that these nuances of English exist in the Thai linguistic landscape, indexes this position to them. Respondents mentioned that vendors and tourist professionals were some of the people who speak and use Thai English. Therefore, for Thai speakers who take up subject positions concerning the educated/uneducated stance toward Thai English, instances of perceptively bad English in the linguistic landscape further perpetuate this position.

Navigating the Geosemiotics of English in Thai Tourism

Geosemiotics (Scollon & Scollon, 2003) refers to the notion that the material world in which we live indexes certain kinds of identities, invites certain actions, and/or indexes ideological discourses; and a part of navigating the nexus of practice involves identifying the discourses in place which are embedded in geosemiotics. Geosemiotics captures the idea of the complexity of what has come to be known as linguistic landscapes, which tends to focus on the languages of a community. Given that Geosemiotics, or linguistic landscape research, can draw upon identity, a question that should be considered, then, is what are the subject identities that Thai speakers have of Thai English that are present within the geosemiotics of tourism in Thailand? Within the tourist landscape of Thailand, one can observe English in abundance. However, the quality of English varies as does the intended audience. It should also be noted that, in many multilingual signs in the tourist linguistic landscape, there are other languages as well, most notably Chinese Mandarin with Japanese, Korean, Arabic, Malaysian, and Russian added in some places, but by no means is there uniformity in terms of which languages may be found on a sign (official or otherwise) in the linguistic landscape of tourism of Thailand. Thailand does not have an official language policy for signage other than a tax incentive that Huebner noted was a factor in developing multilingual signage; the Thai government gives a tax break to businesses whose signs are written in Thai script. This could explain the lack of uniformity among bilingual signs.

Signs for Regulation/Information

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 reflect examples of signs that one would see in the linguistic landscape of Thailand that one can refer to as regulatory signs. These are signs which reflect a desired set of behaviours. Note that in both signs, English is not the only foreign language present. The sign on the left was taken at the Palace at Bangpa-in, north of Bangkok. It also contains Chinese and Russian, reflecting the

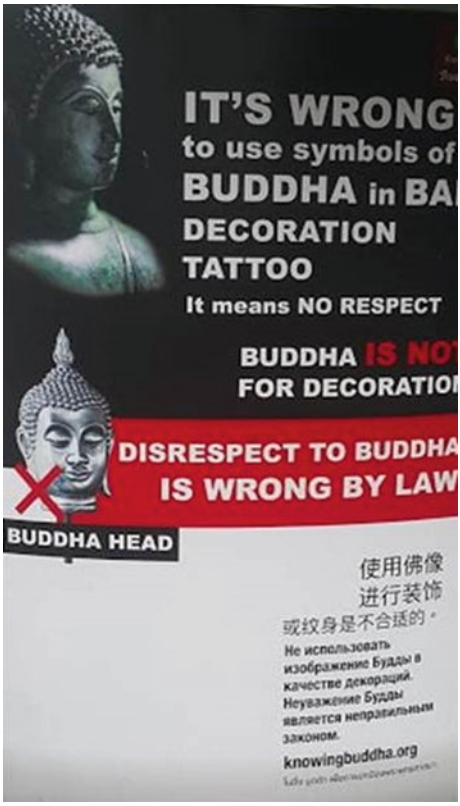

Fig. 4.1 Do not disrespect the Buddha

prospective patrons that one may find at this tourist site. The sign on the left was taken at Wat Pra Doi Suthep in the northern city of Chiang Mai.

Thinking about the English on these signs, and how they can be characterized, raises a number of questions. The first question to ask is: Are they grammatical? Descriptively and communicatively the English in both signs is clearly grammatical, the language communicates an effective message that asks tourist patrons not to do something; do not use the image of the Buddha in an inappropriate manner and do not make too much noise. Perhaps at a more prescriptive level we could say that these signs may be grammatically unusual. The sign on the left is missing a few determiners and perhaps subject verb agreement (disrespecting the Buddha). The sign in Fig. 4.2 has an extra determiner where one is not needed. In the first instance, it is clearly the law whereas in the second instance it is an instructions from the caretakers of Wat Pra Doi Suthep. Both of these signs reflect practices that one observes in post-colonial Englishes, and this type of sign reflects an 'English as Lingua Franca' identity. Other than the mention of the Buddha, there is nothing else about the English on these signs that is expressively Thai or necessarily reflective of Thai English. Many of the signs that one sees at tourist sites in Thailand are similar to this one.

Fig. 4.2 Don't be too loud

Signs in the Local Tourist Landscape

When we consider the materiality of signs, the sign in Fig. 4.1 is made of paper and Fig.4. 2 is made of metal but, in both cases, they are meant to be permanent. However, it is when signs that are of a less permanent and more ephemeral nature are encountered that the subject positions alluded to in the previous section can be deduced. Figures 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5 reflect this behaviour in the linguistic landscape. The sign in Fig. 4.3 is typical of the signs one sees in various tourist locations; a bilingual sign in both Thai and English where Thai occupies the given position and English in the new position. Figure 4 is a menu of a Thai restaurant in Chiang Mai. Figure 4.5 is a beverage sign at a vendor's stand at a mineral hot spring in Chiang Mai province.

Figure 4.3 is typical because it indexes two disparate identities. On the left is the Thai script which says that there is a promotion in English but the details of it are in Thai, stating that high school students and university students receive a 10% discount. The English on the right bears no reflection of the meaning in the text on the left, but rather welcomes visitors in English to the café featuring free Wi-Fi. This

Fig. 4.3 Sign outside coffee shop BTS Victory Monument

Fig. 4.4 Sign outside restaurant Chiang Mai

Fig. 4.5 Sign at beverage vendor mineral springs Chiang Mai

sign is typical of signs in the Thai linguistic landscape where often the text in both languages is different, reflecting different audiences as well as identities. Figure 4.3 on the one hand draws attention to a local Thai audience, while on the other, draws attention to a foreign English speaking audience. Figure 4.4 reflects a common sign directed towards an English-speaking ELF audience as all of the text is in English/Latin but two of the names of dishes towards the bottom reflect a Thai grammar; namely, pork garlic and chicken basil respectively. 'Pork garlic' refers to the dish *moo mod gratiem,* whereas 'chicken basil' refers to *pad kra pao gai.* Their emergence in English as 'pork garlic' and 'chicken basil' are interesting; the first instance, 'pork garlic' should emerge as 'garlic pork' in English but here reflects a direct translation from Thai to English. 'Chicken basil' is an attempt to correct the syntax but should emerge as 'basil chicken'. Figure 4.5 is a sign for Lemon Grass juice but misspelled as 'Gass'; this spelling of 'Gass' for 'Grass' reflects a Thai English pronunciation, because Thai has very few consonant clusters, and a feature of Thai language change is the tendency to drop/r/in Thai consonant clusters. This feature is also found in Thai English and occasionally occurs in the literate landscape of Thailand, as is found here in Fig. 4.5. In this last sign, we can observe one of the subject positions derived from the interview data, where a feature of Thai English emerges in a vendor's stall in the tourist industry. The sign is certainly directed towards an English-speaking audience, most likely an ELF one, but reflects a glocalized Thai identity.

Figures 4.6 and 4.7 were also found within the tourist landscape of Thailand, specifically in the Khaosan Road area of Bangkok, a popular destination for backpackers from different parts of the world. Both signs are reflective of the subject positions identified in the previous section, as these are Thai vendors/merchants who are directing their signage to an English speaking audience, again most-likely an ELF one.

Figure 4.6 is an example of localization; localizations may be caused by the fact that the target language does not have the word or phrase that one is attempting to translate. In Fig. 4.6, 'Favorite Thai Food' is likely an attempted translation of the phrase, often written in Thai script on many menus, /me:nu: tɕa:n prò:t/which

Fig. 4.6 Example of Localization

Fig. 4.7 Example of Thai pronunciation of English

should translate as 'recommended menu' or perhaps 'house specialities'. While this could be seen an 'error', such a judgement is a bit prescriptivist in its analysis. The sentence is still able to communicate the intended message to the intended audience

Fig. 4.8 Transliteration of Thai script into English

which is an ELF one. Figure 4.7 is representative of a Thai English pronunciation that has emerged in Latin script. The misspelling occurs from the manner in which a Thai speaker of English may pronounce the word 'sticky' emerging as/sat^{h}ik^{h}i:/. The 'k' sound in 'sticky' is likely to emerge as aspirated in the English of a Thai speaker and, as a result, sound more like/g/. Although this is a misspelling, a foreign customer can still understand the meaning. These two examples reflect the types of subject positions that are reflective of the value placed upon Thai English.

Figure 4.8 is an example of transliteration from Thai script into Latin script. Some of the transliterated text does not work in English, ELF speakers would likely not know what 'hor-mog', 'morinda citriforia', or 'pan-sib' refer to. *Sai Sai* (/sài sâi/) pudding means steamed flour with coconut filling; *hor-mog* (/hɔ̀ɔ mòk/) is steamed fish curry; *pan-sib* (/bpân sìp/) is deep fried fish puff.

Transliteration occurs when one text is directly translated into another, a feature that we often find in the linguistic landscape of Thailand, especially between Thai text and English, and is found most often on menus. This is also a feature of post-colonial English but because Thai script differs considerably from Latin script, this tendency is often unnoticed by an ELF audience, yet is still a significant glocalized feature of Thai English.

Figure 4.9 reflects 3 different spellings of the word for 'market' in English translated from Thai. All 3 signs are located within the Sky Train of the Bangkok Transportation System; the Sky Train is the name of the elevated mass transit system in Bangkok.

The three different spellings of the word 'market' in Thai reflect different subject positions in Thai English. The sign at the top is a translation from Thai into English. The Thai says *dalat nat suan chatuchak* where '*dalat'* is the Thai word for 'market', '*nat*' is the Thai word for 'meeting' or 'appointment' but in this case refers to a specific time, '*suan*' is the Thai word for 'park' or 'garden' which, in this case, refers to where the market is located—'chatuchak park'. This sign is a translation from Thai to English, but the other two signs are slightly different in their reflection of Latin script and reflect transliterations of Thai into English. In both signs, the word for 'market' in Thai (*dalat*) emerges in Latin script not as 'market' but as 'talat' and 'tarad' respectively. How can we make sense of these differences? I argue that the differences here reflect different audiences and, as such, different

Fig. 4.9 Spellings of market

subject positions. In the first instance, the Chatuchak weekend market is a large market held only on the weekends and largely patronized by tourists. The other two markets are local markets and the signs reflect transliterations of what is written in Thai into English, although the differences in the spelling of '*dalat*' from Thai are a little more difficult to ascertain. The big difference here is that, although the patrons of these markets are more likely to be a local Thai people as opposed to tourists, perhaps more adventurous tourists who steer off the beaten path could be occasionally found here and the signs cater to them as well.

Conclusion: Changing of the Nexus of Practice of Thai English

Thai English speakers identify a variety known as 'Thai English' which emerges in a number of subject positions, some of which are relatively negative, and some of these subject positions are resemiotized (Iedema, 2003) in the linguistic landscape of Thai tourism, as well as other parts of the linguistic landscape of Thailand. If there is anything that accurately needs to be changed about Thai English, it is how it has developed such perceptibly negative subject positions with regard to occupation as well as its use in ELF interactions. What is interesting to consider is how the subject positions in the interview data match up with what was observed in the geosemiotic/linguistic landscape. Many respondents mentioned that Thai English is 'spoken' by vendors, merchants, taxi drivers, and many service occupations that happen to be a part of the tourism economy. In a few cases, respondents specifically

mentioned merchants or vendors at Chatuchak weekend tourist market as occupying the subject positions associated with Thai English. Comparing the data obtained from the geosemiotic and linguistic landscape of Thailand, perhaps what many respondents are referring to is the English signage that makes up the tourist landscape. Perhaps it is easier to place a seemingly negative value on improper, albeit prescriptive, literacy practices because they can be seen. They are evaluated by some speakers when they make the rounds on the internet via Facebook and other online forums.

As a glocalized variety of English, the status that Thai English has is quite varied. This glocalization includes literacy practices in both Latin and Thai script as well as spoken features where Thai language and pronunciation influences what emerges as Thai English. Thailand is a multilingual community and the further one moves away from both Bangkok and tourist sites, the less likely is one to be confronted with English in terms of what one hears people speaking in the soundscape, as well as reflective of the geosemiotics of these communities. This study has identified a number of contexts that make up the nexus of practice of Thai English. Follow-up research will address the perspectives of other social actors who make up this nexus: tourists, vendors in tourist markets, and tourism professionals. Each of these different social actors intersects with the nexus of practice of Thai English differently. The present analysis has related two aspects: the perceptions that speakers have of a variety; and how that variety also emerges through the process of resemiotization in the geosemiotics of Thai tourism. In order to change the perception of Thai speakers about the relations within this nexus of practice, one of the things that must occur is to identify the status of Thai English, as both a spoken and literate variety, and emphasize how these instances of use are lingua franca interactions. As a part of developing the analysis of the glocalization of Thai English a nexus analysis reveals, initially, that local perceptions do not match up with the reality of how this variety is used.

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Chapter 5
You Are What You Tweet: A Divergence in Code-Switching Practices in Cebuano and English Speakers in Philippines

Glenn Abastillas

Introduction

Code-switching (CS) is a phenomenon where multilingual speakers freely communicate in at least two languages.[1] Linguists broadly categorize CS into two categories depending on where the CS occurs: intrasentential and intersentential. In Sankoff and Poplack's (1981) seminal paper on CS between Spanish and English in New York City, they provide examples of valid and invalid intrasentential and intersentential CS in (1) and (2), respectively (Sankoff & Poplack, 1981, p. 5).

(1) So you ***<todavia>*** haven't decided ***<lo que vas a hacer>*** next week.
So you <still> haven't decided <what you are going to do> next week.
(2) He started playing with congas, you know, and ***<se montó y se empezó a brincar>***
He started playing with congas, you know, and <he got up and started to jump>

Poplack demonstrated that CS exists in multiple communities in her studies on Spanish and English CS. For example, CS is thriving in New York's Latino communities, and French and English CS in French Canadian communities in Canada (Poplack, 1993). Speakers may code-switch without being aware of it, but that does not mean it is a random process (Gumperz, 1982). In a world where local communities are increasingly globally connected, linguists find that people embrace CS as a commonplace practice.

Code-switching serves various functions in social interactions inside and outside a speaker's community. The speaker may exploit access to multilingual resources to

[1]Languages were referred to as discrete 'codes' in older literature. The terminology 'code-switching' has stuck but 'code' is now considered an inadequate term to refer to the languages involved in CS.

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exploit each language's direct link to social and cultural capital to ease communication, to assume an interactional role or to show membership into a community (Gumperz, 1982; Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Gross, 2006; Bullock & Toribio, 2009; Mishra & Rahman, 2013; Weston, 2013). This is evident in Gumperz's (1982) well-known study on CS practices in Norway where speakers of Bokmål and Nynorsk would unconsciously code-switch between the two varieties depending on whether they were conducting business or chatting with a friend.

In the Philippines, Bautista (2004) observes that CS plays into the speaker's level of warmth in an interaction by modulating levels of Tagalog and English in their language.[2] These linguists provide just some examples of the various functions CS serves in speaker interactions across communities. In the Philippines, CS thrives in all aspects of daily life and, in some areas, it is the unmarked form of speech. Bautista's research in Tagalog and English CS demonstrates the integral and everyday role CS plays in communication in the Philippines. Specifically, modulating the amount of English language usage in a conversation affects the speaker's perceived image, which may include social distance, level of education and even political stance. For example, she notes that speakers who use more English than Tagalog appear to be more globally minded and logical whereas increased Tagalog[3] usage emanates a more locally oriented and nationalistic appearance (Bautista 2004, p. 231). In contrast to either extreme, Tagalog and English CS evokes rapport, solidarity and communal inclusion.[4] Bautista's findings indicate that speakers code-switch to fill discursive needs and negotiate social identities on a daily basis. This concept is pivotal to explaining the divergence in Cebuano and English CS practices in Cebuano provinces in the Central and Southern Philippines. I posit that the divergence in CS practices is really a reflection of a divergence or shift in culture identities—an identity drift—between the provinces that is driven by the greater linguistic and cultural diversity in the provinces in the Southern Philippines.

This study investigated the use of Cebuano and English code-switching in the Philippines on Twitter, which is a mode of computer-mediated communication (CMC). This study aims to fill a gap in knowledge in the linguistic literature with regard to the Cebuano language and to provide a snapshot of this crucial point of language change in the Philippines, catalyzed by the effects of glocalization. Regarding the gap in knowledge to be addressed, linguistic literature on Tagalog far outnumbers literature on the Cebuano language in popular research databases such

[2]In addition to the axis of social temperature, Bautista hints at an axis of nationalism at play with Tagalog and English CS. Simply, more English would paint the speaker as more globally oriented, whereas more Tagalog would paint the speaker as more nationally minded.

[3]Tagalog is often referred to as Filipino and vice versa. Filipino is the official national language of the Philippines.

[4]Having personal experience with CS as a native speaker of Cebuano and English, I can confirm Bautista's observations. Speakers who stick to just native vocabulary seem erudite but aloof.

as Google Scholar and ProQuest, in which Tagalog returns up to 62 times[5] more articles than Cebuano when searching for CS literature. This study also provides a snapshot into real-time language change resulting from a glocalized process and a baseline for future research into this topic.

The following sections will cover background information, data, analysis and a discussion of the reasons for the statistically significant divergence in CS detected in the Twitter data. First, I introduce the unique linguistic landscape of the Philippines, its geography and historical context for later discussion. Second, the data, analysis, and results of this study follow, which anchor the discussion. Third, the discussion incorporates the interactions between linguistic, geographic and historical contexts as they relate to the data analysis results in order to consider reasons for current CS practices in the Cebuano speaking areas in this study. Lastly, we look into the relationship between this study and glocalization, which leads into a brief overview of the limitations of this study and opportunities for further research.

The Philippines: Linguistic, Geographic, and Historical Background

Linguistic Landscape

The Philippines maintains a diverse linguistic landscape accommodating many members of the Austronesian language family throughout the archipelago (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2015). The impact of this diversity is evident in the number of languages that Filipinos typically use in their daily routine, excluding English. The language atlas *Ethnologue* lists the top four languages spoken in the Philippines to be Tagalog (21 million speakers), Cebuano (15 million), Ilocano (7 million), and Hiligaynon (6 million) (Lewis et al., 2015). Tagalog's ranking as the most spoken language in the Philippines remains a political and cultural issue that is evident in the resistance to the language in many non-Tagalog-speaking communities (Mansueto, 2013). One of these language communities that are fighting to resist the Tagalog take-over is the Cebuano-speaking community in Central and Southern Philippines where Cebuano is the lingua franca of the region.

The four Cebuano-speaking provinces in this article are Cebu on the island of Cebu, Negros Oriental (Negros) on the island of Negros, Misamis Oriental (Misamis) and Davao del Sur (Davao), both on the island of Mindanao (see Fig. 5.1).

[5]Google Scholar had a ratio of four to one and ProQuest had a ratio of sixty-two to one. Search terms used were 'code', 'switching', and 'Tagalog' or 'Cebuano'. Because initial returns were so few for 'Cebuano', additional language terms that speakers use to refer to the language were used as well and added to the count. These terms include 'Bisaya', 'Binisaya', 'Sinugbuanon', and 'Visayan' to name a few.

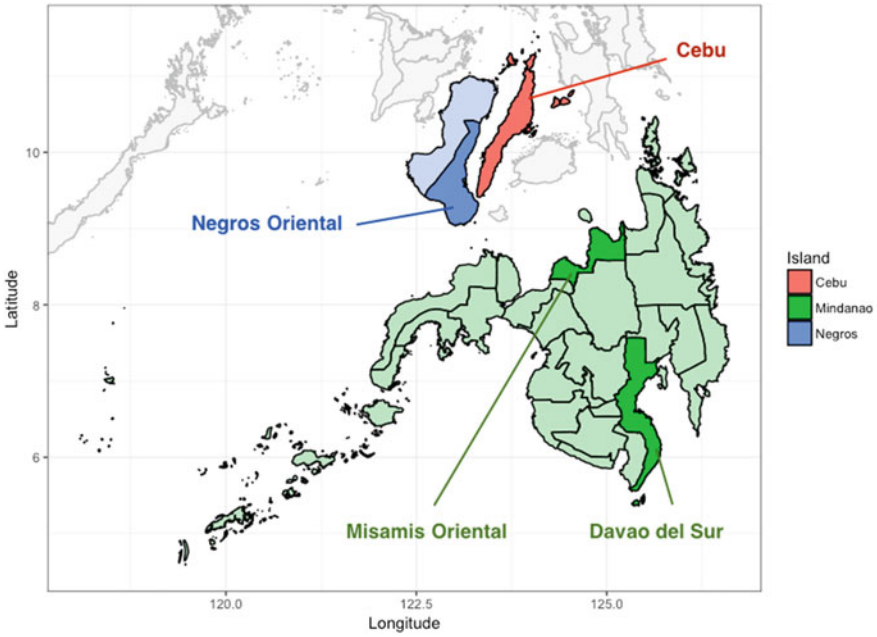

Fig. 5.1 Central Philippines (red and blue) and Mindanao (green). The darker colours indicate the four provinces included in this study. *Source* Author (visualization) and https://www.gadm.org (GADM data)

Cebu and Negros constitute the Central Philippine provinces in this study and Misamis and Davao constitute the Southern Philippine provinces in this study. The main household language in all four provinces is Cebuano, with 83% or more households claiming Cebuano as their primary language (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2013). As we will explore in the historical background, the Cebuano language originated in Cebu and spread southward toward the island of Mindanao (Nichiporuk, Grammich, Rabasa, & DaVanzo, 2006; Suzuki, 2013). Before we review the historical events that brought Cebuano to Mindanao, an understanding of the diverse geography on Mindanao will help illuminate how Cebuano developed on the island.

Geography

Linguists discuss that geography plays an important role in language distribution and development. The impact of geography is highlighted in a study on Kartvelian languages, which are distributed among the lowlands in the Caucasus (see Fig. 5.2). Barbujani, Whitehead, Bertorelle and Nasidze (1994) examined linguistic and genetic diversity in the Caucasus region and found that the high linguistic diversity

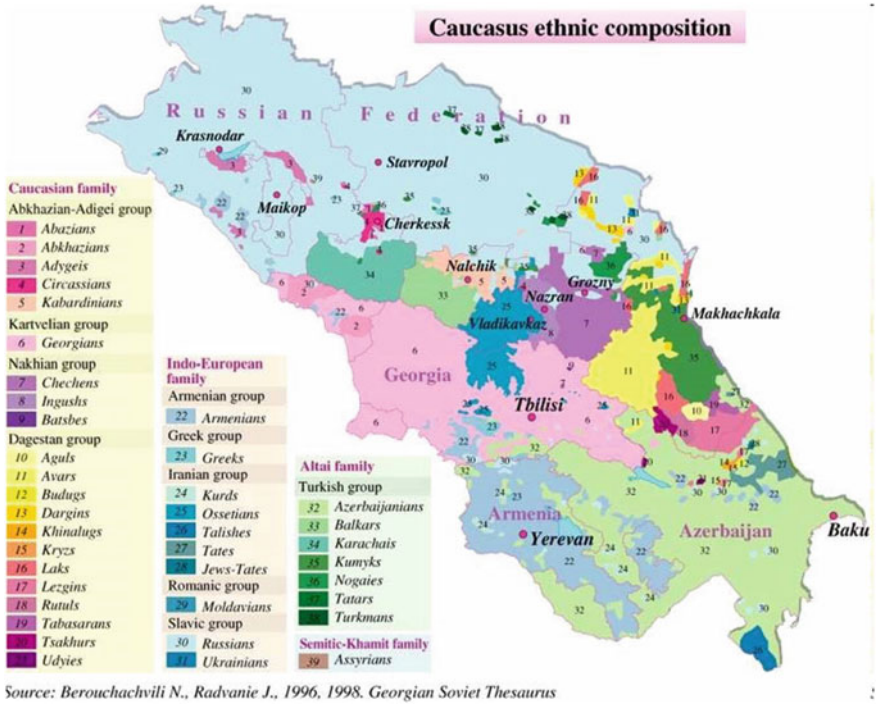

Fig. 5.2 Distribution of linguistic and ethnic groups in the Caucasus

in the region could be a result of population subdivisions that were isolated by the mountainous terrain. These findings are reinforced in more recent studies that compare changes in geography across different countries with greater diversity. For example, Michalopoulos (2012) finds that "... geographic variability systematically gives rise to linguistic diversity" (p. 1536). Barbujani et al. and Michalopoulos' findings both support the notion that geography fosters linguistic diversity through its effect on human settlement patterns. The effects of geography on linguistic diversity are evident, but there is also migration, contact, and technology to consider.

Prior literature shows that geography mainly affects the division, migration and growth of communities, which in turn affects the distribution, diversification and development of associated languages. The existing literature focuses on the diversification of Kartvelian languages in the Caucasus. The same principles easily apply to the language situation in the Philippines as well. Geography can set the conditions required for language diversification. Now we explore how Cebuano got to Mindanao.

History

To better understand how Cebuano got to Mindanao from Cebu and the factors driving CS divergence there, we need to revisit Philippine history and examine each island's experiences in the precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial eras. These divisions of time hint at the driving force behind the rise of Cebuano as a regional lingua franca and the fall of Mindanao sovereignty.

Precolonial: Rajahnates and Sultanates

In the ninth century in the Central Philippines, an influential Cebuano empire flourished along a large network of trade routes and regional political dominance. Its capital, Cebu, sat at the physical, political, and commercial centre of the maharaja-led *rajahnate* [empire]. Cebu's extensive trade routes connected it to many coastlines along the Visayas. Its extensive trading network acted as a conduit for a more enduring, implicitly traded commodity—the Cebuano language. Through economic necessity, local languages were replaced by Cebuano over time, elevating Cebuano into a regional lingua franca. In other words, Cebu's success with regional trade helped disseminate and necessitate the adoption of Cebuano, which further elevated the political importance of the Cebuano *rajahnate* and further solidified its power in the region. The *rajahnate* remained relatively stable until the arrival of Spanish and Portuguese explorers.

To the south, Mindanao experienced a religious transformation when Islam reached the islands through Malaysia, Borneo and Indonesia in the 1400s. *Sultanates* [sultan-led empires] rapidly replaced *rajahnates* in the southwest of Mindanao. Surrounding tribes within the *sultanates'* borders converted to Islam and unincorporated tribes paid tribute to the sultans. Over the next century, Mindanao's sultanates developed a unique culture that solidified a shared identity between them. This unique culture and shared identity fomented a lasting desire for these sultanates to remain independent from the rest of the Philippines. Like the *rajahnate* of Cebu, these *sultanates* flourished up to the arrival of Spanish explorers and proved difficult for the Spaniards and subsequent colonizers to conquer. Unlike Cebu, Mindanao remained very diverse in culture, religion and language.

Colonial: Spain and the United States

In 1521, European powers arrived at the archipelago. Financed by Spain, Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan first reached Cebu upon arrival in the Philippines and immediately attempted to colonize the flourishing Cebuano capital. Subsequent Spanish subjugation of the rest of the Philippines and its conversion to Roman Catholicism continued under Miguel Lopez de Legazpi who arrived in the Philippines in 1592. Mindanao proved to be the most difficult region to control for Spain, which spent the following centuries in conflict with the strong sultanates.

In fact, there is still an ongoing conflict for identity, independence and religion, echoing these earlier military campaigns in this region.

Escalating conflict in Mindanao exacerbated raids on Cebuano settlements on the coasts of Negros and Cebu. The increased, persistent raids prompted Spanish officials[6] on Negros to divide the island into two states to allow for more efficient responses to the threats from Mindanao. Negros Occidental formed the western part of the island, retaining its capital in Bacolod city. Negros Oriental formed the eastern part of the island, forming a new capital in Dumaguete. In combination with the ongoing conflict between the sultanates of Mindanao and Spanish-ruled Philippines, the raids highlighted a growing divide between the cultures on Cebu, Negros, and Mindanao. The divide between religion, government and sovereignty continued well into successive regimes.

In 1898, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States after losing its many territories after the Spanish-American war. Independence movements throughout the Philippines welcomed the United States for helping liberate the islands from centuries of Spanish rule. However, the same movements that struggled for freedom from Spain, quickly realized that the newfound liberators were really there to occupy them. Shortly after the regime change, fierce and bloody resistance to American rule all over the Philippines made the resentment clear toward the occupying powers. The resistance prompted American President Howard Taft to impose a pacification campaign aimed at quelling the resistance. The campaign included educating Filipinos to be literate, articulate and comfortable in English to have a common language to unify around. Instead, the newly educated elite assembled in 1907 to discuss the creation of a new nation that would maintain a new national identity and one national language to unify the peoples of the Philippines.

Postcolonial: Migration, Diversity and Resistance

In 1916, the United States relinquished control of the Philippines via the Jones Act, and Manila became the capital of the young nation. However, non-Tagalog people from other regions of the Philippines did not receive the Manila's designation as the capital of the Philippines well because they perceived it as a rejection of their own desire to remain independent states. These attitudes are evident in Cebuano online forums where users of *Living in Cebu* and *Quora* often discuss the linguistic implications of a Tagalog-based nation. For example, it is not uncommon to read comments on current language practices enduring despite Tagalog's official status: "[even] while watching Tagalog shows, Cebuanos still speak Cebuano", language attitudes: "…Language politics in Cebu can get tense, and the Cebuanos are very proud of their language", and—poignantly stated in an article about

[6]Heads of state in the colony were granted *encomiendas* [land grants] in return for service to Spain and the grant holder was known as the *encomendero*. The *encomendero* was then legally able to extract tributes from inhabitants on their land.

preserving Cebuano and non-Tagalog languages—"Filipino, which is mainly based on Tagalog, is recognized as the national language ... to the detriment of more than a hundred other languages spoken in the country" (BlancoDiablo, 2014; Quora User, 2015; Mansueto, 2013). Clearly, there is societal tension that is tempered by a nation-building process that seeks to unify around one banner, one language and one identity. Despite some of Cebu's separatist leanings, a shared Christian belief-system and cultural values align with the greater national identity and allay triggering a full-fledged separation, which Mindanao continues to strive for.

The Philippines, now an independent and sovereign nation, faces new challenges alongside old ones, namely population growth and conflict on Mindanao. A population boom in Tagalog and Cebuano areas prompted the government to legislate policies supporting incentivized migration into Mindanao to ease overcrowding and to spur development and extraction of abundant natural resources found on the island (Suzuki, 2013). However, these actions also provide cover for agendas to assimilate indigenous people from these areas into the national mainstream, which includes reducing the Muslim population and its influence on the island. This is evident in the reduction of Muslims on Mindanao from 50% in the early twentieth century to 18% in the early twenty-first century (Nichiporuk et al., 2006; Suzuki, 2013). Government-driven migration into Mindanao impacted the cultural makeup of the island by increasing the presence of exogenous Cebuano speakers and marginalizing indigenous Muslims. The autonomous Muslim states on Mindanao perceived the resettlement efforts as a threat to their sovereignty. As a result, the resettlement spurred the formation of secessionist groups, liberation armies and terrorist cells with a common goal of safeguarding their independence from the national mainstream.

In summary, there is an ongoing physical and cultural conflict between the national mainstream and local independence movements in Mindanao. The conflict plays out on multiple levels including physical presence, cultural identity, and linguistic influence. Spanish and American occupations further galvanized existing tensions by polarizing the populace along religious and political lines. Philippine independence and national identity drove the efforts to assimilate indigenous populations on Mindanao into the national mainstream by means of resettling Cebuano communities onto Mindanao and marginalizing indigenous Muslim communities. These series of struggles between the Central Visayas and Mindanao has led to an unresolved conflict on Mindanao, which leaves descendants of Cebuano settlers directly adjacent to the indigenous peoples that they are rapidly displacing. Coupled with Mindanao's rough terrain, this history of conflict brings us to a discussion of the possibility of identity drift in Cebuano communities on Mindanao and its effect on modern CS practices in these communities.

The complex interactions between the Philippine's rich linguistic landscape, island geography, and historical events come together in the Cebuano and English CS practiced in the four provinces studied here. The impact of these various factors is clear in diverging patterns found in the analysis of the Twitter data.

The following section reviews the data, including source and selection criteria, and segues into the analysis and results.

Data and Analysis

Data

The data consists of tweets, which are user-posted messages on Twitter restricted to 140 characters, and their associated metadata that provide further description of the author, location and content of the tweet (see Fig. 5.3). Twitter developed the micro-blogging platform that allows users from around the globe to share experiences instantaneously via written text. The technological nature of tweets allows for a quick production of high-volume language data, especially in a country where there is growing access to the internet via mobile phone or personal computer.[7] However, other than their ready availability and volume, tweets are also good surrogates of natural CS language.

Marley (2011), Delamotte and Desoutter (2011) and Crystal (2008) show that computer-mediated communication (CMC) mimics natural speech in spontaneity and non-careful language produced in it, which makes it suitable as a proxy for linguistic research. The ability to substitute CMC for natural language enables us to study a normally spoken phenomenon from easily accessible, textual data. Regarding the adoption of text messaging norms, Crystal writes that "*[it]* began as a natural, intuitive response to a technological problem" , p. 69). That is, CMC is not formal speech. It is informal and spontaneous, just like a natural spoken conversation between locutors. These features of CMC (tweets) are conducive to examining naturally produced code-switched language across large areas of the globe in a short period of time. Additionally, tweets are readily available, rapidly produced in high volume and, importantly, indicative of the Philippines' involvement in a glocalized marketplace.

Data Source

Twitter provides an application programming interface (API) to programmatically access and download tweets as they are published in real-time. Access to Twitter's API was implemented using the scripting language Python 2.7 in a text editor with an integrated developer environment to aid in development of the program. Access to the Twitter API required developer registration with the Twitter website to garner appropriate credentials and passkeys to use their streaming service for data collection. Collected data are comma-separated value spreadsheets stored on local storage for ease of access and data security. Data preparation and analysis made use of additional customized Python scripts and R data analysis tools. At the end of the

[7]The World Bank estimates that there has been a thirteen-fold increase in the number of mobile subscribers in the Philippines from roughly 8 mobile service subscriptions per 100 persons in 2000 to roughly 115 per 100 persons in 2015. Compare this to the three-fold increase of mobile subscribers in the United States for the same time period.

Fig. 5.3 Visual example of a tweet. *Source* Twitter

Table 5.1 Coordinates for each province's bounding boxes

Province	Southwest corner	Northeast corner
Cebu	(123.3768, 9.8033)	(124.0778, 11.3111)
Negros Oriental	(122.587742, 9.005823)	(123.330715, 9.583283)
Misamis Oriental	(123.2412, 8.2339)	(125.2561, 9.1125)
Davao del Sur	(125.2052, 6.9312)	(125.7038, 7.6192)

The coordinates follow the format (latitude, longitude)

data collection period, the raw corpus consisted of 7,729 tweets published by 2,296 Twitter users that met the selection criteria for this investigation.

Selection Criteria

The data comprise of multiple data elements as part of each tweet including the message, user name and geographic coordinates. Selection criteria required that a tweet's coordinates fall within four coordinate bounding boxes, each of which consist of a pair of numeric values corresponding to the southwest and northeast corners of a box (see Table 5.1). Despite failing to meet these selection criteria, there were several tweets captured that passed through. These tweets were filtered out prior to CS analysis to ensure all tweets could be geographically linked to one of the four provinces.

Unit of Analysis

Each tweet was manually analyzed for CS and, as a whole, labelled *positive* for containing at least one instance of CS. Otherwise, tweets were labelled *negative*. Tweets were also analyzed for their token length and character length. Tokens are a superset of words and can include non-word elements such as mentions, emojis, and hashtags[8] (see Fig. 5.2). Lastly, tweets were also analyzed for the fixed phrase *pa more*, which consists of the Cebuano adverb *pa* and the English adverb *more* (Fig. 5.4).

[8]This is Twitter jargon for *addressee* (mention), *fancy smiley* or *advanced emoticons* (emoji), and *filing label* (hashtags).

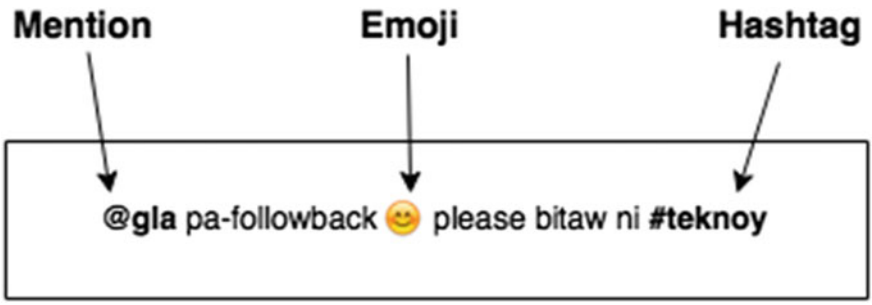

Fig. 5.4 Elements of a tweet. This example reconstructed from the tweet corpus. The mention "@gla" is an artificially generated handle to protect the original account's privacy

Sankoff and Poplack (1981) and Myers-Scotton's (1993) paradigms are used in this study and allow for the most comprehensive method in determining CS. Sankoff and Poplack's model provides distinct rules for determining intersentential and intrasentential CS via the free morpheme and equivalence constraints, while Myers-Scotton's model provides further detail to adjust for intraword CS in languages with complex morphology via the matrix language frame model. The free morpheme constraint stipulates that CS occurs when at least one unbound morpheme from another language is used in the utterance. For example, the illegal code-switches in (2) and (3):

(2) *the ***<hombre>***'s car
the car <*del hombre*>
the man's car
(3) *run-***<iendo>**
<*corriendo*>
running

The equivalence constraint determines allowable switch points within an utterance. Specifically, CS can only occur at breakpoints between whole grammatical structures such as sentence roots as shown in (4):

(4) I seen everything 'cause ***<no cogí nada>***
I've seen everything because <I didn't take anything>

The matrix language frame model stipulates that the matrix language provides the syntactic structure of an utterance and, at times, its phonological properties. Meanwhile, the 'embedded language' provides content words (e.g., nouns, adjectives). If sufficiently long, the embedded language can block the matrix language and provide both syntactic structure and content words like in (5).

(5) ***<quiero completer esto>*** so ***<yo puedo descansar>***
<I want to finish this> so that *<I can rest>*

These CS models cover many of the CS instances in the tweet corpus. However, there were some tweets that contained ambiguity due to either identical orthography between Cebuano and English, or ubiquitous English internet jargon. For example, *away* could mean 'fight' [ˈɑwɑɪ] in Cebuano or 'away' [əˈweɪ] in English. To address identical orthography, the author's best attempt was made as native speaker of both languages and incorporated the entire tweet's context along with other tweets from that user as needed. Internet jargon (e.g., *lol* or *brb*) was entirely ignored as many of these terms have become concretized into the Cebuano language.

Lastly, there were special cases in which Cebuano phonology was encoded in English lexical items orthographically. This wide-spread internet practice is known as *jejemon* in the Philippines. For example, *lablab* [love love] can be used as a sign-off or sign of adoration that incorporates the English lexicon 'love' into Cebuano orthography *lab*. These cases are considered as code-switched language since users were intentionally invoking phonological properties from the Cebuano, the ML, onto lexical items from English, the EL. Lastly, this research adopted coding schemas from similar investigations into CS from Thompson (2003) and Paolillo (2001) who examined Tagalog and English CS, and Hindi and English CS respectively.

Analysis

After categorizing every tweet according to the presence or absence of CS, the tweets were categorized by province and by density for statistical analyses. Specifically, the comparison of the four provinces and the two population densities applied the chi-squared test (χ^2). The chi-squared test was chosen for statistical analysis for provincial and population density differences since comparisons included a dichotomous outcome—presence or absence of CS—across multiple categories—four provinces assumed independent in language development. This precluded using the z-test for the normal distribution. An alpha of 0.05 was the threshold to determine statistical significance for both analyses.

The analysis of 7,729 tweets generated by 2,296 users for presence of CS by province and by population density produced both statistically significant and insignificant results respectively. The impact of statistically significant results helps confirm strong associations between province and CS rates but does not provide any causal relationships. On the other hand, the statistically insignificant results do not strictly indicate that differences in CS practices between urban and rural populations are absent either. Rather, the results still provide a meaningful indication that CS practices vary and insight into the reason for CS variation.

By Province

The chi-squared statistic shows a statistically significant and strong relationship between CS frequency and province of origin ($\chi^2 = 84.75$, $p < 0.05$, M = 26.83,

Table 5.2 Chi-square (χ^2) table comparing expected (exp.) and observed (obs.) tweets with CS present (CS+) or CS absent (CS−) by province of origin

Province	CS+ tweets		CS− tweets		Row totals	CS+ freq. (%)
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.		
CEBU	**714**	811	**2308**	2211	3022	≈23
Negros	**71**	101	**307**	277	378	≈19
Misamis	**494**	483	**1306**	1317	1800	≈27
Davao	**795**	679	**1734**	1850	2529	≈31
	2074		**5655**		**7729**	**≈27**

Overall mean CS frequency was 26.83%

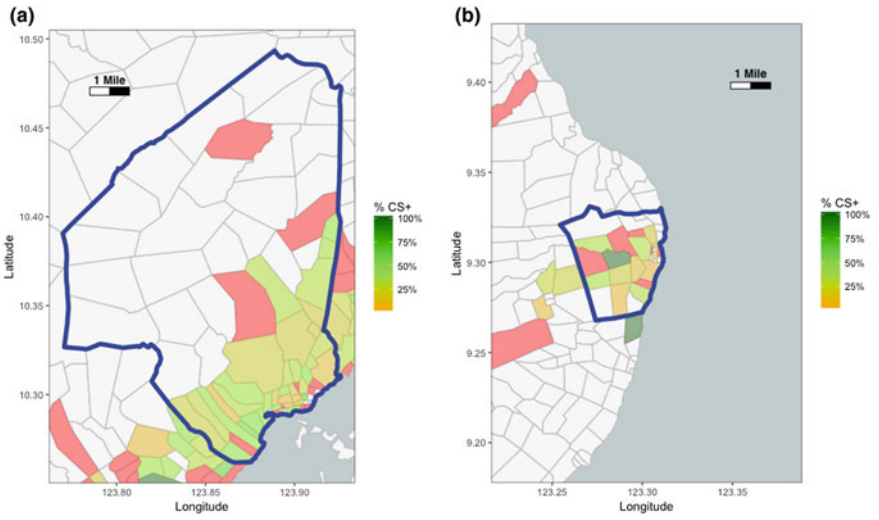

Fig. 5.5 Locations of CS+ (green) and CS− (red) tweets in Cebu City, Cebu (left) and Dumaguete, Negros Oriental (right). The yellow-to-green gradient indicates the percent of each municipality's CS+ tweets. *Source* Author (visualization) and https://www.gadm.org (GADM data)

95% CI [26.33, 27.33]). With a mean CS rate of 26.83 percent across all provinces, Cebu and Negros code-switch less than expected and Davao code-switches more than expected. Misamis' code-switches are close to the expected value (see Table 5.2). The data show a somewhat direct relationship between the provinces' distance from Cebu and CS frequency. Negros is the closest and least likely to code-switch, followed by Misamis then Davao, which is the farthest and most likely to code-switch. Detailed plots of code-switched and non-code-switched tweets in each of the provinces' capital cities in Figs. 5.5 and 5.6 provide visual confirmation of the counts and calculations in Table 5.2.

