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Special Issue

Language.Literature.Politics. (Un)doing Nationalism and Resistance

Edited by Cristina Beretta and Nikola Dobrić

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Editorial Team of *Colloquium**

The articles of this issue are a selection of the papers presented at the 3ʳᵈ AARC PhD Students' Conference entitled: *Language.Literature.Politics. 1918–2018. (Un)doing Nationalism and Resistance*, which was jointly organised by *Colloquium: New Philologies*, the Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt, and the Alps-Adriatic-Rectors' Conference. The conference took place between 20 and 22 September 2018 at the Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt/Celovec, Austria.

Situated in the Alps-Adriatic region, a region that is gifted and haunted alike by its very special historical and sociocultural situation as the point of intersection between three language communities, various systems of beliefs and thoughts as well as economic and political experiences, the conference location of Klagenfurt/Celovec seems particularly apt for intellectual exchange and debate on issues of nationalisms, both in their historical dimension as well as their contemporary resurfacing. It is a region characterised by experiences of generations of the local population that were able to navigate between these various linguistic, cultural, and political systems as part of their everyday lives, within and beyond existing national boundaries.

The conference was informed by the notion that, although it may seem to many as a case of *déjà vu*, we actually bear witness to a cyclical turn of events in history. The world shortly after World War I seems very similar in many ways to the current state of affairs in the sense that another major push against multinationalism, multiculturalism, and globalism is clearly evident. Mirroring 1918 and the nationalist movements of the time, 2018 seems to bring a strong (or at least a loud) return to nationalism. After a long general movement into globalisation, unification, and multiculturalism that has marked the period succeeding World War II, nationalism, particularly in the Western

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World, seems more pronounced today than any time in the last 70 years. It is particularly rampant in the political discourse of today. On the other hand, supranational entities such as the EU, seem to be deriving new motivation precisely from the revival of these nationalistic tendencies. A thorough look is hence needed into the languages not only of nationalisms, but also of critique and resistance to them, especially into their narrative, rhetoric, and argumentative strategies, as well as their use of metaphors, images, and other devices of communication. As environments are linguistically classified in different ways, both culturally and cognitively, understanding the various experiences that influence these classifications is crucial for us to be able to account for the different modes of the human condition expressed by language that socially constructs us.

The papers gathered in this issue, thus, reflect upon a variety of issues related to the central theme of the conference, i.e. the various ways in which nationalisms are being articulated, negotiated, challenged, and played out in literary, linguistic, and cultural forms of expression.

The sleep of reason and of imagination produces monsters

An Editorial Introduction

Cristina Beretta*

Inspired by Francisco Goya's most famous etching, *El sueño de la razón produce monstruos* (1797–99), in its interpretation as 'The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters', we decided to dedicate the 2019 special issue of *Colloquium: New Philologies* to the topic of nationalism. To this purpose, we organized the annual 3rd AARC PhD Students' Conference entitled *Language.Literature.Politics. 1918–2018. (Un)doing Nationalism and Resistance*, with the support of the Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt and under the patronage of the Alps-Adriatic-Rectors' Conference (AARC), to gather researchers on various academic levels not only from the Alps-Adriatic region but also from all over the world, to reflect upon the topic. The articles of this issue of *Colloquium: New Philologies* are a selection of the papers of this conference, which took place between 20th and 22nd September 2018 at the Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt/Celovec, Austria in the wake of the commemorative year of the end of World War I.

In fact, the world shortly after 1918 seems very similar in many ways to the state of affairs one hundred years later, as another major push against multinationalism, multiculturalism, and globalism is clearly evident. Mirroring 1918 and the nationalist movements of the time, the second decade of the 21st century seems to have brought a strong (or at least a loud) return to nationalism, thus evoking the impression of an eternal recurrence of things. After a long general movement into globalization, unification, and multiculturalism that has marked the period succeeding World War II, nationalism, particularly in the Western World, seems more pronounced today than any time in the last 70 years, and it is particularly rampant in the political discourse of today. Paradoxically,

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supranational entities such as the EU, seem to be deriving new motivation precisely from the revival of these nationalistic movements. Thus, these contrasting tendencies require a thorough look into the languages not only of nationalisms, but also of critique and resistance to them, especially into their narrative, rhetoric, and argumentative strategies, as well as their use of metaphors, images, and other devices of communication. This was the aim of the conference.

Its peculiar and at the same time typically European history makes the Alps-Adriatic region an inspiring starting point for the conference. This border region at the intersection of three linguistic areas, the Germanic, the Slavic and the Romanic languages, constitutes something unique within the European region. It was one of the major front lines of World War I, which brought along the end of two empires, the Habsburg and the Ottoman one, not only fostering substantial political, social and economic changes but also introducing new state borders in the area. Plagued by Nazism and Fascism and the resulting World War II, the area had to witness within its larger borders the Yugoslav civil wars of the 1990s, which again brought along new borders and nation-states. Thus, the region itself represents an 'ideal' case study for thinking about nationalism. At the same time, the conference aimed to extend its scope beyond the Alps-Adriatic borders. A productive reflection on nationalism cannot be confined to a single region but requires instead a broader approach that transcends European culture(s), including post-communist experiences, so as to incorporate global as well as post-colonial reflections in order to facilitate a comparison and a mutual stimulation of reflections. The conference hosted researchers from universities of about fifteen countries in and outside Europe from the fields of linguistics, literary studies and cultural studies. The participants considered a variety of issues related to the central theme of the conference, i.e. the various ways in which nationalisms are being articulated, negotiated, challenged, and played out in various cultural forms of expression, from literary texts to political rhetoric, and from language policy to the discourses of religion, fashion and advertisement.

The selected papers gathered in this issue were written by scholars of all stages, displaying different approaches from diverse scientific traditions. The first section, *Nationalism and Resistance*, focuses on the multifaceted ways literature addresses the possibility of questioning, resisting and fighting nationalism. The second section, *Language of Nationalism*, turns to analysing the devices, strategies and methods of nationalistic language, and contains suggestions on how to oppose these strategies.

A philosophical-theoretical contribution by **Alice Pechriggl** (University of Klagenfurt/Austria) frames the first section *Nationalism and Resistance*. In her contribution, in which she also draws on psychoanalysis and political science reaching back to Greek

antiquity, Pechriggl analyses nationalism as the regressive acting out of affects against an imagined Other, which occurs on the basis of a friend-foe-logic as well as the identitarian phantasms of collective sameness denying the peculiar quality of each nation, which is in fact diversity. She also interrogates the phantasm of language purity, which makes nationalism incapable of integrating differences, and the nationalistic incapability to regard conflicts as something negotiable. As a response, she envisions radical democratic action on the basis of deliberative action that sees conflicts as something negotiable.

The first two papers are from the field of literary studies. **Matija Bošnjak** (University of Sarajevo/Bosnia and Herzegovina) shows how the novel *Noćno Vijeće* (*The Night Council*) by one of the most prolific contemporary Bosnian authors, Dževad Karahasan, challenges the modern notion of rationality as the founding principle of modernity. At the same time, the novel questions nationalism along with other systems of beliefs (communism, capitalism) as adequate foundations of society, while recognizing compassion as a at least one adequate ethical principle. Among other sources in literary studies, Bošnjak explores the criminal novel as well as Plato's neglected dialogue *The Laws*.

Drawing on plenty of theoretical studies on post-nationalism, **Ali Dahdaridad** (University of Rome/Italy) illustrates how literature can help delegitimize the hegemony of nationness by focusing on the novels *Mason & Dixon* and *Against the Day* by the American post-modernist writer Thomas Pynchon. By means of suggesting and creating alternative, parallel realities to the nationalized world, which do not refuse the reality of nations themselves, both novels mobilize a counter-hegemonic postnational imagination, which questions the hegemonic national ideology as the sole force that can arrange and organize the world.

Nataša Tučev (University of Niš/Serbia) begins her reflection in the field of literary studies on James Joyce's critique of nationalism by pointing out that, although supporting Irish anti-colonial liberation movement against British imperialism, he considered any form of nationalism as a ruinous "prescriptive myth" of identity. This critique also informs *Ulysses*, where nationalistic ideology is mocked and depicted as narrow-minded and absurd, while the text proposes an alternative of resistance to it: interest for and will to acknowledge the Other, multi-perspectivity ("parallax") and erotic love as a way of embracing humanity.

In his literary study paper on Turkey's postmodern historical fiction, **Barış Yilmaz** (University of Szeged/Hungary) underlines how various novels, such as by successful and well-read authors like İhsan Oktay Anar, Nedim Gürsel, Hasan Ali Toptaş, Ömer Zülfü Livaneli, subvert mechanisms of power by retelling historical events from the counterposition of those whose who are denied representation in official historical narratives. He investigates the novel's self-reflexive consideration on the thin line dividing

facts and fiction, historical and imaginative writing, and addresses the crucial question of the function of (postmodern) literature as an alternative to authoritarian, nationalistic discourses, while criticizing the role of historiography which often serves to supply those discourses with alleged historic evidence.

Tomas Cenys's (Vilnius University/Lithuania) literary study paper opens the second section of this issue, *Language of Nationalism*. Cenys investigates Viktor Pelevin's postmodernist novel *S.N.U.F.F.* as a reflection on mechanisms of propaganda, such as the use of extremes, novelty and the mysterious to produce tension and captivate the public's attention by appealing to the emotions and the irrational. By underlining the analogy with the mechanisms of political influence of the Baroque period, the paper establishes a troubling connection between the Counter-Reformation's *propaganda fidei* of the 17th century and current Russian ideological indoctrination and psychological manipulation through mass media and cultural production.

Petra Hesse's (University of Klagenfurt/Austria) literary study paper focuses on two major Russian dystopian novels of the 20th century: Evgenij Zamjatin's *We* and Tatjana Tolstaja's *Kys*, the first being a warning of (Socialist) totalitarianism as an exclusively rationality-based replacement for irrational ambitions, such as antagonism between classes and nations; the latter depicting a return of a violent, primitive and xenophobic irrationalism. Hesse shows how both novels unmask the devastating social effects of reductionism: Zamjatin's novel by depicting an absolute technocratic rationality turning individuals into mathematically functioning machines, Tolstaja's novel by investigating the complete abandonment of rationality which leaves the individuals without any moral, legal or cultural frames.

The contribution by **Anela Mulahmetović Ibrišimović** and **Nerma Pezerović-Riđić** (both University of Tuzla/Bosnia and Herzegovina) investigates the application of conceptual integration theory to analysing the cognitive mechanisms behind the potential impact of social issue advertisements. Through this prism, this contribution looks at three instances of advertisements that promote the critique of and reflection on racism, sexism, and indifference. Thus, it indirectly raises the question of how the insights generated by this theory can be used to produce social issue advertisements to criticize other mechanisms of exclusion, including divisive nationalism.

Based on historical discourse analysis, **Sarah Ritt**'s (University of Vienna/Austria) communication studies paper presents the results of investigating the representation of Northern Ireland's prevailing opposite nationalisms, unionism and republicanism. Her paper reveals that both receive low-level coverage in selected widely-read Northern Irish newspapers in a two weeks-span on the occasion of the Good Friday Agreement's anniversary in 2018.

Tena Šinjori's (University Zagreb/Croatia) sociolinguistic paper investigates the way the migration processes to the European Union between 2011 and 2018 inscribed themselves into Czech language by analysing the most expressive linguistic responses to contemporary social changes, i.e. neologisms. Since new lexical elements arise in a language not only to name new phenomena, but also to express new affective nuances of already stable lexical items as well as to reflect specific circumstances, they reveal the speakers' attitudes toward contemporary issues. Šinjori shows how Czech neologisms concerning migration display a rather negative, xenophobic, binary attitude toward migration.

Manuel Theophil's (University of Koblenz Landau/Germany) literary study paper considers how the 1930s novels of German author Klaus Mann reflect on the notion of *Ungleichzeitigkeit* ('contemporaneousness'), as coined by Ernst Bloch in order to explain Nazism. Bloch describes Nazism as capitalising on *Ungleichzeitigkeit* on various levels, thus getting hold of the desires of the people, especially the primitive, utopian dream of a *salvator mundi* or a paradise-like society. Theophil shows how Mann exposes the fatal *Ungleichzeitigkeit* of various social groups which all fail to grasp the real scope of Nazism. He concludes with a glimpse into contemporary German literature and the function that Bloch's notion could have to push back present nationalistic antidemocratic movements.

Elisa Vitali (University of Milano/Italy) investigates the mainstream national identity discourse in contemporary Japan known as *nihonjinron* as a case study of a recurring model of nationalistic rhetoric. Focussing on an essay by the influential scholar Watanabe Schōichi, which exemplifies this hegemonic discourse of alleged uniqueness, Vitali engages on a systematic analysis of Watanabe's linguistic, stylistic and rhetorical devices. She reveals *nihonjinron*'s dichotomic, exclusive character, its focus on primordiality, and the ideological use of language as the core and proof of this alleged uniqueness. Vitali also exposes the incoherence of the conceptualisation of this uniqueness and at the same time Watanabe's (ostensibly successful) communicative strategies.

Jennifer Meei-yau Wei (Soochow University/Taiwan) focuses on modern China/ Taiwan as a case study for investigating the intertwining of ideals of femininity and masculinity with politics, thus delivering a comprehensive view on how gender, nation and family values have been articulated in times of transitions in Taiwan in the 20th century. Meei-yau Wei investigates the opposite ways in which the two most influential female politicians in Chinese/Taiwan modern history used gender-related argumentative strategies as well as gendered and familial metaphors to support their political agenda. She reveals how Mme. C.K.S. used family metaphors to represent the state as well as the ideal of selfless, educated "able wives and wise mothers" to support Chinese patriotism, militarism and nationalism. In contrast, Annette Lu connects her feminist argument

against gender inequality, which she sees as a Chinese-Confucian and Japanese product, with both the issue of Taiwanese independence and global issues, such as the protection of environmental and human rights.

The papers of this issue *Language.Literature.Politics. (Un)doing Nationalism and Resistance* seem to agree on the perception of nationalism as a divisive, exclusivist, regressive, and anti-humanistic phenomenon. Its language, i.e. its argumentative strategies, general narratives and linguistic devices such as metaphors or neologisms, appears to be based on a friend-foe-logic that addresses and intentionally provokes negative emotions, mainly of fear, desires of homogeneity, affiliation and belonging, power, and an anxiety about an imagined common origin and unity. As to the strategy of resistance to nationalism, the contributions commonly/consistently underline the creative function of imagination as the crucial ability to go beyond existing frames of thoughts and action by thinking new 'images' as alternatives or complements to the existing frames. Thus, imagination makes it possible to question the normalised, naturalised patterns of thoughts and emotions informing nationalism itself, and to replace these patterns with others. They also stress the crucial roles of critique and (counter-)representation, and the importance of *agapé*, in its manifestation of compassion and solidarity. Moreover, they underline the need for counter concepts that would address not only reason and rationality, but also those "menschliche, allzu menschliche" affects and emotions which are in fact the most effective vehicles of separatist, exclusivist nationalistic ideologies themselves.

    The story of the stencil on the cover image is paradigmatic of what is happening. As Thomas Hainscho (University of Klagenfurt/Austria), who photographed it in 2018, reports: This stencil portraying a woman with a headscarf and big sad eyes, was sprayed on a wall in Klagenfurt. After having being painted over with thick red spray by what appears to be xenophobic, Islamophobic individuals, it was sprayed again, only to be painted over again, and to be sprayed again. Nationalism and resistance, again and again.

Subverting the Ethics of Crime Fiction in Dževad Karahasan's *Noćno vijeće* (*The Night Council*)

Matija Bosnjak*

Abstract

This article explores the crisis of modernity using the example of Dževad Karahasan's novel *Noćno vijeće* (*The Night Council*), a work of literature thematising war crimes committed in the name of nationalism during the 1990s in Yugoslavia. By comparing the specific compositional features of this novel with the general formal and ideological tendencies of crime fiction as such, our analysis establishes that the ethical foundations of contemporary civilisation along with the modern notion of justice as mirrored by the genre of the detective novel are, in the case of *Noćno vijeće* (*The Night Council*), treated as questionable. Belonging to the line of critique that observes modernity as a state of permanent crisis, this novel betrays the standard conventions of the criminalist genre, thereby contesting the modern era's prevalent idea of justice by reflecting on the complexity of ethical order in human society.

Key words: The Night Council, Detective novel, Crime Fiction, Nationalism, Rationality, Modernity, Justice, Ethics

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Despite being composed according to several conventions of a detective novel, with the main protagonist compelled to prove his innocence regarding a series of puzzling murders that took place after his homecoming in the town of Foča, there are yet several indications that Dževad Karahasan's novel *Noćno vijeće* (*The Night Council*) can be interpreted as a piece of literature that deals with what might be defined as *the crisis of modernity*. This novel, initially published in the year 2009, received a substantial amount of critical attention both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in German-speaking countries, although the reactions strongly differed when it came to evaluating its cultural relevance. Certain critics have attempted to proclaim *Noćno vijeće* a novel likewise contaminated with nationalism based on an 'anti-Serbian' sentiment for the way it treated the topic of war crimes committed in the name of Serbian nationalism, whereas the interpretative possibility, namely, that nationalist ideologies of the 1990s in Yugoslavia were taken as a mere symptom of a more fundamental rupture in our modern age, was largely neglected, if not tendentiously excluded in advance. It is by no means incidental that this novel's cultural value was questioned on ethical grounds, nor does the explanation that a sort of ethical debate was raised solely because of the author's choice to embark on such a sensitive topic appear satisfying. Only a thorough reading may reveal that the core issue confronted by this piece of literature is, in fact, of an ethical nature, and, moreover, that these issues are seen as a consequence of modernity as such. Furthermore, this can also provide an argument for understanding *Noćno vijeće* as a novel that reflects the impossibility of resolving fundamental ethical problems within the realm of modern reasoning, including both the modern political and juridical value systems.

First of all, a concise outline of the novel's plot is needed so that its genre-specific structural features and varieties of the literary motifs it employs can be analysed in light of this broader ethical topic. *Noćno vijeće* begins with the main hero named Simon arriving at his hometown Foča (Bosnia and Herzegovina) after a yearlong period of absence spent in Berlin. The year of his homecoming, 1991, is wisely chosen for the temporal framework of the story, since it is the year when the war started in Croatia, indicating clearly that Yugoslavia will not be able to disintegrate without violent conflict. What is also important to notice, right at the beginning, is that this choice of initial narrative situation – the homecoming of the main protagonist – appears frequently in the literature of 20th century modernism, and thereby can be considered as a somewhat typical modernist literary motif, especially in the case of the so-called *Trümmerliteratur* which developed during the aftermath of World War II, thus thematising the alienation of individuals in a society incapable of rejuvenating itself after a political or moral catastrophe. Later on, this motif will become frequently exploited in the so-called *Anti-Heimatliteratur*, written in Austria during the second half of the 20th century to this day. In any case, what

is so modernist about the "heimkehr-motif" is the position of the individual in relation to the society of their belonging: neither feeling at home nor a complete stranger, the main protagonist occupies a paradoxical position, making him both suspicious (from the society's point of view) and a sceptic (from his own perspective) at the same time. This is exactly how Simon, the main character in *Noćno vijeće*, behaves and is, again, treated by his fellow citizens. What complicates his situation further is the fact that the same night he arrives in Foča, a woman is found raped and murdered in the vicinity of her house and, to make matters even worse, that this woman was his high school girl-friend and that he got into a fight with a drunkard who also used to be in love with this woman in the past. The fight between the two ends with Simon being taken to the po-lice station for interrogation, where his former high school teacher, now a police officer, Mirko Landeka, explains to him that since the night of the murder, the only thing that had changed in Foča was his arrival, which made him (according to logical reasoning) a probable suspect. Landeka concludes his report by convincing Simon that he has noth-ing to worry about because he is "one of them", meaning he is s Serb. Nevertheless, his passport will be taken away until further notice. A couple of nights later, another murder takes place with all circumstances again pointing at Simon, since the victim was the drunkard with whom he had been caught up in a bar-fight. Finally, after the third and the fourth murder happening in Foča, it becomes obvious that all of the victims essentially have two things in common: they are all somehow connected to Simon, and, secondly (but no less significantly), they are all Muslims, that is, people of Bosniak eth-nicity, which seems to reveal nationalist hatred as the core motivation for committing these crimes.

In Stanko Lasić's *Poetika kriminalističkog romana* (*The Poetics of a Detective Novel*), presumably the most exhaustive study written about this particular genre in the con-text of Yugoslavian literary theory, one can find a useful typology of crime stories based on differentiating the main character's relation towards the enigma of the committed crime, which can be taken, as argued by the author of the study, as general foundation of the crime genre as such: "I am undertaking the analysis of the detective novel with a hypothesis that the principle of this type of novel is the enigma, and that this principle is rendered most visible (or rather imposed) on the plane of plot-composition" (Lasić 1973, 14, transl. MB). Underlying the constant presence of the "structural principle of the enigma" (ibid, 59), Lasić describes several types of detective plot, the form of inves-tigation, the form of pursuit, the form of action and the form of threat, among which the latter most adequately corresponds to the situation in *Noćno vijeće*:

> The detective novel in the form of threat can be rightfully considered an
> expression of a fundamental human fear: "I" is but an illusion, man is not

more than a pawn on some vast chess-table. Exactly this notion is what the person under threat wants to negate: that he is not insane and that he is not a mere object. He is struggling to bring logic into reality. In this sense, he resembles the investigator from the investigation-form. The explanation is not simply a means of clarifying a mysterious or a dangerous act (followed by catching the criminal), but also a way to restructure the world, establish order and the rule of man. (ibid, 92)

It should be taken as indicative that the chief proponent of this subcategory of the crime genre is, according to Lasić, none other than Edgar Allan Poe, whose crime fiction was consistently blended with motifs which would later be recognised as trademarks of classic gothic fiction. *Noćno vijeće* incorporates exactly those genre-specific motifs that are deemed indispensable, such as, for instance, the haunted house[1] (the main protagonist's house) where ghosts visit the living, and this may be taken as the most obvious signal that it is a novel of the kind where the hero is compelled to "question the validity of his reasoning" (ibid, 92).

Nevertheless, if observed solely on the level of structural composition, *Noćno vijeće* seems to be an example of deviation from one of the key principles of the detective novel, namely the solution to the enigma, and there is an abundance of indications that this decision is made consciously and intentionally, thereby revealing the author's literary standpoint towards the ideological framework of the crime fiction genre in general. The most transparent of them is the frequency with which the appropriation of conventions of this genre occurs in Dževad Karahasan's literature, as well as the perpetual betrayal of the very same conventions in each of his novels. More simply, all of Karahasan's detective (or, rather, pseudo-detective) novels provide evidence of the author's somewhat *mannerist* approach to the rules of crime fiction, in the sense that all of the basic conventions and techniques of this literary genre are mastered but, at the same time, are utilised with doubt and suspicion, and that, finally, this suspicion is essentially oriented towards the above mentioned ideological framework of the crime genre, meaning its essential paradigm – that of rationality.

Given that crime fiction is one of the leading genres of our time, it is widely recognised, both in academic literary theory as well as in numerous practical manuals for writing crime fiction, that the classic detective figures, such as Agatha Christie's Hercule Poirot or Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes, are in fact known for their unprece-

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[1] In a chapter named "The Age of Smiley Tigers", Simon's neighbour Ibrahim explains that throughout history his house had been a place where Muslim families were perpetually attacked by Serbian brigands, outlaws, and paramilitary forces.

dented rationality, taken as a tool for solving puzzling mysteries in a manner which is impeccable and, thus, beyond ordinary human intelligence. Speaking exclusively in ideological terms, what the genre of classic crime fiction advocates is that only rationality is capable of restoring order and delivering justice. Furthermore, this "order" is perceived only in its social dimensions, as well as rationality, which is considered a human capacity per se, in a world resting upon the knowledge (or, rather, belief) that all events, consequences, and human actions can be explained and understood from the standpoint of reason alone. For the way it approaches complex human concepts such as justice, the genre of detective fiction displays a world in which both social and ethical order are established through rationality. Having rationality as its ethical core, the fundamental supposition made by this genre (and the world which it fictionally represents) is that justice derives directly from the solving of the crime, followed by exposing the perpetrator. One should recognise as well that this supposition implicates that knowledge attained through reason alone, is considered sufficient to redeem the world burdened with culpability in the eyes of victims, and, ultimately, that this genre, given its popularity and longevity since the 19th century to this day, accurately mirrors our modern understanding of justice in each of its social manifestations.

Several essays written by the same author may serve to confirm our hypothesis that the main compositional deviation from the standard structure of the detective plot in Karahasan's *Noćno vijeće* is a means of questioning the genre's fundamental ideological paradigm, which is to say, rationality, along with its corresponding notion of justice. This deviation occurs during one night when Simon is visited by his best friend Enver, a scholar of Islamic theology, who had spent several years searching for knowledge in the East. After the night of their first encounter, Simon is informed by the police that Enver had not only been found murdered but that he was dead even before the two of them met in his house, implicating that the main hero was visited by a ghost. In any classical detective novel, the main protagonist would make an attempt to find out who had killed his best friend (including all the earlier victims) in order to free himself from suspicion. In this case, we see Simon having no intention of pursuing the investigation any further. Instead, he goes back to his "haunted house" to meet Enver again, which will lead him to secrets that are beyond rational understanding. The result of this structural deviation is that, in the end, we are left without the knowledge of who committed the crime – which, according to the basic rules of crime fiction, is unacceptable, to say the least.

Karahasan's attitude towards rationalism is spread across his entire literary oeuvre, but becomes most visible in his essay entitled *Lik i njegova parodija* (*The Character and His Parody*), where he compares Miroslav Krleža's *Gospoda Glembajevi* (*The Glembays*) with Sophocles' *Oedipus, the Tyrant*, while considering the latter tragedy as the oldest

known form of detective plot in the history of Western literature and, paradoxically, as the perfect example for overcoming the structural conventions of this genre at the same time. King Oedipus, known for his infallible reasoning (as the only one among humans to have solved the enigma of the Sphinx), carries out an investigation in search for the murderer of Laius Labdacus, his father and predecessor on the throne of Thebes, only to discover that the detective and the murderer are the same person. In another essay, entitled *Boravak u ogledalu* (*Dwelling in the Mirror*) Karahasan provides what can almost be considered as a definition of melancholy as a state of being in which an excess of reason deprives one of his life: "To put it short, a melancholic is not alive. His knowledge has taken his life away from him, his reasoning has devoured his sensual experience and his ability to have such an experience" (Karahasan 2010, 74, transl. MB). In one of his stories, *Anatomija tuge* (*The Anatomy of Sorrow*) (an indirect reference to Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*), Emiliano Montecchi, the main character, characterised exactly by his inability to feel, constantly suffers from cold and pneumonia, which makes him almost resemble Rene Descartes, one of the founders of western rationalist thought, who, significantly enough, died from pneumonia at the court of Queen Christina of Sweden. In a collection of various essays gathered under the title *Dosadna razmatranja* (*Boring Discussions*) Karahasan argues that the year 1609 can be considered a moment of rupture in European history for inaugurating an era of reason-dominated *Imago Mundi* which will last to this day:

> The rationalistic ambition to explain with arguments of a single sort and to understand through reasons of one kind all levels of reality and all forms of existence necessarily leads to the need to rationally resolve the apparent contradiction between the all-powerful Grace and human freedom. And the attempt to resolve this contradiction rationally leads to the conclusion that the relationship between God and Man is a sort of trade-agreement in which Man earns the Grace that God then distributes to the extent in which it is earned. In such a relationship, God would simply register Man's good deeds and efforts to earn Grace, and then these works and efforts would be rewarded adequately. This could not be reconciled with the omnipotent God, for in such a relationship God would prove man through his existence, and the relationship would have to be exactly the opposite, that is, that God should be proven through Man's existence. After all, it leads to a conclusion that Grace cannot be earned and that God is indifferent, which is contrary to every faith. (Kaharasan 1997, 29, transl. MB)

All of this serves the purpose of demonstrating that the *problem of rationalism* - if we may define it as such – is, in fact, one of Karahasan's major literary and philosophical

preoccupations, and so *Noćno vijeće* is by no means an exception. It is also important to notice that the question, which might be formulated as *what could be the best possible foundations for a perfect society*, is frequently discussed throughout this novel: Mirko Landeka, the chief of police, formerly a high school teacher, introduces Simon to his theory that contemporary civilisation is utterly corrupted, first of all, by Christian morality and, secondly, by modern hedonism, "this ideology of happiness and joy" (Kaharasan 2009, 73, transl. MB). A few nights later, Simon witnesses another debate taking place in a local restaurant between two Serbian intellectuals, one of them being a communist, arguing that reason should be adopted as a fundamental principle for any morally and politically healthy society, and the other one a nationalist, opposing this position with a set of arguments that expose reason as an inevitable path to insanity. "Blessed is the nation which has good hosts instead of heroes, and good hosts are not brave but reasonable, my brothers" (ibid, 112, transl. MB) says Miloš, the communist, while Vojin, the nationalist, replies to him, according to the narrator of the story, that "the religion of exact sciences is by far the most sordid ideology ever to appear, the ideology of dead matter and economic totalitarianism, of unlimited power for those who are rich and absolute impotence, humiliation and despair for everyone else" (ibid, 116, transl. MB) and how "this religion of reason, founded upon the exact sciences, has explained to people that there is no eternity for them but to vanish in death" (ibid, transl. MB).

In chapter IX, Simon encounters Musa, his father's former comrade, and an ex-member of the communist party, whose recollections and opinions about the aftermath of World War II are filled with remorse and disappointments. In a long soliloquy, Musa admits the failures of his generation in an attempt to establish a more righteous world order, despite defeating Nazism, an ideology he deems radically opposed to the ideas of the Enlightenment. While the Nazi-regime had fallen, its fundamental idea, along with its corresponding conception of human being, had nevertheless survived and persisted throughout the 20th century, and is undoubtedly present in the discourses that shape the way we think about ourselves and the surrounding world. This ideology, as Musa argues, was founded upon the concept that humans should be, not cultivated, but *grown*, and one can testify that our contemporary civilisation, although seemingly democratic and liberal, has in fact adopted this stance towards the life of the individual and that all of this is "governed by a new breed of human beings" (Kaharasan 2009, 136, transl. MB) that he likes to call "the smiley tigers":

> This is something completely new in the human species, these are hybrid breeds that would probably never succeed under natural conditions but have proved very good in artificial ones. They are always smiley and well-off, they are well-paced and tactful in their behaviour, they are elegant and

exquisitely trained, they are experts and have a good posture, they are comfortable in society and look good, they are reliable because they always reach the goal." (ibid, 137, transl. MB)

At the end of chapter X, Simon takes a moment to rest and reads a story given to him by one of the police officers that can be interpreted as a parable about the triumph of reason over all other human capacities. This story is narrated by one of the three brothers, the only one to have survived their joint venture in finding and obtaining the treasure hidden from them according to the will of their deceased father. The oldest brother was "lead by hatred" (ibid. 145, transl. MB), which made him weak, vengeful, and blind, the youngest was a "child of love" (ibid, transl. MB), thereby docile and easily influenced, and the middle one, who managed to eliminate both of them in order to obtain the treasure only for himself, was guided by reason: "Man's largest strength is his reason", concludes the narrator, "granting us with a calm sense of indifference towards anything outside the scope of our interests. I myself am living proof of this, for I am the only one of the three brothers to have survived" (ibid, 146, transl. MB).

All of these *ideological perspectives*[2], as Boris Uspenski defines them in his most prominent study, *A Poetics of Composition*, are incorporated in the novel, initially, to differentiate the *Weltanschauung* of the characters, and at the same time, to polarise the novel's attitude towards the crisis of modernity taken as a literary topic. Additionally, the structural deviation, occurring in one of the concluding chapters of the novel, when Simon establishes that someone, probably the murderer himself (or several perpetrators in coordination), is 'setting him up', yet decides not to pursue his investigation, can be considered as another manner of subverting the rules of the crime fiction genre, and thereby the paradigm of modernity founded upon a rationalistic *Imago Mundi*. What Simon decides instead is to go back to his "haunted house", where he encounters Enver, and this can be interpreted as a *peripeteia* (Greek. περιπέτεια), a structural turning point carrying the story further outside the boundaries of this world. It is also a point where the novel introduces one of the oldest motifs in the history of literature – the journey to the after-world. As Dante is led through hell by Virgil, here, Enver leads Simon through a place called *Barzakh* (Arab. برزخ), a place designating some sort of barrier or a border between worlds, or simply a place situated between, where, according to Islamic theology, the souls reside after death to dwell until the day of *Qiyamah* (Arab. القيامة), or The Day of Resurrection.

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[2] "What interests us in this case is from which point of view (in a compositional sense of the word) a certain author values and ideologically understands the world represented in his work" (Uspenski 1979, 15, transl. MB)

It would not be wrong to assume that *Noćno vijeće* is positioning itself against the entire tradition of detective novels and the rationalistic *Imago Mundi* upon which this tradition relies exactly by means of resolving the story of mysterious murders in a metaphysical landscape such as the after-world of *Barzakh*, instead of in the setting of a police station or in court. If in a world portrayed, established, and even advocated by a detective novel, each crime that is dealt with as a rupture in the ethical order, is deemed treatable only through rational means, that is, by finding out the criminal's true identity, than a novel disobeying the rules of this genre by not revealing in the end who the murderer is can only be said to imply the following: No rupture in the ethical order of the world can be repaired and no justice can be delivered by knowing who committed the crime. Modern individual's ethical consciousness has no other option but to find this implication to be deeply provocative.

One of the most often neglected hermeneutical keys to the meaning of this novel is hidden in its very title – *Noćno vijeće*, i.e. *The Night Council* - providing enough reasons to assume that what we have here is a direct reference to an ancient philosophical dialogue written by Plato. Aside from being recognised by many authors as one of the most peculiar pieces of Plato's writings, *Νόμοι*, or *The Laws*, as we would call them, is also the only one of Plato's dialogues without Socrates as the main figure. Here, we have a dialogue between three men, coming from three different cities, conversing about what would be the best possible laws for a functional society. It is interesting to notice that the very notion of laws in this work of Plato differs radically from any modern secular conception of the legal state: What may seem strange from the standpoint of modern consciousness is the philosopher's insistence that the laws of any given society must be in harmony with the laws of the higher metaphysical order; as R.F. Stalley states in his *Introduction to Plato's Laws*, "it is not by accident that the word 'Theos', 'god' is placed emphatically at the beginning of the first sentence of The Laws" (Stalley 1983, 166). Yet, most of the peculiarities regarding The Laws are situated in Book XII, where the Athenian discusses the possibility of forming a certain institution that would have the responsibility for protecting the laws. This institution would consist of the wisest of men who would be considered the guardians of the laws (nomophylakes), and one of their tasks would be to protect society from crimes committed out of impiety. The Athenian states that if we eventually succeed in establishing this institution, admitting that this could be rather difficult to achieve, we should hand them over to the city , which means that the guardians would become an unquestionable ethical and juridical authority as well. The guardians would frequently gather to discuss fundamental questions of society and they would have an educational purpose, namely, the betterment of the ones guilty of impiety, considered to be the most fundamental of all crimes, in

the sense that all delinquency derives from the negation of God. This institution would be a philosophical one, capable of demonstrating the fundamental truths (of Platonic philosophy) by providing a solid philosophical argument: the existence of God and the existence of the soul. Since they would convene each night from evening until the break of dawn, their name would be *nukterinos sullogos*, or, as we would say, The Night Council.

Leo Strauss is equally eager to notice that The Laws are "the only Platonic work which begins with 'A god'" (Strauss 1987, 85) , possibly even his "most pious work", striking "at the root of impiety, i.e., the opinion that there are no gods" (Strauss 1987, 86). That is to say since every law is of a divine origin, each crime committed is a crime against the cosmos. Moreover, one would never indulge oneself in any sort of felony without the false presumption that, for one, *there is no God*, two, that *Gods are indifferent to the affairs of men, and three, that they can be won over by prayers and sacrifices*. Therefore, the ethical institution called The Night Council protects the laws of society through its capacity to demonstrate the three fundamental truths upon which the higher metaphysical order is founded: 1) That God exists; 2) That He is not indifferent; 3) That He cannot be bribed with sacrifice nor with prayer. Or, in the words of R. F. Stalley, "law-giving is a religious task and must be grounded on an adequate theology" (Stalley 1983, 168).

Unfortunately, this is not an opportunity to thoroughly discuss all the implications that the establishment of an institution such as The Night Council would have within the legal framework of a society, given that there is in fact something contradictory about a "council of philosophically educated 'guardians'" (Lewis 1998, 1) who are supposed to function as a guaranty for the rule of law and at the same time be above the rule of law, at least from the point of view of the modern secular legal state, which takes laws not as a an extension of a divine order but as a form of social agreement between equally treated citizens. It is sufficient to state, as V. B. Lewis indicates that the "centrality" of The Night Council is unavoidable "in any coherent understanding of Plato's larger political philosophy" (ibid, 2), to which the philosopher's ethical beliefs can be added, including his widely recognised stance towards atheism.

The question is, why would impiety (godlessness), that is to say, atheism be considered as the source from which all crimes originate? This is another point where similarities between Karahasan's novel, or, more precisely, the topics that are covered throughout the novel, and Plato's philosophical dialogue begin to emerge. The central issue of an atheistic *Imago Mundi*, at least according to Plato, seems to be the idea that justice is merely a human invention, and that the opposition between 'good' and 'evil' must be taken as ethically relative. Furthermore, "according to the Athenian", as Stalley explains,

"the Atheists attribute most things in the universe to nature or chance" (Stalley 1983, 167), which means that human society has no solid foundation to be built on. If there is no higher metaphysical order out of which we could derive the governing principles of our society, all laws are arbitrary constructions prone to change if necessary, implicating that what is today considered morally acceptable can be rendered obsolete under different circumstances. In the words of Leo Strauss, "[i]t appears that they (The Atheists) assert that body is prior to soul or mind, or that soul or mind is derivative from the body and, consequently, that nothing is by nature just or unjust, or that all right originates in convention." (Strauss 1987, 86) If everything is conventional and thereby relative in the realm of ethics, one finds no reason to assume that what was once considered a crime cannot be deemed righteous 'under certain circumstances' and the history of the 20th century has given us enough evidence that 'under certain circumstances' even the most vicious of crimes can be justified.

What must be more thoroughly accentuated is that Plato is a utopian thinker in pursuit of establishing, at least in theory, the ethical coordinates of a crimeless society and this is, in his opinion, possible only under a theocentric regime, where God's existence is indisputable. Although we may disagree with this opinion, what has to be noticed is that "God", considered as an ethical instance per se, corresponds to the notion of a supposed higher metaphysical order that is at the same time a guidepost for righteousness achieved in a human society. In Plato's opinion, each crime has its source in the negation that this higher ethical order, along with the idea of an 'Absolute Good', exists. From the perspective of modern man, this idea seems strange, if not even unacceptable, since our common way of understanding crime does not include the belief that murdering a human being causes an ethical disruption in the order of the cosmos. In our worldview, the notion of 'crime' has no such connotation (surprisingly enough, it is commonly not even regarded as an ethical problem, but rather as a consequence of adverse circumstances, motivated by personal interests, arising out of human fallibility taken as an ineradicable fact of nature) and therefore it is defined as a deviation from the legal order, which is, again, the only arena where it can be tackled as a problem. It may even be stated that a society functioning according to Plato's principles cannot be found in the history of mankind, but that is why we consider him an author belonging to the great tradition of utopian thinking. His anathema against moral relativism rested upon his conviction that in a Godless society crime will not only become ethically (in terms of what is considered 'good', as opposed to 'bad'), but can also become judicially (in terms of what is allowed or forbidden in a certain society) relative, since all legal boundaries become provisional and 'for the time being', and we have witnessed throughout the his-

tory of modernity that, for example, murder can, under certain political circumstances, become not only justifiable but also a path leading towards a supposedly better society.

By choosing the 1990s era in the Balkans as a temporal framework, and by dealing with war crimes committed in the name of nationalism during this period, *Noćno vijeće* seems to be confronting us with the reality of how legal boundaries of modern society can be disrupted in, what Giorgio Agamben calls, "the state of exception"[3], when all laws are infinitely suspended. The utterly conventional nature of the legal order is what renders possible that formerly law-abiding citizens become merciless 'deliverers of justice', in their own comprehension and under different circumstances. *Noćno vijeće* obviously belongs to that line of critical re-evaluation of modernity, observing it as both politically and ethically unstable paradigm, always on the verge of chaos.

Taking modernity as a state of permanent crisis, *Noćno vijeće* deals with the phenomenon of nationalism, regarding it as a symptom of *rationalisation*, which is, in fact, one of the interpretative lines of how this ideology came into being. While disagreeing about the exact year of birth, there seems to be a general consensus among scholars in the fields of history and sociology that both the concept of nation and the ideology of nationalism are not older than approximately two hundred years, which constitutes the essential distinction between the "perennialist" belief that nations are a somewhat "eternal continuity" and the "modernist paradigm of nations and nationalism", as it is defined by Anthony D. Smith in his *Nationalism and Modernism* (Smith 1998, 3). One of the first authors to shed light on the inherently modern quality of nationalism was Ernest Renan in his lecture *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* (*What is a Nation?*) but it was essentially Max Weber who insisted that the advent of nationalism is closely related to the process of rationalisation in modern societies: it is the "quest for statehood" (ibid, 14) that distinguishes nations from all other forms of social organisation, and according to Antony D. Smith, Weber argued that

> the modern state is a rational type of association, the apogee of occidental rationalism and one of the main agencies of rationalization in history, whereas the nation is a particular type of community and prestige group. In the modern world, both need each other: the state requires the legitimation and popular direction accorded by the nation, while the nation

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3   Influenced by Carl Schmitt's *Political Theology*, Giorgio Agamben argues that totalitarian regimes of the 20th century such as Nazi Germany before and during World War II can be designated as "states of exception" where the legal framework of modern society, for example, its constitution, is suspended within radically changed circumstances. Agamben recognises that the "state of exception" is "not a special kind of law (like martial law), but "a suspension of the juridical order itself." (Agamben 2005, 4).

needs the state to protect its unique culture values against those of other communities. (ibid)

What is also interesting to notice is that by accepting Weber's definition of both nationalism and statehood, and especially their mutual interdependence, we find ourselves again in the context of society's legal order. A modern state was, in Weber's opinion, no more-no less than a right to claim "monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its order within a given territory" (ibid, 70), and nationalism was a by-product of the necessity to establish "an administrative and legal order" able to claim "binding authority over all the citizens and actions taking place within its jurisdiction" (ibid). Or, in other words, a sense of nationality is a necessary result of a need to rationally legislate the complexity of modern society. In the absence of any other principle of unifying people in a society, the "legal-rational" (ibid) apparatus of the state becomes the central agent in providing a sense of belonging. The only thing that makes us members of the same society is that we are subject to the same laws. Although often neglected, this subtle kinship between nationality and subjection to the laws of the legal order becomes crucial in cases when society expresses the will to exclude certain ethnic, religious, or any other groups outside the scope of *national identity*; what follows almost immediately is the banishment outside the system of legal protection.

Now, let us examine the question of how the genre of the detective novel reflects the principles of the legal order in our modern civilisation? For one, the very genesis of the genre can be found in the concept of legality as such. An example of this is François Gayot de Pitaval (1673–1743), a French lawyer, whose famous collection of *causes célèbres* was often material for developing fictional plots. Another famous example is Nigel Morland (1905–1985), who was equally interested in understanding the nature of crime both fictionally, by means of a detective novel, and scientifically, through a discipline called criminology. Moreover, any analysis of the so-called *roman policier* can show that the legal order and crime fiction in its classic form both share our prevalent idea of how justice should be served.

This leads us back to our observation that *Noćno vijeće* is a novel that operates within conventions of the crime genre only to question its fundamental ideological presuppositions: As previously said, the main question posed in this case is not 'who committed the crime' but 'what can we do for the victims', or more precisely, the souls of the ones who are dead – thereby, instead of having the enigma of killings resolved, an ethical question of a different sort unexpectedly appears. To restore justice, Simon, the main protagonist of the novel, is faced with a choice presented to him by his best friend Enver, deep down in the world called *Barzakh*. After being exposed to such disturbing knowledge of how people who consider him as 'one of them' mercilessly tortured and

killed people living in his house throughout history, the main hero can either leave the world of shadows, eventually forget what he saw and try to continue with his life, which means that the souls will never find their peace, or, since the shadows are immaterial beings, merely ideas wandering in this strange realm of existence, he can "kill them again by an act of thought" (Kaharasan 2007, 187, transl. MB), which is something he cannot simply do: Simon is incapable of even entertaining the thought of killing another human being. Faced with an impossible choice, Simon decides neither to kill them by an act of thought nor to forget about them; instead he makes the only decision that he can find ethically justified and in a letter addressed to his son explains that this decision is necessary "in order to break the chain" (ibid, 194): he decides to go back to *Barzakh* and dwell with the dead.