Prior to analyzing the data, Cebu was hypothesized to have the lowest frequency of CS in Tweets due to strong linguistic pride and promotion of the Cebuano

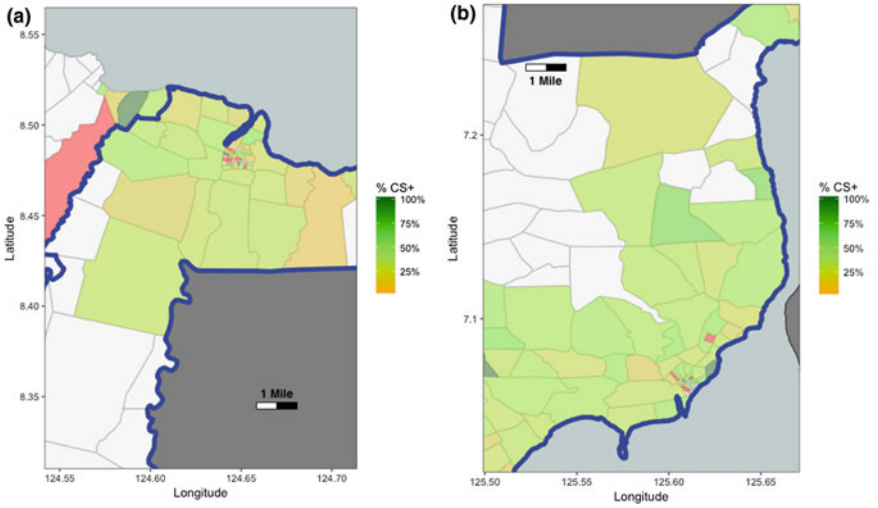

Fig. 5.6 Locations of CS+ (green) and CS− (red) tweets in Cagayan de Oro, Misamis Oriental (left) and Davao City, Davao del Sur (right). The yellow-to-green gradient indicates the percent of each municipality's CS+ tweets. *Source* Author (visualization) and https://www.gadm.org (GADM data)

language in the province. However, Negros shows an even lower CS rate by 4 percent. There were many tweets collected from Negros, but the raw figure is roughly six to eight times less abundant than from other provinces. In this regard, it is likely that the paucity in tweets from Negros may account for this difference and interfere with the interpretation of the data.[9] It would be difficult to attribute the low frequency to a strong linguist trend for purely Cebuano speech without further investigation into linguistic attitudes, beliefs and practices in the communities in Negros.

By Population Density

Urban and rural areas show statistically insignificant findings, yet there are strong relationships between population density and CS ($\chi^2 = 3.47$, $p > 0.05$ [$p \approx 0.06$], M = 26.83). The strong relationship between population density and CS provides insightful information on who code-switches and where they code-switch. Specifically, a higher CS frequency in urban areas indicates that more English is used in discourse, which may reflect the nascent need to communicate in a common language across diverse urban landscapes. A lower CS frequency in rural areas may indicate

[9]Although I would like to collect more data and analyze the CS frequencies on Negros Oriental again, the trend emerging in the other provinces leads me to believe that Negros' CS practices would be more similar to Cebu's than Davao's.

Table 5.3 Chi-square (χ^2) table comparing tweets with CS present (CS+) or absent (CS−) by population density by observed (obs.) and expected (exp.) counts

Population	CS+ tweets		CS− tweets		Row totals	CS+ freq.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.		
Rural	**54**	67	**195**	182	249	≈ 22%
Urban	**2020**	2007	**5460**	5473	7480	≈ 31%
	2074		**5655**		**7729**	≈ **27%**

Overall mean CS frequency was approximately 26.83%

the opposite is true (see Table 5.3). The lower CS frequency makes sense, rural areas tend to have a less culturally and linguistically diverse landscape. However, seeing that one out of five people in rural areas code-switch, it appears that CS is commonplace and that English permeates through many social strata.

These data provide CS insights stemming from the lack of uniformity in CS practice in urban and rural areas in all four provinces. After all, Cebuano in each province, more or less, originated from the same source and each region has highly urbanized and rural environments. However, the data indicate that non-uniform distribution of Cebuano and English CS varies the farther from Cebu the tweet originates. Communities are often bound to specific speech practices that reflect membership into them (Gumperz, 1982; Stell, 2010). Divergence in Cebuano and English CS may be reflective of an underlying drift in Cebuano speaking communities' identities.

Overview of the Results

The data show that there is a divergence in CS practices between the Cebuano-speaking provinces of Cebu, Negros Oriental, Misamis Oriental and Davao del Sur, which may reflect an identity drift between them. The divergence is particularly marked in the Misamis and Davao[10] provinces on Mindanao, where Cebuano is historically the language of migrants from other Cebuano-speaking areas of the Philippines, namely Cebu and Negros. A chi-squared analysis of 7,729 tweets on Twitter show that CS practices significantly differ statistically between the four provinces.[11] A regional comparison shows that the Mindanao provinces code-switch more frequently than Cebu or Negros, despite Cebu's and Negros' longer contact with foreign languages[12] ($\chi^2 = 84.75$, $p < 0.05$, M = 26.83, 95% CI [26.33, 27.33]). These results may highlight a growing divide in cultural differences

[10]These Cebuano-speaking provinces are coastal, with port-city capitals. Misamis Oriental faces Cebu and Davao del Sur faces the Pacific Ocean on the opposite side.

[11]I use a simple definition of *practice* for CS. That is to say, that speakers either do or do not do it.

[12]The Spaniards first came to Cebu in 1521 and Americans made significant military offensives during World War II there.

between the islands of Mindanao, and Negros and Cebu. In addition to the divergence in CS practices among the provinces, the data also show that urban populations are code-switching more frequently than their rural counterparts.

A higher CS frequency in urban settings points to its standardized usage as a tool for communication. The emergence of this pattern supports Bautista's observations that CS is the unmarked form of communication due to cities' loose-knit networks provide appropriate conditions conducive to standardizing language (Milroy and Milroy, 1985; Milroy, 2002; Bullock and Toribio, 2009). As expected, urban areas produced more tweets than rural areas by sheer count alone—7,480 tweets from cities compared to the 249 tweets from the countryside. As for CS frequency, about one in three speakers code-switch in urban areas compared to one in five rural speakers.

The following discussion of the results from the Twitter data analysis consider the linguistic, geographical and historical background factors that played into language diversification and that drove changes in social identity in the Philippines. These factors will help us better identify the possible reasons for the identity drift.

Discussion

The historical conflict between indigenous Muslim populations on Mindanao and exogenous Christian populations from Cebu and Negros may be driving the identity drift that Cebuano descendants on the island are experiencing. The principal reason for this dissociation from the Cebuano identity may be that there is the benefit of avoiding furthering tension with historically cultural rivals. This is especially true when steady ancestral migration of Cebuano speaking peoples directly marginalized the indigenous peoples of Mindanao. If identity drift holds true, divergent CS practices between the four Cebuano speaking provinces would reflect a consistently drifting identity that further drifts the farther one is from Cebu (see Table 5.2). Similar to the diversification of Kartvelian languages in the Caucasus, geography's passive role in fostering language diversification on Mindanao allows for historical events to actively drive the divergence in CS practices there as well.

Cebu and Negros have deep historical roots to the political, commercial and cultural dominance in the region, which may explain the less frequent use of CS reflected in the data. These Cebuano-speaking communities show a tendency to maintain the legacy they inherited from their ancestors, especially against a Manila-centred national identity that threatens to replace it. This threat is reflected in Filipino census data that shows the rate of local languages spoken at home declining in favour of Tagalog (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2013). A journalist for the Filipino newspaper *The Inquirer*, captures the decline of local language in his editorial in response to the latest census data: "[although] Cebuano can no longer regain its lead, the people's continued use of their own language will ensure its survival" (Mansueto, 2013). Independence from colonial powers proved to be more a curse than a blessing for the Cebuano identity, which is at odds with a national Filipino identity. The desire to preserve the local identity in the face of a homogenizing

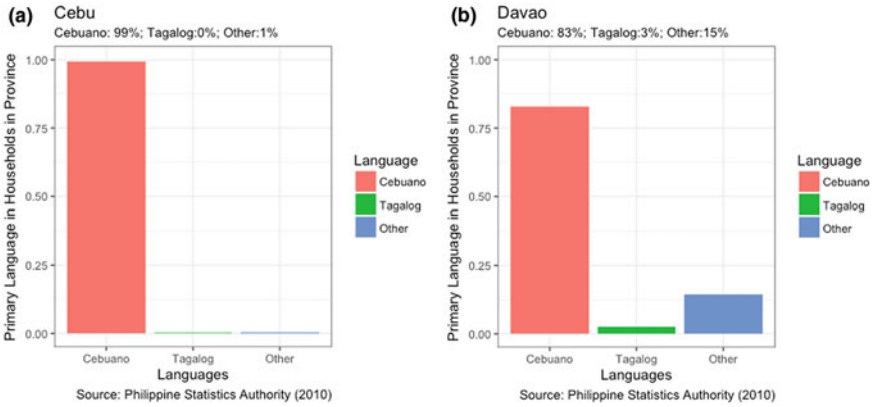

Fig. 5.7 Proportion of households' primary languages in the provinces of Cebu (left) and Davao del Sur (right). Cebuano (red) remains the majority language spoken in both provinces. However, Davao shows a remarkably high proportion of households that report primary household languages to be Tagalog (green) or other languages (blue). The *y*-axis represents the proportion from 0.00 to 1.00 of households speaking the languages along the *x*-axis. *Source* Author (visualization) and Philippine Statistics Authority (2013) (data)

national one have spawned many groups, movements, and activities, with the aim of expanding the use of Cebuano in domains like education, music, and the arts.

In contrast, identity drift on Misamis and Davao are closely affected by the diverse cultures, ethnicities and identities on Mindanao. The impact of continued migration from other regions of the Philippines is clear in the rising proportion of languages other than Cebuano- or Tagalog-speaking households reported in the 2010 census of the Philippines (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2002, 2013). For example, according to the Philippine Statistics Authority, virtually noone in the Cebu province speaks Tagalog as a primary household language, and roughly 1 percent speak other languages. In Davao, however, about 3 percent of households speak Tagalog and a remarkable 15 percent speak other primary languages at home (see Fig. 5.7). The greater linguistic diversity in Mindanao reflects the availability and interactions between multiple cultural identities that may be affecting Cebuano identities to drift apart from the Cebuano identity in Cebu. The Cebuano language itself may be experiencing change as Cebuano speakers adapt to survive in the multicultural and multilingual environment on Mindanao. Despite Cebuano's majority and prestigious status in each of these provinces, communication demands may force speakers to opt for Cebuano and English CS to ensure they get their points across. Such is the effect of glocalization.

The divergence in CS practices among the four provinces reflects a drift in cultural identity between them, driven by social trends to either maintain a legacy or adapt to diversity. Geographical, historical and cultural factors drive the identity drift between the four provinces despite homogenization efforts by the Philippine government. Geography plays a passive role in setting the stage for cultural and

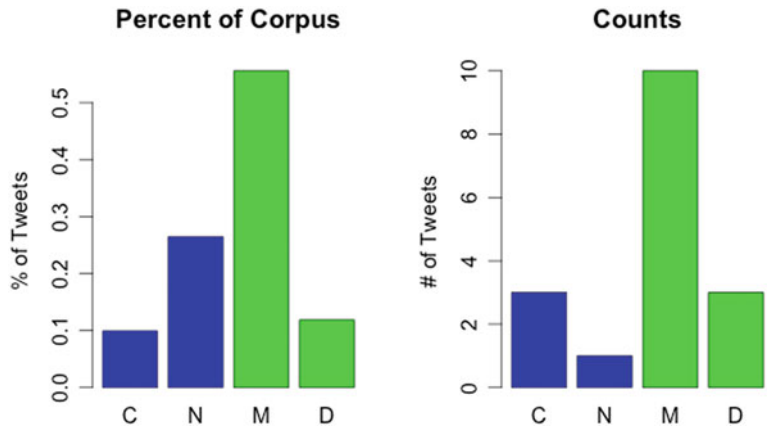

Fig. 5.8 Distribution of *pa more* across the four provinces of Cebu (C), Negros (N), Misamis (M), and Davao (D). The percentages of tweets containing *pa more* were few (about 1 percent) but the differences between the province echo each province's propensity to code-switch

linguistic diversification through isolation within and across the islands. History plays a more active role in identity drift by driving modern society's response to historical conflict. Lastly, abundant cultural and linguistic diversity on Mindanao intensifies the drift as communities on the island develop their own identities regardless of cultural origins. These factors contribute to identity drift, which triggers a divergence in CS speech practices as each province reflects to curate its own identity. These drifts in cultural identity ultimately drive the divergence in CS practices among the provinces (Fig. 5.8).

Glocalization

The development of a code-switched variety of Cebuano alongside Philippine English highlights the effects of glocalization. The Philippines provides a case-study for Robertson's (1995, p. 28) definition of glocalization: the localized use of a global product—English—or the concomitant development of local and global practices.

Resulting from the intimate interactions between the English and Cebuano languages, Cebuano communities have developed a formal language and distinct phrases that have concretized in the language. For example, 'sir' and "ma'am" are used wholesale in Cebuano to fulfill the same niche that *po* [elder] serves in Tagalog. An interesting by-product of English and Cebuano contact, *pa more* is a fixed phrase combining the adverbs *pa* [still *or* yet] from Cebuano and 'more' from English. The meaning it generates expresses requiring more of a substance—ranging from the physical, like food or drink, to the abstract, like emotion—in order to fulfill an

tangentially unsatisfied need such as the examples in (6), (7) and (8) from the tweet corpus. The equivalent expression **pa mas* in Cebuano is not used.

(6) study *pa more*
[I have to] keep studying [because I have not learned enough]
(7) *kape pa more!*
I need more coffee [because I still want it]
(8) *pa* sign up *ug* clearance *pa more*! *D pa ako naka pag* enroll!
I still have to sign up for clearance! I haven't had the chance to enroll yet!

The concomitant development of local and global practices is reflected in the development of code-switched Cebuano and the Filipino variety of English used for official purposes and the news media that remain distinctly Filipino in style, grammar, and pronunciation. Both of these language varieties developed their own socially accepted uses and exist side-by-side as linguistic tools at their speakers' disposal. Bautista observed that moderating the mixture of Tagalog and English also varies the formality and warmth of that interaction. The same mechanisms hold true for Cebuano and English. Cebuano, Cebuano and English CS, and Philippine English exist side-by-side to fulfill speakers' ever-shifting interactional needs in a country with equally diverse internal and external connections to keep up in pace with glocalization.

Limitations

The evidence presented here provides an explanation for the divergence in CS practices. The evidence also highlights internal causes for the differences in CS frequency, namely geography and historical conflict. However, future investigations into Cebuano and English CS need to address limitations in this study such as language attitudes, spoken practices and exploring hidden or confounding variables. First, the data used for this study implicitly subsets the population under investigation to those who have the sufficient means and knowledge to engage with CMC on Twitter. This implicit filtering excludes many groups from this analysis who come from other socio-economic strata lacking the means to engage in this activity. Second, the textual and discrete nature of tweets leave room for further studies to examine divergence in conversational CS practices as well as language attitudes and behaviour that are not captured in tweets. Lastly, more work examining the effects of other government policies regarding language, education and migration would benefit this effort and possibly strengthen our understanding of policy related effects on language change in code-switched language in the Philippines.

Conclusion

The presence of divergence in CS practices in Twitter data is only the first step to uncovering the underlying negotiation of Cebuano identity within its speech communities in the Visayas and Mindanao. The CS practices observed over a period of two months on Twitter indeed show a statistically and socially significant difference between the provinces' language practices. This study points to some factors to describe a likely scenario for the development of CS divergence in Cebuano speaking communities as they relate to the data. Further studies are required to augment, confirm, or deny the explanations for the significant differences in CS practices in the Cebuano speech communities in the Philippines. Perhaps then, we can come closer to making unknown local practices better known and, as a result, we could better understand the intricate interconnectedness of a glocalized world.

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Chapter 6
Naming Food and Creating Identity in Transnational Contexts

Rashmi Jacob and Alka Sharma

Introduction

The answer to the question 'What is food?' is, very simply, that it is something which provides nourishment. But how does an item of consumption which is more suited to nutritional and dietary studies become part of linguistics? Food, as stated by Barthes (2008), becomes part of "a system of communication, it is the body of images, a protocol of usages, situation, and behaviour" (p. 29) or, in a strictly etymological sense, is a sign: a system of signification for the members of the society through which they communicate or attempt to communicate through a signal with each other. While structuralism claims that all mental and cultural structures are universal, and that their casual effects give rise to observable social phenomena, semiology need not be associated with either of these claims; this is roughly the usage that will be followed in this paper. For instance, when a man buys a food item, consumes, or serves it, this simple item of food sums up and transmits a situation or information; in short, it signifies. For that reason, food is "not just an indicator of a set of more or less conscious motivations, but that is the real sign, perhaps the functional unit of a system of communication" (Barthes, 2008, p. 24). But the communication of food is highly abstract, according to Barthes, as it includes the substance, structure, techniques of preparation, eating habits, all of which constitute the system of difference in signification which allows food to transmit information. Food embodies both integrative and differentiative forces which make it possible to understand societies and their culture; it makes it possible for linguists to perform transformational analysis, which can be seen to "be the observation of passage of one fact to another produces a difference in signification" (Barthes, 2008). For example, white bread is considered unhealthy in comparison to brown bread, although both varieties of bread provide same dietary value. But, the

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value of brown bread is considered as a sign of refinement in the context of present-day food habits. This change in dietary choices corresponds to change in what is signified in social terms, hence, the units established from the passage of one food item into another produces a difference in signification. Food serves as a sign and finds affiliation among members of a certain society; in short, it takes the character of an institution; its function can no longer be dissociated from the sign of that function (Barthes, 2008, p. 29). These changes facilitate our understanding of the semiology of food.

Additionally, food also conveys the notion of identity or representation. It carries memory and flavours of soil across geopolitical boundaries, especially for immigrant communities in this study. This chapter has been broadly divided into four parts: the first giving insights from various theoretical discussions in understanding 'food as sign'; a brief description of the cultural history of Oman by means of food or culinary practices as well as contextual values attached to it; a discussion on cuisine and culture, their amalgamation, and creation and effect on identity; and finally, a section on transnationalism, which discusses extended identities or new identities, and how the immigrant community transmits its trans-national identities through their gastronomic choices, and consequently its effect on the 'food-scape'.

The Culinary Order: A Linguistic Perspective

In structuralism, language is a set of codes which provide meaning; until now the significance of meaning was imperative for the understanding of canons like communication, culture, or civilization. For linguist, the fundamental opposition is between consonants and vowels, the complex opposition among phonemes, elaborated in multiple directions into a system which is common to them all. This methodology is transportable to other domains, notably those of cooking. As stated by Levi-Strauss (2008) who believes that cooking, like language, is the justly universal form of human activity: "If there is no society without language nor is there any which does not cook..." (p. 36). Food communicates using a certain set of codes and sends pre-coded messages across culture and boundaries. But, the prodigious task of deciphering these messages remains. The answer lies with Douglas (1972), who says that "if food is taken as code, the message it encodes will be found in the pattern of the social relation being expressed" (p. 61) The message, according to her, can be decoded from the hierarchical order, social segregation (inclusion-exclusion), and interaction outside its communal margins. As a result, our gastronomic choices encode social events and affects meaning. Barthes (1967) has a similar strand to Douglas about the encoding of social events, wherein he discusses the methodology of code breaking and code making as a subject itself. Douglas talks in terms of victual consumption "at a particular point of time and in particular social system, our home" (p. 62). But, she criticizes Barthes as he only looked at "pre-coded, pan-human messages and binary analysis in the language of food" (p. 62) which works for literary criticism but for analyzing food, it should

start with the question of 'Why' (For analyzing the food why is certain classification, taxonomy used for certain food or food practices or patterned structures is followed by certain family and not others in a given culture or society? It can be realized that food encodes meaning from societal boundaries and follows binary system which gets its values according to the position in the series). For instance, everything is structured from breakfast to dinner (ordered pattern), or days of the week, fast days, holidays, weddings, and so on. In other words, a syntagmatic relation can be seen in binary and other contrasts but the chain which links them together provides meaning. Lévi-Strauss (2008) only uses fixed investigation for classification of food but Michael Halliday gives a much-improved submission. He has shown how food items can be arranged on the two axes of the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic chain until they are accounted either in grammatical terms or until the very last lexical item: "Eating is like talking, a patterned activity and daily menu may be made to yield an analogy with linguistic form…" (Halliday, 1963, pp. 277–79). Food, therefore, performs like language; each food carries some or the other meaning to the other food item. It is a structured social event which structures others in its own image; in fact, "the meaning of a meal is found in repeated analogies" (Douglas, 1972, p. 44).

Food, through these definitions, proves that it is not just a biological process to obtain nourishment for the body, but also a complex cognitive and social process to encode meaning. The whole mechanism of encoding and decoding of food operates in linear process: it begins with raw material and ends with consumption. But, between being raw and cooked, there are certainly physical and chemical changes involved which modify the nature of food from uncooked, into a wholesome, flavoursome, and digestible meal. However, meaning cannot be wholly derived from food just by a mere change in its physical appearance; it also invokes a "register of imagination" (Fischler, 1998, p. 284). This action (imagination) works within the system which is located at the forefront of difficult modalities of the particular culture under consideration.[1] As a result, 'food' is simply a transformation of nutritional raw material from the state of Nature to the state of Culture with the use of the imagination (Fischler, 1998).

But, Lévi-Strauss (2008) makes another argument that the "art of cooking is not located entirely on the side of culture" (p. 46), by giving the example of boiling and roasting. The former process, in certain cultures, can be considered to be a civilized act and the roasting as a primeval act (as boiling requires a receptacle, a 'cultural object', while roasting is a straightforward exposure to fire). However, he juxtaposes these examples with other cultures that favoured roasting over boiling. For instance, boiling conserves the juices of meat, while roasting chars the meat;

[1]Lévi-Strauss states that within a triangular semantic field whose three vertices correspond respectively to the categories of the raw, the cooked, and the rotte, it is clear that, with respect to cooking, the raw constitutes an unmarked pole, while the other two poles are strongly marked, but in a different direction. 'cooked' = cultural transformation of raw, while 'rotted' = natural transformation (Lévi-Strauss, 1966). This culinary triangle *delimits a semantic field* (from outside) which is true even for the linguistic triangle as well (since there are no phonemes a, i, u or k, p, t).

or boiled meat is flesh without its juice, and so on. Therefore, a similar ambiguity can be seen in the process of cooking as observed in language. The only point of departure is the difference in people's thinking and their nativity. Lévi-Strauss stresses that the boundary between nature and culture is determined by "man's insertion in nature".[2] This means that the movement from natural to cultural processing of food or vice versa is based on the concept of "deep structural knowledge" (Lévi-Strauss, 1970) as it is through the dissemination of knowledge that a culture derives its significance and its meaning. Food is also about the cultural environment which provides a fertile ground for symbols. These symbols are capable of differentiating and intensifying according to their environment. For example, in the transnational society of Oman, Indian, Sri Lankan, and Bangladeshi immigrants reach out to their meal structure according to their cultural environment; they develop and interact with it accordingly.

Food is also not so much a matter of ingredients, transformed into food or not, but looking at it from the classification in 'The Book of Leviticus' in the Bible, it is an analogy between the taxonomy of animals according to their sanctity, like the deep cultural rules set between the holy temple and the purity of the body. This analogy runs parallel to the Judeo-Christian tradition, in the words of the Last Supper with its meaning looking back over centuries and forward to the future celebration of food. Douglas (1972) discusses this analogy for categorization of food and its edibility, like insects and foxes. This classification of the food order is not based on nutritional reasons but on other criteria, perhaps 'arbitrary' ones in the sense in which code is arbitrary. The second kind of categorization is based on 'religious food taboos', a borrowed term from anthropology. Such foodstuffs have an implicit classification by which they fall under this category. This categorization of an implicit and explicit rule is governed, as mentioned before, on hierarchy, gender, and social role. Food, categorically both edible and fit from the religious point of view, is subsequently placed on the platform of social milieu, propriety, relation, occasion, time, and compatibility factors (a slice of bread, in particular cultural contexts, goes with vinegar or oil). Other categorizations are according to societal circumstances, like a family dinner or wedding dinner; in short, from everyday to festive occasions, followed by the chronology of time, and seasonal changes. The rules of food are constantly changed by external circumstances at a regular interval of time.

Food is also categorized on the basis of health and its medicinal properties. For example, hot and cold food and dietary concerns (Fischler, 1998). Thus, food is structured according to complex grammar and syntax and essential virtues.

[2]Lévi-Strauss continues his argument with "smoking", which illustrates the "greatest affinity to the abstract category of the cooked" (pp. 36–43). Smoking is similar to roasting because it cooks as the same way as roasting. It differs from roasting because smoking makes use of the air. Smoking is also similar to boiling because a cultural object, a utensil is used. It differs from boiling since the utensil must be destroyed immediately after use while pots and pans for boiling are preserved utensils. Lévi-Strauss stresses on the fact that the boundary between nature and culture is determined by the way of "man's insertion in nature" (pp. 36–43).

Like language, it is made of rules and regulations performed by a given culture in its given cultural environment. It governs the whole set of practices and representations connected with the production, gathering, preparation, attribution, and consumption of food. "A society's cookery", writes Lévi-Strauss, "is a language into which it translates its structure, unless it reluctantly and no less unwittingly reveals there its contradictions" (Lévi-Strauss, 2008, p. 37). Douglas (1972) explains this more aesthetically when she says that food is quite comparable to literary genres and artistic styles as we see baby food and adult food, or women's food and men's food. The dividing line for this classification is laid down by culture and individuals who enact and identify themselves in this framework by their tastes and distastes (Fischler, 1998, p. 14).

The significance of food, and its many meanings and associations, can now be illustrated with a specific example, especially in a multicultural society like Oman, which is dynamic and evolving in its 'food-scape'. The culinary landscape of this country has developed over time with different waves of migrants and temporary workers and it continues to change and reflect the changing dietary requirements and desires of its residents. As such, cultural fusion and the ethnolinguistic diversity have significantly changed the semiology and semantics of the country; it now enjoys a new global identity. This diversity and multihued vibrancy in structure can be located from its culinary practices.

Oman: Why Is It at the Crossroads of the Culinary Matrix?

Oman is a folkloric, multiculturalist's nation; it lies along a centuries-old spice route, making it a 'melting pot' of rich traditional ethnicity, cultural heritage, and an extraordinary yet a delicious case of cultural transfusion. The culinary system attached to it or part of this nation is like a cosmology; of culture through food. The kingdom of Oman in the past was bare and dry on the foodscape. It offered very little to the Omani kitchen—some of the basic home-grown ingredients available were dates and fish (seafood) which were consumed fresh or in salted and dried form (due to the harsh climatic condition).[3] Nonetheless, the country welcomed flavours from far beyond its own borders and amalgamated them in its practices creating a unique culinary matrix, unlike anything in the Middle East. This fusion can be observed by taking a casual stroll on the streets of Muscat and hear Arabic, Swahili, English, vernacular south Indian languages, Urdu and nowadays even Bangla and Sinhala. All of these inhabitants have not just brought their ethnolinguistic diversity but also a multi-hued vibrancy to the culinary practices. So, ingredients like shark wheat berries, coconut, and nutmeg which were earlier less

[3]Oman is located between latitudes 16° and 28° N, and longitudes 52° and 60° E. Most of central Oman is covered by a vast gravel desert plain, with mountain ranges along the north and southeast coast.

frequently associated with the Middle Eastern canon can now be seen as a regular ingredient in Oman apart from the usual suspects' like-saffron, rose water and dried lime. The expatriates consequently brought their own cultures along with the terms and vocabulary associated with their choice of food. This template by the populace formed a new gastronomic environment, placing this small kingdom on the crossroad of culture and taste. In the next section, Oman's cultural history is located with reference to food/culinary practices and the values attached to it for better comprehension and understanding.

Locating Oman

Geographically, Oman lies at the historic intersection of Asia and Africa as well as the caravan routes to the eastern Mediterranean. Due to this geographical advantage, Oman is found at the crossroad of the spice route. Therefore, for centuries, the region of Oman was in constant interaction with traders from South Asia, North Africa, East Africa, Persia, and even the Far East. This small nation on the Arabian Peninsula majorly imported fruits, nutmeg, and other spices from countries like India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, East Africa, and so on. So, for instance, dishes like vegetables cooked in coconut, chillies, and lime bear a striking resemblance with Malay, Thai, or Indian styles of cooking. Besides, coconut and curries, the Omani adaptation of *biryanis* and traditional rice dishes also reflect the flavours, of the trade route with a modest use of different spices and seasonings from around the world. But to understand the fullness of meaning of the culinary diversity of Oman and the various ways in which they have been re-invented, the historical background and contemporary social arrangements should be elaborated upon.

Historical Background

As the cosmography of Oman is heavily influenced by geographical currents, the pride of the food practices of these traders (precedent), and now immigrants (present), can be traced through this trail. For example, tea is a social and traditional drink, but even this humble beverage visibly differentiates Omanis from other Arab population. The spiced Omani tea called *karak chai* is made of a lot of milk, sugar, and spices such as cardamom, clove, and ginger. This blended tea is characteristic of the tea-making process of the Indian subcontinent known as 'masala chai'; 'karak chai' is derived from the Indian chai called 'kadakchai'. A few other names such as 'karak chai', 'kadak chai', 'chai haleeb' or simply, *chai* are frequently used. The term 'karak chai' is an Urdu word roughly translated as 'strong tea'. It is a very popular milk tea in the Persian Gulf area, Iran, and many other countries. It is very different from the English tea and has a large international fan following in the Gulf countries, especially among the workers for whom it is an inexpensive but

rejuvenating beverage. *Chai* came to Oman from India with travellers to Oman, and Omanis who had visited the sub-continent, and was then fondly and conveniently re-christened as 'karak' to suit the vocabulary and ease of meaning for all nationalities. The use of cardamom and evaporated milk gives this tea a more local flavour, having been re-invented from its Asian roots. But this technique of tea preparation is considered an offense against the national drink by many Arab communities who prefer the more water-based tea which is characteristic of North African nations. It is clear that the immigrant community has successfully incorporated a food item into the landscape of Oman, not only in terms of creating an amalgamation of existing ingredients but, more importantly, by labelling it in a manner that represents this amalgamation of cultures. As a result, an ambiguity can be seen in the process of tea making as in language; people's nativity and culture influence the taste and preparation style. The boundary between nature and culture as discussed by Lévi-Strauss (2008) is determined by way of incorporation and introduction into the environment. The word 'çhai' in this context is ambiguous in terms of preparation and consumption (like the example of boiling and roasting by Lévi-Strauss). It is different from English tea and has become international in its appeal with specialized cafes and joints selling 'karak chai' as well as 'chai lattes', which is a whole different form of tea which indicates prestige and class. Etymologically, the word, *chai* or *cha* (Eurasian) came from the Persian language چای (*chay*), which further originated from the Chinese word for tea, (茶, '*chá*'). Also, 'karak' and çhai' may be lexically different from its native country but semantically it carries the same connotation across cultures.

Another ingredient which has seen a re-invention in private and public kitchens in Oman is rice, which is a regular component of Omani cooking. This basic ingredient is recognized throughout the country under its Indian, or Persian cousin's, narrative of 'biryani', (a complex, fragrant, rich, spicy, layered, rice dish). Further names—like Afghani 'Kabuli rice', Saudi's *kabsa* or *maqboos*, and Yemeni *mandi*—are variations on the theme of mixed rice, converted into a completely different dish each time it encounters a different family of ingredients. In fact, '*kabuli'* in Oman refers to a system of the people, usually a family, sitting around a plate of cooked rice which is eaten with the hands. Thus, rice is a semiotic object that reflects cultural production. A society's cooking is a language which translates itself unless contradicted. So, even though the nomenclature is differently used in the different culture for rice, it is just like the translation of language where the essence remains the same. It is just the dividing line laid down by cultures or individual who enact it (Douglas, 1972).

The Omani foodscape is also partial towards the Arabian food palate, including *shawarma*, (a sandwich or wrap), *tabbouleh*, *fattoush*, *tahini*, *hummus*, and *pita*. They have also embraced Lebanese influences in their culinary practices, like *shish*, *taouk* and *meze*, Turkish-style *kofte* and *doner kebabs*, as well as Arabian style flatbread *khubz*. All these customary victuals from Africa, Arab, and the Indian subcontinent have smoothly, yet gloriously, unified the contemporary gastronomic practices of Oman giving it a unique flavour in the entire peninsula. Etymologically, if we look at the rendering of these terms, they have either originated or are loan

words from Arabic, Turkish, Greek, Levantine Arabic, the Balkan languages, Syria, Ottoman Empire, Egyptian Arabic, and Persian. The naming of all these terms is in reference to their cooking styles which reflect the transnational nature of Omani foodscape and culture. The most interesting is the origin of the word *Pita.*

Pita is a flatbread. This simple morsel has a distinctive and transnational history. 'Pita' is an English word borrowed possibly from Ancient Greek (πίττα or πίσσα pitch/resin, *pikte*), followed by Byzantine Greek (πίτα roughly meaning 'bread', 'cake', 'pie', pitta) to Modern Greek (πίτα) and passed to Latin as *picta*. It came into usage in English in 1936. The earliest known mention of the word 'Pita' was in the comedies of Aristophanes of Byzantium, Alexandrian Egypt. It established itself in Levantine Arabic as *fatteh,* since Arabic lacks the sound/p/. Other theories trace its existence back to Classical Hebrew as the word פת ('*patt*'; literally meaning a morsel of bread[4]), but it is spelled as *pittəṭā*/*pittā* (פיתה) in Aramaic, from which it was adopted in Byzantine Greek. Another hypothesis suggests that the word existed in Germanic or Illyrian and was borrowed by Turkish as *pide* and appeared in Balkan languages, like Serbo-Croatian. As *pita*, in Bulgarian as *Pitka* or *pita*, in Albanian as *pite,* and in Romanian as *pită*. The other names are 'Khubz bread', 'Arabic bread' or 'ál-kimaj bread'. In Egypt, it is called ʿaish' or ʿaishbaladi' (http://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?.s=Pita%20chips&items_type=topic, http://en.oxforddictionaries.com/defination/us/pita and http://wikivividly.com/wiki/Pitta_bread).

Sweet-toothed Omanis also prefer a traditional *Halwa*. Halwa is a confectionary item but again is an interesting object to explore because it means so many things in different contexts. The Arabic root of the word means 'sweet'; it came into English between 1840 and 1850 from the Turkish *helva* and Yiddish *halva*. The other alternative names like '*halawa*', '*haleweh*', '*halava*', '*helava*', '*halwa*', '*aluva*', '*chalwa*', '*chalva*', '*alva*' are used across the Balkans, Middle East, Central Asia, West Asia, South Asia, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, the Caucasus, Eastern Europe, Central Europe, Malta, and by the Jewish diaspora. Similar confectionary exists in other countries, such as China, but is not referred to as '*halva*'. This again emphasizes the fact that naming is important in food because it shows continuity but also change as the food item travels to different parts of the world.

Apart from these, the most distinct element which has influenced the culinary practice of the neighbouring regions is the black limes, *noomi Basra* (Iraq); *limooamani* (Iran) and *loomi* (Oman*).* These are fresh limes imported from Far East countries like Malaysia into Oman. These lemons are laid out in the sun to dry and this process turns the outside into a hard ball while the inside flesh turns black and gummy, giving it a fermented flavour. Historically, these limes were especially used by travellers on caravan and sea voyages as they remain preserved for a very long time. The convenience and versatility of these black limes made it an entirely new ingredient in Omani culinary practices and it also got acceptance in Persian cooking

[4]This is reminiscent of old Western Aramaic *pitt*, Eastern Aramaic *pitt* which is related to Palestinian colloquial Arabic *fatte* "crumb, piece of bread".

as well as in the cooking of the Basra region (which were major trading partners).[5] Cloves have also influenced the foods cape of Oman. Until 1965, Zanzibar was part of Oman and cloves were commonly grown in this region. The export of these dried flower buds (plantation) helped in social expansion and enrichment of Omani culture beyond its national boundaries (as Omani immigrants especially men came to this island mainly for mercantile profits and later for generating profits from the growing agrarian economy through the export of cloves) (Croucher, 2015).

In many ways, Omani food is firmly linked to its heritage. Food has traditionally been an important component of society and more than just a supplement for Omanis, often seen as the basis of union between extended families, entire villages, migrant communities as well as the cosmopolitan world as it emerged in the twenty-first century.

Contemporary Social Structure

Globalization and the economic boom witnessed in the last three decades (90s-2000s) have changed the demography and *landscape* of the country. It created more job opportunities for immigrant communities, mostly south Indian and other South Asian nationals. These job opportunities have enhanced the bond between nationals and migrants, both in the cities and the countryside. For instance, Indian food is now found everywhere in Oman, especially curries made in coconut (typical of the Indian state of Kerala) and Indian variants for bread like 'chapattis' and 'parota' are common household food items, as well as items in the menus of most restaurants and coffee shops. The new economy also unleashed a wave of middle-class consumption, and global exposure through technology. It brought an assortment of global food gastronomy with it: from Greek salads, Italian pizzas and pastas, German rye bread, Polish kielbasa, Chinese noodles and dim sum, Belgian waffles, French quiche, Hungarian goulash, English cakes and muffins, American pancakes, Austrian pastries, Swiss chocolates and cheese, Mexican tacos and enchiladas, Spanish gazpacho, Japanese teriyaki and sushi, and so on. At the same time, multinational food companies like Pizza Hut, Dominos, McDonald's and many others established themselves here. The cosmopolitan Omani palate now relishes omelettes, pancakes, tea, and chapattis in their breakfast and include traditional dishes in their lunch or dinner (even terms like lunch and dinner have become part of the Omani vocabulary due to globalization). In fact, international giants like McDonald's and even processed food companies (e.g. 'Maggi' noodles) for instance, have glocalized their menus in order to serve the changing taste of contemporary Omani. A webpage of a noodle company, for instance, urges costumers that "A Chinese prawn soup is a hearty, healthy

[5]Limes originated in the Persian Gulf, hence the Persian name *limooamani* (Omani limes). The Iraqi *Noomi Basra* (lemon from Basra) are dried limes which are popular in cookery across the Middle East.

meal for your loved ones. For recipes check MAGGI® Arabia". Similarly, McDonald with is its 'McArabia' menu, has been able to create international recipes with a local twist. It is interesting to observe significant changes in Omani food practices and how it runs smoothly along the process of globalization. These culinary practices can also be understood as an amalgamation of local (ground vernacular Omani ingredients) as well as borrowed global ingredients, blended together in order to create a new global/global Omani food template. This can be seen, for instance, in the preparation of comfort food like *madrouba* (a traditional Mediterranean dish, meaning 'hit' in Arabic; the ingredients in this dish are hit with a wooden spoon). *Madrouba* is a combination of soft rice, spices, and chicken, and is a kind of porridge; this food is now made with global ingredients like oats and wheat (imported goods) by the new diet-conscious generation of Oman. Other ingredients in which we see blend of local and global sensibility is desserts filled with dates, or dates filled with gourmet chocolates, honey and rosewater. Another borrowed food item like coconut milk powder is used for giving flavour and creaminess to most of Omani dishes are part of ground vernacular food practices of trade route and the diasporic community now blended and hybridized within the local sensibility.

Such movement of ingredients and finished food preparations can further be understood by terms like 'englobalization' and 'deglobalization' (Blommaert, 2012), the former with the meaning, 'food material which flows from the global market into the local market', and the latter signifying that as soon as people get imported food material they adapt it locally. For instance, Omani flatbread, *kubuz*, is prepared by putting a smear of a paper-thin layer of dough across a cast iron skillet making it into a wafer-like round 'chapatti', or disc-shaped flat bread, filled with egg and cheese. This bread, a crackly, crispy, delicacy lies somewhere between a French *crepe* and an Indian *dosa*, and is smeared with 'puck' cheese (a little like cream cheese). This single food item, which is considered a prominent breakfast dish in Oman, has *englobalized* and *deglobalized* ingredients from across continents and made it its own. Another hard to ignore Omani delicacy, *lugaimat*, is example of cultural transfusion over the years. It is a fried dumpling (yeast) soaked in saffron infused syrup, layed with ingredients like sesame seeds, cardamom, cinnamon powder and cumin seeds; these ingredients are not locally produced but are either part of caravan route or economic globalisation, but now very much part of Omani foodscape. Therefore, food is not just a combination of ingredients and imagination but also a significant enterprise in establishing culture across boundaries; a natural development between the interconnected world.

The Principle of Incorporation

As discussed in the previous section, food implicitly and explicitly is an important denominator in locating a region, even a country, and giving it a certain identity. But, identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Time and again, it is represented as a finished product of civilization. Hall (1990) argues that, instead

of considering 'identity' as an accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent (p. 223), it should be tagged as work in progress, dynamic or in production, and always constituted within and not outside representation. But this stance of Hall challenges the very authority and authenticity of 'cultural identity'. This section will try to establish the *production of identity,* not grounded in archaeological archives but by *retelling the past* through the gastronomic and diasporic experience of immigrants in Oman. The immigrants to this country created a diverse taxonomy of culture through their cuisine. Their food choices, like various other cultural expression and practices, offer an insight on how they present themselves, shape their identities, define their membership, and express their allegiance or distance to others.

Identity can be defined as singular, but there can also be other pluralities collaborating to create the identity. The famous saying that 'Man is what he eats' is relevant here, meaning that nature and culture construct our identity because both influence and supplement our mind, body, and soul through nutrition. In other words, food that we eat is directly connected to the ways in which social identities are made and enacted. On the other hand, Hall says that we all speak and inscribe from a particular space and time or history and culture but, whichever way we look at it, it is always in a particular context; it is positioned. For example, this 'I' was born in a particular place and spent adulthood in another, so 'I' was born in the background of a lifetime of cultural studies, filled with diasporic experience and narrative of displacement (Hall, 1990). Therefore 'I', according to Hall, can be looked in two different ways, one which is shared by culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside superficial layers of artificially imposed 'selves' and second in an 'Orientalist' sense, a constructed 'Other' (immigrants in this case). As one experience and one identity cannot be accepted without acknowledging the other, there is another, related but different, view on cultural identity which underlines the difference which constitutes what we really are and 'what we have become'. Cultural identity, in the second sense, is the matter of becoming as well as being. It belongs to the future as much as to the past (Hall, 1990). It shifts our settled understanding of word/concept, giving new meaning without erasing the trace of its other existing meanings. So, the process of being and becoming in identity and food likewise undergoes constant transformation, surpassing barriers of place, time, history and culture, providing new codes which give stable reference and meanings to 'the truth' or the essence we embody. Therefore, both food and identity, far from being grounded in the "recovery of cultural past" (Hall, 1990, p. 223) embody different ways we are placed by and placed within the narratives of the past to improve our understanding of the 'Other'.

The 'otherness' in the food template is not the product of distinction, as in being different, but 'to defer to' (Fischler, 1998, p. 225) and incorporate a new culture through gastronomy. This incorporation is also the foundation of collective belonging. In immigrant culture, it has been observed that certain features of cuisine are sometimes retained even when the language itself has been forgotten (Fischler, 1998). For instance, in personal interactions with second and third generation Indians at the market (Souk) in Muscat, the shop owners were found to be fluent in Omani Arabic rather than their regional or national language. Even though they

kept the tradition of conversing in their regional language at home, it was more like a second language. On the other hand, they retained the flavour of the food, linking back to their roots, their disaporic act being the incubator of their regional cuisine. In other words, the cuisine brought from 'home' even through transcends, transform gradually with time and place but it trails back to its heritage i.e. the essence of the recipe is passed on from one generation to another, it might alter in terms of ingredients but the flavour and association for a particular food is etched in their memories. Through this process, the immigrants added their flavours and transcended the national to achieve a cosmopolitan culinary delight.

So, it can be said that humans eat, as they speak, within the commandments of the social and cultural order of the world. It operates as a kind of generalized implicit taxonomy in which food classifications have an important place (Fischler, 1998). The culinary systems clearly participate in giving meaning and essence to identity. It connects persons with society, with the universe, or the 'Other' with the dominant. It binds them in relation to each other to form continuity and contiguity. The act of incorporation involves risk but also a possibility of hope from being to becoming. If food makes the man, then the man should, in both a literal and figurative sense, make himself by eating, because as Claude Fischler said, the act of incorporation entails vital and symbolic concerns as it is associated with fundamental gravity and deeply rooted anxiety (Fischler, 1998).

Making a connection here with how we identify with the food we eat can be connected with language. Like food, language helps in building an identity; it gives belongingness to a culture, a meaning, a distinctive self, to a group of people or people within a group. As Hall (1997) says, "members of the same culture share the same set of concept, images, and ideas which gives them the insight to believe and experience the world and thus interpret almost in a similar manner" (p. 17). They share the same "cultural codes" as Halls puts it. Language is thus the means through which sense can be made, in fact, a medium to form knowledge about ourselves and the world we inhabit. Without this 'signifying system', we could not build identity and, subsequently, could not construct or maintain the 'life world' which we call culture' (Hall, 1990, p. 229). In this way, the Omani culinary scene is a vast cultural foodscape of incorporation between the immigrant and resident culture, with the difference that the basic taxonomies of the immigrant culture are more dominant than the resident culture. In the strict etymological sense, Omani cuisine draws its essence and meaning by blending with other diverse cultural heritages; simply stated, its cuisine is the cultural residue of immigrant settlers.

Transnationalism

There has been tremendous interest recently in finding the connection between food and the way we name, label, and identify with food with regional, national, and transnational identities. The aim is to understand how the gastronomic affiliations of immigrants signify against the template of globalization, and even localization,

for that matter. In the larger depiction of globalization, monetary effectiveness takes precedence over value, and in particular, over cultural identity, which puts local gastronomy at risk or even brings it to a point of extinction. Globalization, in spite of its perilous facade, proffers advancement, expansion, and exposure, to the economy as well as civilization. This trend does not appear to be a threat to local foodscape if cultural theories around the world are explored, for, the local is the new global or 'glocal'. The plurality of the globalization process depicts that both, societies and individuals are more and more aware of their 'global presence' and with that, they are bound to identify their new existence.

Globalization, taken as a 'multidimensional' occurrence to celebrate homogeneity and heterogeneity, can be applicable to Oman's blended heritage of immigrants and travellers alike. The immigrant community or the 'Other', living 'out of centre' has given its host country culinary flavours and cuisine to mark their demographic presence on the global food map (as discussed earlier) but the answer we have to unearth is the effect of globalization on local cuisine and how it creates a transnationalist identity. The earliest Omani foodscape was deeply influenced by caravan and trade routes. Indians, for instance, brought their regional and national cuisine to the ethnic and tribal society of Oman. These immigrants and their descendants adapted themselves to their new homeland but reserved their cooking and eating habits to conform to some version of their native cuisine. The cultural identity of the immigrants was therefore personified in their ethnic food. This personification helped them to blend and bond with the new culture, creating a new transnational identity for them. Food from the Indian diaspora—like masalas, curry, biryani, samosa, idli-sambhar, dhokla, and parota—holistically contributed to the larger paradigm shifts of identity and culture. From being a Gujarati, Marathi, Punjabi or Keralite, with region-specific cuisine, to being 'Omani-Indian', an immigrant and outsider but also an integral component of centrality in the culinary matrix. So, gradually, this blending from 'being' to 'becoming' widens the perception and understanding of the term 'I' in global and local terms. For instance, a typical Indian restaurant in Oman serves soup, mixed salad, and biryani or rice, with a side dish, usually cooked vegetable or fried pieces of lamb, fish or chicken, lentils, chicken-tikka, butter chicken, kebabs, and flatbreads, followed by fresh dates and melon, as well as a standard breakfast consisting of egg and toast, tea and chapatis. This is most clearly brought out by the seamless reference to such pan-regional items in the menu card itself, mentioning biryani, dosa, and tabuleh on the same page without explanations or translations. It is no longer regional or Indian cuisine but part of contemporary Omani local and global food naming and consumption. The 'Otherness' and difference are legitimized through the cosmopolitan structure of Oman. The immigrants and locals explore each other's food territories and names to find a common ground for experience and for the proliferation of new cultures and traditions outside the normal routine, and observe how the power of food represents and negotiates these differences. In this way, food is used as a performative tool for execution and exploration of new cultures and new identities, both in its naming and its consumption. The transnational identity through gastronomy celebrates food as a means of cultural expression rather than

economization and capitalization. It blurs the lines of difference between the dominant and the 'Other' and critically recognizes it as a global feature to reconstruct and reinvent local and 'Other' as a single entity.

Similarly, another idea of globalization (as discussed earlier) also includes the notion of 'the world on a plate', which implies that locals, immigrants, and travellers experience world cuisine without experiencing displacement. The big cosmopolitan playground of Oman also helps in the performance of the 'global village', bringing authentic taste from all over the world to its traditional platter. Even brands like Pizza Hut and MacDonald's, which are the tip of the globalization iceberg, now serve globally and locally. They adopt local flavours and trends on their menu for the globetrotting and traditional customers alike. More importantly, they manufacture new products and create new identities for dishes which are truly glocal. For example, the a-la-carte menu of MacDonald's Oman has the usual array of American burgers, fries, and cola, but it also has 'McArabia Chicken', a lookalike of the traditional wrap, and fresh fruits in the form of 'apple bites'. Its other offers include the halloumi-muffin, hotcakes or pancake, Egg N' Hashbrown wrap, Egg N' Sausage Wrap, Feta Garden Salad and Chicken Ceasar salad, a veritable combination of Mediterranean, American, and Arab cuisine (with vegetarian options for a growing market), seamlessly blending on the lit-up menu board. Thus, not only do the individual restaurants and coffee shops offer internationally recognized cuisine, but even multinational companies have re-invented themselves to offer food that is at once universally recognized but, more importantly, locally inspired in its ingredients and terminology as well. Cuisine, thus, brings "the universalization of the particular and the particularization of the universal" (Robertson, 1995). Globalization is the new way of breaking the dichotomy of east and west; it brings back the local into the limelight, sometimes creating a global phenomenon like Mexican fajitas in pizzas or different kinds of wraps. These food joints, in keeping with the global trend, provide diversity rather than standardization in their menus, unifying cuisines on the world stage. Oman as a cosmopolitan country is a stage for performing difference of diversity in cuisine. Besides its national, traditional names of dishes, the 'Other' is also able to find its place in the construction of transnational identities, arrived through the process of glocal naming and labelling.

Conclusion

Food plays an instrumental role in the interaction and integration of immigrants with the mainstream culture in Oman. Food travels across time and space, region and culture, country and the world, and helps in horizontal and vertical interfacing and assimilation in the changing dynamics of identity through gastronomy at all levels. Food traditions of any one community include not just the recipes involved, but the methods by which these foods are gathered, stored, prepared, displayed, served, and disposed of. It is closely monitored and regulated social experience. It provides information and thus helps in the performance of identity. The entire

immigration process is not only a culturally and spatially transitional procedure of moving between the boundaries of social and geographic space, it is also a gateway to look into the fluidity of resistance and change

This communication between food and society also permits people to make certain manipulations in their identities by the creation of groups, or food communities, which adds new boundaries of interaction and acceptance in the social setting. Even though these identities are changing because of the way in which food habits are changing, and how they are named, bringing new hybrid identities. As Hall (1990) asserts, "representation works merely as a model of a dialogue, to uphold this 'dialogue' requires the existence of shared cultural codes. These cultural codes by itself cannot assure the stability of meaning forever" (p. 223). Hall proposes that meanings can change with the change of context. However, it seems to us that there are some meanings which remain stable for long periods (language) even with the change of contexts, like labelling of food or acquiring new identities. The transitional status of the immigrant offers an insight into the complex pattern of interaction between dominant and marginal groups and provides a blueprint for ethnic experience and their distinctiveness. With the advent of urbanization and globalization, food remains a considerable bond in unfamiliar territories. These dynamics in the gastronomic framework are also confronted by new options which are accepted, rejected, adapted, or mutated accordingly.

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Chapter 7
The Semiotics of Flags: The New Zealand Flag Debate Deconstructed

George Horvath

Introduction

This chapter is a discourse analysis of the flag debate initiated by the former New Zealand Prime Minister John Key. The study analyzes how myth and floating signifiers are invested with different contents in John Key's discourse within the New Zealand flag debate prior to the flag referenda that took place in New Zealand. The first referendum was held in November–December, 2015 and the second one in March, 2016. This debate is used as a framework to understand glocalization as it studies, analyzes, and interprets the ways flags can be perceived as semiotic signs which are open to interpretation and re-interpretation, both locally and globally. It attempts to locate and analyze the mechanisms by which meaning is produced and fixed by recipients of the sign. Methodologically speaking, this study employs the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe (Hegemony & Socialist Strategy, 1985), who utilize the language of description to interpret empirical data and challenge traditional structuralist theory, especially in their claim that meaning is produced through relational difference and the interplay of signs, and that discourses gain identity by their relational difference to others and, finally, that signs are fixed to a particular application only through dominant discourses.

The overarching argument of this study is that the flag debate is largely a discourse construct framed through simplistic dichotomies, formed as the dominant discourses capture the floating signifiers and charge them with a new and desired meaning in a temporary closure of the discursive field. The corpus of the analysis is John Key's address given at Victoria University in Wellington on 11 March 2014 (Key, 2014). The address, in which Prime Minister John Key launched the flag debate, played a key role in the subsequent linguistic, discursive, and socio-political discussion.

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The History of Flag Debates

Similar flag debates, followed by changes to national flags, have taken place in the post-World War II contexts in Canada, South Africa, and Australia, to mention the most significant and relevant ones for this study.

The Canada flag debate had been going on for a long time. It officially began on 15 June 1964, when Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson proposed his plans for a new flag in the House of Commons. Up until then, the Union Jack and/or the Red Ensign —the de facto official flag of Canada—represented Canada. The debate lasted more than six months, centring on the notion that a changed Canadian identity after World War II should also be reflected in the adoption of a new flag, a debate that bitterly divided the people in the process. The debate over the proposed new Canadian flag ended on 15 December 1964, resulting in the adoption of the "Maple Leaf flag" as the Canadian national flag, which was accepted by everyone (Fraser, 1991).

The Canada flag debate was not based around the fact whether there should be a new flag, but rather around the design of the new flag. In the poll taken in 1958, over 80% of the voters expressed their opinion that they would like a flag different from any other nation's flag, and some 60% wanted the flag to bear the Maple Leaf. Semantically speaking, the whole debate was around the signifier rather than around its signified or signifieds. The debate was a heated one in both the French and English-Speaking Canadian camps (Stanley, 1965). The key role behind the flag change was played by George Stanley, both historian and politician, and John Matheson, a politician and a member of the committee in charge of choosing a new national symbol. The new, and subsequently winning, design (Maple Leaf) avoided any references to the founding races (British and French), the colonial past, or any controversial or divisive symbols (signifiers such as the Union Jack, Fleur de Lis, or the French Tricolour) that might threaten Canadian unity. A single leaf was perceived as simple yet distinctive, and as the unifying symbol of Canada (Matheson, 1986).

Compared to the New Zealand flag debate and the flag referendum that ensued, the Canada flag debate was of a different nature. It featured a nation-wide campaign followed by people's proposals being considered by a parliament committee, which subsequently picked the most apt design. No referendum was held. Semantically speaking, the flag debate and the flag change was about changing of the signifier with only one strongly pre-set signified, that the new flag should represent (signify) a unique and undisputed concept: Canada. When analyzed from the perspective of glocalization, the Canada flag debate and the following flag change can be perceived as a local event taking place globally, a lingo-semiotic campaign followed by a political decision, a decision with numerous global and local consequences, such as the ensuing flag debates and changes which took place in South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

The South African flag debate took place on 27 April 1994, at the beginning of South Africa's 1994 general election, to replace the flag that had been used since

1928. The new national flag, designed by the then-State Herald of South Africa, Frederick Brownell, was chosen to represent the country's new democracy after the end of apartheid. A nationwide public competition was held in 1993. The National Symbols Commission received more than 7,000 designs. Six designs were short-listed and presented to the public and the Negotiating Council, but none elicited enthusiastic support. A final design was adopted on 15 March 1994, derived from a design developed by Frederick Brownell. This flag was hoisted for the first time on 27 April 1994, the day when the nation's first fully inclusive elections commenced which resulted in Nelson Mandela being inaugurated as South Africa's first democratically elected president, on 10 May 1994 (Brownell, 2015).

As for the officially proclaimed signification, or the semiosis, of the newly chosen signifier: three colours (black, green and yellow) are the colours of the African National Congress, and the other three (red, white and blue) are the colours of the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, the former colonial powers of South Africa. The red is chilli red (neutral), rather than plain red (signifying Anglo-Africans) or orange (signifying Afrikaners) (Brownell, 1994). The flag design was a result of a public competition held in 1993. The commission received as many as 7000 proposals but none of them received major support.

An interim flag design was adopted (the current South African flag) which has become the new and ongoing symbol of the new and modern South African society. The flag was well received and became formalized as the national flag in 1994.

The current South African flag is the third South African flag, after the South African Red Ensign (1910–1928) and the 'Prince's Flag' (1928–1994). The first one represented the British tradition and the second one the Dutch tradition. The third and the current South African flag is the first truly united flag of South Africa, signifying each and every one of the nation's traditions: African, Anglo-African, and Dutch (Brownell, 2015). Semantically speaking, the South African flag change was about changing of the signifier with an already established signified, representing a unified and democratic South Africa. In a post-apartheid South Africa, a flag change came about as a follow up to the regime change, as opposed to the Canada flag change, or the New Zealand flag debate and referenda, which had not been preceded by any major social or political change.

When analyzed from the perspective of glocalization, the South African flag debate, and the subsequent South African flag change, can be perceived as a local symbolic change, which followed a local, but globally significant, social and political change. A semiotic and symbolic change of the signifier with a new set of signifieds followed a major local political change with overarching global implications.

Australia has also had its share of ideas and initiatives aimed at a flag debate that would result in a flag referendum and/or flag change in the twentieth century. The initiatives have been mostly centred on the fact that the Australian flag contains, in its corner, a signifier of another country (the Union Jack signifying the United Kingdom), which makes it not distinct, unique or Australian enough. The debate has been connected with the issue of republicanism in Australia. There has not been an official flag referendum or a parliamentary flag change initiative to date (Howell,

2012). Semantically speaking, the Australian flag change initiative has been centred on a change of the old signifier—the current flag—the signified of which is perceived by some people as dated and inaccurately representing the modern nation. No social or political change has prompted the flag debate; the signifier with its signified has been accepted by its users and by the changes in the extra-linguistic and extra-semiotic reality. From the perspective of glocalization, the Australian flag debate initiatives have been local events with global implications, prompting similar flag debates in the region, especially in New Zealand and Fiji.

New Zealand has had a history of flag debates since World War II. However, the present flag referendum was not sparked off by a popular movement of any kind. It was, rather, instigated by the leading political elites represented by the then-Prime Minister John Key and his National Party. The referendum was undertaken in two stages: the voters were asked to rank the five flag designs chosen by the Flag Consideration Panel (a group of 'respected New Zealanders') in the first stage, and the second stage was a dichotomous choice between the old (current) and the new design. Eventually the old flag was retained by a margin of 6%.

The flag change initiative goes back to the World War II times, when Prime Minister Peter Fraser expressed his desire to include a Maori symbol on the flag. The debate resurfaced in the 1970s, when the Labour Party expressed their desire to include a Silver Fern on the fly of the flag. The 1980 s saw a few flag change initiatives, one by Russel Marshall, Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1988, and one by the *New Zealand Listener* magazine holding a new flag design contest in 1989, none bringing any tangible result, except for a few national flag designs from the New Zealand public (Moody, 2015).

The initiative continued into the 1990s, with Matiu Rata, the former Minister of Māori Affairs, wanting to re-establish New Zealand's national identity, and Jenny Shipley, the then-Prime Minister, calling for a silver fern flag in 1998. None of these initiatives amounted to much. An initiative in 2004 attempting to bring about a flag referendum—strongly pushing for a Silver Fern flag and strongly opposed by the various New Zealand veterans' associations—although successful in producing the required number of signatures, was withdrawn in July 2005 because of public apathy to changing the flag (Moody, 2015). The 2000s have seen a few flag change initiatives. As early as August 2005, Charles Chauvel, a Labour Party MP, introduced a bill for a consultative commission on the New Zealand flag. Finally, in January 2014 John Key (Prime Minister) mentioned the idea of a new flag referendum and then, in March, announced that a referendum would be held within the next three years depending on the National Party's (his party's) re-election. Following re-election the details of the referendum were announced (Beech, 2014). Semantically speaking, the New Zealand flag change initiative has concentrated on a change of the old signifier for a new one. However, the signified of the new signifier was interpreted and disclosed to the general public long before the relevant signifier was discussed and chosen. From the aspect of glocalization, the New Zealand flag debate and subsequent referenda can be described as local socio-linguistic initiatives with global following: a flag debate and possible change constructed linguistically and semantically but inspired by no popular or social movement.

Theoretical and Methodological Grounding

This study draws upon the theoretical approach of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) titled 'Discourse Theory'. Laclau and Mouffe's discourse conceives of meaning as arising from a system of differences (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 106), adhering to the concept of Ernesto Laclau's social constructivism theory. They claim that discourses can never exhaust a particular discursive field. In their view, any discourse is an attempt to arrest the flow of difference, or transforming elements into moments in the process of articulation. They claim that every hegemonic discourse admits only one contingent fixation of meaning, excluding other possible meanings. Laclau and Mouffe introduce the concept of social constructivism; denying any societal reality outside the discursive, focusing on the political context of discourse, and utilizing Marx, Foucault, and Derrida. Their Discourse Theory claims that there is a strong relation between linguistic and social structure and that ideologies are linguistically produced in attempts to form a collective political will and govern society. Hence, discourses need an outside constituent to define themselves (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 111). This leads to dislocation: a new space in the social field which the existing discourse is unable to incorporate within itself (Torfing, 1999, p. 301). Laclau criticizes the closeness of the system (it is never a finished process), the inert fixation of the meaning, and the structuralist approach (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 96). Another crucial notion of Laclau and Mouffe is that discourses are never completely stable and uncontested. Floating signifiers become most visible in crises when the symbolic system is recast (Laclau, 2005, p. 132) or when the dominant discourse is reconfigured. Discourses establish a closure: a temporary stop to the fluctuations in the meaning of signs (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p. 28). Such closures create new dominant discourses. Laclau and Mouffe also study how identity is constructed through the temporary fixation of meaning. Hegemonic articulations are always contingent. Floating signifiers become nodal points that structure discourses. Articulations constantly reproduce, challenge, and transform discourses. Discourse becomes hegemonic when it achieves the unity of social world around particular fixation of meaning, around the articulation of floating signifiers. An 'empty' or 'floating signifier' is defined as a signifier with a non-specific, vague, or non-existent signified. These signifiers can stand for a number of different signifieds, and their meaning can change according to the interpreters of the sign. Such a radical disconnection between the signifier and the signified is most evident in aesthetic texts.

The whole notion of floating signifiers goes back to the 1950s. The concept pertains mostly to non-linguistic signs (Barthes, 1977), which category also includes flags as symbols. Barthes claims that these non-linguistic signs are so open to interpretation that they constitute a "floating chain of signifieds" (Barthes, 1977, p. 39). The first reference to an empty signifier is by Barthes in his essay 'Myth Today' (Barthes, 1977). Barthes defines an empty signifier as having no definite signifieds.

In the theory of Laclau and Mouffe, floating signifiers (in this case, flags) are empty signs only acquiring meaning through the chain of equivalence, when they are combined with other signs investing them with meaning. Their meaning is temporarily captured by dominant discourses and invested with meaning. This temporal closure of the discursive field is attempted by the dominant discourse, in the case of this study, by John Key, who is the dominant proponent of the flag change.

Ernesto Laclau (2005), in his social constructivism theory, denies any societal reality outside the discursive, focusing on the political context of discourse, drawing on the notions introduced by Marx, Foucault, and Derrida. He challenges the Geneva School of Linguistics, which claims that language is a system of signs and that meaning is constructed within this system, through relational differences and through the interplay of signs (de Saussure, 1983). Reality is divided into arbitrary categories by every language, and the conceptual world, with which each of us is familiar, could have been divided up very differently. Indeed, no two languages categorize reality in the same way. As John Passmore puts it, "[l]anguages differ by differentiating differently" (cited in Sturrock, 1986, p. 17). Linguistic categories are not simply a consequence of some predefined structure in the world. There are no 'natural' concepts or categories which are simply 'reflected' in language. Language plays a crucial role in 'constructing reality'.

Laclau and Mouffe attempt to identify patterns and regularities in the construction and alteration of discourse—describing hegemony, antagonism, dislocation and filing, the logics of difference and equivalence, nodal points and moments, the split subject and identification—thus moving away from traditional critical interpretation of texts towards the theory-based identification of features structuring identities and their contestation. They tackle ideologies as effects of discursive hegemony and also study how discourse constructs identities through the temporary fixation of meaning: temporal closures are achieved by hegemonic articulations by excluding conflicting subject positions (Thomassen, 2005, p. 295). Hegemonic articulations are always contingent; floating signifiers become nodal points that structure discourses. Laclau and Muoffe's main point is that discourses can never exhaust a particular discursive field, for they need outside constituents to define themselves (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 111). This leads to dislocation: a new space in the social field which the existing discourse is unable to incorporate within itself (Torfing, 1999, p. 301).

Analysis: Flags as Signs

The following part will begin by introducing flags from a semiotic perspective. Flags, from a semiotic point of view, are signs without a fixed meaning. Temporary closures are attempted but these are reconstituted time and again. Applying Peirce's differential framing of the referential status of signs, flags are symbols, for the signification is arbitrary and refers to the signified through referring to other signs

(Peirce, 1958). For the purposes of this analysis, flags can be perceived as key signifiers, without a fixed meaning. The key (floating) signifiers (flag) are empty signs, without a fixed meaning, only acquiring meaning through the chain of equivalence, when they are combined with other signs that fill them with meaning. The meaning of flags can be temporarily captured by dominant discourses and invested with meaning. This temporal 'closure' of the discursive field is attempted by dominant discourses, in this case, by the discourse of John Key, who was the main driving force behind the flag change.

The Debate

The corpus of the analysis is John Key's address given at Victoria University in Wellington on 11 March 2014. The address, in which Prime Minister John Key launched the flag debate, played a key role in the subsequent linguistic, discursive, and socio-political scenario.

In the context-setting part of the address, John Key acknowledges the historical significance of the flag by introducing Anzac Day ('Birth of a Nation' in the New Zealand historical narrative). Once the flag's undeniably historical importance has been reaffirmed, by linking it to the epic Gallipoli narrative, Key departs, both literally and metaphorically, from it. The old flag is framed as a 'has-been', and the Gallipoli centenary is chosen as the turning point, as the 'best before date' for the flag:

> Anzac Day is approaching and, as you know, next year we will commemorate the centenary of that fateful landing by the Anzacs on the Gallipoli Peninsula on April 25, 1915. In the struggle, the sacrifice, and the wretchedness of Gallipoli, an Anzac reputation for courage, endurance and mateship was forged that has endured long after those who survived that campaign have passed on. Each year, on Anzac Day in particular, we remember our fallen as we should and as I hope we always will. But once the centenary has passed, I think it will be time for us to take some decisions about how we present ourselves to the world beyond 2015. For more than a hundred years the New Zealand flag has served us well, and we in turn have served it well. It has given us an identity. We have given it our loyalty. (Key, 2014, p. 1)

John Key discursively constructs an oppositional discourse of *old* and *new*, through a chain of equivalence. The current flag is constructed as *old*, *obsolete* and *dated*, hence discursively constructing a need for a new flag. The current flag embodies Gallipoli, to which, subsequently, John Key links *struggle*, *sacrifice*, *endurance*, *mateship*, *identity* and *loyalty*—all value based attributes. He is cherry picking on the signified of the current flag—concentrating primarily on World War I events—as if the current flag signified only those, leaving aside the remaining elements in the field of discursivity of the current flag:

> But the current flag represents the thinking by and about a young country moving from the 1800s to the 1900s. A time before commercial air travel. A time when we had less of a role in the Pacific, and a time before Asia registered in our consciousness. That was a time

> before the rise of superpowers and before we had forged a formidable reputation on the battlefields of Europe. It was prior to the first tour by the New Zealand Rugby Union to the UK, and when our forebears thought their colonial protector would always be there for their descendants. (Key, 2014, p. 1)

The need for a new flag is constructed through linking of opposite value-based attributes in a chain (logic) of difference, and by listing its representations which are constructed as dated: 'thinking of a young country'—'a time before commercial air travel'—'a time when we had less of a role in the Pacific'—'a time before the rise of superpowers'.

John Key is capturing the floating signifier of the flag, loading it with a meaning based on the following chain of equivalence: '

Current Flag'—'Dated (for reasons listed above)'—'Solution'—?—'New Flag' (implied).

John Key implies that the days of the old flag are up, as aptly expressed also by the choice of the tense (present perfect): "When you think about it, those who had a hand in the flag's design did well to include symbols that have endured for more than a century." John Key moves away from an abstract-value driven description of the current flag's signification to a more 'hands on' approach when listing the main 'problems' with the [current] flag:

> But it's my belief, and I think one increasingly shared by many New Zealanders, that the design of the New Zealand flag symbolizes a colonial and post-colonial era whose time has passed. […] The flag remains dominated by the Union Jack in a way that we ourselves are no longer dominated by the United Kingdom. (Key, 2014, p. 1)

When making his point, John Key applies the following chain of equivalence: 'Current flag'—'young nation'—'colonial era'—'Britain dominated (symbolized by the Union Jack 'dominating' the flag)'.

John Key's arguments become clear and evident in the next lines where he proposes the flag change in the following manner:

> I am proposing that we take one more step in the evolution of modern New Zealand by acknowledging our independence through a new flag. (Key, 2014, p. 2)

It appears here that the independence and evolution of modern New Zealand can be acknowledged only through the change of the signifier, not just by recharging it with a different meaning but by changing the physical appearance of the sign/symbol for a new one. A new flag is put in the chain (of equivalence) with evolution: 'modern'—'New Zealand'—'acknowledging our independence'. The need of a new flag acquires meaning through linking it to the empty signifier of modern New Zealand and independence.

The defining characteristic of the current flag, as old, dated, obsolete, and not representing New Zealand, is discursively achieved by equating it to the above characteristics, using a number of pieces of the New Zealand metanarrative as examples. The current flag—an empty signifier—is loaded with meaning by the articulation of John Key, thus making it necessary to change it. However, in this case not only is its signified redefined, but also the signifier itself must be let go and

changed for a new one: representing the modern New Zealand, acknowledging its 'independence' fully (are there different degrees of independence?).

John Key discursively prompts a change of flag, as the only proper course of action for a fully independent and mature New Zealand, to depart from a post-colonial existence with dated symbolism. In the following chain of equivalence, Key builds up his case:

> We are in a tremendous position to enjoy the benefits and challenges that our inter-connected and globalized world offers. We are a country of travellers. Overseas experience is a rite of passage for many young Kiwis. We are an open economy. Initially we were forced into it when Britain joined the Common Market but now we embrace the challenge of selling our goods, our services and our ideas into some of the most competitive markets in the world. We do business all over the globe and, every year, 100,000 of the world's young people come here to learn […] We are fiercely protective of our independent foreign policy, and rightly so […] So we are independent, but in no way isolationist. It's my contention that when we engage internationally […] we should be represented by a flag that is distinctly New Zealand's. A flag that is only New Zealand's. A flag that is readily identified by New Zealanders, and with New Zealanders. I believe the current flag is not that flag. I believe that not only can we do better, but that this is the right time to get on with it. (Key, 2014, p. 2)

The key is fixing the meaning of New Zealand—the signified of the signifier New Zealand—as a country of travellers, and putting it in a contrasting relationship to the old flag signifier being dated and not signifying the country any more.

Analysis: The New Flag

The proposed, new flag is described by Key in the following and very clear manner:

> If New Zealanders choose a new flag, it will serve us in times of celebration, and in times of mourning. It will be the flag that is hoisted at a medal ceremony as we celebrate the achievement of an individual or team that has done our country proud, [it] will be the flag that serves us on every occasion because […] the flag is a symbol of our unity. Our allegiance to it symbolizes the bond we share for each other, and for this country that we have the good fortune to call home. If we choose well, it will become internationally recognisable in a way that our current flag is not, despite more than a hundred years of use. […] I admit to liking the silver fern but I'm also open to other ideas and designs. (Key, 2014, p. 5)

In the above excerpt John Key is attempting to transform *elements* (signs without meaning) into *moments* (signs with meaning) by reducing their polysemy to a fully fixed meaning, to reach an (in)definite closure. In other words, Key is trying to fix the meaning of floating signifiers (old flag/new flag), thus reaching a (temporary) closure. Floating signifiers belong to the ongoing struggle between different discourses to fix the meaning of signs. John Key presupposes the meaning of the new signifier (not yet chosen, in fact it could be any signifier, although Key suggests the fern) by locking the signified in the 'prescribed' meaning, by capturing the not-yet-designed signifier's signified in a well-defined, predefined, prescribed area:

> […] I think, is that the designs from which we eventually choose are unique, confident and enduring. We want a design that says "New Zealand" in the same way that the maple leaf says "Canada", or the Union Jack says "Britain" without a word being spoken, or a bar of those countries' anthems being heard. We want a design that says "New Zealand" whether it's stitched on a Kiwi traveller's backpack outside a bar in Croatia, on a flagpole outside the United Nations, or standing in a Wellington southerly on top of the Beehive every working day. (Key, 2014, p. 6)

In this instance, discourse is established as a totality in which each sign is fixed as a moment through its relationship to other signs and by the exclusion of all other possible meanings of the sign. Discourse is thus a reduction of possibilities, or an attempt to create only one possible reading of signs. As far as the semiotic analysis is concerned: the signified (the meaning) is defined before a respective signifier is chosen.

It can be see that, in this case, all meaning is fluid, all discourses are contingent, objectivity masks contingency and hides alternative possibilities that could be evident. It is the Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe that maps out the processes in which the meaning is fixed and the processes in which this fixation becomes conventionalized and natural. John Key, in his attempt to dominate the discourse is trying to capture the floating signifiers of the key terms, such as New Zealand and Flag, to achieve a totality of meaning, or, in other words, to create a firm, established, 'objective' discourse. Prime Minister John Key gave his definition or his interpretation of the current flag by equating it with New Zealand's past, through references to the New Zealand metanarrative, including the country's military involvement in World War I, and by juxtaposing the current flag and the new flag in a dichotomous manner. The Floating signifiers 'current flag' and 'new flag' are captured by John Key's dominant discourse and become charged with the desired meaning. Once charged with the desired signification, the signifier of 'new flag' becomes the dominant part of the Flag Debate discourse.

Conclusion and Findings

This study is an attempt at a discursive deconstruction of the New Zealand Flag Debate prior to the flag referenda which took place in New Zealand. It is a discourse analysis of the dominant discourse as presented by the then Prime Minister of New Zealand John Key. The study analyzed how myths and floating signifiers are invested with different contents in John Key's discourse within the New Zealand Flag Debate. It also attempted to locate and analyze the mechanisms by which meaning is produced and fixed, as well as the categories and floating signifiers in John Key's Flag Debate discourse. The reasons for this analysis are the numerous and ongoing socio-political consequences of the Flag Referendum; therefore, it was necessary to deconstruct its discourse fully.

The overarching argument of this study is that the Flag Debate is largely a discourse construct framed through simplistic dichotomies and by capturing the

floating signifiers and charging them with new and desired meaning in a temporary closure of the discursive field. In order to discursively construct the need for a new flag, a perpetual discursive reinforcement of the simplistic dualism between the old and the new is apparent. As far as the findings from a semiotic perspective are concerned, it is apparent that Prime Minister John Key wanted to create new things (*nova*) by introducing a new signifier (new flag) rather than seeing the old things in a new way (*nove*) by investing them with the new signified. By locking the signified of the yet undisclosed, non-existent signifier, Key is attempting to limit the semiosis and hermeneutic processes to a minimum and legitimize his proposed and (seemingly) only possible signified. Discursively speaking, the need for a new flag was constructed as a struggle between old and new, where the new was presented as the one and only option for a truly independent New Zealand.

Flags in general, particularly the old and the newly proposed flag (or flags) of New Zealand, can be perceived as semiotic signs for language and interpretation, both internally and externally. The overall conclusion of the study is that Prime Minister John Key introduced the Flag Debate followed by the Flag Referendum through a floating signifier, 'current flag', against another floating signifier 'new flag'. Both concepts were applied ambiguously in order to hegemonize their meaning. Once discursively constructed, the flag debate produced (kept) the very same flag it aimed to remove in the beginning. Such a study has repercussions for nations as they try to place flags within a semiotic framework, as the meanings which they suggest are at once part of the way in which a nation is presently seen, and subsequently wishes to be seen.

The New Zealand public was the only one (unlike Canada or South Africa) to be given the chance to change their national signifier with their already pre-determined and locked signified as proposed by the Prime Minister. However, the people decided to retain the original flag—the old signifier—with its existing or new associations (signified), by a narrow margin. The people rejected both the new signifier and its signified, yet it is difficult to determine which one was rejected more adamantly. Retention of the old signifier (the old/current flag) can be also interpreted as a clear rejection by the New Zealand public of the proposed and predetermined signified of the yet undisclosed signifier by the then-Prime Minister John Key. A public rejection of a totalitarian reading and interpretation of the yet non-existent sign, 'new flag' (one of many designs), which pre-supposed an adoption of a new signifier, was a clear victory of the old signifier, the old and current flag. However, this signifier might have, in the process, acquired a new set of signifieds—a new meaning or meanings—the semiosis of which is an ongoing process with a constantly changing beginning and end.

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Chapter 8
On Gender Silencing in Translation: A Case Study in Poland

Agnieszka Pantuchowicz

Introduction

The aim of this study is to pose questions concerning the current perspectives of a gender-focused approach within Translation Studies, as well as to examine its potential to influence every day translation practices. From the academic perspective, the cultural turn in Translation Studies resulting from the interest in post-structural and deconstructivist philosophy and, more generally, from the new politics of identity, may be seen as something which can be taken for granted. Nevertheless, I will argue that, in a country like Poland, where the critical theorization of identity was for quite some time intentionally absent, the gap thus created is clearly discernible in both translators' approaches and in the reception of translated texts. This gap, which has never been fully made up for, is also reflected in the absence of linguistic customs which are adequate to address the various materializations of gender. In the light of the rise of new gender politics (cf. Butler 2015, pp. 24–65) and well beyond the end of the "era of feminism" (von Flotow, 1997, p. 1)—to use the phraseology of Luise von Flotow—gender and translation related issues seem to be relevant matters to consider, particularly in the Polish context. Within the educational institutions—whose teaching and research are strongly based on the assumptions and values of universal humanism—as well as in the institutions of public life, cultural differentiation, including that of gender, is of marginal interest. I will attempt to show how the lack of certain gender-related linguistic customs of translators and the scarcity of gender-related academic research and teaching are interrelated and result in translations in which significant aspects of the translated texts are obfuscated or eliminated. It can be argued that the Polish political changes of 1989, in fact, have positioned gender-sensitive discourses as marginal, rebellious, and subversive to the publicly legitimate order of

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things. The phenomenon is not, of course, restricted to Poland and, as Elżbieta Korolczuk notes, these anti-gender tendencies "have been observed in other countries in the region, such as Russia, Ukraine, Hungary, Slovakia, or Georgia, but also in Western countries, such as France and Germany, as well as in the US" (Korolczuk, 2015, p. 45). In her insightful paper Korolczuk traces the official rendition of "gender" by the Polish government, as "alien to Polish culture", to the year 2012, (Korolczuk, 2015, p. 44), the time when the term and the idea were already noticeable in numerous academic publications and in various EU documents concerning gender discrimination. An important factor of what she calls "the war on gender" and its demonization were the activities of the Polish Catholic Church and conservative groups positing gender as a neo-Marxist ideology whose danger, as formulated in a Pastoral Letter of the Bishops Conference of Poland, lies in its very destructive character both for mankind, personal contact, and social life as a whole: "Humans unsure of their sexual identity are not capable of discovering and fulfilling tasks that they face in their marital, family, social, and professional lives" (Quoted in Korolczuk, 2015, p. 43). On top of the openly political war on gender, however, there also takes place a more subtle silencing of gender, which is observable within some academic practices where, rather than being seen a relevant analytical category, gender is a seen as a theoretical import which is simultaneously mentioned and marginalized as being non-objective and explanatorily weak. The extent to which the religious and academic dimensions may possibly be conflated seems to be a theme which might bring in some relevant insights into the problem, though the field is much too broad to be analyzed in the present text.

The Role of Gender in Translation

Gender may well be called a conceptually silent category in Poland, even though it is nowadays used both in academic and political discourse. The sense in which I am, quite tentatively, using the notion of 'conceptual silence' is not that of a creative musical silence which inspired some of Cage's (1961) work and ideas, but rather that of a deafness to the sonic and graphic presences of the word 'gender' which have somehow failed to form what Andresen and Dölling (2005) call 'gender knowledge'. Although the German sociologists focus on gender relations in the policy making process, their concept of gender knowledge is much broader and, as Young and Scherrer (2010) note, it "starts from the assumption that every form of knowledge—be it everyday knowledge, expert knowledge and popularized knowledge—is based upon a specific, often tacit and unconscious, form of gender knowledge" (Young & Scherrer, 2010, p. 9). What is thus at stake is a possibility that the idea of gender-neutral knowledge is a construct resulting from a repression of sorts, from an imposed deafness to crucial aspects of our epistemological practices which might be called an 'ideological silencing'. Young and Scherrer also bring in Isabella Bakker's (1994) idea of 'conceptual silence': "the failure to acknowledge explicitly or implicitly that global restructuring is occurring on a

gendered terrain" (Bakker, quoted in Young & Scherrer, 2010, p. 9). This failure to notice the gendering of the terrain may be ascribed to masculine constructions of neutrality achieved at the cost of the loss of gender knowledge. This seems to be clearly visible in Michael Kimmel's attribution of the lack of gender identification to most men when he claims that "though we now know that gender is a central axis around which social life revolves, most men do not know they are gendered beings" (Kimmel, 2005, p. 106). The statement seems to testify to a lack of gender knowledge among some men, though it may equally well apply to some women for whom gendering is either non-existent, or treated as a manipulative denial of the laws of nature, where the central axis is the traditional male/female axis which plays a purifying role of ontologizing what Bruno Latour sees as a translational mode of the production of modern identity. For Latour, the word 'modern' designates

> … two sets of entirely different practices which must remain distinct if they are to remain effective, but have recently begun to be confused. The first set of practices, by 'translation', creates mixtures between entirely new types of beings, hybrids of nature and culture. The second, by 'purification', creates two entirely distinct ontological zones: that of human beings on the one hand; that of nonhumans on the other. Without the first set, the practices of purification would be fruitless or pointless. Without the second, the work of translation would be slowed down, limited, or even ruled out. (Latour, 1993, pp. 10–11)

Latour's hypothesis seems to be crucial for the understanding of the role of translation in the formation of gender knowledge, the knowledge which in fact undermines the purifying force of gender-insensitivity underpinning not only "most of the policy discourse(s) and beliefs" (Young & Scherrer, 2010, 9), but also the very idea of gendered discourse as a zone of universal human activity. If, as Latour claims, the translational practice creates hybrids of nature and culture, this hybridization, when projected upon such an academic field as Translation Studies, might render this field as a teratological sphere, the sphere of monstrosity and confusion, which Ferdinand de Saussure has famously ascribed to writing in general (cf. Saussure, 1966[1916], pp. 31–32).

Gender as Disability

In numerous attacks on the very idea of gender and Gender Studies in Poland, the sense of 'monstrous distortion' of the normative heterosexual axis is strongly present, and thinking in terms of gender is compared to a totalitarian imposition of change of human nature, following the paths of such ideological protoplasts as Lenin, Mao, or Pol Pot (Strzemecki, 2016). Latour's translational hybridization is thus viewed as a purely destructive force, a practice productive of gender monsters (Graff & Frej, 2015) which undermine the modernist desire of purity. Sometimes called "genderism", any kind of analytic approach to culture from a gender perspective is rendered as not worthy to be called an academic or scientific study, and 'genderists', like communists, are seen as the harbingers of a new revolutionary regime. This regime is, allegedly, based on an atheistic religion fundamentally

rejecting the dual division of the sexes and following "heresies" Judith Butler. "Genderism," writes Rev. Dariusz Oko, "is as scientific as scientific was communism. Science denies genderism. Genderists try to separate cultural sex from biological sex, while progress shows that this cannot be distinguished" (Oko, 2015, n. p.). Also rendered in such warlike terms as "gender offensive" (Rowiński, 2014, p. 102), Gender Studies, when seen as an academic insight into the world in which we live from the perspective of Latour's hybridization, threatens the established order of things and, read from a feminist perspective, may posit the very idea of gender knowledge as a kind of attack on the normalcy of the patriarchal axis of sexuality. The surfacing of gender knowledge on the level of reflection, rather than that of intuition, is also a threat to such institutions as the law, as it inevitably triggers some sort of recognition of what Andresen and Dölling (2005) *see* as "interpretative frameworks which are structured and composed by different kinds of knowledge. […]. These interpretative frameworks enable the perception, evaluation, legitimation and justification of sex differences and inform understanding [of these differences] as self-explanatory quasi natural facts" (Andersen and Dölling, cited in Young & Scherrer, 2010, pp. 20–21).

Though as yet remaining slightly away from the dominant discourses on gender and gender mainstreaming, the concept of gender knowledge is promising and "ripe for use" even outside the sociology of knowledge where it originated (see Young & Scherrer, 2010, 32). The concept seems to be also quite relevant for contemporary Translation Studies which takes part in the processes of re-reading and critiquing the commonsensical view of reading translated texts as simple and gender-neutral transmissions of knowledge. Whether this re-reading originated in the linguistic turn which, as Kulawik (2008) claims, revolutionized ways of thinking about gender and left its mark on numerous academic disciplines (Kulawik, 2008, p. 11), or whether it descended from an intuitive gender knowledge, seems to be quite irrelevant in light of the gender challenge to the non-gendered hegemony of discourses, the hegemony which, rightly or wrongly, was accredited to masculinity. Interestingly, it was outside the textual analysis of translation and its strategies that knowledge, rather than text, became the area of interest from the perspective of social transmission. The idea of what is called 'knowledge translation' was developed in the late 1990s in the fields of medicine, health, and rehabilitation and its task was defined in 2000 by the Canadian Institutes of Health Research as "the effective and timely incorporation of evidence-based information into the practices of health professionals in such a way as to effect optimal health care outcomes and maximize the potential of the health system" (Sudsawad, 2007, p. 1). Interestingly, an approach originating from the research on disability seems to be offering a possibility not only of its quite obvious conflation with health studies, but also that of relating the problem to more general questions of expressing and translating gender-related knowledge. The definition formulated about the same time by the National Institute on Disability and Rehabilitation Research was more general, and referred to knowledge translation as "the multidimensional, active process of ensuring that new knowledge gained through the course of research ultimately improves the lives of people with disabilities, and furthers their participation in

society" (Sudsawad, 2007, p. 1). However far-reaching an association of gender knowledge with a kind of disability studies may seem, the transmission, or translation, of gender knowledge is a relevant part of understanding the human condition in terms of social disabilities, constructed and envisioned as such, also through gendering. Emmett and Alant (2006), for example, see disability as a policy issue involving various kinds of divisions, including those related to gender:

> Disability, therefore, is a concept distinct from any particular medical condition. It is a social construct that varies across culture through time, in the same way as, for example, gender, class, or caste…. In this sense, disability as a policy issue becomes a cross-cutting social one, rather than something primarily associated with health and individual well being. (Emmett & Alant, 2006, p. 446)

What gender knowledge, at least potentially, carries within its evaluative possibilities is the critique of gender-blindness as a kind of inability to notice, or denial of, one's vulnerability to being disabled, to being fairly weakly inserted into one's sex, and thus into the strongly and unquestionably structured divisions or partitions of the world. This feeling of weak insertion, of weak belonging, is linked with the fear of being inauthentic, of playing, or performing, what one may think one is not, and thus in a way, follows a scenario which, for Judith Butler, is an inevitably precarious exposition of ourselves to others which testifies to difference rather than to sameness; to the fact that living and cohabitation *with* others need not mean living, or being, *like* others. We are bound to one another and to living processes that exceed the standard human norm, she claims, explaining that this is rarely a successful experience:

> To find that one's life is also the life of others, even as this life is distinct and must be distinct, means that one's boundary is at once a limit and a site of adjacency, a mode of spatial and temporal nearness and even boundedness. Moreover, the bounded and living appearance of the body is the condition of being exposed to the other, exposed to solicitation, seduction, passion, injury, exposed in ways that sustain us but also in ways that can destroy us. In this sense the exposure of the body points to its precariousness. (Butler, 2012, p. 141)

Gender-neutrality, whose imaginary status is unmasked in gender knowledge, posits social cohabitation of universally humanized subjects as a social space of equality, based on Latour's translational hybridity which weakens the strength of the purified positioning of the subject. This purity, however, is never quite pure, though its ideal effect is a creation of two distinct ontological zones—"that of human beings on the one hand; that of nonhumans on the other" (Latour, 1993, pp. 10–11). Gender knowledge seems to be blurring this seemingly pure distinction and the proponents of the dogma of purity somehow do not notice that, without the hybrid zone of gender, the practices of purification are in fact "fruitless and pointless in their attempt to slow down, limit, or even rule out the work of translation" (Latour, 1993, p. 11). It is thus also in this sense that the linkage of Disability Studies and Translation Studies via the idea of knowledge translation may be seen as potentially effective in understanding those various translational practices in which the care for the purity of meaning is also a care for an

undisturbed, strong, identity of both subjects and objects whose strength is valued by a knowledge which is "better" because it its purely objective. However, as Tsingou (2010) notices in her discussion of Sandra Harding's idea of strong objectivity, knowledge agents are always placed in environments in which "cultural beliefs function at every stage of scientific inquiry," for which reason "an assessment of 'better' knowledge does not depend on eliminating subjectivity (beliefs and values) and conforming to some false ideal of objectivism" (Tsingou, 2010, p. 164). For Harding, the idea of strong objectivity is posited in relation to neutrality, though not as its strengthening, but rather as its critical analysis, as an attempt "to discern the possibility of and requirements for a 'strong objectivity' by more careful analysis of what is wrong with the neutrality idea" (Harding, 1992, p. 569). The strength of this newer kind objectivity is not perceived as a power of mastery of the objects of inquiry but rather as a field constituted by scientific communities; not as a generalized objectivism, but as an objectivity whose strength lies in its lack of will and strength "to eliminate those social and political values and interests that differ between the individuals who constitute a scientific community" (Harding, 1992, p. 577). This intentional lack of strength from the perspective of 'objectivism' might be called a weakness, a deficiency, or, perhaps, a disability. However, what it is constructive of is a kind of objectivity which evades prioritizing unprivileged positions of inquiry and simultaneously overcomes its absolutist standards opening up a possibility that

> …certain foundations for our knowledge claims can more easily be left behind us as part of the safety net we no longer need in order to make the best judgments we can about nature and social relations. Who needs truth in science? Only those who are still wedded to the neutrality ideal. (Harding, 1992, p. 587)

Though we seem to have slightly gone away from Translation Studies, the idea of neutrality ideal makes the above discussion quite relevant for thinking about translation, especially in the Polish context in which Harding's idea of being "wedded to the neutral" has a strong and quite long standing tradition, and in which the power of authorial intention holds the unquestionable position of the patriarchal 'groom', who is to be praised and faithfully lived with. This position may be said to be situated in a certain 'nowhere' which is viewed from a similarly unlocatable position, rather than from that of what Haraway (1991) sees as "situated knowledge", as "views from somewhere", from a particular place with a particular language in which decoding, transcoding, translation and criticism are necessary and where

> …science becomes the paradigmatic model not of closure, but of that which is contestable and contested. Science becomes the myth not of what escapes human agency and responsibility in a realm above the fray, but rather of accountability and responsibility for translations and solidarities linking the cacophonous visions and visionary voices that characterize the knowledges of the subjugated. (Haraway, 1991, p. 196)

The Case of Poland

In the Polish discourse on/of translation the indeterminacy of both places and genders as marks of the universally holding knowledges seems to be at least partly enabled by the philological, and more particularly phenomenological, tradition of literary and textual studies in which it is knowledge itself that guarantees the appropriateness of the inquiry into the authorial intention treated in almost absolutely individualistic terms of creative authenticity. The producers of texts, be it men or women, are still 'Authors', and as such their mastery over texts is objective rather than ascribed to a particular situation or place. The translator, like the reader, concretizes the intention of the Author; both activities—reading and translation—being governed by the necessity to be faithful without noticing the gender complexities of the very idea of faithfulness. These complexities, insightfully discussed by Chamberlain (1988) under the label of "fidelity", may metaphorically masculinize or feminize both the "author-text" and its translations and thus, through these translational metaphorics, bring in a certain knowledge of "the struggle for authorial rights" which also takes place in the gendered realms of the family or of the state: "Translation has also been figured as the literary equivalent of colonization, a means of enriching both the language and the literature appropriate to the political needs of expanding nations" (Chamberlain, 1988, p. 459). The phenomenologically biased approaches to translation in Poland are still strongly adhering to the fatherly patronage of Roman Ingarden's theoretical model of literature and its interpretation included in his *Das literarische Kunstwerk* of 1931. What may be generally called 'French theory' was, for a long time, treated as an irrelevant politicization of the straightforward objectivity; one whose frequently Marxist colligations were too unorthodox from the perspective of the pre-1989 regime, and, afterwards, too reminiscent of that regime by its references to Marxism. Both literary criticism and translation were thus deemed to be void of any politicization, and gender knowledge, needless to say, was not an object of any significance as the gender axis was conceptually, as it were, non-existent.