Assuming that certain literary forms, such as crime fiction, in this case, are in fact a reflection of our *Imago Mundi*, is it possible to argue that, by introducing an ethical question of this sort within the genre of detective novel, *Noćno vijeće* provides an alternative to our conception of justice as such? Either way, it is necessary to maintain that this *history of violence*, which is taken as a literary topic, in this case, offers no possibility for an ethical resolution by rational means, implicating that justice cannot be delivered within the boundaries of this world. This is the reason why another framework for the events that took place in the novel is chosen, and there are indeed numerous parallels between the realistic temporal framework in *Noćno vijeće* and what is in theology defined as *historia sacra*. Let us mention only a few of them: The main hero's first name may be seen as a reference to Simon Magus (1st century A.D.), a religious figure, designated by one of the Fathers of the Christian Church as a founder of Gnosticism, the first man after Jesus to have performed miracles. Secondly, Simon's last name is Gavrilović, which can be associated with the archangel Gabriel, regarded in the biblical traditions as the angel of death who will announce the second coming of Jesus. According to the Islamic tradition, the Melek Jibreel (□□□□□) is the one that appeared to Muhammad (a.s.) and taught him the Quran, meaning that he is a messenger of Allah. Furthermore, a piece of information is handed to us by the narrator that the first day of Simon's homecoming to Foča falls on 28 August, the orthodox Christian holiday called Velika Gospojina. But what is even more suggestive is the exact number of days Simon spends in Foča until leaving this world, which amounts to a total of forty days. The symbolism of this number is present in all Abrahamic religions, but especially emphasised in the Islamic tradition: It is the number of days Muhammad (a.s.) spent in a cave praying and fasting and he was also forty years old when he received the revelation; Isa (a.s.) spent forty days in the desert tempted by the devil himself, and Musa (a.s.) spent forty days on Mount Sinai where he would receive The Ten Commandments, etc.

All of this gives rise to a conclusion that *Noćno vijeće*, although situated in the context of the Balkans during the 1990s, is a novel that operates within the framework of sacred history, with the main protagonist chosen by destiny to resolve an ethical problem which cannot be resolved within the sole boundaries of this world and to restore justice in a way that no modern institution can deliver it. For this reason alone, it can be said that this is a story which leaves us with a profoundly pessimistic feeling about modernity as such, and that all of our equally modern solutions to this fundamental ethical insufficiency, including the nationalist ideologies with their anti-modernist sentiments, are a path to an inevitable catastrophe.

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Resisting Nationalism:

Understanding Thomas Pynchon's Postnational Vision From *Mason & Dixon* To *Against The Day*

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Abstract

The creation of so-called alternative worlds in his fiction has been seminal in establishing Thomas Pynchon as a postmodern writer. From the mysterious worlds of lady V. and the Tristero postal system in his early novels to the fictive worlds of a sailing airship beneath desert sand and the Deep Web and the software DeepArcher in his later fiction, these alternative realities have been investigated by distinguished critics from different points of view. Regarding the possibility of a post-national imagination in Pynchon's fiction, in relation to his alternative worlds, several acclaimed scholars have prominently addressed this issue. Nevertheless, the narrative of *Against the Day* still needs to be meticulously analysed. This essay aims to investigate how Pynchon's post-national vision calls into question and resists the overreaching metanarrative of nationalism in the world. By analysing the alternative realities, in connection with the issue of temporality, this essay attempts to depict the instantiation and development of a post-national vision from *Mason & Dixon* to *Against the Day* which questions the long-established dominance of nationalism in the world.

Key words: Thomas Pynchon, Post-nationalism, Alternative worlds, Temporality, *Against the day*, *Mason & Dixon*

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Introduction

In episode 35 of Thomas Pynchon's *Mason & Dixon* we learn from the Reverend Cherrycoke how the members of the British Royal Society, and their French counterparts, "preach" (1997, 347) the invaluable significance of "Reason" over other explanations of the world's matters:

> Royal Society members and French Encyclopaedists are in the Chariot, availing themselves whilst they may – of any occasion to preach the Gospels of Reason, denouncing all that once was Magic, though too often in smirking tropes upon the Church of Rome, — visitations, bleeding statues, medical impossibilities, — no, no, far too foreign. One may be allowed an occasional Cock Lane Ghost, — otherwise, for any more in that Article, one must turn to Gothick Fictions, folded acceptably between the covers of Books.

As a consequence of such a stand by the Royal Society, the Reverend mentions, "These times are unfriendly toward Worlds alternative to this one." This short, but meaningful, passage from *Mason & Dixon* might encapsulate what lies at the centre of Pynchon's post-national vision in the novel. Moving from this premise as the essence of my analysis, I am going to tackle three significant issues in the introduction which I will be using throughout my paper: the question of alternative worlds, what post-nationalism means in my essay, and the relation between Pynchon's alternative realities and the post-national phenomena in *Mason & Dixon* and *Against The Day*.

Pynchon's Alternative Worlds

Thomas Pynchon has been very salient in creating so-called alternative worlds in his fiction which, amongst other things, question the hegemony of the nation-state as the only form of envisioning our lifeworlds. What constitutes these alternative realities are imaginary spaces, imagined by Pynchon in almost all of his novels, which suggest new modes of organising the world. In order to better understand what a world is, I am going to provide a brief account of Thomas Pavel's definition of an ontology, based on which Brian McHale has developed his understanding of a world. McHale's definition of a world, in conjunction with Pavel's explanation of an ontology, is essential in understanding Pynchon's multiple worlds.

In 1981, Pavel described an ontology as "a theoretical description of a universe" (234). Drawing on this definition, McHale, in *Postmodernist Fiction*, emphasises that "the operative word in Pavel's definition [...] is the indefinite article: an ontology is a description of a universe, not of the universe; that is, it may describe any universe, potentially a plurality of universes" (1987, 27). He observes that an ontology might "involve describing other universes" and not necessarily "seek some grounding for our universe." Seen in this light, it can refer to the description of "'possible' or even 'impossible' universes—not least of all the other universe, or heterocosm, of fiction." Since "the dominant of postmodernist fiction is ontological" (10), it can be argued that there is a strict relation between the use of alternative worlds and the category of literary postmodernism.

As far as Pynchon is concerned, his role in establishing the category of postmodernism in literature has been seminal. To begin with, in his famous essay on postmodernism, in 1991, Fredric Jameson provided a shortlist of exemplary postmodernists which includes Pynchon together with some other iconic postmodern figures. The inclusion of Pynchon on Jameson's shortlist is very telling in so far as, after having mentioned a few of the most representative names, he posits that "the list might be extended indefinitely" (1). In 2007, Rachel Adams observed that "Thomas Pynchon may be the most frequently cited author in the vast scholarship on literary postmodernism" (252). Although there is no consensus over the definition of postmodernism, in 2012, McHale observed that "the fiction of Thomas Pynchon appears to be universally regarded as central to its canon" (97). Pynchon's peculiar fiction is very vast in scope. Its author's knowledge is surprisingly formidable on a host of various topics. Its characters are delightfully intriguing, and its narrative is complex and comprehensive. As such, this bizarrely all-encompassing fiction does not lend itself to any particular genre, school, or trend. However, one reason for McHale's observation seems to be Pynchon's conceiving of those alternative worlds that allow for ontological plurality. Indeed, his alternative realities are in large part, in William Ashline's words, "transgressions of ontological levels" (1995, 218).

In *A Hacker Manifesto*, McKenzie Wark observes that an important characteristic of a world is "potential" (2004, 175), as opposed to "necessity" (170). This view suggests that a world can potentially set in motion alternative ways of understanding the world as we know it. Consequently, other modes of existence can thrive without being subordinated to a single hegemonic order. In such a condition, an ontology, in the sense of a potential "plurality of universes" (McHale 1987, 27), might become possible. Within this ontological plurality, the alternative worlds can be described as "alternative subcultures, life-styles, values-systems, enclaves of meaning, psychological realities" (2007, 49) that would go beyond the calcified epistemology of any overreaching order such as the

national ideology. In what follows, I provide a quick view of some exemplary representations of Pynchon's alternative realities in his fiction: the apparent manipulation of reality by the travels of the elusive lady V. in his debut novel *V.*, the mysterious underground Tristero system in *The Crying of Lot 49*, the angels, the Thanatoids, and the ghosts in Vineland, the hollow earth in *Mason & Dixon*, the sailing airships traveling beneath desert sand or through the world via Symmes' Hole in *Against The Day*, and the Deep Web and the software DeepArcher in his most recent novel, *Bleeding Edge*.

Understanding Post-nationalism

In a scene near the end of *Against the Day's* narrative, Penny Black explains to the Chums of Chance, "a five-lad crew belonging to that celebrated aeronautics club known as the Chums of Chance" (Pynchon 2006, 8), the meaning of the Garçons de '71's motto, "'There, but Invisible'" (1087). A member of a group of balloonists from Oregon, she mentions that "'the Boys call it the supranational idea'" which is "'literally to transcend the old political space, the map-space of two dimensions, by climbing into the third.'" This quotation exposes very eloquently, perhaps, the most post-national vision in Pynchon's novel. "The supranational idea" is the suggestion of envisaging alternative ways of understanding, interpreting, and organising the world other than the overruling "old political space." This view substantially recapitulates what I mean by a post-national vision in the novel. Nevertheless, for the sake of a theoretical basis, I shall explain in more detail what the term *post-nationalism* stands for in my essay.

Sascha Pöhlmann has used the term "nation-ness" (2010, 7) to refer to the concept of the nation. The reason for his choice is to distinguish the abstract idea of the nation from its prevalent use to refer to a person's nationality. With this abstract concept of "nation-ness" in mind, the term *post-nationalism* in my essay refers to "anything that works towards dismantling the hegemony of nation-ness as a metanarrative" (Pöhlmann 2010, 8). The counterhegemonic outlook of such a post-national vision actively attempts to imagine the nationalised world through different lenses of epistemological understanding and ontological possibilities. By constantly questioning the overreaching power of the national metanarrative in the world, this sort of post-national imaginary tries to delegitimise "nation-ness" (7) and contest its hegemonic status.

Nonetheless, it must be remembered that questioning the legitimacy of "nation-ness" and challenging its dominant position, through a post-national imagination, does not mean refusing the existence and the reality of nations. In fact, what the post-nationalists in American Studies propose is "a different framework for reading the nation as well as a

critical practice that moves beyond the nationalist and exceptionalist framework" (14). Hence, in this essay the prefix post in the term *post-nationalism* does not mean after. Put otherwise, post-nationalism does not equal after nationalism. Indeed, post-nationalism seeks to provide insight into how to dispose of the hegemonic role of "nation-ness" (7) as a dominant concept of order in the world. Defined in this way, post-nationalism explicitly aims to question "the hegemony of the national, its myths and narratives, its discourses and categories, its fixed identities and its mechanisms of control" (16).

The Alternative Worlds and Post-nationalism

The question of alternative worlds in Pynchon's fiction, and its relevance to the category of postmodernism, has been discussed by many critics. However, one important issue concerning these alternative realities in his fiction, which still seems to be a matter of disagreement between critics, is whether they suggest a post-national vision. Concentrating on transatlantic phenomena, in 2002, Paul Giles proposed a transnational approach to American Studies by way of analysing "points of intersection between the United States and Great Britain" (1). He observed that it is "premature" (20) to speak "in post-national terms" in a world where the nation, "as a category of affiliation and analysis," is still dominant. Regarding Pynchon's novels, he suggests that they offer a "specifically transnational rather than postnational" (237) imagination. For instance, he holds that *Mason & Dixon* deals with "transnational crossings and the traversal of stable national boundaries" (246).

Analysing the works of Thomas Pynchon and Carlos Fuentes, through a "comparativist approach to the contemporary American and Mexican literary canons" (IV), in 2014, Pedro García-Caro argued that these novels offer a "postnational satire" (VI). As he endeavours to show, these are works that attempt to undermine both the repressive, political constructs known as "nations" and the overreaching dynamic of the national ideology that sustains them. He further observes that these narratives playfully aim at debasing "'holy' borders, international borders as well as the internal lines where narratives of nation are embodied and consecrated" as they begin "to contemplate the ensuing postnational constellations" (IV).

Whether Pynchon's fiction mobilises a "transnational, as opposed to postnational," (Giles 2002, 21) perspective or indeed it proposes a post-national imagination, some critics maintain a position somewhere in between. Stacey Olster has argued that, in *Mason & Dixon*, Pynchon depicts America as "a tenuous and fragile creation" (2004, 297) due to, among other things, the fact that "Pynchon writes from a contemporary perspective

in which the idea of the nation-state has itself been shown to be tenuous and fragile." However, she does not explain why America is represented as "tenuous and fragile" or, for that matter, what this description entails in terms of a postmodern perspective. In 2016, Tore Rye Andersen observed that Pynchon's work obviously "transcends the national framework" (35). Nonetheless, he argues that Pynchon's "globally minded novels" always keep track of "the very real consequences that nation-states have had" in history. He explains that "Pynchon maps the bloody trail" (36) that nation-states have left behind, "rather than merely denying their hegemonic status," in so far as "nations are very much a part of global history."

With all this in mind, perhaps the most significant work in terms of a post-national reading of Pynchon's fiction is Sascha Pöhlmann's 2010 analysis of *Gravity's Rainbow* and *Mason & Dixon*. Contrary to Giles' description that Pynchon's fiction depicts a "specifically transnational rather than postnational" imagination (2002, 237), Pöhlmann argues that "these novels do form part of a genuinely postnational imagination since they include but do not remain on the level of the transnational" (2010, 10). However, what lacks from Pöhlmann's inspiring study is an examination of similar post-national phenomena in *Against the Day*. Although he mentions that this novel "constitutes another part of Pynchon's postnational imagination," only briefly does he provide instances where *Against the Day* suggests a post-national view.

In light of this brief introduction, my paper aims to investigate how Pynchon's fiction from *Mason & Dixon* to *Against the Day* depicts a post-national vision that questions the abstract idea of the nation as a metanarrative that has subsumed other narratives in the world. In doing so, I seek to show the representation and development of such a post-national perspective, from *Mason & Dixon* to *Against the Day*, by analysing the alternative worlds in the novels, not least of all the fictive temporal worlds.

1 The National Order: An Identity "liable to be turned on its head"

> *Nothing will produce Bad History more directly nor brutally, than drawing a Line, in particular a Right Line, the very Shape of Contempt, through the midst of a People.*
>
> Thomas Pynchon, *Mason & Dixon*

The national order is so deeply rooted in the world that for the two past centuries it has become hard "to imagine what a state that is not a nation would look like and how

it would operate in the contemporary world" (Gupta 1992, 73). Indeed, the national ideology has constantly been used by the nation-state, through a rational discussion of "nation-ness" (Pöhlmann 2010, 7), as the single form of arranging the world so as to sustain political power and control. Prasenjit Duara has argued that the dominant narrative of the nation "depicts not only the history of nationalism, but constitutes the master narrative of much modern history, allowing the nation-state to define the framework of its self-understanding" (1996, 151). In fact, it is difficult, for instance, to think of the mainstream of twentieth-century political history in categories except the national. As Miroslav Hroch has observed, "the nation has been an inseparable accompaniment of modern European history" (1996, 60). In the modern world, the hegemonic narrative of the nation is represented, by "the *practices* of the state" (Gupta 1992, 71–72), as "a new kind of spatial and mythopoetic metanarrative, one that simultaneously homogenizes the varying narratives of community while, paradoxically, accentuating their difference."

If the metanarrative of "nation-ness" (Pöhlmann 2010, 7) has virtually become an always already accepted concept and if it is almost impossible to question its status, there are also good reasons to try to think beyond the national and change the present condition. Mary Layoun has argued that "a national narrative seeks to define the nation, to construct its [...] narrative past in an assertion of legitimacy and precedent for the practices of the narrative present" (1990, 7). The key word in Layoun's observation, in my opinion, is the verb *construct* which reminds us that the national narrative is artificial. It is a hegemonic order, serving nation-states, that is essentialist in nature and imposes its constructed ideology on its singularities. As Stefan Berger has argued, "national master narratives are continually being constructed and reconstructed in contemporary Europe" (2008, 3). Since the nature of these narratives of national identity is "constructed," Berger draws attention to "the problematic aspects of constructions of national histories." From the early nineteenth century to the present day, such constructions of national identity have become so commonplace that hardly anyone questions changes in the construction processes over time. After all, "nation is narration" (1) and nation-states decide, in retrospect, which story constitutes the nation. Precisely because the national identity is a contested historical construction, it needs to be superseded by other ways of organising the world that would challenge the all-encompassing metanarrative of "nation-ness" (Pöhlmann 2010, 7).

Charles Carnegie has argued that today the reality of global flows has posed significant problems to nation-states in so far as "the principle of nation-state autonomy is logically incompatible with global interdependence" (2003, 5). Indeed, nationalism and the nation-state, in theory and practice, no longer hold as the only sites of sovereignty and

political power. For instance, Wendy Brown has suggested that "sovereign nation-states no longer exclusively define the field of global political relations" (2010, 24). In what seems a paradox, she observes that "much of the frenzy of nation-state wall building today" is indicative of the decline, "rather than resurgent expressions, of nation-state sovereignty." These views translate into the idea that the nation as the predominant mode of ordering our lifeworlds should be replaced by other ways of interpreting and conceiving of the world. Such a new cognisance would challenge nationalism's essentialised aims and their continued relevance that have become part of popular consciousness across the world. At the same time, the desire to develop alternative ways of organising the world order does not mean that nation-states are no longer powerful, significant agents in the age of globalisation. Indeed, globalisation "has entailed a partial denationalization of national territory and partial shift of some components of state sovereignty to other institutions" (Sassen 1996, XII).

2 From "number'd and dreamless Indicative" Worlds to "Subjunctive" Worlds: Toward a Post-national Perspective in *Mason & Dixon*

One noticeable factor that can play an important role in delegitimising the overruling dominance of "nation-ness" (Pöhlmann 2010, 7) in the world is literature. As Pöhlmann brings to our attention, the reason why literary texts can particularly be considered postnational material is "their capability to create worlds instead of describing 'the' world" (19). This holds true especially in postmodernist fiction in so far as its narrative is engaged with questions of ontological nature and, thus, processes of making fictional worlds. Regarding Pynchon, the alternative worlds of his fiction carry considerable weight in opposing the hegemonic dominance of the national order in the world. By invoking national identity, Pynchon directs attention to the long-lasting dominance of "nationsness" (7) in our world and attacks its hegemony by way of offering alternative realties. As an active practice in undermining the national order, this narrative technique can be understood as part of mobilising a post-national perspective in his fiction. In the following passage from *Mason & Dixon* we can observe the contrast between Britannia, as the site of rationality governed by the national order, and America, as an uncontrolled place of "subjunctive Hopes" (Pynchon 1997, 334) where a post-national vision, in the sense of an alternative future, might be possible:

> Does Britannia, when she sleeps, dream? Is America her dream?— in which
> all that cannot pass in the metropolitan Wakefulness is allow'd Expression

away in the restless Slumber of these Provinces, and on West-ward, wher-
ever 'tis not yet mapp'd, nor written down, nor ever, by the majority of
Mankind, seen,— serving as a very Rubbish-Tip for subjunctive Hopes,
for all that may yet be true,— Earthly Paradise, Fountain of Youth, Realms
of Prester John, Christ's Kingdom, ever behind the sunset, safe till the next
Territory to the West be seen and recorded, mea-sur'd and tied in, back
into the Net-Work of Points already known, that slowly triangulates its
Way into the Continent, changing all from subjunctive to declarative, re-
ducing Possibilities to Simplicities that serve the ends of Governments,—
winning away from the realm of the Sacred, its Borderlands one by one,
and assuming them unto the bare mortal World that is our home, and our
Despair. (334–335)

Pynchon eloquently explains that British colonisers pursued their appropriation of land
and property in America where, according to Pöhlmann, open space was turned into "a
governable territory" (2010, 223) with "a political body of governable people" (177)
under the metanarrative of nationalism. This subject is referred to several times in the
novel, for instance, through the issues of Indian Wars and slavery. Nevertheless, at issue
here is how Pynchon depicts a promising version of America with infinite possibilities
that is being changed into a place under the overreaching control of a nationalist order
that changes "all from subjunctive to declarative, reducing Possibilities to Simplicities
that serve the ends of Governments" (Pynchon 1997, 334). America's open space is
shown as the symbol of "subjunctive Hopes" where "'tis not yet mapp'd, nor written
down, nor ever, by the majority of Mankind, seen." Captain Shelby, a surveyor in the
novel, tells Dixon that in America "pure Space waits the Surveyor,— no previous Lines,
no fences, no streets to constrain polygony however extravagant" (566). This suggests
the original potential of America as a "subjunctive" (334), rather than "declarative,"
space of possibility where the all-encompassing dynamic of national ideology has not
yet imposed its homogenising goals on her individuals. This also reminds us of Oedipa
Maas in *The Crying of Lot 49* where the narrator tells us that "she had heard all about
excluded middles; they were bad shit, to be avoided" (Pynchon 1966, 113). Oedipa won-
ders "how had it ever happened here, with the chances once so good for diversity?" Her
nostalgic reflection on the possibilities in the past, which no longer seem to hold true
in America, is in tune with *Mason & Dixon's* depiction of America as a space where
"diversity," as opposed to nationalism's homogenising force, is possible.

In metaphorical terms, the relation between Great Britain and colonial America is a
sort of centre-periphery paradigm where Britannia is trying to appropriate and modify
the vast open land at will. Indeed, "all that cannot pass in the metropolitan Wakefulness"

(Pynchon 1997, 334) of Britannia "is allow'd Expression away in the restless Slumber of these Provinces" in America. In *The Crying of Lot 49*, Pierce Inverarity is changing the shape of the California landscape by developing a fictional, peripheral town called San Narciso. Similarly, in *Mason & Dixon* Great Britain is reshaping the American open space of the frontier and its landscape. In fact, Mason and Dixon are mapping the un-mapped. In this centre-periphery paradigm of space and power, so to speak, the cen-trifugal energies of America's open space are subdued by the hegemony of the British national order. As Duara has argued, "the nation is a unique and unprecedented form of community which finds its place in the oppositions between empire and nation, tra-dition and modernity, and center and periphery" (1996, 151). Pynchon conjures up and criticises nationalism's essentialised, standardising agenda so as to draw attention to the possibility of an alternative America that has been lost at the expense of serving the British government instead of realising the potential of the land's free space.

    Mason & Dixon is a story about the adventures of British astronomer Charles Mason and surveyor Jeremiah Dixon who created the line dividing Pennsylvania from Mary-land in order to settle the boundary dispute between them. Colonial America is the main setting of the surveyors' expedition where they carry out measurements to draw the line that will carry their name. As the story is narrated by the Reverend Wicks Cher-rycoke, we learn about Mason and Dixon's astronomical and surveying travels to South Africa, Saint Helena, Great Britain, and most importantly the Mason-Dixon line in British North America. A post-national text, the narrative of *Mason & Dixon* deals with national boundaries as well as what goes beyond them. Indeed, the novel has mul-tiple settings. As part of the Age of Reason, Mason and Dixon bring their message of the Enlightenment to America where they confront irrationality. Implementing their duty to draw the line, they arrive in a colony that is a strange place to them. Mason and Dixon's rational acts, in the face of the fantastic and the irrational, contribute to the demise of the possibilities in America through their national mission to map parts of the land.

    Pynchon's novel depicts the way the national order curtails the possibilities and the subjunctive potential in America as Mason and Dixon execute their mission by drawing the line. At the same time, as the characters move from the rationalised, established east to the open, unmapped west in America, the possibility of the existence and coexistence of different modes of thought and life increases. This "subjunctive space of wish and desire" (McHale 2000, 59) mobilises an alternative vision that is post-national in so far as it is not yet "recorded, mea-sur'd and tied in, back into the Net-Work of Points already known" (Pynchon 1997, 334) through the nationalisation of space by the colonies. As such, it is not rationalised, essentialised, homogenised, or for that matter, ordered and

controlled by the metanarrative of the nation that defines and determines a certain set of aims for its subjects to follow. As we shall see in the following examples, the novel offers the possibility of a post-national understanding of its narrative.

On the island of Saint Helena, Mason is assisting the astronomer Nevil Maskelyne to establish observations of the lunar distance. He tells Mason of an "Invisible Power" (137) to which they are both subject: "We are quite the Pair, then,— that is, I presume, [...], both Subjects of the same Invisible Power? No?" He wonders what Mason thinks of this "Power" and explains that it is "Something richer than many a Nation, yet with no Boundaries." It is an entity that is "never part of any Coalition" with "its own great Army and Navy" which even "allows the Bri-tannick Governance that gave it Charter, to sink beneath oceanick Waves of Ink incarnadine." It is as though this "Invisible Power" were a dynamic system capable of introducing a new order in the world beyond the hegemonic national ideologies of "many a Nation." Maskelyne mentions that this new "Power" is not limited by the restrictive framework of the nations' borders since it has "no Boundaries." It is a ubiquitous system in the world, larger than the overreaching concept of the national order, as it can make "the Bri-tannick Governance ... sink beneath" the ocean.

The new order that the "Invisible Power" could introduce to the world is the suggestion of an alternative reality in the novel where Pynchon's narrative draws attention to a possible post-national vision. *Mason & Dixon* is overwhelmingly expressive of British and Dutch colonialisms and, for that matter, indicative of European nationalisms in their colonial agenda to surpass one another. In a nationalised world, this short scene from the novel can emphasise the possibility and the need to supersede the fundamental dominance of "nations-ness" (Pöhlmann 2010, 7), in practicing its restricting political agenda, by other ways of interpreting and arranging the world. These other modes of understanding, perhaps including the "Invisible Power" (Pynchon 1997, 137), would offer different epistemological interpretations of the world that value choice over constraint. In doing so, they mobilise a post-national imagination.

When Mason arrives in Brooklyn, together with a girl named Amelia, he comes across a gang of thieves who hate "the English King and all his subjects" (387). The gang members believe that England's taxation policy in America is unfair. One of them, called Drogo, tells Mason that "the only use we can be to them, is as a Herd of animals" (388) because "all the Brits want us for, is to buy their Goods." They think that Britain's tax policy is "simple Tyranny" (391) and they must resist British control in America. Feeling shocked at how they feel about the Stamp Act, Mason explains that he works under contract for the king of England to enact his mission in America. Amelia is amased at Mason's important expedition, "working directly for the King" (392). Mason responds,

"'Alas, no longer. Out in the Woods these days, running lines for a couple of Lords in a squabble.'" She mentions that the surveyors' job in America is useless in so far as it will be soon undone: "'An exercise in futility! I can't believe you Cuffins! In a few seasons hence, all your Work must be left to grow over, never to be redrawn, for in the world that is to come, all boundaries shall be eras'd'" (393). Amelia believes that there will be a new world where the borders and boundaries will be removed.

Until this point in the novel, Pynchon has much dwelled on the issue of colonialism and its dominance in the colonies such as the Cape of Good Hope and America. Pynchon demonstrates the hegemony of British colonialism in America that has seized and transformed open space into a controllable place. Such a national order determines the ways of arranging societies and forces the citizens to consider their established, homogenising standards. The narrator relates that "when word arriv'd of the first Conestoga Massacre, neither Astronomer quite register'd its full Solemnity" (296). Indeed, Mason does consider "as peculiar, that the first mortal acts of Savagery in America after their Arrival should have been committed by Whites against Indians." Mason and Dixon have seen "white Brutality enough, at the Cape of Good Hope. They can no better understand it now, than then." In fact, "Whites in both places are become the very Savages of their own worst Dreams, far out of Measure to any Provocation." However, in the brief exchange between Mason and Amelia, the novel suggests an alternative future possibility that can be understood in terms of a post-national imagination. Although England's national ideology prevails in America, Amelia's observation underscores the idea that in the world to come the hegemonic dominance of the metanarrative of "nations-ness" (Pöhlmann 2010, 7) will be made futile in so far as "all boundaries shall be eras'd" (Pynchon 1997, 393).

3 *Against the Day's* Nationalised World

Against the Day spans the years between the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 and the early 1920s. An "encyclopedic" (1976, 1) novel, to use Edward Mendelson's words, its narrative engages in various places around the world, including Colorado, London, Göttingen, New York, Central Asia, Siberia at the time of the mysterious Tunguska Event, Mexico during the Revolution, Vienna, the Balkans, silent-era Hollywood, post-war Paris, and, to cite from Pynchon's dust jacket, "one or two places not strictly speaking on the map at all." There is a "sizable cast" of fictional and historical characters such as scientists, mathematicians, shamans, anarchist bombers, miners, and capitalist bosses. Pynchon tells us that these characters "are mostly just trying to pursue their lives" as they

are confronted with "a worldwide disaster looming just a few years ahead." We also learn from his description of the novel, on the front inner flap of the dust jacket, that several "obscure languages are spoken" and "contrary-to-the-fact occurrences occur" throughout the narrative. He concludes his description with the rather hopeful suggestion that "maybe it's not the world, but with a minor adjustment or two it's what the world might be."

In this vast panorama of various interesting issues, *Against the Day* offers critical insights through which the legitimacy of the metanarrative of "nation-ness" (Pöhlmann 2010, 7) is questioned. For instance, Ratty McHugh's analysis, on the verge of World War I, suggests the crisis of the nation-state:

> Today even the dimmest of capitalists can see that the centralized nation-state, so promising an idea a generation ago, has lost all credibility with the population. Anarchism is now the idea that has seized hearts everywhere, some form of it will come to envelop every centrally governed society—unless government has already become irrelevant through, say, family arrangements like the Balkan zadruga. If a nation wants to preserve itself, what other steps can it take, but mobilize and go to war? Central governments were never designed for peace. Their structure is line and staff, the same as an army. The national idea depends on war. (942)

A British anarchist in the novel, who has abandoned government work, Ratty observes that when it becomes clear to the capitalists that the nation-state is no longer popular, they try to preserve their old ideology through a different strategy. War needs to be created in order to revitalise the national idea. As J. Paul Narkunas has argued, "the use of war to create friction between peoples destabilizes alternative arrangements such as anarchism" (2011, 250), which was "challenging the sovereign nation-state leading up to World War I." In fact, Ratty believes that in a "general European war" (Pynchon 2006, 942) anarchists "would be the biggest losers" in so far as war is the necessary apparatus to sustain the national order. A metanarrative of homogeneity, the nation-state attempts to curtail the power of anarchists who hold a sustained scepticism toward its conforming aims. Seeking to establish uniformity and linearity, so as to exert all-encompassing control over its singularities, what the nation-state desires is "a nation of starers [...], a being They assembled, a being They would dismantle" (Pynchon 1973, 374).

The above example suggests how the national order has shaped the general framework of the world and has persistently sought to define and determine our lifeworlds. The exercise of its dominant ideology, by nation-states, for so long has left no space for other epistemological understandings of our world or, for that matter, any alternative ways of

organising it in terms of ontological possibilities. This passage points to the fact that the narrative of the nation is not necessarily an order that is based on the common good of its subjects but one that imposes its hegemonic ideology on communities and their individuals.

If Pynchon's novel shows that nation-states use war to maintain the national order, it also suggests certain ways to challenge its overreaching dominance in the world. His alternative realities set in motion an imagination free from the hegemonic restrictions of a standardising metanarrative where a post-national understanding becomes possible. Such a post-national vision allows for the reimagination of our world that has been enveloped by the absolutist order of the nation. In order to resist the hegemony of the present calcified world order, according to Ratty's explanation in the novel, it is important to go anarchic and transcend the national ideology. For example, governments can be replaced by "other, more practical arrangements" (Pynchon 2006, 937). Nevertheless, Pynchon's character is aware that anarchism should not destroy things but play "more of a coevolutionary role, helping along what's already in progress." As Graham Benton has argued, "while Pynchon frequently invokes a concept of anarchism [...] as a valued political philosophy, he is also wary of fully endorsing an anarchist position because he recognizes such a position to be open to any number of violent corruptions and betrayals" (2011, 191).

Against the Day provides the reader with a host of passages where a post-national imagination is suggested. Early in the text, Darby tells Chick about the Garcons de '71, a rival band of boy adventurers to the Chums of Chance, who were formed during the 1871 sieges of Paris when balloons were the only way to communicate with the city. During the sieges, some of these balloonists came to realise "how much the modern State depended for its survival on maintaining a condition of permanent siege—through the systematic encirclement of populations, [...], the relentless degradation of civility until citizen was turned against citizen, even to the point of committing atrocities like those of the infamous pétroleurs of Paris" (Pynchon 2006, 24). Narkunas has observed that here "Pynchon does not chart nation-states as sovereign legal entities that command or direct force in the name of national identities, and to whom citizens can turn for protection" (2011, 243). What, in fact, he seeks to do is to highlight "contested forces, as well as specific elements monopolizing or deploying force on a regional or national scale through a sense of perpetual threat—that is, the 'permanent siege' of war generalized in the creation of society." However, with the end of the sieges the balloonists were set free of "the political delusions" (Pynchon 2006, 24) and, as Penny mentions, decided to fly beyond "national boundaries, running blockades, feeding the hungry, sheltering the sick and persecuted." As Pöhlmann has argued, the elevated viewpoint of the balloonists

let them broaden their "framework of thought" (2010, 362) by way of observing the big picture of "politics and society that could not remain within the accepted national categories."

The Chums of Chance represent U.S. national identity. Each time in the novel they encounter the flagship of their "mysterious Russian counterpart—and, far too often, nemesis—Captain Igor Padzhitnoff" (Pynchon 2006, 127), "lively though anxious memories" are evoked in the boys. Nevertheless, albeit late, in the end the Chums recognise the limits of their national identity based on an us-them conception of sameness and difference. The national ideology that has determined their identity, against the Russian squad, and defined their story line until then becomes irrelevant. In fact, both groups begin to provide Europeans with provisions to alleviate their suffering during the First World War. Nathalie Aghoro has argued that for the boys "cooperation is their option for the excluded middle that nationalist ideology cannot acknowledge in its fight for supremacy" (2009, 49). Since the nations of the world do not leave frontiers behind, the boys use the sky "in order to help a world that is threatened to resolve into fragments under the impression of World War." Aware of the limitations of their national identity, they act post-nationally, beyond the borders of nations, to keep the world safe.

4 Transcending "the map-space of two dimensions, by climbing into the third": Post-national Visions in *Against the Day*

In *Against the Day*, the sky becomes the symbol of post-national cooperation in the last pages of the novel where the national boundaries are challenged, if not dismantled. This alternative possibility represents a "supranational idea" (Pynchon 2006, 1087) in the novel. In the annual convention initiated by the French group of balloonists, the Garçons de '71 up above the skies in Paris, Penny explains the concept of "the supranational idea" to the Chums of Chance. It is "'literally to transcend the old political space, the map-space of two dimensions, by climbing into the third.'" As such, it has the capability to transcend the nation-state's calcified order in the world that has imposed its overreaching ideology on societies. In the end, the Garçons de '71 refuse to work with any national or state forces on the ground. They decide to "fly wherever they're needed, far above fortress walls and national boundaries" (24). In this scene, Pynchon underscores the need for an alternative interpretation and arrangement of the world in a different manner than the homogenising ideology of the nation. "The supranational idea" (1087) heralds that new alternatives, such as the "third dimension," might be pos-

sible. Pynchon's alternative realities seek to counter the hegemonic identity formation of "nation-ness" (Pöhlmann 2010, 7) by providing a post-national perspective.

Freed from the restrictive framework of their duties, the Chums of Chance fly over the national boundaries and help whoever they wish. They find a post-national order "above the City in a great though unseen gathering of skyships" (Pynchon 2006, 1087) where their identity is no longer defined by the national ideology. The "supranational idea" is "there," even if "invisible," and directs the Chums toward "grace" (1089). As the boys' motto indicates, there is an alternative possibility that transcends the national framework: "'There, but Invisible'" (1087). This suggests a different understanding of the world. "No one aboard *Inconvenience* has yet observed any sign of this" (1089) but "they know—Miles is certain—it is there." The boys are ready "for the glory of what is coming to part the sky. They fly toward grace." In this passage, it is as though the nation-state's overruling hegemony had been cancelled out by a new world order. This alternative reality, inside a limited system, is what post-nationalism attempts to build. The Chums are equipped with a new understanding of the world other than the calcified rule of "nation-ness" (Pöhlmann 2010, 7) that has left no freedom to imagination. Pynchon seems to be telling us that "there are no preexisting, transcendent structures or a priori concepts of power and organization that persist for the two main forces of capitalism and governance" (Narkunas 2011, 260–261). Notwithstanding the dawn of one the most devastating wars in human history, in the end, the post-national vision of the novel invites us to reimagine the world by challenging the long-lasting metanarrative of the nation.

When *Against the Day* was first published in 2006, it received mixed reviews from critics. While it was lauded for its encyclopaedic range and intelligence, some critics found the novel to be inaccessible and confusing for the reading market. Nevertheless, ever since its publication, scholars have increasingly been appreciating the novel's originality and genius. On that score, a significant factor that speaks to the idea of originality is how Pynchon uses certain narrative techniques to demonstrate and deconstruct the nation-sate as a dominant force arranging and ordering the world. For instance, using the genre of boys' adventure fiction, Pynchon shows how the national idea surfaces in the novel in the period leading to the First World War. From the very outset, the Chums' geographical mobility across the sky provides the reader with an idea of the national order in the organisation of Chicago's White City, especially the 1893 World's Fair. At the same time, the use of this genre, among many others in the novel, opens to the reader an imagination beyond the static rule of the national idea. As it becomes clear in Pynchon's novel, refusing to work with any nation-state authority on the ground, the boys use the sky to help populations in need and take action to comfort their suffering during

World War I. Irrespective of the duties dictated by their "National Office" (1023), their increasing assertion of free will counters the hegemonic stance of the national ideology and suggests a post-national imagination in the narrative world of *Against the Day*. As Christopher Leise has argued, *Against the Day's* "highest genius lies in the ability to occupy so many genres of American ideological indoctrination to dramatically repurposed effect" (2011, 4), including a post-national vision.

5 Conceptions of Time and the Alternative Worlds in *Against the Day*

> *Lateral world-sets, other parts of the Creation, lie all around us, each with its crossover points or gates of transfer from one to another, and they can be anywhere, really....*

> Thomas Pynchon, *Against the Day*

In the Hotel Borealis, the Headquarters of the Vormance Expedition to the Arctic in *Against the Day*, Dr. Vormance, on sabbatical from Candlebrow University, and his fellow scientists are arguing the issues of Quaternionist theory and time. As "THE TRANSNOCTIAL DISCUSSION GROUP" (Pynchon 2006, 135) meets in the basement of the hotel to discuss "the Nature of Expeditions," Dr. Vormance makes a case for colonising time: "And what of colonizing additional dimensions beyond the third? Colonize Time. Why not?" In the scene that immediately ensues, the narrator recounts that some members of the Expedition had visited the great Library of Iceland where they could find *The Book of Iceland Spar*. From the librarian there, they learn that Iceland spar, as "the genuine article," is "the sub-structure of reality" in Iceland:

> For this is not only the geographical Iceland here, it is also one of several convergences among the worlds, found now and then lying behind the apparent, like these subterranean passages beneath the surface, which lead among the caves of Iceland spar [...] by light. Down where the 'Hidden People' live, [...] Iceland spar is what hides the Hidden People, makes it possible for them to move through the world that thinks of itself as 'real.' (137–138)

Through Iceland spar Pynchon creates a subterranean world, even a convergence "among the worlds," parallel to ours where the "Hidden People" live and think of their world

as the "real" one. What is intriguing about this alternative world, "alongside our own world," that cannot "be seen" is that these people "have been crossing here, crossing over, between the worlds, for generations. [...] Looking back over a thousand years, there is a time when their trespassings onto our shores at last converge, as in a vanishing-point, with those of the first Norse visitors." The librarian makes it clear that the "Hidden People" trespassed onto our world frequently until a time when their trespassings converged with the arrival of the first Norse visitors. At that "vanishing-point" the two different times in the two different worlds converged.

Returning to Pynchon's alternative worlds, a notable subject regarding his fiction is the relation between these multiple worlds and the issue of time. The above passage does not offer much in the way of a post-national vision. However, I have chosen this scene to emphasise the way that *Against the Day* instantiates the issue of temporality, in relation to the question of alternative realities, which helps spell out my argument in terms of a post-national imagination in the novel. As Inger H. Dalsgaard has argued, "*Against the Day* can be said to expand, diffuse, or broaden definitions of time and temporal transport to involve theoretical, mental, spiritual, and existential senses of those concepts" (2011, 115–116). With temporality in mind, as a pivotal issue in Pynchon's novel, I endeavour to depict how *Against the Day's* multiple worlds offer an alternative historical perspective which challenges the long-standing hegemony of nationalism in the world.

6 From *Mason & Dixon* to *Against the Day*: A Post-national Panorama through Historical Continuity

At least three of Pynchon's novels are narratives that reflect upon the way our world has been shaped throughout history. As Amy J. Elias has argued, what Pynchon's three longest historical novels have in common is that they "imply a philosophy of history, or meditations on the nature of history itself" (2012, 124). Similarly, Andersen has proposed the term "world-historical or global novels" (2016, 8) to refer to Pynchon's bigger texts that "stand clearly apart from the rest of his work" (24). He explains that "the remarkable unity of their vision" mobilises a historical perspective that "maps the complexity" of significant historical transition points in the novels. In light of these views, I intend to demonstrate a continuity in the perception of time from *Mason & Dixon* to *Against the Day* which highlights Pynchon's post-national imagination.

World War I is a salient issue in *Against the Day*. However, Pynchon's novel does not say as much about the war as it does about its implications, including history and systems

of control and order. Nicholas Nookshaft is the Grand Cohen of the London chapter of "The T.W.I.T., or True Worshippers of the Ineffable Tetractys" (Pynchon 2006, 224), in the novel. He explains "his personal concept of the Psychical Detective" (227) to Lew Basnight, "The 'spotter' from White City Investigations" (41). It is a complicated mystical system, based on the Tarot, which offers a complex explanation for evil. The Cohen mentions that there is one particular case which is preoccupying them. Its twenty-two suspects "are precisely the cadre of operatives who, working in secret, cause—or at least allow—History upon this island to happen, and they correspond to the twenty-two Major Arcana of the Tarot deck" (227). He elaborates that the twenty-two cards of the Major Arcana "might be regarded as living agencies, positions to be filled with real people," and "when vacancies occur, [...] new occupants will emerge, obliging" them to "learn their histories as well." The history that these twenty-two suspects are trying to cause to happen on the island is a way to suggest an alternative historical perspective. Indeed, when Lew asks the Cohen what the nature of their crime would be, he explains that they are committing some sort of "an ongoing Transgression, accumulating as the days pass, the invasion of Time into a timeless world" (228). The "ongoing Transgression" is "History if you like," suggests the Cohen. Hence, the temporal transgressions of these twenty-two people make a version of history happen on the island that is the suggestion of an alternative historical vision. This new understanding questions the artificial formation of the overreaching narrative of history as we know it, which becomes a dominating tool serving the goals of nation-states.

In *Mason & Dixon*, eighteenth-century America is depicted as an open space where we observe an ongoing struggle for dominance between the advocates of the controlling order of rationalisation and the subjunctive forces of irrationality. Set almost a century and a half later, *Against the Day* evinces the consequence of this conflict between the powers of "totalization" (Elias 2012, 130) and counter hegemonic forces proposing "openness and improvisation," as the narrative approaches World War I. In effect, in *Mason & Dixon*, Pynchon offers an alternative formation of America's history by calling into question its founding myths. Concentrating on the line, he highlights America's open space as one of potential in contrast to the declarative forces of homogenisation. This historical contemplation, as to what the future of the territory might be, tickles our imagination regarding America's treatment of open space, be it the case of killing Indians or settling down the slavery dispute between the slave-holding colonies and those that banned it.

Going back to the year 1763, Pynchon sets in motion an alternative history where the making of America has been challenged. As we move from the eighteenth century, when Mason and Dixon started their surveying project, to the timeline between 1893

and the beginning of World War I in *Against the Day*, we still observe a continuity in the hope for that subjunctive formation of the world. This is most obvious, but not exclusively, through the concept of "the supranational idea" (2006, 1087) presented in the last pages of the novel. *Against the Day's* alternative realities demonstrate a continuity in the time relation with *Mason & Dixon*, as one of the main concerns of Pynchon in his bigger historical novels. Nevertheless, the confrontation of the forces of control and anarchy in the novel leads to World War I. This disastrous incident radically shatters our cognisance of the concepts of time and space in the world. However, from the eighteenth-century colonisation of America's open space to the onset of World War I, As Charles Mason says in the novel, "another Dispensation of Space ... and Time" (1997, 419) is taking shape. This new spatiotemporal organisation enables a continuity from *Mason & Dixon* to *Against the Day*, in terms of the instantiation of an alternative historical view, that contributes to a consistent post-national reading of the novels.

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Nationalism as Regressive Identitarian Acting Out and Its Destitution Through Democratic Action

Alice Pechriggl*

Abstract

In the following text I would like to juxtapose two types of agency: on the one hand, the acting out of affects of hatred and envy against a projectively imagined other, which is mostly constitutive for nationalism; on the other hand, the deliberative acting on the basis of conflictuality which is constitutive of inclusive democracies, i.e. the ability within a society to resolve conflicts in a civilised way. In doing so, I will draw on the term of acting as enactment or acting out (*Agieren*), which Sigmund Freud coined for psychoanalysis, but which has since found its way into everyday language.

Key words: nationalism, group analysis, multilingualism, monolingualism, identitarin phantasms, psychoanalysis, enactment, political imaginary, theory of action

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In order to develop the idea of nationalistic acting out as juxtaposed to democratic deliberative action, I will examine the issue in four steps:

1. I will try to make nationalism comprehensible as the acting out of identitarian phantasms marked by the early childhood defence mechanisms of splitting and projection or projective identification. This entails a psychoanalytical perspective on the psychological basis of the ideology of friend vs. foe which is always activated by warmongers and was most fundamentally sanctioned by Nazi lawyers.

2. I will view the phantasmagoria of purity in relation to one's "own" community and the associated phantasm of the purity and unity of language from the perspective of cultural philosophy and philosophy of language.

3. I will try to show that conflictuality is often erased by violent and hateful ways of acting through language: there is hardly a way back into a mode of deliberative action and negotiation so that war and the eradication of the Other are the absolutist horizon of meaning and affect.

4. Finally, I will briefly introduce democratic action as alternating between governing and being governed in the context of conflictuality but also as the differentiation and integration of fragmented parts of the body politics. But if integration is important in itself, it should not be forgotten that at some point it will no longer be possible to negotiate with certain political forces. How can a democracy, how can democrats then act without themselves falling into the trap of the friend-foe rhetoric and into the mode of divisive action?

1 Nationalism as the Acting Out of Identitarian Phantasms Marked by Splitting and Projection or Projective Identification

In psychosis, the extreme manifestation of splitting mechanisms, the world splits itself into good and evil, into the phantasm of omnipotence and powerlessness; it is the construction of a world in which the others are perceived as a radical Other or, as Descartes called it, "malin génie", evil genius. Against this evil power phantasised as radical Other, the ego, alternately omnipotent and powerless, has to wage a fight of life and death. Here, trust-in-the-other is negated by permanent and total scenarios of threat, from which the ego can escape only provisionally and only at the price of hallucinatory illusions, religious delusions, pseudo- rationalisations or mystical rituals. The human psyche in general ties to a psychotic core, which does not mean that, in situations of

heavy threat, all people are immediately befallen by madness. But these structural characteristics of division, rejection, and the related basic assumption of flight-fight (Bion 1961) are found in a weakened form in all people. When they become dominant in a psyche and/or a society they come close to a psychotic acting out.[1]

These modes of perception and related forms of imagining and acting are expressed and sometimes even erupt, particularly in conflictual situations; in situations in which people feel threatened, regardless of whether the threat is real or the result of propaganda. Feelings of powerlessness, which can be accompanied by any kind of threat or dependence, then lead to the reparatory phantasm of omnipotence; more precisely, the psyche tilts back and forth in the course of the split between the phantasms of omnipotence and powerlessness, because it is not able to mediate or integrate these positions. In a kind of escalation of such a heteronomous perception of the world, the phantasms of powerlessness and omnipotence magnify each other. This makes the apparent external determination by the others seem unavoidable and total, if one does not immediately act in terms of the basic assumption of flight-fight, i.e. in a warlike or at least in the friend-foe mode. On the other hand, individual and collective autonomy, i.e. self-determination and self-limitation, goes hand in hand with a more realistic assessment of heteronomous conditions and their changeability. What "we", e.g. "we" Austrians, "we" Germans, "we" whites, "we" Europeans, "we" hetero-, homo-, bisexual people assume to be "collective identity" is as much based on illusions as the assumption of an ego that would be the master in one's own house. There is no identity, i.e. self-sameness in the strict sense, neither as pure ego = ego nor as a "we", which would be integer, unbroken and also transparent to oneself. At the same time, the perception of a certain identity of the self is necessary; without this perception people would be at the mercy of the disintegration of thought, that is at the mercy of mental and spiritual confusion. The same applies to politically composed collectives, although their transformability varies greatly, depending on whether we are dealing with a traditional tribal society or with a modern, multicultural city. This is why it cannot be generally claimed that there is no "cultural identity" or that there is just one "cultural identity". The term exists and it refers to something that makes sense in the philosophy of culture and history and which Cultural Studies is concerned with, especially when the question of culturally relevant others arises, or when cultural identity is asserted and claimed by certain groups. It is not enough to logically state that this identity does not exist; it is important to understand the socio-psychological and conceptual modes through which such phantasms are

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[1] For a detailed study of the conceptual differences between acting, acting out and enactment, see Storck 2018; for the difference between acting out and deliberative acting, see Pechriggl 2018.

constituted and how the nationalist ideologues attempt to assert themselves politically; they do so in a hegemonic manner, at the expense of various other groups. To this end, it is necessary to answer the question of how the construction of other people as projective Others in the sense of a radically heteronomous instance has to be situated in the context of the political relationship between autonomy and heteronomy.

So, nationalism is a historical and cultural phenomenon, more precisely it is a phenomenon of modernity that partly goes back to antiquity, insofar as wars between peoples, federations, or empires or communities (*poleis*) always fall back on central elements of this phenomenon. However, it only began to take on the form that it took in the 19ᵗʰ and 20ᵗʰ centuries with the nation-building processes of, above all, Holland, France, England, etc. and the concept of nation in modern times. With National Socialism, nationalism entered into the phase of its last consequence, that of mass murder and industrial genocide; the wars in former Yugoslavia were a further, albeit differently pronounced form of this exterminatory ethno-nationalism.

The term nation takes different forms, depending on what kind of historical nation we are dealing with (the Paris student community in the Middle Ages also called itself nation); but as a modern political term, it generally refers to a territorial state with a certain form of government and a people that feels attached to this territory and state as home, and that is recognised by this state as citizens or at least as population, according to the regime in place. The Latin word *natio* confers to this "people" a kind of autochthony-status with their birth (*nacitas*; born on this soil), a mythical but nevertheless ethnic characteristic, which makes all newcomers foreigners, and – in the radicalised form of nationalism – enemies to be eradicated. In this nationalist, later explicitly National Socialist ideology of blood and soil, the *ius sanguinis* increasingly substituted the *ius solis* so that it was no longer sufficient to have been born on this respective soil of the nation in order to be a citizen. Instead, one had to prove blood ties with already existing citizens.

It is clear that the historical image of "nation" is based on diversity and at the same time on illusionary proclaims of unity in order to subsequently impose it by force. Former U.S. president Obama was right in his speech in South Africa to mark Nelson Mandela's 100th birthday in 2018 when he conjured up an image of France as "la Nation France", a nation that currently seems to be an example of this dialectic of trying to overcome racially or ethnically affected nationalism. The current world champions in football had won with a team made up of more dark-skinned than white-skinned players. Obama commented on this as follows: "…not all of these folks looked like Gauls to me, but they are all French." This clear statement against the ethnic or racial determination of the concept of nation is not only an anti-racist and anti-ethnicist judgement,

it also refers conceptually to the inevitable migratory foundation of each concrete nation. What is referred to as the migrational background of individual people is at the same time fundamental in and for the history of nations, with the exception of some (linguistic) islands (I am not necessarily thinking of Hungary and its national-fascist tradition…).

As a nationalist construct, the nation is conceived and imagined in the mode of division because from the splitting point of view the contradiction between diversity and unity must be concealed in the name of purity. For this construct, which assumes delusional traits of denial, not only the autochthonous imagination ("born of the earth") but also language is of central importance. What is fundamental for every population, namely this historically proven cultural diversity and the migratory background of most people, is denied. When today a nationalist group in Europe chants "integration is a lie", it does so in exactly this denying way, which is similar to the megalomaniac stylisation of one's own biography that characterises all totalitarian leaders, from Hitler to Stalin to Kim Il Sung. Plato had already referred in the *Politeia* to the linking of maniac leaders in dictatorial regimes and the maniac dispositions of the ruled people. But the nationalist design of mania was non-existent in Greek antiquity, despite a certain competitive attitude between the Greek *poleis* and the emphasis on Greek superiority over the Persians after the battle of Salamis, which was fatal for the Persians. But even the most patriotic of all the known Greek tragedies, the *Persians* of Aeschylus, is full of empathy and compassion for the opponents, whose defeat gave rise to edifying joy in Athenian politics and theatre especially because it had put an end to an all and all destructive campaign against Greece, and in particular Athens.

2   Language: From Nationalist Monolingualism to Nationalist Speech as an Act of Hate and Destruction of the Other

Now, a nation state in the weaker, let us say in the common and not in the fanatic sense of the word, sometimes has a single language; sometimes several nations share a language and sometimes – yes, almost always, a nation has several languages, especially when dialects are defined as distinct languages. Austria is an example of a wrested, lost, and oppressed multilingualism, and Israel gave a sad example of this nationalist kind of "monolingualisation" in July of 2018, when the Knesset abolished Arabic as the second official language of the country in order to establish a pure Jewish state in which only Ivrit, Hebrew, is to be spoken. The phantasm of the unity and exclusiveness of the

national language, the German, the English, the Italian, the Hebrew, or the French language, led to the splitting off of the other languages in these countries. In Austria, the Slavic languages, Hungarian and Italian, but above all Croatian and Slovenian, which theoretically had an official status as national languages since the State Treaty of 1956, fell victim to this separation process.

Monolingualism, that is, the monolingualism of a state that calls itself a nation, is a process of splitting off the other languages and of oppressing those who speak them. I am not speaking here of dialects and so-called local variants as they are tolerated – although not legally anchored – in Austria with the federal principle of the republic (even if people who do not speak Standard German are certainly exposed to a subtle kind of discrimination). Croatian and Slovenian are languages which were spoken by large parts of the population of two federal states – Burgenland and Carinthia, partly also by a third, Styria. These Croatian and Slovenian-speaking parts of the population (in Burgenland many people also spoke Hungarian at the beginning of the 20th century) were considered minorities since the foundation of the 1st Republic of "German Austria", i.e. after the collapse of the empire into various nation states in 1918. During the Nazi regime from 1938 to 1945, they were further repressed, even persecuted and deported, especially the Carinthian Slovenes.

What people who are socialised in the dominant or national language of a country may not notice is the subliminal processes of repression and separation that have been taking place as part of these developments: it is only in the case of conflict that it is often noticed that language barriers are fetishised, just as much as territorial borders in the course of the realisation of the nationalist imaginary. We are dealing here with a very specific way of acting through speaking and, above all, through language suppression, even language prohibition. This way of acting through speaking and through language suppression requires a specific philosophy of language for which both Austin's (Austin 1962) and Butler's (Butler 1997) monolinguistic speech act theories are not sufficient, because their philosophy of language lacks a profound reflexion upon the fundamental relationship between different languages and over all between psyche and body in the act of speaking. This is even more valid for speaking as acting out of affects or *passage à l'acte*. The embodiment of boundaries, i.e. their physical inscription (relating to the tongue/*la langue*), is an important element for this. With another language, the motor cortical function changes when speaking and even when dreaming, depending on the language in which one dreams. All questions regarding the transformation of subjects in and through speaking also concern the body, the *habitus*, *hexis* in Greek, which Aristotle and, above all, Hegel have understood as a kind of second nature. For people speaking more than one language, monolingualism is a specific kind of forcing the body and the

psyche by introducing a split, insofar as the censured language lacks in each expression, even during the activity of thinking and dreaming. When censorship is accompanied by terrorist practices like those exercised by the Nazi regime against Slovenes and other 'Slavs', this kind of splitting heavily disturbs the psychic and somatic equilibrium of the people in question, disturbing the process of identification especially in younger people.

The border, both of the ego and of the we-community, the borders of the body and the borders of the territory are all necessary in order to anchor in the people the projective idea of a unity and a selfsameness of the nation imagined as good and pure. The fantasised unity and equality find a kind of hold in these bodily differences and their quasi-religious inflation. This hold is necessary because the interpretation of the unpleasant economic, social, class- and gender-specific differences of power, their blending out and blurring for the establishment of a hallucination of identity and purity of the nation is mere illusion. Like the bodily symptoms and surreal or 'concretistic' body perception in psychotic events, these body differences are supposed to lend reality to the phantasm: the other skin, the other tongue (as language or vernacular), the other reproductive organs or the other shape of the nose seem to have grown (*phyein*, *physis*), i.e. naturally grown differently; they can be seen as different by nature and different for ever, because in this phantasmagoria nature itself is seen as an eternal status. As these differences cannot be integrated in the nationalist body politics, they are absolutely and unconditionally to be kept out of the imagined unity and purity, be it at the cost of annihilation.

The nationalist imaginary has always been interwoven with a specific imaginary of the body and of language that borrows from a completely reduced version of biology in order to deny change and in order to fantasise and ideologise the natural growth of the pure nation. If unity is anchored and asserted in one language against other languages, this does not mean that exclusion and demarcation by means of language take place in a more civilised way than if it is anchored in the body, for example against people with a different skin colour or gender. What we are dealing with here are primitive (i.e. early childhood) psychological defence mechanisms that are repeated in the friend-foe pattern and in flight-fight patterns, both at the level of individual psyches and at the level of groups.

Psychoanalytically speaking, the phantasmagoria of purity in relation to one's "own" linguistic community can be described as the fundamental-nationalist language acts (as acting out) in the register of division by means of speech acts. It reduces the enemy in an actualisation of hate affects to features that are split off from one's own community. I call this immediate acting out of friend-foe patterns a *mise en acte*. At the same time, it is an effective staging (*mise en scène*), marked by regressive phantasms, reductions, and

fragments of integrated contexts of meaning and is thus short-circuited with a disintegration, which I call *mise en abîme* of meaning (Pechriggl 2018). These regressions and disintegrations of meaning go hand in hand with false analogies and the coding of criminal or murderous elements of these acts of speech and thought. (As concerns the language of the Nazis, this was demonstrated, above all, by the linguist Victor Klemperer [Klemperer 1947]). At the same time, it is a language of confusion, of double binds, i.e. of deception through the permanent assertion of the opposite of things that only moments before were still considered as the absolute truth. Such speech act settings are, for example, those in which the branded foreign-speaker or foreign person is described and imagined as excessively dangerous and at the same time (or at the next moment) as incapable of anything; as omnipotent and as busy with the disintegration of a nation imagined to be under constant threat, while always having been presented and portrayed as imbecile and as physically or culturally less advanced. This splitting in the perceiving and imagining of the enemy as imbecile and at the same time as highly dangerous is merely a projective identification, i.e. the projection of one's own omnipotence-impotence-phantasm onto the supposedly evil Other.

This constantly changing characterisation of the "Other", be it Jew (pretty much everywhere), Slovenian (in Carinthia), homosexual (pretty much everywhere too), Muslim (in many traditionally Christian, Hinduist or Buddhist countries), Atheist or Christian (in radicalised Muslim societies), is a typical feature of a divisive perception of the world; it is sometimes attributed to the enemies of the nation, thus characterized as their camouflage or fraudulent nature, but it is another element of the way of thinking in the register of psychic splitting. In order not to let the contradictions become too flagrant, silence is often chosen; this can lead to mutism in the psychopathology of individuals; in Austrian politics, the term "Chancellor of Silence" ("Schweigekanzler") was once chosen for this kind of mutism. But in politics we are never sure if it is more a strategy or an expression of the psychopathology of the politicians. However, in the case of radical nationalism the contact to the hated other is broken off.

3   Decay of Meaning and Economy of Affect in the Nationalist Imaginary

The incitement of hatred and hostility against the "other" who is to be eradicated leads to the repeated breakdown of the relationship in which these affect-dispositions originate, if regarded from a developmental perspective on the psyche: Generally speaking, people who act in this way repeatedly suffered from such a break in relationships and

continuously re-stage such a break ever since their early childhood. Their blatantly displayed tearful disappointment with the state, which has to investigate against nationalists in the case of criminal activities, testifies not only to their infantile psychological constitution, but also to the abrupt change from an omnipotent fantasy of violence to a pathetic attitude of self-victimisation. Chronified and transferred to the outside world, this economy of affect and the associated way of imagining and thinking obstructs the path to dialogue with the other, to negotiation, even to political action in the sense of discussion with the help of empathy and argumentation. For such a debate presupposes conflictuality as the ability to perceive and treat conflicts as negotiable, i.e. to resolve conflicts without falling into a spiral of aggressive fears of – and desires for destruction.

When conflictuality and negotiation are replaced by the eradication of the Other as the absolutist horizon of a nationalist imaginary, the only way out is violence, and not only in language. In this sense, fascism or Nazism is the consistent consequence of nationalist imagining, feeling, thinking and acting. If enough comrades-in-arms imagine and act in this mode, all inhibitions fall, the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" is denied; the murder of the collective "other" declared to be the enemy of the nation is already rationalised by the language described above, i.e. ideologically legitimised as self-defence. If in the nationalist imaginary war and the eradication of the other, who threatens the hallucinated identity and purity of the nation, become – as mentioned – the absolutist horizon of meaning and affect, then this also relates to an unconsciously hoped - for repair of the broken ego of those people who want to assert such a nation with rhetorical force and, in last consequence, with armed violence. It is not dialogue, empathy, and solidarity in dealing with shared suffering, as they are usual in times of 'civilised' coexistence of different people, that are on the agenda, but the warlike establishment of absolute borders between the nationalistically constituted "we" and the "other" who threatens this "we" as an enemy. Whoever tries to cross this border, which is both imaginary but also often physically erected, is destroyed, first in the imagination and linguistically, then physically by internment and annihilation or execution.

We are currently witnessing a massive increase in such a rhetoric of annihilation and concentration against refugees and migrants, not only in Europe, but also in the USA, which should alarm us, and which should be countered if we do not want to enter into another phase of barbarism.

4 Conflictuality and Radical Democratic Action

This deadly, primitive-psychic acting out in the sense of the friend-foe logic can be countered by means of a radical-democratic acting as alternating governing and being governed in terms of conflictuality. This kind of action must not be seen as the other side of the coin of acting out in the name of division, but as a more deliberative action that tries to become aware of these elements of acting out on the part of both the individual members of a collective and the collective as a whole by taking them into account when the respective group finds itself in a conflict.

On the one hand, this democratic acting in situations of conflictuality involves the differentiation between – and integration of split elements. On the other hand, it involves the analysis of the conflict as one to be negotiated and not as one to be acted out in a warlike manner. It is a different kind of political economy of affect, which enables not only democratically pluralistic-minded people, but also war-minded people to find their way back into a language, a way of thinking and feeling, through which the other, every other person, is not a priori seen and treated as an enemy, but always already as an alter ego, i.e. as another, whose perspective is just as constitutive for the self as the affective, social, and above all legal-political recognition by others. A nation that wants to be democratically governed (or to put it in radical democratic terms: "that wants to govern itself democratically") must practise these manners: in parenting, education, and above all in the civic and political handling of differences, conflicts of interest, and affects, however challenging they may be.

But what if, in a democracy, groups grow stronger that want to remain in the mode of division, that construct others as enemies in order to fight, expel, or destroy them, and that find more and more followers, even dictating their rhetoric to those in power, as is more and more the case in Hungary, Poland, Austria, Italy, etc.? These nationalist tendencies, which manifest themselves through a fascist-violent behaviour, can only be overcome by a decided demarcation, by way of showing them their place, without succumbing to the friend-foe ideology and the actions associated with it. Critical and analytical opposition to nationalism has always been a first step in the fight against fascism. Above all, however, importance must be given to the critique of representation. While the regime of representation places individuals under the principle of long-term representativeness and substitutability, the critique of it does justice to everyone (in the sense of 'one person, one vote', germ. *Stimme*, which also means 'voice'). The critique of representation is concerned with not inflating differences into stereotypes and with understanding the people as multitudes constituted by irreducibly different individuals and not as an amorphous mass, or even as a mob. On the political-procedural level, this has serious consequences: it requires an effective voice for each citizen and the ability to

exercise power for all of them, of course in the sense of the Aristotelian principle of alternating governing and being governed. Thus, while democracy gives everyone a voice, fascism and totalitarian regimes, but also authoritarian parties, see individuals as interchangeable and treat them as movements dominated by authoritarianism under the will and imagination of the leader, according to the motto 'One for all, all for one'. If the realisation of the fantasy of national-political purity and delusion fails, as was fortunately the case at the end of the Third Reich, the masses so delusionally represented must also fall. We know that Hitler found it only right and proper to flood the people of Berlin, who had found refuge in the underground shafts, towards the end of the war and thus to surrender them to certain death: because a people who do not win this war for their leader is - according to the 'leader' himself - not worth to continue living. This makes it easy for us to see how the hatred of others, which I mentioned at the beginning, is inextricably linked with the hatred of the self: Hitler, and many others in power, also took their own lives shortly afterwards.

So, let us beware of the prophets who have so often been hallucinating about national unity and purity. These topoi are always acted out in the register of the urge for death, and if they are not stopped, they inevitably bring death, and they do so on a massive scale. Even if they do this in Europe at present mainly only rhetorically, both rhetoric and deeds are already murderous in the Mediterranean, when it comes to boat refugees. The obstruction of the rescue of people in distress at sea, as attempted by a group of the Austrian and German Identitarian Movement in 2017 by means of a ship specifically hired to that purpose, not only violates international maritime law, but is an anticipated murder. As fate would have it, these people found themselves in distress at sea with their hired ship. The fact that they did not accept the help offered to them by those whom they had wanted to obstruct, i.e. the NGO ships rescuing boatpeople in the Mediterranean Sea, is only one sign for their divided souls.

There has been long enough time to be vigilant, now vigilance alone is no longer enough, it is time to start acting, especially by the so-called media, which already give more and more space to the nationalist rhetoric and thus contribute to its propagation, that is also to say to making national fascism capable of winning a majority, overlooking the fact that fascism would then obviously abolish them as free media or bring them into line, as in Hungary, Russia, Turkey, etc. What exactly can be done cannot be answered in principle. In crisis situations nobody is immune from creating divisions or from falling into the projective logic of friend vs. foe. As long as people are episodically or in their private fantasies caught up in this logic of affect and action, one can try to enter into an exchange, a conversation with them. If, however, an extreme right-wing po-

litical movement forms on the fringes of unconstitutionality, we should consider other political strategies.

It is certainly good to rely on the institutions established to protect the democratic constitution (even if it upholds only a representational democracy), such as the Constitutional Service in Austria. But if, as is currently the case in Austria, a Minister of the Interior, shortly after his "democratic" seizure of power, allows the Constitutional Service to be attacked, then it should be clear to everyone that this trust could be fatal for the democratic regime; and it should be clear that civil society must act politically in order to push back this kind of nationalist-authoritarian rule, and to do so with all available democratic, rhetorical, and political means. Not only singers, artists, and scientists, but the entire population is called upon to get involved or to finally start thinking. Together, the multitude has the power to re-civilise public discourse and thus also politics: because, ultimately, the power is – as Arendt stated and as French people have been showing since the winter of 2018 – on the streets; it is not only in party or police headquarters.

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"The Opposite of Hatred": Undoing Nationalism in Joyce's *Ulysses*

Nataša Tučev*

Abstract

The epitome of chauvinist narrow-mindedness in Joyce's *Ulysses* is the drunken brawler and anti-Semite depicted in the novel's twelfth chapter, "Cyclops". Using his mock-heroic approach as one of the essential stylistic devices in *Ulysses*, Joyce connects this character to the one-eyed giant Polyphemus of the original Homeric epic. As Randall Stevenson suggests in his study *Modernist Fiction*, Joyce uses the allusion to Cyclops to warn his readers of any "one-eyed", narrow or single-minded view of reality (such as nationalism) and the dangerous patterns of behaviour that might ensue from it. However, Joyce's intention is not just to repudiate or mock nationalism, but also to offer an alternative, a way of resisting the dangerous mindset embodied in Cyclops. Stevenson argues that Joyce accomplishes this by the very narrative method his novel employs: with its constantly shifting perspectives, its myriad styles and points of view, it successfully fights against any narrowing of vision – and so, by implication, against any tendency towards localism, division, ethnic or religious hatred. In her study *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*, Martha Nussbaum likewise focuses on the twelfth chapter of *Ulysses* in order to analyse the novel's political stance and its repudiation of nationalist and religious bigotry. In Nussbaum's opinion, however, Joyce's strategy in dealing with these issues is inseparable from one of the major motifs in the novel, i.e., the author's celebration of physical love. Using Stevenson's and Nussbaum's insights as a starting point, the paper will proceed to explore Joyce's ethical and political preoccupations in

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Ulysses in order to outline the predominant narrative strategies which the author employs in undoing nationalism.[1]

Key words: James Joyce, nationalism, narrative strategies, subjectivity, body, Modernism, cosmopolitanism.

Presentations of Nationalism in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Ulysses*

In his study *James Joyce and Nationalism* (1995), Emer Nolan warns against simplified interpretations of Joyce's works and the authors who praise him as an "uncritical advocate" of modernity, while disregarding the complex interplay between nationalism and internationalism, the provincial and the metropolitan, the traditional and the experimental, which permeated not only his own fiction but the writings of many other Modernists as well (Nolan 2002, 7). Such critics, as Nolan points out, also tend to analyse Joyce's anti-nationalism in universal and generalised terms, without taking into consideration Ireland's cultural and political specificity, and especially the fact that Joyce was at the same time strongly opposed to British colonial rule in Ireland. Nolan writes that one can "distinguish between Joyce's representation of imperialism and nationalism and see how they function in contrasting ways in his texts" (ibid, 19). Terry Eagleton likewise stresses the fact that Joyce was always a sharp critic of British colonialism, who thought that its influence on his country had been villainous. Joyce's opposition to Irish nationalism, as Eagleton argues, certainly did not come from a pro-colonialist, but from a socialist perspective: Joyce supported the Irish anti-colonial resistance but disliked what he saw as the Irish nationalists' "chauvinism, sexism and cultural purism. He rejected their violence, xenophobia and religious bigotry, from his own pluralist, pacifist, cosmopolitan standpoint" (Eagleton 2005, 198–199).

Joyce's negative attitude to both imperialism and nationalism is also discussed by Seamus Heaney, who touches upon the famous novelist's views in a speech entitled "Among Schoolchildren" (1983). As Heaney explains, Joyce was capable of perceiving the danger inherent in any claim of national superiority, the Irish as well as the British, and for that reason deeply suspicious of various nationalist movements, which dominated the Irish political scene in his youth. Heaney also points out that Joyce viewed

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nationalism as one of the "prescriptive myths" of identity, which an artist needs to deconstruct as he strives to find his individual voice and achieve an authentic expression:

> Joyce is exemplary in refusing to replace the myth of alien superiority by the myth of native superiority... If he has gone to the trouble of freeing his mind from the net of the English myth, he is also intent on deconstructing the prescriptive myth of Irishness which was burgeoning in his youth and which survives in various forms to this day. (Heaney 1983, 10–11)

In his autobiographical novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), Joyce states his opposition to nationalism through the words and thoughts of his fictional alter ego, the protagonist Stephen Dedalus. In one of the crucial epiphanic moments in the novel, Stephen comes to understand his surname as a prophecy, alluding to the mythical artificer Daedalus who was imprisoned by king Minos on Crete, but managed to escape by fabricating wings for himself and his son. In Stephen's interpretation, Daedalus is symbolically an artist, escaping from social restraints on the wings of his imagination and creativity. Stephen likewise sees himself as a winged man who takes flight from a symbolical prison imposed by the social, political, and religious institutions, and the pressure they exert on him to conform (Bulson 2006, 57). In the aftermath of this awakening, he formulates his artistic creed, which also includes his negative attitude to nationalism. Nationalist ideology, along with familial obligations and the church dogma, all present obstacles to a young artist aiming at independence and self-expression. In conversations with his friends Davin and Cranley, Stephen pronounces his famous *Non Serviam* to these structures:

> When the soul of a man is born in this country there are nets flung at it to hold it back from flight. You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets. (Joyce 2001, 157)

> I will not serve that in which I no longer believe, whether it call itself my home, my fatherland, or my church: and I will try to express myself in some mode of life or art as freely as I can and as wholly as I can, using for my defence the only arms I allow myself to use – silence, exile, and cunning. (ibid, 191)

In *Ulysses* (1922), Joyce uses a different approach to express his repudiation of nationalism. His mock-heroic method (or mythical method, as T. S. Eliot called it) is not just one of the essential stylistic devices in the novel, but also one of the chief sources of humour. As Eliot points out, it is, generally speaking, "a way of controlling, of ordering,

of giving a shape and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history... [It is] a step towards making the modern world possible for art" (Eliot 1923, 483). It may be argued that, by using this method, Joyce also found a way of representing nationalism – as a phenomenon significantly contributing to the "futility and anarchy" inherent in contemporary history.

The central character in *Ulysses* pertaining to this motif is an unnamed Citizen, an Irish nationalist and anti-Semite whom we encounter in Barney Kiernan's pub in the episode "Cyclops". Whereas the Citizen is in reality just a drunken brawler and an estate agent involved in shady deals, Joyce represents him in a grandiloquent style as if he were a mythical hero of an ancient Irish saga. We are told he wears a girdle decorated with sea-stones on which are engraved "the tribal images of Irish heroes and heroines of antiquity" (Joyce 2009, 284). The humorous catalogue of those "Irish heroes and heroines" includes names such as Christopher Columbus, Julius Caesar, Muhammad, Napoleon Bonaparte, Cleopatra, Patrick W. Shakespeare, Brian Confucius, Adam and Eve, Captain Nemo or the Queen of Sheba. It functions as a kind of ironic reversal of the Citizen's desire for a "pure" national and racial identity, his need to endow his nation with a mythical past and a prominent place in the history of the world. As Eric Bulson points out, it shows us that "the Citizen cannot see Irish history within the broader continuum of human history that includes the constant intermixing of races, cultures, histories, and tongues" (Bulson 2006, 85–86).

The most important mythical parallel, however, is Homeric: The Citizen, wearing an eye patch, is primarily meant to allude to the one–eyed giant Polyphemus – the mythical Cyclops who threatened Odysseus and his men, just like this modern anti-Semitic Cyclops threatens Joyce's protagonist Leopold Bloom. The allusion to Cyclops and the eye symbolism are of central significance in the chapter: namely, they reveal Joyce's intention to warn his readers of any "one-eyed", narrow-minded political perspective (such as nationalism or racism) and the dangerous pattern of behaviour that might ensue from it. His point is to expose and satirise people who view the world with just "one eye"; those who are, in the intellectual sense, partially blind, and operate based on that limited vision (Kopper 1981, 81).[2]

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[2] Some critics, such as Terry Eagleton (2005, 199), Marjorie Howes (2004, 259) or Emer Nolan (2002, 99) point out that in spite of being a bigoted nationalist, the Citizen also happens to be an acute critic of colonialism, some of whose views on the matter are accurate and justified, and even coincide with Joyce's own. Nolan quotes from Joyce's 1907 essay "Ireland, Isle of Saints and Sages" in order to demonstrate the similarities between Joyce's thoughts on the damage the British have caused to the Irish industries through history, and the Citizen's statements on the same issue. He explains it by referring to Bakhtin's theories on the dialogic imagination, arguing that in this case Joyce wanted to observe his own words in a parodic context of the Citizen's speech (Nolan 2002, 99–100). While this contributes to the complexity of the Citizen's presentation, his narrow perspective still stands out as the most important motif in the

In the scenes that follow, Joyce makes further allusions to Homer's original story-line, which contribute to the comic effect of the episode: instead of a fiery stake which Odysseus used to blind and incapacitate Polyphemus, Bloom holds a lit cigar during his conversation with the Citizen; and instead of the huge boulder which Polyphemus threw in an attempt to sink Odysseus' ship, the Citizen throws a tin of biscuits at Bloom. The final oath the Citizen pronounces demonstrates the absurdity of his position, and by implication, of all actions prompted by chauvinist and religious hatred: "By Jesus, says he, I'll brain that bloody jewman... By Jesus, I'll crucify him so I will" (Joyce 2009: 327).

It may be argued, however, that Joyce's intention in *Ulysses* is not just to repudiate or mock nationalism, but also to offer an alternative, a way of resisting the harmful tendency embodied in Cyclops. Such interpretations of the moral effort in *Ulysses* are put forward in Randall Stevenson's study *Modernist Fiction* (1992) and in Martha Nussbaum's *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (2001). While both of these critics focus on the twelfth chapter of *Ulysses* in order to analyse the novel's political stance, they have different approaches and dwell on different aspects of Joyce's text. Stevenson explores the way in which *Ulysses* struggles against chauvinist narrow-mindedness at the stylistic level via the very narrative methods and writing techniques it employs. Nussbaum, on the other hand, considers Joyce's resistance to nationalism in conjunction with his other thematic preoccupations. In her opinion, this issue is inseparable from one of the major motifs in the novel – i.e. its celebration of physical love. In the following sections of this paper, Stevenson's and Nussbaum's arguments will be outlined and juxtaposed, with a view to reaching a more comprehensive understanding of Joyce's novelistic strategies in undoing nationalism.

Parallax vs. Paralysis

"In its 'Cyclops' chapter," Randall Stevenson points out, "*Ulysses* warns against any narrow, single-minded or, literally, one-eyed view of reality. The novel's own practice works against any such narrowing of vision" (Stevenson 1992, 52). In *Modernist Fiction*, Stevenson discusses various points of view, styles, and techniques the reader encounters in *Ulysses*, arguing that their chief purpose is to counter the dangerous mindset epitomised in Cyclops. By employing a myriad of perspectives, Joyce creates an all-round

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episode. Even when the Citizen's statements are true, his fixation with the nationalist themes and his obsessive monologuing are really in line with his monocular vision. Joyce's condemnation of this one-eyed stance is certainly most obvious and unambiguous in his presentation of the Citizen's anti-Semitism.

account of events and characters in the novel, making it impossible for the reader to embrace just one, simplistic, or biased interpretation of reality. Subjectivity, as one of the key features of Modernist literature in general, also determines to a great degree the method of presentation in *Ulysses*. We are introduced to the subjective perceptions of numerous characters in the novel – such as Leopold Bloom, Stephen Dedalus, Molly Bloom, Dignam Jr. or Gerty McDowell – who all at some point take on the role of the narrator. These characters often have different or even opposing thoughts and opinions on the same issue, so that the reader is constantly invited to reassess his or her understanding. In this way, the novel calls for tolerance and acceptance of divergent views.

Stevenson also discusses a narrative method in *Ulysses* which he calls *the extension of consciousness*. It refers to the imaginative effort some of the characters make to grasp the thoughts and feelings of another person. This is especially characteristic of Bloom, who is motivated by a strong sense of compassion and the desire to see the world as others see it (Bulson 2006, 84). As Stevenson writes, "Bloom's curious, kindly mind repeatedly extends to encompass the likely thinking or other creatures or people" (Stevenson 1992, 51–52). After leading a blind young man across the street, for instance, Bloom continues to dwell on his possible disposition and the way he perceives his environment:

> Mr Bloom walked behind the eyeless feet, a flatcut suit of herringbone tweed. Poor young fellow! How on earth did he know the van was there? Must have felt it. See things in their forehead perhaps. Kind of sense of volume. Weight, would he feel it if something was removed. Feel a gap. Queer idea of Dublin he must have, tapping his way round by the stones. Could he walk in a beeline if he hadn't that cane?… Sense of smell must be stronger too. Smells on all sides bunched together. Each person too. Then the spring, the summer: smells… And with a woman, for instance… Must be strange not to see her. Kind of a form in his mind's eye. The voice, temperature when he touches her with his fingers must almost see the lines, the curves. His hands on her hair, for instance. Say it was black, for instance. Good. We call it black. Then passing over her white skin. Different feel perhaps. Feeling of white. (Joyce 2009, 173)

At one point, Bloom even speculates on how his cat perceives the world and wonders about a kind of language it would use – "Prr. Scratch my head. Prr." (ibid, 53)

Gerty McDowell, a character who appears in the thirteenth chapter of *Ulysses*, "Nausicaa", likewise makes an effort to understand Bloom's melancholy upon seeing him for the first time on Sandymount Strand:

> [S]he ventured a look at him and the face that met her gaze there in the
> twilight, wan and strangely drawn, seemed to her the saddest she had ever
> seen [...] She could see at once by his dark eyes and his pale intellectual face
> that he was a foreigner... He was in deep mourning, she could see that,
> and the story of a haunting sorrow was written on his face. She would
> have given worlds to know what it was. (ibid, 343)

It is interesting to notice that Gerty correctly intuits there is something "foreign" about
Bloom, but it does not prevent her from feeling attracted to him; on the contrary, it
even increases her curiosity. As opposed to her, the Citizen in the previous chapter was
only able to react to Bloom's foreignness with hostility. And even though Gerty's day-
dreaming is inspired by the cheap romantic fiction she reads, and the fantasy she spins
around Bloom – casting him in the role of a "mysterious dark stranger" – is ridiculous
and far from reality, it still enables her to sympathize and connect with the Other. Such
tendency towards extending one's consciousness and reaching the Other is in sharp con-
trast with the mindset of the Citizen, whose xenophobia and hatred of the Jews make it
impossible for him to communicate with Bloom and recognize his humanity.

The above-mentioned narrative strategies may also be viewed in connection to the
concept of parallax. Parallax is an astronomical term which Bloom, who is always fas-
cinated by science, muses about in "Lestrygonians", the eighth chapter of *Ulysses*. Ac-
cording to Don Gifford's annotations for *Ulysses*, parallax is "the apparent displacement
or the difference in apparent direction of an object as seen from two different points of
view; in astronomy, the difference in direction of a celestial body as seen from some
point on the Earth's surface and from some other conventional point" (Gifford 1989,
160). This scientific theory, the same as Joyce's novel, points to the fallibility of any sin-
gle perspective; this is why *Ulysses* constantly invites us to consider further perspectives
on various individuals, issues, and events, and to keep revising our judgment. Stevenson
argues, furthermore, that *Ulysses* employs *parallax* in order to resist *paralysis* in Dublin
– by which he means the paralysis of Dublin's dull, unimaginative middle class, and their
myopic political views, including the burgeoning of nationalism. Joyce has criticized
this paralysed state of Dublin's middle-class life ever since the beginning of his writing
career, most notably in his short story collection *Dubliners* (1914). In that early work,
he used a naturalistic style to express his views and his criticism; in *Ulysses*, however, he
develops new, experimental styles and techniques. These new methods of presentation,
according to Randall Stevenson, are at the same time Joyce's new methods of opposing
and transcending paralysis: "However drab or static Dublin life may be in reality, its
presentation is made lively by Joyce's parallactic tactics, constantly shifting the narrative
through a spectrum of techniques and points of view" (Stevenson 1992, 52).

Terry Eagleton likewise comments on the contrast between the inert, seedy world which is the subject matter of *Ulysses*, and the dynamic and resourceful language which Joyce uses to depict it. According to Eagleton, this contrast also has temporal connotations: the content and the form correspond, respectively, to the present and the future of Ireland, so that Joyce's very language anticipates the changes he would like to see in his native country:

> It is as though the content of the novel belongs to the world of the present, while the language which portrays it anticipates the future. It prefigures a world of freedom and plurality, sexual emancipation and shifting identities. If this is so, then the novel is a critique of Irish nationalism as much in its form as in its content. It marks out the limits of the Irish national revolution, which… gave birth to an independent nation which was (among other, more reputable things) philistine, puritanical, patriarchal and chauvinistic. If all this helped drive Joyce into exile, what he wrote in that exile sketches in its very style the kind of Ireland to which he might have felt able to return. (Eagleton 2005, 203)

The Descent of Love

In her study *Upheavals of Thought*, Martha Nussbaum points out that "above all, *Ulysses* is a book about love". She stresses the importance of the experience of bodily love in the novel, and the fact that Joyce presents it as a gateway to recognising the reality of the Other. For this reason, as Nussbaum maintains, this kind of love may also become "the great hope for public life" (Nussbaum 2001, 692). In her opinion, it is especially upon reading the episode "Cyclops" that we come to realise that the novel's celebration of erotic love has potential political significance and is in fact inseparable from Joyce's political vision. She focuses in particular on the scene in which Bloom, in response to the Citizen's racist provocations, delivers his short but moving speech against hatred. When the Citizen asks Bloom what his nationality is, Bloom initially replies: "Ireland… I was born here. Ireland" (Joyce 2009, 317). However, when the Citizen reacts to this by contemptuously spitting an oyster he was chewing, Bloom feels compelled to speak out against discrimination and the persecution of the Jews: "And I belong to a race too… that is hated and persecuted. Also now. This very moment. This very instant… Robbed. Plundered. Insulted" (ibid, 318). One of his interlocutors in the pub asks him why the Jews don't oppose discrimination by resorting to violence, but Bloom replies that this

is not how men and women are meant to live. Nussbaum paraphrases his response and comments on it:

> "Force, hatred, history, all that," says Bloom. "That's not life for men and women, insult and hatred. And everybody knows that it's the very opposite of that that is really life." "What?" [...] "Love, says Bloom. I mean the opposite of hatred." In Bloom's view, ethnic, religious, and national chauvinisms are a prime source of the "insult and hatred" that oppose love and therefore life [...] Against this politics of division, violence, and hatred, Bloom sets up his own program of nonviolence, of scientific and technological progress, of education, and of compassion for material need, in accordance with a cosmopolitan conception of a common humanity. (Nussbaum 2001, 708)

Love, which Bloom equates with life itself, has to begin with self-acceptance – that is, with the willingness to embrace our human experience in its totality, including its bodily, disorderly, and mundane aspects. Conversely, as Nussbaum argues, our inability to affirm these aspects of being may lead to self-hatred and eventually to the hatred of others. Especially sexuality, as she points out, tends to become metonymic and imply everything in our life which defies conscious control. Accepting only the controllable, rational, and orderly portion of our being may cause us to project the undesirable psychic contents onto the Other, thus making him/her the object of our hatred (ibid, 709).

Such self-hatred – eventually leading to hostile feelings towards the Other – may even be prompted by certain works of art. Those are the works which, according to Nussbaum, constitute the so-called "ascent" tradition. Namely, by analysing the narratives produced by authors such as Plato, Augustine, Dante, Spinoza, Whitman, or Proust, she comes to a conclusion that all of them project a kind of sublimated image of love and life, constructing in the reader's mind an idealised version of his or her own self. This self appears to be removed from the messiness of our ordinary existence:

> [A]ll of these ascents in a real sense repudiate us. Nobody has a menstrual period in Plato. Nobody excretes in Spinoza. Nobody masturbates in Proust [...] Augustine and Dante record such moments, but leave them behind in Hell [...] In Whitman, the body and erotic desire are rehabilitated, but also transfigured, made part of the great march of justice in the world, rather than just being by themselves [...] In none of these texts, then, does love wear a real-life body with its hungers and thirsts and fantasies. (ibid, 681–682)

As a result, Nussbaum argues, these works create a wide gap between the constructed reader and the real-life reader, which may cause us anger and self-disgust when we return from the experience of reading and discover that we are still ourselves. Joyce's *Ulysses*, on the other hand, closes the self-same gap with the narrative method which Nussbaum calls "transfiguration of everyday life" or "the descent of love". She explains it primarily as a descent into the chaos and disorder of erotic love. It is this descent, as she maintains, that enables us to transcend our isolated ego-consciousness and connect with the Other. Joyce's novel, in Nussbaum's opinion, seems to argue "that it is only through love, and bodily love at that, that human beings can find an exit from solipsism and loneliness to the reality of another life" (Nussbaum 2001, 692).

Nussbaum also stresses the fact that bodily needs are universal: therefore, a focus on these needs may become an essential step on the way to repudiating of all kinds of localisms and ethnic hatred, and towards embracing our common humanity and adopting a cosmopolitan view (ibid, 709). Cosmopolitanism is likewise advocated by Joyce's protagonist Leopold Bloom, who argues that "it's a patent absurdity [...] to hate people because they live around the corner and speak another vernacular" (Joyce 2009, 601); and also brings into play a very open-minded and progressive definition of a nation: "A nation? says Bloom. A nation is the same people living in the same place" (ibid, 317).