A good example of this nonexistence may be the translation of a sentence from Gayatri Spivak's 'Politics of Translation' (Spivak, 2000) into Polish, which can hardly be called a failed one, though what it shows is exactly an attempt at Latour's purification. In the beginning of the text, Spivak relates her conversation with Michèle Barrett which, as she claims, brought to her mind the title of the article: "The idea for this title comes from Michèle Barrett's feeling that the politics of translation takes on a massive life of its own if you see language as the process of meaning construction" (Spivak, 2000, p. 397). In the Polish translation of the essay by Dorota Kołodziejczyk (Spivak, 2009) the word 'feeling' is translated as a statement or declaration "stwierdzenie" (Spivak, 2009, p. 405), a word which quite clearly masculinizes the statement, bringing it closer to the academic demand of objective clarity. Moreover, the name of Michèle Barrett is preceded by the word defining her profession—sociologist—which is rendered in Polish by the grammatically masculine form of the noun "socjolog" (Spivak, 2009, p. 405) which does

possess a grammatically feminine form. Here the translator follows the Polish standardized tendency of using terms referring to professions in masculine gender. Such nuanced translational slips seem to be the result of the tendencies discussed above, and cannot be simply ascribed to error; they do testify to some strong neglect of the gender axis in thinking about the broader issue of gender knowledge.

Another example from literary translation, also a nuanced one, though quite telling, is interesting in this context. It concerns the translation of the name of Johnny Panic from Sylvia Plath's short story 'Johnny Panic and the Bible of Dreams' (Plath, 1977) which in its Polish version appears as 'Upiorny Jaś' (Plath, 1995, p. 10). The word 'upiorny' is an adjective derived from the noun 'upiór' (spectre, ghost, monster), a creature which may evoke fear and panic, though one which hardly panics itself. Without going into analytical details and gendered significations of 'panicking', the reader of the Polish version of the story reads the adjective as a characterization of a person named 'Jaś' rather than as his proper name. Johnny Panic, in Plath's story, is the name of fear, of panic, which governs the world and the fact that the name is masculine may well be a way of reorienting the gendering of fear, one of whose aspects may be what I have referred to as silencing of gender in search of a securely objective world. While the example from the translation of Spivak's 'Politics of Translation' has quite explicitly shown the gender-insensitivity of the translation, the case of Plath's 'Johnny Panic' is much less explicit, though quite illuminating in the light of the already mentioned religious impact on gendered ways of thinking and knowledge in Poland. By way of avoiding the rendition of the name into a full proper (*Johnny Panic*) name, and choosing a version of modified first name (literally *a scary Johnny*), the crucial, and highly gendered, aspect of the story gets lost. The governance of the world by a god named Johnny Panic which Plath underlines throughout the text (also through the etymological linkage of the word panic with the Greek god Pan) positing herself as the god's copier of dreams. Though the god is gendered as masculine, the panic reaches in the story what Showalter (1997), much later, called "epidemic proportions," the moment at which the feminine "hysteria seeks out scapegoats and enemies" (Showalter, 1997, p. 5). The obliteration of the potential gendering of panic in the Polish version of the story is not really a translational error in the light of the idea linguistic faithfulness to the original. However, even the above brief glance at the interpretive potential of the story in case of a more gender-sensitive reading of it shows that a stronger focus on various gender issues in Translation Studies may reveal some layers of sense whose loss in translation may strongly affect gender knowledge and its translation into various contexts of our understanding of the world and, however pathetic this may sound, of our being in it. Luise von Flotow (1997) seems to be right claiming that silencing characterizes criticisms "addressed to work that combines gender issues with translations studies" (von Flotow, 1997, p. 3). Such criticisms come, as she writes, "from outside feminisms" and they "often take the form of silence" which her book on translation and gender "seeks to counteract" (von Flotow, 1997, p. 3). The kind of silence which has not been strongly counteracted in the Polish context, however, is also the silence of the "era of feminism" to which I have alluded earlier in this text, the era

known here mostly by hearsay rather than by an engaged practice affecting academic and public life. It is perhaps for this reason that the criticisms which von Flotow sees as arriving "'from within feminisms'," the criticisms which she finds to be "more productive, raising issues of cultural and political differences *between* women" (von Flotow, 1997, p. 3) are in Poland as it were short of space, which space may be created, importantly though not exclusively, by and in translation. Those latter criticisms, as I have briefly outlined above, are not only silenced, but they seem to be silencing themselves, also in translation, thus avoiding the complexities and diversities of gender issues, however controversial they may be. "Where there is no controversy or discussion," von Flotow quite plainly ends the chapter on criticisms, "there is often only silence" (von Flotow, 1997, p. 88). It is this "only" whose power to exclude may be strongly reduced through a sensitivity to the seeming linguistic absences whose surfacing may become seen as one of the tasks of the translator.

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Part II
Exploring Glocal Literature

Chapter 9
Looking at Myth in Modern Mexican Literature

Ian Almond

Introduction

The moment we start to re-tell myths is a peculiarly modern moment. The desire to re-tell a myth belongs to a movement which begins to see the past as a store, not a source. The mythic past is suddenly alienated from present, lived time. As soon as Perseus becomes a forty-something has-been, or Job gets re-formulated as a bureaucrat who has his typists taken away from him, the mythic undergoes a certain de-sacralization. The complexity of the relationship between myth and literature lies in the fact that this de-sacralization is also a re-juvenation; that, in the seeds of this alienation, lies a certain re-connection.

Although this article is focused on Mexican literature, many of the contours of myth-retelling to be examined can be found in national literatures such as those of Turkey and Bengal. Some of the most basic uses of myth to be examined in the following pages—political, feminist, and satirical re-tellings of familiar stories—are easily found in other literatures. Socialist re-workings of myth, for example, can be found in the Bengali Sunil Gangopadhyay's *Arjun* (1990), narrating stories and legends from the past to elucidate a deeper point about the timelessness of class struggle and forever-recurring nature of oppression. This impulse also manifests itself in semi-anachronistic fashion in writers such as the Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet. Among Hikmet's vast *oeuvre* lie a number of texts which, with a nod to Brecht, takes stories—such as the Persian tale 'Ferhad and Shirin', or the Biblical/Quranic story of Joseph—and uses them as examples of figures who struggle to dismantle feudalism or overcome their social and economic conditions (Hikmet, 2016).[1] The satirical re-telling of a teenage-brat Perseus or a quarrelsome family of

[1]See also Huerta 's *Yusuf ile Menofis* (2013) and Gariper and Küçükcoşkun (2009).

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Hindu gods find parallels in Tanpinar's (2010) curious but funny monologue in the voice of Zeus ('Insanlar arasında') and Sureyya's (2013) wicked take on Tristram. Turkish feminist re-writings of myths such as Gilgamesh (Avci, 1996)[2] stand alongside those of their Mexican/Bengali sisters (La Malinche, Draupadi) in trying to overturn the patriarchal weight of myth by subverting its force—in the case of Avci's Gilgamesh, by introducing female voices and inserting homosexual feelings between Enkidu and Gilgamesh.

As long as one continues to use a brush with a broad stroke, it is tempting to claim that the re-articulation of the mythical past in the literary present is a gesture whose motives, methods, and results, cross the cultures and languages of regions as diverse as South Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. One could even see Calcutta's *Kallol* group, the Turkish *Nev-Yunanilik* movement, and the Mexican writers of the *Ateneo de la Juventud* as belonging to a similar Heraclitean spirit of creation through re-iteration. The temptation to link all three is strengthened by their closeness in time, if not place: in 1909, Reyes and Vasconcelos (among others) found the *Ateneo* proper in Mexico City; three years later, in Istanbul, Yahya Kemal and Yakup Kadri meet to found the short-lived but influential attempt at 'Neo-Hellenism'; in 1923, the *Kallol* literary circle would start to meet in the famous College Street area of north Calcutta, drawing re-writers of myth such as Kazi Nazrul Islam, Buddhadeva Bose, and Premendra Mitra. In three metropolises, within the space of ten years, we find, overlapping, the same subversive re-evaluation of the link between past and present.

Myths in Mexican Literature

In Mexican literature, this desire to retell myth most visibly begins to show itself in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Sometimes a voice is given to a pig, or a bull; sometimes, a hero is turned into a monster, or a monster into a hero; sometimes, a prophet is made to look like a poet, or a verse from sacred scriptures is given the agenda of a writer's manifesto. But in all these cases, 're-telling myth' indicates the moment when the relationship between mythic time and present time is re-configured. This re-configuration can be subtle and refracting, or radical and explosive, but it remains a central feature of the modern.

In analysing this, a number of obstacles immediately arise. One problem lies in what we might call constituencies of myth, and is summed up by Vico's observation that a history of myth is the history of a people. To try and formulate any theoretical thought on the re-telling of myth in Mexican literature, we have to deal with the fact that there are three different pools of myths (Judeo-Christian, Greek, and pre-Hispanic). Each of these three types contains sub-divisions: for the sake of simplicity, we shall limit our consideration of pre-contact mythology to Aztec/

[2]For an excellent English language article on the text, see Özbirinci (2010).

Mayan tropes, but this does leave out a considerable number of mythic narratives and legends from other indigenous Mesoamerican cultures, such as Otomi, Huichol, Seri, Mixtec, etc.[3]). Moreover, writers can sometimes re-tell two mythic narratives at the same time; as in the case of *Pedro Páramo*, where Rulfo's classic could be the. descent of Orpheus into the underworld, but also the journey of Quetzalcoatl through the land of the dead.

Even the emphasis on the non-historical definition of myth [and here Northrop Frye's opposition of the historical to the mythical is invoked by White (1986)] brings with it problems. Apart from removing a number of interesting texts in Mexican literature from our analysis—the historical figure of La Malinche, Cortes' interpreter/lover, has given rise to a plethora of brilliant re-workings—there also arises the question of events which lie interstitially between the historical and the mythical, such as the Trojan War, or the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth. Excluding the historical from our treatment of myth does risk overlooking the crucial grey area which exists in the process of becoming mythical. Although the process of mythologization is not the subject of our inquiry—it is the quotidianization of the mythical, not the mythologization of the quotidian that will guide our thoughts—the existence of what we might loosely term semi-myth might offer some insights into how and why myths are re-told at all.

Mito

> …I doubt that we could call him a good Mexican who could read the Aeneid unmoved.
>
> —Alfonso Reyes, 'Virgil in Mexico' (1971, p. 150)

Modern Mexican literature abounds with the re-telling of myth. And, as Levi-Strauss discovered when he tried to categorize the myths of the Amazon, the more one tries to group and clarify examples, the more those examples spill out of control and re-configure themselves in unexpected ways (Derrida, 1978). Certain mythical figures cut across the bay of Mexican literature like a boat, drawing all kinds of currents in their wake. Eve evokes a chaste, virginal, nineteenth-century lily, a defamiliarized observer in awe at the raw freshness of the world, and a surreal, fragmentary vision of the feminine by Zaid 2010a, 2010b, 2014)[4]; Perseus calls forth a spoilt brat, a middle-aged, disillusioned ex-hero, and at least two lovers of Medusa (Carballido, 2009, pp. 66–139; Pacheco, 2014, pp. 24–29; Owen, 2006, p. 126); three versions of Circe, seductress of Odysseus, can be found where the pigs are in love with their enchantress and never want to be transformed back into humans again (Zaid, 2010a, 2010b, p. 105; Pacheco, 1999, p. 39; Torri, 2014,

[3]See Bierhorst (2002).

[4]Also see Campos (1950) and Sabines (1994).

p. 522); Job's torment as he seeks to discern the reason behind his divinely-inflicted malaise has been transformed into a struggle for language in the desert, a figure of disillusionment in darkness, a plea for rejuvenation, and a satirized case of state unemployment (Pacheco, 1987, p. 62; Urquiza, 2014, pp. 568; Terres, 2010, p. 184; Novo, 1993, p. 198). Even an indigenous myth like that of the flayed god Xipe Totec materializes in a Villoro (2000, pp. 344–358) story as a Mexican urbanite losing his identity in the desert (2000, 344–358), or as a Chicano comment on having two skins in a U.S./Mexican poem (Cervantes, 2013, p. 92–94).

Although some writers visibly lend themselves to the adaptation of myth more than others—Carlos Fuentes, Jose Emilio Pacheco, and Emilio Carballido all spring to mind—one central figure that should not be overlooked is Reyes (1889–1959), a figure who stands alongside the Turkish poet Yahya Kemal and the Indian writer Buddhadev Bose as a re-formulator of modern myth. Why is Reyes important? Primarily because he reflects, in one figure, three possible relationships between myth and Mexican literature at a pivotal point in the history of the nation's letters. First of all, a lackadaisical, satirical, at times openly mocking, attitude towards the most revered figures of Greek myth; his *Homero en Cuernavaca*, for example, where he gives Nestor a Mexican's wisdom, and speculates on whether Achilles should have taken a wife from a provincial town in Morelos (Reyes, 2013). This satire performs the de-sacralizing function of myth re-telling already mentioned; even if it is the intimate, affectionate, de-sacralization of the non-fervent believer, not the external slander of an outsider's scorn. At the same time, we also have in Reyes the figure of a serious Hellenist (or aspiring Hellenist[5]), an essentially philological approach influenced by a mixture of French and Weimar classicism (Conn, 1998, pp. 100–101). *Ifigenia Cruel*, Reyes' famous re-telling of Euripides' play, exemplifies this detailed devotion to the Hellenic in Reyes; a space where parody is dispelled, and an unconditional reverence for the Greek is recruited in the nation-building project as an Enlightenment antidote to Catholicism. The careful, accomplished, lyricism of *Ifigenia Cruel* supplies the Apollonian aspect of Reyes' complex Hellenism, a love of form and a rationalist's containment of tensions.

A third face of Reyes, however, reflects a much more Nietzschean belief in myth. "Only a horizon surrounded by myths can unify an entire cultural movement," we read in the closing chapters of *The Birth of Tragedy* (1993, p. 109),[6] and a text such as Reyes' meditation on the conquest of the 'New World' ('La Visión de Anahuac') expresses, in its mixed evocation of both Hellenic and pre-Columbian myth, a belief in the power of mythic landscapes to provide platforms for national identities:

> In that landscape, not deprived of a certain aristocratic sterility…the mind deciphers every line and caresses every undulation; under this shining sky and in its general freshness and calm, those unknown men [*aquellos hombres ignotos*—the Aztecs] looked out with a broad, solemn, spiritual gaze. Ecstatic before the cactus of the eagle and the serpent—the

[5]See criticism of Montemayor (1989).

[6]On Nietzsche's influence on Reyes, see Pascual (2012).

> happy essence of our region—they heard the voice of the auspicious bird who promised them a haven above those welcoming lakes. (Reyes, 2005, p. 8; own translation)

The *criollo* intellectual, son of a general fallen in the revolutionary struggle, imagines a landscape he could not have possibly seen. Reyes exemplifies a European use of indigenous myth as foundational narrative—a landscape which can demarcate both an ending and a beginning, a termination and a promise. A use of myth and mythic trope which emphasizes continuity, but a modified continuity—one in which the mythic has to supplement, in an utterly ancillary way, the formation and development of the new, without being able to determine its trajectory. Reyes is not the only Mexican writer to use myth in this Nietzschean fashion as a tool of world-building (Octavio Paz, in a different manner, also constructs his brooding, solitary Mexican with Nietzsche in mind), but he is one of the first.

And so there are three faces of Reyes' interest in myth; but there is an additional reason why Alfonso Reyes is an indispensable figure to any study of myth in Mexican literature. As the critic Prado (2008) points out, Reyes explored—and could be said himself to embody—a Hegelian moment in the literary study of myth (2008, p. 41). The process by which a subject acquires consciousness of itself, and through a moment of self-alienation, interstitially obtains a recognition and subsequent return to its own changed self; the re-telling of myth exemplifies this process, and no example is more central than Reyes'. If the representation of mythic figures—be it an Eve, a Perseus or a Quetzalcoatl—allows Mexican identity to distance itself, re-configure and then re-incorporate the represented onto itself like a layer of coral on a reef, then Reyes' work illustrates this process in its blend of studied Hellenism and classical parody. This is not simply through the way Achilles and Briseis are relocated in a provincial Mexican town, in a series of poems which does not let the reader forget the *topos* of the speaker. It also takes place in the way Reyes interrogates the exegetes and translators of the Iliad, taking them to task or celebrating their presence. This attention to the framework of the myth builds the exo-skeleton of something which, in time, will acquire the opacity and solidity of a natural shell.

There is even a short story by Reyes which illustrates this process of becoming-through-self-othering. His classic 'The Dinner' (La Cena, 1912), written barely two years after the beginning of the Revolution, is possibly one of his most famous stories (it inspired the Carlos Fuentes novella *Aura*, not to mention a considerable amount of Gothic artwork). Reyes' text is a surreal account, half-dream, half-narrative, of a man invited to a mysterious dinner, who is forced to look upon the historical portrait of a military officer, whom he quickly realizes to be himself. In many ways, the tale is a parable for the dialectical process of identity, as the man flees his own mirror image, dressed in theatrical garb. He leaves the house utterly changed, having encountered—and negotiated, and rejected—his own self before making his escape. To some extent, Reyes' use of myth could be seen as a kind of distorting, coloured mirror, returning back to its user an image of themselves, similar but not quite the same.

Scholars have written a considerable amount on myth in Mexican literature. The most numerous are individual studies of single authors; for example, looking at myth and archetype in Garro (1964) or indigenous myth in (Filer, 1984; Anderson, 1985). One comprehensive survey of specifically Greek myth in Latin American drama—dedicating itself to an entire continent, amazingly within the space of a single (lengthy) article—is Pascual's (2012) work on the various Antigones, Electras, and Medeas that have arisen over the past century. Mexican dramatists such as Hugo Argüelles and Maria Sten are featured amongst the Argentinians, Venezuelans, Colombians, and Cubans who have borrowed a Prometheus or a Creon to express a particular hope or attack a particular *junta*. Pascual's conclusions are several: that Antigone is by far the most adapted Greek myth in drama, particularly in denouncing the *desaparecidos* of various regimes; that the function of 'psychological introspection" rivals political/social satire as a purpose in the re-telling of myth; and that the "tendency to transgress" the solemnity of the classical myth is a common occurrence whenever it is re-told (Pascual, 2012, p. 214).

Some mention should also be made of the only major theoretical work on Latin American myth and narrative: Echevarría's *Myth and Archive* (1990). Although more interested in Borges, Carpentier, Asturias, and Márquez than Mexican writers per se, its central thesis—how "the modern Latin American novel transforms Latin American history into an originary myth in order to see itself as other" (p. 14)—is an important one. Understanding the process of mythologization in all of its aspects —How do historical personages and events become myths and heroes? What kind of spaces do they move from/to? How is time involved?—might help us better understand our question, which is very nearly the opposite: how does de-mythologization take place? What happens in literature when myths and heroes become finite, historical personages and situations?

In our approach to myth, taking into account and digesting what has already been written in the secondary literature is only part of the task. The wealth of examples—of re-presented and re-modified Jobs, Agamemnons, and Quetzalcoatls —that sprawl across the body of the modern Mexican canon bring up, as we have said, a very Levi-Straussian question of categorization. The ways in which we can sift and sort these re-tellings are endless. One way might simply be to discern between re-tellings which stay in the time and place of the myth (like Carballido's Theseus) and re-interpretations which are set in a different context [such as Aridjis' (1986) re-working of the Persephone story as that a prostitute in a Mexico City nightclub]. Stories like Pacheco's twin-plotted re-telling of Perseus, however, which hops back and forth between Ancient Greece and Fifties' Mexico City, problematize this approach somewhat. Equally practically, one might divide re-tellings between sympathetic and hostile re-interpretations, or faithful and transgressive versions, even though the enormous number of texts which ambivalently contain both sets of elements [such as Castellanos' (1988) poem on the virgin birth, or indeed Alfonso Reyes' (2013) entire attitude towards the *Iliad*] quickly make this Manichaean category flawed as an exclusive approach.

Subtler options also exist. Jauss' (2005) distinction between cyclical and typological returns of history offer an interesting way of distinguishing re-tellings of myths which re-iterate the mythical without any sense of fulfilment [such as the use of Acheron to indicate, in the form of a disgruntled waiter, the perennial failure of all message-ferrying[7]) and the invocation of myth in a more culminative sense [Fuentes' *Aura* (1962), which sees myth returning to itself to resurrect the past, being an obvious example]. In a more straightforward manner, a simple sorting of all these texts into three mythic groups (pre-Columbian/Judeo-Christian/Greco-Roman) might give us a keener historical sense of why certain writers draw on certain groups of images at certain times. The invocation of indigenous mythic tropes such as *La Llorona* (the weeping woman) or the flayed skin can express an openly political use of myth as a vehicle to challenge historical narratives or re-articulate silenced/stalled/stonewalled debates. Certain uses of biblical or classical figures have also lent themselves to conservative/modernizing agendas (Reyes and his post-Porfirian *Ateneo de la Juventud* being the most vivid but hardly unique example).

Five Ways of Retelling Myth

Myth Aggrandisement

It might be useful to begin with a simple set of formalistic categories. The first category of myth repetition might be called 'myth aggrandisement'. In this category, both the form and the content of the myth is retained and expanded, with some attempt to preserve the spirit of the myth also visible. Myth aggrandisement affirms the continuity of time, and the permanence of the essence of the myth. Because of this belief in permanence and essence, myth aggrandisement usually has the affirmation of ideology as its primary use.

A nice example is a late nineteenth-century re-telling of Eve's appearance in paradise, from the Mexican Romantic poet Manuel M. Flores:

> Soft, undecided, astral, floating,
> like the soft vapour of foam
> whose white, moon-like gleam, wandering
> in a spiral of dark mist,
> the purest and most serene emanation
> of the virginal chalice of the lily,
> the living pearl of the beautiful dawn,
> prayer of light for the forthcoming day,

[7]Jose Emilio Pacheco's short prose piece, "Aqueronte", can be found in Pacheco (2014, pp. 227–229).

distilled in the voluptuous form
of a new being that has received life,
a white luminous figure rose
next to a sleeping Adam… (1950, p. 249; own translation)[8]

Most of the elements already extant in the original are re-iterated here: Adam's virility, Eden's primordiality, Eve's purity, the insubstantiality of her origins, her dependency on Adam and her uncertainty and insecurity in paradise. Flores was no conservative, and what we see in 'Eva' is no mere re-hashing of the story from Genesis. The very titling of the poem around Eve suggests some slight de-centring and adjustment of the original mythic viewpoint. And yet, even if all myth aggrandisement involves some nominal and ineluctable modification—the impossibility of 'pure' repetition—texts like 'Eva' keep the form, content, and spirit of the original, but bless it with a sympathetic expansion. The figure of Eve is portrayed as an emanation of the highest purity, present at the very dawn of the world, and if the thirty-one verses of Hebrew given to her in Genesis are expanded to nearly three hundred lines of verse in Spanish, it belongs to a movement which seeks the repetition of the original Biblical moment on a magnified scale. In myth aggrandisement, the profusion of details does not distract or dilute but augments the source. As the different primordial elements balloon outwards, spaces emerge between—What kind of silences existed in paradise? What exactly was Adam and Eve's physical appearance? What conversations, what attitudes took place between them?—which are filled in with harmonizing content by the new author. The embellishment, almost always congruous and respectful, reflects a belief in the essential truth and relevance of the myth. Even if, in this case, Flores is dedicating this re-telling of Eve to the memory of his own love, Rosario de la Peña (Cortes, 1992, p. 235), the myth remains the potent *arche*. Flores and his lover are the consequential after-effects of the myth; the myth is not some ingredient or vehicle to express the situation of Flores and his lover. Myth aggrandisement invariably follows this geometric expansion of the original model, and in doing so—regardless of how liberal its narrators may be—reflects an essentially conservative belief in the abiding, a-temporal, essence of certain structures and values.

Myth Inhabitation

The second category of myth re-telling might be termed "myth inhabitation". In this approach, the incomplete form of the myth is kept, but filled with a different (not necessarily subversive) content. Often this involves giving voices and viewpoints to

[8]Suave, indecisa, sideral, flotante, como el leve vapor de las espumas, cual blanco rayo de la luna, errante en un girón de tenebrosa brumas, emanación castísima y serena, del cáliz virginal de la azucena, perla viviente de la aurora hermosa, ampo de luz del venidero día, condensado en la forma voluptuosa de un nuevo ser que vida recibía, una blanca figura luminosa alzose junto a Adán… Adán dormía

people and things whose perspectives were left unarticulated in the original myth. Perhaps the most important aspect of inhabiting myth is that, whilst the form is kept, the content is not radically disrupted, but rather only modified by an individual personality or agency. New information is introduced which neither wholly harmonizes nor subverts the established narrative. In Gabriel Zaid's brief re-telling of Circe, for example, we are given the viewpoint of the newly-transformed pig:

> My country is in your eyes, my obligation on your lips.
> Ask of me what you want, save that I abandon you.
> If I shipwreck on your shores, if I'm stretched on your sand,
> I'm a happy pig, I'm yours, nothing else matters.
> You are the sun I belong to, my orbit is around you.
> My laurels are in your words, my estate is amongst your assets.
> (Zaid, 2010a, 2010b, p. 105; own translation)[9]

If there is a revelling and a delight in the corporeality of the human here—in the pig-like animality that we all share—it is not a celebration of the body which goes against anything in the spirit of the *Odyssey* (in the original, after they are turned back into humans, Odysseus and his sailors remain on the island with Circe for a year, eating and drinking). This is not like Kierkegaard's (1985) famous four-fold retelling of Abraham and Isaac, where each time a radically different version of Abraham's thoughts is presented (culminating in a man whose faith is broken). Myth inhabitation slides into the skin of the myth it re-tells, only slightly altering it to better adapt the structure to its own particular contours. In order for the myth to be inhabited, there has to be an opening somewhere: an animal or object or character that has no voice, a silence where nothing is insinuated. Myth inhabitation rides myth. It shares the first category's belief in the context-spanning continuity of form, but sees that form (however personal, however over-arching) as slightly more open-ended. Myth inhabitation involves what might almost be termed a certain perspectival curiosity—a commitment to understanding the same mythic events, even in the same sequence, but from a different viewpoint: How did Ariadne feel when Theseus left her behind to disappear into the labyrinth to slay the Minotaur? How does the rain god Tlaloc feel when it rains? What happened between Helen and Paris as the fall of Troy loomed closer and closer? (Cross, 1993, p. 392; Huerta, 2014, p. 593; Reyes, 2013, p. 411). The inhabitation of an alternative viewpoint, even with all its potentiality for subversion, still involves something of a commemoration for the myth. Even in the most mischievous examples—giving a pig a

[9]Mi patria esta en tus ojos, mi deber en tus labios.
Pideme lo que quieras menos que te abandone.
Si naufrague en tus playas, si tendido en tu arena
soy un cerdo feliz, soy tuyo, mas no importa.
Soy de este sol que eres, mi solar esta en ti.
Mis lauros en tu dicha, mi hacienda en tus haberes.

voice, or painting Helen as weary of her Trojan adventure—it remains an ultimately conformist curiosity, one which is reluctant to step outside the parameters of the received narrative.

Myth Reversal

If myths can be expanded and inhabited, they can also be reversed. The commitment to form is still approximately the same in this third category—the god is still technically a god, the hero is still the protagonist of the story, the monster remains physically a monster—but the content is inverted. Brave warriors become spiritual/moral weaklings; monodimensional fiends acquire depth and vulnerability. In Bengal, one thinks most immediately of Michael Madhusudhan Dutt's re-telling of the Ramayana, turning the demon king Ravana into its hero; in Turkish literature, too, there is Nazli Eray's re-telling of the Orpheus myth, where it is Eurydice who descends into the underworld to rescue her Orpheus. Two Mexican versions of the Perseus myth, each belonging to a different genre, illustrate this idea of myth-reversal. Both the playwright Carballido and the poet Owen (2006) reverse the hero-monster formula by injecting romantic love into the relationship, turning an object of fear into an object of desire. Medusa's death moves from being the culmination of courage and commitment to a moment of tragedy and even pathos. In this brief scene from the 1959 play, where Medusa tells Perseus how she first discovered her powers, both characters begin to cry:

> MEDUSA: So they took on a life of their own, and I saw them gradually grow, one by one…. When I got to these shores, its horror was already fully grown. I uncovered myself for a moment and birds fell to the ground like deformed hailstones, like rocks. And that's what they were. A sailor who was swimming, was turned into a statue and sank with a resounding splash. This was me: Medusa. I was a young woman, a Hesperides, no longer. I met the Gorgons, my equals. So they called me: the other Gorgon. But they were born that way, I wasn't! I wasn't.
>
> *She covers her face, she is crying. Perseus cries too. Then she dries her eyes, taken aback. She shouts crassly to the black servants*.
>
> MEDUSA: Can you leave ? (*They obey*). ….
>
> You know something? You are the first man in the world to cry for Medusa…
>
> (Carballido, 2009, p. 112; own translation).

Carballido's play empties the Argos and Thebes of Perseus' day of any moral value; a dark and dismal universe forms the background to the plot, with both Danae and Acreus portrayed as full of hate.[10] The implicit denigration of the

[10]See Troiano (1977, p. 15).

classical universe we see in the play—and also in the 1948 poem which inspired it—clings to this commitment to form, whilst still employing a notion of the human to undo this humanism. What lies behind this desire to retain form if the content of this myth is so palpably in need of reversal? In one sense, myth-reversal acknowledges a need for 'worlding' structures of ritual and trope, but refuses to tether them essentially to permanently abiding values. Myth reversal is not a refusal of history, but of the previous uses of history; it acknowledges the power and unity of mythic structure as the right place to enact a counter-critique (or even Nietzschean *Umwertung*[11]) to topple a particular narrative peddled by a particular hegemony. It remains reformist, however, not revolutionary: it does not call for the removal of the semantic framework of myth, nor even its re-configuration. Rather, it fills the same structure with what it perceives to be its opposite content. Pacheco's 1958 re-telling of Perseus (also inspired by Owen's poem) in some limited sense can also be considered an example of myth-reversal; its portrayal of an ageing, coughing, disillusioned Perseus, whose love for Andromeda has long grown cold, inverts the classical triumphalism of youth, glory, power and love in the original slaying of Medusa, whilst retaining the Gorgon as an unexplored monstrosity. The break in the technique of the narrative though—Pacheco's story is repeatedly interrupted by a modern-day parallel narrative of a government clerk who ultimately murders his older, quarrelling wife—suggests a departure from the structure of the myth, a formalistic set of innovations which pushes the text out of the category of 'myth-reversal'.[12]

Myth Manipulation

Up to now, these three categories can all be said to employ a commitment to the *arche* of mythic time. Jameson is right to collapse the two Jaussian categories of the modern (the cyclical and the typological) into one another as two subject/object perspectives within the same parallax view (Jameson, 2012).[13] If the aggrandisement of myth believes in the cyclical return of history to itself (where the past is a source), the reversal of myth believes in an inverted fulfilment of the same tropes by the present (where the past is—crucial distinction—a store, not an origin). And yet the difference between embellishing a narrative like Genesis, inhabiting a myth like

[11]Nietzsche's argument that the originally aggressive, 'manly' instincts of a society were seen as virtues, and that a slave revolt brought about their inversion, so that they were replaced by things we were originally ashamed of: meekness, chastity, humility.

[12]Although we are discounting any treatment of historical figures such as La Malinche, it is a treatment of myth—running two timelines, one in mythic time, and one in the narrative present—which we see again in an Elena Garro story, "La Culpa Es De Los Tlaxcaltecas" (Garro, 1964).

[13]The phrase is Zizek's (2006).

Circe and inverting a story like Perseus' is ultimately only a question of perspective; of where the re-teller feels the weight and import of History lies, in the origin or in the moment.

The next two categories break away from this symbolic commitment to myth entirely. 'Myth manipulation' is a phrase we could use to describe an approach which substantially changes both form and content. It contrasts with reversals or inhabitations of myth in that it embodies a deeply anarchic attitude towards time. The structure and the inherent meaning of the myth are played without negating them entirely; but the idea that some kind of archaic, primordial truth, spanning centuries, persists in the form of a myth is greatly diminished in the act of manipulation. In this approach, it is finally possible to talk of a de-sacralization, since nothing in the original myth is held so holy by the re-teller that it cannot be changed. The poet Jaime Sabines, in his famous 1952 re-telling of Adam and Eve, takes the biblical narrative as a platform to inquire into the relationship between language and the discovery of the world. There is no mention of a serpent, no booming voice in the garden, just a couple wandering through a landscape, repeatedly stunned at the freshness and astonishing complexity of the world:

> Have you seen how the plants grow? Where the seed falls it absorbs water: it is the water that makes it grow, that submits to the sunlight. Through the trunk, through the branches, the water goes up into the air, like when you rise up towards the sky at midday and your eyes start to evaporate.
>
> …
>
> Have you seen them? Plants walk in time, not from one place to another: from one hour to another. You can feel this when you stretch yourself out on the earth, with your mouth above, and your skin penetrates like a bunch of roots, and all of you becomes a fallen trunk. (Sabines, 2013[1952], p. 111; own translation)[14]

Reminiscent more of an experiment in Russian Formalism than the opening chapters of Genesis, Sabines tweaks and plays with the myth, giving Adam a cold for the first time so that the reader lives through the experience with him; making Eve die so that we feel his solitude in the garden. Myth moves from a perennial source of abiding truth to a store of saturated tropes, historically ubiquitous, paradoxically fresh precisely because they have been used and re-used in so many different ways, so many times. If there is a sacredness at all to these tropes, it lies not in the object of devotion, but in the long history of their worship. Here, perhaps, we encounter one of those moments where our interest in the quotidianizing of myth leads us to reflect on the process of mythologization; like Delillo's endlessly photographed barn door, the sacred is bestowed on the myth from the outside, not

[14]Has visto como crecen las plantas? Al lugar en que cae la semilla acude el agua: es el agua la que germina, sube al sol. Por el tronco, por las ramas, el agua asciende al aire, como cuando te quedas viendo el cielo del mediodía y tus ojos empiezan a evaporarse.

…

Lo has visto? Las plantas caminan en el tiempo, no de un lugar a otro: de una hora a otra hora. Esto puedes sentirlo cuando te extiendes sobre la tierra, boca arriba, y tu pelo penetra como un manojo de raíces, y toda tu eres un tronco caído.

unveiled by the narrator in a re-visitation. The sacredness of the re-told myth is an aura generated and re-generated by use, not fed by some long, unbroken line of continuity to a distant, archaic source.

As a result, myth manipulation is a much more terrestrial activity than any of those which have gone before it. There is still some manner of recognition of the original element of the myth. In Sabines, the idea in Genesis of encountering and naming a reality for the very first time is still present in the poem; but this recognition is a token, nominal one, a point of departure for somewhere very different. This idea of the germ of the myth persisting in the re-telling can be seen in the various Mexican versions of Job. Novo's (1992) poem, where he simply puns on the meaning of the name in English—riffing on a line from the *New York Times*, "Thousands Without Job"—paints the story of a wandering, unemployed bureaucrat. Pacheco's (1987) short text on Job, where verse 18:2 ("When will you have done with words?")—originally an uncharitable reference to the perceived interminability of poor Job's complaint—turns the moment into a much more aesthetic quest to produce life (water) out of the exhausted banality of everyday speech. Our position is still loosely akin to Job's—we speak and speak, without producing anything—but the sterility is very much a semantic desert, not a spiritual one. Modern Mexican literature (and not just modern Mexican literature) abounds with these secular re-workings of Old Testament stories, turning figures like the Shunammite in I Kings 1:3–4 into tales of abused Mexican womanhood and forced marriage (Arredondo, 2008). The motivations for these secular manipulations of Biblical themes are often, though not always, political; unlike myth-reversal, there is no open confrontation, but rather a studied and deliberate de-contextualization. The distinctiveness of myth-manipulation lies in this refusal to respect the original context of the myth, and to find instead alternative lines of reference for a contemporary audience (the Book of Job is not about judgement, but about language; Genesis 3:1–22 is not about spiritual but rather linguistic innocence, and so on). De-sacralization is the necessary condition for myth-manipulation; a selective disrespect towards the original is the enabling factor in this modification of myth.

Myth Re-Telling

In the final stage of myth re-telling, that of appropriation, both form and structure are almost completely discarded. Only the sign remains. Myth appropriation—which could almost be termed myth transformation—takes nothing but the sign from the myth, but remains almost wholly indifferent to whatever meaning or context the myth originally posed. At the very most, a splinter, a fragment is carried over into the re-telling, as we see in Gabriel Zaid's surreal poem on the birth of Eve. If Flores tried to re-iterate the spirit of Eve's obedience and purity, and if Sabines kept the loose form of the narrative but inflected it with a wholly different set of aesthetic and poetic agendas, Zaid simply retains the name—'Eva'—as a semantic

platform to embark upon an idiosyncratic and (almost) non-sequential set of observations:

> I don't have any time to lose,
> she said to me in the morning,
> and threw up a multitude of women.
>
> Sea of women; archipelago of chairs.
> With these splinters you have left me in fragments,
> my ribs splashed with ice.
>
> Frozen, sombre launches.
> Fine. But what times are these?
> You didn't stay long at the last few parties.
> (Zaid, 2010a, 2010b; own translation)[15]

A kind of nihilism underlies this final mode of re-telling, a semantic emptying or deflation of myth, one which merely plunders the imagery of myth for its own delight, with no concern for depth or history. If, as Augustine claimed, Paradise was the last time human language was spoken perfectly without misunderstanding—when every signifier led unproblematically to every signified (Hart, 2000, p. 6)—Zaid's poem fills in the space left by the modern name 'Eve' with the incongruous clutter of the everyday. In this respect, appropriation utterly quotidianizes the mythic; it refuses the curve of history, and forces the myth to live, denuded, in the present, alongside its own re-iteration. Myth appropriation, in its most extreme cases, does not even ask the ghost of the original to lend it power. A violence is at work in this act of de-sacralization, as the appropriator rips the mythic sign out of the fabric of its setting and stitches it into a wholly different cloth. Arreola's 'Telemachus' ([1996] 2008) appears to begin with the promise of Odysseus' son, but quickly develops into a series of reflections on Assyrian kings, interstitiality and the ovens at Dachau; the myth of Orpheus, for Owen (2006), inspires the thoughts of a poet at his typewriter, watching cyclists from his window pass by in the rain. This indifference to context sits easily with an ignorance of context; which is why indigenous myths, in particular, are the myths so often subject to this category of re-telling, especially when re-told by non-indigenous Mexican writers.

The Aztec/Mayan god Xipe Totec is one such example. A deity whose original function—in the flaying of his own skin—is to symbolize the vegetative

[15]No tengo tiempo que perder,
me dijo al amanecer,
y desplazo un volumen de mujer.

Mar de mujer y pielago de sillas.
El astillar me dejas hecho astillas,
salpicadas de hielo las costillas.

Botaduras heladas y funestas.
Está bien. Pero que horas son estas.
No te has quedado ni a las últimas fiestas.

re-generation of the earth, re-appears in a number of modern texts with little or no sense of this original, rejuvenating symbolism. In 'A Chicano Poem', the U.S./Mexican writer Lorna Dee Cervantes invokes the imagery negatively to describe how the process of North Americanization peeled off the skin of her "indigenous consciousness". In one story by Juan Villoro, the metaphor is rendered even more remote from its original meaning, as a computer screen covered with sticky notes is the subject of a comparison with the Aztec deity:

> My eyes wandered to the computer, covered with Post-its where I jot down "ideas". At this point, the machine looks like a domesticated Xipe Totec, the Aztec flayed god. Each "idea" is a layer of skin from Our Flayed Father. Instead of writing the script about syncretism I'd already cashed an advance on, I was constructing a monument to the topic. (Villoro, 2015, p. 95)

The skin of the myth, so to speak, is physically retained, but re-used to convey a whole panoply of ideas—the loss of identity to a nation state, the accretion of ideas in historical time—which pursue an ever wider orbit around the original point of the myth. In another story (also by Villoro) a group of young Mexican urbanites go off to camp in the desert on a Bohemian adventure. The protagonist is separated from the others and wanders alone, wearing the skinned fur of a dead coyote, until he returns to the camp from his mythic ordeal, his bourgeois, city-dwelling identity annihilated in the process. Myth appropriation takes the skin of the myth, without worrying about the insides. In the case of indigeneity, this mode of re-telling can harmonize with a certain late-twentieth century postmodern cynicism to (or disbelief in) history—characters in Juan Villoro's stories can be found sitting in the backs of cars, reading Baudrillard. Miguel Leon Portilla's 2001 play *Quetzalcoatl's Escape* (*La Huida de Quetzalcoatl*) paints the god as a Heideggerian protagonist, thrown into the world, trying to come to terms with himself and with his existence (Goyri, 2009, p. 98). It also colludes, somewhat more disturbingly, with a neoliberal, late capitalist annihilation of context; one which, in the case of non-indigenous uses of indigenous myth, brings with it a subtly neo-imperialist resonance as the original content of the myth is jettisoned, to be replaced with whatever set of signifiers (multicultural, liberal humanist, anti-/pro-nationalist, feminist, cynical postmodern) the writer feels drawn to.