Conclusion

The analyses conducted by Randall Stevenson and Martha Nussbaum demonstrate that Joyce's *Ulysses* works against the tendency embodied in Cyclops – that is, against nationalist narrow-mindedness and hatred – both at the stylistic and at the semantic level. As Stevenson's discussion shows, stylistic devices such as "parallax", the extension of consciousness or the inclusion of multiple narrative techniques, are not just embellishments in Joyce's text; they are essentially related to his political and moral vision. A similar observation has been made earlier by the Hungarian critic and philosopher Georg Lukács, who points out that the formative principle determining the style of Modernist writers is inseparable from their ideology (Lukács 1996, 143). It is interesting to notice, however, that Lukács generally has a negative view on the politics of Modernism and condemns the works of this period for their lack of social criticism and their failure to provide a progressive social vision. In his well-known essay "The Ideology of Modernism" (1957), Lukács actually begins his discussion of this issue by referring to *Ulysses*, but never seems to acknowledge the progressive effort that Joyce's narrative makes to transcend religious and nationalist bigotry.

Nussbaum's claim – that *Ulysses* proposes acceptance of the body and erotic love as a cure against hatred – may likewise be viewed within a broader context of theories on Modernism. A parallel may be drawn, for instance, with the ideas of Lionel Trilling, who praises the literature of Modernism because it endeavours to gain "a more accurate knowledge about the self" (Trilling 1965, 91). This is similar to the contention of Martha Nussbaum, who claims that the authors who write about "the ascent of love" do not encourage us to embrace and accept our entire being; which is why Joyce's celebration of the body is required as a necessary complement to that previous literary tradition.

It is also the hallmark of all major literary works, as Trilling maintains, that they offer us a more profound understanding of the Other. Citing authors who convey to us the experience of belonging to other social classes, other ethnic or religious groups, he concludes: "[I]n almost every developed society, literature is able to conceive of the self and the selfhood of others, far more intensely than the general culture ever can" (ibid, 90–91). It may be argued that Joyce's narrative strategies have the same objective, i.e. that they aim to provide us with a comprehensive knowledge about the self and the Other; and by arming us with such knowledge, *Ulysses* simultaneously arms us against hatred.

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Resistance of the Postmodern Turkish Novel to the Return of Nationalism

Barış Yılmaz*

Abstract

My aim in this paper is to survey the journey of Turkey's postmodern historical fiction, referred to as "historiographic metafiction" by Linda Hutcheon (1988). This genre of postmodern fiction designates a narrative with two predominant features: (a) it is principally a retelling of a historical occurrence from a counter-position against the supposed factuality of the original story, and (b) it contains the self-reflexivity of its author, which enables him/her to question the boundary between fact and fiction, if there is any at all. Obviously, Hutcheon's conception of this particular category of postmodern fiction was mainly derived from an approach which stresses inherent narratological characteristics in the writing of history, as argued by Hayden White and other historiographers. My research questions in this study are: How successfully is historiographic metafiction used by postmodernist writers in Turkish literature? When we consider the rise of nationalism in Turkey and in the world, can postmodern literature offer an alternative to authoritative discourses? Has postmodernism been able to challenge traditional representations in Turkey? An analysis of selected works of contemporary Turkish literature will supply an answer to these questions.

Key words: Nationalism, Turkey, Turkish literature, postmodern literature, historiographic metafiction

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The title might seem overly assertive when one thinks of the agonisingly shrinking significance of literature in Turkish society. Although books, especially novels, have never moved mountains, they have also never looked so desperate to find readers. According to a 2018 survey by Kadir Has University in İstanbul, reading frequency and habits among Turkish people are frightening. According to the survey results, 60.9% of participants said they do not read books, while 15.3% read once a month or less. The same survey points out that these figures were 52.8% and 11.2%, respectively, in 2017 (Aydın et al. 2018, 112). The reason for the rapid decrease is difficult to conceive, but it is certain that the situation is not heading anywhere good.

Another inquiry conducted by the European Commission found that Turkey ranked last (at 38%) on the "percentage of persons who have read at least one book in the last 12 months" among European Union members, EFTA (European Free Trade Association) states, and candidate countries. However, in 2011, Turkey no longer remained in last place, having passed Romania, whereas its rate dropped to 31% (Mercy and Beck-Domżalska 2016). Even though we can see a similar decrease for most other European countries, also due to the shortcomings of the Internet, it is still quite troublesome for Turkey to have such a small percentage. What is more troublesome is that it is easy to imagine that this figure has gradually fallen since 2011.

Apart from all these depressing statistics on reading frequency, students' reading performance does not look dazzling either. According to the 2015 PISA results, Turkey ranks far below average in reading performance among OECD countries. This data "measures the capacity to understand, use and reflect on written texts in order to achieve goals, develop knowledge and potential, and participate in society" (OECD 2019).
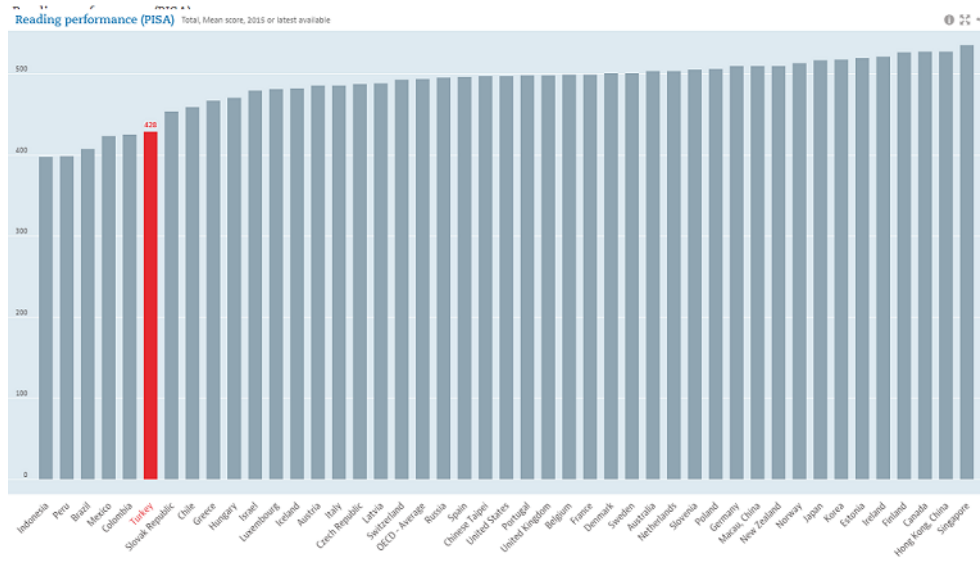
Figure 1: PISA Results on Reading Performance for OECD Countries

There is no point in contemplating the topic further since the aim of this study is not to point out the omissions of the education system or cultural policies in a country with certain democratic issues. Nonetheless, the currently extreme 'nationalist' or 'chauvinist' tendencies in the country, perhaps even more than during any other period in its approximately 100 years of nation-state history, could raise questions regarding reading performance and frequency. Then why would anybody think the novel, especially the postmodernist novel, could offer resistance against the mighty armada of nationalism reinforced by the dual torpedoes of populism and conservativism? If there is potential for such resistance, what is the bona fide value of literature in a country where the majority of the population barely reads and barely understands what they read? I would like to answer these questions by indicating possible solutions in certain postmodern Turkish novels when dealing with increasing chauvinist nationalism in Turkey. Although reading rates are low, the sales rates for particular postmodern novels are surprisingly high. As a Nobel laureate writer, Orhan Pamuk (1952–) has never had trouble achieving bestseller status for a new novel. His latest, *Kırmızı Saçlı Kadın* (*The Red-Haired Woman*), saw its second printing only two weeks after it was published in 250,000 copies ("Kırmızı Saçlı Kadın İkinci Baskısını Yaptı" 2016). To date, it has achieved a 12th printing in Turkish and numerous editions in a number of foreign languages. Also, we must consider the untraceable number of digital copies either bought legally or downloaded illegally. It is difficult to say whether these sales figures depict a meaningful story of the reading rates for books. Even so, the numbers are sufficiently high to indicate a strong interest in postmodern Turkish literature.

Then again, a place on the best-seller lists is not the exclusive privilege of Pamuk, who became a sensational figure right after revealing his "notorious" political opinions on "Turkey's dark past"[1] and after winning the Nobel Prize in literature in 2006. Like Pamuk, certain other contemporary Turkish writers who have problematised controversial incidents in Turkish history by re-creating an alternative historical narrative have won the readers' favour. For example, İhsan Oktay Anar (1960–) has been highly acclaimed since the publication of his first novel *Puslu Kıtalar Atlası* (*The Atlas of Misty Continents*) in 1995, which is an all-time best-seller with 53 printings and a number of editions over the period of 20 years. This novel has brought huge success to Anar and has been translated into French, German, Romanian, Hungarian, and Korean so far. In addition, a graphic novel version of the text, illustrated by İlban Ertem, was published in 2015 and was well received by fans.

With a 30th printing in the bookstores, Anar's second novel, *Kitab-ül Hiyel* (1996), meaning *The Book of Deceptions*, has also become another highly rated example of the postmodern historical fiction genre, containing inventions of the fictional – invented? – inventors in Ottoman history.

Anar narrates historical anecdotes predominantly from the era of the Ottoman Empire filled with mythical elements and fairy tale-like components. His constant commitment to reflecting himself within his own narratives through metafiction prompts us to question the borders between fact and fiction (Çokluk 2009, 126–127; Sagaster 2016, 165–169). In addition, a work of fiction containing both historical and autobiographical context disconcerts the self-assured factualness of historiography. Thus, Anar reinterprets the history of the people of Turkey through an ironic approach and creates a postmodern historiographic narrative (Yalçın Çelik 2005, 157).

Like Anar, Nedim Gürsel (1951–) gathers historical data as the historian does, only to merge it with his own autobiographical narrative and to bring it to the present day, in *Boğazkesen: Fatih'in Romanı* (1995, *The Conqueror: A Novel*). According to Aktulum (2015), in this novel the author rewrote the historical episode on a focal actor, Mehmed

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[1] It was in 2005 when Pamuk admitted to an "Armenian genocide" by stating "a million Armenians and 30,000 Kurds were killed in this country and I'm the only one who dares to talk about it." For his much-debated interview on this topic with Maureen Freely, his translator into English, see Maureen Freely, "I Stand by My Words. And Even More, I Stand by My Right to Say Them…" The Guardian, October 23, 2005, sec. World news, accessed February 10, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/oct/23/books.turkey. However, Pamuk's courageous statement and his insistence on standing by freedom of speech rewarded him with a court case on "insulting Turkishness" based on the infamous Article 301 in the Turkish constitution; see Reuters, "Popular Turkish Novelist on Trial for Speaking of Armenian Genocide," The New York Times, December 16, 2005, sec. World, accessed February 10, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2005/12/16/world/europe/popular-turkish-novelist-on-trial-for-speaking-of-armenian.html.

II, within a new context. By coalescing this kind of metafiction with countless historical data, he forms a hybrid side-story over the writing process and its troubles. Ultimately, the novel has been historicised, while the history has been fictionalised (Aktulum 2015, 3). Gürsel maintained the same tendency of re-narrating the past in his *Resimli Dünya* (2004, *The World in Images*), and *Allah'ın Kızları* (2008, *The Daughters of Allah*). The latter book, which was set mainly during the time of Muhammed before Islam was established in the early 7th century, drew attention with its provocative content so that Gürsel was put on trial for "humiliating the religious values of part of the people" and "inciting the people to hatred" – though he was acquitted in June 2009, according to a report by the Initiative for Freedom of Expression ("Author Nedim Gürsel Acquitted of 'Humiliating' Religion" 2009). A dual citizen of both France and Turkey, Gürsel has published novels in French as well as in Turkish. His writings have been translated into a number of languages, such as English, Spanish, and German.

Hasan Ali Toptaş (1958–) is another postmodernist Turkish novelist who constantly intertwines fiction with reality in his novels. Fantastic elements play a very important role in his fiction insofar as they lose their fantasticality and access to reality as happens in magical realism. In his 2013 novel *Heba* (*Reckless*), Toptaş touches some sensitive nerves that every adult Turkish man has in a way, for example, concerning patriarchal initiation processes towards adulthood in a traditional society. The protagonist of the novel, Ziya, starts his initiation in the friendship chamber in his neighbourhood by killing birds, which will return to him when he grows up. Then, he must complete his compulsory military service and stop border trespassers – smugglers or terrorists, or mules and goats – to be accepted as a man in society. Surely, this inflicts another trauma. Also, he is required to marry and be a good husband to comply with societal expectations, but his forced marriage becomes a grave failure, which traumatises him again. Like the novels above, there are strong autobiographical implications and self-reflexive elements in this book. At some point, the focus shifts to the protagonists' early youth when he served as a soldier in a border patrol unit in Turkey's southeast. His duty was to stop smugglers from entering Turkey, but he alone seems indignant about the army officers' unjust treatment of the local people, the Kurds. This novel, especially the "Border" chapter, is a cogent questioning of Turkey's methods of counter-terrorism in the 1990s, as well as in the present (Çetin 2015, 68).

Shortly after its publication, *Heba* was translated into English as *Reckless* by Maureen Freely, into Dutch as *Verloren levens* by Hamide Dogan, and into Italian as *Impronte* by Giulia Ansaldo and, since then, has found audiences all over the world.

Ömer Zülfü Livaneli (1946–), who is renowned for his work as a musician and politician as well, has written numerous novels with postmodernist tendencies that engage

with political contexts, especially regarding Turkey's political conundrums. Being a political activist, Livaneli has long fought against the violation of human rights and freedom of speech in Turkey. Consequently, he was given a UNESCO goodwill ambassador post in 1995. Due to his reputation for impartiality, his name has been touted by the Social Democratic Party (CHP) as a natural candidate for the presidency several times although this has never materialised. At least his novels have attracted widespread attention in Turkey and in the world. According to the biographical information on his personal website, Livaneli's novels have been translated into 37 languages and he has won "numerous Turkish and international literary awards." ("About," n.d.)

In *Mutluluk* (2002, *Bliss: A Novel*), which was adapted for the cinema in 2007 with an original soundtrack by Livaneli himself, the author visits the traumas ingrained in Turkish society concerning gender, customs, and social roles – not within a particular timeframe, but within a paradigm that casts light on a long-lasting state of distress in the country. Specifically, killings in the name of honour or morality among the traditional communities in eastern Turkey were called into question in this novel. Shifting the perspective towards women's troubles even within a minority group confronted with injustice, Livaneli attempts to speak out on behalf of the subalterns in Turkey and expands a comprehensive reading on gender inequality and social traumas (Avcı, Koç, and Bayar 2016, 27).

What traumas are we speaking about here? They mostly lie in Turkey's past. Turkey, once a big empire with a multinational structure, experienced the binary positions of nationalism during and after its War of Independence (1919–1922) against the Allied Powers. Before World War I, as the Ottoman Empire, it had strived to protect its vast territories through the Ottomanist ideal of equality for every citizen of the Empire without any religious or ethnic division. However, in the end, this and other overarching ideas, such as Islamism and Westernism, could not hold out against the aura of nationalism. First, the Ottoman Empire started to lose its Balkan territories subsequent to a series of nationalistic revolts, then the heavy loss of World War I occurred. The intelligentsia was already offering the solution of Pan-Turkism. Meanwhile, the imperial powers were attempting to divide the country among its neighbours and stateless subjects, and then to colonise the remaining parts. However, these attempts only helped to consolidate the intelligentsia around the idea of nationhood. Winning the Turkish War of Independence that occurred right after the end of World War I, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) and his staff officers established the Turkish Republic in 1923 based on the incorporation of the following elements: one nation (Turks), one language (Turkish), one religion (Islam), and one sect (Sunnism). The concept was similar to some other nation-state building processes in the world; initially, it involved the depor-

tation/extermination of people with a different religious identity (Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Christian Turks) and the assimilation of people with a different ethnic identity (Kurds, Circassians, the Laz people, and Zazas) or of people from a different sect of Islam (the Alevi), all in the melting pot of a Turkish-Islamic synthesis. Still, even after all the efforts to homogenise the country, a significant number of cultural, ethnic, and religious minorities remained in the country outside the circuit of representation. The emergence of postmodernism has shifted this paradigm, preoccupied with the reproduction of the practices of the dominant discourse. Against the canonised robustness of the modernist representation and referentiality, postmodern fiction, by availing itself of post-structuralism, offers to turn the tables in favour of the oppressed.

I believe these examples from contemporary Turkish literature to be a sufficient display of the interest among readers both in Turkey and in the world in this kind of postmodernist novel constructed in a historical and political context. Despite the fact that reader numbers, reading rates, and reading efficiency are decreasing rapidly, all these novels and writers can find a certain audience demanding an alternative narrative to the *official historical facts*. The authors of these novels and their counterparts in world literature, for instance, John Fowles (1926–2005) and his *French Lieutenant's Woman* (1969), Salman Rushdie (1947–) and his *Midnight's Children* (1981), and Margaret Atwood (1939–) and her *Blind Assassin* (2000), deliberately or not, generate significant questions:

- The first question is epistemological: Why should we accept historical novels as being *less reliable* than historiography in terms of narrating the past? To put it more explicitly, how do we decide that the authors are not depicting a realistic image of the past since they practically process similar stages as those of historians in narrative construction?
- The second question deriving from the first is ontological: Where does the boundary between fact and fiction start when we think about the overt self-reflexive aspect of these novels combined with historical references, not only in literature, but also in life itself?

The answers can be found in the postmodern literary and historical theories, beginning with Hayden White's *Metahistory* and Linda Hutcheon's *A Poetics of Postmodernism*. Especially when we take into account the role of traditional historical novels in the rapid spread of nationalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the postmodern historical novel, or *historiographic metafiction*, as coined by Linda Hutcheon, forms an alternative narrative and builds a point of resistance against the perpetual return of nationalism. I am aware that nationalism never withdraws but subsides or intensifies in accordance

with the international or national political climate in a country like Turkey where the population is manipulated relentlessly by the conventional media in a bid to conceal "class interests" as "national interests." (Hall 1980, 138). Nationalism never withdraws but subsides or intensifies in accordance with the international or national political climate. Certainly, it is not inaccurate to claim that both the national and international political climates are currently swelling with nationalism. Moreover, this is not constructive nationalism or patriotism, but a blind patriotism associated with one's rigid attachment to one's country "by unquestioning positive evaluation, staunch allegiance, and intolerance of criticism." The constructive patriot opens a kind of criticism for the sake of nationalist interests (Schatz, Staub, and Lavine 1999, 153). The nationalism we have faced in the past 5 to 10 years and its close associate, right-wing populism, remind us of the nationalism of the 19th century or that of the pre-war conditions with their excessive media propaganda.

The novel and historiography crucially contributed to the expansion of 19th-century nationalism in Europe and its periphery. While Anderson asserted that the novel and the newspaper – print capitalism – were the technical instruments by which nationalism could represent "the kind of imagined community that is the nation," (Anderson 2006, 25, 47), Hobsbawm and Kertzer (1992) stressed the pivotal role of historiography for the spread of nationalism, arbitrary or not:

> For historians are to nationalism what poppy-growers in Pakistan are to heroin-addicts: we supply the essential raw material for the market. Nations without a past are contradictions in terms. What makes a nation is the past, what justifies one nation against others is the past, and historians are the people who produce it. So my profession, which has always been mixed up in politics, becomes an essential component of nationalism. (3)

On the other hand, the historiographic metafiction of postmodernism, in one single form, undermines the firm legitimacy of authoritative nationalism provided by the conventional media, traditional novels, and history books. Through historiographic metafiction, a new narrative is created, or rather an old one is re-narrated from an "ex-centric" perspective, that of the marginal, of the outsider, of the minority, or of the subaltern against the homogenous perspective of modernity's monolithic narratives (McHale 2004, 6–7). In this respect, historiographic metafiction incorporates representations of suppressed identities, for instance, as we encounter in postcolonial or women's writing (Hutcheon 1988, 12, 230). Then, we can confidently suggest that the postmodern novel is neither apolitical nor nostalgic as it has been written off by its opponents, namely by Fredric Jameson and Terry Eagleton. Jameson blamed postmodernity for bringing forth

a number of devastating phenomena, such as "a new depthlessness," "a consequent weakening of historicity," "a whole new type of emotional ground tone," "a whole new technology," and "a whole new economic world system" (Jameson 1991). Meanwhile, Eagleton claimed that in opposing certain notions of the Enlightenment, namely "truth, reason, identity, and objectivity, of the idea of universal progress or emancipation, of single frameworks, grand narratives, ultimate grounds of explanation," postmodernity conceives the world as "contingent, ungrounded, diverse, unstable, indeterminate, a set of disunified cultures or interpretations which breed a degree of scepticism about the objectivity of truth, history and norms, the givenness of natures and the coherence of identities," a world marked by a new form of capitalism, consumerism, and de-centredness, and thus postmodernity switches the focus of political thinking from class struggle to "identity politics" (Eagleton 1996, vii).

Notwithstanding Marxist critics' point that over-emphasising identity politics distracts the attention of the resistance from the world's more fundamental problems (especially the non-Western world), postmodernist scepticism over the reason, norms, and institutions of positivism has made us aware that all of these notions were built on a Western culture-centric understanding. Moreover, the institutions themselves were brought into being through the "social imaginary," or "instituting society," according to Castoriadis ([1975] 2005, 369).

If we return to history as an essential part of the social imaginary, Hayden White's ground-breaking book *Metahistory* will be the primary source to understand the narrative structure of historiography. White examined the "common roots of literature and historiography" to reveal the methods and strategies of narratology used by historians. As a determining factor in his theory, White emphasises the distinction between historian and imaginative writer on being dependent on invented or actual events; however, they both employ a narrative with like techniques when they compose their work (Korhonen 2006, 8). In addition, White ([1973] 2014) suggested that there is always an implicit ideology in the historian's interpretation of the past since it is not a science:

> There does, in fact, appear to be an irreducible ideological component in
> every historical account of reality. That is to say, simply because history
> is not a science, [...] the very claim to have discerned some kind of formal
> coherence in the historical record brings with it theories of the historical
> world and historical knowledge itself which have ideological implications
> for attempts to understand "the present", however this "present" is defined. (21)

Thus, it was no more difficult to revisit historical events from a different ideological standpoint, this time being intentionally catalysed by the ideology, while evading allegations of not relying on the facts. White's theories paved the way for New Historicism by putting into action even more radical and overarching *assumptions* on the interpretation of cultural history, among which the one most related to our topic is that "literary and non-literary 'texts' circulate inseparably" (Veeser 1989, xi). We must keep in mind that all these postmodern approaches to history, literature, and institutions of modernity in general have enhanced autonomy among writers as well as the historical topics they persist in re-creating.

It is time for the merits of the postmodern Turkish writers who have engaged with even the most fragile fragments of recent or distant Turkish history to be considered more carefully. Under the domination of imprudent, blind nationalist discourses, the historiographic metafiction of Turkish literature offers resistance by telling unofficial yet valid stories of the past. It gives a voice to those who have not been represented before, and it makes use of both irony and parody to undermine the sturdy base of official historiography. In the future, it will resist not only with the novel, but also with series, films, and the visual arts, since the dominant power uses the same means to substantiate its claims.

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The Phenomenon of Propaganda as Reflected in Victor Pelevin's novel *S.N.U.F.F.*

Tomas Cenys*

Abstract

In this paper, we set out to analyse how modern cultural trends in Russia are reflected in Viktor Pelevin's novel *S.N.U.F.F.* Propaganda as a phenomenon of public life is gaining increasing importance in Russian politics and Russian culture. We aim to investigate this phenomenon within the framework of propaganda mechanisms as defined by Jose Antonio Maravall, who has described the cultural mechanisms of the Baroque epoch. We will compare this interpretation with the image of modern Russian society as presented in Pelevin's novel. Referring to Pelevin's text, we attempt to demonstrate how concepts such as novelty, spectacle, theatricality, and secrecy are utilised to subjugate and control the will of the spectator. We will also consider how the text in itself is a reaction to this phenomenon.

Key words: Pelevin, *S.N.U.F.F.*, Maravall, propaganda, baroque, neobaroque, novelty.

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This paper aims to establish the connection between the phenomenon of propaganda as described in Viktor Pelevin's novel *S.N.U.F.F.* and the its influences on the current political situation in modern Russia. At the same time, it will be shown how the mechanisms of political influence of art, stemming from the Baroque period, find their expression in the novel.

Viktor Pelevin is admittedly one of most popular writers in modern Russia.[1] His novels are usually based in fiction but draw heavily on various philosophical systems and concepts. The latter feature, however, does not diminish his popularity with a wide base of readers. On the contrary, the blend of fictional and philosophical approaches in his novels make his observations on the realities of modern Russia ever more effective and vivid. His books are perceived by many critics as hard-hitting satire (Murikov 2012, Bezrukavaya 2014, Plehanova 2013) and social commentary while some of his readers find in them prophetic revelations. For example, in the novel *S.N.U.F.F.*, published in 2011, his readers found a prediction of Russia's hybrid war with Ukraine (renamed in the novel as "Urkaina") which started three years after the book was published. One of the focal points of *S.N.U.F.F.* is the ideological indoctrination which is achieved through a combination of different influences exerted on the society by mass media and art. This process can be observed in modern Russia, where government influence extend not only to the state-controlled media, but also to wider culture.[2]

The Culture Ministry of the Russian Federation promotes Russian films (those which do not contain criticism and satire) and restricts foreign produced films from entering the Russian market. In 2018 the ministry backed a law limiting the percentage of foreign films shown in Russian cinemas (Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation 2019). Vladimir Medinskiy, the Culture Minister, in his interview concerning the Second World War said that one should see truth in a myth, thus questioning the possibility of an objective historical approach and postulating the relativity of history, claiming that it is only a matter of interpretation by historians (Medinsky 2017, 11).

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[1] Viktor Pelevin debuted in 1991 with a short stories collection called "Blue Lantern", which combined certain nostalgic sentiments for his youth in the Soviet Union with an abstract and allegoric interpretation of the realities of that period. In 1997 Pelevin published his apparently most popular novel "Chapayev and Void" – the work in which the timelines of Russian revolutionary period of 1917, Civil War and "Perestroika" – the period after the fall of the Soviet Union – become intricately intertwined. The novel is saturated with references to Buddhist and classical philosophy. Nowadays Pelevin's diction, his unique style, dialogical and didactical spirit of his prose are instantly recognisable to every Russian reader.

[2] The Monumental Art sponsored by the government includes not only films but other forms of art. The 17-meter-tall monument of Vladimir the Great – the newly created symbol of statehood – erected in Moscow in 2016 is one such example.

The connection between Baroque and modernity is considered in the works of contemporary philosophers and literary theorists. The term "Neo-Baroque", describing this connection, was first devised by the Spanish philosopher Xavier Rubert de Ventos, and was subsequently used by other researchers, e. g. by Omar Calabrese (1992) in his book *Neo-Baroque: a Sign of the Time* and by Greg Lambert (2004) in *The Return of the Baroque in Modern Culture*. Lambert speaks of the features shared by modern times and the Baroque period. He quotes William Egginton – literary critic and philosopher – who described cultural spectacle and psychological manipulation:

> The methods of the new alliance [between the fields of politics and culture] were, in fact, akin in many ways to the kind of psychological manipulation we encounter today in everything from advertisement to nationalist propaganda, in that their purpose is to have their target audience form a 'passionate attachment' to a particular version of the world. (ibid, 29)

The negative connotations of the term *propaganda*[3], as well as the term itself, find their origin in the twentieth century, but the phenomenon of propaganda itself is associated with the period of the Counter-Reformation when the Catholic Church embarked on an ideological war with Protestantism. Special techniques (including meditation), combinations of visual images, light and sound as well as rhetorical devices were developed by Ignatius de Loyola. Many artists subsequently took a close interest in Loyola's practices, in particular, the great Soviet film director and theorist Sergei Eisenstein.

Another researcher, whose opinion bears significance for the subject discussed in this article, is Jose Antonio Maravall, a Spanish historian and philosopher. He gives a definition of Baroque art and puts it into the context of the era. While describing Baroque art, Maravall proposes the term "extreme" (Maravall 1996, 210) but he is using this adjective in a very specific way. According to Maraval,

> Baroque authors could allow themselves to be carried away by exuberance or could hold to a severe simplicity. Either served their ends equally. To appear baroque, the use of one or the other required the fulfillment of no more than one condition: that in both cases abundance or simplicity take place in the extreme. In the extreme: this was one means of psychological action on people, one that was closely bound to the assumptions and goals of the baroque. (ibid)

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[3] Even the term "propaganda" itself can be traced back to the Baroque period, when Roman Catholic Church created a new administrative body – Congregatio Propaganda de Fide, – with a goal of spreading the Catholic faith and counteracting the Reformation.

Maraval describes Baroque culture as "violent" (ibid), not just because of the actual violence present in it, but because of its capacity to create extreme tension in the spectator. The qualities ascribed by the contemporaries to Baroque art were "terribleness" in the sense of "what grandiosely attracts us with an irresistible force in whatever we are viewing." (ibid), and magnificence with an equal capacity for impressing audiences: "the baroque ceased imitating, lost restraint, took pleasure in the terrible, and sought to cultivate the extreme, all to impress a public more forcefully and with greater freedom." (ibid)

Baroque art served absolute monarchies and nobilities of the 16th century supporting their status through the means of newly emerging media. The notion of novelty characteristic to Baroque art was also present in the Renaissance, but in the epoch of the Baroque, novelty was "limited to poetic game playing" (ibid, 227) and employing "literary outlandishness, and trick effects machinated on stage" (ibid). This feature was also designed to impress audiences and inspire awe in them.

Before we begin with our analysis, it is appropriate to provide a short summary of Pelevin's novel *S.N.U.F.F.* In this novel, the world is divided into two parts – Byzantium and Urkaina. Byzantium is the civilisation of people who live in a flying city – the last remnant of human civilisation. Although technologically advanced, the people living in Byzantium are morally corrupt and incapable of any progress. The people who live under the flying city call themselves Orcs and are far more primitive in comparison to the population of Byzantium. Both civilizations are in a state of official war but in reality, they exist side by side and even interact with each other. The plot of novel centres on a young Orc, Grimm, who is taken into the upper city by a pilot of a battle camera, Demilola. Grimm develops a relationship with Kaya, Demilola's mechanical doll. In Byzantium, Grimm understands that all his notions of Orcish culture and history are invented by the people of Byzantium and that the war waged between the Orcs and the people functions only as a tradition and a kind of a sacrifice to Manitou – the god of the people. Grimm and Kaya manage to escape and join the rebels – the people in the woods outside Byzantium and Urkaina. The books ends with Demilola's diary relating that the Orcs managed to blow up the anchors of the flying city and it is falling down. Demilola decides to stay in the city and meet his end there.

It seems evident that the features of Baroque art mentioned above can be applied to the description of art in Pelevin's novel *S.N.U.F.F.* Here, the fictional post-apocalyptic world is divided into two civilisations: the people of Byzantium, technologically advanced but morally corrupt, and the Orcs – a medieval and primitive civilisation. It is important to note that in the absence of any apparent physiological differences between the people of Byzantium and the Orcs, the Byzantinians still perceive themselves as

a different race. One of the focal points of the book are S.N.U.F.F.s – movies which are produced by the people but are also watched by the Orcs. S.N.U.F.F. is the main source of information both for the people and the Orcs. The novel is rich in neologisms and wordplay and "S.N.U.F.F." is one them. The book mentions the original meaning of the abbreviation S.N.U.F.F. – "порнофильм с заснятым на пленку настоящим убийством" (Пелевин 2012, 360; a porn movie with a real killing shot on film; Pelevin 2015, 283). At the same time, it acquires a new one – "Special Newsreel/Universal Feature Film" (Пелевин 2012, 359). The abbreviation receives a philosophical explanation, as the reader is presented with the dichotomy "special and universal". A different kind of dichotomy is present in the structure of snuffs whereby one half of each film is filled with sexually explicit scenes, while the other contains footages of war and real killings.

> С.Н.А.Ф.Ф. – это сама жизнь где в числителе любовь, а в знаменателе смерть. Такая дробь одновременно равна и нулю и бесконечности – как и взыскующий ее Маниту. (ibid, 294)

> S.N.U.F.F. is life itself, with love in numerator and death in denominator – a fraction that is simultaneously equal to zero and infinity – as is Manitou, who thirsts avidly for this. (Pelevin 2015, 232)

One can recognise here the features characteristic of Baroque art, albeit in apparently fictionalised and satirised form. Both extremes can be observed: sex scenes and real killings are combined in one work of art and produce tension which captivates viewers. Such interpretation is confirmed by the reaction of a young Orc watching snuffs:

> С точки зрения монтажа или сюжета снаффы были примитивнее и проще, чем фильмы древности. Но смотреть их было куда интереснее – и самый скучный снафф захватывал сильнее, чем самый увлекательный фильм. (Пелевин 2012, 363)

> From the point of view of editing or storyline, the snuffs were more primitive than films of ancient times. But they were far more interesting to watch – and the most boring snuff was far more gripping than the most absorbing film. (Pelevin 2015, 285)

The snuffs in Pelevin's book have a similar structure but differ in details and mise en scène. They resemble a play where the scene is always the same, but the sets and costumes are constantly changing. Tellingly, the place where pre-planned war would take place is called a Circus. The process of war between the humans and the Orcs is turned into one spectacle.

> На каждую войну орки надевали новую форму, часто несколько ее разновидностей. Были войны туник, войны шорт, войны черных кожаных упряжей и войны строгих костюмов. Были войны похожие на гей парады, и войны, напоминающие их разгон. У людей одежда менялась не так сильно, зато на каждую войну они выходили с новым оружием и машинами. (Пелевин 2012, 361)

> For every war the Orcs donned a new uniform, often in several versions. There were wars of classical tunics, wars of shorts, wars of black leather harnesses and wars of formal suits. There were wars that looked like gay parades and wars that looked like these parades were being dispersed. The people clothes didn't change so greatly but on the other hand they entered every war with new weapons and machines. (Pelevin 2015, 285)

Here it is important to mention one specific feature of Baroque spectacle which can be compared to the description of snuffs in Pelevin's novel. Fiesta – a series of performances held by Spanish monarchs and nobility in 17th century – is strongly reminiscent of snuffs. Fiestas, as well as snuffs, can contain a variety of themes. They had to rely on some form of invention, be it "an ingenious mechanism, an unusual artifact, an architectonic construction that, with a pasteboard and the wood or similar materials, an impressive grandeur (the more fragile the materials, the more amazing the effects obtained with them)." (Maravall 1996, 227). For example, at the Spanish court, in preparations for fiestas, pools, channels, ships, and gondolas would be constructed just to imitate a naval battle. This naval battle would be held several times so that a maximum number of spectators could participate in the proceedings. It is possible to compare fiestas to the theatrical war which is happening in the Circus of Pelevin's novel. Although the murders in those wars are real, everything else, as it is in fiestas, is staged. The machinery and constructions deployed in snuffs are similar to those used in fiestas. This is illustrated in the description of the sets depicting war:

> Крепостная стена выглядела нелепо. Это, скорее, был узкий дом без окон, украшенный зубцами на крыше. Для стены он был слишком толст, для здания слишком тонок. Видимо это был «фрагмент фортификации» или «элемент замка» (Пелевин 2012, 361)

> The fortress wall looked ridiculous. It was more like narrow house without any windows, with decorative battlements on the roof. It was too thick for a wall and too thin for a building. It was probably 'fragment of fortification' or an 'element of the castle' (Pelevin 2015, 117)

One can also draw a parallel to the concept of novelty which is so important in Baroque art. Everchanging costumes and war machines can be perceived as forms of "novelty" which are designed to impress the viewer, akin to the mechanisms of poetic game and the trick effects employed in Baroque spectacles. Snuffs are not the only cases where the concept of novelty finds its application. The spectacles shown to the Orcs before the military engagements can also be viewed as such. The characters participating in this spectacle are created to appeal to the sense of novelty in the Orcs, even though the whole process is repeated before each war. The characters are introduced to the Orcs in different costumes before every war. The change of costumes is determined by the mood of the crowd. "Видимо, власть поняла настроение толпы. Теперь из палатки выходили только герои одетые по оркскому обычаю. Имена им оставили тоже оркские." (Пелевин 2012, 114) – "The authorities have clearly understood the mood of the crowd. Now all the Orcs that came out of the tent were dressed according to Orcish custom. They were left with their Orcish name, too." (Pelevin 2015, 91) The author also describes the impact this spectacle produces on the crowd of Orcs viewing it on the plaza. The Orcs are greatly impressed when presented with primitive wooden blocks representing humans: "Чурбаны для битья отражали не столько облик врага сколько муки художника, пытающегося изобразить несколько непохожих лиц" (Пелевин 2012, 111) – "[R]ather than reflecting the appearance of the enemies, the wooden blocks depicted the torments of the artist to depict several faces that looked different from each other" (Pelevin 2015, 88). It should be mentioned that even such crude depiction has a strong impact on the Orcs. Presented with this kind of imagery, they react in a most emotional way: Pelevin illustrates this effect by describing the emotional reaction of the young Orc Grimm, one of the protagonists of the book. Grimm is filled with deep repulsion at the sight of the crudely made wooden dolls.

> Враги, конечно, выглядели гнусно. Особенно раздражали кресты и звезды, которыми они наверняка награждали друг друга за убийство орков, чья цивилизация издавна развивалась по духовному пути и не разработала поэтому таких средств уничтожения, как у приземленно-материалистических людей. (Пелевин 2012, 111)

> The enemies, of course, looked repulsive. The crosses and stars were especially infuriating – they had probably awarded them to each other for killing Orcs, whose civilization, from ancient times, had developed along a spiritual path and hadn't therefore, devised the same means of destruction as the calculating and materialistic upper people had. (Pelevin 2015, 90)

He compares the "духовность" (spirituality) of the Orcs to the "приземленно-матери-алистической" (calculating and materialistic) nature of humans. Of more significance to our analysis is the description of the protagonist's state of mind:

> Грым не то чтобы думал все это – он, скорее, понимал, что орк должен так думать (вернее, если совсем уж точно – должен понимать, что должен так думать), но эти долженствования возникали на периферии ума и уходили в небытие, не затронув его существа. То же самое, он был уверен, происходило на площади и со всеми остальными. (Пелевин 2012, 112)

> Grimm didn't exactly think all this – he merely realized that orc ought to think like that (or rather, to be exactly precise, ought to understand that he ought to think like that, but these thoughts of obligation arose on the periphery of his mind and retreated into non-existence without impinging on his essential being. He was sure that the same thing was happening to everyone else in the square. (Pelevin 2015, 88–89)

This description presents an example of the influence exercised upon the minds of the spectators. The crude and primitive imagery presented to the Orcs evokes deep feelings of resentment and drives them to conclusions which have no logical grounding. This seems to be the perfect expression of one of the main features of Baroque art as Maravall described it. "We already know that the baroque placed little trust in strictly intellectual arguments, in Scholastic thought shaped by traditional society [...] It preferred to appeal to extrarational means that moved the will." (Maravall 1996, 228) Orcish nationality also fulfils a role in this spectacle, as it is also an artifice. Orcish culture, history, and language are all artificially created and serve as a means of control over the population. Thus, an Orcish identity is created and upon seeing spectacle such as presentation of heroes before the war, the Orcs start to think as they ought to.

> – Орков придумали потом
> – Не завирайся – нахмурилась Хлоя – как можно придумать целый народ? Древнейший народ?
> – Придумали не ваши тела – ответил дискурсмонгер – а вашу культуру и историю. В том числе представление о том, что вы древнейший народ.

(Пелевин 2012, 200)

- – 'Orcs were invented afterwards.'
- – 'Don't tell lies,' Chloe said with a frown. 'How can you invent an entire nation? Most ancient nation'
- – 'They didn't invent your bodies,' the discoursemonger replied, 'but your culture and history.'

(Pelevin 2015, 158)

The other parallel that can be drawn between Baroque culture and the world created in Viktor Pelevin's novel involves the concept of truth. The Byzantium intellectuals, people who are producing snuffs, have a very interesting definition of the relationship between power and truth. The concept is described by one of the characters – a snuff creator:

Сила всегда в силе. И ни в чем другом. В древних фильмах говорили: «сила там, где правда». Так и есть, они всегда рядом. Но не потому, что сила приходит туда, где правда. Это правда приползает туда, где сила. (Пелевин 2012, 197)

Power always lies in power. In the Ancient Films they used to say "power is where truth is." And that's the way it is, they always come together. But not because power goes to where truth is. It's the truth that crawls over to where power is. (Pelevin 2015, 87)

People's hypocrisy and their obsession with the relationship between truth and power can be directly compared to the mannerism movement and the perception of power in art described by Maravall. While describing the mannerist approach, Maraval presumes that the followers of mannerism are more concerned with "appearance" and "manner" than with "truth" and that this idea can be applied to the Baroque in "the highest degree" (Maravall 1996, 215). Mannerists used their knowledge of this correlation in order to manipulate and were tempted to exploit the power which this dissymmetry offered. The idea of the striking superiority of appearance over substance and even the tendency to replace one with the other seems to be one of the common themes in the description of the society of humans in Byzantium. Often, it assumes extreme forms like in the "Don't look, don't see" rule, where a crime is not punished unless it was shown on the news and presented to the public (Пелевин 2012, 55, 205). The high emphasis placed on "appearance" and "manner" becomes evident in the ways in which people in power behave themselves. They too are creating a spectacle in their everyday life. The description of the feminist Albina-Libertina, a high-ranking priestess in society of Byzantium, at the point where she introduces herself to a visitor is an excellent example:

Когда я вошел в ее кабинет – а он у нее реально большой без всякой 3D-подвески, –она в черной мантии стояла под вытяжкой у настенного алтаря и делала вид, что гадает по внутренностям оркского младенца. (Пелевин 2012, 203)

When I walked into the office – and it's a genuinely big office, even without any 3D-backlighting – she was standing under the air extraction hood at the altar, wearing a black cloak and pretending to be divining with the entrails of an Orcish infant. (Pelevin 2015, 161–162)

The intention to impress the subordinates or the wider public, to be obscure and mysterious is also described by Maravall. He quotes that the advice given to the rulers were "secrecy, suspense and imposing forces of majesty by extrarational means" (Maravall 1996, 217). Here, parallels are drawn between a secular monarch and a figure of god: "The secrecy of the Prince makes him more closely resemble God and, consequently, gains him majesty and reverence, puts his vassals in a state of suspense, perturbs his enemies" (ibid, 217).

The society of people is also a theocracy, with their divinity *Manitou* – the word-play derived from the words "monitor" and "money". The priests of Manitou, who are holding positions of power in human society, use their appearance in the same way as Spanish monarchs, linking their mysterious appearance to that of god, and deriving their authority from this connection.

Today, it becomes increasingly difficult to ignore the importance of the phenomenon of propaganda which appears to penetrate our consciousness and affect all areas of life.

In the present article, the phenomenon of propaganda as described in Pelevin's novel *S.N.U.F.F.* was analysed in its relation to Baroque culture. Showing the dialectics of the interplay between the object and the subject of propaganda as described in *S.N.U.F.F.*, we argue that in Pelevin's case "the author is not dead". We clearly sense the author's stance and his belief, in spite of the immense power of propaganda, in the existence of the metaphysical truth. This attitude does not correlate with the postulates of postmodernism and the idea of absolute relativity. It seems to us that such position determines to some extent the enormous popularity of Pelevin's novels and his playful and powerful didactic spirit.

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Evgenij Zamjatin, *We* and Tatjana Tolstaja, *Kys'*: A Century of Envisaging a Dystopian Future

Petra Hesse*

Abstract

After World War I, the new Soviet government propagated one principal option to replace nationalism and its emotional appeal: Socialist rationalism was to inform all aspects of individual and social life.

One of the first dystopian novels of the Soviet period, Evgenij Zamjatin's *We* (1920), takes this idea to the extreme, thus warning the young state against the consequences of exclusive rationalism. After the end of the Soviet Union, another negative utopia, Tatjana Tolstaja's *Kys'* (2000), deals with the return of emotional nationalism at the cost of rationality. Both novels use the genre of dystopia as laboratory: With a starting point in their respective present, they outline a possible future development of individual man and mankind. The latter′s reduction to either reason or emotion results in the individual′s social de-contextualization and a loss of cultural competence, and both turn out to be hotbeds of violent upheaval and devastating insanity.

Key words: culture / aesthetics, dystopia, nation, New Man, rationalism, Soviet Union

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1 Introduction: Two Dystopian Novels Framing the 'Short 20th century'

One of the contemporary answers to the rise of nationalism in the 19th century was the growing internationalism resulting in the foundation of the *International Work-ingmen's Association or First International* in London (1864). Its follow up, the *Second International* (1889), fell apart with the national closing of ranks in the wake of World War I. Vladimir I. Lenin and the socialist expectation of an imminent world revolution played a decisive part in the foundation of the *Third International* (1919) after the war and the Russian October Revolution.

In these years, a Russian social democrat, naval engineer, and man of letters, Evgenij Ivanovich Zamjatin (1884–1937), wrote a dystopian novel, *We* (*My*)[1], which at the time and ever since has been read as a warning against Soviet totalitarianism. Written in 1920, it became world famous, but never saw publication in the Soviet Union. This literary opening of the 'short 20th century' depicts the world as "OneState", governed exclusively by reason and realised by the cooperation of the whole of mankind: The irrational ambitions, competition, and antagonism of nations, social classes, and other representatives of interests do not exist anymore. An analysis of the structure of this singular and total state, of individual life under its rule, and, on a meta-level, of some of the novel's basic narrative devices will disclose the problematic implications of modernity's exclusive faith in reason.

When the curtain fell on the Bolshevist real-life experiment, another dystopian novel took Zamjatin's literary exploration one step further towards the present: In the year 2000, the Russian feminist and writer Tatjana Nikitichna Tolstaja (*1951) published her novel *Kys'*[2], which depicts a world still consisting of one state that has, however, overcome and detached itself from the modernist option of rationality. National topoi and xenophobic stereotypes return, and the protagonist's present has taken on features of a stone – or in the Russian context rather: a wooden – age. This literary closing of the 'short 20th century' in a number of aspects corresponds to Zamjatin's opening dystopia, and another analysis of state structure, of individual life and, again on a meta-level, of the novel's basic narrative devices will show the sinister implications of the abandonment of rationality in a new type of nationalism.

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[1] Evgenij Zamjatin, *My. Romany, povesti, rasskazy, skazki*, Moskva: Sovremennik 1989 (all quotes from this edition)

[2] Tatjana Tolstaja, *Kys'. Roman*, Moskva: Podkova / Inostranka 2001 (all quotes from this edition).

2 State Structure and Individual Life in Zamjatin's *We*

At first sight, the guiding principle of Zamjatin's "OneState" seems to be transparency. Transparency is guaranteed by the use of glass for all sorts of building and construction: The residential houses as well as the streets and all public institutions are made of glass, and even the high wall surrounding the known world consists of light green glass occasionally allowing the perception of a brown-eyed glance from the outside. People live in one glass room each, and the exact identification of all and everyone is enhanced by the combination of a letter and a number each individual bears, instead of a name. These signs of identity, engraved on a metal plate, are worn on his or her "unifa" – a word which according to the explanation the narrator gives in a footnote stems from the ancient term "uniform". People themselves are referred to as "numbers" and have to act in equal step, synchronised in a Taylorist manner by a central mechanism for time measuring. Even for their healthy strolls they go in geometrical formation, led by a marching band, and the so-called "sexual hours" each number has a right to twice a week have to be registered. On this condition, the number may finally lower a blend in his or her room for one hour – a last residue of privacy. There are no "private children" and, subsequently, no families. Procreation is regulated by a "maternity norm" of height and health. The absence of private property can be seen in close relation to this ban on familiar structures. Thus, the OneState offers technical answers to all emotional and social challenges.

The story of *We* is told by a first-person narrator, D-503. He is a leading mathematician and the constructor-in-chief of a huge spacecraft, the "Integral", designed to take human numbers into space and thereby to "integrate" possible other worlds out there into the earthly OneState – colonialism expands to the cosmos with the target of a "mathematically flawless happiness" (204). With regard to this mission, all human numbers are called upon to prepare poetic or other messages to the unknown extraterrestrials, and D-503 does so, taking notes about his everyday life and the progress of his work. These records show him to be a mathematician not only by profession, but with every fibre of his physical and mental existence. Thus, he characterises a strange female number he met not by her official identity, I-330, but by X. At first, this use of the representation of an unknown element in a mathematical equation is motivated by her steeply rising eyebrows and two deep wrinkles running down from her nose to the mouth. But later, with fascination growing into love and even addiction, D-503 still refuses to think of his feelings as something irrational – he insists on understanding by calculating this X in his mathematical world view.

When X = I-330 with a number of followers starts a revolt against the OneState and tries to enter and get hold of the spacecraft "Integral", its constructor-in-chief is torn

between the two parties. His records show him trying hard to make up his mind: In one moment, he wants to decide for reason, in the next, he decides for love; he does not have any experience or knowledge supporting his individual efforts at solving his inner dilemma. This individual disruption mirrors the position of the OneState: For rationally legitimised power, an integration of reason and emotion is excluded by the same logic that constitutes the individual mathematician's consciousness.

Such exclusive rationality prefigures an observation the Russian philosopher Maja Soboleva made with regard to social philosophy of the early Soviet period: According to theorists like Bogdanov or Trotsky, the proletariat works in modern industrial plants and is, therefore, technically minded; thus, it "spontaneously extends the norms of rationality to all spheres of social life, including politics" (Soboleva 2017, 6). Soboleva continues to analyse this early socialist line of thought:

> There was no need for ethics here, since the moral transformation of humanity was expected to result from the ontological transformation of society and from the correlating transformation of the mental structures of humanity. In other words, the new conditions of life would provide a solid ontological foundation for the formation of a new human being with a new morality. (ibid)

The new morality, however, did not grow 'automatically' out of the new social structure. Without it, Zamjatin's individual faces the demands of the – supposedly – rational OneState uncritically and is, at the same time, driven into active opposition by his or her emotion. To the very end of the novel, there is no solution, neither to the external conflict nor to the psychological dilemma: The outcome of the revolt remains open. But D-503, like many other numbers, is submitted to a surgical 'healing' of his brain: A small part, identified as the seat of "imagination" ("fantazija") is removed, and the numbers function again "like tractors looking human" (319).

3 The Narrative Structure Underlying Zamjatin's Sujet

At first sight thoroughly modernist, the text reveals its mythical dualist structure upon closer analysis: There is the confrontation of an inner and an outer world corresponding to the principles of reason and emotion. The inner world of the OneState has its technical neologisms and terminology, whereas the world outside the wall introduces a biblical name of evil in its propaganda graffiti: "Mefi", derived from Mephistopheles, the advocate of the human free will and choice. Thus, the Mefi people's revolt against

the OneState is not only a random choice of irrationality, it follows the pattern of a mythical war between good and evil.

The Russian folklorist Vladimir Jakovlevich Propp (1928) found this pattern in Russian fairy tales and it pertains to works of fantasy up to our day. In folklore as well as in the modern novel, a fault in the world of good serves as a starting point for the hero's quest, which leads him to transgress the borders of his world. The fault in Zamjatin's OneState can be described in terms of reason: The "beneficent" role of its leader, the anonymous "Benefactor", is more and more exposed to mistrust by various appearances of secret police agents, by spies controlling private notes and correspondence, by the capture and execution of critical numbers. The state's guiding principle, transparency, discloses its nature as a one-way demand of the powerful to their subjects. But all their power and measures of control cannot completely modernise human consciousness: Even the mathematician D-503 on various occasions longs for a mythical harmony between his inner and the outer world, his calculating mind and a clear blue sky without amorphous, i.e. incalculable clouds. He irrationally longs to belong to a world of clear and transparent, rational regulations – a world which does not exist in separation from the irrational, neither in the outside world nor in his own mind. Man's mind only in part corresponds to the rational inside of the modern state, whereas another part of his own inside world corresponds to the state's outside. An unsolvable dilemma, an X?

4 State Structure and Individual Life in Tolstaja's *Kys'*

The early Soviet rupture between reason and emotion is not healed by the end of the century, on the contrary: After another war and a final "big bang", discredited reason is finally defeated and vanished altogether from social life in a state that in the course of its history had many names, but in the end of a long enumeration of patron politicians is called "Moscow". As in Zamjatin's text, the capital now is a megalopolis comprising the whole of the known world. But it is protected by an interior, mental wall: by fear of the unknown dangers lurking in the North, South, and West. Moscow "on the seven hills" (3) evokes the medieval orthodox doctrine of "Moscow, the third Rome" and legitimises the claim to hegemony; it results in widespread antagonism towards all and everyone that are not "ours".

All the Moscow buildings are wooden huts, the political elite live in wooden palaces, the objects of daily use are carved of wood – the traditional stereotype of wooden Russia determines every detail of life in the agglomeration. Metallurgy is forgotten. Agriculture in an eternal winter serves one's own requirements only, and the poor feed on mice

that have become a sort of currency like the marten in the Middle ages. There is no religion or creed, no generally valid law and no morality; everybody seems to take force, theft, and animistic superstition for granted. In this context, the novel's title *Kys'* denotes a monster of the wilderness that is feared to tear aberrant inhabitants to pieces; in the Chechen language, "kys" means winter – an association which is closely related to the Russian imperial claim to Chechnya. Quite in tone, the human offspring of the survivors of the big bang call each other "little rowdies" ("golubchiki") instead of 'people', but there are other groups of beings with genetic mutations as well.

Political power manifests itself in one single prohibition which, however, is at the root of society's mental depravity: the total ban on the books of old. Old books are said to cause illness, just like mushrooms which after the unspecified wartime explosion became toxic – a hint at a nuclear catastrophe? At any rate, it is up to the state to decree what is ill and what is healthy. None of the rowdies has a rational insight into the nature of these dangers, but they fear the "red sledges" of the ruler's secret police.[3] Reading and writing, however, are principally allowed, and Benedict, the novel's protagonist, even works as a scribe in a state department, copying harmless children's verses about birds and flowers. These texts, as well as many others, are proclaimed to have sprung from the actual ruler's genius: He claims to have written "a schopenhauer" and, moreover, verses by Goethe as well as by Mandel'shtam (25–26) – obviously, there are no unpolitical criteria for a contextualisation of utterings such as authorship, genre and voice, aesthetics, subject matter, or historical context. Any textual information is taken at surface value, and "a pushkin" is believed to be an object, almost a fetish, promising happiness and a sense in life. Emotional longing is projected on to physical symptoms, and the incomprehensible "felosofy" ("felosofija") of old gives pseudo-explanations.

When Benedict marries the daughter of the state's new ruler, whom he assisted in overthrowing the old, Lilliput one, he gets access to a huge depository of forbidden books all of which he devours in the course of several years. But he cannot digest all this information and is aware of lacking some sort of clue to it. His only way of getting some sense out of it is physical: He takes the books and orders them alphabetically. In the end he is haunted by a poem by Aleksandr Pushkin whose metaphor of "gnawing mice" he cannot but take literally – but there are no mice in the house, in which every-

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[3] The basic idea of the sujet resembles that of *Fahrenheit 451*, "a 1966 British dystopian drama film directed by François Truffaut and starring Oskar Werner, Julie Christie, and Cyril Cusack. Based on the 1953 novel of the same name by Ray Bradbury, the film takes place in a controlled society in an oppressive future in which the government sends out firemen to destroy all literature to prevent revolution and thinking. This was Truffaut's first colour film as well as his only English-language film. At the 1966 Venice Film Festival, *Fahrenheit 451* was nominated for the Golden Lion" (Wikipedia).

thing edible has long been consumed. In search of meaning he goes mad, aberrant and driven by the *Kys'* of common superstition.

5 The Narrative Structure Underlying Tolstaja's Sujet

Tolstaja's rowdies are caught in iteration: In principal, they have all the information of the past and present at hand, but they are unable to understand and make appropriate use of it for lack of context. Thus, they are confronted with a mixture of national stereotypes, of literature classical and modern, belletrist and documentary, of aesthetic and practical texts, but they are denied any criterion for differentiation. The text of the novel depicts this state of mind by mixing archaisms and neologisms, terminology and slang, rumour and historical knowledge, and by repeating quotes from Russian and world literature over many pages. In effect, the whole history of culture, Russian and Western, is there, but access to and understanding of the treasures are lost. The individual confronts a mass of information, but he or she is denied the means to cope with it.

6 Conclusion

A comparison of the two dystopian novels shows that in the beginning and in the end of the 'short 20th century', the 19th century idea of the national state is obsolete. Its successors – at least in the laboratory of the novel – are oppressive systems in which the individual faces political power in isolation, without the support of any sort of social context: None of the modernist or the postmodern ideas of what a human being is allows him or her to lead a fulfilling life in the context of human relationships and of society. A number lacks almost all emotional ties to his fellow numbers, whereas a rowdy acts without the learning and the rational discipline social and intellectual life require, among individuals as well as among political groups or nations.

Both types of reduction result in de-contextualisation: Absolute rationality not only answers the demands of analysis and conclusion, it claims a validity which is principally boundless and aims at overcoming emotion. Mere irrationality neither knows nor acknowledges limits to its drives and desires. Both follow a tendency of their own: the tendency towards expansion and, in the long run, self-destruction.

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Conceptual Integration Theory in Social Issue Advertisements

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to examine the extent to which conceptual integration theory can be applied to the analysis of social issue advertisements. Taking into consideration that we live in a visually-dominated culture, visual resources such as advertisements, cartoons, and memes have been used in crafting short, eye-catching messages, seeking the biggest impact with a limited amount of space and/or time. In recent years, there has been an enormous interest in the way conceptual integration theory can be used in explaining how the mentioned resources are formed, used, and what messages they can convey. Therefore, this paper is an attempt to examine the applicability of the theory in the study of social issue advertisements.

Key words: conceptual integration theory, social issue advertisements, blending, network, verbal, visual

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1 Introduction

The phenomenon of advertising has permeated every aspect of our society, ranging from our homes to our workplaces. Whether walking down the street, listening to music, or watching television, modern society is surrounded by advertisements. The prime purpose of advertising is not ambiguous since advertisements, both commercial and non-commercial, are exclusively about selling and/or promoting a service, a product, or an idea. Forceville (2002, 65) notes that "if this central intention does not come across, an advertisement has failed."

In order to entice the consumer's purchasing attention, advertisers apply various techniques that vary in their complexity and sophistication. Thus, advertisements tend to be original, unique, and innovative to move away from the drab, uninspiring, and commonplace. A level of artistic creativity within an advertisement depends on the successful combination of primary and secondary substances of language, most notably verbal, auditory, and visual elements (Cook 2001, 27). Even though their conflation often results in an apparent mismatch, an advertiser is careful enough to provide the audience with just enough information to disentangle the composing elements and comprehend the intended message. In doing so, the advertiser exploits the unwritten convention of artistic liberty and audiences' background knowledge triggered by the advertisement resources. Cook (2001, 33) observes that advertisements are "parasitic upon their surroundings and other genres [...] they exploit not only the substance and the medium, but also its connotations."

By applying the framework of conceptual integration theory, this paper aims to explore the interplay of verbal and visual resources in a social issue advertisement. In recent years there has been an avid interest in testing the applicability of conceptual integration theory to a great number of cognitive and linguistic phenomena. A case in point are studies on metaphor (Grady, Oakley, and Coulson 1999), unrealistic scenarios (Coulson and Pascual 2006), cartoons (Bergen 2003, Delibegovic Dzanic and Berberovic 2014), and humour (Coulson 2002, Coulson 2005, Delibegovic Dzanic and Berberovic 2010, Berberovic and Delibegovic Dzanic 2015). By applying conceptual integration theory to the analysis of social issue advertisements, this paper aims at exposing processes that underlie the comprehension of advertisements' messages. It is hypothesised that the meaning of a social issue advertisement emerges through a set-up of a cognitive network model that generates a blend of elements from distinct inputs.

2 On Conceptual Integration Theory

Conceptual integration theory, commonly known as blending, has emerged as an off-spring of Fauconnier's mental spaces theory. In one of his works, Fauconnier (1994, xvii) states that meaning construction or conceptualisation is inseparable from the context since sentences serve as cues for the construction of mental spaces. Mental spaces are said to be "structured, incrementable sets, that is, sets with elements [...] and relations holding between them [...] such that new elements can be added to them and new relations established between their elements" (Fauconnier 1985, 16). In other words, mental spaces are temporary containers of information created for the purpose of better comprehension of a spoken or a written discourse. When they are prompted by syntactic elements such as prepositional phrases, adverbs, and conjunctions termed "space builders" by Fauconnier (1994, 17), mental spaces are formed through selective recruitment of the existing stock of knowledge, often in the form of frames or domains[1], and connected via mappings between counterpart elements. Once the mapping has been established, the speaker can use the element to refer to its counterpart. Grady, Oakley, and Coulson (1999, 101) note that mental spaces cannot be equated with domains found in cognitive metaphor theory as the former are smaller in capacity and structured by the latter.

Even though conceptual blending theory is seen as an advancement of mental spaces theory with the aim of clarifying novel inferences (Coulson and Oakley, 2005), Fauconnier and Turner (1994, 16–17) claim that conceptual integration or blending, along with framing, analogy, metaphor, grammar, and common sense reasoning, is a basic cognitive operation, even more basic than metaphor. For the very same reason it often slips by unnoticed on account of its simplicity and speed of processing as "the mind seems to have only feeble abilities to represent itself consciously what the unconscious mind does easily" (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 18).

Inherent to conceptual integration is the conceptual integration network as a model of how meaning is mentally constructed. The network encompasses minimally four mental spaces that are structured by many different domains, namely two input spaces connected by counterpart matching or cross-mappings that is indicated by solid lines in the diagram, a generic space, and a blended space (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 47). The link between the generic space and input spaces is bidirectional. The generic space

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[1] Fillmore (1982, 119) defines a frame as "a system of categories structured in accordance with some motivating context," while Kövecses (2002, 5) describes domain as "any coherent organization of experience". Even though some authors claim that frames are smaller than domains, Croft and Cruse (2004, 17) suggest that the terms have been used to designate the same theoretical framework and use the two interchangeably. The same stance has been adopted in this paper.

inherits elements from the inputs, creating a less detailed structure than the one found in the input spaces, that is in turn mapped onto its counterparts in the inputs. There is a partial projection from the inputs into the blended space marked by the broken lines in the diagram. What emerges in the blend is a novel structure that remains connected to the inputs, as the blend "contain[s] [a] generic structure captured in the generic space but also contain[s] [a] more specific structure, and it can contain [a] structure that is impossible for the inputs" (ibid). The emergent structure that arises in the blend, and its concomitant relations, are not copied there directly from any input. It is induced in three ways through the processes of composition, completion, and elaboration (ibid). In this respect, composition involves bringing elements from the input spaces into the blend, either separately or by fusion. Completion, in turn, can be defined as "pattern completion that occurs when structure in the blend matches information in long-term memory" (Coulson and Oakely 2000, 180). In other words, completion refers to unconscious recruitment of the background knowledge. The final process or elaboration can be described as running imaginative simulations of the event in the blend.
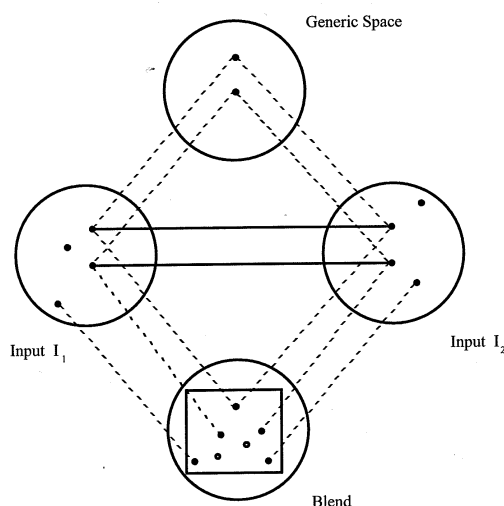
Figure 1: Elements of Blending (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 46)

Despite being a basic cognitive operation, conceptual blending cannot operate freely in any kind of way. Rather, it is constrained by a set of vital relations and optimality principles pertinent to the formation of the blend[2]. A vital relation is a connector that links the counterparts in the mental spaces and gives rise to the outer-space relations. In the

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[2] The principles are listed as follows: The Integration principle, The Topology principle, The Web principle, The Unpacking principle, The Good Reason principle, and the Metonymic Tightening principle (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 327f).

blend, a vital relation can be compressed in order to tighten the counterpart connection and is known as an inner-space relation since it holds inside a single mental space. Fauconnier and Turner (2002, 92–93) propose the following array of vital relations:

– Change: a vital relation that connects either individual elements or groups of them. It is closely associated with the Identity vital relation;
– Identity: elements in different mental spaces are connected via the relation of personal identity or a common attribute such as role;
– Time: a link that connects events across mental spaces or involves compression by syncopation;
– Space: bringing elements from different physical spaces into a single physical space;
– Cause-effect: a vital relation that connects a cause element with its effect;
– Part-Whole: rests on a metonymic relation between a part and a whole;
– Representation: relating one element with another that represents it;
– Role: a vital relation that links the role element with the value element;
– Analogy: a vital relation that emerges as a result of the role-value compression;
– Disanalogy: a relation based on analogy and that is often compressed into Change. It enables the mental preservation of the element's identity;
– Property: assigning an attribute to an element;
– Similarity: linking elements with their shared properties;
– Category: a vital relation that hold between a class and its elements on the basis of the possession of particular shared characteristics;
– Intentionality: concerned with whether events and reactions in mental spaces are unintentional or deliberate; and
– Uniqueness: numerous vital relations get compressed into the Uniqueness relation.

The entire system of vital relations and optimality principles provides not only the theoretical foundation for conceptual integration theory, but it also inhibits the allegation of it being too powerful and applicable to almost anything (cf. Gibbs 2000). Yet, what Fauconnier and Turner (1998, 63) find remarkable is how blending as a "general-purpose, fundamental, indispensable cognitive operation, routinely employed in a variety of domains, commonly interactive with other cognitive operations [...] should have received so little systematic attention in the study of cognition and language". In this regard, it comes as no surprise that in recent years conceptual integration theory has found its application in the analysis of a number of cognitive and linguistics phenomena including advertising.

3 On Advertising

Cook (2001) points out that the definition of advertising is difficult to pin down, given its complexity and different viewpoints on the subject matter. Yet, along with Forceville (2002, 68), he subscribes to the view that the aim of an advertiser is "to persuade a prospective client to buy (literally or figuratively) his/her product, service or an idea". One way of achieving the latter is via social advertising as "the use of advertising to inform the public about the social issue or to influence their behaviour" (Truss, Marshall, and Stevens 2010, 24). In other words, advertisements of this kind aim at raising awareness about important social issues and provoking emotional responses on the basis of the advertisement-embedded stimuli. Helde (2014, 169) observes that "the concept of social advertising in the context of social marketing is associated with the spread of social advertising, distribution channels, or places where people can see it and understand what specific response, or change of behavior is expected of them".

Considering that advertisers are time-, space-, and budget-constrained, they try to make their advertisement appealing to consumers in order to capture their attention. Creativity as a prerequisite for advertising effectiveness is based on a number of factors, "including the target audience, the basic problem the advertising must address, what the message seeks to accomplish, and the major selling idea or key benefit the advertiser wants to communicate" (Mayer 2005, 80). As a result, advertisement makers pay close attention to the advertising design and craft elements that are unusual and novel in order to enhance advertisements' memorability and pleasantness. Hence, advertisements may incorporate a conspicuous picture, fictions, puns, word play, compressed storytelling, and/or a verbal heading (Cook 2001, 3) in order to attract attention and provoke emotions.

Given that visual and verbal rhetoric in advertisements play the role of attention-grabbing and emotion-eliciting devices, a number of papers have examined their impact upon the audience. McQuarrie and Mick (2003) conducted a study in which subjects were tested on the basis of manipulated direct processing or incidental exposure to advertisements. The study found that the recall of advertisements containing visual and verbal figures was superior to the recall of advertisements without them. McQuarrie and Mick also pointed out that visual figures had an advantage over verbal figures in terms of processing, as the latter produced a better response only if the subjects had processed the advertisements.

Dens, De Palsmacker and Puttemans (2011) investigated the effect of visual and verbal elements on the audience's attitude towards the advertisements for new brands and line extensions. The authors were also interested in the degree of persuasiveness of advertising. In concordance with McQuarrie and Mick's (2003) findings, the study suggested

that advertisements for a line extension incorporating a pictorial or linguistic element generated a more positive response than advertisements without them. Furthermore, advertisements for a new brand containing incongruent visuals had a negative impact on the brand image, while providing only verbal information for a brand had the same effect as providing no information at all. Dens, De Palsmacker and Puttemans (2011, 353) concluded that for a line extension "the best combination would be to rely on dual coding and provide both a visual (product related or not) with at least a basic amount of information. In new brand campaigns, providing too much information and especially nonproduct related visuals should be avoided".

Van Enschot, Hoeken and Van Mulken (2008) analysed the audience's attitude towards verbo-pictorial rhetorical figures. The authors made a distinction between a verbo-pictorial scheme as a minor, superficial deviation in the connection between a text and an image, and a verbo-pictorial trope "as a seeming mismatch between the headline and the picture in an ad" (Van Enschot, Hoeken and Van Mulken 2008, 37). The study revealed that verbo-pictorial schemes garnered a more positive response than verbo-pictorial tropes, as advertisements with the latter were perceived as less complex and thus easier to interpret.

In addition, some of the cognitive linguistics literature focused on the role of blending in the conflation of visual and verbal resources in advertisements. Herrero Ruiz (2006) explored the significance of metaphor, metonymy, and conceptual blending in understanding drug-prevention advertisements. He proved that these cognitive tools anchored the viewers toward the correct interpretation of the advertisements' central messages. Lundmark (2003) expressed her interest in the connection between metaphor, metonymy, blending, and humour in relation to puns in print advertisements. Lundmark (2003, 29) noted that "the extent to which different people find different puns and advertisements funny can vary considerably, since the degree of blending often depends on what the reader does with the minimal clues that are provided in the text and the picture(s) of the advertisement". In a similar vein, Delibegovic Dzanic and Berberovic (2012) examined how conceptual blending can be applied in the analysis of text-image advertisements, while Joy et al (2008) inspected the occurrence of metaphor and blending in simple, mirror, and single-scope networks in advertisements. Taking all this into consideration, it stands to reason to hypothesise that conceptual integration theory can account for the construction of meaning in social issue advertisements, as well as the comprehension of the ideas behind them. The validity of the hypothesis is going to be tested by analysing three such advertisements within the framework of conceptual integration theory.

4 Conceptual Integration Theory in Social Advertisements: A Case Study

The occurrence of blending in advertisements is said to be twofold (Lundmark 2003, 10). First, it allows advertisers to evoke positive feelings with an advertised product. Second, blending is said to be underspecified as input projections can occur in different ways and the interpretation of the emergent structure, although fixed to a great extent, is contingent on the target audience. In the examples analysed in this paper, the blend is not concerned with generating a positive affective response. Instead, it capitalises on provoking the audience's emotional reactions and exploits them as catalysts in the promotion and acceptance of the advertising theme.

The first social issue advertisement to be analysed is taken from a 2010 campaign against racism and anti-Semitism by the French LICRA (Ligue Internationale Contre le Racisme et l'Antisémitism). As France has been a leading progressive country on social issues concerning race and politics, advocates have addressed racial issues by excluding ethnic features from the national census. Consequently, minorities are not recognised by their ethnic or racial features as per Article 1 of the French Constitution. The LICRA campaign with the slogan "Your Skin Color Shouldn't Dictate Your Future" was aimed at raising awareness of the issues of racial identity in French society.
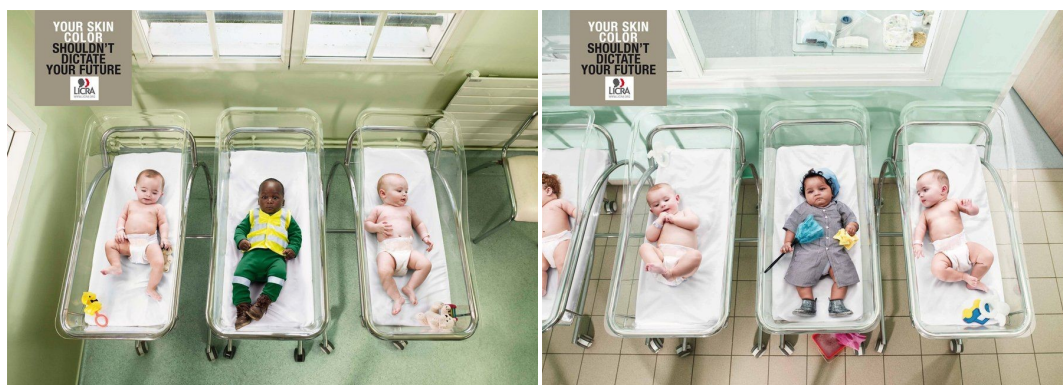
Figure 2: Source: http://www.ufunk.net/en/publicite/contre-le-racisme-et-lantisemitisme/

The integration network is a single-scope network consisting of four spaces, two input spaces, a generic space, and a blended space. Input space one comprises a nursery for new-borns with several babies in their cribs. The image of the babies implies racial identities. Ideally, all patients should be treated equally and receive the best medical care. Input space two contains the concept of racism in France. It emphasises racial discrimination against people of colour. The cross-space mappings are established between the babies in the input space one and the black and the white population in input space

two. The generic space captures the structure that is common to the two inputs, that is, different ways of treating people. The fourth mental space or the blended space contains projections from the two inputs. Projected from input space one are the organizing frame, as well as the babies and the cribs. Projected to the blend from input space two are racial discrimination against blacks and white supremacy in French society. In the blend, black babies in a nursery wear uniforms that symbolise lower-paid and lower-status jobs, as opposed to white babies whose future has not been stigmatised. The portrayal of racial discrimination is further strengthened by the presence of toys in the white babies' cribs and their absence in their black counterparts. The blend exploits several vital relations, some of which are to be run mentally, such as *Identity*, *Time*, and *Change* (it takes time for babies to grow into adult humans, but still keep their identity), *Cause-Effect* (one of the effects of a racial discrimination is the limited access to educational resources resulting in lower-paid jobs), *Part-Whole* (babies' clothing standing for workers' uniforms), *Analogy*, *Disanalogy*, *Representation*, and *Category* (white and black babies represent the entire racial group, while at the same time they preserve their individual identity), and *Uniqueness* (every blend has a unique structure). In addition, the blend provides backward projections to the input spaces, suggesting that skin colour should not be the basis of unequal treatment. It is suggested that reality contradicts the much-advocated image of the ideal in French society.
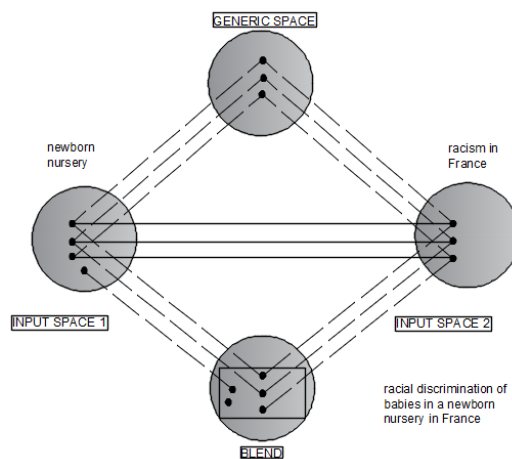
Figure 3: Conceptual integration network for the "Your Skin Color Shouldn't Dictate Your Future" social issue advertisement

The next social issue advertisement is part of the 2014 "Liking is not helping. Be a volunteer. Change a life" campaign developed by Publicis Singapore for Crisis Relief Singapore. Three images utilised in this campaign reflect three types of catastrophes: floods, earthquakes, and war. Awarded with a First Prize Award at the New York Festivals and

a Golden Lion at the Cannes Festival, the campaign plays on the idea of virtual empathy not being equal to real-life support. In this paper, only the image depicting war victims was selected for analysis, even though the same slogan appeared in all three.

Figure 4: Source: https://digitalsynopsis.com/inspiration/60-public-service-
            announcements-social-issue-ads/

In this four-space conceptual integration network, input space one contains the domain of war structured by our knowledge of the concept. Therefore, it encompasses the notion of aggression, conflict, destruction, weapon, casualties, war victims, humanitarian aid, rescue workers, and different kinds of volunteers and their services. Input space two contains Facebook, a free social networking site that offers a variety of communication methods. The most popular Facebook feature is the "Like" button designed as a hand giving a "thumbs up"[3]. Clicking the "Like" button allows Facebook users to support certain content or to take part in a variety of virtual humanitarian aid activities, such as feeding children in Africa or raising money for those in need. Cross space-mappings connect the volunteers and their work from input space one with Facebook users and the act of clicking the "Like" button from input space two.

The generic space contains skeletal information from the two inputs – persons providing services for no financial gain. The blended space involves selective projections

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[3]   As of February 2016, Facebook has changed its "Like" button to include a range of emotions termed as Like, Love, Haha, Wow, Sad and Angry emojis (Titcomb, 2016).

from the input spaces. Projected to the blend from input space one are the organising frame of war, volunteer aid workers, and their work. The process of compression of group identity into particular identity takes place, thus war victims are compressed over time and space into a mother and son. Following compression, the mother and son are projected to the blend. The horrors of war are accentuated by the blood on the boy's trousers and the mother holding him in her arms, while the audience is left to speculate on his health condition. Projected from input space two are Facebook users clicking the "Like" button. The blending process fuses the volunteer aid workers and their activities with Facebook users and the act of clicking. As a result, Facebook users is the element brought into the blend, but their activity is restricted to a thumb signal, metonymically standing for the Facebook "Like" button.
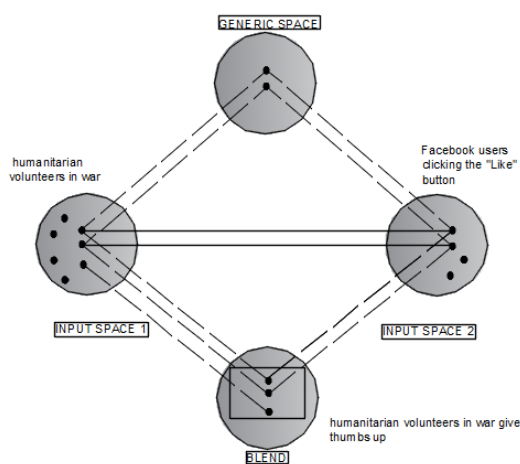

Figure 5: The conceptual integration network for the "Liking is not helping. Be a volunteer. Change a life" social issue advertisement

The blend largely depends on several vital relations, namely *Space* (the mother and son and volunteers share the same physical space), *Part-Whole* (hands giving thumbs up stand for people), *Analogy*, *Disanalogy*, *Representation*, and *Category* (mother and son represent the category of victims, while, at the same time, they preserve their individual identity), *Intentionality* (volunteers deliberately give thumbs up in the blend) and *Uniqueness*. Furthermore, the blend itself represents an incongruity that needs to be accounted for. Therefore, unpacking of the blend enables the backward projection and reconstruction of the input spaces. In that sense, the audience is led to infer that virtual support in the form of clicking the "Like" button will not relieve the pain of those suffering. The textual part "Liking isn't helping" aims to dispel this widespread misconception and stresses the importance of an individual's action.

The third social issue advertisement tries to bring attention to the issues of gender in-equality and women's rights. The campaign consists of a series of advertisements created by Memac Ogilvy & Mather Dubai for the UN, inspired by the actual March 9, 2013 Google searches that revealed the prevalence of sexist attitudes. On their website, UN women (2013) state that the intent of the campaign was to "expose negative sentiments ranging from stereotyping as well as outright denial of women's rights". Historically a hot topic, the issue of women's rights provides an important framework for the inter-pretation of the advertisement.

Figure 6: Source:
   http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2013/10/women-should-ads
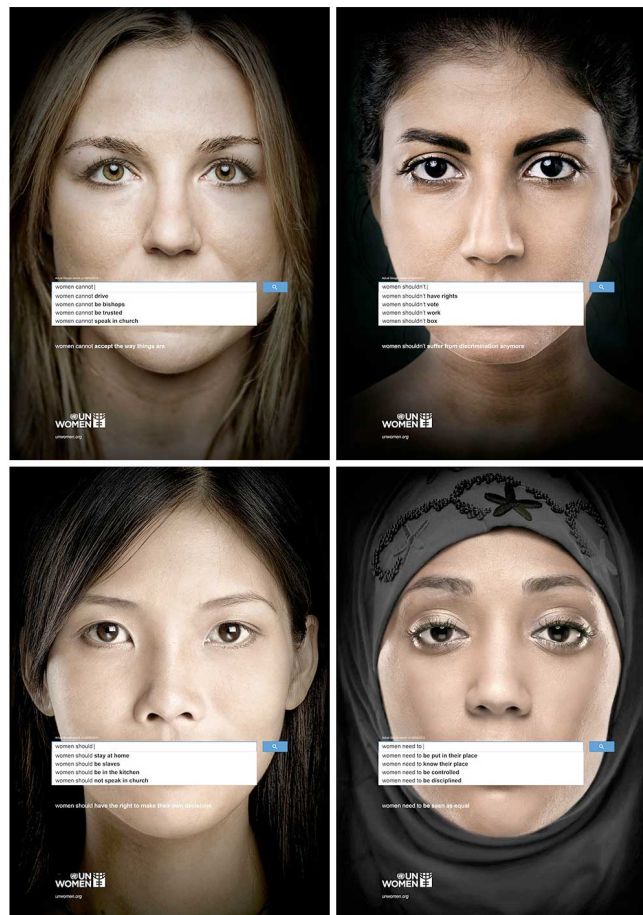
The conceptual integration network is composed of three input spaces, a generic space, and a blended space. Input space one contains women around the world that vary in race, nation, and ethnicity. Input space one also contains the concept of women's rights. According to United Nations Human Rights (2017), women are often deprived of their health rights and rights to equal access to land, property, and housing. Input space two

space utilises Google's search engine and a list of the most searched phrases on women suggested by the Google autocomplete search function. The Google queries "women cannot", "women should", "women need to" and "women shouldn't," were autocompleted with "women need to be put in their places," "women cannot be trusted," "women shouldn't have rights," and "women should stay home" results. It needs to be highlighted that this autocompletion is based on real Google searches by users worldwide. Finally, input space three comprises the notion of restraint that is metonymically symbolised by the duct tape.

Cross-space mappings are established between women in input space one and the searched phrases on women in input space two. The element of women, along with the act of restraining, forms the structure of the generic space. Consequently, the generic space is comprised of women that are silenced with duct tape over their mouths.
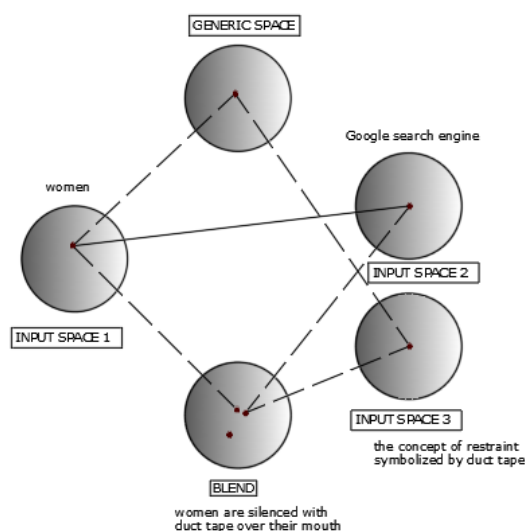
Figure 7: The conceptual integration network for the "Women should" social issue advertisement

The blended space contains selective projections from the three inputs. Women in input space one are compressed over time and space by homogenising their appearance, experience, and behaviour into a prototypical representative, based on commonly shared characteristics. In this regard, the blend exploits *Part-Whole*, *Category*, *Representation*, *Analogy*, *Disanalogy*, and *Identity* vital relations by projecting a Caucasian, an Asian, an Arab, and an Indian woman from input space one. The search phrases are brought from the second input space, while the duct tape is projected from the third input space. As a result, the blend contains four women with the duct tape over their mouths that has been merged with the list. In the blend, women are unable to voice their opinion but have sexist attitudes imposed on them.

In addition, the unpacking of the blend demands the backward projection and reconstruction of the input spaces. The projection spotlights women regularly suffering violations of their rights. The blend recognises the obligation of every state to eliminate discrimination against women and the infringement of their rights. Consequently, the improvement of women's status will be reflected in various areas of social discourse, including Internet search.

5   The Creation of Meaning in Social Advertising via Conceptual Blending

It has been demonstrated that the creation of meaning in a social issue advertisement can be explained by applying conceptual integration theory. While processing an advertisement, a conceptual network is built by partitioning information into input spaces that give life to the abstractions of the generic space. After establishing the cross-space mappings between the mental spaces, a blended space with the bits of information from different inputs relevant for the advertisement comprehension is set up in the brain. Taking into consideration that social issue advertisements have the aim of drawing attention to issues of public interest, advertisement makers use emotive elements such as a striking picture, an unusual heading, or a trope to achieve their aim. Delibegovic Dzanic and Berberovic (2012, 558) claim that the interaction of different elements in an advertisement makes it "an interpretative puzzle" that needs to be solved by taking into account the pictorial element and the linguistic material portrayed in the picture as the latter has the purpose of constraining possible interpretations and guiding the viewer to the intended one. The examples analysed in this paper are no different. Thus, in the first example, the emergent structure implies that the central message behind the advertisement is the provision of tougher support against racial discrimination and segregation. In the second advertisement, the blend highlights the fact that posting a courageous status/photo and getting thousands of virtual likes will be rendered ineffective unless users take prompt action. The blend also ridicules the idea of virtuality being treated as a substitute of reality, rather than as its supplement. The third example highlights that the concept of women's rights is still met with resistance around the world, contravening equality with men.

Conversely, it has been stated that blending is underspecified in the sense that the emergent structure can be applied to different contexts. Therefore, in our first case study, the unequal treatment motivated by skin colour in French society is analogous to discrimination based on race, religion, or national origin worldwide. In the second

example, ramifications of trauma suffered in war and the social media users' passivity are reminiscent of the public disinterest that generally follows conflicts around the globe. In the third advertisement, a small portion of rights-deprived women depicted in the image has the purpose of making the public recognise the gravity of the problem, treat it with seriousness, and spur people to action. As Forceville (2002, 72) concludes, it is nearly impossible to observe a depicted object – including advertisements – and be aware of its denoted meaning without paying attention to its possible connotations.

6 Conclusion

This paper presents an analysis of social issue advertisements within the framework of conceptual integration theory. The main goal of the paper was to shed light on the construction of meaning in social issue advertisements, as well as the comprehension of central ideas behind them. It was hypothesised that visual and verbal resources have a key role in the creation of advertisements' meanings. Conceptual integration theory seemed a suitable tool for the analysis of advertisements since it allowed for complex cognitive phenomena to be broken down into a series of smaller events. In all three analysed examples, conceptual integration network was established by cobbling mental spaces together and creating the blend, with the help of visual and verbal elements contained in the advertisement. The blend as such represented an incongruity that needed to be solved. What followed was the unpacking of the blend and the reconstructing of the input spaces. The reconstruction was performed by relying on visual and verbal elements that pointed the viewers in the right direction. Following the reconstruction, the backward projection to the input spaces highlighted the contrast between the emergent structure in the blend and the elements in the inputs and, as Delibegovic Dzanic and Berberovic (2010, 210) noticed, "reinforce[d] construals in input spaces in accordance with the new structure created in the blend". In this way, viewers were able to grasp the main idea behind the advertisement.

Taking everything into account, it can be concluded that conceptual integration theory can be applied to the analysis of advertisements. The paper confirmed the hypothesis by showing that visual and verbal resources are exploited in an advertisement in order to grab attention, aid the creation of meaning, and incite people to act. It can be suggested that the appeal of conceptual integration theory is the explanatory power of how human beings think.

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Unification and/or Brexit? Nationalism(s) and the Good Friday Agreement

Sarah Ritt*

Abstract

With Brexit being an ongoing issue for all of the European Union, one of the key issues in the negotiations is how to treat Northern Ireland, which is still divided on Brexit ideologically, even 20 years after the official peace treaty (the Good Friday Agreement), which – at least legally – put an end to armed conflict in the area. This paper will look at how in 2018, the 20th anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement, the two prevalent opposing nationalisms – unionism and republicanism – are represented in a selection of widely-read newspapers in Northern Ireland. Using Spitzmüller and Warnke's DIMEAN model, the paper will look at how – given the different ideological backgrounds of the newspapers themselves – these publications treat the anniversary and give a voice to the different parties involved (or abstain from doing so) and whether or not they make explicit links to the Brexit negotiations and the question, whether Northern Ireland is to continue as a part of the United Kingdom, the European Union or a separate customs union solution, in order to both keep the terms of the Good Friday Agreement and deal with two broadly different civic realities, brought about by opposing notions of nationalism.

Key words: Brexit, Northern Ireland, DIMEAN, newspaper, CDA, discourse analysis

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Introduction

One of the key points in the discussion around Brexit – the United Kingdom leaving the European Union – is how to deal with Northern Ireland, especially in terms of the free movement of goods, services, and people, and the border to the Republic of Ireland. All of these issues do not only arise because of the shared border to the Republic, an EU member state, but also because the Good Friday Agreement, which formally concluded the Northern Ireland conflict, included freedom of movement of people between the North and the Republic. Also, the region of the Irish island which belongs to the United Kingdom heavily profits, if not to say is dependent on, the Peace Fonds of the European Union.