Problematizing Myths in Literature

The question arises: can a myth ever be appropriated purely semantically, without any of the contextual residue ever lingering spectrally in its wake? In discussing the re-telling of myth, the impossibility of pure repetition has already been mentioned; but here is also the impossibility of ever leaving the myth behind. Possibly the most famous use of Xipe Totec has been Carlos Fuentes' highly influential novel *A Change of Skin* (1967), the story of two couples whose road journey from Mexico City to Veracruz, passing through the ancient Aztec city of Cholula, results in a text

so engaged with various myths (Mayan, Greek, Nordic, even Hindu) that one could legitimately consider myth to be its central theme. In terms of these five categories, the novel seems to occupy a place somewhere between manipulation and appropriation. It joins Octavio Paz in a belief in the centrality of sacrifice, labyrinth, and pyramids to the modern Mexican soul (sometimes explicitly referencing Paz's text), even if some of the allusions seem to be interested exclusively in the act of appropriating myth's shapes and colours, however absurd the appropriated image may be. When the protagonist wanders through a fruit market near the beginning of the novel, we see a watermelon seller mysteriously transubstantiated into the role of a sacrificial high priest: "He watched the fruit vendor cut into the heart of a watermelon with a single machete stroke" (Fuentes, 1998, p. 37). Extending the profound spiritual metaphor of sacrifice to a watermelon may seem whimsical, but to Fuentes' credit his manipulation of the Xipe Totec myth attempts to inflect and preserve some sense of the regenerative original. While some of the uses of the novel's title directly address the emotional fragility of twentieth-century identities and the relationships they plunge into—particularly in the explicit association of Xipe Topec with Freddie Lambert, the protagonist of *A Change of Skin*—Fuentes' novel is also a meditation on history, and the way myth is involved in history as a process of death and rebirth.[16] More substantial than watermelons and post-it notes, some degree of meaningful re-interpretation of Mesoamerican myth is at work here, even if, at the end, *A Change of Skin* is a novel which is more interested in the definition of myth rather than myth itself. It leans towards the pole of appropriation because, for all its allusions to and invocations of the trappings of the Aztec/Mayan world (Cholula, the references to skin and pyramids, the endless mirrors throughout the book), its pessimism suggests something darkly and subtly ineluctable about the myths it appropriates. Any originally positive or contrarian elements in the myth of Xipe Totec (or for that matter Tezcatlipoca, or Tonantzin) can only ever aspire to the status of positive ingredient in Fuentes' project.

The five categories of myth re-telling outlined here—aggrandisement, inhabitation, reversal, manipulation, and appropriation—should be thought of less as rigid boxes, and more as different points on a line stretching from replication through dissolution to near-complete evaporation. Most of the eighty or so poems, stories, novels, and plays looked at in the writing of this article fall somewhere in the middle categories; that is, they either adopt the voices of mythical personae, attempt to reverse mythical narratives, or play with the "stuff" of the original myth to produce something visibly altered and different. If some degree of chronological or even teleological sequence is discernible in the progression of these categories, it shouldn't be overstated. Many of the texts we might attribute to "myth-manipulation" would fall loosely within the period of Mexico's literary

[16]See Filer (1984, p. 481) and Grossman (1974) who argue that the interpretation of myth in the novel fails to tie up the text's loose ends.

modernism (1920s–1940s[17]), and many of the poets we associate with the *Contemporáneos* (Novo, Owen, Jaime Torres Bodet) would naturally be interested in the re-working of myth. The more post-structuralist proclivities lying behind the semantic appropriation of myth would also seem to connect to Mexican writers more stereotypically associated with the themes of the postmodern (Juan Villoro, Alvaro Enrigue). Nevertheless, Owen's wholesale uprooting and appropriation of the Orpheus myth dates from 1930, whilst Elsa Cross' careful inhabitation of Ariadne's character was written in 1964; the simple idea that writers become more adventurous with myth as time goes on should be cautioned against.

Perhaps the most striking provisionary conclusion to draw from this panoply of twentieth-century re-tellings is the paucity of any benign treatment of myth in modern Mexican literature. Melancholy, anger, and cynicism seem to permeate almost every prophet, classical hero, and indigenous god offered up. A glance at other cultures, where overall positive re-workings of myth are more visible (R. K. Narayan's prose re-writing of the *Ramayana*, the largely positive attitude to Persian legend and myth in Orhan Pamuk's novels, not to mention life-affirming re-workings of myth such as both Tennyson's and Joyce's Odysseus) seems to accentuate, in the Mexican context, a landscape of suddenly finite gods, helpless, murdered monsters, all-too-human heroes, and abandoned prophets with no message to speak but their own. A century which saw ten bloody years of a revolution fail to deliver a society it promised, and which witnessed the post-war growth of a state which increasingly smothered and oppressed the very people it had been constructed to empower, combined with a rapid post-war industrialization and all the socio-cultural effects such disenchanting processes produce; such a century might be forgiven for seeing myth as nothing more than an eternally recurring negativity.

The fact that so many re-tellings of myth took place in the 1960s also suggests that the more *norteamericano* aspects of Mexico's cultural history—the limited but arguable resemblance of its 'Sixties to the decade enjoyed by its northern neighbour—are a factor in this antagonistic attitude towards mythic narratives, particularly insofar as they participate in current hegemonies. The year 1967 alone saw the appearance of Fuentes' *A Change of Skin*, Homero Aridjis' *Persefone*, Jose Lopez Portillo's *Quetzalcoatl,* and the performance of Jose Fuentes Morel's *La Joven Antigone se va a la guerra* and Carballido's *Medusa*. The Judeo-Christian and classical humanist values seen (correctly) to be underpinning many of the myths re-told during this period explain in part the paucity of sympathetic representations. The hopes Alfonso Reyes nurtured for Mexico's Virgil—"I want Latin for those of the Left!" he cried in 1930 (Reyes, 1971, p. 247)—were perhaps not quite realized in the re-workings of classical myth that emerged thirty years later, as the classics came to represent not merely the failed 'civilizing' project of the PRI, but also a

[17]For how modern Mexican culture formed itself in the 1930s "la cultura mexicana moderna se hizo en los anos treinta" (Jose Joaquin Blanco, 120), see both his essay on "Los anos veinte" (Perera, 89–118) and also Perera's (2008, pp. 119–201) chapter on the 1930s.

longer, nineteenth-century background of bourgeois, classical education; Latin as the language of doctors, lawyers and priests. Even later on in *Palinuro de Mexico* (1976), the re-telling of the tale of a minor hero from the Aeneid, Fernando del Paso offers a narrative closer to a Rabelasian tale of excess than a Virgilian model of obedience and self-restraint (del Paso, 1990).[18]

The absence of any real collusion between Mesoamerican mythology and the PRI/Mexican state (or indeed, the *Porfiriato* which governed before it) explains the paucity of satirical re-tellings of indigenous myth. Even given the various attempts, throughout the century, to invoke mythology to assist a nationalist project (from the 1927 production of Ruben M. Campo's play *Quetzalcoatl*, set in the ruins of Teotihuacan, to the painted murals of national palaces and football stadiums[19]), the proximity of names such as Quetzalcoatl and Aztlan to the indigenous subaltern seems to have deterred the frequent kind of acerbic re-presentations of Biblical and classical figures seen in writers like Pacheco, Novo, Fuentes, and Castellanos. If the condition of satire is to mock the empowered, then the proximity of myth to power will always be a factor in its desecration. In a post-war scenario, the Judeo-Christian/Classical education of the nation's elites and the symbolic investment of such mythologies in the socio-cultural fabric of the society would go some way to explain how the portrayal of Theseus as a spoilt brat, or the Hebrew God as a spoiler of ant-hills, could be subversive (Pacheco, 2014).

Myths in a Glocal Context

The kind of satirical re-telling to be found in Mexican writers—Perseus as a forty-something has-been, Job as a punished bureaucrat—to some degree re-appears amongst Bengali writers too. Bani Basu paints a quarrelsome family of gods, with Durga as a middle-class Calcutta mother, Saraswati and Lakshmi as two squabbling sisters, and Ganesh as a pot-bellied son; Navaneeta Dev Sen also light-heartedly replays the *Ramayana*, anachronistically inserting Islam as an adjacent kingdom whose kebabs entice Lakshman out of orthodoxy; Divakaruni's recent novel has a teenage Draupadi as the protagonist, growing up and trying to learn the ways of the world (Basu, 2009; Sen, 2009; Divakaruni, 2009). Satire here means not just the humanizing of the divine, but also the careful addition of finitudes and foibles. The gods must not merely be human, but also shop, eat kebabs, gossip. This diminishing of the divine went in hand with the political mood; even at the end of the nineteenth century, a satirical story about the gods' impotence

[18]Prado (2008) has argued that the novel represents a "parody" of "cultural authority" (144) and the "only prominent example" of a Mexican postmodernism whose "Joycean undertones do not constitute the central element of its aesthetic" (147).

[19]For more on how Campo used archaeology to stage his play on Quetzalcoatl, see Ortiz, 'Una Mirada', 98. On how, for example, Morelos and Iturbide appropriated the Aztec eagle for their own early nationalist causes, see Lomnitz (2001).

to prevent a British steel bridge being built across the sacred Ganges was widely popular, reflected in Durga Chandra Ray's *Devganer Martye Agaman* (Kaviraj, 2003). And yet the satirizing of Hindu myth and Christian myth is not as smoothly analogous as first appears.

Nevertheless, we return to the question we asked at the beginning: how does de-mythologization take place? And what is the meaning of the quotidianizing and repetition of myth in modern Mexican literature? A broad, literary century presents itself, bristling with parodies, satires, invocations and allusions, and interfacing with not one but a multiple number of mythic vocabularies. The varying strength and tone of parody, the oscillating closeness/vagueness of repetition, the distortion and re-adjustment of viewpoint, all fissure and inflect this landscape even further, so that what emerges is something similar to a Cubist painting, where different pockets of sacred time and space explode around the canvas, cracking and fragmenting the century seemingly beyond any hope of schematization.

We have already mentioned one option; the possibility of a cautious periodization, lending some sense to the quality and quantity of myth-retelling in each epoch. First of all, an early attempt, both leading up to the Revolution and in its aftermath, to reiterate myth didactically, ideologically, representing Homers and Quetzalcoatls as *civilizadores*, trying to extend some kind of mythic sacred time into the present; then, a loosely modernist impulse, stretching through the 20s and 30s, shattering these coordinates, rupturing these desires for continuity but with primarily philosophical and aesthetic agendas in mind; a period of open rebellion throughout the 1950s and 60s, explicitly inverting, reconfiguring, and openly desecrating mythic structures cherished by power; and finally, the sense of some kind of return to myth; a failed recovery, an invocation which already knows the god invoked is nothing but a hollow idol, a painted stone, a dead book, but still a semantic return to the whole question of the ruin of the mythical.

Conclusion

Even in the face of so many overwhelming minutiae, some validity lies within such schematizations; but that validity is undermined by, or at least must co-exist with, a number of things: first of all, the presence of figures (not just Alfonso Reyes, but in a very different way writers like Rosario Castellanos) in whom many of these phases seem to overlap and merge. Secondly, the 'sprayed' nature of so many different texts, at different moments, performing different myths; a phenomenon which defies any sequential temporality. Thirdly, the subtly different set of mechanisms which seem to surround the re-telling of Meso-american myth, in contrast to its Biblical/Classical counterparts. The absence of a certain, necessary, intimacy externalizes and almost 'orientalizes' the repetition of Tlalocs, Quetzalcoatls and Xipe Totecs we find; an unfamiliarity which turns the process of re-writing into something more than the re-configuration of a humanized Zeus or a flawed Adam.

The dimensions of Mexican literature's twentieth century, when we take a step back to grasp a wider optic, offer a constantly moving, shifting field of re-written myths. A wave of re-tellings, washing over parables, fables, bible verses and folklore, illustrates how a culture can begin, in a hundred different places, to collectively alienate itself from the semantics of its past. As I have tried to show, the precise place of myth in this process—both as a carcass to be jettisoned, but also as a fecund body to provide future growth—is an ambivalent and complex question. There is a certain overlap of myth re-tellings in Mexican literature with the genre of the ghost story: Carlos Fuentes' *Aura*, for example, or Juan Rulfo's *Pedro Páramo*. It suggests the possibility that myth is a kind of ghost story: myths haunt us, return to visit us, problematize the time we live in and always seem to bring with them some kind of message or warning. For all the cynicism and polemic of these modern re-tellings, it does suggest an unarticulated, yet deeply conservative, sub-text in such approaches (even in writers as purportedly anti-clerical as Fuentes and Pacheco), an unconscious commitment to a certain kind of purity within History. The ghosts of myth cannot be dispelled as long as such a commitment remains in place. But the question still remains: should such ghosts of myth be exorcized, or should we learn to live with them? And what kind of present would we have to live in in order to accomplish either of these tasks?

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Chapter 10
"You Inside Me Inside You": Singularity and Multitude in Mohsin Hamid's *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia*

Micah Robbins

Introduction

When Goethe introduced the idea of *Weltliteratur* nearly two hundred years ago, he not only laid the foundation for comparative literary studies, but he also anticipated a cosmopolitan future in which transnational literature would thrive. There is a growing recognition among comparative literary scholars, but also among scholars of contemporary literature in general, that that future has arrived. This is not to say that the age of discrete national literatures has passed, but rather that recent developments in global marketing and communication strategies have worked alongside sophisticated publication technologies and distribution networks to weave literary texts into what Pizer (2000) calls a "transindividual, indeed transnational grid, a grid Goethe called 'world literature'" (p. 215). The explosive forces of both economic and cultural globalization are immanent in this grid, and as such transnational literature is, for better or worse, part of the global transformation that has done so much to unsettle discrete national and linguistic identities. When it comes to the literary arts in particular, the transnational turn is, by virtue of its dependence on global systems of circulation and exchange, "incompatible with efforts to freeze or codify literature into a set canon of metropolitan centres, or of nation states, or of untranslatable originals" (Puchner, 2017). Such incompatibility is evident in the work of today's leading transnational writers, including Salman Rushdie, J. M. Coetzee, Kazuo Ishiguro, Jamaica Kincaid, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, and Mohsin Hamid (the subject of this paper), all of whom produce literary texts that are 'born translated' and marketed to a global audience (Walkowitz, 2015). These writers gather, reorient, and disperse cultural and linguistic differences throughout the world, and in so doing they expose global audiences to a literature of dislocation, movement, porousness, and multiplicity,

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that challenges and/or transcends place-based mentalities. Thus, transnational literature's incompatibility with centres and states and originals, and, thus, its embodiment of Goethe's dream.

While transnational literature exists in a symbiotic relationship with globalization, it works from within that system to carry particularized perspectives and identities to distant locations throughout the world. It is, in this regard, similar to the larger phenomenon of glocalization. Originally conceived as a hybrid economic term, glocalization refers to the (re)packaging of global commodities for local consumption, a key strategy by which global capitalism enters into and transforms local cultures (Abdullah, 2008, p. 50). However, as with globalization writ large, glocalization flows in more than one direction, for it also disseminates traces of the local on a global scale. An early example of this can be seen in Coca-Cola's "I'd Like to Buy the World a Coke" television advertisement. First aired in 1971, the commercial features a culturally diverse group of young adults, all proudly adorned in local costume, singing the praises of global harmony and, of course, the consumer culture. Crucial to the advertisement's message is the co-existence of *particularity*, which is embodied by the diverse group of singers/consumers, and the *universal* appeal of Coca-Cola as a global brand. It thus establishes a feedback loop in which a global product is (re)packaged for local consumption, while, at the same time, bringing local customs into global view. This sort of feedback has only intensified since more and more companies have focused on accessing potentially lucrative markets in distant locations throughout the world. However, it is also important to recognize that this "world-wide tendency to increasingly bring the particular into relationship with the universal" (Robertson, 1997) is more than just a marketing strategy. It is also part of an emerging consciousness that has been loosed from the conventions of place-based identity by advances in transport and communication technologies, both of which are rapidly extending what Meyrowitz (2005) describes as "an interconnected global matrix over local experience" (p. 23). Just as the proliferation of print culture triggered a shift in consciousness that allowed people to imagine coherent national identities, so global information flows are reshaping consciousness beyond the imagined communities of nationhood (Anderson, 1983). Transnational literature is very much a part of these flows, and as such, it is engaged in giving shape to a new consciousness that is simultaneously more particular *and* more universal than the one it succeeds.

This language of glocalization creates a context for reappraising how we, as readers of transnational literature, as well as members of a global multitude, relate to the presence of radical difference at a time when such difference is drawing into ever closer proximity to, and thus affecting, our respective values, cultural practices, ways of knowing, and notions of the self. One may hope that such a reappraisal will generate a greater sense of intersectional solidarity between the world's people, and that this solidarity will in turn lay the groundwork for a more tolerant, equitable future, while nonetheless questioning the shared assumption—or ethical imperative—within transnational literary studies "that knowing the 'other' will result in getting along better with that other" (Hibbard, 2017, p. 672). Transnational literature not only promises greater identification between groups that remain divided by

spatial distance and/or cultural difference, but it also presents a challenge to the ideals of "commonality" and "communicability" that underwrite efforts to establish such identification. Drawing on the work of contemporary Pakistani writer Mohsin Hamid, and especially his novel *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia*, this chapter will argue that transnational literature not only makes difference available to a global readership, but that it also forces readers to confront their own positionality within an increasingly glocalized world. Hamid expresses a critical transnational consciousness that insists upon the singularity of experience, even as it forces a reckoning with a degree of transcultural identification that readers may not wish to confront within themselves. It is precisely in complicating the discourse of 'difference' that Hamid is able to cultivate a productive discomfort with easy notions of communicability and commonality, and thus to encourage a more critical negotiation of the tensions that exist between the global and the local. Before turning to Hamid's work, several ideas from the work of Harvey (1990), Hardt and Negri (2000), Dagnino (2015), and Palumbo-Liu (2012) will be brought together in order to frame the larger issue of global cultural flows within which Hamid positions his work. The chapter will then conclude with a brief reflection on how the act of reading models the potential for a challenging yet open-ended interconnectedness that represents the best globalization has to offer.

Time-Space Compression and the Production of Locality

Many critics of globalization have emphasized the world-historical significance of what Harvey (1990) calls "time-space compression," that seeming "disappearance of time and space as materialized and tangible dimensions to social life" (p. 293). Harvey's phrase is a reworking of Marx's (1857–58/1986) observation that capitalism uses developments in transport and communication to "annihilate space by means of time", an annihilation that has significantly furthered capitalism's larger effort to "conquer the whole world as its market" (p. 463). The ongoing revolution in spatiotemporal experience—beginning with industrialization and then accelerating dramatically after the collapse of international socialism as a viable alternative to capitalist hegemony—has facilitated economic, social, and epistemological reconfigurations that seem to privilege the global over and against the local. This is most obviously true of markets, but it is also true of the cultural sphere. One need look no further than the ubiquity of mobile telecommunications technologies, which are designed to monetize the social behaviours they mediate, to see how time-space compression facilitates the spread of a universalizing market imperative at the same time that it promotes cultural homogeneity. And yet, despite its homogenizing force, time-space compression also exposes the world's people to more frequent and varied cultural differences. It is as if time-space compression simultaneously diminishes *and* emphasizes difference, or, put differently, "As spatial barriers diminish so we become much more sensitized to what the world's spaces contain" (Harvey, 1990, p. 294). Herein lies one of globalization's key

paradoxes: as it pushes outward in a struggle to establish a universal marketplace, it brings within its sphere of influence the full spectrum of human diversity. This is a point Iyer (1993) makes when he compares the global "New World Order" to the multicultural "New World writ large" (p. 86). He argues that the homogenous global culture promoted throughout the world by the United States and its techno-entertainment sector (to name just one important means of dissemination) is already shaped from within by diverse cultural forces, and all the more so as global capitalism continues to expand and deepen. Globalization is thus at once homogenous and heterogeneous, global and local.

This is not to say that globalization holds forth the promise of renewed or revitalized local identities, nor that the uncritical promotion of the local is a panacea for globalization's homogenizing tendencies. It is worth considering how easily the line between place-based identity and an inflexible parochialism can be blurred. Indeed, both often work to establish borders, suppress difference, and enforce norms of thought and behaviour that are every bit as homogenizing as those advanced by globalization. Here again, Iyer (2016) makes a relevant point. Contrasting his experience as a transnational global subject with that of his grandparents' place-based experience, he says in an interview:

> It's a fortunate thing not to be stuck in an identity. When I think of my grandparents, they really had no options. If they were asked who they were, what their tribe was, what their religion or what their nationality was, they only had one answer to give and probably felt that they were imprisoned within that answer for life.

Iyer's metaphor of imprisonment—the idea that one may be "stuck" within the confines of a fixed identity—conceives of the local as a site that determines identity, whereas those people who circulate beyond such limits experience identity as a 'choice'. Dagnino (2015) develops a similar position in her book *Transcultural Writers and Novels in an Age of Global Mobility*. For example, she emphasizes "the importance of moving beyond (physically and imaginatively) one's own culture, as well as overcoming—or better, 'unlearning'—ways of identity formation which rely too heavily on ethnicity, nationality, geographical or cultural locus, or religious affiliation" (p. 4). The key words here are "overcoming" and "unlearning", both of which position place-based identity as an obstacle to one's potential for a more expansive, transcultural identity. She expresses this attitude even more forcefully when discussing transnational literary authors, writing:

> While moving physically and imaginatively across the globe and across different cultures, these writers find themselves less and less trapped in the traditional (im)migrant/exilic/diasporic syndrome and are able instead to embrace the opportunities and the freedom that diversity and mobility now bestow upon them. (Dagnino, 2015, p. 100)

What is most interesting about both of these quotes is how Dagnino positions the local as a limit not only on physical mobility, but also on the freedom of the imagination to move and interact and ultimately create at will. Unlike Iyer's grandparents, whose identities were fixed within a clearly delineated limit, the transnational subject is able to reorient culture toward a greater sense of openness

and becoming that is very much at odds with the idea of globalization as a homogenizing phenomenon.

While one may accuse Iyer and Dagnino of representing a class of transnational global subjects whose privileged economic status (and cultural capital) allow them to experience the world in ways foreclosed to most of the world's population, the gist of their shared position can be identified in major works of Marxist criticism as well. Take, for example, Hardt and Negri's (2000) influential study of globalization, *Empire*, in which they argue that "the multitude"—their term for a transnational proletariat—called globalization into being as a means of liberating itself from existing mechanisms of social and political control. They argue that the worldwide social revolutions that occurred during the Cold War "all at their best moments pointed toward the internationalization and globalization of relationships, beyond the divisions of national, colonial, and imperialist rule" (pp. 42–43). They argue that globalization is a response to these revolutions, and that, while it has most certainly established new and sometimes more extreme relationships of power and domination, it nonetheless represents the transcendence of old arrangements that worked to limit the multitude's freedom and mobility. This is one reason why Hardt and Negri position their claims in opposition to theories that seek to establish "sites of resistance that are founded on the identities of social subjects or national and religious groups", insisting that such theories advance "a false dichotomy between the global and the local, assuming the global entails homogenization and undifferentiated identity whereas the local preserves heterogeneity and difference" (p. 44). They reject this dichotomy on the basis that it assumes local identities are somehow natural, while global identities are manufactured. They believe that this view tends toward "a kind of primordialism that fixes and romanticizes social relations and identities", while ignoring how those identities are caught up in "the *production of locality*" (p. 45; emphasis in original). Like any other productive regime, including the regimes of nationalism, colonialism, imperialism, and globalization, the local engages in a disciplinary process that establishes fixed horizons and systems of surveillance and control that structure the limits of one's identity. This is one reason why we should avoid "grounding political analysis on the *localization of struggles*" (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 44), choosing instead to ground our analysis on an awareness of and sensitivity to an increasingly mobile, transnational multitude. So unlike Iyer and Dagnino, both of whom approach globalization from the perspective of liberal cosmopolitanism, Hardt and Negri bring a more radical Marxist critique to bear on the same issue, and they do so with surprisingly consistent results. Rather than viewing globalization as a homogenizing force that needs to be confronted on behalf of discrete (and diverse) local identities, all of these thinkers view it as a source of potential liberation from the parochial pressures of both localism and nationalism.

And yet, despite globalization's potential for greater freedom and cooperation, the first decades of the new century have witnessed tremendous resistance to transnational cosmopolitanism. It is as if time-space compression has so empowered various delivery systems—literature being one such system—to disseminate difference throughout the world that those systems now threaten to break down

under the pressure of their own achievements. In *The Deliverance of Others*, Palumbo-Liu (2012) argues that too much otherness can overwhelm those on the receiving end of delivery systems, thus leading to a further entrenchment of difference and, ultimately, renewed feelings of alienation. He even goes so far as to make the seemingly paradoxical suggestion that increased exposure to otherness makes knowledge of difference all the more difficult to achieve. For example, he argues that "if by 'globalization' we mean a newly extensive and intensive connectedness between remote and disconnected peoples,", then we in the humanities and social sciences must address the implication of having lost "the luxury of focusing only on discrete and separate objects, phenomena, and behaviours, since these are now mingling and cross-referencing each other in unprecedented and sometimes discrepant manners" (p. 30). This leads, in turn, to an ironic juncture wherein "knowledge of others appears to have become only more problematic in an age when the distance between others is continually shrinking" (Palumbo-Liu, 2012, p. 30). One of the great virtues of literature is that it opens up possibilities for experiencing otherness through the exchange of our shared imaginations, and one may reasonably assert that literature is such a powerful vehicle for self-transcendence precisely because it brings complex, emotive representations of otherness close to readers. And yet any such transcendence brings with it a challenge to the reader's own sense of identity. How can we, as readers of transnational literature, establish genuine points of identification with an imagined other while maintaining "our own particular sense of the real, the rational, the reasonable?" (Palumbo-Liu, 2012, p. 54). What complicates this challenge even further is that any attempt to imagine the lives of others must include a reckoning with the external forces that impact on those lives, and how those forces apply unevenly to individual subjects depending upon their positions within the global order. In other words, identification with otherness must expand upon "wider considerations of historical, political, ethical and social (rather than simply intersubjective) life" (Palumbo-Liu, 2012, p. 73). It also must expand upon a deeper interrogation of oneself, and how one's own identity is constituted in opposition to the distant and the unfamiliar.

Narrative Point of View, Glocal Identity, and the Making of a Transnational Consciousness

Many of these issues, and perhaps most importantly the fraught relationship between global capitalism and cultural identity, loom large in Mohsin Hamid's novels. This is true of all his major works, from his debut novel, *Moth Smoke* (2000), which dramatizes the cultural tensions that have emerged throughout South Asia as it struggles to balance traditional values against the many changes that attend the spread of globalization, to his most recent novel, *Exit West* (2017), which traces the traumatic displacement of a young couple as they flee a fundamentalist

religious revolution, thus becoming part of the global refugee crisis that has generated an unprecedented movement of the world's people across national borders. His most famous novel, *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (2007), tells the story of Changez, a young Pakistani man who attends Princeton University on scholarship before going to work for Underwood Samson, a high-powered asset valuation firm in New York City. But when the United States responds to the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center with a series of military invasions that throw the global power structure into high relief, Changez must confront the tensions within his identity as a transnational global subject. He soon recognizes that he "lacked a stable core", and he confesses that he could no longer tell if he belonged "in New York, in Lahore, in both, in neither" (p. 168). By the end of the novel, Changez has grown a beard, resigned his post at Underwood Samson, and returned to Pakistan, where he helps organize a series of large-scale protests against American military involvement in the Middle East and South Asia. What makes Changez's transformation from pro-American market fundamentalist to anti-American political activist so compelling is that he exists both inside and outside the logic of global capitalism. By embodying both sides of the contemporary conflict between cosmopolitanism and parochialism, his consciousness blurs any clear distinction between 'us' and 'them'—a key element and core contradiction within neoliberal globalization. *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* thus asks us to consider the limits of this mentality and to question the extent to which a distinction between inside and outside—or the global and the local—is possible at this point in history. This is a recurring question throughout Hamid's oeuvre and one that is brought into extraordinary focus in his third novel, *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia* (2013).

More than any of Hamid's other fictions, *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia* troubles the distinction between inside and outside, or between self and other, by bringing an intense particularity into close proximity with the universal. Focused as it is on one man's rise from rags to riches, the novel is in many respects a conventional *bildungsroman*, but it is also a narrative about the tremendous social and economic transformations that are reshaping vast swaths of South Asia. These two strains are inextricably linked, for it is only by means of globalization that the novel's unnamed protagonist is able to achieve such a remarkable degree of social mobility. Indeed, he is willing to go to great lengths in order to ensure that his "bottled hydration" business (he sells untreated tap water) is "quantified, digitized, and jacked into a global network of finance" (p. 181), a network he shrewdly recognizes as an indispensable "way for small to be big and big to be huge, a glorious abstraction, the promise of tomorrow today, yes, a liberation from time, the resounding triumph of human will over dreary, chronology-shackled physical reality" (p. 178). The language Hamid uses to describe the financialization of local assets is in keeping with how he describes the setting's physical topography. For example, as the young protagonist makes the journey from his childhood village to his new home in the city, he is astonished at the dramatic transition from dirt roads and family compounds to "street lights and shop signs and glorious, magnificent billboards" (p. 14). This transition is figured as

> …a passage of time that outstrips its chronological equivalent. Just as when headed into the mountains a quick shift in altitude can vault one from subtropical jungle to semi-arctic tundra, so too can a few hours on a bus from rural remoteness to urban centrality appear to span millennia. (Hamid, 2013, p. 13)

These descriptions of time-space compression allow Hamid to explore the workings of global capitalism while maintaining a singular focus on life within the geographical bounds of a discrete locality. So whereas Changez occupies a transnational position between Lahore and New York, the unnamed hero of *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia* never leaves his home country, and yet the phenomenon of time space compression, presented throughout the novel as bordering on the metaphysical, empowers him to act within a global context. He is in this regard a fully imagined glocal character.

Hamid's shift in emphasis from transnational to glocal subject would seem to eschew Changez's idea that globalization strips everyone of a "stable core" (Hamid, 2007, p. 168). Indeed, there is no reason to read Hamid's unnamed protagonist as anything other than authentically South Asian. Not only does he never experience the nostalgic longing for cultural authenticity that is evident in Changez's split identity, but he is also repeatedly reminded that he *does not* belong to a global elite with the privileged mobility to exist in more than one place at a time. One example of such a reminder is when he meets his childhood sweetheart (referred to throughout the text as "the pretty girl" and now an internationally recognized model) at the most exclusive hotel in the city. Having recently been damaged by a truck bomb, the hotel, which Hamid (2013) describes as an "outpost of a leading international chain, a bridge with lofty, illuminated blue signage to the outside world", has made a concerted effort to "push the city away" and establish itself as "an island" unto itself (p. 104). The intense security surrounding this transnational "citadel" marks a stark contrast between the transnational elite and the local residents of Lahore, a contrast that manifests itself when the protagonist is barred from entering the facility by armed guards who summarily turn him away for no other reason than that he is identified as a local resident of the very city that hosts this corporate resort (p. 104). It is only when "the pretty girl", whose celebrity status allows her to move in and out of Lahore at will, vouches for him that he is permitted to enter into this space that is set aside as the exclusive domain of the transnational elite. This scene dramatizes the extent to which "walls, partitions, barriers are appearing on the local scale in the most everyday management of space", including places "that can only be entered with the right identity or connections" (Augé, 1995, p. xiii). Such barriers are a fact of life for Hamid's unnamed protagonist, as they are for many people who move within glocal contexts, and they constitute an important way in which he experiences globalization that distinguishes him from the transnational subjects theorized by Iyer and Dagnino. The fact is that no matter how tenaciously he may strive to enter into the transnational contexts that surround him, he remains forever fixed within the confines of local identity.

Despite this focus on the local, Hamid never allows us, as readers, no matter where we are from or what our socioeconomic circumstances may be, to escape

from a fundamental (and sometimes uncomfortable) identification with his novel's hero. He accomplishes this by narrating *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia*, from beginning to end, in the second person. The protagonist's experience being turned away at gunpoint from a hotel restaurant is *your* experience being turned away at gunpoint, thus opening within the novel a deterritorialization of identity that puts readers into uncomfortably close proximity to an imagined other. The novel's opening description can be seen as an example of how Hamid collapses the points of identification and differentiation between character and audience. He writes:

> This book is a self-help book. Its objective, as it says on the cover, is to show you how to get filthy rich in rising Asia. And to do that it has to find you, huddled, shivering, on the packed earth under your mother's cot one cold, dewy morning. Your anguish is the anguish of a boy whose chocolate has been thrown away, whose remote controls are out of batteries, whose scooter is busted, whose new sneakers have been stolen. This is all the more remarkable since you've never in your life seen any of these things. (Hamid, 2013, p. 4)

Hamid's ideal reader has, of course, seen all of these things, which is precisely why he needs to mention them, for without such familiar details his global readership may struggle to fully imagine, if not identify with, the radical difference embodied by an impoverished and diseased child from an isolated South Asian village. At the same time, the narrative, focused as it is on how globalization comes to bear on local contexts, needs to maintain the integrity of its hero's cultural identity, which is why it bears stating that "you" have *not* seen such luxuries (even though *you* have). In other words, even as Hamid creates points of identification between his readers and his novel's huddling child, the narrative reminds us that this protagonist is no Changez; on the contrary, this character is excluded from the centres of global capital and fixed in a position of distant otherness, and yet he is shot through with the same forces of unequal development that fix all of us within the process of globalization. This unrelenting second-person collapse of the difference between his novel's diverse global readership and its unique central character allows Hamid to develop a critique of identification and difference that may help us begin to understand how we, as singular individuals, exist within a global network, and how our shared positions within this network unite us as a multitude of global subjectivities.

Hamid's use of the second person is uniquely suited to integrating readers into the narrative vehicle, and thus to establishing a radical convergence between his character's singularity and the multitude of readers who will encounter this character as themselves. It is also an efficient means of implicating his readers in the many dramatic transformations that the novel represents. In his short essay "Enduring Love of the Second Person", Hamid (2014) places his interest in the second person within a literacy narrative that begins with role-playing games and 'Choose Your Own Adventure' stories, both of which empower readers to determine the contours of a story, and ends with Albert Camus's *The Fall*, a book that takes the form of a dramatic monologue, including frequent references to a reading/listening 'you'. Hamid's first two novels, *Moth Smoke* and *The Reluctant*

Fundamentalist, borrow from *The Fall* insofar as they too take the form of dramatic monologues with frequent appeals to 'you'. Addressing his motive for structuring these novels as dramatic monologues, Hamid explains that he wanted to show "how feelings already present inside a reader—fear, anger, suspicion, loyalty—could colour a narrative so that the reader, as much as or even more than the writer, is deciding what is really going on" (p. 78). This sentiment relates to Palumbo-Liu's (2012) observation that readers can't help but retain their own "sense of the real, the rational, the reasonable", and that these feelings pose an obstacle to our ability to "bracket" ourselves enough to successfully imagine the lives of others (p. 54). Yet it is worth considering the extent to which dramatic monologues do more to cultivate active self-consciousness in readers than they do to develop a productive consciousness of difference. As Poon (2015) argues, "With the use of 'you', the reader is button-holed and corralled, implicated in everything that happens in the novel given the coercive, interpellative power of that rhetorical act" (p. 144). So whereas *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* was designed to be "a kind of mirror, to let readers see how they are reading, and, therefore, how they are living and how they are deciding their politics" (Hamid, 2014, p. 79), *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia* —with its unremitting "you" that fixes the reader within the subject position of the narrative's central character—becomes an explicit exercise in forcing readers to recognize that they are directly implicated in the global production of identification and difference that both separates and binds us together.

It is important to recognize that the production of identity and difference are not mutually exclusive; it is a fallacy to insist upon a clean split between those who are swept up in a process of homogenization, and those who are subject to a regime of heterogenization. On the contrary, the dual move toward identification and difference can occur within a single subjectivity. Consider a key passage from *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia*:

> As you and your family dismount [the bus that has brought you from your village to the city], you embody one of the great changes of our time. Where once your clan was innumerable, not infinite but of a large number not readily known, now there are five of you. Five. The fingers on one hand, the toes on one foot, a minuscule aggregation when compared with shoals of fish or flocks of birds or indeed tribes of humans. In the history of the evolution of the family, you and the millions of other migrants like you represent an ongoing proliferation of the nuclear. It is an explosive transformation, the supportive, stifling, stabilizing bonds of extended relationships weakening and giving way, leaving in their wake insecurity, anxiety, productivity, and potential. (pp. 14–15)

What we have here is a narrative description that confounds any absolute distinction between homogenization and heterogenization, and all the more so considering that it locates the tension between these two tendencies in "you"—a term that in this case signifies a closed singularity *and* a multitude of subjectivities. The language Hamid uses to describe his protagonist's transformation from natural-born member of an expansive yet clearly localized clan into an atomized member of a deterritorialized global multitude forces a reconsideration of the heterogenous/local vs. homogeneous/global conceptual divide. It is hardly clear that being part of a tightly-knit community promotes authentic difference, and especially not among the

community members themselves. As Llosa (2009) argues in his short polemic "The Culture of Liberty", the homogenizing force of local identity can be a stifling burden to bear for those born into those communal identities. Those who promote the local over and against the global sometimes fail to measure the extent to which localization is productive of an intractable homogenization. Indeed, Hamid's "you" undergoes a radical individualization precisely when he is taken out of his communal context, and he is thus rendered diverse to a degree hardly imaginable under any conventional definition of family or clan or community. And yet this hyper-individuation is part of an explosive 'proliferation' of singularity that cuts across the world's increasingly mobile human population and gives way to a new (one may even say homogeneous) form of intersubjective identification, a proliferation that matches, if not exceeds, the world's "shoals of sigh or flocks of birds or indeed tribes of humans" (Hamid, 2013, p. 15).

The takeaway here is that homogeneity and heterogeneity are undergoing a collapse in much the same way that Hamid collapses his readers' diverse identities into the individual sensibility of his novel's protagonist. Under the expanding regime of global capitalism, the inside/outside dichotomy has given way to an "explosive transformation" that renders this distinction increasingly problematic, and Hamid's novels, especially *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia*, do much not only to represent, but also to interrogate this transformation. Hardt and Negri (2000) are correct when they insist that it is inaccurate "to claim that we can (re)establish local identities that are in some sense *outside* and protected against the global flows of capital" (p. 45; emphasis in the original). As they claim somewhat more forcefully about politics, which could well be a comment on culture:

> We should be done once and for all with the search for an outside, a standpoint that imagines a purity for our politics. It is better both theoretically and practically to enter the terrain of Empire and confront its homogenizing and heterogenizing flows in all their complexity, grounding our analysis in the global multitude. (p. 46)

Hamid (2013) arrives at a similar conclusion vis-à-vis the dominance of global financial powers in *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia*, yet he also suggests that our shared experiences within the explosive pull of globalization's orbit can serve as a catalyst for the development of a transnational consciousness. He writes:

> If there were a cosmic list of things that unite us, reader and writer, …then shining brightly on that list would be the fact that we exist in a financial universe that is subject to massive gravitational pulls from states. States tug at us. States bend us. And, tirelessly, states seem to determine our orbits. (p. 139)

And yet, for all of the tension that globalization creates between this economic/political regime and our respective cultural and/or individual identities, Hamid is clear that the orbits we find ourselves circulating within pass through each other. And so, as *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia*'s unnamed narrator, who is also "you", lies on his deathbed at the end of the novel, Hamid leaves us with these pertinent lines:

> You have been beyond yourself, and so you have courage, and you have dignity, and you have calmness in the face of terror, and awe, and the pretty girl holds your hand, and you contain her, and this book, and me writing it, and I too contain you, who may not yet even be born, you inside me inside you. (p. 222)

This sentiment expresses the hope of the multitude: that the free circulation of difference will prove foundational to an expansive collectivity that cuts across the global terrain, a collectivity that is motivated by a desire for liberation from all that seeks to arbitrarily bind and/or divide us from one another. No matter our differences, we remain inseparable; a multitude of singularities.

Conclusion

Transnational world literature not only exposes readers to diverse cultural perspectives, but it also challenges the limits of discrete national, cultural, and linguistic identities, thus troubling the distinction between the global and the local, as well as the self and the other. Transnational literature suggests that, in a world where clear divisions between cultures have become ever more difficult to maintain, it is no longer tenable to maintain worldviews that deny the realities of dislocation, mass movement, porous borders, and cultural multiplicity, nor is it constructive to struggle against these realities in the name of conventional identity formations. While there is no doubt of a rich diversity of cultures thriving throughout the world, all of these cultures are engaged in creating a larger global consciousness through which a growing number of the world's people understand themselves and their relationships to others. Mohsin Hamid's novels contribute to this consciousness by developing narrative experiments with the second person point-of-view in order to bring readers into close proximity to his fiction's transnational subjects. Not only do these experiments encourage a direct identification with otherness, but they also implicate his readers in the construction of the narrative itself, and by extension the construction of its larger meaning. When Hamid (2014) writes that his interest in the second person stems from his awareness that "the reader, as much as or even more than the writer, is deciding what is really going on" (p. 78), he acknowledges that literature is more than something that authors give, fully formed, to their readers. If this is the case, then it stands to reason that the representations of otherness that transnational literature disseminates throughout the world do not arrive fully formed either, but are necessarily completed in the intimate space that arises between author and audience with every new reading experience. Literary representations of cultural difference are thus the product of a collaborative imagining, and they carry within themselves a multiplicity of values, beliefs, and identities.

Hamid makes the reader's role in constructing a novel's meaning explicit in *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia* when, as the novel draws to a close, he begins to introduce subtle deviations from the second person. For example, he writes:

> As you create this story and I create this story, I would like to ask you how things were. I would like to ask you about the person who held your hand when dust entered your eye or ran with you from the rain. I would like to tarry here awhile with you, or if tarrying is impossible, to transcend my here, with your permission, in your creation, so tantalizing to me, and so unknown. (p. 214)

With this narrative shift, Hamid signals to his readers that they have agency as a creative force within the narrative. These subtle transitions to the first person are intended to establish what Poon (2015) describes as "a more reciprocal relationship between narrator and reader", and they exemplify the extent to which "writer and reader are woven into a relationship from which they cannot be disentangled" (Poon, 2015, p. 144). This sort of entanglement is part of what makes reading Hamid so rewarding. But there is also an ethics to this approach, for any such reciprocity implies at least some degree of responsibility on the reader's part. How audiences receive the growing body of transnational literature will be a factor in determining the extent to which this literature is able to participate in the construction of a progressive global consciousness that transcends the limitations placed on identity, while at the same time respecting—and even embracing—expressions of radical alterity. Walkowitz (2015) argues that Hamid's experiments with point-of-view are intended to "build the problem of audience into the structure of the work", and that his novels "use narrative structure to test some of the most tenacious assumptions of U.S. and European literary studies: namely the distinction between native and foreign audiences, and between native and foreign languages" (p. 169). Hamid clearly takes such problems seriously, and his narrative experiments ask readers—both the general reading public and professional literary critics—to rethink their roles in the construction of literary imaginaries. That is, novels like *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia* compel us to enter into narrative relationships that challenge the disciplinary conventions and traditional ways of reading that have all too often contributed to the very conceptual and/or socially constructed divisions transnational literature is working to overcome.