This paper will examine said Good Friday Agreement – which was the formal beginning of the decommission of paramilitary forces in Northern Ireland and the saw the establishment of a local government – and the different types of nationalisms that could be observed in local news outlets around its 20th anniversary. Good Friday 2018 marked the 20th anniversary of the Agreement (from here on: GFA), and while this occasion sparked different nationalistic sentiments (the different types of nationalisms in Northern Ireland will be discussed below), Brexit adds a new dimension to the portrayal of the GFA and the nationalistic tendencies displayed within the field of domestic politics in Northern Ireland in general.

Very broadly speaking, there are two different socio-political groups, that display very different views on nationalism: Nationalists see themselves as Irish, they want a united Ireland that encompasses the whole island and they see the fact that Northern Ireland is British as a state of oppression. Some of them speak Irish Gaelic and the majority of them can be considered Roman Catholic. Almost half of the population (48%, according to the 2011 NI census, cf. NISRA 2011, 3) included British as their identity, they are content with living in a part of the United Kingdom, although they are not necessarily pro Brexit. These people can be considered closer to the Anglican or Presbyterian faith. Both sides have their political parties (most famously Sinn Fein and the Democratic Unionist Party) and paramilitary, mafia-like organisations (most famously the IRA and the UDA). This very basic distinction is by no means intended to draw further divisions or paint the northern Irish situation as black and white and stuck in a violent past, but it is the basis for a proper understanding of not only current affairs regarding this area, but more specifically the Northern Irish media landscape.

Newspapers – Authority, Modality, and Reach

In the 21st century, newspapers may not seem like the medium of choice to investigate sentiments such as nationalism, as it imposes the authority of the author on the reader and, at least in the print version of this medium, there is no opportunity for the audience to directly engage with what they just read. On the other hand, all the news outlets used as sources here have an online presence, which does allow readers to either comment directly below the article or, with the help of a 'sharing' function, transfer what they have read to other platforms that have commentary functions and possibly a wider audience (Twitter, Facebook etc.). This switching of content from printing to online publishing also allows for a more international audience and, if there is no paywall, its is even free of charge, in contrast to the print version. What applies to both on- and offline news articles is the fact that they are multimodal: Text is almost always accompanied by a picture or even a video.

At a time when there is a plethora of non-journalistic outlets and 'alternative facts' on the internet, the initial authority of the journalist of a large outlet is by no means a given.

Data

The articles under investigation stem from four different newspapers from different countries and different political orientations. The four newspapers are the following:

- *Belfast Telegraph* (a unionist newspaper from Belfast)
- *The NewsLetter* (a unionist newspaper from Northern Ireland)
- *The Guardian* (from England)
- *The Irish Times* (from Ireland)

The articles used were published in a time span of two weeks before and after Good Friday 2018, which fell on the 30 March that year. Only articles that included the words 'Good Friday agreement' or 'Belfast Agreement' (see 'Methodology') in the title were used, as the analysed articles needed to be as relevant to the key terms as possible. From a standpoint rooted in Pragmatics

> [A] good headline is one which helps the reader deduce the maximal amount
> of contextual effects for the minimal amount of processing effort. Then,
> they guide individual readers to those specific stories which would be worth
> their while to read in the full version. Thus, the reading patterns mani-
> fested by newspaper readers are exactly what we should expect: Readers
> regularly scan the headlines, and only occasionally stop to read the actual

story. As relevance-optimizers and relevance-based selection-devices, head-
lines function as negotiators between stories and readers. As we have seen,
producing the appropriate headline for a story is a complex task exactly be-
cause the headline is neither a semantic summary of the story nor a prag-
matic attracting-device for the reader, but a communicative device whose
function is to produce the optimal level of affinity between the content of
the story and the reader's context of interpretation, in order to render the
story optimally relevant for the reader. (Dor 2005, 720–721)

Therefore, a communicative device using exactly the terms this paper wants to investi-
gate will be the most efficient way to go forward. What might be called a downside is
that it drastically reduces the number of items in the corpus to 14 articles in the *Belfast
Telegraph*, 4 in the *Irish Times*, 1 in the *Guardian* and none in *The NewsLetter*.

Methodology

In addition to using the words 'Nationalism' and 'Brexit' both as search terms within the articles as well as looking for them as (maybe not explicitly mentioned) concepts, two further elements will feed into this framework: The so-called DIMEAN model (Spitzmüller and Warnke 2011) and the notion of the discourse-historical approach as coined by Ruth Wodak (Wodak and Meyer 2016).

Tabelle 3.15: Layout der diskurslinguistischen Mehr-Ebenen-Analyse (DIMEAN)

Transtextuelle Ebene	Diskurs-orientierte Analyse	[...] / Ideologien, Gouvernementalität, Mentalitäten / Historizität / Indexikalische Ordnungen, Sozialsymbolik / Diskurssemantische Grundfiguren / Frames, Topoi / Intertextualität	
Akteure	*(Diskursregeln / Diskursprägung)*	Medialität	– [...] – Handlungsmuster – Kommunikationsformen – Medium
		Diskurspositionen	– [...] – Soziale Stratifizierung, Macht – Diskursgemeinschaften – Ideology brokers – Voice – Vertikalitätsstatus
		Interaktionsrollen	– [...] – Rezipientenrollen – Produzentenrollen
Intratextuelle Ebene	Textorientierte Analyse	Visuelle Textstruktur	– [...] – Text-Bild-Beziehungen – Typographie – Materialität
		Makrostruktur: Textthema(ta)	– [...] – Metaphernfelder – Lexikalische Felder
		Mesostruktur: Themen in Textteilen	– Isotopie- und Oppositionslinien – Themenentfaltung – Textfunktionen – Textsorte
	Propositions-orientierte Analyse	Textuelle Mikrostruktur: Propositionen	– [...] – Syntaktische Muster – Rhetorische Tropen und Figuren – Metaphernlexeme – Deontische Bedeutung – Implikaturen, Präsuppositionen – Sprechakte
	Wortorientierte Analyse	Mehrwort-Einheiten	– [...] – Okkasionalismen – Schlagwörter – Schlüsselwörter
		Einwort-Einheiten	– Nomina continuativa – Nomina appellativa, Nomina collectiva – Nomina propria

Figure 1: DIMEAN (Spitzmüller and Warnke 2011, 201)

Although DIMEAN was never meant to be a strict model, but rather an illustration in the authors' joint book, it has been used as a guideline apparently because of its transparent and clear-cut nature: It visualises nicely what makes an individual text and what

can be found when moving further to the trans-textual level and, this is the main point of it, the two authors assign a very special meaning to the actors, not only the authors, which is crucial not only for this paper but for communication studies as such. In this paper, the model will not be used as a checklist which needs to be followed item by item, but there will be an emphasis on the following aspects:

As an ideological guide, the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) will be used: Found under the Critical Discourse Studies umbrella, DHA promotes transdisciplinarity and a problem-oriented approach. The problem in this specific case (in a consideration of Brexit) would be the influence of two very different strands of nationalism on the media coverage of what is effectively a peace treaty. By viewing communication as 'multifaceted phenomena in our society', this approach opens the way for changing the angle of analysis and focusing not only on the author, not only on the recipient and not only on the content of text, but on a combination of all these (f)actors.

DHA promotes three dimensions to an analysis: Identifying contents/topics of a discourse, finding out discursive strategies and, finally, investigating their linguistic means and linguistic realisations. This is especially useful in a political context, as the discursive strategies might not be as clear as they seem at first glance. Like the DIMEAN-model, the focus with DHA is on intertextuality and, additionally, on interdiscursivity. The most appealing notion of this method is that it requires its users to adopt an interdisciplinary focus and to take current events and research from other disciplines into account.

Drawing from these two methodological strands, the following questions were formulated, always with the keywords 'nationalism' and 'Brexit' in mind:

- What ideologies regarding nationalism are shared across newspapers? (Taken from DIMEAN's trans-textual plane)
- Who gets a voice? (Who is given a voice by the author?) Who has the power to dominate the discourse about nationalism through the medium of a newspaper article? (Taken from DIMEAN's 'actors' plane)
- How are the communicative strategies regarding this topic different in different newspapers?

What needs to be considered is that the GFA is also called the Belfast Agreement, as the treaty is referred to either by the place or the date it was signed. The usage of either name can have several reasons: Not wanting to use a religious holiday in the name or quite the opposite, highlighting just that. Also mentioning the place name makes it clear that a treaty concerning the area was signed in the area, not centralised from London, which could be interpreted as an act of colonial domination. Both the terms 'Belfast

Agreement' and 'Good Friday Agreement' were used as search terms for the collection of data for this paper.

Results

Belfast Telegraph

The *Belfast Telegraph* has by far the most articles that have 'Belfast Agreement' or 'Good Friday Agreement' in their titles within a two-week timespan surrounding the treaty's anniversary. 9 of these can be found within a separate 'Good Friday Agreement' category, 1 in 'Films', 1 in 'Featured' and the remaining 3 in 'Politics – Northern Ireland'. Featuring political figures from across the spectrum (the then Brexit Secretary David Davis, the SDLP deputy leader Nicola Mallon, PUP leader Billy Hutchinson, the former Deputy First Minister Seamus Mallon) and even incorporating an artist (the Downpatrick-born comedian Patrick Kielty), this newspaper has the most diverse approach to the topic, given the set search terms. Broadening the topic to the cultural section of news reporting, there seems to be an attempt to make the discussion about the agreement a more holistic one, not limiting it to politics. Nevertheless, their outlook is not inherently positive, as shown in the following example, a (partly indirect) quote by the PUP leader William 'Billy' Hutchinson: "Hutchinson stressed that Sinn Fein and the DUP needed to find a way of breaking the deadlock at Stormont. He also said that the death of former PUP leader David Ervine from a heart attack 11 years ago at the age of 53 had been 'a blow to loyalism'. He said that if his friend, who 'wanted to change the world', was alive today he would be 'totally frustrated'" (Weir 2018, paragraphs 6–8).

The NewsLetter

In contrast to the online presence of the other newspapers, *The NewsLetter* does not have a search function as such on its page, but a search for the respective key words in the set time frame could be conducted easily with the help of the Google search function. After changing the parameters to only having the treaty's name in the title, there were no results left for this newspaper. Linking this back to the pragmatic functions of headlines, it can be assumed that the audience of the online version of the newspaper does either not have the need for pragmatic markers of that much strength or, in combination with the missing search tool, that the titles are not optimised for a search function and, when purchased in print, the articles reach their audience without the 'agreement' in the title, therefore making this an issue of modality.

The Guardian

The only article that fit the set search criteria is an opinion piece, which tries to convey an outsider's perspective, but only explicitly mentions pro-British politicians (Theresa May, Ian Paisley and Arlene Foster). By mentioning that the agreement has two names, the author tries to show cross-community awareness, and he also explains how Brexit and the possibility of a hard border will change the North, but the 'failure' of Northern Ireland, as he calls it, to him is not only Brexit's fault. Nevertheless, the author concludes with the following paragraph:

> Making a success of the agreement of two decades ago requires knowledge, attitude and will on all sides. Britain displays none of these things with the requisite consistency any more. The result is a huge missed opportunity. The people of these islands have rarely been more convergent or neighbourly than they have been over the past 20 years. But it is hard to believe that the same will be said after the next 20. (Kettle 2018, np)

The Irish Times

Remarkably, *The Irish Times* exclusively used the term 'Belfast Agreement' in its respective titles. One of the search results is actually a video (a very efficient use of the online format of the newspaper medium) which features the former leader of the Alliance Party, a party which refuses to be categorised by the unionist/republican divide. An article published a day prior to that video clip featured the former leader of the SDLP, the local Social Democratic Party and one from a week after the signing of the Agreement (5 April) featured the then Northern Ireland Secretary of State, Marjorie "Mo" Mowlam. The fourth article is concerned with policing and how the police force has changed in the last 20 years. Looking at three very important negotiators of the original agreement, but completely sparing testimonies by the two main parties, Sinn Fein and the DUP, might target an audience that is already familiar with what the GFA entails and who just want to find different angles linked to this discourse. One example for this would be the following paragraph:

> The most challenging difficulty externally is the euphemistically termed "dealing with the past". There is an organisational legacy to conflict, just as there is a political one. The PSNI has still to grasp this nettle fully – both in terms of its own role and the role of others. (Murphy 2018, paragraph 17)

The difficulties and the past of the organisation cannot be fully explained by one single article, so there is a certain amount of historical knowledge expected from the reader.

Conclusion

What can be said for all of the articles under examination is that, surprisingly enough, with one exception (that being a *Belfast Telegraph* poll, a format that is highly dependent on its readers' interaction with it), there was nothing that fit the pragmatically well-chosen search criteria and featured 'ordinary people' or victims' rights campaigners. Nationalism (of whatever sort) was never explicitly evoked, although to informed readers it should be clear which stance the interviewed politicians take: The fact that two clashing nationalisms, however moderate or extreme they might be, expressed by individuals, exist, is not questioned. Looking at it from the Republic, the commentator of *The Irish Times* even tried to downplay the effects of Brexit in case of a hard border, while his colleagues seem to mostly focus on a historical recapitulation of the events than on using the anniversary to make predictions on how deal with Brexit, how to secure the comparatively young peace, or how to not fall for an unhealthy dose of nationalism in the first place, something which has been done already, proven by the fact that there even is a thing such as Brexit to begin with.

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Neologisms Concerning Migration Processes: A Czech Example

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Abstract

In order to describe changes in the lexical system, M. Dokulil used the metaphor of a deep body of water. While down in the deep, nothing is happening, on the surface the water never stops to move, flow, circulate. In Dokulil's metaphor, the surface layer symbolises those lexical items closely related to social changes: new words and old words whose meaning has changed, or old words that have become elements of new words.

The analysis of neologisms occurring during relevant social changes provides a valuable insight into the users' attitudes towards contemporary events. This paper deals with neologisms and neosemanticism concerning the migration processes that have taken place in Europe from 2011 to 2018. The neologisms are extracted from *Neomat*, the database for Czech neologisms. An analysis based on word formation and semantics, supported by papers in *Neologizmy v dnešní češtině*, is followed by an analysis from a sociolinguistic perspective, relying on the work of V. Dvořáčková, E. Mleziva and the theoretical frame given in the monography of V. Muhvić-Dimanovski.

The focus of this article will be on those words which denote concepts related to the great migrations of our time. The productive formation by employing prefixes meaning *pro* or *contra* indicates a social urge to express polar attitudes on the subject. Due to the relevance of migration processes in a global context, lexical and semantical borrowing

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constitute the most frequent word formation types. The meaning of some stable lexical items has changed due to an increased frequency of use and this is carried out in two opposite ways: by blurring lines between closely related items and by filling empty spaces in order to gain higher levels of precision.

Key words: Neologisms, Czech language, Sociolinguistics, Migration, Refugees

1 Introduction

In her work, Lišková (2018) takes into account papers concerning neologisms and establishes seven criteria of definition: the existential criterion, the criterion of time, the lexicographic criterion, the psychological criterion, the structural criterion, the criterion of variety and the criterion of stability or instability (Lišková 2018, 48). The criterion of time is the most prominent and present in all works dealing with the subject of neologisms and, because of that, the definition of new words is primarily based on it. For the purpose of our paper, we use the definition formulated by Muhvić-Dimanovski (2005), stating that neologisms are new elements of the lexical system which rise in a language to fulfil three aims: to name new things and phenomena, to express new affective, stylistic, or pragmatic nuances of already stable lexical items, and to reflect specific political (or other) circumstances (Muhvić-Dimanovski 2005, 4). The rise of neologisms is thus a linguistic response to recent social events. The deep connection between neologisms and society is visible on different levels of language structure: morphological, syntactical, semantical, and pragmatic.

By virtue of this connection, neologisms display a great expressive power in their structure, revealing important information about the spirit of contemporary times. In this paper, we consider the neologisms in the Czech language that arose as a result of the migration processes in Europe during the last decade (since the beginning of the Arab Spring in 2011) in relation to word formation, semantics, and pragmatics. Following a sociolinguistic approach, we aim to discover the ways in which social facts on the subject of migration are being reflected in the language and in which way the structure of new words can provide information on the speakers' attitudes towards the topic. It is important to stress that the aim of this paper is neither to classify nor to analyse all neologisms concerning migration. The main purpose is to detect the most productive word formation processes and morphological characteristics of lexical items which can be related to the social context of migration processes. Special attention is devoted to pragmatic features, particularly to the speaker's attitude towards the subject of migration.

It is assumed that many excerpted neologisms associated with migration in the Czech language contain elements loaned from other languages, given that the subject is being discussed on a global level. Another reason for this assumption is that the material for the Czech neologism database was mostly taken from newspaper articles that were in some cases translated from other languages. The second hypothesis is that, among neologisms, some lexical items will occur which are already stable in the lexical system, but whose scope of meaning has changed due to the relevance of the topic and the increased frequency of use. The meaning of those lexical items is presumably going to be dissected and some empty spaces will be filled to allow for more precise expressions.

Nevertheless, the opposite process is also expected: due to the increased frequency of use of lexical items associated with migration in everyday public discourse, differences between some closely related concepts will be blurred in their everyday use. The last hypothesis is that many neologisms are going to be pragmatically (emotionally, stylistically, evaluative) marked.

The expected significance of this paper is to provide an insight into the ways social processes connected to migration from 2011 to 2018 inscribe themselves in language and, on the other hand, what the structure of words related to processes of migration can tell us about the perception of social processes among the speakers of a given language. After the Introduction, the theoretical basis providing the inspirational model for this research will be presented. The Methodology will be treated in the following section. The analytical part of the paper is divided into four subchapters according to four analysed parts of speech. The outcomes of the analysis and the Conclusion will be presented in the last chapter.

2 Theoretical Framework

Intensive research in Czech neology started being undertaken after the founding of the lexical archive *Neomat*, edited by the Department of Contemporary Lexicology and Lexicography of the Czech Language Institute. The materials collected in *Neomat* constituted the basis allowing the publishing of two dictionaries of neologisms: *Nová slova v češtině. Slovník neologizmů 1* (1998) and *Nová slova v češtině. Slovník neologizmů 2* (2004). Both dictionaries were edited by O. Martincová who dedicated much of her career to the field of neology. One of her works, the edited book *Neologizmy v dnešní češtině* (2005) served as support material for the analysis of word formation and semantic features of neologisms in this paper (*Ústav pro jazyk český* 2011).

Sociolinguistic research projects of Czech neologisms were launched in more recent years, and many of them were induced by the Czech Republic's entry to European Union (see, for example, Jítková (2005), Šimandl (2013)). Especially inspiring for this paper was the work of V. Dvořáčková about neologisms in *Dodatky* (Supplements) to the monolingual dictionary *Příruční slovník jazyka českého*. Some of the words she uses as examples were never published in the dictionaries due to the changes of the political climate. Dvořáčková states that those words can function as reflections of changes in society and also as good examples of political influence on the lexical layer in a certain language. Using examples such as *černoprdelník* (a man having black buttocks) Dvořáčková is trying to draw correlations between language and society: naming a member of Church hierarchy as *černoprdelník* is explanatory of the attitude of society and mainstream politics of the time towards the Church (Dvořáčková 2013). Consequently, such examples provide a good basis for examining neologisms as sources of information on speakers' attitudes.

3 Methodology

Monolingual dictionaries of the Czech Language cited in the reference list were consulted in order to identify lexical items denoting refugees. The following words were chosen:

> *běženec*
> *emigrant, imigrant, migrant,*
> *přistěhovalec, vystěhovalec,*
> *uprchlík* and
> *utečenec.*

Root morphemes (allomorphs included) of listed words were traced in the *Neomat* database by using truncation: *root*, for example: *migr*. The date was set as >= January 1, 2011, the beginning year of the Arab spring which caused recent large-scale migrations and events labelled as *migration crisis* in 2015 (Tadić, Dragović, and Tadić 2016). The results for each root are restricted one more time by using the filter *Hesla neosemantická* (neosemantic expressions) in order to detect neosemanticisms. The obtained lists of words are being reviewed in order to extract words which occurred on the list accidentally (because of the same root as the source words, e. g. *sprchovačka* (colloquial expression for "taking a shower") for *prch* which is the root of *uprchlík* (refugee). The

"purified" lists were grouped according to word classes. Lexical items were analysed according to word formation and semantic features. The sociolinguistic analysis included the observation of these words in a specific context. In addition to this, words with expressed pragmatic features were taken into special consideration.

4 Analysis

The analysis revealed 63 words recognised as neologisms, 49 % of which were adjectives, 27 % nouns, 14 % adverbs, and 10 % verbs. Nine words (14 %) were marked as neosemanticism.

4.1 Nouns

Nouns are formed in two ways: by prefixation using both prefix and root of foreign origin: *antiimigrace* (antiimmigration); both prefix and root of domestic origin: *připrchlík* (*při* means "closer to", *prchat* means "to flee, to run away"). Compounds are formed in various ways, the first element being of domestic and the second of foreign origin: *běžencofil* (the one that sympathizes with refugees), *Uprchlistán* (Refugeestan); the first element of foreign and the second of domestic origin: *migrantožrout* (migrantvore). Two examples of univerbation typical for common Czech and colloquial varieties occurred: *emigračka* standing for *případ emigrace* (a case of emigration), *uprchličák* standing for *uprchlický tábor* (refugee camp). The majority of nouns (65 %) denotes a person, the rest marks places (*uprchličák*, *Uprchlistán*) and abstract concepts (*antiimigrace*).

From a lexicological point of view, the word *připrchlík* is very interesting because it is a relational antonym of the stable lexical item *uprchlík* (refugee). The creation of an opposite word by exchanging prefix *u-* (moving away) with *při-* (coming closer) implies the fact that the direction of moving is emphasised: migration is viewed from the perspective of the people living in the country migrants are moving to. The meaning of the old lexical item *uprchlík* is narrowed, and therefore the new possible marker of a "migrating person" occurred within the realm of the same root. The new definition is dependent on the point of view. The speaker from whose utterance the word was excerpted in the database defines it as follows: "[*Připrchlíci?*] Those who are in search of a better life.[1]" There is only one blend among nouns: *krimigrant* (crimigrant). It is mentioned here because of its context. The author of the comment to a newspaper article

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[1] "Připrchlíci? To jsou ti, kteří prchají za lepším."

about a fire in a refugee camp explains the cause of this event: "*Crimigrants* were bored or cold. It is also done by the Gypsies, they move out and scream that they want new homes."[2] Great affective power have the calques *migrantožrout* (confirmed in English and French as "migrantvore") and *Uprchlistán* (confirmed in German "Flüchtlingstan" and English "Refugeestan"), as well as the compound *běžencofil* (a person sympathizing with refugees) which was used with a sarcastic tone.

Lexical items which are already stable in the lexical system occur in the *Neomat* database either as a part of a collocation or as neosemanticisms. The form of the collocation *ekonomický migrant* (economic migrant) foreshadows the status of the term, but its meaning is still not stable, as it depends on the context. One of the speakers defines it as "the one that would die or is hungry in his own country"[3] and distinguishes the collocation from the common Czech phrase *jít za lepším* "in search of a better life". Other speakers define the collocation as "to be in search of a better life". Three collocations containing migrant as an element have gone through a process of phraseologisation: *amenitní migrant* (amenity migrant), *zelený migrant* (green migrant) and *požitkový migrant* (a person migrating for pleasure). All three are denoting people who undertake inner (town – village) migrations in order to reach a better quality of life. The motivation behind the collocation *digitalní přistěhovalec* (digital migrant) is not completely transparent either. It stands in opposition to *digitalní domorodec* (digital native) and indicates a person who gained digital literacy in later phases of his or her life. The word *uprchlík* (refugee) also gained a new meaning. In cycling terminology, it defines a member of a peloton who has distanced himself from the rest of the group.

4.2 Adjectives

The majority of adjectives is formed by multiple processes, by using prefixes and suffixes: as for example in *antiběženecký* (antirefugee). Compounding is confirmed in the formation of complex adjectives such as *muslimsko-migrantský* (muslim-migrant).

There are several possible combinations of elements building adjectives which are formed by multiple processes: foreign prefix and domestic word base: *antiběženecký* (antirefugee); both foreign prefix and word base: *antiimigrantský* (antiimmigrant); both domestic prefix and word base: *protiběženecký* (antirefugee); domestic prefix and foreign base: *protimigrantský* (antimigrant). In complex adjectives, the second part of the compound is always of foreign origin and the first part can be both of domestic and foreign

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[2] "Krimigranti se nudili nebo jim byla zima. To dělají cikání také, vybydlí a řvou, že chtějí nové."

[3] "Za ekonomického migrant považuji toho, kdo ve své zami umírá nebo nemá dost jídla"

origin: *bezpečnostně-migrační* (precautionary-migrant); *populisticko-protiimigrační* (populistic-antiimmigrant).

The complex adjective *uprchlicko-imigrantský* (refugee-immigrant) does not take the origin of such elements into account. The first element is of Czech and second of Latin origin. The adjective *emigrantský* (opposite of *imigrantský*) in Czech is common in use and earlier in this paper the new word *připrchlík* (relational antonym of *uprchlík*) was mentioned. While not constructing the word **uprchlicko-připrchlický* is not significant (as long as *připrchlík* is not settled in lexical system), not constructing **imigrantsko-emigrantský* is significant and it shows creativity and freedom in word formation.

From a semantic point of view, most adjectives express attitudes pro et contra by using appropriate prefixes: *proimigrační – antiimigrační*; *prouprchlický – antiuprchlický – protiuprchlický*; *antiimigrantský – protiimigrantský – proimigrantský*. An analysis of utterances containing adjectives in hyponymy relationships reveals that authors and speakers do not distinguish between the concepts of migration – immigration, and migrant – immigrant. The pairs of adjectives listed below are consequently used as synonyms. Close context is provided for each adjective.

1. *promigrační - proimigrační*

    a. "opustí svůj post, pokud bude naše země **promigrační**" (he is going to leave his job if our country becomes **promigrant**)

    b. "Pozval jsem kolegyně z příslušného výboru EP z „**proimigračních**" zemí typu Švédska a dalších do ČR" (I invited colleagues from the corresponding committee of the EP from "**proimmigrant**" countries such as Sweden and others to the Czech Republic)

2. *protimigrační - protiimigrační*

    a. "Nespokojení Sasové se ženou do náruče radikálům i **protimigrační** straně AfD (Alternativa pro Německo)" (Dissatisfied Saxons rush into the arms of the radicals and the **antimigrant** party AfD (Alternative for Germany)

    b. "koalici budou tvořit tři strany: vedle Sipiläho Strany středu v ní zasedne zřejmě populistická a **protiimigrační** strana Finů" (the coalition will be formed by three parties: besides Sipilä's Central Party, the populist and **antiimmigrant** party of Finns will certainly join it as well)

3. *protimigrantský - protiimigrantský*

    a. "nejvíce proruskou stranou je zároveň **protimigrantská** a protimuslimská Alternativa pro Německo (Afd)" (the most pro-Russian party is the **antimigrant** and antimuslim Alternative for Germany (AfD)

b. "V Dánsku **protiimigrantská** Dánská lidová strana deset let podporovala menšinovou vládu" (In Denmark, the **antiimmigrant** Denmark People's Party had been supporting the minority government for ten years)

There is only one neosemanticism confirmed among the adjectives: *zmigrovaný*. It denotes a user of the telecommunication network who changed his or her operator. Adjectives stand by the noun and determine it (ascribe some quality to it or define its relationship to some substance). Because of that, the semantic analysis of the adjectives was accompanied by a noun analysis. Below we provide examples which are significant from a sociolinguistic point of view. Adjectives with elements *anti-*, *proti-*, combined with nouns, create constructions in which adjectives describe attitudes and actions of political parties. In *Neomat*, those adjectives are part of the following constructions: *protiběženecká prohlášení* (antirefugee proclamation), *antiběženecký pragmatismus* (antirefugee pragmatism), *antiuprchlické výroky* (antirefugee statements), *protipřistěhovalecké postoje* (antirefugee stances). In a wider context, all those constructions serve to describe a way to gain sympathies of voters by expressing counter (im)migrant attitudes.

4.3 Adverbs

All extracted adverbs are motivationally related with adjectives (*antiimigračně*, *antiuprchlicky*, *protiimigrační*, …) They contain both domestic and foreign elements which are mentioned in section 4.2.

4.4 Verbs

New verbs are formed by prefixation: *přimigrovat* (migrate to the proximity) or by aspect change: *přistěhovávat se* (to move closer). All used prefixes are of Czech origin: *do-*, *při-*, *roz-*, *se-*. Prefixes *do-* and *při-* mean "to come closer". Half of the extracted verbs are created through these prefixes.

5 Conclusion

The presence among neologisms associated with contemporary migration processes of many elements loaned from other languages confirms the hypothesis stated in the introduction. Apart from the very productive derivation by using Greek and Latin prefixes (*anti-*, *pro-*), calqued compounds and blends are also confirmed. Lexical items, which are stable in the lexical system, such as *migrant* and *uprchlík*, gained new meanings. They became heads of collocations denoting concepts either closely (*ekonomický migrant*) or distantly (*uprchlík* in cycling) related to migration. Increased complexity of semantic relations shown by the example of the new word *připrchlík*, as opposed to the already stable *uprchlík*, confirms that the system aspires to greater precision. At the same time, equating words from the same semantic field (migration and immigration, migrant and immigrant) indicates blurred lines between semantically related concepts and therefore proves the process of determinologisation: terms originating in the field of the social sciences became frequent in everyday use. As a result, their extension (understood as a set of phenomena they denote (Vuković 2013, 103)) became less defined. While there are many words formed by *migrant* and *immigrant* as a word base, there are almost no words containing *emigrant* as its element. Moreover, half of the extracted verbs were formed by prefixes which stand for "coming closer". It is therefore clear that a prerequisite for semantic changes is the speakers' general focus on the migrants' arrival to Europe, not to the process of migration (as moving out from some place and moving to another place).

Adjectives with elements *pro et contra* indicate the bigger social debate and an urge to express one's attitudes towards the topic. The context shows that words with the element *contra* are related mostly to political parties and commentators on social networks. Words with the prefix *pro-* are used by or ascribed to speakers from international associations. Antonyms such as *běžencofil* and *migrantožrout* also indicate the need to express one's attitude towards the subject and, more importantly, that these attitudes are binary – either *pro* or *contra*.

Further research should use enlarged corpuses and analyse the broader context of each neologism and neosemanticism in order to reveal whether processes elaborated in this paper occur regularly. The question that seeks further research is to what extent these processes are a result of language borrowing and to what extent they represent the reflection of the speakers' attitudes in Czech society.

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About the decapitation of corpses – Reflections of Ernst Bloch's *Ungleichzeitigkeit* in the novels of Klaus Mann (including a glimpse into the present)

Manuel Theophil*

Abstract

With the help of the term *Ungleichzeitigkeit* the German philosopher Ernst Bloch tried to comprehend the emergence of Nazism. Bloch was not satisfied with the typical Marxist explanation that fascism can simply be understood as capitalism's last hope. Instead, he focused on dreams, wishes, and worldviews which seemed to be misplaced in the present and, thus, were ignored or considered as reactionary by the political left. Bloch demonstrated how the Nazis were able to exploit these *Ungleichzeitigkeiten* by addressing them in their propaganda. The objective of this paper is not only to introduce the notion of *Ungleichzeitigkeit* in its historical context but also to show in which ways this political term is reflected in the novels of Klaus Mann. As Mann, at first glance, may seem as a rather unexpected candidate for such an endeavour, the text starts with outlining the relationship Bloch and Mann had during the 1920s and 1930s. The paper ends with a brief look at today's *Ungleichzeitigkeiten* and their reflections in contemporary German literature.

Key words: Ernst Bloch, *Ungleichzeitigkeit*, nationalism, Klaus Mann, literature

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1 An unlikely connection?

At first glance, the undertaking of applying a term which originates in the philosophy of Ernst Bloch to literary texts written by Klaus Mann may appear to be a fruitless endeavour. On the one hand, there is an unorthodox Marxist philosopher whose oeuvre – especially considering its core, the utopian thinking – is worldly oriented. Bloch was an advocate of what he called concrete utopias – that is, of conceptions of the future which are rooted in the possibilities reality has to offer. On the other hand, there is a highly lyrical young writer whose enthusiasm threw him from idea to idea, and for a long time none of these ideas demonstrated a deep understanding of or even an interest in the world that surrounded him. Reflecting on authors who influenced him the most in his youth (i.e. Nietzsche, Kleist, George), Klaus Mann, in his second autobiography *Der Wendepunkt* (*The turning point*)[1], does not make any secret of his naiveté as a young adult concerning questions of society or politics. He clarifies that among his personal Gods of writers "the erotic-religious element dominates, whereas the social element is almost entirely neglected. Realism is hardly represented in my boy-Olympus"[2] (Mann 2006, 160). Mann was still in this phase of his intellectual development when he met Bloch for the first time in Paris in 1926 (Gekle 1985, 619). At that point, he knew (and admired) the philosopher for being the author of *Geist der Utopie* (*Spirit of Utopia*) – a book Bloch had published shortly after World War I. Highly expressionist in its language, it comes as little surprise that Mann was fascinated by Bloch's first major work. However, it is also not very astonishing that the young writer was not able to fully grasp all implications and intentions of the text. Particularly Bloch's hints towards a materialism with the principle of hope as its core (e.g. Bloch 1985f, 276-294, 411) – that is, with matter which is not static but characterised by movement and thus open for worldly change as well as for the dreams of the people[3] – were lost on Mann. Obviously captivated by Bloch's language, he remarked the following about the philosopher's style of writing in an article, published about a year after both had met in Paris: "No materialism speaks in such a way" (Mann 1992a, 150). It would have been true had he written: Before Bloch, no materialism has ever spoken in such a way. In fact, in order to be truth-

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[1] The mere fact that Klaus Mann already wrote his second autobiography when he was in his mid-thirties (1941), depicts a huge difference to Bloch. Mann always drew inspiration from personal circumstances for his work, whereas Bloch rarely reflects directly on his life in his texts. Prominent exceptions are *Geist, der sich erst bildet* (Bloch 2007) and *Gedenkbuch für Else Bloch-von Stritzki* (Bloch 1985i).

[2] If not signified otherwise, translations are provided by the author.

[3] In *Geist der Utopie*, Bloch's materialism is limited to these hints. It is described in more detail in Bloch's later works, especially in *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* and in *Das Materialismusproblem, seine Geschichte und Substanz*.

ful to itself, Bloch's materialism had to speak in the way it did because a changing world cannot be captured by a dry and clotted language.

All in all, Mann's enthusiasm alone was not enough to grasp the essence of the ideas of *Geist der Utopie* (Jens and Naumann 2011, 198). And although there is a noticeable change in Mann's perception of the world in general and of literature in particular during the late 1920s and 1930s – a change which lets him focus more on social issues –, the hiatus when it comes to fundamental principles of Bloch's philosophy remains in place. When he briefly mentions Bloch in *Der Wendepunkt*, which was written in exile during World War II, he introduces him as an author who is linked closely to the Malik-publishing house and – more importantly – he still assigns Bloch to orthodox Marxism (Mann 2006, 447). Mann explains that it is the elimination of every transcendental aspect that bothers him most about hard-line Marxism. Everything that goes beyond economics, everything that has to do with longing, desire, and, dreams is, according to Mann, suspicious among these thinkers; alpha and omega is the doctrine of Marx (Mann 2006, 452). Even though it has to be pointed out critically that Bloch had put his hopes in the Soviet Union for way too long[4], Mann's criticism underlines once more that his comprehension of Bloch's philosophy was only superficial.

However, what is also interesting about the passage in question from Mann's autobiography is that he claims to be in a friendly relationship with the philosopher (Mann 2006, 447). This cordiality was, in fact, mutual and it was based upon a shared character trait: Mann was willing to ignore differing opinions for the time being and, thus, was not shy of cooperating with communists in order to fight the Nazis – e.g. Mann took part in the First Congress of Soviet Writers held in Moscow in 1934, despite being frequently attacked by followers of a strict Marxism. This open-minded approach helped him to become acquainted with some of these thinkers to which he, as outlined above, falsely assigned Bloch as well. The philosopher dealt with opposing opinions in a similar way. Bloch did not turn his back on art, philosophical schools, or political thoughts that were condemned by Marxists for being bourgeois or reactionary. He was convinced that beneath every ideological illusion there is always something worthwhile to discover, something that deserves to be inherited. Large parts of his magnum opus *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* (*The Principle of Hope*) are devoted to this task.[5] So while their

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[4] As the Nazis gained power in Germany, Bloch left the country. He lived in Switzerland, Austria, and Czechoslovakia before going to the United States of America in the late 1930s. From time to time he considered migrating to the Soviet Union – a plan that was presumably stopped by his wife Karola, an architect of Polish origin, who had much better knowledge of the living conditions for intellectuals in the Soviet Union.

[5] In fact, this trait also shows itself at the origin of Marxism. What Marx essentially did was to form a mélange of French materialism of the 18th century and German Idealism (notably Hegel of course).

openness was definitely contributing to them being on good terms, their relationship was, nevertheless, to a great extent characterised by inequality. Bloch was more than twenty years older than Mann; both came from very different family backgrounds and – maybe most importantly – to a certain degree Bloch found himself admired by Mann. As already mentioned, it was especially Bloch's early work *Geist der Utopie* Mann was fascinated by.

It is remarkable that Bloch, later on and more than once, still refers to and sometimes even (presumably fully intentionally) feeds into this admiration when he exchanges letters with Klaus Mann. At that time, their communication revolved, for the most part, around Bloch's search for a publishing house for his latest work *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* (*Heritage of this Time*) – a book consisting of a series of essays linked by superordinate concepts (one of them being *Ungleichzeitigkeit*). Due to Mann's close friendship with Fritz Landshoff, head of the Querido-publishing house in Amsterdam, which had almost the entire German exile under contract, Bloch was hopeful that Mann could put in a good word for him. It is under these particular circumstances that Bloch frequently addressed Mann as "a colleague and one of my first readers" (Bloch 1985a, 622). He had been, as Bloch claims, among the "first friends" (Bloch 1985c, 642) of the philosopher's publications and he furthermore states to have been deeply moved by the fidelity Mann had, thus far, demonstrated towards *Geist der Utopie* (Bloch 1985d, 643). Regarding an opportunity to publish with Querido, Bloch's flatteries were not very successful – *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* first came out in Switzerland with Oprecht and Helbling –, but Mann at least complied with Bloch's request to write a review (Mann 1993a). Though the text, published in Mann's own periodical *Die Sammlung*, was very short, it still is noteworthy because Mann was one of only very few people who took notice of the book at all at that time (Dietschy 1988, 288). In their correspondence, Bloch repeatedly expressed his lack of understanding concerning the difficulties he had to face: "Nonsense of all kinds is printed; that is and always will be the case." As the following sentences illustrate, however, his self-confidence was not shattered at all: "A book of mine is not only made for the moment, but its name carries it and will carry it. One day, fifty books will be written about this book – but now it does not find a publisher. The affair is even more boring than it is sad and shameful" (Bloch 1985b, 628f). The more Bloch's incomprehension grew, the more Mann stood out as someone who was not only willing to help in matters of publishing but also picked up central ideas of *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* for his essays as well as for his literary works.

From the former he inherited the focus on matter without picking up a strictly mechanistic understanding of it; from the latter he inherited dialectics without giving in to Hegel's opinion that dialectical movement is nothing more than a mere, purely idealistic soliloquy of the *Weltgeist*.

In order to do so, the change in Mann's perception of the world was crucial. The more the Weimar Republic, this so often unappreciated backbone of his carefree youth in Munich and Berlin, was weakened, the more Mann's political consciousness was growing. He describes himself as an author who gained more and more insight into his moral and political obligations, especially in the course of the 1930s (Mann 2006, 509). As time passed, the clear cut between passion, emotion, and human experiences on the one hand and the political and economic sphere on the other, which he had tended to maintain during the 1920s, became more and more blurry. This process went hand in hand with his perception of Nazism. From a spectacle, which stuck out because of its stupidity and could therefore never have been taken seriously (and he took for granted that everyone else perceived the *Braunhemden* in the same way), the Nazis evolved in Mann's worldview to the most dangerous threat not only for Germany and Europe but for the rest of the world as well. This judgment led to self-critical questions as to whether enough had been done by the youth in general and by himself in particular to defend the democracy they had grown up in (Mann 2006, 344). Furthermore, this assessment also called for answers to the question why the Germans had handed their fate over to the Nazis.

In order to find answers to these questions, Bloch's *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* was of great use for Mann. It offered an argumentation that went far beyond vulgar-Marxist explanations which understood the uprising of Nazism simply as the last straw for capitalism to grasp. Bloch focussed more on energies and forces that had been ignored by left-wing politicians and which were eventually exploited by German fascism. He understood that the Nazis had been able to use the longing of the youth for risk and danger, the anger within an increasingly pauperised middle-class, and the anti-capitalist opposition within the peasantry for their own political programme (Dietschy 1988, 9). They had made, as Bloch concisely put it, their prey among people who had become anxious and uneasy (Bloch 1985e, 19). Klaus Mann reflects on Bloch's ideas not only in his review of *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* but also in a number of essays and in his literary texts. These reflections not only include the failure of the political left to broaden its horizon and to overthink its blind trust in what they had considered to be the unavoidable laws of economics (Mann 1993a, 249. Mann 1993b, 358) but also Bloch's notion of *Ungleichzeitigkeit*[6] – a term that helps explain how the Nazis were able to get hold of the desires and dreams of the people and eventually brought them in line with their propaganda.

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[6] In the course of section 2, it will be explained why Bloch's term *Ungleichzeitigkeit* was not translated in this paper.

2 Ernst Bloch's notion of *Ungleichzeitigkeit*

The concept of *Ungleichzeitigkeit*, as outlined in *Erbschaft dieser Zeit*, is strongly connected to a Marxist understanding of history – that is, with historical materialism. Without going into too much detail here, it can be said that Marx saw history as a series of class struggles (slave vs. slaveholder in the ancient world, bondsman vs. nobleman in the feudal system of the Middle Ages, proletarian vs. capitalist in the Early Modern Age and in modernity). In consequence, throughout history it is always one group of people who have to carry the heavy burden of drastic social change. For the capitalist period, Marx identified this group as the proletariat. From these fundamental principles of historical materialism, Bloch concluded that both the proletarian and the capitalist live at the forefront of the historical process, they are parallel to their time. Using Bloch's term, it can be said that they both live in *Gleichzeitigkeit* (contemporaneousness). For other groups of people or classes this is not true. The peasant, for example, is still bound to his own clod of earth; in contrast to many of his fellow citizens, they work independently and still have the means of production in their own hands. Although they share the same present with their contemporaries who live in the cities, they, nevertheless, live in a totally different time. "In the countryside there are faces that are – despite their youth – so old that the eldest people in the city do not remember them. Hardship or a more convenient opportunity drives people into the factories whereas a peasant saying goes like this: 'Work to which one is whistled to is no good.'" (Bloch 1985e, 106). And it is not only a differing outlook on labour that lets the peasant appear to be misplaced in capitalist times but them being bound to nature and the seasons as well as cultural anachronisms also contribute to this impression.[7]

   For Bloch, then, history – and that marks a huge difference to vulgar-Marxist positions – is a "polyrhythmic entity" (1985g, 618). By narrowing historical materialism to a merely schematic concept, vast parts of reality are not captured at all. A passage from *Die deutsche Ideologie* (The German Ideology) also demonstrates that what some of his adepts would turn his comprehension of history into would not have been in line with Marx' original interest. Marx stresses that the economic development (*Unterbau*) as well as the mind-set of the people (*Überbau*), which is closely connected with the *Unterbau*, evolve in different places at a different pace.

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[7] Of course, people in the villages also have newspapers and radio. However, for them "Egypt is still the land where the princess pulls baby boy Moses out of the river, not the land of the pyramids or the Suez Canal; the land is continuously seen from the perspective of the Bible and the children of Israel" (Bloch 1985e, 108).

> It follows from this that within a nation itself the individuals, even apart
> from their pecuniary circumstances, have quite different developments,
> and that an earlier interest, the peculiar form of intercourse of which has
> already been ousted by that belonging to a later interest, remains for a long
> time afterwards in possession of a traditional power in the illusory com-
> munity (State, law). (Marx 1976, 83)

Marx superficially encompasses here what Bloch in *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* specified as the
difference between real (or objective) and false (or subjective) *Ungleichzeitigkeit* (Bloch
1985e, 111-22). The former applies to the above-mentioned example of the peasant; his
Ungleichzeitigkeit has a materialistic foundation, it has its roots in the economic devel-
opment.

The situation of the petty bourgeois presents itself quite differently: Liberties once
given to them in order for capitalism to spread have vanished. These people more or
less live under the same conditions as the proletariat; they are dependent on others and
forced to sell their labour power. But unlike the proletarian they are not willing to face
this reality. They are stuck in the past. Although their earlier interest's "peculiar form
of intercourse [...] has already been ousted by that belonging to a later interest," these
people still live according to this long-gone interest. They hold on to a mindset that al-
lows them to artificially differentiate themselves from the proletariat. Or in the words of
Ernst Bloch: These people live in subjective *Ungleichzeitigkeit*. And this is, by all means,
a mindset that capitalism can only benefit from because it hinders solidarity across class
boundaries. These ideologies – understood as a false consciousness – were purposefully
strengthened in order to distract people from their real social situation. Bloch illustrates
this distraction with the help of Siegfried Kracauer's book *Die Angestellten* (*The Salaried
Masses*). Detached from traditions as well as from all opportunities to give an individ-
ual shape to their lives, members of the petty bourgeoisie fled into kitsch, sports, and
other shallow entertainment offered to them (Bloch 1985e, 31-41).[8] This resulted in an
intellectual malnourishment, making it almost impossible to enlighten this class about
its real place within society.

However, Bloch considered addressing these people to be crucial in order to pre-
vent the Nazis from getting hold of them. While doing so, the peculiarities of *Ungle-
ichzeitigkeit* have to be taken into account. The fact that Bloch did not see people liv-
ing in *Ungleichzeitigkeit* as merely reactionary or backward is important in this context.

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[8]   Kracauer himself grasped *Ungleichzeitigkeit* within the petty bourgeoisie (avant la lettre so to speak):
     "The position of this class in the economic process has changed, but their middle-class view on life stayed
     the same. They nurture a false consciousness. They want to stick to differences, the acknowledgement
     of which darkens their situation" (Kracauer 1974, 81).

He stressed that there is – despite every potential materialistic or ideological difference compared to those classes living in *Gleichzeitigkeit* – always an anticapitalistic element. Again, this can be explained via the example of the peasant: By doing their work the way they think is best, by not wanting to have a superior and by keeping the means of production in their own hands, they stand in a contradictory relation to capitalism. The same is true for the petty bourgeois whose ideologies are not entirely deceptive but at the same time demonstrate a longing for a better life the present state of affairs is unable to provide. And this longing, too, can be seen as an antithesis to capitalism. These are definitely not contradictions similar to those of the class-conscious proletarian, but, nevertheless, they reveal elements that are worthwhile considering and eventually valuable to inherit (hence, the title of the book: *Heritage of this Time*). In short, within every *Ungleichzeitigkeit* there is always an element of *Gleichzeitigkeit*. And here lies the reason why the term is not translated in this paper. Since *Ungleichzeitigkeit* is a rather unusual word, Bloch might have intended to use it in a way that normally a figure of speech is used – that is, to alienate the language in order to make the reader aware of the very fact that the term is not fully understood when the entire focus lies on its negation. That exactly would have been the case with translations like "asynchronism" or "non-parallelism".

The main conclusion Bloch drew from his findings was that he insisted on the necessity of addressing people living in *Ungleichzeitigkeit* in a specific way by left-wing politicians and intellectuals. Simply reusing speeches and texts that had been written in order to form a class-conscious proletariat would not be sufficient. Bloch demanded to find an address that would respect the living conditions of the peasant or the petty bourgeois and that takes their desires and dreams as well as their fears into consideration. He called for a popularisation of language without vulgarising the issues at hand (Bloch 1985g, 245). According to Bloch, the social democrats and communists of the 1920s and 30s had failed to do so. This can be illustrated by a personal anecdote Bloch told in an interview, first published in the periodical *Kursbuch*: Just before the Nazis took over power in Germany, Bloch attended a political gathering in the Sportpalast in Berlin. At that particular meeting, Nazis as well as communists gave speeches. First it was a communist's turn to talk. And he started by throwing very specific Marxist terms and endless economic numbers at the audience. He talked in his own jargon which, in consequence, led to him talking more or less to himself. Soon, no one was listening anymore. Analysing the situation rhetorically, one can say that the communist did not take the aptum – the adequacy of the speech in relation to audience and topic – into account. Then a Nazi stepped to the microphone and politely thanked the communist for his remarks because with what he had just said he had confirmed a wisdom of the

Fuehrer Adolf Hitler: By presenting numbers and numbers and even more numbers, he had demonstrated that communism and capitalism are basically two sides of the same coin (Bloch 1985i, 211f.).

The communists talked about the issues but did not address the people; the Nazis obscured the issues but were able to address the people (Bloch 1985e, 153). And they did so by purposefully taking advantage of the inability of social democrats and communists to explain their own approaches and goals. To a great extent, Nazi propaganda was nourished by occupying topics ignored or insufficiently addressed by the political left. In Bloch's anecdote, they were able to disguise themselves as the real anti-capitalist force – a role they of course never intended to take on.[9] Bloch called this the revolutionary illusiveness of the Nazis (Bloch 1985e, 71), and it did not stop by taking over narratives from the political left. Nazism also adopted the red colour (which was now the background for the swastika) and strategies of mobilising huge crowds of people (gatherings, singing along to catchy melodies etc.). The common Nazi tried to give the impression of being "a rebel, even a socialist one, one from the worker's party" (Bloch 1985h, 145). This deceit also reveals itself by taking a closer look at the party name: NSDAP (National Socialist Worker's Party of Germany). The Nazis claimed to be a socialist workers' party, but at no time were they interested in changing the economy or improving the situation of the workers. The fate Nazism had in mind for the 'German worker' was to use him as a soldier for their inevitable war. All in all, the Nazis capitalised on the anti-capitalist atmosphere caused by the Weimar Republic and the economic crisis at the end of the 1920s. To a great extent, this atmosphere was – due to *Ungleichzeitigkeit* in many social classes – vague; what the fascists then did was to transform it into mass murder, carried by a booming war time economy. Soon, anti-capitalism simply meant to kill the Jews who had been branded as usurers (1985e, 34). So, while capitalism during the 1920s used *Ungleichzeitigkeit* for dispersion, the Nazis later used it for their racial fanaticism.

Other examples that show how Nazi propaganda could capitalise on *Ungleichzeitigkeit* are the Fuehrer-principle or the self-attribution of the Nazis to live in the "Third Reich". The former was built, according to Bloch, upon a deeply rooted, anthropological longing for a personal role model providing orientation. People had sought (and still seek) this kind of orientation in father figures within their personal environment as

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[9]   In his overview of the German exile, written with his sister Erika, Klaus Mann briefly mentions this aspect by referring to a discussion between Hitler and Otto Strasser, which took place in May 1930. Strasser was a right-wing politician. Up until July 1930 he was also a member of the NSDAP. Whereas Hitler focussed on race and Fuehrer-principle, Strasser emphasised the socialistic element within the nationalist movement (without giving up racism and antisemitism entirely). In the discussion in question, Strasser asked Hitler what he would do for example with the Krupp AG concerning ownership or profit after gaining power. Hitler's answer was as follows: nothing (Mann and Mann 1996, 134-36).

well as in liberator figures within history (Alexander the Great, Jesus, Augustus, Prester John, etc.) (cf. Bloch 1985e, 128-32). By merely focussing on economic figures, a vulgar Marxism had nothing to offer to satisfy this desire. The same is true for religion: The name "Third Reich" has religious connotations attached to itself. It is tied to a succession, seeing in the Gospel of the Father (Old Testament) the first empire, in the Gospel of the Son (New Testament) the second empire, and in the future empire of the Holy Ghost the third and final one. The Nazis simply replaced the Holy Ghost with Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels and started to talk about an empire that would last a thousand years. And this phrase too is taken from the Bible, namely from the *Book of Revelation of St. John*: "And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, [...] they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years" (Revelation 20:4). So, originally the 'thousand years' referred to an empire of freedom and justice established for righteous people. In this way it was understood during the Middle Ages, for example by the abbot Joachim di Fiore, or during the Peasants' Wars (Bloch 1985e, 132-40). The Nazis then appropriated the phrase and twisted it for their fascist ideology. It then stood for an empire of hatred and suppression.

Again, what Bloch repeatedly emphasised, while tracing these roots of Nazi propaganda, was that *Ungleichzeitigkeit* is not bad per se. That people look out for some sort of *salvator mundi* or dream of a paradise-like society in which the good thrive while the bad have to face the consequences of their actions was not the problem. On the contrary, these wishes can be seen as a detector for an unsatisfactory present. The problem actually was that the political left ignored these dreams and saw them merely as reactionary. They condemned them almost to the same extent they condemned fascism. The "difference between *Ungleichzeitigkeit* and its fascist deceit was denied" (Bloch 1985e, 123f.). Klaus Mann, coming from a totally different intellectual background, did not make this mistake.

3 Reflections of *Ungleichzeitigkeit* in the novels of Klaus Mann

As mentioned above, Mann's writings from the 1920s and early 1930s only show little comprehension of politics or interest in social issues. At that time, he was mainly concerned with the living situation of young artists in European metropolises. His literary texts usually dealt with personal problems or with questions concerning a bohemian way of life. It was the same milieu Mann's own life took place in. In his second auto-

biography, he critically reflects on this cosmopolitan uniformism: According to Mann, there was not much difference between whether one sat in a café in Paris, Vienna, or Berlin; "concerning the others, one could always take for granted a certain knowledge and certain experiences that were of importance to oneself; one loved the same poets, the same painters and composers, the same sceneries, rhythms, games and gestures" (Mann 2006, 298). On the occasion of a radio discussion in the early 1940s with Wystan Auden, an American writer and friend of Mann's, Auden described this enclosed bubble as an almost unavoidable result of an artist's life: An author who has a little bit of success is granted with a mobility which inevitably removes them from everyday life and, thus, estranges them from social issues. Consequently, their political opinions are necessarily deformed, which is why they should keep the political sphere out of their writings (Mann 2006, 572f). Mann showed many symptoms of Auden's diagnosis during the 1920s. Especially his highly cosmopolitan and pacifist idea of a unified world without any nation states – an idea which was mainly an amalgam of his fragmentary knowledge of Bloch's *Geist der Utopie* and Coudenhove-Kalergi's concept of Paneurope – was hardly in touch with the problems of that time. Furthermore, it found only little reflection within Mann's literary works. However, this changed in the early 1930s – and it changed in accordance with the answer Mann later (while preparing the radio discussion in question) gave to Wystan Auden: Although it might be true that artists are to some degree detached from the rest of society, he insisted that they can nevertheless identify that there are dogmas and worldviews which are closer to reality and truth than others. This results in a moral responsibility to make choices, which in turn find their reflection in clearly positioning oneself. What Mann, of course, had in mind at that point in time was the barbarism of the Nazis – it was fascism that had made him realise (t)his moral responsibility.

In his literary texts, this change is reflected only gradually. It starts with introducing minor characters which do not belong to the above-mentioned bubble of a bohemian lifestyle. In his novel *Treffpunkt im Unendlichen* (*Rendezvous in Infinity*), published in 1932, it is for example young Willi Müller – 19 years of age and living with his brother in Berlin – who fits into this category. He once had work on a farm in East Prussia, but the business had to close down. So, he came back to Berlin, struggled finding a new job and eventually became a follower of Nazism. When he calls the Nazis "Germany's hope" (Mann 1984, 140), his family reacts uncomprehendingly, but at the same time shies away from open confrontation. In one scene of the novel, a group of artists and intellectuals meet in a flat when suddenly they hear an uproar (Mann 1984, 141-47). The noises are caused by Nazis marching through the streets – among them young Willi Müller. Coincidentally, a companion of Müller looks up and sees the group of

artists gazing at them through the window. He asks whether those people are comrades. Müller answers no, they are Jews and will hang soon enough. This scene does not only depict two different worlds by simply confronting them but undermines this confrontation and estrangement within a society by its spatial organisation. The intellectuals are positioned in the apartment above the people on the street; they are in no way connected to them and look down on them. This impression is furthermore strengthened by the topics which were discussed in the apartment before the disturbance from the street. First, the consequences of drug abuse were debated, followed by speculations when it will be possible to fly to the moon. These subjects contribute to perceiving the spatial distance between the two groups as even bigger than it actually is. (The fact that Mann describes a situation in which it is already too late – the Nazis want to kill the people in the apartment – will be discussed later.)

Given this background, other passages of *Treffpunkt im Unendlichen* can be read as attempts not only to bring attention to this huge hiatus between groups within society but also as an effort to reduce this gap. When, for example, another character, also a young man, comes into a bar and one of the writers present (a friend of the young man's mother) buys him a meal, the narrator comments the character's remark that he is unemployed as follows: "'Unemployed' – word from another world, word with a heavy weight attached to it that falls into the perfumed, joyful establishment" (Mann 1984, 72). The same intrusion of reality shows itself at an evening party. A theatre critic reflects on the significance of his work: "In fact, everything else is more important. One is almost ashamed to death when hearing about four million people in unemployment or that half a million Chinese simply starved to death. However, one still continues writing this empty chatter" (Mann, 1984, 72).

The question whether personal happiness is justified in times of general misery stands at the centre of Mann's book *Flucht in den Norden* (*Escape to the North*). In this novel Mann follows a young woman, Johanna, who – through one of her friends – gets in contact with communist circles in Berlin. Because of these acquaintances, she eventually has to flee and decides, for the time being, to go to another friend (Karin) in Finland. There she falls in love with Karin's brother (Ragnar). In addition to the political sphere being very present in this work, this sphere for the first time shows clear traces of *Ungleichzeitigkeit*. This is true, for example, for Johanna's parents whose liberalism places them somewhere around the year 1900 and consequently outside of the political struggles of their time. The barbarism of the Nazis is as alien to them as the socialist ideals of their daughter. Even more clearly, *Ungleichzeitigkeit* reveals itself within the family who offers refuge to Johanna. Originally from Czarist Russia, there are many elements of feudalism that have survived within this family. When Johanna describes the

living conditions in Nazi Germany, the reactions oscillate between surprise and disbelief. More than once the lady of the house insists that the situation in Bolshevik Russia is even worse – especially compared to life under the Czar. The old lady revels in a long-gone feudal past.[10] At the same time, this past lets her have a favourable outlook on a country that apparently has a strong leader. In her view, Hitler and his companions give Germany a strict regime which is much better than any revolution because an uprising of the people always results in chaos (Mann 2003, 47).[11]

The remarks of Karin's brother Jens – when it comes to German fascism – are less materialistically anchored but instead highly ideologically charged. He enjoys exactly the kind of 'liberalism for the few' that Wystan Auden talked about (financed not by the merits of his abilities but by the 'old money' of his family). He travels back and forth from America to Europe, only superficially comprehending what is going on in both parts of the world. His view of Germany is mainly shaped by the country's art and philosophy from the 19th century (Mann 2003, 18, 20, 45). He has a culturally saturated nation in mind, which is impossible for him to connect with the cruelties Johanna accuses her fatherland of. This kind of *Ungleichzeitigkeit* that detached people from politics because they saw issues of this sort as something not worthy of discussion was widely spread at that time, especially among the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. By some, it was used as a means to justify Germany's historical *Sonderweg*, explaining that the German nation has its roots in culture rather than in democracy – one of the most famous texts in this context, *Die Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (*Reflections of an Unpolitical Man*), was written by Klaus Mann's father Thomas.[12]

While completely turning one's back at politics was one extreme, the other is demonstrated by vulgar Marxism. They believed in socialism to rise as surely as the sun does every morning. This issue, too, is reflected in Mann's literary works, for example in his novel *Der Vulkan* (*The Volcano*). This text offers an overview of different types of expatriates. It follows artists, intellectuals, students, and political activists leaving Germany because of the Nazi takeover. Some of them find the strength to fight back from abroad,

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[10] A similar type of old lady appears in Mann's early novel *Der fromme Tanz* (*The Pious Dance*). She is a baroness and the aunt of the main character. The narrator describes her as follows: "Around her meagre mouth and around her lean neck, which was decorated – as a sign of former splendour – with pearls, appeared a twitch and in her frightened eyes laid the misery of an entire endangered class" (Mann 2004, 41).

[11] Mann quite early on argued in favour of an alliance between the capitalist West and the communist East in order to stop Hitler. He did not share the opinion popular among conservatives that the Soviet Union is the bigger threat compared to Nazi Germany (Mann 2006, 548f.).

[12] The clearest view on politics within the Mann family had Thomas Mann's brother Heinrich. With the character of Diederich Heßling from his novel *Der Untertan* (*The Subject*), published in 1905, he anticipated the typical Nazi a few decades before they actually appeared.

some gradually lose hope as time passes by. Some simply decide to start all over again in a new country, some lose their lives in the fight against fascism in the Spanish Civil War. One, comparatively small, mosaic in this picture is the love story between Tilly von Seydewitz and Konni Bruck. She comes from an upper-class family, whose wealth slowly but steadily diminishes, while he is a student of physics and a political activist for the communists. As she flees to Switzerland with her family, Konni decides to stay in Berlin for a couple more weeks. He eventually gets arrested by the Nazis and is put in a concentration camp. Concerning *Ungleichzeitigkeit*, what is particularly noteworthy here is not only the reaction of Tilly's mother when she hears the news ("Poor chap! [...] but why does a bright young man get involved with the dirty business of politics in the first place? I always knew that this would not end well." – Mann 1981, 74)[13] but also Konni's naïve outlook on Marxism: According to the narrator, he "believed with a confidence – that answered to every objection with a proud shrug – that Marxist dogmas and prophecies were true in the same objective, indisputable way like the laws of nature or mathematical rules." (Mann 1981, 72f). This is exactly the kind of vulgar, narrow understanding of Marxism that Bloch criticised again and again. The vulgar Marxists ignored everything they considered primitive or utopian, whereas the Nazis took advantage of this very ignorance. "Hell as well as heaven, the berserks as well as theology were handed over to the reaction without putting up a fight." (Bloch 1985e, 66f.)

While the aforementioned passages from Mann's literary texts, on the one hand show different kinds of *Ungleichzeitigkeit* and on the other hand demonstrate how they were disregarded by the political left, an illustration of how the Nazis exploited *Ungleichzeitigkeit* is still owed here (with the exception of Willi Müller from *Treffpunkt im Unendlichen*). This void can be filled with the example of a minor character from Mann's novel *Mephisto*. To a great extent, this book is based on the life of the real actor Gustav Gründgens, who, during the late 1920s, was a friend of Mann (he was also married for a short time to Klaus' sister Erika). Their friendship ended when Gründgens decided to cooperate with the Nazis in order to save his acting career. Quite similarly to his uncle Heinrich and his novel *Der Untertan* (*The Subject*), Mann depicted with Hendrik Höfgen (the personage that is based on Gründgens) a certain kind of character representative for many other people of that particular time – in this case someone who is willing to come to terms with mass murderers, if only this benefits his personal goals. However, when it comes to *Ungleichzeitigkeit*, the minor character of Hans Miklas is

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[13] It is also interesting to consider what Tilly's mother thinks about fascism and communism: "Those Nazis are even worse than the communists. Concerning the latter one at least knows what they are: our enemies. The Nazis pretend to be the guardians of our holiest goods, but in fact they are just disrespectful plebs" (Mann 1981, 70).

far more interesting than Höfgen. At the beginning of the novel, they both work together in a theatre in Hamburg. Miklas is a young actor in his early 20s, who came from rural Bavaria to Northern Germany in order to pursue an acting career. His childhood was not very happy; his father had died in World War I and his mother did not accept his decision to become an actor. After coming to Hamburg, he soon has to face problems. His colleagues are sometimes looking down on him and treat him like a child. He does not get the roles he thinks he deserves, which stirs up his hatred, especially towards a thriving Höfgen. On top of that, he also struggles financially because his salary is not very high. All in all, he is very lonely and searches for some kind of direction - something that makes him the perfect target for Nazi propaganda. He is among the anxious and uneasy people Bloch talked about (1985e, 19). So, eventually, Miklas turns towards the Nazis and as he starts to make anti-Semitic comments in the theatre it is a socialist among the actors, Otto Ulrichs, who tries to find an explanation for what happened to Miklas:

> At heart Hans is a good guy [...]. I don't think he is entirely lost for a good cause. His rebelliousness, his general discontent landed in the wrong spot [...] – today there are millions of young people like Miklas. They have hatred which is good because it is directed towards the status quo. But then a young fella has bad luck and falls into the hands of those who corrupt him; and they ruin his good hatred. They tell him that the Jews are the cause of all maladies, and the Treaty of Versailles, and he believes this nonsense [...]. This is the notorious distraction tactic. (Mann 1986, 36f)

Otto Ulrichs' argumentation reveals the clearest marks the notion of *Ungleichzeitigkeit* has left in Klaus Mann's oeuvre. There is the urban-rural difference, the longing for something to believe in, the struggles to keep one's head up in times of financial hardship, hence, the anticapitalist element, its exploitation by the Nazis, and finally also the lies and argumentative shortcuts of fascism. As time goes by, Miklas more and more comes to realise that his firm belief in a national socialism is not shared by those he put his faith in. "What the Nazi agitators once had loved to call the 'fat-cat economy' did not stop to exist but became even worse." (Mann 1986, 222) And unlike so many others, Miklas is neither willing nor able to hide his disappointment. He speaks up, increasingly louder the more he realises the betrayal he got himself into – and one day he ultimately gets picked up by some of his comrades who drive with him to a forest and shoot him in the back. The narrator of the novel precisely captures Miklas' fate with the following words: "The heads of those rolled whose only fault was not to let go of their socialist sympathies – and the Messiah, too, who executed them, called himself

a socialist." (Mann 1986, 318) And if Miklas had not realised the scam and had kept his mouth shut, he would have seen the fulfilment of his revolutionary dreams in the torment of the Jews, just as a group of people in Mann's novel *Der Vulkan* does. And while they abuse an old Jewish man in the streets of Vienna, their victim addresses them in his thoughts: "Do you really believe in a better future because today you are allowed to harass some Jews? Do you really believe this is the revolution? You have to be really narrow-minded to be betrayed that easily!" (Mann 1981, 502)

4 A glimpse into the present

In a way Bloch was too late, and so was Mann. When *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* was published in 1934, the Nazis had already taken over power in Germany. And when Mann took the notion of *Ungleichzeitigkeit* into consideration for his literary texts, he had already been in exile for a long time. He himself reflects on this problem in his autobiography. He writes about two of his friends, both from the proletarianised petty bourgeoisie, and both neither with much knowledge of the world nor with any goals for their lives (Mann 2006, 351-53, 726-28). Both end up with the Nazis, which brings an end to the friendship with Mann. Knowing how much the author relied on his personal experiences for his work, the names of his two onetime friends come as little surprise: Hans and Willi. About the latter, Mann remorsefully remarks:

> I knew so many like him. Why did I not write their novel? Many novels
> and dramas were written about them when it was already too late. They
> then appeared as villains abusing Jewish philosophers in the concentration
> camps. But I saw them, and I liked them at a time when they were the
> victims and could have been saved. However, we did not care about them.
> (Mann 2006, 728)

Being aware of the differences between the political situation in the early 1930s and the present, there are also strong indications that there is much more awareness among today's artists for people who are disregarded by politics and the media than in the past. Taking a look at contemporary German literature, there are quite a few writers who seem to be conscious of today's (objective and subjective) *Ungleichzeitigkeiten*. However, these texts are definitely not as explicitly directed towards the present increase of nationalism as Mann's texts were directed towards Nazism – and that is, presumably because they were not published too late but come just at the right moment. They do

not (yet) have to deal with *Ungleichzeitigkeit* being vastly exploited by nationalists[14] but can stick with the task of bringing attention to one of the causes of nationalism. This is done for example by turning away from the big cities and, instead, setting novels in rural areas, small towns, or villages (e.g. Saša Stanišić's *Vor dem Fest*, Juli Zeh's *Unterleuten*, Lukas Rietzschel's *Mit der Faust in die Welt schlagen*) or by uncovering the ideologies in today's world of work (e.g. Thomas von Steinaecker's *Das Jahr, in dem ich aufhörte, mir Sorgen zu machen, und anfing zu träumen*, Terézia Mora's *Der einzige Mann auf dem Kontinent*). By doing so, these literary texts can be seen as a reminder that history, of course, did not come to an end – as it was suggested after the breakdown of the Soviet Union. If this indeed had been the case, the concept of *Ungleichzeitigkeit* would have been of no use anymore. The same is true for a view of history that only focusses on continuity. This illusive perception was, especially during the 1990s, a popular means to denounce those who brought awareness to problems within capitalism as reactionary (Vidal 1996, 14). Today, with a renewed and re-awakened nationalism, it is, in fact, history itself that unmasks the assertions of its end as mere ideologies. By pointing towards a variety of (*ungleichzeitige*) contradictions of the status quo, the above-mentioned literary texts do not only illustrate that history continues to progress but also that it still is the "polyrhythmic entity" (1985g, 618) Bloch talked about. While it may not be advisable to adopt every strategy Bloch proposed in order to deal with present problems (Dietschy 2018, 37-42), his general assumptions that (firstly) people living in *Ungleichzeitigkeit* need to be acknowledged and (secondly) they need to be addressed in a specific way remain true.

In order to briefly illustrate this with a contemporary example, this paper concludes with some remarks on Juli Zeh's *Unterleuten*. The title of the novel refers to a fictional village in Brandenburg. The entire novel is set in this village and many of its inhabitants are portrayed in the text – the mayor, the only entrepreneur of the village, an old communist, and townsfolk who just moved to Unterleuten. The major conflict of the novel revolves around a piece of land on which a company plans to build a wind farm; and this property in question is not owned by one but by three different persons. Concerning Ungleichzeitgkeit, one of the newcomers, Gerhard Fließ – a former professor who

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[14] However, there are examples of how right-wing politicians take advantage of *Ungleichzeitigkeit* today. In the fall of 2015, when large numbers of refugees came to Germany, a political gathering took place in Magdeburg. There, Björn Höcke from the AfD expressed his hope that Germany – in the face of foreigners allegedly flooding the country – will have a thousand-year-long-future (Müller 2015). As a former teacher of history, Höcke knows that this phrase is historically contaminated, and he also knows that it probably appeals to people who are religious. Besides, there are other parallels to history concerning today's increase of nationalism – for example, superficially criticising consequences of capitalism without analysing them, followed by blaming a minority (foreigners, refugees) or copying means of propaganda from the political left (Wagner 2017, 11-13, 221-25, 228-31).

now works for the authorities to protect the environment and just recently moved from Berlin to Unterleuten –, is most aware of it:

> Although Unterleuten was only roughly one hundred kilometres away from Berlin, it could have been – from a socio-anthropological perspective – on the other side of the planet. Unnoticed by politics, the media, and science existed a semi-anarchistic, almost entirely independent way of life, [...] involuntarily subversive, far away from state influence, forgotten, neglected, and for this very reason free in a peculiar way. (Zeh 2017, 29)

Many aspects discussed earlier in this paper show themselves in this quote: There is, again, the urban-rural difference, the anticapitalist element, as well as society's ignorance towards certain ways of living. This ignorance manifests itself most clearly when an associate of the windmill company visits Unterleuten and is unable to address the villagers in an adequate manner. What is not reflected in the novel is the political exploitation of this kind of *Ungleichzeitigkeit*. Zeh is more interested in offering a variety of perspectives on the novel's main conflict. Thus, her book is, first and foremost, a text about tolerance because at the end the reader is able to understand every character's motives (although some of them did quite horrible things).

Having this in mind, the final word shall be given to Klaus Mann – or, to be more precise, to a character from his novel *Der Vulkan*. A refugee, who had to leave Germany and fled to Paris, concludes that fascism, "the new barbarism will get a cheap victory: it decapitates corpses." (Mann 1981, 260) This powerful metaphor brings attention to the question of how much damage had been done before the Nazis came to power; what mistakes had been made? And this ultimately leads to the phenomenon of *Ungleichzeitigkeit*. Thus, simply accepting the fact that we all share the same present, but nevertheless some of us live in totally different times might help in pushing back antidemocratic movements.

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The Role of Language and the Significance of Primordialism in Nationalistic Rhetoric

A Case Study of National Identity Discourse in Contemporary Japan

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Abstract

Nihonjinron, the particularistic discourse on Japanese national identity, successfully dominates the Japanese panorama even now, thanks to the influence of academic and popular literature, mass media, Japan's powerful cultural industry, politics, and a widespread, genuine interest in "Japaneseness" among the Japanese themselves. The works of professor Watanabe Shōichi represent an outstanding example of *Nihonjinron* literature and of its temporal continuity. From the second half of the 1970s until well into the 2000s, Watanabe has been surprisingly prolific in the *nihonjinron* field, enthusiastically propagating the establishment's ideology. In this respect, his essays provide a significant insight into three main aspects of the *Nihonjinron*: the role of language as the highest expression of national identity; the existence of a widespread set of peculiar Japanese expressions conveying its ideological framework; its deep-rooted primordialist core. In the construction of a lexical and conceptual dichotomy between the stratum of the supposed "native lexicon" and that of "foreign loans" which compose the Japanese language and in the emphasis on the uniqueness of the Japanese language as a vehicle of Japanese primeval spirit, Watanabe shows the primordialist system of beliefs

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surrounding the concept of the "Japanese nation" (naturalness, organicity, continuity, timelessness, mythical-ness, sameness, perennial-ness) which firmly underlines the entire Japanese identity discourse.

Key words: nihonjinron, primordialism, nationalism studies, yamatokotoba

1 Introduction

In 1990, the well-known historian Eric Hobsbawm wrote: "The owl of Minerva which brings wisdom, said Hegel, flies out at dusk. It is a good sign that it is now circling round nations and nationalism" (Hobsbawm 1990, 192). With this concluding statement of his *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, he was hoping that in the post-1989 era the world was destined to experience a slow, but inexorable decline of nationalism: the mere fact that historians were making rapid and insightful progress in the study and analysis of the phenomenon meant that it already reached its peak and was prepared to dissolve itself (ibid). Hobsbawm thus argued for the inadequacy of the terms 'nation' and 'nationalism' to describe the political entities if not the sentiments once depicted by them (ibid).

Far from this legitimate expectation and desire, today's world seems, in some aspects, similar to the international scenario after the end of World War I, being characterised by a strong opposition against supranationalism, multinationalism, multiculturalism and especially globalism, and facing, on the contrary, the resilience, if not resurgence, of nationalism. This is clearly evident by the rise of (extreme) right wing political parties all over the world, especially in Europe, and the pre-eminence and emphasis given to nationalistic rhetoric in everyday political discourse. On the other hand, supranational entities such as the European Union, instead of fostering collective and interstate solidarity to take on common economic and political crises which their member states have had to grapple with in its recent history, seem to be enhancing and leaving space to the return of national egoisms by resurging the old national interests and stereotypes. As the leading figure of nationalism studies Umut Özkırımlı points out, nationalism is still alive in the contemporary panorama not only as the fundamental organising principle of interstate order and as the ultimate source of political legitimacy, but also as a natural, taken-for-granted context of everyday life and as a significant cognitive and discursive frame (Özkırımlı 2017, 5). It is so pervasive that it can dangerously impinge the analytical perspectives and shape academic conventions, by implementing the so-called "methodological nationalism", that is the tendency to equate the concepts of 'society'

with that of 'nation' and to presuppose that the nation is a given, natural and even necessary form of society in modernity (ibid). Nationalism has proven to be not only a persistent and constant feature of the recent political and social context, but also the most explored topic in social sciences over the past few decades: the result of the "explosion" of academic research in this direction has been the creation of a new field referred to as "nationalism studies" (Özkırımlı 2017, 7).

In the light of this revival of nationalistic rhetoric in every sense, it is necessary to enhance our comprehension of the phenomenon further and to reserve a more insightful and attentive look to the languages, narratives, and rhetoric of the myriad of forms through which nationalism can manifest and express itself, as well as their use of metaphors, images, and other devices of communication and expression. In accordance with Özkırımlı, it is likewise desirable to overcome the current debate on nationalism, with special reference to the "traditional" categorisation in the field which was mainly elaborated and proposed at the time by Anthony D. Smith in his influential work and which has been recently re-elaborated and re-presented in the "mildest" form of methodological approaches by the scholar Umut Özkırımlı (Smith 1998, 2001; Özkırımlı 2017). In particular, Özkırımlı has presented three main approaches which may be pointed out in the studies of nationalism, namely primordialism/perennialism, modernism and ethnosymbolism, by adding to them a set of research paths referred to as "contemporary approaches" (Özkırımlı 2017). The first is generally thought to claim the temporal and spatial recurrence in history of nations, their immemorial and natural character; the second argues that it is not legitimate to talk of nations before the modern era; ethnosymbolists hold that although nationalism is a modern phenomenon, nations have ethnic precedents; finally, contemporary approaches attempt to move beyond these "classical" positions, in particular to overcome "methodological nationalism" by arguing the social constructed nature of 'nation' and 'nationalism'. In fact, the first three labels received much criticism in the last few years because of their internal contradictions, ambiguities, and their arbitrariness (Özkırımlı 2017, 228–245). Especially the so-called "primordialism", which contends that nationality is a "natural" part of human beings and that nations have existed since time immemorial, has proved to be highly problematic, mainly due to the long-standing confusion in academia between the "analysts of naturalizers" and the "analytical naturalizers", namely that between categories of analysis and categories of practice, as Roger Brubaker has clearly depicted in his book (Brubaker 2004, 31–33, 83–87; Coakley 2017, 2; Özkırımlı 2017, 59). By 'category of practice' Brubaker means the categories of everyday social experience, developed and deployed by ordinary social actors, which are to (or should) be distinguished from the experience-distant categories used by social analysts (Brubaker 2004, 31). The problem on which Brubaker

focuses his attention lies in the uncontrolled conflation of social/practical and sociological/analytical understandings of terms such as 'nation', 'race' and 'identity' which are used analytically a good deal of the time more or less as they are used in practice, in an implicitly or explicitly reifying manner (Brubaker 2004, 32–33). The same goes for 'primordialism': the term has been used to depict at the same time the intellectual position of either those nationalists of the past who claimed the naturalness or primordiality of concepts such those of 'nations', 'national sentiments or attachments', 'national soul', 'shared blood' and alike or those more contemporary scholars such as Edward Shils and Clifford Geertz who, far from insisting that these "primordial attachments" did factually exist, suggested that a perception about the primordiality, about the ontological reality of these assumed "givens" of social existence, by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself, was actually visible among social actors (Geertz 1963; Shils 1957; Grosby 2016; Smith 2003; Özkırımlı 2017; Coakley 2017).

This contribution will attempt to tackle both the "national question" and the problem surrounding "primordialism". It will focus on the mainstream national identity discourse in contemporary Japan known as *nihonjinron*, in particular on the role of language in vehiculating and imposing the ideology that dominates Japanese society. 'Ideology' is here understood as "a combination between discourse and power", characterising the wholeness of a particular social or political system and its operations by every member or actor in that system (Blommaert 2005, 158). In this sense, it results in normalised, naturalised patterns of thought and behaviour and is interpreted as the common sense of a given society, encompassing not only materially mediated ideational phenomena – sets of ideas, perceptions, received wisdom – but also ideas produced by particular material conditions or instruments performed in certain ways, that is either consciously planned, creative activity or the unintentional reproduction of "determined" meanings (Blommaert 2005, 159, 161, 174). The article is divided into three parts. First, I will outline the theoretical context for my argumentation in order to attempt to provide a framework of analysis, by depicting *nihonjinron*'s main features and assumptions. Second, I will present the case study I chose to select, that is a concrete example of meta-linguistic analysis of *nihonjinron* in the context of its ever-lasting literature, by investigating the sort of language deployed by the scholar Watanabe Shōichi in his amateur essay *Nihongo no kokoro* (*The Spirit of Japanese Language*), centred on the enhancement of Japanese linguistic uniqueness. Third, I will attempt to draw a number of conclusions: in particular, in line with the proposal by John Coakley (Coakley 2017: 2–3), it will be suggested to remove "primordialism" as a category of analysis and to restrict it to its original, nationalistic significance, namely to interpret it as a specific ingredient or moulding component of the nationalistic discourse, that is the sentiment or be-

lief in the perceived genetically-transmitted, natural character of a national community, conceived as a mythic/historical "organic whole" located in a specific and symbolical territory and characterised by continuity, timelessness, perennialness and monolithicity – in short, in its primordiality. It will be claimed that primordialism is precisely the core of nationalistic discourse. In this sense, a broad and comparative perspective which should encompass various fields of research and exemplary, particular case studies in different contexts is all the more imperative in today's fragmented, splintered and tattered world: by inquiring the "universal" – socially perceived existence of nationalism – through the "particular" – the plethora of forms of nationalistic narratives – reserving special attention to the primordial element, it might be possible to grasp the scope of this persistent and recurrent phenomenon.

This contribution is thus aimed at facing the question: where and how is the nation? Or better, where and how is a nationalistic discourse? In other words, the purposes are to a) show the capital importance of language in the definition of national identity, b) shed light on the functioning of nationalist narratives from a linguistic point of view and c) show the contradictions of this kind of rhetoric. The intent is to try to depict a sort of recurring model of nationalistic rhetoric by deducing it from the linguistic and conceptual analysis of a particular case study, that is an outstanding example of Japanese mainstream national discourse. Here 'nation' as a category of analysis is interpreted as "a symbol with multiple meanings, competed over by different groups manoeuvring to capture [its] definition and its legitimating effects" (Özkırımlı 2017, 218); while 'nationalism' is interpreted as a "discourse", that is defined by Blommaert as "a meaningful symbolic behaviour", "language-in-action", which "comprises all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and developments of use" (Blommaert 2005, 2–3). In this sense, language is but one manifestation of nationalism and it is precisely to the linguistic phenomenon on which I intend focus here. In fact, as environments are linguistically classified in different ways, both culturally and cognitively, understanding the various experiences that influence these classifications is crucial to be able to account for the different modes of the human condition expressed by language that socially constructs us. In particular, as Michael Billig put it: "routinely familiar habits of language will be continually acting as reminders of nationhood. In this way, the world of nations will be reproduced as the world, the natural environment of today"; "nationalism is not confined to the florid language of blood-myths. Banal nationalism operates with prosaic, routine words, which take nations for granted, and which, in so doing, enhabit them. Small words, rather than grand memorable phrases, offer constant, but barely conscious, reminders of the homeland, making 'our' national identity unforgettable" (Billig 1995, 93). It is to these "banal"

words, expressions or metaphors, it is to these splinters of language that I would like to turn the attention, because, as Geertz once cautiously reminded us, "if the general is to be grasped at all, and new units uncovered, it must, it seems, be grasped not directly, all at once, but via instances, differences, variations, particulars – piecemeal, case by case" (Geertz 2000, 221).

2 The Nihonjinron Discourse

'Nihonjinron' 日本人論 literally means "theories[1] on the Japanese" and designates an identity discourse that flourished between the 1960s and 1980s, expressed mainly by academic and amateur essays, scientific and popular literature, radio and TV programmes and fostering the alleged uniqueness of the Japanese people. As Yoshino Kōsaku and Peter Dale point out, there are various ways of saying that certain features are "unique", or better "distinctive" to Japan in Japanese, such as *dokuji* 独自 (*sui generis*), *dokutoku* 独特 (autochthonous), *tokushitsu* 特質 (special quality), *tokuchō* 特徴 (distinctive characteristic), *tokushoku* 特色 (singular), *tokuyū* 特有 (idiosyncratic), *tokushu* 特殊 (peculiar), *tokusei* 特性 (peculiar) and *koyū* 固有 (original) (Yoshino 1992, 8; Dale 1986, 25) – just to mention the most popular words denoting this concept, by leaving aside a countless number of expressions referring to it such as *sekai de mo rui no nai* 世界でも類のない (unparalleled), *takoku ni nai* 他国にない (not in other countries), *rei wo minai* 例を見ない (no other examples of), etc. Actually, none of these expressions corresponds exactly to the English word 'unique' which precisely means 'the only one of its kind' (Yoshino 1992, 8) and for which the specific loanword *yuniiku* ユニーク is used instead. These Japanese words run the range of connotation from "very different" to "unparalleled": in fact, the English word 'unique' actually assumes in Japanese the connotation of referring to the unusual, unparalleled, different in its essence from other similar things (ibid; Dale 1986, 25). Similarly, a number of adjectives or adjectival nouns exist which refer to the "quality of being Japanese": *nihonrashisa* 日本らしさ, *nihonsei* 日本性 (Japaneseness), *nihonsei* 日本製 (Japanese-made), *nihonjin toshite* 日本人とし

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[1] The term could be also translated as "discussions", "interpretations", "visions" or generically as "discourse". As Befu Harumi notes, the ambiguity of the word *ron* 論 expresses the multiform character of *nihonjinron*, which could include either those theories based on amateurism and, thus, without scientific rigor and intended for popular consumption, or those scholarly theories of some intellectuals who attempt to scientifically discover legitimate sources to claim the existence of a hidden essence in Japanese culture (Befu 2001, 2–3). Other commentators instead prefer to limit the meaning of 'nihonjinron' solely to the amateur manifestations, by recognizing nevertheless an influence of the ideas of national distinctiveness in some academic writings (Yoshino 1992, 7).

て (as a person of Japanese nationality), *nihonteki* 日本的 (typically Japanese), *nihonfū* 日本風 (Japanese style), plus many nominal compounds consisting of the character *wa* 和 (lit. "harmony" which stands for "Japan") such as *washi* 和紙 (Japanese paper), wagashi 和菓子 (traditional Japanese confectionery), *washoku* 和食 (Japanese cuisine), *wafuku* 和服 (Japanese clothes), *wadō* 和道 (Japanese way), *waka* 和歌 (Japanese poetry) etc. As a tangible demonstration of this, the *raison d'être* of *nihonjinron* is to demonstrate or simply to highlight the particularism of Japanese culture and people, namely the existence of unbridgeable cultural and genetical differences which are supposed to distinguish the so-called "Japanese" from the "Other" (i.e. the West and, occasionally, China) and reveal the naturalness of "Japaneseness".[2] As several scholars have already pointed out, *nihonjinron* discourse is underscored by some implicit assumptions: a) the belief in or the perception of the ethnic and cultural homogeneity of the Japanese people (*tan'itsu minzoku* 単一民族, *dōshitsu* 同質), that is a vision of Japan as an isolated, remote and peaceful island nation, inhabited from immemorial times by a homogeneous and harmonious agricultural people with no skill for war and no experience in interacting with alien people (Befu 2001, 68–71; Yoshino 1992, 18; Dale 1986, i, 42; Sugimoto 2010, 2–4; Oguma 2002, 319); b) the belief in the existence of attachments or ties – such as nation, ethnicity, genotypic and phenotypic features, language, culture, territory, religion, customs – interpreted as conceptually overlapping, perceived as monolithic, natural or primordial and objective characteristics and considered to be shared by all the proper "Japanese" (that is what I intend to assume for primordialism) (Befu 2001, 71; Sugimoto 1999, 83); c) a "race thinking" or racialism, that is the belief in the existence of distinctive biological human groups characterised by perceived unchangeable genotypic and phenotypic characteristics, or human races[3] (Yoshino 1992, 191, 1997; Sugimoto 1999, 82; Befu 2001, 69, 75–76); d) the belief in the validity of

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[2] I would like to point out from the beginning that I will consciously avoid deploying the term "race" in sake of clarity of my own thought. As it will be discussed, one of the assumptions on which *nihonjinron* is based is the belief in the existence of human races – biologically distinct groups – and then, of a Japanese race, also referred to as "Yamato race". Hence, I will use this term only in order to depict the usage and the special meaning conferred by *nihonjinron* writers to the ambiguous Japanese term *minzoku* 民族, which could equally be translated as "nation", "race", "ethnic group". *Nihon minzoku* 日本民族 denotes the "Japanese" as a biologically distinct group, but also as a culturally defined ethnic group. In all the other cases, when depicting "objectively" the characteristics of *nihonjinron* as in the above sentence, other more "neutral" terms will be used, such as 'people' or the adjective 'genetic', 'ethnic' instead of 'racial'.

[3] It is worth noting that, according to Yoshino, racialism does not always imply racism, the latter consisting in the belief of the existence of a hierarchy between alleged human races, i.e. the existence of superior and inferior races, on the basis of which a discrimination is put in place: according to this interpretation, propagators of *nihonjinron* ideas thus tend to highlight more the distinctive character than the alleged genetic determinism of the Japanese (Yoshino 1992, 102). However, Befu seems not to be of the same idea about this (Befu 2001: 75–76).

emic judgments only over etic analysis on the Japaneseness (Befu 2001, 56–60; Haugh 1998, 28; Dale 1986, i); e) a strong ethnocentric perspective (Befu 2001, 67–68).