What is at stake here is the cultivation of a more complex realization of empathy. Just after musing on his desire to "transcend my here" and establish a more immediate imaginative connection with "you", Hamid's (2013) narrator says, "And how strange that when I imagine, I feel. The capacity for empathy is a funny thing" (p. 214). Literature's ability to cultivate empathy in its readers is widely valued across the various sub-disciplines within literary studies, perhaps especially so within comparative literary studies, and it constitutes a core principle within the ethical imperative that motivates much of this study. Puchner (2017), general editor of the *Norton Anthology of World Literature*, expresses this value when he writes, "Nothing humans have ever done, in all the arts or sciences, can transport and enrich our imagination, our understanding of and empathy for other human beings and their lives, the way literature can." And yet a radical openness to alterity can threaten to overwhelm one's own sense of self identity. It seems that Hamid's use of the second person throughout *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia* is designed to push readers close to this threshold. The unrelenting "you" not only provides an opportunity for an encounter with difference, but it also creates a context within

which the reader's sense of identity is thrown into crisis. But this is a necessary crisis, for it is precisely through a more critical interrogation of the self that we will be able to arrive at a more complex empathy for our global neighbours in a world that continues to undergo a dramatic process of time-space compression. The question thus becomes: "How can we see both 'others' and ourselves differently, in ways that live up to the promise and rationale for reading literature, at all?" (Palumbo-Liu, 2012, p. 26). The answer lies in embracing what Balfour (2017) calls "risky cosmopolitanism" (p. 214), that is, an openness to the risk that radical proximity to cultural difference poses to the self. The risk is that the self will come unmoored from local identity, that it will no longer enjoy the comforts of parochialism, that it will become fully deterritorialized. Hamid's narrative experiments with the second person model this risk, but they also point toward its reward, namely entry into a transnational, transcultural consciousness.

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Chapter 11
Fears of Dissolution and Loss: Orhan Pamuk's Characters in Relation to the Treaty of Sèvres

Fran Hassencahl

Introduction

A cartoon poster purchased at Anadolu University's Cartoon Museum and displayed on my office door portrays a restaurant scene where the members of the European Union sit at a circular table, laugh, and make critical remarks about an individual who sits alone in the corner at a small table covered with the Turkish flag. The lone Turk's facial expression and the flames above his head indicate that he is angry at his exclusion and the mocking responses of those who have not accepted him into their ranks. Turkey, a state that straddles two continents, has been knocking for entry into the European Union since 1987. For better or for worse the acceptance of Turkey into the EU became a metaphor in Turkey of a successful/failed state. Partial acceptance, which Turkey now possesses, is not enough. Entry into the EU would not only supply Turkey with expected socio-economic benefits, but would also legitimize Turkey's claims that they are worthy of recognition and inclusion into Western culture. The Turkish people remember that modern Turkey was built upon the ruins of a great empire that controlled large chunks of three continents. Emerging at the end of the thirteenth century, the Ottomans seemed unstoppable. Under the leadership of Sultan Süleyman I, the Turkish forces beat back the Europeans on the plains of Mohacs near Budapest in August of 1526 and "sealed the position of Turkey as a predominant power in the heart of Europe for the next two centuries" (Kinross, 1977, p. 187). When the Turks joined forces with the Germans and Austrians in 1914, the Ottoman Empire was in a state of advanced collapse. By 1918, the Ottoman armies were in retreat and the Allies "assumed the empire was ready for dismemberment: the sick man was finally upon his deathbed" (Wheatcroft, 1995, p. 207). The final moments for the Ottoman Empire came after a

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series of defeats in the Balkans, losses in the east to the Russians, and the brief victory at Gallipoli. The decision to join the Triple Alliance put Turkey on the losing side in World War I. The last Sultan Mehmed VI (Vahdettin), cloistered away in defeat, sent his representatives to sign the treaty that the victorious Europeans offered.

This treaty, The Treaty of Sèvres, signed on August 10, 1920 was "a death sentence served on the Ottoman Empire" (Pope & Pope, 1998, p. 55). The treaty planned for an independent Armenian republic in the east and an autonomous Kurdish region in the Southeast. Italy, France, and Greece would divide and rule the rest of the country. The treaty demilitarized the Straits of Bosporus and Constantinople and placed them under international control. Britain would control the European side and France the Asian side. The Greeks received Western Thrace. The Western powers planned to take a state that had spanned three continents and limit it to rural central Anatolia. The result would be a tiny state weakened by the loss of considerable territory, access to vital ports, and surrounded by the victors. Ratification and implementation of the Treaty did not occur, because the Allies disagreed about its arrangements. Lloyd George and the British Foreign Office wished to punish and humble Turkey and to remove the Straits and the capitol city of Istanbul from Turkish control. The French feared a loss of influence and money. Since they held sixty percent of the bonds that had financed the Ottoman Public Debt, they were not eager to divide or weaken the Turkish state (Montgomery, 1972, pp. 776–777). During the War for Independence, the Turkish nationalists, led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, drove the Russians, Greeks, British, Italians, French, and Russians out of Turkey. In the Treaty of Lausanne signed on July 24, 1923, the European powers recognized the independence and the sovereignty of the republic of Turkey. The claim of the Greeks to Thrace, the Kurds' desire for autonomy, and the return of property taken from the Armenians were forgotten by the European powers.

The Treaty of Sèvres, although never ratified, still remains alive in the minds of Turks and reminds them of their vulnerability. Pope and Pope observe that the treaty of Sèvres remains "deeply imbedded in the Turkish memory" (Pope & Pope, 1998, p. 55). Mumtaz Soysal, a former foreign minister, points out that Turks, from their elementary school days and from military service, know the map that the Europeans proposed and argues that this has created "a Sèvres obsession" (Lungren, 2007, pp. 20–21). One of the most sacred values for modern Turkey is the absolute integrity of the state and its existing borders. In a newspaper column for the Istanbul *Hürriyet* titled 'Sèvres Porcelain' Türkmen (2001) asks, "Why is it that this piece of paper, which lost its validity the moment it was signed and has never been ratified or enforced but has only gathered dust on shelves, is always being talked about in Turkey and never comes off the agenda?" After pointing out the accomplishments of Turkey in the foreign policy area, he observes that even the foreign minister talks about the treaty. Türkmen speculates that the discussion keeps Turkey in a state of fearing the worst so it will endure "every kind of deprivation

and bad administration", lest the treaty "wrest Turkey away from Europe and drag it into isolation." He concludes that the shattered vase of Sèvres is glued together with great pains and set out for display. (Türkmen, 2001). Turkish Scholars such as Aras (2000) from Sabanci University, Candar and Fuller (2001), and Çınar (2005), observe that Turkey is in the midst of an identity crisis. Aras (2000) takes the position that Turkey, while "clamoring for increased modernization and Westernization…has been home to distrust and a latent enmity towards the West inherited from the Ottoman administrative elite" (Aras, 2000, p. 5). He concludes that fears about Turkey being surrounded by its enemies and under the threat of division are alive and well and that this paranoia, or 'Sèvres Syndrome', plays a vital role in the shaping of Turkish foreign policy. Pandya (2017) mentions President Erdogan's actions after putting down the July 2016 coup attempt and reports that thousands of professors, journalists, police officers, judges, and military personnel have been jailed without any evidence of their participation in the coup attempt. She sees this as an effort to establish presidential authority and to provide for the "restoring the 'honor' of Turkey and of Muslims through a combination of aggressive means, in a region where the memory of the loss of the Ottoman Empire to the West in 1922 is still fresh, and the xenophobic paranoia of being 'surrounded by enemies' is ubiquitous" (Pandya, 2017, n.p.).

After the attempted coup in 2016, and Turkey's subsequent curtailments of the press and threats of bringing back the death penalty, Chancellor Angela Merkel, during the 2017 elections in Germany, expressed her reluctance to push for Turkey's acceptance into the EU. Erdogan, responding in a paranoid style, accused the Germans of bringing back Nazism and vowed to "initiate alternative plans" if they are not accepted into the EU. By saying that the EU is "not indispensable", Turkey has taken the position of a child facing defeat who gathers up his/her marbles and goes home (BBC Monitoring, 2017; Reuters News Service, 2017). Taking a familiar image from Gestalt psychology, the figure cannot be divorced from the ground, because the environment defines the subject. Additionally, the subject defines the vision of the ground. From an economic perspective, we can draw the line between the globalized and the unglobalized. Yet those boundaries are not firm, because, given the nature of the ongoing process of globalization, those lines are continually redrawn. Similarly, Turkey, both as agent and object, defines itself in the context of the contemporary world. Like the pushmi-pullyu animal from the Doctor Dolittle series of children's books by Lofting, Turkey feels keenly the tension from being pulled toward and pushed away by the West. That cartoon image of Turkey sitting alone at a separate table expresses the humiliation and anger that Turkey feels at its rejection by the West. Howe (2000) observed that Turkey "has joined every European and Western organization possible" including the Council of Europe and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (pp. 148–49). Turkey's rejection by the EU in 1997 was "the no of a fiancée, the only love that modern Turkey has ever known and the impact has been devastating" (Howe, p. 149).

Pamuk as a Political Writer

The thesis of this chapter is that that the two main characters, Osman and Dr. Fine, in the novel *The New Life* written by the Turkish author Orhan Pamuk, winner of the Nobel prize for Literature in 2006, reflect the Turks' memory and fears about the Treaty of Sèvres. Osman and Fine are suspicious about the intentions of the West and ask questions such as: Will Western technology help or hinder us? Can we compete economically with the West or will Turkish products give way to imported food and drinks? In sum, can we reconcile modernity with tradition? Pamuk's characters in *The New Life* struggle with the power relationships inherent in East–West encounters and lament their ability to control the future course of their lives. They lose their lives and loves, their children, and their fantasies about the future. Living, at the beginning of the rising power of the Anatolian Tigers, executives who economically transformed small towns in Central Turkey, an angry Dr. Fine perceives that the forces of globalism will destroy his family and his livelihood. Osman settles back into middle class life, but like Ka in Pamuk's novel *Snow* (2004), he returns for one more look at what might have been. Both Ka and Osman lose their lives because of their returns. In *Other Colors*, a collection of Pamuk's essays, Pamuk (2007) declares, "Of course there is an East–West question and it is not simply a malicious formulation invented and imposed by the West" (p. 230). He elaborates that many Turks after the decline of Ottoman power embraced "Westernizing reforms" and characterized their culture as "defective, sometimes even worthless", which resulted in conflicting emotions of shame and pride. "My novels are made from these dark materials, from this shame, this pride, this anger and this sense of defeat. Because I come from a nation that is knocking on Europe's door" (Pamuk, 2007, p. 231). Farred (2007) characterized Pamuk as being the primary author who thinks and writes about "the internal globalization" of a nation's experiences with numerous historical events (p. 83). Pamuk in August 2017, in a podcast interview with Isaac Chotiner for *Slate* magazine, explained that he does not write his books "to explain my country to others". He adds that he cannot escape the influences of living sixty-five years in Istanbul, but primarily he is a writer of fiction, who is influenced by being both a European and a Turk. He characterizes himself as "a secular person, but I also belong to that civilization. Yes, I am also proudly European in the sense that I was spending—wasting perhaps—time in the early 2000s politically defending Turkey's entry into the European Union." He concludes that Turkey by quarrelling with Europe is "not really a serious candidate" for the EU (Chotiner, 2017).

Orhan Pamuk does not aspire to be a political writer, but he lives in a political world that interfaces with culture and regulates discourse about that culture. By virtue of his family background, his education, and the novels that he reads, Pamuk experiences the pull of the West. He does not forget the East and even suggests that there might be third way, which incorporates both the East and the West. In an interview with *The Guardian* in May of 2004, he recalls his university days in the 1970s when he was sympathetic to and read some of the literature distributed by

Marxists students. However, at the end of the day, "I would go home and read Virginia Woolf," who he found to be more interesting than the Marxists (Wroe, 2004). He declares, "Politics is not the most interesting subject" for a novel and better topics are love, happiness, the meaning of life and goals that end in disillusionment (Pamuk, 2008, p. 90). Pamuk has spoken out, but not in the Turkish press, about the jailing of Turkish journalists after the July 2016 Coup (Roxborough, 2017). He likely recalls his 2006 trial in Istanbul for "insulting Turkishness" after an interview he gave to the Swiss newspaper *Tages Anzeigler* in February 2005 about the Turkish government's denial of the deaths of Kurds and Armenians in Turkey. By recognizing the Kurdish people living in Turkey as Kurds, Pamuk questioned Turkish identity. He was acquitted of the charge of denigrating Turkey, which is a crime under Article 301/1 of the Turkish Penal Code, after a trial in 2005 in Istanbul. The rise of uber-nationalism in Turkey, combined with death threats, the burning of his books in the Central Anatolian town of Sütcüler, and his experience of being pelted with eggs as he left the courtroom, led Pamuk to relocate temporarily from his beloved Istanbul to New York City (Gurr'a-Quintana, 2006). Currently, due to his status as a Nobel Prize winner and acclaimed writer, he is not bothered by the state who has imprisoned some 140 journalists and closed down newspapers that criticized the government. He also avoids conflict. He notes, "Writing fiction books is no problem in Turkey, but if you venture into politics like journalists, political commentators, you are in trouble" (Chotiner, 2017).

Two Main Characters in *The New Life* Confront Tradition and Modernity

The remainder of this chapter examines Pamuk's portrayal of two characters, Dr. Fine and Osman, in his 1997 book, *The New Life*. Dr. Fine fights to return to a past unsullied by the competing products and ideas of the West. Fine places the blame for his business and family troubles on external forces. His solution is to overcome and destroy these enemies. Osman, a university student, seeks information about the future, his purpose in life, and the big question as to whether he can bed and wed the beautiful Janan. Osman does not share Fine's hostilities toward the West. When Osman receives Dr. Fine's offer to become a replacement for Fine's presumed dead son and take over his business in small town of Güdül where ads proclaim that circumcisions are performed in "the good old way" without using lasers, he declines to return to a small town past and returns to Istanbul.

These two individuals illustrate the dialectic between the forces of modernity and tradition. In order for individuals and collections of individuals nested in the modern nation state to survive, they must determine which strategies are the most effective and the least destructive. The polarities of new and old decree that to be modern, some practices need to be discarded. Such choices are not always

voluntary, because external forces may predicate those choices. Turkish citizens discovered one morning in December 1928 that they could not read their newspapers, because President Atatürk mandated that the old Arabic script be replaced with the Latin alphabet. External forces may demand choices between modernity and tradition. Issues of power, both real and imagined, emerge. In addition, a lingering fear remains that ultimately the locus of power may lie within the nation state, which is beyond control of individuals and/or the collective. The implication of this is that the "Other," an actor in the form of another nation state, God, or the gods, may determine the future. The "Other," who may bring new ideas and new products, also judges those who reject the new to be less worthy. The question of agency implies that there is an actor and the acted upon. Actors may find themselves in the acted upon situation. These issues of power and control of the future confront Dr. Fine and Osman. What if events do not turn out as expected? For those, like Dr. Fine, who seek to establish the verities of the past and imagine it to be better than it ever was, the postmodern condition of change and uncertainty is frightening. Can they live with the hand has been dealt to them? Mevlut, the *boza* seller, in Pamuk's (2015) novel, *A Strangeness in My Mind*, is forced to find other lines of work to supplement his declining business when he finds that his customers hesitate to purchase their drinks and yogurt from the open pots of the traditional street peddler and prefer the pre-packaged products from the local grocery store. Can Osman in *The New Life*, take one more search for his for lost love Janan and find some meaningful connection to assuage his disappointment with the ordinariness of his daily life? The artists in Pamuk's book *My Name is Red* (2001) find it hard to reconcile the demands of the Sultan for paintings done in the European realistic style, which is a photographic style, with their traditional stylized depiction of individuals, which follow the practices of Islamic art during that period. These characters find little opportunity to escape the forces of globalization and struggle to make accommodations.

Bankruptcy of the Word: Who Do You Trust?

The opening lines of *The New Life* are "I read a book one day and my whole life was changed." (Pamuk, 1997, p. 3). The reader, Osman, a university student studying civil engineering, describes an experience similar to St. Paul's conversion experience when he travelled to Damascus. Osman recalls the impact of this book as "such a powerful influence that the light surging from the pages illumined my face; its incandescence dazzled my intellect but also endowed it with brilliant lucidity. This was the kind of light within which I could recast myself. I could lose my way in this light; I already sensed in the light the shadows of an existence I had yet to know and to embrace" (Pamuk, 1997, p. 3). The students in *The New Life* optimistically place their trust in the power of the narrative, in the stories that the book tells. They are disappointed that these stories reveal no answers to life's questions or irrefutable truths; they are just words on the page. Almond (2003)

reveals the regrets of Hoja and his Venetian prisoner, in Pamuk's 1985 novel, *The White Castle*, after they discover that there are no grand narratives, no hidden secrets, or supernatural voices speaking. Almond believes Pamuk's characters share Derrida's deconstructionist analysis of Western metaphysics as the search and yearning for the "primordial meaning of the sign" (Almond, 2003, p. 81). Lyotard (1984) writes that those who live in the postmodern period will experience the bankruptcy of the Metanarrative. The University students who read, and copy for dissemination, the book, *The New Life*, which is also the title of Pamuk's 1997 book about their quest, hope this book will reveal the secrets of the Universe and provide a narrative, like the words of the angel speaking to Mohammed, that will guide them through life. Old verities exemplified in the doctrines of progress, Marxism, the Enlightenment, and the promises of science to create a better world, have been negated by the events of World War II and the post-modernization of culture through the development of the internet, social media, consumerism, travel, and transnational corporations. Smith and Riley observe, "bringing cultures into contact, globalization has also encouraged recognition of relativism, reflexivity, difference, and the critique of Western modernity… all key aspects of postmodern theory" (Smith & Riley, 2009, p. 223). Sociologist Ritzer (2010) argued that globalization brought a new cultural imperialism as exemplified by the McDonaldization of society where fast food, the hamburger and fried chicken 'nuggets' becomes preferred over traditional foods. As a youth, Pamuk was willing to try new foods and to include in his reading diet both Turkish and European writers. Pamuk in *Other Colors* (2007) fondly recasts such encounters of old and new culture into a story about his childhood experiences of eating hamburgers and frankfurters. Social encounters between the villages in eastern Turkey and the city of Istanbul are comparable to the street food Pamuk's mother prohibited her children from purchasing. She warned them that street food was dirty and made from unknown ingredients, possibly from dog and cat meat. Pamuk remembers that the experience of eating frankfurters was leaving behind the peace of mind that comes from home cooking and taking the risk "to embrace modern life and become a city dweller" and "to eat food even if you didn't know where, how, or why it was made" (Pamuk, 2007, p. 72).

Fine Seeks to Continue the Grand Narrative

In *The New Life*, Fine labels this process of globalization through food and drink as the "Great Conspiracy". The source of that Great Conspiracy is the West, whose clever techniques of distribution and advertising draw people away from the true path into one where their minds are muddled by drinking Coca Cola. When he finds dealers and distributors turning to sales of Coca-Cola instead of the traditional cool yogurt drinks and sour cherry juices, he responds with anger. Fine organizes other "heartsick" merchants to block these products by organizing and warehousing those collective memories in order to re-establish time with products of the past such as

adding machines, dye-free soaps, hourglass shaped tea glasses, and quilts. Soon he and others form an organization of the heart-broken, but still true believers, who live in the smaller towns in Turkey and in the Balkans, who vow to close ranks against the conspiracy and promise to trade only among themselves. In their effort to freeze time, they are unable to prevail against market forces and the state, which promotes and protects these new products and ways of distributing them. Even more frustrating are the consumers who prefer these new products; they have "gone crazy on Coca-Cola" (Pamuk, 1997, pp. 127–128). Dr. Fine in *The New Life*, has no desire to search for the meaning of life; his answers are embodied in his collection of clocks and guns. He tells Osman that there are two vehicles to reach God. "Armaments are the vehicles of Jihad; timepieces are the vehicles of prayer." (Pamuk, 1997, p. 159). By the time we meet Dr. Fine, he has buried the charred corpse presumed to be his son from a bus accident. For Dr. Fine, his son's loss is part of a greater scheme of things perpetuated upon the small businesspersons of central Anatolia. Fine views the forces that took his son from him as similar to the forces that threaten his general hardware store, a 'mom and pop' business, that stocks hand-woven rugs, clothespins, wicks for kerosene stoves, simple refrigerators, and door handles: "He was unconcerned that only old men and flies dropped by the store, he continued stocking only those products which had traditionally been available to his forefathers" (Pamuk, 1997, p. 128). He considered stocking new modern products, but the dissonance from these lacklustre products placed next to his existing stock was intolerable. He compared it to a cage of chattering finches placed next to a cage of nightingales. Their beautiful voices will be silenced from the stress of proximity to these ordinary noisy birds. Once new products were placed in his store they changed the character of his business and threatened that serene linkage with the past (Pamuk, 1997, p. 127). For Fine, but not for his customers, these new products threaten the identity of Turkey and threaten to erase its collective cultural memory. Fine keeps his lost son's room as a museum; he cannot bear to part with his son's report cards, comic books, and muddy soccer shoes. He believes in the memory of objects "the presence of a magical necessary and poetic sense of time that was transmitted to us from objects when we come into contact using or touching some simple thing like a spoon or a pair of scissors" (Pamuk, 1997, p. 127). These new products lack a referent, a connection to the past. He begs Osman to become his son and to carry on the movement to establish a new state where newspapers, new ideas, and products like Lux soap, which "has a scent as polluting as its box" will be destroyed (Pamuk, 1997, p. 127). Osman listens politely, but he does not share Dr. Fine's paranoia about the future, so he declines the opportunity to become Fine's new son or to join the fight against the Great Conspiracy. Fine descends into a paranoid rant against the West, the Great Conspiracy, which reflects the love hate relationship Turkey has with the West. He rationalizes that his losses are due to false messages propagated by printing presses. Hand copied books possess a purity and insights vetted by the hand holding the pen, but these mass produced books facilitate the spread of the message that comes from the West that falsely promises "serenity and a paradise within the limitations set by the world" (Pamuk, 2007, p. 132). Fine attributes his son's dropping out of

medical school to the reading of the book that also mesmerized Osman. His solution is to organize a witch-hunt to find and destroy those who have fallen under the spell of the book before they can spread their ideas to others. Business persons, who find their livelihoods threatened by international companies, begin to pass Dr. Fine tips about the youths who read this book or any book that seems "different or foreign." Osman perceives that Fine plans to set up a new state and destroy its enemies who want change. Fine resorts to hiring a series of private eyes and terrorist operatives to tail and assassinate the readers of the book. Fine's operatives use code names taken from watches, but not from the new international start-ups like Timex and Swatch, but rather from Omega, Zenith, and Hamilton. By arranging for the assassination of Uncle Rifki, the book's author, Fine hopes to end the distribution of the book that caused sons and daughters to take that road trip of self-discovery and to abandon patriarchal prescriptions for their careers and marriage (Pamuk, 1997, p. 139). It is never clear as to exactly what is the nature of the text that mesmerizes the readers. In typical Pamuk fashion, the texts are outside the novel. The poems that Ka writes in *Snow* are lost and not included in the book, as are the various writings of Hoja and his Italian slave in *The White Castle*. These narratives portend changes for the readers and an awareness of their own mortality, which simultaneously is feared and desired. Pamuk states in 1999, "For as long as I can recall paranoia has been a dominant mode of existence and reasoning in my country. It comes in variety of forms in all manner of scope and scale" (as cited in Göknar, 2013, p. 165). Such is the predicament of many of Pamuk's characters. Von Heyking (2006) points out that Pamuk's characters live in "a fluxuating cosmos" where existence is polarized into the extremes of "perfect happiness and utter misery, bliss and despair, life and death, immortality and mortality, love and hate, and good and evil—coexist in their immediacy, as if compressed together" (Von Heyking, p. 31). Fine blames this book for the loss of his son and customers. He rails against the forces of economic change, but has no ability to stop them. This feeling of being in powerless situations often gives rise to conspiracy thinking. People need to make sense of their world. Such efforts at sense making may bring some feelings of relief, because once they reconstruct reality and define the threat/s, then some sort of remedial action is an option, beyond just throwing up one's hands in acquiescence to the status quo. Zonis and Joseph (1994) discuss the ubiquitous presence of conspiracy thinking and suggest that those who find, "when the realities of change outpace their capacities to rearrange the components of their cultural systems to account for those changes, such a crisis may ensue" (Zonis & Joseph, p. 447). Prior to the 1980s the Turkish government followed the economic ideas of the founder of the republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. He promoted a state controlled and projectionist model of development. Atatürk's suspicion of international trade continued in the republic and economist Gültekin (2005) observes that in the 1970s the percentage of Turkey's exports in Turkey's GNP was no more than five percent and the amount of imports remained "negligible." All of this changed in the 1980s when Turkey began to open up its markets to the outside world (Gültekin, 2005, p. 40).

In 1987, Turkey formally became a candidate for membership in the European Economic Community. Turkey entered into a customs union agreement in 1999

with the EEC and continued the journey towards acceptance into the European Economic Union (renamed in 1993). Such efforts to expand trade encouraged small businesses, but also put pressure upon established retailers like Dr. Fine when consumers began to become aware of imported products. Small businesses competed with large businesses, often located in Istanbul, who had better access to capital and credit, which were controlled by the government and public and private banks. Economic growth in the Anatolian region began to compete with the older established businesses in the Marmara region. Cities like Konya, Kayseri, and Gaziantep, what Howe terms "Anatolian Lions", have become centres for textiles, food packaging, and machine and construction industries (Howe, 2000, p. 164). These tensions play out in the economic and political arena and led to the formation of the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (MUSIAD), which then jockeyed for political power with the established Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD) centred in Istanbul, who tend to support the secular and nationalist policies of Atatürk. MUSIAD helped to bring about the current political ascendancy of the AK Party (Justice and Development) in Turkey. While both groups favour Turkey's entry into the EU, they differ on many economic policies and the MUSIAD chafes far more than TUSIAD under the conditions and reforms required by the International Monetary Fund, IMF, which Turkey had to turn to for financial aid in order to weather the economic crisis of 2000. Some of these industries like textiles now compete in a global market and it is unknown whether Turkish towels will become extinct much like the Canon and Wamsutta brands of towels once made in the United States.

Osman Searches for the Grand Narrative

Osman finds no God ordained meaning, but encounters a complex system of hierarchies and dualities of meaning written by ordinary men. He eventually discovers that the comic books and the book, *The New Life*, written by Uncle Rifki, and the rhymes printed on the wrappers of New Life Caramel were not eternal truths, but were made up by men who drew upon their observations and borrowed inspiration and ideas from others. When Osman discovers that there is no ultimate meaning, he feels sad, but also feels free. "Now that I had no more hope and desire to attain the meaning and the unified reality of the world, the book, and my life, I found myself among the fancy free appearances that neither signified or implied anything" (Pamuk, 1997, p. 287). Mehmet, another university student and reader of *The New Life*, tells Osman that the world envisioned in the Book is an unobtainable dream. "I thought that I could find that world. I was always on some bus to some place or another, going from town to town, thinking that I would find that land… Believe me, at the end there is nothing but death." He concedes that the book is entertaining reading, but "there is nothing else for you to do, aside from reading and rereading it" (Pamuk, 1997, p. 24). From a Western perspective, the Turkish university students, who read the book, whose contents are not revealed to us, are

similar to many college students who embark upon a quest for the Holy Grail of understanding to fathom the meaning of life. This quest coincides with their fears about finding their place in a world where marriage and a career are also the norms. Their search for meaning coincides with sexual awakenings and a developing awareness of their mortality. Childhood optimism and religious faith fail as guides for life. The big ideas such as Communism, religion, tradition, and even love, become the gods that fail. There is no promise of a grand and glorious past or a brilliant breath taking future In some respects, Pamuk's novel is a coming of age story, a story of the road trip, and comparable to the travels of the American Beat novelist and poet Kerouac and his compatriots (Hassencahl, 2004). In *The New Life*, Osman discovers the impact of globalization. The old beloved candies, the New Life Caramels, from his childhood were unable to compete when "the fruit-flavored products produced by a large international company were seen on TV, being consumed very attractively by an American starlet with beautiful lips" (Pamuk, 1997, p. 272). The forces of modernity bring new weapons, new products, and new ways of constructing what it is to be a Turk in the twenty-first century. We can long for, as does Osman, "a delicious slice of melt-in-the mouth Anatolian çörek." (Pamuk, 1997, p. 192). When Osman embarks upon his second series of bus rides thirteen years later to revisit small rural towns in the Anatolian region, he finds that the bus food now has "a plastic taste" and comes served on trays with napkins embossed with the bus company's logo. The bus attendants pass out arrowroot cookies, which do not resemble those made by Osman's mother, and "all manner of candy and caramels in baskets, but among brands like Golden, Mabel and Fruito, I never came across any of those Uncle Rifki liked, the ones called New Life Caramels" (Pamuk, 1997, pp. 55–56). These changing images of daily life and consumer products represent issues of identity and power. No one is powerful enough to prevent factory-processed food or to prevent the towns Orhan and Janan first visited from turning from the picturesque to "scary stage sets that were carbon copies of each other" or becoming so changed by migration and war that they were no longer recognizable (Pamuk, 1997, pp. 55–56). At age thirty-five, Osman still believed in the power of the word and tried to write a novel, to find his own voice that would be neither East nor West. After reading the books from Uncle Rifki's bookshelf and many others borrowed from libraries, he discovers that when Rifki wrote the "Weekly Adventures for Children" in the railway magazines, he relied upon plots and characters from American comic books. Uncle Rifki's writings are a cultural construction, or, as Barthes (1984) describes it, a "tissue of quotations" (Barthes, 1989, p. 63). Rifki wrote stories to encourage Turks to stop thinking of themselves as victims and to believe that they like the Texas Rangers could be clever, strong, and brave. He tells his readers: "A kid from a poor neighborhood in Istanbul can draw a gun as fast as Billy the Kid or be as honest as Tom Mix" (Pamuk, 1997, p. 188). Peter from Boston and Pertev from Istanbul embrace modernity, but they also "will come to cherish the ethics and national virtues that our forefathers have bequeathed to us." without abandoning the virtues of the past (Pamuk, 1997, p. 118). Peter and Pertev work together to bring about a secular new world like that promised by Atatürk. Osman remembers his disappointment that the

worlds and adventures in these books ended and that "the magical realm was just a place made up by Uncle Rifki" (Pamuk, 1997, p. 12). Osman is sad when he discovers that there is no ultimate meaning either in the comics or in the now banned book, *The New Life*, written by Uncle Rifki, but he also feels free. "Now that I had no more hope and desire to attain the meaning and the unified reality of the world, the book, and my life, I found myself among the fancy free appearances that neither signified nor implied anything" (Pamuk, 1997, p. 287). The search is over. He could embrace an ordinary life and be a husband and a father who enjoyed sitting on the couch to watch the televised soccer games. On the weekends, he took his daughter to the train station to watch the trains and to buy candy. Ironically, when he begins to come to terms with his search for a heavenly future and to accept an earthly present, he returns to his past and takes a road trip to search for the source of the New Life Caramel candies that both he (and Pamuk) enjoyed as children and to portend what would be his future, which was "clothed in darkness" Pamuk, 1997, p. 286). On this trip, he is transported through the front windshield of a crashed bus into that future, the new life that he once sought.

Seeking a New Identity

The Treaty of Sèvres has re-emerged. The new enemies come, not with modern weapons and military force, but with letters of credit and new rules for entering the global economy. Witness the power of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization. Turkey is under a mandate to achieve some legal and human rights reforms and to achieve a balance between the polarities of an Islamic and a secular state in order to be welcomed into the EU. Tensions arise over the power given by the voters to the AK party and their Islamic leanings cause the secularists to fear that Atatürk's reforms will be undone. Some cast these problems into the East versus the West paradigm. It becomes easy to blame the "Other" as does Dr. Fine for the unsettling forces of globalization. Von Heyking (2006) in his analysis of Pamuk's novel, *Snow*, notes that the Islamic world, in particular Turkey, "has suffered its share of ideological activism" (Von Heyking, 2006, p. 71). The winds of Marxism, Socialism, Democracy, the Ottoman caliphate, and now the trade winds of globalization have all blown through Turkey. Like jinn, the ghosts of tradition and modernity, wander through Pamuk's novels. Pamuk's characters cannot escape that they live in a political world. His characters experience the pain of dissonance and seek a sense of balance and stasis in their lives. Caught in the gaze of both modernity and tradition, Sibel in Pamuk's book, *The Museum of Innocence* (2009), studied in Europe and perceives that having sex before marriage is to be modern and Western. Having returned to Turkey, she fears the consequences of losing her virginity and possibly her reputation in the Turkish culture that values chastity (Pamuk, 2009, p. 61). Kemal, in *The Museum of Innocence*, justifies the building of his museum as a way of instilling pride in Turkish citizens, because "While the West takes pride in itself, most of the rest of

the world lives in shame" (Pamuk, 2009, p. 518). Pamuk notes that "a feeling of cultural inferiority" remains in Turkey despite their freedom from being colonized by the West (Pamuk, 2007, p. 370). Osman in *The New Life* perhaps reflects Pamuk's embrace of Western writers while still wondering whether the novel, the West's greatest invention, is "none of our culture's business" (Pamuk, 1997, p. 243). Sociologist Bauman (2004) in his book *Identity*, observes, "Today… 'identity' is 'the loudest talk in town', the burning issue on everybody's mind and tongue" (Bauman, p. 17). Finding our identity in a globalized world where few of us can avoid exposure to multiple communities and a variety of ideas becomes an all-consuming task. Often the establishment of an identity depends upon a threat of or an experienced exclusion. Bauman observes that "'Identity' is a simultaneous struggle against dissolution and fragmentation; an intention to devour and at the same time a stout refusal to be eaten…" (Bauman, 2004, p. 77). Under such circumstances, a nation state or the citizens of that state feel isolated or rejected. They begin to see others as "Other" and develop fears about how the "Other" plans to treat them. Fuller notes that a "strong streak of anti-imperialist nationalism" accompanies Turkey's nationalism (Fuller, 2004, p. 56). Osman in *The New Life* encounters a peddler who tells him that Turkey has suffered a great defeat, "The West has swallowed us up, trampled upon us in passing. They have invaded us down to our soup, our candy, our underpants; they have finished us off. But someday, someday perhaps a thousand years from now, we will avenge ourselves; we will bring an end to this conspiracy by taking them out of our soup, our chewing gum, and our souls" (Pamuk, 1997, p. 290). Turkey still fears the manipulation of the west and suspects like Dr. Fine that the West, Europe and the United States, plan to divide and weaken Turkey. Shortly after the 2016 coup attempt, Turkish newspapers accused the United States of involvement. Arango and Yeginsu (2016) in *The New York Times* wrote that this response went back almost a century to the "Western Plan" (The Treaty of Sèvres) to carve up the defeated Ottoman Empire "and forever ingrained in the Turkish psyche a fear of Western conspiracies" (Arango & Yeginsu, 2016, n.p.).

Pamuk's characters reflect that tension, to be Western and modern or to be Eastern and traditional and question their identity. In *The White Castle*, East and West join forces and ultimately exchange identities. In *Snow*, Ka, after twelve years in political exile in Germany, pays dearly for his exploration of the Secular versus the Islamic state. Dr. Fine in *The New Life* defines modernity as the rise of the consumer state, "The Great Conspiracy" (Pamuk, 1997, p. 130). He explains to Osman that they want "to destroy our country and our spirit, and to eradicate our collective memory" (Pamuk, 1997, p. 129). Pamuk's characters in *The New Life* savour the çörek and the milk puddings of their childhoods and are curious and fearful about what the new Turkey under the influence of the West might become. Modernity looks to the future, but we also define modernity by looking to the past to see what changes have occurred. Modernity often sets boundaries by defaming the past and by privileging the present. Çınar (2005) observes, "Suddenly diverse practices, customs, values, styles, and forms that have been in practice at their own pace are framed, labelled, and defamed as backward, traditional, inefficient,

irrational, primitive, or corrupt and decomposed, against which the ideals of modernity can be articulated and the modern subject can be oriented" (Çınar, 2005, p. 23). The sense of loss or *hüzün* with nothing taking its place is a common theme in Pamuk's books. Pamuk (2006) remembers the loss of the old pashas' mansions (many were made of wood) along the Bosporus, through fires and demolition for new apartments and recalls how sad he was seeing this dying culture and realizing that "nothing, western, or local came to fill the void, the great drive to westernize amounted to mostly the erasure of the past" (Pamuk, p. 29). Pamuk's characters, similar to those in the dramas of Beckett and Ionesco from The Theatre of the Absurd, experience the breakdown and the disintegration of language. For Mehmet the process of making new copies of *The New Life* is more important than believing its message. Osman after visits to libraries and reading extensively from Uncle Rifki's library, discovered that Rifke's stories for children and the materials in his book, *The New Life*, "were either inspired by things in those library books or else had been lifted outright" (Pamuk, 256). He had first read the book, *The New Life*, to find "the sign of a profoundly enchanting secret or a unique significance" (Pamuk, p. 260). There were no new revelation, only copies.

Pamuk Embraces Inventing a New Turkish Culture: Merger of Modernity and Tradition

Pamuk finds the creation of a new identity to be difficult, because the West sets the standards for what is modern and acceptable. The psychological impact that political and economic events have on modern Turkey cannot be ignored. Long-time political analysts, Park (2012) and Bayrakçeken and Randall (2005), like Pamuk, find modern Turkey in the throes of confronting modernity and now post modernity and frame that experience as an identity crisis between the East and the West, between Orientalism and Occidentalism (Bayrakçeken & Randall, 2005, pp. 490–492). Sharp (2009) argued in *Geographies of Postcolonialism* that Western ways of knowing are privileged and other ways of knowing become marginalized as folkways or mythologies. This may be oversimplifying the situation but the impact of the West in the global interface of markets and values permits the West to set standards that determine not only who is modern, but also who will get to join the club and participate in its activities. In a series of essays reprinted in *Other Colors* (2007), Pamuk acknowledges his intellectual debt to authors such as Dostoyevsky, Nabokov, and Camus. For example, he reveals that when he first read Dostoyevsky's *Notes from Underground*, he did not immediately think of the hero as more than a person alienated from society and expressing a personal despair about his alienation. Eventually, Pamuk sees that Dostoyevsky's characters reflect the author's attraction to the ideas of the West and simultaneous revulsion of the West. Unlike Dostoyevsky, who could never quite come to terms with the inevitability of western ideas or those who used their adoption of Western ideas to legitimize their political ends, Pamuk remains optimistic that the East and the West

can meet and even create a new culture. He envisions a "multitude of readers hidden away in corners, nestled in their armchairs with their novels" (Thompson, 2007, n.p.). These readers can imagine "the Other" and dream the author's dream, imagine his heroes into being and see his world. Pamuk does not give up on the power of the narrative and sees novels as a mechanism for understanding and building a better world. When interviewed by Robert Siegel in 2006 for National Public Radio Pamuk concludes, "My whole book, my whole life is a testimony to the fact that the east and the west actually combine, come together gracefully and produce something new" (National Public Radio). He tells interviewer Joan Smith from PEN Writers in Prison Committee, "What I care about is complexity, hybridity, the richness of everything." Pamuk recognized that "Istanbul is geographically confused. So is the Turkish nation." This produced a feeling of being "in limbo, in between east and west" (Smith, 1996). The solution is not to embrace or reject or just "put Western and Eastern things together", but to create "a combination—not an imitation—of the Eastern past and the Western present." which would result in a new culture (Pamuk, 2007, pp. 369–370).

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Chapter 12
Global Connections on a Local Scale: A Writer's Vision

Simona Klimkova

Introduction

While literature has always addressed events in the public sphere and provided its reflection in an imaginative way, the ongoing debate about the role of writers as well as their involvement in political discourse will probably not die down any time soon. In the wake of recent political happenings all around the world, be it the Arab Spring, the outbreak of civil war in Middle East, or the uncertainties tied to the outcome of Brexit, writers are, more than ever before, engaged in an intense dialogue about the very nature of literary production and its response to these events. The idea of a novel saturated with ideology and political beliefs is in stark contrast with what seems to be a generally accepted notion that the aesthetic properties of literary works should remain untainted by any ideological contamination. Yet to assume, in accordance with the views of the Turkish writer Shafak (2016), that fiction is immune and remains untouched by the turbulent events of our time, would be naïve and not reflective of the true nature of literary production. In fact, literary portrayal of larger political and social events, distilled into local, more personal perspectives, may enhance our understanding of the global context.

On the other hand, the idea of treating fiction only as social and historical testimony, or documentation, would be regarded with abhorrence by many literary scholars. Such a reductionist approach, disregarding the aesthetic merit of a work as well as its inherent rootedness in creativity and imagination, would not be helpful in grasping the complex relationship between imaginative art—verbal art, specifically—and the socio-political realm. However, one has to acknowledge the growing contention in academic debate about contemporary literature, be it African, Arabic, or black writing, asserting that it is too political and/or oftentimes reduced to social

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commentary. It is, therefore, of vital importance to examine what happens to a novel when it is engaged in a social, political, and historical arena and how it deals with the pressures coming from this environment while retaining its aesthetic merit.

Besides the discussion on the relation of aesthetic and political properties of literary writing, there are several directions in which the debate concerning the connection between literature and politics may be steered towards. Firstly, it can be argued that literature can be regarded "as a product of the social and political forces that are at work when it is produced" (Rush, 2009, p. 496). This notion correlates with Edward Said's understanding of the interdependence of literary and historical/political realities, voiced in his seminal work *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), according to which the writer and the text, the social and the individual, exist in a reciprocal relationship. Said comments on the essential connection between fiction and the historical context from which literature stems and clearly notes that "understanding that connection does not reduce or diminish the novels' values as works of art: on the contrary, because of their worldliness, because of their complex affiliations with their real setting, they are more interesting and more valuable as works of art" (Said, 1994, p. 13). In that respect, Said introduces the concept of what he calls a contrapuntal reading, placing novels in a politically and historically saturated context from which they emerge. He thus encourages critics/readers to look, not only at what is included in the narratives but to pay attention to exclusions as well: "In reading a text, one must open it out both to what went into it and to what its author excluded. Each cultural work is a vision of a moment, and we must juxtapose that vision with the various revision it later provoked" (p. 67).

Secondly, literature may also be seen as a form of political critique or even an inducement of political change. This notion is of particular significance in the context of postcolonial literature since the emergence of postcolonial studies, spurred by the massive wave of decolonization, has, once again, directed discussion to the interconnectedness of literature with the realities of historical, socio-economic and political issues. The obvious connection and interdependence of these phenomena became central to discussing the production of postcolonial literature, which clearly fuses the global perspective with local practices. Given the strong focus on extra-literary phenomena and the political dimension of postcolonial literature, postcolonial literary criticism has been largely preoccupied with the critique of discourses of power rather than with aesthetic inquiries (though this is not, by any means, an absolute statement). In his book *Postcolonial Studies and the Literary: Theory, Interpretation and the Novel*, Sorensen argues that, until recently, "thinking about aesthetics, literariness and literary form within the field of postcolonial studies would have seemed hopelessly reactionary and contradictory" (2010, p. x). Sorensen's argument is rooted in his observations that much of "postcolonial literature is typically read in a dogmatic and prescriptive way" (Sorensen, 2010, p. xi) which has, in the end, resulted in the loss of literariness in critical discourse. Moreover, Tiffin (1984) adds:

> [w]e no longer subscribe to the belief that a literary text can be isolated from the context out of which it was produced, or from the historical conditions of its production. Criticism too

> is very much influenced by the social and political context out of which it arises, and its expectations determine both the meaning and the value the critic finds in the literary text. As Roland Barthes reminds us, not only the text but the criticism of it is ideologically various and variable. The context within which a particular literary work is considered thus becomes crucial in that its choice will tend to govern the way in which the work is interpreted and the terms by which it is valued. (p. 26)

These perspectives are valid for any analysis of postcolonial novels which tend to address larger themes and explore the harsh realities of the postcolonial world. Therefore, it seems vital to link the conditions in which a text has been created and to which it might respond with a critical reading of their artistic rendering and the significance the writer attributes to them.

The effect of globalization, often viewed as a residue of the imperial period, on the African continent, has been scrutinized by many postcolonial writers. In fact, the immediate connection between imperialism and globalization inevitably presupposes a detailed examination of the power relations that governed the twentieth century. When the colonies became sources of raw materials and markets for finished goods, their natural as well as human resources were turned into commodities whose cheap price became, in the words of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, "the heavy artillery forcing capitulation to the capitalist order" (2004, p. 22). Moreover, the circulation and execution of both the centripetal and hierarchical power within the empire, as well as the transcultural encounters and connections that took place within its framework, further complicate our understanding of the full scale of the process. In order to grasp the complexity of the global interactions and interconnections, one would need to scrutinize the economic, political, and cultural policies of western imperialism and look at its aftermath on a global scale. Such an endeavour, of course, lies outside the scope of a literary scholar.

Nevertheless, postcolonial theory studies the cultural, political, and economic consequences of western imperialism and can thus be "extremely useful in its analysis of the strategies by which the 'local' colonized engage large hegemonic forces" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2004, p. 217). According to the authors of *The Empire Writes Back*, "[a] post-colonial analysis of globalization is extremely interested in the ways in which the global is transformed at the local level" (p. 218). Interestingly, literature from the former colonies often provides a clearer picture of various manifestations of such power dynamics in local practices. The cultural, political, or economic exchanges involved in the process are dismantled through local mini-narratives which challenge and reconceptualize the notion of the colonized subject and its position within a larger, even global, framework.

The Kenyan writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o is well-known as a politically and socially active author who regards literature primarily as a medium of social change. In his view, a writer is supposed to reflect the political and economic conditions of his community in his work and thus raise consciousness of the people. In that respect, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o strongly emphasizes the responsibility of the writer to react to historical, political, or economic reality that s/he is a part of. This seems of utter importance particularly in the context of African literature, where, in the words of Nadine Gordimer, politics occurs not "as a vulgar interruption of the

more exalted pursuits of life, but as fate" (1973, p. 33). In Gordimer's view, African literature has always been a committed literature and from that perspective, "[t]he novel that takes as its theme the political struggle itself simply demonstrates the most obvious aspect of this commitment" (p. 13). She elaborates that "[w]riters are seized by the themes that arise from the living forces around them, and most African writers have been immersed in a life where politics has been embattled in the daily life of the streets and has boldly changed the circumstances of their individual lives" (p. 13).

As an advocate of socially committed writing that exercises the power of literature to contribute to social transformation, Ngũgĩ places the writer right at the centre of action. His views on writers' responsibilities concerning their influential role in social processes stem from his beliefs that writers act as active agents of vision, moral guidance, and potential change. Although Ngũgĩ is aware that the power to transform reality lies with the people, he nonetheless stresses the significance of literature in the process. Fiction, in his view, provides writers with the space to question, challenge, and reimagine both former and current conditions of the nation and question its organization as well as the distribution of power. These ideas clearly align with a prevailing stream of thought among African intellectuals based on the assumption that a writer should not only fulfil his literary ambitions but should actively pursue his social duties as well. As Ngwane (2008) suggests, "The writer has always functioned in African society as the record of mores and experience of his society and as the voice of a vision in his time" (p. 2). He has often been put into the role of a social conscience (Soyinka), an agent of change (Ngwane) or a teacher (Achebe), a person whose ultimate mission is to "liberate both the minds of the oppressed and the oppressors in order to cultivate a harmonious society" (Ngwane, 2008, p. 2). To a certain extent, African writers seem to be expected to ponder on external realities, especially if they are dire and/or oppressive, and they are compelled to articulate their responses to such events.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's fiction provides useful material for examining the connections between local practices and larger global forces (primarily economic and political although he was concerned intensively with linguistic implications of cultural domination) that shape the character of postcolonial world in the post-independence period. Starting with *Petals of Blood*, his seminal work, the writer relocates his attention, from the colonial enterprise and the struggle for independence, to the portrayal of neo-colonial influence in formerly colonized countries, and the consequences, mainly economic and cultural, of imperial policy. His fiction clearly mirrors the tendencies and transformations in Kenyan society which are aptly portrayed and commented on since he acknowledges the fact that "with independence there was no real break with the economic and political structures of colonialism. So that what you get with independence is more or less the continuation of the same economic and political structures, but of course these have a cultural reflection which in practice means the total identification of the ruling regimes with the values and outlooks of the former colonial masters, and this is seen even in its exercise of power" (Sander & Lindfors, 2006, p. 229).

Ngũgĩ's ideological background is deeply rooted in the works of Franz Fanon and the political literature of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. In his view, globalization in its current form is characterized by "the ideological and practical imperative of capitalist fundamentalism", wherein capitalism is regarded as "a religious system, with the market as the god-like-mediator in the conflicting claims of its adherents" (Thiong'o, 2004, p. 23). In his understanding, "he who produces should be able to control that which he produces" (Sander & Lindfors, 2006, p. 105). Otherwise, "the so-called underdeveloped world feeds and clothes and shelters the imperialist world" while it "remains impoverished and an object of charity, like the hunting dog that ends up feeding on bones after the master has finished all the meat" (pp. 105–106). The worshipping of the market, that consequently affects other areas of social and political life, leads to further impoverishment of the peasantry which he considers to be the driving force of the Kenyan society.

Ngũgĩ's views on foreign domination and the cycle of economic and political oppression are clearly documented in his novels *Petals of Blood* and *Devil on the Cross.* Set in the small fictional village of Ilmorog, *Petals of Blood* articulates a highly critical view of neo-colonial rule, manifested through a markedly negative portrayal of the new black ruling class. The novel is firmly "rooted in a definite economic and political setting, so that the cultural and psychological conflicts are seen as […] reflections of the material reality under which the peasants and the workers in Kenya are living" (Sander & Lindfors, 2006, pp. 68–69). The novel provides "a panoramic view of the neo-colonial state in the process of consolidating its authority" while foregrounding "the contradictions of modernity in the post-colony, highlighting the presence of unequal economic arrangements, coercive politics and a fetishized national culture" (Gikandi, 2009, p. 129). The story clearly shows that collaboration with foreign investors contributes to the "eternal interminable cycle of destitution and deprivation" (Thiong'o, 2005, p. 377) and paralyzes the country on its way to prosperity. It is infused with Ngũgĩ's "undisguised narrative commentaries" (McLaren, 1995, p. 88), relying heavily on his socialist ideas, which serve a distinct authorial purpose. In fact, "*Petals of Blood* showed Ngũgĩ's willingness to risk a conception of novelistic form which had earned him his initial successes in order to assert political ideas which he considered crucial to the righting of Kenya's social dilemmas" (p. 88).

The novel's polyphonic structure oscillates between individual, yet mutually intertwined stories of four main protagonists: the schoolteacher Munira; the former guerrilla fighter Abdulla, now a shopkeeper; the barmaid/prostitute Wanja; and the young idealist Karega. Their lives intersect in the rural community of Ilmorog, shortly after the exhilaration of the newly acquired independence died down and was supplanted by disappointment and harsh daily realities. Isolated from the prosperous city of Nairobi, Ilmorog epitomizes the overlooked peasant who has to rely on his own resources and hard work. The village and its citizens pay for the ignorance and greed of the new political elite which favours its own interests and profits at any cost, casting the rural community into despair, manifested in its fight with the, both literal and symbolical, drought. The writer thus elucidates how global

interests and corrupt practices at the local level inevitably affect the most vulnerable part of the population.

The despairing situation is aptly exemplified by a contrastive description of Ilmorog's past and present. The past holds images of "women scratching the earth because they seemed at one with the green land" (Thiong'o, 2005, p. 29) and of solidarity in the community: "Ilmorog […] had not always been a small cluster of mud huts lived in only by old men and women and children with occasional visits from wandering herdsmen. It had had its days of glory: thriving villages with a huge population of sturdy peasants…" (p. 145). While in the past "there were no vultures in the sky waiting for the carcasses of dead workers, and no insect-flies feeding on the fat and blood of unsuspecting toilers" (p. 145), "it is the region's economic underdevelopment that comes to shape its character [at present]; in its impoverished landscape and traditions, the outpost becomes an emblem of the failure of national consciousness" (Gikandi, 2009, p. 136). The peasants, who always stand at the centre of *Ngũgĩ*'s vision, have been dislodged from their position and find themselves, once again, on the periphery of the elite's interest.

The bleak portrayal of Ilmorog is in stark contrast with the bustling and prosperous city of Nairobi which has become the centre of new industries, international business, and politics and, according to Ngũgĩ's socialist ideology, embodies the corrupting impact of capitalist and neo-colonial influence. This duality is also transferred, symbolically, to the geographical division of the country by the Trans-Africa Highway which draws a clear line between those who have power and those who are powerless: "[A]bstracted from the vision of oneness, of a collective struggle of the African people, the road brought only the unity of earth's surface: every corner of the continent was now within easy reach of international capitalist robbery and exploitation. That was practical unity" (Thiong'o, 2005, pp. 311–312). Ngũgĩ's ironic stance is apparent in his description of an Ilmorog which completes its transformation "from a deserted village into a sprawling town of stone, iron, concrete, and glass and one or two neon-lights" (p. 313). The idea of prosperity and wealth, associated with the arrival of commerce and investments, is mocked through its association with the local alcoholic drink, *theng'eta*, which draws the investors to Ilmorog in the first place. Once a precious item used in traditional ceremonies, *theng'eta* is turned into a lucrative commodity which loses its original value and is recognized only as a profitable product. Modernization is, thus, literally linked with stupor, lethargy, and apathy of the whole community, and it is seen as only aggravating, if not magnifying, former social differences.

Ngũgĩ's disenchantment with new social tendencies and unflattering post-independence development is reflected predominantly in his negative characterization of the representatives of the new ruling class: Nderi wa Riera (a member of parliament), Kimeria (a businessman), and Chui (a headmaster of Siriana). Embodying authorities in diverse yet crucial spheres of social life (politics, economy, education), these characters function as hallmarks of Ngũgĩ's critique of capitalism, inequality and betrayal. They are portrayed as "unproductive, essentially parasitic, dependent on foreign input" (Williams, 1999, p. 86) and bear all the qualities the writer associates with a capitalistic mind-set. Their dubious and

somewhat schematic portrayal clearly aligns with Ngũgĩ's socialist opinions and his belief that "[t]he socialist system is the only system which stresses interdependence and the only system which encourages cooperation" (Sander & Lindfors, 2006, p. 55). Ngũgĩ's views on the emerging ruling class are crystal clear:

> Imperialism: capitalism: landlords: earthworms. A system that bred hordes of round-bellied jiggers and bedbugs with parasitism and cannibalism as the highest goal in society […] These parasites would always demand the sacrifice of blood from the working masses. These few who had prostituted the whole land turning it over to foreigners for thorough exploitation, would drink people's blood and say hypocritical prayers of devotion to skin oneness and to nationalism even as skeletons of bones walked to lonely graves. The system and its gods and its angels had to be fought consciously, consistently and resolutely by all the working people! (Thiong'o, 2005, p. 409)

Class divisions, portrayed as a dire consequence of capitalism, contribute to social fragmentation which hinders communal attempts at social regeneration. Cooperation and collective effort become some of the crucial themes of the novel; its potential to unify the community is best exemplified by the collective initiative of Ilmorog inhabitants to undertake an arduous journey to Nairobi to visit their local MP and ask for help for the drought-stricken village. While the visit itself puts Ilmorog on the radar of international as well as domestic investors, and eventually brings the long-awaited help, the abovementioned satirical rendering of its transformation is saturated with Ngũgĩ's discontent with the continuing exploitation and oppression of the working classes. Even in his previous novels which extensively elaborated on the myth of the Saviour, the writer never glorified the role of individuals in the process of social rehabilitation. Yet, *Petals of Blood* also views individual zeal and activism as a potential constituent of collective awakening as manifested by Karega's intention to visit the local MP, and the powerful speech of Nyakinyua, Wanja's grandmother, which forges a community spirit and inspires people to oppose the culture of victimization and to take matters into their own hands.

The motive of duality, part of Ngũgĩ's aesthetic practice, is also deployed in his discussion of the role of individual effort and responsibility which is exemplified by the opposite approaches of Munira and Karega. Through these two characters, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o examines the idea of social involvement/commitment as opposed to impassiveness and apathy, and points to the interconnection of individual choices to the prosperity of the whole society. Munira's intentional passivity and detachment from social events posit him in the role of an outsider who is reduced to a mere spectator of social happenings. His reluctance to participate in public life is rooted in his resentment towards his father, a successful landowner, who was regarded as a collaborator with the British colonizers. Throughout his life, Munira always stood on the side, isolated both from his family (father and wife) and society, questioning the rationale for involvement: "He had chosen not to choose, a freedom he daily celebrated" (Thiong'o, 2005, p. 85). At the same time, however, he experiences "the guilt of omission" (p. 73) of not contributing his part to the prosperity of his country. Through the character of Munira, who "prefers the culture

of silence to active political engagement", Ngũgĩ expresses his "sense of disillusionment with the intellectual elite in Kenya" (Ogude, 1999, p. 82).

Similar to Wanja, who is trying to come into terms with her shameful past, Munira sees Ilmorog as an opportunity for a fresh start: "…everything about his past since Siriana was so vague, unreal, a mist…. It was as if there was a big break in the continuity of his life and of his memories" (Thiong'o, 2005, p. 19). His decision to go to Ilmorog, despite its challenges, is seen as "his first conscious act of breaking with this sense of non-being" (p. 19). Despite his wish to detach himself from his father and his own failures, Munira remains isolated within the realm of his classroom. Teaching provides him with a sort of personal contentment; this, however, proves inadequate when faced with acute communal crisis, requiring resolute action and leadership. In the end, Munira's decision to abandon his comfortable neutrality and passivity results in a misguided arson attack that kills three people.

On the other hand, Karega's fiery personality and his quest for "a world in which the wealth of our land shall belong to us all" (Thiong'o, 2005, p. 389) manage to ignite the communal spirit and provoke the previously lethargic villagers to action. Karega associates the country's downfall with its betrayal of revolutionary ideals, as represented by people such as Abdulla, which secured its independence in the first place. As a former student of the now passive Munira, Karega, paradoxically, takes over the initiative to organize the villagers in order to achieve a common goal. His views on the inevitability of solidarity and the need to continue the tradition of resistance provide an optimistic conclusion to a rather bleak novel, and Karega's attempts to pass these ideas onto his students outline a possible way out of the vicious circle of deprivation and oppression. It is the cumulative power of individual struggles that might, according to him, change the oppressive conditions of Kenyan people:

> That Kenya people have had a history of fighting and resistance is […] a fact. Our children must look at things that deformed us yesterday, that are deforming us today. They must also look at the things which formed us yesterday, that will creatively form us into a new breed of men and women who will not be afraid to link hands with children from other lands on the basis of an unashamed immersion in the struggle against those things that dwarf us. (Thiong'o, 2005, p. 294)

By contrasting the different approaches of his characters to communal life and responsibility, Ngũgĩ clearly sanctions a proactive approach, a view that "Africa has to stop acting the grateful beggar to the West and demand its fair share" (2004, p. 26). It requires a thorough self-examination and a revival of collective memory of resistance to oppose, not the colonial oppressors this time, but "one of colonialism's principal legacies in the shape of capitalist modernity" (Williams, 1999, p. 81). Its rather devastating effects, manifested in the form of urbanization, exploitation, and commodification of goods, processes and people (Williams, 1999), are conveyed through the convenient relocation of the focus from the global context to the fictional village of Ilmorog, which functions (once its transformation is complete) as a miniature replica of Nairobi, and thus of Kenya as such. Such a glocal

perspective to the issues discussed is consistent with Ngũgĩ's idea of relocating power from the hands of transnational corporations to the hands of Kenyan peasants which would hopefully bring about an African renaissance.

Ngũgĩ's next novel, *Devil on the Cross* (1982), dedicated to "all Kenyans struggling against the neo-colonial stage of imperialism" (p. 5), takes the discussion on the predicament of Kenyan peasants and their oppression even further. Structured as harsh, unrelenting satire (bordering on the absurd) of the contemporary situation in Kenya, the novel dramatizes the unflattering development in the country, as outlined in *Petals of Blood*, and unapologetically unmasks everyone who participates in the economic deprivation of its population. The urge to convey the message in as blatant a way as possible impacts the form of the novel to such an extent that it departs from novelistic conventions and marks an obvious, though for some, a disconcerting, shift in Ngũgĩ's writing. The "lack of concern for decorum and novelistic niceties" (Williams, 1999, p. 107) dismantles both the structure and the aesthetics of the narrative so that it sometimes reads not as a novel but as a political pamphlet or a treatise. Not abiding to the formalities of the Western form, however, can be also viewed as a symbolic overhaul of power, an emphatic gesture of resistance and abrogation. In fact, *Devil on the Cross* was famously written on a toilet paper roll during Ngũgĩ's detention.

The narrative, set once again in the now-developed Ilmorog, is a continuation of Ngũgĩ's political and social concerns, as thematized in his previous work. It focuses on a group of six diverse characters who are travelling to Ilmorog in a *matatu* taxi to attend a competition in international theft and robbery, the primary stage for Ngũgĩ's remorseless satire and criticism. While the characters represent various layers of Kenyan society, they are endowed with symbolic significance and, in fact, function more as types rather than complex individualities. Unlike in *Petals of Blood*, which features four fully developed, psychologically complex individuals (though they do carry symbolical meaning as well), *Devil on the Cross* relies more on the rhetoric of the characters than on their distinct personalities. Their actions are clearly aligned with the requirements of the narrative which draws its potential force from a compilation of evidence convicting authorities from various spheres of social life of their crimes.

Wariinga, the main female protagonist, seems to be the only exception that escapes a complete typological definition since she is given more space to develop than the other characters. It is through her character that the writer demonstrates the devastating effect of oppression as viewed from a personal standpoint, shifting the focus from the functioning of large corporations and international businesses to the daily life of people who are affected by their mechanisms. At the beginning of the novel, Wariinga finds herself in an unpleasant situation: she has just lost her job because she refused to sleep with her boss; her boyfriend left her because he believed she had an affair with the said boss; and she is also evicted from her apartment because she refused to pay the unreasonable rent. Her frustration and disillusionment leaves Wariinga broken and she battles suicidal thoughts. Wariinga's transformation is ignited precisely by the mysterious competition in international theft and robbery. Hearing the outrageous presentations of the

speakers bragging about their abuse of the community, Wariinga discovers her fiery and passionate personality as well as her nationalist spirit.

Wariinga's individual transformation as a woman (from a victim to an agent of social change) is, therefore, complemented with her growth as a responsible citizen who is deeply rooted in her community. These two processes seem to develop simultaneously and suggest the possibility of a mutual permeation. Her self-realization as a competent citizen, ready to contribute to social change, presupposes a clear sense of her personal identity. Her "desire to realise her social ambition, constantly stifled by forces of capital and male oppression" (Ogude, 1999, p. 81) is satisfied in the final scene of the novel. The story of her empowerment thus locates the potential of social transformation in the people and provides a powerful message to the exploited masses. It is not outlined in an idealized way however; hence Wariinga's last thought that "the hardest struggles of her life's journey lay ahead" (Thiong'o, 1987, p. 254). On the other hand, Wariinga's experience is often interpreted in conjunction with the development of the state itself, again a typical feature of Ngũgĩ's fiction. Wariinga's path to independence and her female identity can be easily paralleled with the awakening of the national spirit in her country.

Wariinga's fully fledged transformation is sharply contrasted with the flat characterization of the distinguished speakers participating in the competition. Here, Ngũgĩ relies heavily on physical descriptions which convey the almost hyperbolic and grotesque personal traits of the characters. The participants of the competition, the primary objects of his ridicule, have protruding bellies and heads shrunk to the size of fists (Thiong'o, 1987, p. 99), they resemble "6-foot praying mantis[es] or mosquito[es]" (p. 108). Their physical shortcomings and deformities clearly embody their greed and the fruits of their exploitative activities which they boast about in front of the audience and distinguished foreign guests. In the words of James Ogude, "[e]ach and every speaker that takes the stage demonstrates, in blunt testimonies, that the postcolony has been turned into a stage for bizarre self-gratification; an absurd display of buffoons, fools and clowns in the feast of 'modern robbery and theft'" (1999, p. 57).

The presentations of the competitors' achievements and their creative ideas concerning the robbery of Kenyan people (some of them even suggest selling air to Kenyan workers) document the predatory nature of the oppressors and their reckless abuse, both of the peasantry and the country's resources. Their subservience to foreign capital is documented by their sycophantic attitude towards investors and businessmen who attend the competition as respected guests. Indeed, the competition represents the culmination of Ngũgĩ's critique as it highlights all modes of exploitation that perpetuate the legacy of imperialism. The testimonies of individual competitors as well as the responses from the audience unmask the gravity and absurdity of neo-colonial exploitation. Clearly, only the fittest—those who are able to adjust to the rules of the environment which idolizes money, avarice, and cunning—survive. According to the master of ceremonies, "[…] theft and robbery are the cornerstones of America and Western civilization. Money is the heart that beats to keep the Western world on the move. If you people want to build a great

civilization like ours, then kneel down before the god of money […] Look only on the splendid face of money, and you'll never, never go wrong. It's far better to drink the blood of your people and to eat their flesh than to retreat a step" (Thiong'o, 1987, p. 89).

The collaborative nature of the relationship between Kenyan, in Ngũgĩ's words, robbers, and representatives of foreign institutions is problematized further in the portrayal of their unequal positions. According to Patrick Williams, the power of the black capitalist class in Kenya is derivative since it is given or withheld by the international capitalists (1999, p. 106). In fact, he says, "they have no power whatsoever beyond their national borders, even though they do possess enormous repressive as well as exploitative powers within those borders" (p. 106.). This fact is displayed by the writer in such an explicit manner that there is no room for doubt about their actual impotence. In other words, this class "cannot survive without the patronage of their foreign masters. Part of their fundamental weakness is that they are disposed to parasitism, selfishness, greed, and naked exploitation of workers and peasants through cunning rather than creative entrepreneurship and hard work" (Ogude, 1999, p. 64). The novel thus exposes their blatant complicity in the perpetuation of the cycle of deprivation:

> […] from now on I shall no longer call you slaves or servants in public. Now you are truly my friends. Why? Because even after I had given you back the keys to your country, you continued to fulfil my commandments and to protect my property, making my capital yield a higher rate of profit than was the case when I myself used to carry the keys. Therefore I shall not call you servants again. For a servant does not know the aims and thoughts of his master. But I call you my friends because you know […] all my plans for this country […]. (Thiong'o, 1987, p. 86)

However, just like in *Petals of Blood* and Ngũgĩ's previous novels, there is a hint of a developing resistance, a wave of disagreement with and protest against the current distribution of power. It manifests its force towards the end of the novel when university students storm the premises of the competition to support the workers in their struggle against the thieves and robbers. Their intervention provides a crucial shift in rhetoric and interrupts the seemingly one-sided conversation focused on constant bragging and uncritical self-promotion of the new elite. It gives rise to a different voice, one that could represent a forceful opposition to the exploitative minority and put an end to their disreputable activities. The power of solidarity and a united community has become a typical trope of Ngũgĩ's fiction, one that draws on the tradition of resistance in Kenyan history and skilfully interweaves past achievements of resistance fighters with the present needs of the society. The leader of Ilmorog's students articulates the need of joint action in the fight against oppression and outlines the function of a committed intelligentsia:

> Let us join hands with the working people in their just war against the drinking of human blood, the eating of human flesh, and the many other crimes perpetrated by imperialism in its neo-colonial stage. Let us join hands with the workers as they struggle to build a house that will benefit all the builders. (Thiong'o, 1987, p. 209)

The novel also hints at the idea of violent resistance which has been discussed in Ngũgĩ's previous novels as well. Wariinga's metamorphosis, from a victim of abuse and exploitation into a successful, self-confident, woman who knows her worth, completes the cycle of her regeneration. Roused "from her mental slavery" (Thiong'o, 1987, p. 254), Wariinga takes charge of her life and is, both metaphorically and literally, in complete control of the situation. The game of the hunter and the hunted, which her boss—The Rich Old Man—used to force her to play with him, is concluded with a symbolic role reversal. It is Wariinga who holds the gun in her hand now and has her former abuser kneeling in front of her, clinging to her, pleading for his life. His murder is an emphatic gesture, one that responds to power and authority with a similarly potent and unmistakable force. The act of killing the man who represents the very vices of the modern society is one that "shall save many other people, whose lives will not be ruined by words of honey and perfume" (p. 253). Although the writer never seems to venerate a specific Saviour figure that would (re)establish the system of a balanced division of power, it is, nonetheless, obvious that the process has to start with individual effort. Wariinga's climactic act at the end of the novel thus might propel a communal activity that would wake the people from their slumber.

To conclude, while Ngũgĩ's portrayal of the dominance of foreign capital and neo-colonial elite over Kenyan peasantry is rooted in scepticism and pessimism, his fiction also seeks to engage the target audience in a dialogue about commitment and transformation. It is obvious that although "the levers of power in Kenya are clearly held by the black neo-colonial elite, they are in effect no more than intermediaries: at best self-serving middlemen, at worst puppets whose strings are pulled by the immeasurably more powerful and faceless system of capitalism, operating in its global mode as imperialism" (Williams, 1999, p. 96). The sharp critique of the political and economic stupor in postcolonial Kenya is rendered through stories of local people who struggle with the consequences of the often global actions on a daily basis. It is through the stories of local provenance that the writer dismantles the narratives of neo-colonial exploitation as a residue of imperialism. Both novels document that the power to overturn oppressive tendencies is located in the people themselves. Yet in the wake of Ngũgĩ's socialist vision, change requires a committed society that would operate in a 'solidarity' mode.

Ngũgĩ's writing clearly demonstrates the rootedness of postcolonial literature in glocal context as it articulates the glocal rendering of both political and economic events that trouble the postcolonial world. His acute portrayal of global, neo-colonial, domination of former colonies, manifested primarily in the form of economic exploitation of both domestic and international investors, is translated into stern observations about local practices and local communities. Such a perspective enables him to capture processes of global scale, yet it also allows him to cast a critical eye over their local particularities that might otherwise go unnoticed in a more general discussion (or vice versa). The fusion of global and local thus proves extremely beneficial especially in committed writing that strives for social change and transformation since it facilitates our understanding of both local and global context. In case of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, it helps him to engage the readership

with social issues, and to disseminate his vision of potential paths leading to social regeneration, while contemplating the consequences of local economic and political tendencies in relation to the postcolonial world.

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Chapter 13
Textual Deformation in Translating Literature: An Arabic Version of Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*

Mohamed-Habib Kahlaoui

Introduction

African Igbo tribal beliefs, norms, practices, and symbolic or proverbial lore are recurrent literary features in Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, a West African novel in English, globally acclaimed as an icon of post-colonial literature, widely translated into world languages, and yet inadequately approached from a translational perspective that would elucidate the literary text's cross-cultural and interlingual mobility.

The present paper claims that the very cultural indicators which constitute the novel's literary splendour often announce the misery of translation in the receiving culture (Ortega, 1937). The text's different forms of alterity, and the dense network of irreducible intercultural differences, are alluring and yet alienating, often conducive to deforming tendencies (Berman, 2000) that occur within the literary prose. These tendencies produce a qualitative and quantitative impoverishment, the destruction of underlying patterns of signification, the effacement of the superimposition of languages, and even censorship of foreignness. Thus, questions arise about the very validity of the whole process, especially when the translator proves insufficiently conversant with the source culture to undertake effective intercultural mediation.

Initially, the paper focuses on the strategies and techniques employed by Samir Nassar's (2002) */'aŝya:'un tatada:'a:/* أشياء تتداعى in translating Igbo cultural content into Arabic. It also claims that the irresistible simplicity of Achebe's English prose style in *Things Fall Apart* has often led Nassar not only into various forms of source culture deferral, such as compensation, annexation and exclusion, but also into the destruction of the literary text's aesthetic value.

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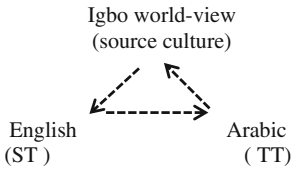
Theoretical Background

Things Fall Apart's hybrid nature is detectable in a three-move transfer process whereby the Igbo worldview is not mediated in the language of the source culture (Igbo), but through the filter of a Germanic language (English) that conveys an entirely different world-view. The English version is then rendered into a third language, Arabic, which has developed in a substantially different socio-cultural context:

Reading the Arabic translated version, therefore, requires consideration of the three main contextual perspectives that this task involves:



1. the macro-context of scholarly discourse on translation with a special focus on the *cultural turn* in Translation Studies (henceforth TS)
2. the micro-context of culture-specific semiotic units in discourse which constitute a salient feature of the ST's identity
3. the domain of literary translation assessment

If most scholars agree that over the last five decades TS has acquired an autonomous status, detectable mostly in its core object of study and distinctive metalanguage, none denies that the attendant scholarly discourse has long interfaced with several disciplines, sometimes as different as Philosophy and Language Engineering (Manfredi, 2008, p. 29), with the main one being Linguistics. The major shifts in focus and methodology seen in language study, from prescriptivism to post-structuralism, have been almost systematically echoed in various approaches to translation. Table 13.1 highlights the five phases that have marked both domains.

Methodologically, it is pertinent to note that with the descriptive stage, research on translation has become systematic, intuition-free, and marked by two competing orientations: a formalist interest in technique on the one hand and a strong functionalism yoking translation to cultural and ideological agendas on the other (Venuti, 2000, p. 12). However, functionalism is not just an attempt to move away from technical formalism and atomistic approaches that reduce the translation process to mere interlingual substitution (Catford, 1965; Nida, 1964). It amounts, in Foucault's term, to an emergent *episteme,* described as the Cultural Turn in TS (Lefevere, 1992), where translation is no longer conceived as a transaction between two languages, but rather as "a more complex negotiation between two cultures" (Trivedi, 2005, p. 4). For Casagrande (1954), who considers culture superordinate to language, one does not translate languages but cultures. Hence, Aixelà (1996) maintains that "in a language everything is culturally produced, beginning with

Table 13.1 The interface between linguistics and translation studies

	Linguistics		Translation studies	
	Approaches	Major domains	Approaches	Major domains
Phase 1	• Speculative • Semantic • Taxonomic *Traditional Grammarians*	• Philology • Meaning • Parts of speech • Rules	• Speculative/intuitive • Literature-oriented	• Commentaries on literary/sacred texts • Fidelity to the ST • Free/literal translation • Translation as a literary genre
Phase 2	• Prescriptive • Diachronic *Philologists*	• Written language • Language families • Language universals	• Prescriptive • Taxonomic	• Written literature • Translatability • Norms, quality, acceptability, • TT evaluation
Phase 3	• Applied and experimental *Applied linguists*	• Teaching • Learning • Error analysis • Translation	• Contrastive • Applied Linguistics-oriented	• Techniques • Shifts • Translation types • Translation errors
Phase 4	• Descriptive and technical *Formalists and functionalists*	• How language works / synchrony • Form • Function • Spoken discourse	• Descriptive • Linguistics-oriented (formal and functional)	• How the translation process works • Text • Equivalence • Function
Phase 5	• Poststructuralist	• Discourse Analysis • Pragmatics • Communication theories • Text Linguistics • Contrastive Rhetoric	• Explicative • Interdisciplinary approaches	• Translation as manipulation • Context rehabilitated • Process-oriented research • Intercultural translation • Audio-visual translation

language itself" (p. 57). This statement epitomizes a new paradigm in TS, pioneered and refined by such scholars as Lefevere (1992), Even-Zohar (1978), Bhabha (1994), Pettersson (1999), and Tymoczko (1999). A theoretical framework has gradually emerged which has enabled extensive exploration in this domain. In turn, this interest in culture has been built on the seminal work of many prominent scholars who have addressed the issue of interlingual transfer, such as Schleirmacher (1813), Humboldt (1836/1999), Sapir (1921), Whorf (1956), Hjelmslev (1943), Malinowski (1965), even including prominent formalists like Nida (1964) and Newmark (1988).

A reason culture has recurrently been significant for TS scholars is that literary source texts convey concepts and terms referred to as culture-specific/bound items (Newmark, 1988; Trivedi, 2005), rather like religious and artistic words that often resist interlingual transfer. These words are the visible trace of culture in languages. They are defined by Aixelà (1996) as "those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the non-existence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural

system of the readers of the target text" (p. 58). Such culture-bound words have attracted scholarly attention since the early translations of religious and literary texts. Having divided cultural problems encountered in translation into extra- and intra-linguistic ones, Leppihalme (1997, p. 2) argues that some researchers, like Nida (1964), have focused mainly on natural and man-made extralinguistic phenomena (winds, buildings, social institutions, and so on). Baker (1992) sees that these items include abstract referents, such as beliefs, and concrete ones, like natural phenomena. She highlights the intralinguistic and pragmatic aspect which includes metaphorical and idiomatic expressions, proverbial lore, and ways of complimenting and apologizing. For Catford (1965), culture-specific items are associated with two types of untranslatability, linguistic and cultural. Linguistic untranslatability is triggered by the absence in the TL of a *formal* feature that is functional in the SL text, whereas cultural untranslatability arises when "a situational feature, functionally relevant for the SL text, is completely absent in the culture of which the TL is a part" (Catford, 1965, p. 99). Advocates of translatability, like Nida (1964), Nida and Charles (1969), Newmark (1988), Snell-Hornby (1995) and others have produced more persuasive arguments, like the existence of linguistic, cognitive and cultural *universals*, or the notion of "relative equivalence". Different translation techniques have been suggested by Newmark (1988), Graedler (2000), and Harvey (2000). Newmark's taxonomy, for instance, consists of twelve translation procedures for dealing with cultural words; these include, for instance, transference, naturalization, recognized translation, shifts or transpositions and translation by modulation (Newmark, 1988).

In this respect, it was only with scholars of the Cultural Turn that interest in the translatability of these visible markers developed from atomistic and taxonomic description into systematic exploration of the whole translation process and its constitutive factors. The major shift then was from culture-specific words to culture-specific languages. Bassnet and Lefevere argue that "neither the word nor the text but the culture becomes the operational 'unit' of translation" (1995, p. 8). Literary source texts have thus been approached here as being constituted not mainly of language but of culture. Lefevere (1992) identifies several extra-linguistic factors to be taken into account in translation analysis. They include audience, the authority of patrons and the dominant culture, cultural image, and experts who check the commissioned translation. With this phase, which dethroned the text in favour of the context, TS is no longer concerned with equivalence or fidelity issues. Instead, recent focus has been on macro, extra-textual cultural and ideological parameters. The conviction that translated texts no longer exist outside the wider cultural context of ideological and power-based relations has generated a multitude of paradigms and a prolific metalanguage. Nevertheless, recent TS research tends to relativize this cultural "dogma" and suggests what seems to be a weaker version of the hypothesis. Manfreidi (2008) maintains that taking account of culture does not necessarily mean having to dismiss any kind of linguistic approach to translation. The two approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Indicators of Culture in Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*

Culture and Translation

In *Primitive Culture* (1871), Taylor defines culture as that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society. This nineteenth-century definition has lacked substantial modification in contemporary linguistic and anthropological discourse. Riley (2007), for instance, merely shifts the focus towards the global, from "man as a member of society" to humanity. For him "culture has retained from its origins ('cultivated land') a metaphorical opposition to 'nature': it is a product of human activity and effort, the sum of knowledge which humanity has produced, accumulated, stored and transmitted through history." (p. 22). Put differently, the shift in focus is from a (lower case) *culture* to a (capitalized) *Culture.* The correlation of culture to translation has therefore been governed by the human *need* for coexistence and mutual understanding on this multi-cultural planet. In fact, translation, according to Yan and Huang (2014), is "the product of cultural exchange" (p. 490).

Major Cultural Indicators in Things Fall Apart

The cultural overlap between the source culture (Igbo), the language of narration (English), and the language of the TT (Arabic) is detectable in an extensive network of culture-bound signifiers, culturemes, and proverbial and idiomatic expressions which could not be rendered intact into the TL and are often supported in translation by endless footnoting that jeopardizes the text's literariness. Thus, these cultural units add to the translator's predicament when seeking to preserve the novel's aesthetic effect. In what follows, a fairly comprehensive table seeks to map the diverse domains generative of visible cultural indicators (Table 13.2).

Corpus Analysis

The following corpus, made of seventeen translation units, is extracted from a larger selection, each unit consisting of at least one textual deformation that undermines restitution of meaning and effect. Deformations are identified, categorized, described, diagnosed and a more effective solution often suggested or alluded to. The corpus is displayed as given in Table 13.3.

Table 13.2 Major cultural indicators in *Things Fall Apart*

Ancestral feasts	Symbols and metaphors
Animals	Public speeches
Beliefs and rituals	Songs
Communal ceremonies	Culinary language
Culturemes	Narratives and fables
Diseases and medicinal care	Names and nicknames
Dwellings	Attire
Entertainment activities	Titles of honour
Musical instruments	Gestures and modes of address
Nocturnal life and creatures	Igbo language and pidgins
Sport and activities	Laws
Time division (seasons, months…)	Men's and women's talk
Trees, plants, vegetation	Language of immortal spirits
Values/norms/customs	Proverbs and sayings

Table 13.3 (ST: source text/TT: translated text/BT: back translation)

ST	*Things Fall Apart*
	Gloss: break into pieces/collapse
TT	أشياء تتداعى
	تتصدّع

Commentary

It is important to focus on the translation of the title because, as shown in Lejeune (1975), Genette (1987), and Nord (1995), paratextual features constitute the threshold over which the reader is encouraged inwards towards the text. The failure of a translator to grasp the link between the ST title, the text, and authorial intention, will have a detrimental effect on the end-product. This Arabic translation is neither sensitive to the peritextual poetic context in which the title is used nor faithful to the lexical meaning of the verb in question. In fact, the title of *Things Fall Apart* is extracted from W. B. Yeats' (1919) poem 'The Second Coming'. Written in the aftermath of the First World War, it describes an apocalyptic vision of a world sliding into chaos because of a flaw in humanity:

> Turning and turning in the widening gyre
> The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
> Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.

In translation, such peritextual information is highly pertinent as it alludes to the tragic fall of the tribal Umofian world because of a similar flaw in humanity.

Table 13.4 Translation unit 1

ST	*It was this man that Okonkwo threw in a fight which the old men agreed was one of the fiercest since the founder of their town engaged a spirit of the wild for seven days and seven nights*
	Gloss: began fighting a malicious and hostile spirit
TT	وهو الرجل الذي طرحه أوكونكو أرضا في قتال وافق الرّجل العجوز على انّه أشرس قتال منذ تصارع مؤسّس بلدتهم مع روح البراري مدّة سبعة ايّام وسبع ليال.
	BT: fight: قتال "lethal fighting" – the old men: الرجل العجوز (the old man) – agreed: وافق (approve) – since… nights: "since the founder of their village got involved in a fight with the spirit of wilderness (deserts) for seven days and seven nights"

Secondly, the Arabic verb suggested here is, as shown in the back translation, an instance of mistranslation. Compared with "fall apart" which denotes 'breakdown', /tada:ʿa:/تداعى is used in Arabic to indicate a fissured structure which *might* trigger prospective downfall, but not in order to indicate collapse. The original title corresponds to Genette's thematic titles, and, because it alludes to the major theme in the novel, any deviation in the TT from the original meaning will strip the title of its denotative and connotative capacities (Table 13.4).

Commentary

The first case of deformation includes another instance of mistranslation. The choice of the noun /qitƐ:l/ قتال, derived from /qatala/(kill) as an equivalent for *fight* is not felicitous. The key to an effective solution, like /nizƐ:l/ duel / نزال, is detectable in the four semantic features present in the source unit: *fight*, *the fiercest*, *engaged* and *seven days and seven nights*, the last feature denoting the epic proportions of the fight. The equivalents—/nizƐ:l/ , /muna:zala/ منازلة or /muqa:ra'a مقارعة / ('struggle')—collocate well with malicious spirits.

The second case involves an arbitrary translation of the plural *the old men* into the singular "the old man الرّجل العجوز". In Igbo society, old men are venerated, enjoy a privileged status in the tribal hierarchy, and epitomize wisdom and are thus referred to using the reverential plural.

The third case of deformation is found in the misperception of the difference between the morphologically-related verbs /wƐ:faqa/ وافق to mean 'approve' and /'ittafaqa/ اتّفق, which means 'agree/are unanimous on'. The first, which is the translator's option, is incompatible with the context of the source unit.

The fourth case is a longer translation unit loaded with several cultural connotations often lost in translation. This is because the literal strategy at work confounds ordinary and literary language and fails to reproduce the aesthetic value of the source unit and its gratifying effects. This takes translation into what Berman

Table 13.5 Translation unit 2

ST	*Okonkwo's fame had grown like a bush-fire in the harmattan*
	Gloss: a dry, dusty wind that blows from the Sahara in northern Africa toward the Atlantic, especially from November to March
TT	انتشرت شهرة أوكونكو كحريق غابة أثناء هبوب رياح الحرور.
	BT: *harmattan*: *ارياح الحرور aru:r winds*

calls qualitative impoverishment. The replacement process "decisively effaces a good portion of its signifying process and mode of expression" (Berman, 2000: 291). A less flattened end-product would read as follows:

"حتّى أطاح به أوكونكو في منازلة أجمع شيوخ القرى على أنّها أشرس ما شهدته البلاد منذ الواقعة التي هبّ فيها جدّ أجدادهم ينازل روحا شرّيرة سبعة أيّام وسبع ليال".

BT: ... *until he was thrown by Okonkwo in a fight which the old men agreed was one of the fiercest in living memory since their forefather engaged a spirit of the wild for seven days and seven nights* (Table 13.5).

Commentary

Regardless of the ineffective restitution of the past perfect, this Arabic translation is, in Berman's terms a case of empty expansion, where addition adds nothing (الحرور أثناء هبوب رياح), instead it augments only the gross mass of text without increasing its way of signifying (p. 290). But the major problem encountered in this translation unit is the replacement of a cultural signifier /ḥaru:r/ winds, which is typical of one semiosphere (intense nocturnal heat), with a cultural signifier, *Harmattan,* from an outer semiosphere (Lotman, 1984). Many similar instances of infelicitous replacements of culture signifiers are detectable in Nassar's translation (Table 13.6).

Commentary

The word *cowry* refers to egg-shaped sea-snail shells, in Arabic /wada`a/ ودعة, which for centuries were used as currency in Africa. The fact that the cowry later acquired a cultural identity as a unit of currency that was not necessarily adopted elsewhere, is a valid argument for the translator to simply transliterate the English word into / qu:riya/, instead of using the Arabic literal equivalent referring to sea snails as a group. Once again, the sterile literal translation strategy fails to communicate a cultural specificity to the Arabic reader (Table 13.7).

Table 13.6 Translation unit 3

ST	*He owed every neighbour some money, from a few cowries to quite substantial amounts*
	Gloss: a trade currency
TT	فقد استدان من كلّ جار مبلغا من المال تراوح بين بضع ودعات حتى مبالغ كبيرة حقًا.
	BT: *a few cowries* بضع ودعات / sea shell

Table 13.7 Translation unit 4

ST	*He immediately bought gourds of palm-wine*
	Gloss: gourd—a type of large fruit often dried and used as a container.
TT	كان يشتري به فورا قرعات نبيذ نخيل
	BT: *"He used to buy with it immediately…"* Gourds: "*pumpkins of palm (tree) wine*"

Table 13.8 Translation unit 5

ST	*People laughed at him because he was a loafer*
	Gloss: ***someone*** *who spends his/her time in idleness*
TT	فسخر منه النّاس لأنّه كان صعلوكا.
	BT: "vagabond poets" who dissented from their tribes in pre-Islamic Arabia

Commentary

Two problems are detectable here. First, "palm-wine" is literally rendered as /nabi:ḍ nakhl/, which is odd in Arabic since /nakhl/ refers to 'palm-tree' and the beverage is created from date-palms. The equivalent is rather /nabi:ḍ tamr/, translatable as 'date-wine' نبيذ التمر. The second oddity lies in the use of the literal meaning of "gourd"—'pumpkin' قرعة—instead of, for example /ziqq/ زقّ, which in Arabic collocates with /nabi:ḍ / wine" (Table 13.8).

Commentary

The translator seems unaware that the signifier /su`lu:k/ صعلوك, projected as an equivalent to "loafer", belongs to an outer semiosphere. The Arabic word is overcharged with cultural connotations and values; it refers to what was translated by Roger Allen (2000, p. 10) as "vagabond poets"; those who dissented from or quarrelled with their tribes in pre-Islamic Arabia and glorified deprivation, solitude and the company of wild animals. To change 'idleness' into a concept which evokes schismatic behaviour, that might characterize a poetic persona, is simply an example of oversimplification that obstructs cultural mediation. In Berman's terms,

Table 13.9 Translation unit 6

ST	*... and proverbs are the palm-oil with which words are eaten*
	Gloss: The "ritualistic" use of proverbs in African conversion and oral literature.
TT	والأمثال هي زيت النّخيل الذي تؤكل الكلمات معه.

this type of deformation corresponds to what he calls destruction of expressions and idioms, or an ethnocentric replacement of linguistic and cultural images into the target language (Table 13.9).

Commentary

This is another instance of sterile literal transfer which fails to preserve both original meaning and cultural connotation. At the root of this deformation is the literal restitution of the words "are eaten" /tu'kalu/ تؤك. The Arabic end-product is not only infelicitous but stylistically deficient. It violates the norms of literary translation and fails to retain the ease and flow of the source unit. This deformation corresponds to Berman's qualitative impoverishment: the replacement of words and expressions with equivalents in the target language that lack their sonorous richness or signifying features. A possible solution might be sought around the verb /*'i'tadama*/ ائتدم rather than /*'akala*/ أكل. The verb suggested is derived from the noun /*'ide:m*/ إدام, a sauce or fat which adds flavour to eating:

(ففي مجتمع الإيبو تعد المحادثة فنّا بالغ الرّفعة) حيث الأقوال المأثورة بمثابة زيت النّخيل الذي يؤتدم به الحديث.

BT: *...where proverbs are to speaking what condiment is to a meal.*

Lastly, it is worth noting that the English "with" in the source unit is translatable in Arabic (depending on the context of use), into either the preposition /ma`a/ مع to denote accompaniment, or into the preposition /bi/ بـ to convey instrumentality. Thus, in the context of the source unit, the use of /ma`a/ is simply a miscollocation, which contributes, in Berman's terms, to the destruction of the linguistic patterning (Table 13.10).

Commentary

This translation strips the ST of the most remarkable characteristic of literary writing, its aesthetic effect and the pleasure it creates for the reader; or what Torop (2000) calls the *dominant* or focusing component of a work of art: what has been gracefully conveyed by rich and detailed description, and by the subtle evoking of

Table 13.10 Translation unit 7

ST	*He could hear in his mind's ear the blood-stirring and intricate rhythms of the ekwe and the udu and the ogene, and he could hear his own flute weaving in and out of them, decorating them with a colourful and plaintive tune. The total effect was gay and brisk, but if one picked out the flute as it went up and down and then broke up into short snatches, one saw that there was sorrow and grief there*
TT	فهو يسمع بأذن عقله إيقاعات الإيكوي والأودودو والأوجيني المتشابكة والمثيرة للدّم ويسمع صوت نايه يتلوّى داخلا في هذه الايقاعات وخارجا منها، مزيّنا إيّاها بنغمة ملوّنة وحزينة. فكان التأثير الإجمالي لها مرحا ورشيقا، لكنّ الانسان لو التقط صوت النّاي في علوّه وخفوته وجزّأه إلى نتف صغيرة لرأى فيه الأسى والحزن.
	BT: *"with the ear of his mind" /"stimulating blood" / "entangled" /"twisting into" / "adorned with" / "sad" / "pick up"*

vivid images through complex patterning, is completely lost in a word-for-word strategy. The effect produced for the TT reader has been severely undermined because the literary work's aesthetic value has not been given due consideration in the Arabic version. For such an ST to be effectively approached, the translator is expected to fully understand its content, decipher its structure and, most importantly, not to act precipitately. This tendency to oversimplify the translation process leads, in Berman's terms, to qualitative impoverishment of the TT.

A less literal approach, that takes into consideration the inspirational function of the source unit and the sense of delight it is supposed to create among readers, would read:

لقد كانت لديه القدرة على تمثّل الإيقاعات الآسرة الغامضة، تلك التي تجري منه مجرى الدّم في الشرايين، الإيكوي والأودو والأوجين، بل ويتميّز منها ذبذبات أنغامه وهي تتردّد من مزماره فتضفي عليها وقعا شجيّا وهّاجا. ولئن كان وقع تلك الأنغام يستثير في مجمله البهجة والحياة، فإنّه ما إن تُستلّ منها ترانيم مزماره في علوّها وخفوتها، وتُفكّك إلى مقطوعات صغيرة حتّى يقف المرء على عمق الشجن والأسى المعتملين فيها.

Approximate BT: *He could discern the enchanting and intricate rhythms of the ekwe and the udu and the ogene, and he could even discern the vibrations of his own flute reverberating with a touch of colourful and tender tune. It's true that the total effect was gay and lively, but if one picked out that tune as it went up and down and then decoded it into short snatches, one realized the surge of sorrow and grief there* (Table 13.11).

Commentary

Another example of the destruction of the underlying network of signification is the translation of "of Umuofia" into "resident of Umuofia" which attenuates the

Table 13.11 Translation unit 8

ST	*And so when Okonkwo of Umuofia arrived at Mbaino as the proud and imperious emissary of war, he was treated with great honour and respect*
	Gloss: of Umuofia: descendent/scion
TT	هكذا ، وحينما وصل أوكونكوو المقيم في أوموفيا إلى مباينو بصفته مبعوث الحرب المتكبّر والمتغطرس عومل بشرف واحترام شديدين.
	BT: "resident of Umuofia", "as the arrogant and haughty war emissary"

Table 13.12 Translation unit 9

ST	*Near the barn was a small house, "the medicine house" or shrine where Okonkwo kept the wooden symbols of his personal god and of his ancestral spirits*
TT	قرب مخزن الغلال، قامت دار صغيرة، « دار الدواء» أو المقام، حيث يحتفظ أوكونكوو بالرّموز الخشبية لآلهته الشخصية وأرواح أجداده.
	BT: "*drug house*"/"*sanctuary*" "*personal gods*"

laudatory effect of the preposition 'of'. The Arabic solution lies simply in the adjective /sali:l/ سليل, a near equivalent of the English 'son of'.

A second deformation is evident in the translation of the positive "proud" as the negative 'haughty' /mutakabbir/ and of "imperious" into the Arabic equivalent of 'conceited' متغطرس. This type of deformation, which divests Okonkwo of honour, corresponds to Berman's destruction of underlying networks of signification (Table 13.12).

Commentary

In rural Africa, medicine house, medicine man, and war medicine denote not only medical healing, but also protection from malevolent forces, spirits, and magic. This cultural meaning is not detectable in *the house of drugs*, which is a back translation from Arabic. Like most of the previous units, this sentence proves that translating literary texts, particularly those of a hybrid nature, involves more than linguistic knowledge, particularly where the culture conveyed and the language of mediation are half a world apart (Table 13.13).

Table 13.13 Translation unit 10

ST	*She wore the anklet of her husband's titles*
	Gloss: anklet of (his) titles: when a man achieves a title, he wears a special anklet (s) to indicate his title
TT	وقد لبست خلخال ألقاب زوجها.

Commentary

Approached literally, the meaning of the ST is distorted in a way that severely affects readability in the TL. A possible solution that combines fidelity to both languages, to content in the SL and form in the TL, is to verbalize the noun 'anklet' in Arabic and use the equivalent of 'ornament' /qilɛ:da/ قلادة, which collocates with "titles": وقد تخلّلت بقلائد القاب زوجها. The verb */tawashaḥa/* 'adorned himself'—/from وشاح—which also carries the idea of a piece of material being used as an ornament—fits the context and belongs to the same semantic field here, but is far from conveying the semantic features of */takhallala/* تخلّل (wear as anklet) (Table 13.14).

Commentary

The transfer into Arabic of such a unit, which includes several culture words related to culinary language, is once again hampered by the word-for-word option. First, the translation of "calabashes" as /aw'iyatu-l-qara'i/ أوعية القرع, literally 'pumpkin vessel', is an instance of cultural deformation, as the word 'calabash' refers not to pumpkin but to a large round fruit with very hard skin produced by a tropical tree. Second, the Arabic word */ṭa:satun/* طاسة, used for "wooden bowls", is a mistranslation, since it is associated with copper not wood. Third, the translation of "wooden mortars" as /hawnɛt khashabiya/ هاونات خشبية is very odd, because the word هاون, 'mortar' in Arabic, is associated with its military connotations, and if used in a culinary context it refers, according to Arabic dictionaries, to round vessels, curved inwards and made of steel or copper (Table 13.15).

Table 13.14 Translation unit 11

ST	*All cooking pots, calabashes and wooden bowls were thoroughly washed, especially the wooden mortar in which yam was pounded*
TT	فتغسل جيّدا جميع قدور الطبخ، وأوعية القرع والطاسات الخشبية وخاصة الهاونات الخشبية التي يسحق فيها اليوم.
	BT: *"pumpkin vesse"l/"wooden pan"/"wooden mortar"*

Table 13.15 Translation unit 12

ST	*... to invite large numbers of guests from far and wide*
	Idiomatic expression literally translated
TT	أن يدعو أعدادا كبيرة من الضيوف من النواحي البعيدة والواسعة.

Table 13.16 Translation unit 13

ST	*The harmattan was in the air and seemed to distill a hazy feeling of sleep on the world*
TT	لاحت ريح الهارماتان في الجوّ وقد بدا أنّها تقطّر شعور نوم مصبّب على العالم.

Commentary

This is a case of destruction of expressions and idioms in Berman's negative analytic. The idiomatic expression "from far and wide", which means "from many distant and geographically separate places", is rendered literally as 'from places far and wide', in which 'wide' is the opposite of 'narrow'. The Arabic version of Achebe's novel abounds in similar examples that reflect the ravages of sterile literalism when adopted as a strategy for translating literature (Table 13.16).

Commentary

The natural scene delicately captured in the language of the ST writer is very poorly conveyed by Nassar. Once again, he fails to transfer the literary text's dominant feature, i.e. its aesthetic function, the feature which guarantees the integrity of the structure and distinguishes literary from non-literary language. Here, too, the verb /laːḥa/ لاح (come into view) fails to collocate with *Harmattan* and does not translate the idiom "in the air" properly because it is something rather felt than seen. The second clause distorts the vivid image conveyed in English. The verb that corresponds to "distill" and fits the context is */istaqtara/* استقطر, not *Qattara/* (drip), and the past participle */muṣabbab/* مصبّب 'poured', an addition to the ST, is a deficient choice that damages both the image created and the intended effect on the reader. A possible alternative translation should take into consideration the cataphorical reference to and symbolism of the coming of the locusts to "colonize" the fields and, with their weight, break the branches of the trees in Umuofia and the neighbouring villages (Table 13.17).

استشعر النّاس نذر الهارمتان في الأجواء، وبدت كما لو أنّها تستقطر على العالم رغبة غائمة في النّوم.

Table 13.17 Translation unit 14

ST	*She was rewarded by occasional spells of health during which Ezinma bubbled with energy like fresh palm-wine*
TT	وكوفئت بنوبات عرضية من الصحّة فارت إبزينما أثناءها بالحيوية كنبيذ النخل الطازج.

Table 13.18 Translation unit 15

ST_1	***"And from Umofia labourers went forth into the Lord's vineyard***
TT_1	ومن أوموفيا انطلق العاملون إلى كرمة الرّب.
ST_2	*He should have known that the kingdom of God did not depend on large crowds. Our Lord Himself stressed the importance of fewness. Narrow is the way and few the number. To fill the lord's temple with an idolatrous crowd clamouring for signs was a folly of everlasting consequence*
TT_2	" كان عليه أن يعلم أن مملكة الرّب لا تقوم على الجماهير الغفيرة. فالسيّد المسيح نفسه شدّد على أهميّة القلّة. ضيّق هو هذا الطريق وقليل هو العدد. وأن تملأ معبد الرّب المقدّس بجمهور وثني يصرخ مطالبا بعلامات كان حماقة لها عواقب دائمة".

Commentary

The translation of "spells of health" into /nawba:t mina-ṣ-ṣiḥati/ نوبات من الصحّة is neither appropriate in Arabic, as it is a miscollocation, nor faithful to the English unit and its cultural context. Everybody in the village knew that Ezinma, Ekwefi's only daughter was an Ogbanje, a child possessed by an evil spirit, which is why she experienced intermittent bouts of sickness and good health. An effective translation would take into consideration these linguistic and cultural factors (Table 13.18).

Commentary

These two source units are compiled in the same table as they involve a cultural specificity not dealt with in the previous corpus: religious discourse. Used in *Things Fall Apart* as the powerful instrument of a missionary agenda, this discourse consists of Christian beliefs, concepts, and expressions conveying liturgical, historical, and emotional overtones. In such a context, familiarity with Arabic Christian discourse, namely the Arabic versions of the Bible, is as crucial to effective restitution of meaning as linguistic proficiency. In fact, religious discourse is not only language, but also form, content, and effect.

Both TT units reaffirm the translator's commitment to the ST's surface. 'Labourers' is poorly translated into 'workers' /al'a:miluna/ العاملون and 'the Lord's vineyard' into 'the grapevine of god' */karmatu-r-rabbi/* كرمة الرّب. 'Workers' is an undertranslation of the biblical meaning of strenuous physical hard labour required for planting, maintaining and harvesting vineyards in the first century, whereas 'the Lord's vineyard' is a symbol for a field of spiritual labour. In the scriptures, it usually refers to the kingdom of God. The translation suggested would read as follows: "ومن أوموفيا نفر المتعبون إلى جنان مملكة الرّب".

In the second unit, ‘narrow is the way’ is used by the Reverend James Smith in the novel in the same context as the Biblical phrase ‘narrow is the gate’ which refers to the difficulty of being a good Christian and to the narrow gate of heaven. It is therefore the connotation, not the denotation, of ‘a narrow way’ which should be rendered into Arabic. Similarly, ‘clamouring for signs’ should be re-contextualized as ‘clamouring for sensational signs of God’s power’, that is, divine miracles. Nassar’s translation however is more faithful to the ST surface than to the Evangelical context, stripping the text of complex liturgical overtones. A context-sensitive alternative would read:

"وفاتَه أنّ مملكة الرّب لم تنبن على الجموع الغفيرة، بل إنّ أبانا نفسه كان يُعلي من شأن القلّة.. يا لَكرب الطّريق وقلّة العدد! وعندما تُشرع أبواب معبد الرّب المقدّس للغوغاء يستزيدون اجتراح المعجزات، فإنّما ذلك غيّ لا تمّحي عاقبته إلى أبد الآبدين."

Approximate BT: *He should have known that the kingdom of God was not built on large crowds. Rather, our Lord Himself stressed the importance of fewness. Distressing is the way and few the number. And when the doors of the lord’s temple are wide open to a populace clamouring for signs and miracles, verily, that is aberrance of everlasting consequence.*

Conclusion

Any satisfactory translation of *Things Fall Apart* demands effort far beyond the mere linguistic and stylistic reproduction in the receptor language of the closest natural equivalent of the source language message. This is not only because the ST is a work of art, but more importantly, because the cultural in this novel takes precedence over the structural and stylistic. In the present tentative investigation to determine, while reading the novel, the extent of such predominance by highlighting each manifestation of culture, concrete and abstract, throughout the twenty-five chapters, it turns out that only a few paragraphs remain unmarked. This reveals both the splendour of the ST and the poverty of its Arabic version. The corpus discussed was extracted from a larger selection of units identified as instances of textual deformation. What emerges is that, when a translator is not conversant enough with the Ibo culture embedded in the SL, and persists in approaching the novel literally, intercultural mediation is often neutralized, and the dominant of the ST—its aesthetic value—is severely undermined. Paradoxically, when most of the deformation tendencies assumed to prevent the reader from experiencing the foreign culture are found to be at work in the TT, it is difficult to prove that they all necessarily lead to domestication of the text, as advocated by Berman. In fact, nothing in this translation confirms that Nassar is positioned as a co-writer or even as an invisible mediator between two languages and cultures. A creative co-writer would not have indulged in sterile literalism, and an invisible

mediator would have produced a TT which reads so naturally and fluidly that no reader would think of it as a translation. This paradox supports the claim that Venuti's well-known strategies of 'foreignization' and 'domestication' should be understood as a continuum, rather than as a dichotomy, governed first and foremost by the ST itself. Finally, in a novel like Achebe's, foreignness unfolds in untranslatable culture-bound expressions and in an intricate network of cultural values, practices, and beliefs which resist naturalization in the TT and therefore dictate different degrees of foreignization. At the same time, the text is also a gracefully written work of art in which the *form* works to generate the pleasure of reading and leads to the temptation to rewrite, that is, into unwanted domestication. In such a context, for translations to be persuasive, translators should not only be familiar with both cultures and languages, but also with scholarly discourse on translation.

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Chapter 14
Pedagogical Perspectives on Travel Literature

Rosalind Buckton-Tucker

Introduction

Academic courses of study in travel literature are growing steadily in number, in conjunction with the popularity of the genre among readers, and deserve the close attention to pedagogical practices given to more established genres. In an increasingly global community, with travel being for many a norm rather than a luxury, the proliferation of travel books, articles, and online blogs has brought travel narratives of all kinds, covering all parts of the globe, to the awareness of not only habitual travellers but also those for whom travel is a rarity, whether from circumstance or choice. The literature may be read primarily for entertainment but may also serve to promote knowledge, understanding, and tolerance. Information on the target country, cultural insight, and personal enlightenment and growth on the part of the traveller are among the elements common to most travel works. However, the traveller's stated purpose and even spontaneous responses may be inherently shaped by cultural conditioning. An academic approach can thus be merited in order to examine all the implications of more complex works of travel literature.

This chapter will examine the role of travel literature in the contemporary university or college curriculum and aim to show that it can form a valuable part of the literature syllabus, not only introducing a genre which will be new to many students, especially in the Middle East, but also highlighting issues of cross-cultural understanding which are relevant in today's global world in which cultural boundaries are increasingly becoming more flexible. Possible approaches to teaching travel literature in the Middle East will be discussed and illustrated from the outcomes of a course on British travellers in Arabia for senior-level Arab university students in Kuwait, focusing on works by Freya Stark and Wilfred

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Thesiger which exemplify the British fascination with Arabia in the twentieth century and earlier. When Arab students are introduced to such literature, their perspective on the purposes and outcomes of the journeys provides an added dimension, especially for the Western instructor, and forms a basis for discussion of the significance of the works for readers in both cultures which may ultimately lead to greater cross-cultural understanding. Possible pedagogical approaches based on experiences in the course will be discussed and specific exercises described which are designed to promote critical insight into travel literature.

It will be seen that the responses of the students in their class discussions and written work indicate their views on the significance of the journeys and writings of travellers such as Stark and Thesiger, both as regards their representation of foreign cultures before the advent of mass media and widely accessible travel and in terms of the anomaly of the traveller as an individual seeking to identify with a host culture which to a large extent he/she can only observe as an outsider despite prolonged contact. The students' heightened awareness of their own cultural milieu, based on their reading, and their attitudes to the Western traveller to the Orient will be illustrated, and the issue of the relevance of such travel literature to the post-modern era raised.

Exploring the Genre

The use of the term 'travel literature' rather than 'travel writing' aims to imply both a literary quality in the writing and an account which enhances factual description with social and philosophical insights and conveys a personal theme: in other words, one which documents a traveller's spiritual growth. As the acclaimed travel author Morris (2009) asserts, "The best travel writers are not really writing about travel at all. They are recording the effects of places or movements upon their own particular temperaments—recording the experience rather than the event" (para. 2). Travel literature, as mentioned, typically consists of a mix of factual information—historical, geographical, botanical, cultural, and anthropological—and personal reflection; the best travel writers balance these, often in a humorous tone, to create a genre which is deserving of a place in literary studies.

Travel literature has, like any literature, evolved through the ages in its purpose and its form. Not all is well-written or of interest; some is largely banal. It is outside the scope of this paper to give a comprehensive history of the genre, but it is worth noting a few features that have emerged in different eras. Some early accounts were those of pioneer travellers seeking simply to record their experiences for their countrymen, often initially through diaries and subsequently through factual essays. Some are scientific in nature and unlikely to be read by the layman. Some have a decidedly imperial bent, for example Sir Walter Raleigh's account of his journey to Guiana, describing its natural resources (possibly fabricated for his own advantage) and thus its value as a potential colony. Other accounts eschew accuracy in favour of entertainment, providing stories of the fantastic in deference to gullible readers'

expectations; hence, exaggeration, suspense, and imminent danger became the standard elements of the genre for a time. Jonathan Swift's eighteenth-century satire *Gulliver's Travels* is designed in part as a parody of such writing. In contrast, today's portrayals of a journey generally strive for accuracy but are given individuality by the writer, who becomes as much a character in the account as the people he is describing.

Travel literature is deservedly gaining attention in today's literary curriculum alongside the more established genres. It has attracted its own body of critical writing since the latter part of the twentieth century and journals, conferences, and an international society are now devoted to it. Criteria for its assessment have been developed and the works of both past and present generations of writers have become the subject of full-length books and articles. As course material, travel literature first acts as an introduction to students to the relatively unfamiliar genre of non-fiction writing alongside the three major genres of fiction, poetry, and drama and shows the creative potential in non-fictional works. Second, it can help to broaden students' knowledge of the world through works in which the setting plays a major role and is much more than just a background or incidental venue. Third, the opportunity is provided for a character study of those who are motivated to explore beyond the familiar and even to spend the majority of their time travelling or living abroad in preference to remaining in their native country. Fourth, the study nurtures an objective look at cultural traits and the similarities and differences between the authors' cultures and those of the countries they visit. Further to this point, the travellers' experience of encountering and interacting with the Other may be applicable to today's complex international relationships, taking the study into the realms of ethnographic analysis.

Teaching Travel Literature

On looking at existing course descriptions from Europe and America, one finds reference to topics such as "the forms and functions of travel literature as a genre… the representation of travel as adventure, discovery, pilgrimage, and escape; travel and tourism; travel and gender; travel and colonialism" and "the purpose of self-exploration and self-growth" (Austen, n.d., n.p.). This description also refers to the ethical questions that may attend travel (and thus, by definition, the study). Fuller (2008) of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology elucidates the qualities of travel literature in her course description, commenting that "these materials do more than simply record or narrate experiences and territories: they also participate in shaping the world and what it means to us" (n.p.). A University of Oslo (2007) course emphasizes the relationship between travel literature and postcolonial studies. In short, a travel literature course can invite a wide array of approaches, revealing the complexity of the motivation behind the urge to travel and to record.

Critical works on travel literature explore a diversity of areas, some related to other disciplines. Grgurinović (2012) analyzes the relation between travel writing

and ethnography and comments that "both the ethnographer and the travel writer are faced with the difficulty of translating experience into text" (p. 54) and discusses ethnography's scientific requirements as being sometimes at odds with the personal response to an experiential venture. She looks at some of the complications that arise when trying to define travel writing:

> As a hybrid genre, travel writing is commonly defined "in-between" genres and discourses, as a "genre composed of other genres" (Campbell 1988:6), on the border between ethnography, literature, historiography, and journalism, as well as a combination of different discourses inside a single text" (p. 55).

She further points out that "in the literature on travel and travel writing there is a tendency to mythologize and fetishize travel, the reference points being mostly elite, individualist, Western recreational travel for pleasure" (p. 58). This raises the question of whether the writer is inevitably influenced by his/her background and to what extent an objective viewpoint towards other cultures is possible while travelling.

Thompson (2011), in his introductory work on travel writing, also attempts to delineate the genre, describing travel initially as "a journey, a movement through space" (p. 9) while stressing that there is no easy definition. He discusses the implications of the genre in terms of the writer's representation of experience, pointing out that

> since there are no foreign peoples with whom we do not share a common humanity, and probably no environment on the planet for which we do not have some sort of prior reference point, all travel requires us to negotiate a complex and sometimes unsettling interplay between alterity *and* identity, difference *and* similarity (p. 9).

Further, he reminds us, it is necessary for the travel writer to select, organize and reflect on events so as to form a narrative which falls somewhere between non-fiction and fiction and leads to a possible distortion of the truth even if there is no deliberate fabrication (pp. 27–28). Speake (2013), editor of *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopaedia*, agrees, in a reference to sixteenth-century British travel writing, that "sometimes the lines between fiction and non-fiction are blurred" (p. 393). The fictional elements of some travel writing, however, may add significantly to its power to engage the reader and convey beliefs:

> Accounts of exploratory expeditions incidentally fulfil many of the criteria of fiction. They are based on a particular project which forms the plot; the characters are strongly individual and their interactions with others may produce conflict; the action contains excitement and suspense engendered by the difficulty of the undertaking; the settings are prominent and are typically in little-known locations; the atmosphere can contain a variety of emotions including fear, tension, elation and doubt. Above all, sensitively written travel literature will express clear themes as the writer attempts to explore his motivation and reactions to the unfamiliar and seeks universal conclusions (Buckton-Tucker, 2010, p. 259).

Possibilities in the Classroom

Students of the genre nevertheless need to be aware of the potential for elaboration or even fabrication; it is important to emphasize that an academic study necessarily looks beyond the surface utterances of travellers' accounts and seeks to establish their authenticity or otherwise.

Referring to the wide range of works available, Jarvis (2001), who has designed and taught university level travel literature courses in Britain, comments: "There is no generally accepted 'canon' of travel writing. No text 'selects itself' automatically; instead, each choice has to be made for particular, well-considered reasons, and it is a good idea to share these reasons with students at an early stage in the course" (para 3). On course design, he adds:

> One begins with a whole range of issues that demand to be addressed—including post-colonial questions, Self and Other, the gendering of travel, problems of truth and reference, the rhetoric of the aesthetic, displacement and alienation, and so on—and the struggle is to emplot these concerns in a way that makes sense for students and allows some measure of continuity (para. 4).

He cautions that "travel writing…up to the quite recent past, is typically marked by attitudes, beliefs and values which today's students are likely to find distasteful or abhorrent…the problem seems particularly acute with travel writing because so much of it revolves around intercultural encounter" (para.6). These are certainly valid concerns which require consideration when designing a course on travel literature. With regard to the Middle East in particular, Edward Said's work *Orientalism* (1979) indicates how the West has perpetuated stereotypes of the Arab through its depictions of the culture in art and literature, including those found in the writings of Lawrence and Bell (Said, pp. 228–230). Thompson (2011) comments that "*Orientalism* was enormously influential in awakening scholarly interest in travel writing" (p. 61), while Melman (2002) posits that "the term Orientalism has become the single most influential paradigm in studies of travel writing and indeed of colonial cross-cultural exchanges" (p. 107). In fact, Lisle (2013) raises the question, "Why, then, are travelogues still being written in our supposedly 'enlightened' age? And why are they still so popular? If the Empire that sustained travel writing was dismantled with the various decolonization movements of the twentieth century, why hasn't travel writing itself disappeared?" (p. 2). This position, however, presupposes that the act of travelling by Westerners indicates an innate colonial perspective, whereas it is arguable that a disinterested curiosity about the unknown and a sense of adventure can be the major incentives for a journey, as, indeed, we can observe in travel works through the ages.

Brisson (Brisson & Schweizer, 2009) contends that travel writing cannot be separated entirely from politics, and that "as soon as travellers set out, they become embedded in political structures" (5). However, travel literature may for this very reason provide a relevant study in an increasingly global community. She also comments that "Travel writing has played a significant role in creating and establishing discourses of alterity, which in turn have affected the way Western countries

have related to other (non-Western) countries economically, culturally and politically" (4) and that the study of travel literature can thus serve to address the very issues which may offend by bringing them into the open and discussing them objectively (2005):

> Travel writing can serve important pedagogical missions, namely creating a critical awareness for the constructiveness of representations of other people, their identities, and cultures. The teaching of travel writing can further contribute to understanding the historical roots of past and present biases and prejudices towards groups other than one's own (p. 16).

In other words, if the study emphasizes the educative aspects of the urge to travel and to record the experience, focusing on the knowledge of human nature gained, travel literature can be appreciated as an insight into the complexities of human relations and welcomed as a means to better intercultural communication. On this theme, Youngs (2013) comments that travel writing "records our temporal and spatial progress. It throws light on how we define ourselves and on how we identify others. Its construction of our sense of 'me' and 'you', 'us' and 'them', operates on individual and national levels and in the realms of psychology, society and economics" (p. 1).

The above remarks reflect many of the questions relevant to the suitability of travel literature as an area of university literary study. It is in many ways an ideal subject in that it poses universal questions related to human nature and communication across cultures while also providing diverse examples of texts from a range of eras. As Jarvis (2001) suggests above, the instructor of such a course has first to decide what focus will suit his/her particular class and then choose material and construct a syllabus that will take advantage of the students' interests and keep them engaged with the study. A question pertinent to the aforementioned course for Arab students was whether to use some of the considerable body of travel literature centred on Arabia or whether to choose an area outside most students' experience and knowledge. After consideration of a number of works, writings by British travellers to Arabia in the early part of the twentieth century were selected as being markedly distant from today's world, old enough to create a sense of history, yet recent enough for identification with the content, perhaps through the memories of elderly relatives. It was probable that there would be enduring traditions and attitudes that would be recognizable today but also sufficient changes in lifestyle to make the transition a subject of curiosity, for instance as regards women's roles, education, living accommodation, and transport.

Selections in British Travel Writing

The British had a peculiar fascination with Arabia, and those who have recorded their journeys there are too numerous to list: a few of the better-known names from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are T. E. Lawrence, whose classic work *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1991) describes his service with Arab troops fighting the

Ottoman Turks during the First World War, Burton (1967), Byron (1982), Thesiger (2007) and, among women travellers, Bell (2015), Bird (1891) and Stark (2001, 2002). Contemporary authors who carry on the tradition include Tim Mackintosh-Smith, who followed part of Ibn Battutah's journeys and wrote a trilogy about his ensuing experiences, William Dalrymple, who has travelled extensively in the Middle East and India, and Dervla Murphy, best known for cycling from Ireland to India via Afghanistan and Iran.

There were certain challenges inherent in the selection of such a topic for an undergraduate course, and an element of irony in an instructor's presenting works as a non-Arab, despite a long sojourn in the Gulf region, about British travellers' experiences in the Arab world to students who were themselves Arab. The approach by authors to their subject, whether overt or tacit, thus required balanced assessment and discussion by the instructor and an attempt to see their attitudes from the student readers' point of view. The literature of Arabian travel by British travellers may contain overtones of, for example, romanticism, colonialism, imperialism, orientalism and feminism, elements which form a valuable part of the study both in their own right and as a way to determine the motivation of the travellers, their reception in the host countries and the self-knowledge they gain as a result of their journeys. When Arab students are introduced to such literature, their perspective on the purposes and outcomes of the journeys provides an added dimension, especially for the Western instructor, and forms a basis for discussion of the significance of the works for readers in both cultures which may ultimately lead to greater cross-cultural understanding.

After consideration of several works, two appeared to suit both the requirements of the course and the students' interests, one by a male and one by a female writer in order to enable the students to observe gender-based similarities and differences in approach. One was Freya Stark's *The Southern Gates of Arabia,* first published in 1936, in which she describes her journey on the ancient frankincense trading routes in the Hadhramaut region with the aim of locating the lost city of Shabwa. The journeys of a single woman provided an interesting anomaly in that, as a foreigner, she was able to interact with men almost as an honorary member of their gender, while also able to enter the harem and recount opinions of the female inhabitants and details of their lifestyle to which a male traveller would have been denied access. The other was Wilfred Thesiger's *Arabian Sands*, first published in 1959, his account of his journeys with his Bedu companions across the Rub' Al Khali, or Empty Quarter, of the Arabian peninsula between 1945 and 1950. Thesiger's own observations on the changes soon to come in the area as oil transformed its economy, showing traits of Romanticism in his dislike of materialism and preference for a simple way of life, provided good material for discussion, as did his admiration of the qualities of character of the Bedu at that time.

A further reason for the choice of these writers was that both exhibit a particular sympathy to the countries they visit, even appearing to reject their own culture in favour of their hosts' lifestyle and achieving a measure of what seems to be genuine communication despite the differences of background and wealth. Thesiger (2007) writes in *Arabian Sands:* "In the desert I had found a freedom unattainable in

civilization; a life unhampered by possessions, since everything that was not a necessity was an encumbrance. I had found, too, a comradeship inherent in the circumstances, and the belief that tranquillity was to be found there" (p. 37), while Stark (2002) remarks that "The perpetual charm of Arabia is that the traveller finds his level there simply as a human being; the people's directness, deadly to the sentimental or pedantic, likes the less complicated virtues" (p. 157). While it would be valid to comment that Thesiger's and Stark's presence in Arabia arose in part through employment by the British government and that they were thus unwitting products of Western interest in the region, they do attempt consciously to adopt the way of life of the Other and to integrate with their host culture as far as possible.

Student Responses to Travel Writing

Within the framework of a detailed course syllabus, a degree of flexibility was maintained in order to address issues raised by students as they became more familiar with the course material. Assessment was based on a variety of tasks, including an oral component for which students were asked to give presentations, either singly or in pairs, on the forthcoming week's reading, typically four or five chapters of the book currently under study. The purpose was to involve students in research and independent thought, and, while a few gave only an unadventurous summary of their section of the reading, most showed themselves to be amply equal to the task, interpreting, as well as describing, the events and locating illustrative material such as video clips. As the material was new to all the students, these presentations often set the tone for class discussions and the areas of focus, which was the aim in assigning them. The presentations would usually be followed by close reading of key passages to ensure students engaged with the text itself rather than just the ideas.

Conventional examinations, as well as in-class and take-home essays, were used for assessment, in line with other departmental courses, but designed in order to emphasize creativity. Some were textual intervention assignments in which students expanded on the original text; for example, the students were asked to write an imaginary conversation between either men or women in the Hadhramaut region discussing Stark's visit, based on incidents described in the book. The students thus had to imagine the impact that a single Western woman travelling alone might have had on the local people and portray their probable reaction: did they accept and befriend her, or see her as an oddity or even an interloper? The results were generally astute and credible and frequently amusing; one conversation between women served as a humorous commentary on Stark's rather negative reaction to the local treatments for illnesses, while another featured two men who disapproved of the independence exhibited by her venture and were concerned about the disruptive influence she might have on their womenfolk.

For one essay question, students were asked to comment on a particular quotation, either Stark's (2001) remark that "If I were asked the most agreeable thing in

life, I should say that it is the pleasure of contrast" (p. 94) or Thesiger's (2007) comment on the Bedu's way of life: "A few years' relief from the anxiety of want was the most they ever hoped for. It seemed to me pathetically little and yet I knew that magnificently it was enough" (p. 258). Students by no means accepted the above quotations unconditionally; one referred to the incident when Bin Kabina, one of Thesiger's companions, gave away a new shirt that Thesiger had presented to him:

> Thesiger then replied to Bin Kabina "Damn the man. I gave him a handsome present. Really you are a fool." (Arabian Sands, 315) Although Thesiger thought that what Arabs gained during their hardships was "magnificently" enough, he complained about Bin Kabina's behaviour.[1]

Here, the student noticed the contradiction between Thesiger's romanticized view of the Bedu's lifestyle with its absence of materialism and his negative reaction to the apparent lack of appreciation for a gift. Another student gave a perceptive analysis of Stark's love of contrast and the background to the remark:

> Freya Stark's affirmation that "the most agreeable thing in life…is the pleasure of contrast" tells us more about her personality and way of life, than the events that occur in the chapter. Ever since her childhood Stark has been fascinated with the orient, this acts as an explanation to Stark's interest in the contrast/other. As an English traveler, Freya Stark has the bravery to go seek out and fulfill her interest in cultural, natural and behavioral contrast. With cultural, natural and behavioral differences comes the element of surprise and wonder, which as an adventurous traveller Stark seems to thrive upon.

In another assignment, the students were asked to write about any recent journey taken and thus attempted, first-hand, the process of analyzing and recording experiences as a traveller. Although they were free to choose their approach and tone, it was suggested that, as with fiction, a theme could help unify the account and avoid their falling into the common pattern of simply listing their experiences chronologically and failing to differentiate between the significant and the mundane. (This is not to say that the mundane should never be mentioned—quite the contrary—but rather that the students should be aware of creating a purpose to the account with a beginning, middle and end in terms of how the journey had heightened both their knowledge of the places visited and their self-awareness.) Writing, rather than just reading, helped illustrate through practice the principles of successful travel writing. Some students were able to produce a combination of fact, observation, and reflection in very readable accounts; one student wrote of her travels during a gap year: "I wanted to give myself a break from all the hectic life I had, away from laptops, telephones and Internet" and "I preferred to go with a bus than an airplane because I believe that the slower you go and observe around you the more you explore and learn." Whether deliberately or not, her preferences echoed some of Thesiger's sentiments. She commented on women's dress in Saudi Arabia that "It's quite astonishing how a neighboring country [to Kuwait] can be

[1]All quotations from student work have been left as originally written, without grammatical corrections, in order to maintain authenticity.

this much different in its customs, traditions, and habits." Another student, in an amusing dialogue, recounted an incident in which she overpaid a cashier in India for a shirt and was impressed with the honesty with which he immediately called her back to give her the surplus money. Students also kept weekly reflective journals on their reading, which served to record their spontaneous reactions to sections of the texts and to provide a reference point for subsequent analyses. A student reacted thus to Thesiger's description of the simplicity of Bedu life:

> It's not our needs but our wants that we live on. We have become so greedy that we don't know what pleases us or makes us happy any more. We could have the best villa, car, clothes, education etc. and still we would find something that somebody has better than us and we would get depressed and upset about it.

For the final assignment of the course, students were asked to select a work by any British traveller to Arabia (a list of suggested names and titles was supplied, but they were free to search for their own) as the topic of a long essay, discussing its theme(s) and assessing its quality as travel literature using the critical parameters established. The chosen works included T.E. Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1991), Isabella Bird's *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan* (1891), Robert Byron's *The Road to Oxiana* (1982), Tim Mackintosh-Smith's *Travels with a Tangerine: A journey in the footsteps of Ibn Battutah* (2001), *Yemen: The unknown Arabia* (2000) and his edition of *The Travels of Ibn Battutah* (2002), Bertram Thomas's *The Arabs: the life story of a people who have left their deep impress on the world* (1937) and, closer to home for the Kuwaiti students, Harold Dickson's *A Glimpse into Badawin Life in Kuwait and Sau'di Arabia* (1967). Although the resulting essays showed a tendency towards lengthy biographical introductions to the authors and a preponderance of facts, they also exhibited an ability to analyze the texts and to incorporate the views of critics successfully, using apt quotations from both. Further, the students proved able to relate their previous studies of Stark and Thesiger to the discussion of their chosen authors, as the examples below will show.

There were some common sentiments in many of the essays. For instance, several students recognized the advantages for the traveller of knowing Arabic, and admired writers such as Harold Dickson, Gertrude Bell, and Tim Mackintosh-Smith for their ability to learn the language and communicate in it. One wrote:

> Mackintosh-Smith's fascination with the Arabic language gave him a sense of understanding with the Yemenis and was able to communicate and engage with them….Stark and Thesiger explained their journey throughout the Yemen and recorded the things that came along, but never really emphasizing on the language like Mackintosh-Smith. In his book, I felt that I could relate somehow with the words and understand them well due to being an Arab. Mackintosh-Smith writes from his perspective of the Yemen, someone who really gets into the culture.

Another student commented of Gertrude Bell that she "ended up reading the Quran and was fascinated by it, which was really a surprise because, although Stark and Thesiger were accepting about Muslims and their customs, they did not go as far as reading the Quran and understanding it."

Students also showed awareness of differing styles and approaches to recording a journey. Describing the impact of T. E. Lawrence's use of sensory imagery and minute detail, one student remarked that "in each scene there is something that makes the reader imagine and live the moment in full, imagine the atmosphere the color of the place or even the smell." Another wrote of Ibn Battutah, "The thing that was not common between Ibn Battutah, Thesiger and Stark was that Ibn Battutah did not talk much about himself. While reading *The Travels of Ibn Battutah* (Mackintosh-Smith, 2002) I found that he did not talk much about what he was feeling about a certain event, he only reveals his feelings in few sentences." In an essay on Robert Byron, a student mentioned his innovative style and also noticed that he preferred to describe art and architecture rather than attempt to present a romanticized view of the people encountered, as she felt Stark and Thesiger tended to do.

The questions of motivation and attitude were considered, as in this comment: "Stark was inspired to visit Arabia after reading the tales in *One Thousand and One Nights* as she mentions… "I fell asleep thinking of the entrance to Ali Baba's cave, in an illustrated edition of my childhood" (Stark 65)", and in the following:

> Stark and Mackintosh-Smith are more similar compared to Thesiger because their aim of their travel journey is to seek knowledge about other cultures….However, on the other hand Thesiger was more concerned with a journey that had a personal purpose because that purpose was to make him seek self discovery and come into deeper connections with his self and his identity.

However, another student felt that "in *A Winter in Arabia* Freya Stark showed how she was not writing about travel at all, but in fact she was recording parts of her life in the book. She was showing the reader how places and people differ, and how they can change any of us either positively or negatively." The comments, while apparently contradictory, serve to indicate that independent thinking was taking place. Further, some students raised the issue of whether a traveller was, whether consciously or not, adopting a superior and possibly colonial standpoint in his/her observations. One student concluded from her reading that Sir Richard Burton's writing primarily served the purposes of imperialism and that his descriptions of desert skirmishes depicted a barbarian element in the Arab fighters, whereas another remarked that Bertram Thomas, although in Arabia as a British civil servant, "describes the hard life of the Arabs in a way in which the reader can clearly see the amount of admiration and wonder Thomas has for the Arabs."

Students apparently enjoyed reading outsiders' views of their familiar territory without querying their right to comment, as in the following two examples:

> [R]eading about *Kuwait was my Home* [Zahra Freeth, 1956] demonstrated that old Kuwait had changed in several aspects for example, in traditional customs. Today fewer women wear Abayas and fewer men wear Dishdashas….Today people of Kuwait are more open and educated than they used to be. Kuwait architecture has also been changed by western ideas and influences. It was quite interesting to know a lot about one's own country from a western point of view.

> I felt that Dickson was interested in sharing such facts about food and hospitality in the Arab region with his readers. Likewise, I was amused by reading these accurate and elaborate facts from a British traveler about Arab's daily food routine. Honestly some of them were new to me too which made me proud of learning such details through a British work of travel writing.

Generally, there was a sense of approval of the achievements of British travellers and an acceptance of the phenomenon of the British fascination with Arabia, stemming from recognition of an inherent sympathy for its people despite the diversity of the travellers and their journeys. This may have been based on the attempts of many of them to assimilate with the host culture as far as possible, particularly with regard to language and religion, as indicated by one student:

> Although Dickson, Stark and Thesiger are non-Muslim figures, all three wrote about Bedu relationship with the doctrine of Islam. Therefore, we can figure out that these British writers did not have discrimination between Islam and other religions. Definitely, they treated Muslims in good manners which spread a great sense of respect and kindness.

Throughout the semester, the frequent use of video material on both Stark and Thesiger helped students to see them as individuals as well as writers and to visualize their travels more effectively than might have been possible from the texts alone. The 1967 film *The Empty Quarter*, based on *Arabian Sands,* gave immediacy to the heat and hardship experienced by Thesiger and his companions and a sense of the physical actuality of the venture. Indeed, the course had at first been planned with an attempt to recreate this by including an optional four-day professionally led desert trip in Oman, designed for young people to communicate in a setting with no modern distractions, in which the students would have experienced travelling on foot through the sands, living simply and camping at night, in conjunction with a series of discussions on literature and life experiences. However, for administrative reasons this was not to be, although many students expressed enthusiasm for the idea.

This is not all to suggest that teaching Western travel literature in the Middle East is without challenges. There may be resentment from students at the perceived arrogance of outsiders in commenting on cultures very different from their own after a sometimes relatively short experience of them. For example, one student felt that Thesiger's affinity for the desert was not entirely genuine in that he was born into comfort, not hardship, unlike the Bedu, and had the "chance to choose" and the knowledge that he could and would return to his home country: "Thesiger's ideology may simply be argued as a manner of psychological projection of self-interest and desire." While most students enjoyed the choice of works, some said that they would prefer to read travel writing about venues other than Arabia, as the very familiarity of some of the material rendered it less interesting. Further, students with little experience of travel may find it hard to comprehend the urge to spend large periods of time exploring and possibly romanticizing what to them were simply their ancestors' day-to-day routines of survival (although the students whose work features here were mostly well-travelled and cosmopolitan in outlook). However, with a careful choice of material and a sensitive and creative approach to such a course, many apparent obstacles can be turned into items for productive discussion.

Conclusion

In retrospect, the outcome of the course fully justified its inclusion in the literature programme. It proved a worthwhile and original experience for the students, many of whom made positive comments about the subject-matter and the insight gained. As illustrated by the quotations above, their reactions to the readings were more than just a passive acceptance of the subject and the material, as was evidenced by their often critically astute opinions on the writing and lifestyles of the authors. They learned to appreciate the genre of travel literature as a means of depicting not only observations on countries and cultures but also a personal philosophy of life based on the enlightenment gained through travel. Some students, intrigued by the British descriptions of Arab culture and customs, expressed a new-found and genuine curiosity about their own countries' pasts. The design of the course assignments helped them to develop their own judgment on the role of travellers in general as record-keepers and commentators and on the credibility of particular travellers. Their critical skills benefited from the opportunity to comment on non-fictional works rather different to most of the literature read in other courses, as well as from their own attempts at travel writing, which helped them to understand the qualities necessary to attract the reader and create a work of lasting significance. Hopefully, these students may even be motivated to seek their own adventures through travel and one day to publish their stories.

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