Although the term 'nihonjinron' is usually deployed to refer to a specific genre of literary essays very popular between the 1960s and the 1980s, encompassing a wide range of epistemological fields whose common claim is the alleged Japanese uniqueness, it primarily denotes an ideological construction of Japanese national identity which heavily influences the way the Japanese perceive themselves (Dale 1986, 9, 15, 21; Yoshino 1992, 141–144, 191; Befu 2001, 64, 76–83), which pervades Japanese society in its entirety and affects several social groups to different degrees (Yoshino 1992, 3). In order to grasp thoroughly the scope and the complex, versatile nature of the *nihonjinron*, it ought to be first considered as a hegemonic system of either conscious or unconscious behaviour (Befu 2001, 76–77). On the one hand, it has been conceived by elites to protect their own interests through the central role played by the intellectuals, through domestic and foreign policies, economic and industrial plans and the strategy of internationalisation of the powerful cultural industry; on the other, it has been passively accepted by the ordinary people like a "ready-made clothing" (Befu 2001, 8–9, 64, 76–82; Yoshino 1992, 29; Dale 1986, 18–19). According to Befu and Yoshino, this identity discourse can be traced back to the *Kokugaku* 国学 intellectual movement[4], which flourished during the Edo period (1603–1868) and became important, in turn, as a nativist reaction to the adoption of neo-Confucianist philosophy, as the official ideology by the Tokugawa government, and as an affirmation of the indigenous culture (Befu 2001, 124–141; Yoshino 1992, 34). Later, proto-*nihonjinron* is thought to have matured through the shocking encounter or, better, the clash against the 'West' during the Meiji period (1868–1912), and since then to have been continuously redefined in the light of economic and historical changes and according to Japan's geopolitical place in the world (Befu 2001, 124–141). However, it was only since the post-war period that the *nihonjinron* started to diffuse systematically as a hegemonic and normative cultural model and mass product, as a result of the "spiritual vacuum" in the wake of the dramatic defeat in the Pacific War in 1945, by becoming the hegemonic identity paradigm between the 1960s and 1980s and continuing today to adjust itself according to geopolitical and domestic changes and through the medium of cultural capitalism (Befu 2001, 86, 100; Oguma 2002).

Among all the instruments used by dominating groups of power to propagate the above-depicted assumptions of cultural exceptionalism, literature, in particular the am-

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[4] Literally meaning "National Studies", it was an academic movement, a school of Japanese philology and philosophy originating during the Tokugawa or Edo period. *Kokugaku* scholars worked to refocus Japanese scholarship away from the then-dominant study of Chinese, Confucian, and Buddhist texts in favour of research into the early Japanese classics.

ateur essay, plays a key role to justify the existence of a specific genre of identity literature which could be labelled as "*nihonjinron* literature", for dealing with the discussion over the characteristics supposed to be peculiar to the Japanese nationals only. The crucial role played by literature is such by virtue of the prestige enjoyed by academic scholars in Japanese culture and society (Befu 2001, 8, Yoshino 1992, 7). According to Peter Dale, especially certain upper echelon scholars in the Japanese academy have chosen to elect themselves as "proxy spokesmen for the inarticulate soul of the national essence": this is thanks to Japanese social and educational ethics which strongly favour those who could secure their intellectual credentials from élite centres such Tōkyō and Kyōto universities (Dale 1986, 15). As Yoshino points out, the writers of *nihonjinron* literature are actually not limited to the academic environment alone, but they encompass thinkers of various professional backgrounds, such as journalists, critics, writers and even business people and diplomats (Yoshino 1992, 7, 37). The writers of the *nihonjinron* are broadly defined as "popular sociologists", who, by experience or expertise, are interested in theorising contemporary Japanese society and culture and in formulating ideas of Japanese national uniqueness: they have little to do with academic sociology in the sense that, although sociologists participated in the discussion around Japanese national identity as individual writers, the *nihonjinron* literature did not become a subfield of academic sociology (Yoshino 1992, 37). The importance of literature in the propagation and assertion of ideas on Japanese uniqueness is verifiable also from a "quantitative" point of view: many are the publications attributable to the field of *nihonjinron* written by emeritus Japanese scholars and wide is the range of epistemological fields covered by *nihonjinron* literature – from linguistics to archaeology, from psychology to anthropology, from biology to ecology etc. – explored to investigate and sustain the alleged Japanese cultural specificity.[5] Indeed, according to the domain, it is possible to divide nihonjinron literature into the subfields of *nihonbunkaron* 日本文化論 (theories on Japanese culture), *nihonkeizairon* 日本経済論 (theories on the Japanese economy), *nihonshakairon*

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[5] According to a survey carried out by the Nomura Institute (1978), around 700 titles on *nihonjinron* were published between 1945 and 1978. However, it is likely that the number was underestimated (Dale 1986, 15), considering the vagueness and ambiguity of the meaning of 'nihonjinron'. In order to give an idea of the epistemological variety and of the temporal continuity of the phenomenon, it will be sufficient to mention the titles of some of *nihonjinron* bestsellers: *Tateshakai no ningen kankei* (*Human Relations in the Vertical Society*, 1967), *Fūdo: ningengakuteki kōsatsu* (*Climate: An Anthropological Study*, [1935] 1967), *Nihonjin to yūdayajin* (*The Japanese and the Jews*, 1970), *Amae no kōzō* (*The Anatomy of Dependence*, 1971), *Tozasareta gengo: nihongo no sekai* (*A Closed Language: The World of Japanese*, 1975), *"Nihonrashisa" no saihakken* (*The Rediscovery of "Japaneseness"*, 1977), *Nihonjin no nō* (*The Japanese Brain*, 1978), *Nihonteki keiei to bunka* (*Japanese Culture and Management*, 1983), *Nihonjin wa doko kara kita ka* (*Where Do the Japanese Come From?*, 1984), *Nihonjin no tanjō* (*The Birth of the Japanese*, 1996), *Kokka no hinkaku* (*The National Character*, 2005), *Nihonjin no kokoro no kotoba* (*The Words of the Japanese Spirit*, 2011), etc.

日本社会論 (theories on Japanese society) and so forth. In this respect, the so-called "theories on the Japanese language" (*nihongoron* 日本語論), claiming the specificity of the idiom, are particularly relevant because the Japanese language is considered to be the most evident medium through which the cultural particularism of the Japanese and their national character or "soul" can manifest themselves, by virtue of some particular aesthetic concepts intrinsic to the language (*iki* 粋, *mono no aware* もののあわれ, *wabi* わび, *sabi* さび, *ma* 間, *ukiyo* 浮世, ...)[6] and of the existence of a primitive and native stratum of words, considered to be difficult or impossible to be translated into other idioms (Befu 2001, 34–35; Miller 1977; Miller 1982; Dale 1986, 57).

All the above depicted features of the *nihonjinron* phenomenon have already been widely discussed and they have become the object of various critiques regarding different aspects and beliefs incorporated in this discourse, such as the myth of homogeneity (Befu 2001; Yoshino 1992; Dale 1986; Sugimoto 2010; Oguma 2002), the myth of Japanese cultural and linguistic uniqueness (Miller 1977; Miller 1982; Dale 1986; Yoshino 1992; Sugimoto 2010), the belief in the existence of human races on the basis of which human beings are supposed to be genetically divided (Yoshino 1992, 1997; Befu 2001) and so on. Criticisms arose mainly from an anthropological (Befu), sociological (Yoshino, Sugimoto), sociolinguistic (Miller, Dale), psycho-analytic (Dale) approach – just to mention some of the most prevalent academic's names in this line of research. Not only have *nihonjinron* writings been criticised regarding their content or their claims but also in their use of sources and methods of "sociological" inquiry (Befu 2001; Sugimoto 2010; Dale 1986). In particular, Roy Andrew Miller analysed the myths and the ideology underlying *nihongoron*, a set of theories presented in the form of academic and/or populariser essays intended to demonstrate Japanese language's uniqueness, which are of special relevance in Japanese national identity discourse (Miller 1977a, 1977b, 1982) and which help to shed light on the nature of the "primordialist element", considered here to be the core feature shaping the nationalistic rhetoric of *nihonjinron*.

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[6] Reductively translated or denoting respectively "the chic, sophisticated", "the pathos of things", "the refined simplicity of quasi-rusticity", "interval, space, emptiness", "the ephemeral world".

3 Case study: *The Spirit of the Japanese Language* by Watanabe Shōichi

In this article, I hence propose a contribution to the study of *nihonjinron*, namely an outstanding and concrete example of meta-linguistic analysis of Japanese identity discourse in the context of its ever-lasting literature, by investigating the language employed by the scholar Watanabe Shōichi in his amateur essay Nihongo no kokoro (The Spirit of Japanese Language). This piece of *nihongoron* literature was first published in 1974, while its central ideas were summarised and appeared in the same year on Japan Echo in the English-written article "On the Japanese Language", intended to reach an international audience. Their main thrust is the uniqueness of "Japan" (*nihon dokuji* 日本独自, *nihon dokutoku* 日本独特, *nihon rekishi to nihonjin no yuniikusa* 日本歴史 と日本人のユニークさ), conceived as a culturally, linguistically, politically, historically, and ethnically homogenous entity, inhabited by a single, hegemonic, pure-blooded race, namely the Yamato race (*tan'itsu bunka/bunmei, gengo, rekishi, minzoku kokka* 単一文化・文明・言語・歴史・民族・国家); in particular, the Japanese language is the focus of the discussion, because Japanese particularism is deemed to be deriving from the supposed linguistic uniqueness of its people, that is its phylogenetic independence. Watanabe (1930–2017) was a leading scholar of English literature, but also a political and cultural critic, surprisingly prolific in the *nihonjinron* field throughout his life by enthusiastically and consciously propagating the establishment's ideology. He has all the necessary credentials to serve as influential spokesman of the government's orthodox vision of the exclusivist nature of the Japanese language: he was professor emeritus at Sophia university of Tōkyō with a specialisation in English philology, he obtained a PhD degree in Western philosophy at Münster university, and he was also a dynamic literary and media populariser, and a critic and commentator of historical, political, and social matters regarding Japan's domestic affairs. Moreover, he was ambiguously known in the domestic intellectual and media panorama for his keen historical revisionism and negationism, for his ultra-nationalistic, conservative positions in relation to certain controversial facts of Japanese recent history and he was known among several American scholars for his extremist assertions on Japanese "racial purity". Although the essay I will consider dates back more than forty years, I chose to revisit it for four main reasons. First, *nihonjinron*'s claims and assumptions have continuously and tenaciously been proposed again and again over the last decades by Japanese governments and continue to be popular among the general public even today. This is especially the case of the focus given to the linguistic dimension (*nihongoron*), as one can see by the recent re-publication of several *nihonjinron* "classical" pieces of literature or the continuous lit-

erary activity of authors such as Watanabe himself.[7] Second, notwithstanding the fact that either the essay at issue or Watanabe's personality have been already partially mentioned and criticised by both Miller and Dale from mainly a conceptual point of view, I strongly believe that more emphasis should be placed on the kind of language pregnant with ideology which has been used by the author in order to convey his nationalistic credo of cultural essentialism. Generally speaking, I suggest that while the role played by language in defining and enhancing Japanese national identity has been studied, only little space has been consecrated to the systematic analysis of the words and expressions used to achieve it and to convey the nationalistic rhetoric behind them. Similarly, and thirdly, as I noted before, *nihonjinron* has been "traditionally" investigated from an anthropological, sociological, sociolinguistic, psycho-analytical perspective, but it seems to me that an interpretation from the strict point of view of nationalism studies is still lacking. It is true that especially Befu (1993; 2001, 33, 83–85, 102, 125) and Yoshino (1992) refer to *nihonjinron* in terms of cultural nationalism and nationalistic ideology and that Yoshino dedicates a whole chapter to an overview and assessment of the main theories on ethnicity until 1992, that he makes a cursory reference to some nationalism studies and tries to compare *nihonjinron* to other examples of cultural nationalism in different contexts (Yoshino 1992). However, none of them makes explicit or specific reference to the ongoing debate on nationalism by trying to bring their work in accordance with it: this may be because the categorisation of the field is quite recent (Smith 1998) as well as the debate on nationalism intended as an independent field of research separated from anthropology, sociology and the like. In particular, it will be urged, as a way of conclusion, that it is necessary to reinterpret *nihonjinron* in this sense in order to achieve a deeper understanding of its mechanisms and their reproduction in everyday language and discourses and, in particular, it will be proposed to reconsider the category of primordialism and to interpret it as category of practice, i.e. as a fundamental component of nationalist discourse – in this case, as the essence itself of nihonjiinron discourse. I think that this shift of awareness about "primordialism" from a category possibly useful for analytical purposes to a sole category of social and political practice is crucial as well as the focus on and the deep analysis of this component of nationalist discourse. Fourth, since Watanabe was a fervent and passionate supporter of the establishment's ideology, his essay represents one of the most extreme and consciously structured manifestations of the many-sided phenomenon of the *nihonjinron*. Thanks to his deep linguistic and conceptual awareness in the context of *nihonjinron*'s discussions, his essay provides a useful insight into three aspects of Japanese contemporary society: a) the role of lan-

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[7] Cf. references.

guage considered as the major epiphany of Japanese ethnic identity; b) the existence of a widespread set of peculiar Japanese linguistic expressions, (un)consciously conveying the underlying ideology and c) the importance of out-groups as reference groups for comparative and normative purposes. In the case in question, the analysis which follows focuses on the lexical and conceptual dichotomies that supposedly exist between the two main lexical strata of modern Japanese – Japanese words (*yamatokotoba* 大和言葉) and Sino-Japanese words (*kango* 漢語) –, pointed out and stressed by Watanabe in his essay. The purpose is precisely to offer a meaningful case study and a hint for reflection on the kind of ideologically imbibed language typical of *nihonjinron* discourse and literature and to re-interpret the long-discussed category of "primordialism" in the light of this analysis.

Thus, to begin with, the core argument of *Nihongo no kokoro* is that Japanese culture is to be considered unique by virtue of the particularism and phylogenetical independence of the Japanese language, due to the existence in modern Japanese of a primitive, native lexical stratum called *yamatokotoba* 大和言 (lit. "words of Yamato/Japan") apparently correlated with no other language and supposed to vehiculate the true "Japanese spirit" (*yamatodamashii* 大和魂). Yamato words are believed to trace back directly (*massugu ni* まっすぐに) to prehistorical times (*yūshiizen kara* 有史以前から) when they were first uttered by a primitive, ape-like Japanese ancestor (*nihonjin no senzo* 日本人の先祖) and since then have been handed down (*tsukaitsuzukete kita kotoba* 使い続けてきた言葉) by the Japanese race (*nihon minzoku* 日本民族) from generation to generation. They are lexically supposed to correspond to those words of Japanese etymological origin (*kun'yomi* 訓読み), thus vehiculating the "authentic Japanese soul" (*nihonjin no tamashii* 日本人の魂) or Japaneseness (*nihonrashisa* 日本らしさ). Definitely, they are believed to have their roots (*ne o oroshite iru* 根を下ろしている) set down directly (*chokusetsu ni* 直接に) in the spiritual origin of the Japanese nation (*minzoku no tamashii no minamoto* 民族の魂の源), to be "as old as our [Japanese] blood" (*ware ware no chi to onajiku furui* われわれの血と同じく古い) and so to be inseparably tied (*wakachikataku musubitsuiteite* 分かち難く結びついていて) to it for being born simultaneously with the Japanese race itself (*nihon minzoku no hassei to tomo ni* 日本民族の発生とともに) and for being used continuously (*renzokushitekita* 連続してきた) without interruption (*taeru koto naku* 絶えることなく) until the present.

I quote here a few relevant excerpts through which Watanabe starts to present his central ideas:

日本民族が有史以前から口伝えに使い続けてきた言葉なのである。

[Yamato words] are lexical items handed down orally and continuously by the Japanese race since prehistorical times. (Watanabe 1974a, 11)

われわれの血と同じく古いのである。

[Yamato words] are as old as our blood. (Watanabe 1974a, 8)

進化論的な言い方するならば―私は進化論を信じていないのだが―サルみたいな動物が、最初に日本人の先祖として、何か口からまとまった音を出した時代にまで、まっすぐにさかのぼるのである。別の言い方をすれば、大和言葉は民族の魂の源に直接に根を下している言葉だと言ってようであろう。

According to an evolutionist perspective – though I do not believe in evolution myself – [Yamato words] trace back directly to an era when an ape-like Japanese ancestor uttered, for the first time, articulated sounds. In other words, it is legitimate to state that Yamato words set their roots directly in the spiritual origins of the Japanese race. (Watanabe 1974a, 11–12)

大和言葉は日本民族の発生とともに発生して絶えることなく連続してきたので、日本人の魂と分ち難く結びついていて、知的に思想を積み上げていくには不適当なところがあるのだ。特に思考内容が外来思想のときはそうである。

Since Yamato words have continued to be used without interruption after being generated simultaneously with the Japanese race, they are inseparably tied with the Japanese soul and are not suitable for building intellectual thought. This is all the more true when the content of thought is foreign. (Watanabe 1974a, 20)

From the beginning, Watanabe intentionally develops an ideological distinction from a lexical and conceptual point of view in the form of a dichotomic opposition between the "native stratum" and that of Sino-Japanese words, the most ancient lexical stratum of foreign origin composing the Japanese lexicon. The concept of foreignness is key to explain and understand the ideological foundation of Watanabe's argument about

Japanese uniqueness: the definition of *yamatokotoba* as the essence of Japaneseness functions through their contrastive and polarising comparison with the so-called "alien elements" (*ibutsu* 異物) of the Japanese lexicon, represented by *kango* (Watanabe 1974a, 20). It is worth noting from the outset that by 'kango' Watanabe specifically refers to those words which penetrated ancient Japanese since the second half of the VIII century AD, by means of the prestigious Chinese tradition represented by the ideographic writing system and Buddhism, whose introduction in the archipelago had already begun since the second half of the VI century AD. Thus, all the neologisms subsequently created by the Japanese themselves from Sino-Japanese elements and called *wasei kango* 和製漢語 are apparently excluded from his discussion. In addition to this, he includes kango in the third lexical category depicted in Japanese linguistics, that of *gairaigo* 外来語, usually used separately to designate those loanwords coming from European languages and introduced in Japanese since the XVI century onwards: this choice mirrors his particular conception of kango as alien elements only partially incorporated and assimilated into the Japanese language for ideological purposes.[8]

The first pair of antithetic concepts outlined by Watanabe to shed light on the nature of his compatriots is represented by the dualism between indigenous "purity" (*tanjun* 単純) versus alien "corruption" (*konnyū* 混入), characterised in turn by primitivity (*genshi* 原始) and historicity (*rekishisei* 歴史性) and qualified with the attributes of continuity (*renzokusei* 連続性) and rupture or change (*kawatte iru* 変わっている) (Watanabe 1974a, 18, 20–21). While *yamatokotoba* are considered to be original Japanese words which can be traced back to the so-called Yamato period, a prehistorical era supposedly characterised by primeval integrity and preceding the "corrupting" influence from the continent, when only Yamato culture and language were supposed to exist, *kango* are lexical items of Chinese origin and, as such, they are considered as vehicles of a foreign thought, stranger to the spiritual and cultural tradition of the Japanese people expressed instead by pre-existing Yamato words. *Kango* are thus supposed to be characterised by historicity by virtue of the fact that Japanese history properly begins with the Nara period (710–794 AD), namely with the introduction of Buddhism and a sophisticated written system coming from the Chinese mainland through the Korean peninsula. It was only at that time that the complex process of adoption and adaptation of the Chinese lexicon to the Japanese phonological system started and led to the creation of a

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[8] According to Kageyama & Saito (2016) and Frellesvig (2010), the modern Japanese language consists of three main lexical strata: 1) native words (*wago* 和語 or *yamato kotoba* 大和言葉; since prehistory or before the VIII century AD); 2) Sino-Japanese words (*kango* 漢語; from the VIII century AD); 3) foreign words (*gairaigo* 外来語; from the XVI century AD). There exists a fourth, less relevant lexical stratum, that of 4) mimetic words (*giseigo* 擬声語, *gitaigo* 擬態語; since prehistory or before the VIII century AD), which is not mentioned here for the purpose and the scope of article.

number of neologisms referred to as *kango*. Therefore, while Yamato words are marked with continuity because they are supposed to be orally and passively transmitted since times immemorial by the Japanese "race", Chinese words are labelled as "interrupted" and "corrupting" or "infective" because they started to flow into ancient Japanese later and they are thus not connected with the well-springs of the Japanese.

   In this respect, what Watanabe emphasises as an unsurpassable barrier between the "Japanese soul" (*yamatodamashii* 大和魂) and "foreign thought" (*gairaishisō* 外来思想) is represented by another dichotomic pair of opposite concepts expressing two different cognitive processes expressed respectively by the two lexical strata: intuition or emotionality/irrationality on the one hand, and logics or rationality on the other. Yamato words are thought to be authentic because they carry a hidden spirit (*kokoro* こころ, *ganrai jōshotekina kokoro* 元来情緒的な「こころ」) emerging from the deepest part (*oku* 奥, *uchi* 内, *uchiwa* 内輪, *uchigawa* 内側, *tamashii no oku no oku kara kuru* 魂の奥の奥からくる) of the Japanese soul and provoking an emotional and spontaneous involvement called *kandō* 感動 in native speakers' minds (Watanabe 1974a, 21). Kandō properly refers to a sort of mystic inebriation (*chiisana shizukana kōkotsukan* 小さな静かな恍惚感) caused by the utterance of a combination of significative sounds (i.e. *yamatokotoba*) which can activate a sort of primordial "ethnic memory" (Watanabe 1974a, 23). Watanabe argues that this automatic and intuitive (*jōsho ni chokusetsu ni sūtto fureru* 情緒に直接にすうっと触れる), ever-lasting (*sameru koto wa nai* 醒めることはない) process is typically activated at the sight, for instance, of a glimpse of nature (*shizen no ibuki ni binkan ni kandōsuru* 自然の息吹に敏感に感動する) or by reading a waka, the traditional Japanese poetry usually composed mainly by Yamato words (Watanabe 1974a, 22–23). By way of example, the following *tanka* taken from *Kojiki* (Chronicles from Ancient Times, ca. 712 BC) and composed by the emperor Jinmu is an emblematic paradigm of what the scholar means by "pure language" (translation by Basil Hall Chamberlain):[9]

葦原の	*ashihara no*	In a damp hut on the reed-moor
しけしき小屋に	*shikeshi koya ni*	having spread layer upon layer
菅畳	*sugatatami*	of sedge mats, we two slept!
いや清敷きて	*iyasaya shikite*	
わが二人寝し	*wa ga futari neshi*	

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[9] It is worth noting that Watanabe quotes this waka re-elaborated in a modern Japanese version. To read the original version in ancient Japanese, please consult the following site: Poem KK.19: http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk/corpus/ojcorpus.html#Kojiki

Tanka 短歌 are the 31-mora Japanese poems; *Kojiki* 古事記 is Japan's oldest historical record.

This waka from *Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首 (One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each) anthology, composed by Ki no Tomonori, is considered as another emblematic example (translation by Clay MacCauley):

久方の光	*hisakata no hikari*	In the cheerful light
のどけき春の日に	*nodokeki haru no hi ni*	Of the ever-shining Sun,
しず心なく	*shizugokoro naku*	In the days of spring,
花の散るらむ	*hana no chiruramu*	Why, with ceaseless, restless haste
		Falls the cherry's new-blown bloom?

In other words, *yamatokotoba* may typically evoke an emotional, introverted (*naikōteki* 内向的) world of softness (*yasashisa* やさしさ), tenderness (komayakasa こまやかさ), delicateness (*yawarakai* 柔らかい), as if the inner spirit would wrap something dear and nostalgic (*natsukashii mono wo dakishimetai yōna kimochi* なつかしいものを抱きしめたいような気持) (Watanabe 1974a, 19, 24–25). Moreover, Yamato words may have the power to ideally bring back the Japanese native speaker to the origins since they can provoke childish sensations associated to maternity: in this respect, they are even compared to the softness of the skin (*hada* 肌), of the breast (*chichibusa* 乳ぶさ) and of the uterus (*shikyū* 子宮) of a mother (*haha* 母) (Watanabe 1974a, 25). The world of feelings supposedly evoked linguistically by Yamato words is a world of love (*ai* 愛), considered as the most primitive expression (*kongentekina hyōshutsu* 根元的な表出) of the Japanese spirit, and it is generally defined as a "folkloristic world" (*fōkutekina sekai* フォーク的な世界) (Watanabe 1974a, 67). Indeed, Yamato words are also defined as *tamashii no furusato* 魂のふるさと (homeland of the [Japanese] soul), the ideal place where the innate form (*honnen no sugata* 本然の姿) of individual emotions (*jiko no jōsho* 自己の情緒, *jibun no kimochi* 自分の気持ち) dwells and where the real intentions and feelings (*honne* 本音) or the private sphere (*watakushi* 私) of an individual, namely the true essence of the Japanese, manifest itself (Watanabe 1974a, 22). In addition, Watanabe claims that this unique, atavistic feature of Yamato words – that is the core of Japaneseness – is engendered by the presence of a vital, primordial and animistic spirit of language called *kotodama* 言霊, moulding the ancient language of Yamato and its legacy – the Yamato words. According to him, *kotodama*, "whose substance remains very much in obscurity" (Watanabe 1974b, 10), is to be considered the primary source for the peculiar and unchangeable attributes of the Japanese language, specular to those qualifying alien idioms: emotivity, untranslatability/ineffability, illogicity, naturalness, and brevity of expressivity.

In fact, the "foreign", "contaminating" *kango* may be distinguished from *yamatokotoba* first for being more emotionally "detached" (*yosoyososhii* よそよそしい), because

they are believed to transport rational and logic thinking (*gōriteki* 合理的, *ri* 理), stranger to Japanese tradition. So, they appear typically at an intellectual (*chitekina reberu* 知的なレベル, *ganrai chitekina shisō* 元来知的な思想, *chitekina shikō* 知的な思考) and superficial or out-warded level (*gaikōteki* 外向的, *omote muki* 表向き), outside the soul (*tamashii no sotogawa de* 魂の外側で), involving the sphere of moving sensations to a lesser extent (Watanabe 1974a, 20–21). In this sense, the kind of emotion – literally interpreted as "stirring of the soul" – provoked by this lexical stratum is not an intense and touching sensation as that generated by *yamatokotoba*, able to grasp the essence of the things. It is nothing but a superficial and temporary exaltation of intellectual nature referred to as *kangeki* 感激. One may compare it to the euphoric and exciting condition caused by the abuse of alcohol (*hito wo yowaseru yōna ugokashikata* 人を酔わせるような動かし方) from which one can wake up by oneself sooner or later (*sameru koto no dekiru* 醒めることのできる) and that represents rather the relationship between concrete objects (Watanabe 1974a, 21). In this respect, it is insightful to consider the etymology of the term: *kangeki* is composed by *kan* 感 (sensation) and by the sinogram composing *hageshii* 激しい, meaning "violent, furious, impetuous". Thus, *kango* may recall aggressive, euphoric states of mind, alien to the "true" harmonious and peaceful Japanese spirit. Also, *kangeki* phonetically refers to *kōgeki* 攻撃, which means "attack, assault, offensive": the image of violence associated to *kango* and, generally speaking, to foreignness is conjured up by other terms, such as *konnyūdo* 混入度 (degree of penetration and diffusion), *kioi* 気負い (fighting spirit) or *hito o kiowaseru* 人を気負わせる (to exalt somebody) (Watanabe 1974a, 20-22). Typically, the superficial sensations of exaltation believed to be provoked by a language rich of *kango* are fervour (*akogare* あこがれ), pride (*hokori* 誇り, *puraido* プライド), exaltation (*kōyōshita kimochi* 高揚した気持ち), ambition (*yashin* 野心), expectation (*kibō* 希望), mundane aspiration or vanity (*shusse* 出世), thirst for conquest (*seifukutekina kimochi* 征服的な気持ち), which are commonly expressed in public occasions (Watanabe 1974a, 12, 14–15, 17, 24). As seen previously, whilst the sensory world evoked by Yamato words is motherly, that of *kango* is paternal and it is compared to a father's tough muscles (*kinniku no katai chichi* 筋肉の堅い父), since it expresses toughness (*katai* 堅い), lust, combativeness (Watanabe 1974a, 25). Besides, it is defined as "systemic" (*taiseiteki* 体制的), "bureaucratic" (*kanryōteki* 官僚的) and "socially controlled" (*kanrishakaiteki* 管理社会的) (ibid). This means that *kango* are associated with images of formality, stiffness, and generally have an official character by virtue of the fact that they are originally peculiar to the language of bureaucracy and legal documents, of those aspects of society defined as "system" (ibid). According to Watanabe, *kango* functions as linguistic "facade" or *tatemae* of the Japanese: they express those behaviours, states of mind,

and ideals expected to be taken in society and in public spaces and are thus characterised by appearance, superficiality, rigidity. The cultural concept of *tatemae* 建前 refers generally to ideals, what is proper, etiquette to be held in society in front of other people (*seken* 世間) and also to the formal pronouncements on public occasions (*ōyake* 公) in order to conceal one's own true nature (*honne*) (Befu 1984, 70). For instance, this public-oriented stance may be particularly evident in the case of the so-called "Patriotic March" (*aikokukōshinkyoku* 愛国行進曲), elaborated in 1937 in the framework of the "National Spiritual Mobilization Movement" established in the former Empire of Japan. In fact, Watanabe says its text is so full of *kango* that it is necessary to add a phonetic transcription called furigana above the words to make them readable even for Japanese readers (Watanabe 1974a, 16):[10]

見よ東海の空をあけて	*mi yo tōkai no kara wo akete*	Lo! Above the eastern sea clearly dawns the sky
旭日高く輝けば	*kyokujitsu takaku kagayakeba*	Glorious and bright the sun rideth up on high
天地の生気潑剌と	*tenchi no seiki hatsuratsu to*	The spirit of heaven and earth fills the heart of all,
希望は踊る大八洲	*kibō wa odoru ōyashima*	Hope abounding springs –
おお清朗の朝雲に	*oo seirō no chōun ni*	O sweet Isles Imperial
聳ゆる富士の姿こそ	*shōyuru fuji no sugata koso*	Yonder where the clouds of morn
金甌無欠揺ぎなき	*kin'omuketsu yuruginaki*	Shed a radiant glow
わが日本の誇りなれ	*waga nippon no hokori nare*	Fuji mountain, Japan's pride,
		Rears its crown of snow
		Fair of form without a blot
		Nobly doth it stand –
		And unshakable – a true symbol of our land.

In this respect, Watanabe states that *kango* are not transparent and immediate from a semantic and cognitive point of view (*mimi de kiite wakaranai nihongo* 耳で聞いてわからない日本語, *mimi de kite wa mattaku rikai dekinai nihongo* 耳で聞いてはまったく理解できない日本語), because they refer to the intellect which erects a substantial barrier between the objects (*taishō to no aida ni kyori* 対象との間に距離) (Watanabe 1974a, 25). A text or a discourse full of *kango* deploys nothing but an obscure Japanese language unintelligible by just listening to it (Watanabe 1974a, 21). Watanabe insists many times on the semantic difficulty of a Japanese language composed by many *kango*, either in the written or in the oral language, and he mentions as outstanding ex-

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[10] Watanabe mentions only the first of three stanzas.
   Free translation from: https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/愛国行進曲

amples dormitory's songs (*kōka* 校歌) of the old system high schools.[11] For instance, he alludes to a song composed in 1902 entitled "Ah, those cups of jade!" (*Aa gyokuhai* 嗚呼玉杯),[12] in each of whose verses – apart from the fifth – there are a number of complex *kango* as *gyokuhai* 玉杯, *ryokushu* 緑酒, *chian* 治安, *eiga* 栄華, *goryō* 五寮, *kenji* 健児, *iki* 意気, etc. (Watanabe 1974a, 13). Similarly, from the second stanza onwards, there are lexical items such as *fuyō* 芙容, *sei* 精, *jinsei* 人世, *igyō* 偉業, *seisō* 星霜, *risō* 理想, *jichi* 自治 and so forth. In the same fashion, the scholar claims to be able to fully understand his own school song of pre-war times by listening to it only once, for the fact of being a very well-known text, but he believes that other Japanese-speaking people would consider it completely unintelligible (*chinpunkanpun* チンプンカンプン), because of the high prevalence of Sino-Japanese words (Watanabe 1974a, 14):[13]

鳳嶺月峰雲に入り	*hōreigeppō kumo ni hairi*	The majestic mountain peaks merge into the clouds
滄水遠く海に行く	*sōsui tōku umi ni iku*	The greenish torrential waters and the sea flow into one another
山河の眺め雄偉なる	*sanga no nagame yūinaru*	Mountains and streams: what a great scenery!
ここ庄内の大平野	*koko shōnai no daiheiya*	Here the vast plains of Shōnai ——
地霊人傑たのもしく	*chireijinketsu tanomoshiku*	Shall our youth live strongly,
元気に生くるわが健児	*genki ni seikuru waga kenji*	powerful and healthy!

Finally, the last important dichotomic category which could be deduced from Watanabe's assertions concerns the expressive forms through which *yamatokotoba* and *kango* typically manifest themselves, represented by the opposition between *uta* うた (song, poetry) and *giron* 議論 (scholarly arguments)/public language (propaganda, bureaucratic, legal language). Generally speaking, Yamato words prevail in an informal, familiar language and are abundant if used to express speakers' real feelings and emotions and doing so in private (*watakushi* 私, *shiteki* 私的). By contrast, *kango* are copious in public and formal stances where the etiquette, appearances and social, collective values triumph over personal inclinations (*ōyake* 公, *kōteki* 公的) (Watanabe 1974a, 17–18). Therefore, Yamato words are usually dominant in prehistorical indigenous oral poems or songs (*uta* うた), progenitors of Japanese classical poetry (*waka* 和歌), (Konishi 1984, 7, 57, 91), in *haiku* 俳句, in folkloristic ballads (*fōkutekina uta* フォーク的な歌), in popular songs (*ryūkōka* 流行歌) and ultimately, in modern pop songs (*popyūra songu*

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[11] The school mentioned in the text was named *Kyūsei dai'ichi kōtō gakkō* 旧制第一高等学校 (also named *Ichi taka* 一高): it was created in 1886 and was dissolved in 1950 in the framework of education reforms during the American occupation. It survived as a preparatory school to enter Tōkyō university.

[12] http://www.todai-ouen.com/song/sindex.html?id=gyokuhai

[13] My own free translation.

ポピューラソング), whose common subjects are emotions. I will provide two different examples quoted by Watanabe himself: the first is a famous *haiku* composed by Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694):[14]

古池や	*furu ike ya*	An ancient pond,
かはづ飛び込む	*kawazu tobikomu*	the frog leaps:
水の音	*mizu no oto*	the silver plop and gurgle of water

The second is a popular song very widespread among ordinary Japanese before the Pacific War broke out and is entitled "The Inn Along the Lake" (*Kohan no yado* 湖畔の宿) (Watanabe 1974a: 17–18):

山の寂しい湖に	*yama no sabishii mizuumi ni*	My broken-heart led me
一人来たのも悲しい心	*hitori kita no mo kanashii kokoro*	till a lonely mountain lake
胸の痛みに耐えかねて	*mune no itami ni taekanete*	Unable to bear inner pains
昨日の夢と焚き捨てる	*kinō no yume to takisuteru*	I throw away and burn ancient letters
古い手紙の薄煙	*furui tegami no usukemuri*	and the dreams gone by ——
		I gaze at a faded smoke climbing above the sky

In these poetical, musical, and literary forms, the most popular topics are love torments, sadness, melancholy, moving sensations and emotions. According to Watanabe, the ancient Japanese people never had the intention to translate their traditional oral poetry into classical Chinese since their first contact with the ideographic written system. In fact, guessing a loss in meaning, they intended to preserve their phonological structure: with the passing of time, their translation probably became a sort of social taboo derived from the primitive belief in the existence of a spirit animating the ancient Japanese language (*kotodama*) composed by Yamato words only (Watanabe 1974a, 58). This linguistic tradition based on the quasi-exclusive usage of *yamatokotoba* in indigenous oral expressive forms survived over time and became a prerogative of the Japanese poetry and musical forms of expression. It is from this distinguishing feature of Japanese literary expressivity that Watanabe then built an ideological opposition with foreignness.

In fact, and by contrast, *kango* words appear in abundance, first in newspapers and intellectual/academic essays (*shinbun* 新聞; *chitekina koto* 知的なこと, *chitekina bunshō* 知的な文章, *gakujutsu ronbun* 学術論文, *giron* 議論), which deal with intellectual arguments developed by means of rational and logical thinking and they are thus believed not to be apt to be expressed by emotion-oriented *yamatokotoba* (Watanabe 1974, 20). Watanabe also mentions legal and administrative or official documents (*kanryōteki*

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[14] Loose translation by Michael R. Burch.

shakai 官僚的社会, *hōritsu no bunsho* 法律の文書) which are particularly abundant in *kango* for deriving from the Chinese bureaucratic tradition (Watanabe 1974a, 25). Ultimately, in pre-war Japan, *kango* were plentiful in dormitory and school songs whose aim was to instil pride, ambition, expectation, a sense of euphoria and belonging to the institution in the young Japanese; in the "Patriotic March" (*aikokukōshinkyoku* 愛国行進曲) and in military code (*senjinkun* 戦陣訓). Even propaganda speeches proffered by left wing extremists (*kagekiha no aji enzetsu* 過激派のアジ演説, *sayoku enzetsu* 左翼演説) during the 1960s' student movements may represent another typical case of an incomprehensible Japanese language, which can provoke only an intellectual, superficial and ephemeral exaltation (Watanabe 1974a, 13–14, 20–21).

Definitely, a fundamental feature common to *nihonjinron* literature and discourse emerges from the linguistic and conceptual analysis of Watanabe's essay, that is the expression of Japaneseness by means of the comparison with foreignness. In other words, the characteristics which should differentiate the "Japanese" from the "Other" are evident through the medium of specific attributes opposed to their contrary, expressed by metaphors and dichotomic differentiations (connotative) which become more important than their proper, literal meaning (denotative) (Głowiński 2006, 175). In the specific case of Watanabe, these attributes may be conceptualised as follows: Japanese vs non-Japanese, us vs them/other, homogeneity vs heterogeneity, native vs alien, purity vs contamination, primitivity/antiquity vs historicity/modernity, continuity vs interruption, intuition vs reason, soul vs thought, spirit vs intellect, irrationality/emotionality/spirituality vs rationality/logicity, immediacy vs mediation, directness vs indirectness, clarity vs obscurity, authenticity (*honne*) vs façade (*tatemae*), nature vs artifice, original vs fictitious, homeland vs foreign, intimate vs superficial, inward-oriented vs outward-oriented, introverted vs extroverted, subjective vs objective, behind vs front, private vs public, sentiment vs obligation, emotional involvement vs intellectual exaltation, harmony vs conflict, peacefulness vs aggressivity, spontaneity vs enforcement, ever-lasting vs ephemeral, mystic ecstasy vs euphoric inebriation, softness vs toughness, maternal vs paternal, feminine vs masculine, love/delicate sentiments vs violence/euphoric states of mind, skin/breast/uterus vs muscles, refuge-seeking vs world-conquering, folkloristic vs systemic, non-verbal vs verbal, lyricism vs scholarly literature, private language vs public language... The list is potentially endless. The conceptualisation of the attributes summarised above may be reported in the tables below together with emblematic examples of the linguistic expressions, words, and metaphors associated to each of them (from Watanabe 1974a):

Table 1: The lexical and conceptual dichotomy between Yamato words/Japaneseness
and Sino-Japanese words/foreignness

yamatokotoba 大和言葉, *nihonrashisa* 日本らしさ	*kango* 漢語, *ishitsu* 異質
JAPANESE The Japanese (*nihonjin* 日本人), Japanese race/nation/ethnic group (*nihon minzoku* 日本民族), Yamato race (*yamatodamashii* 大和民族), national language, Japanese language (*kokugo* 国語, *nihongo* 日本語)	NON-JAPANESE Foreigners (*gaikokujin* 外国人, *gaijin* 外人), different peoples/ethnic groups (*iminzoku* 異民族), foreign languages (*gaikokugo* 外国語)
Us Japanese fellows (*nihonjin dōshi* 日本人どうし), our blood (*ware ware no chi* われわれの血), the blood which flows in Japanese people's veins (*nihonjin no chi ga nagarete iru* 日本人の血が流れている), the average Japanese (*futsū no nihonjin* 普通の日本人), national sense (*kokumintekina kankaku* 国民的な感覚), the mindset of the Japanese (*nihonjin no kangaekata* 日本人の考え方), as Japanese (*nihonjin nara* 日本人なら), as a Japanese (*nihonjin toshite* 日本人として), we Japanese nationals (*wareware* われわれ, *wareware nihonjintachi* われわれ日本人たち), the Japanese style of thinking (*nihonjin no shikō yōshiki* 日本人の思考様式), the Japanese mode of behaviour (*nihonjin no kōdō yōshiki* 日本人の行動様式)	THEM/OTHERS Other peoples, countries, civilizations (*tanin* 他人, *ta no kuni* 他の国, *yoso no bunmei* よその文明, *yoso no kuni* よその国)

yamatokotoba 大和言葉, *nihonrashisa* 日本らしさ	*kango* 漢語, *ishitsu* 異質
Native Indigenous (*dochaku* 土着), to set their roots directly in the spiritual origins of the [Japanese] race (*minzoku no tamashii no minamoto ni chokusetsu ni ne o oroshite iru* 民族の魂の源に直接に根を下している), to be inseparably tied to the Japanese soul (*nihonjin no tamashii to wakachigataku musubitsuite ite* 日本人の魂と分ち難く結びついて), native Japanese reading of a Chinese character (*kun'yomi* 訓読み), the spiritual private propriety of Japan [Yamato words] (*seishintekishiyūzaisan* 精神的私有財産)	**Alien** Alien/foreign (*ibustu* 異物, *gaikoku no* 外国の), Chinese-derived reading of a Chinese character (*on'yomi* 音読み)
Homeland Homeland (*furusato* ふるさと), homeland of the Japanese soul (*nihonjin no tamashii no furusato* 日本人の魂のふるさと), our country (*waga kuni* わが国, *jibuntachi no kuni* 自分たちの国), the special features of my country/homeland (*jibun no furusato no tokushoku* 自分の故郷の特色), the world [of sensations] of Yamato words... is like that evoked by that of a homeland (*yamatokotoba no sekai wa...furusato no yōna mono* 大和言葉の世界は…故郷のようなもの)	**Otherness** Foreign/alien country, alterity (*ikoku* 異国), the loandwords as alien elements (*ibutsu no toshite gairaigo* 異物のとして外来語), the quality of being alien, stranger (*ishitsu* 異質)
Purity Purity (*tanjun* 単純), degree of purity (*jundo* 純度), the true essence of the Japanese spirit (*yamatodamashii no hongen* 大和魂の本源), the origin of the soul of the [Japanese] race (*minzoku no tamashii no minamoto* 民族の魂の源), the well-springs of Japan (*nihon no kigen* 日本の起源), the crystalline form of Yamato words (*yamatokotoba no kesshōkei* 大和言葉の結晶形), pure blooded-race (*chi no junsuina minzoku* 血の純粋な民族)	**Corruption** Penetration and diffusion (*konnyū* 混入), degree of penetration and diffusion (*konnyūdo* 混入度)

yamatokotoba 大和言葉, *nihonrashisa* 日本らしさ	*kango* 漢語, *ishitsu* 異質

HOMOGENEITY

The country inhabited by an uniform black-haired race (*dōzokushoku no koi kuni* 同族色の濃い国), the same quality (*dōshitsu* 同質), one pure-race nation (*tanitsu minzoku kokka* 単一民族国家), pure blooded-race (*chi no junsuina minzoku* 血の純粋な民族), one civilisation, one nation, one language, one history (*hitotsu no bunmei, hitotsu no kokka, hitotsu no gengo, hitotsu no rekishi* 一文明、一国家、一言語、一歴史), without ethnic minorities (*iminzoku wa nai* 異民族はない), the Japanese are equal before Japanese poetry, i.e. the Japanese language since they all share the same language since the beginning of time (*waka no mae ni byōdō* 和歌の前に平等, *nihongo no mae ni no byōdō* 日本語の前に平等), the Japanese were naturally born into the Japanese language, which is thus not solely an instrument of conscious communication (*nihonjin wa nihongo no naka ni umareru no de atte, tan'ni ishi dentatsu no dōgu toshite nihongo o manabu no dewa nai* 日本人は日本語の中に生まれるのであって、単に意思伝達の道具として日本語を学ぶのではない)

HETEROGENEITY

Miscegenation of races (*jinshu no konketsu* 人種の混血), different, alien qualities (*ishitsu* 異質), various and diversified countries, races, languages, cultures, etc (*samazamana kuni ya minzoku, gengo, bunka* さまざまな国や民族、言語、文化), different peoples/ethnic groups (*iminzoku* 異民族)

PRIMITIVITY/ANTIQUITY

Primitivity (*genshi* 原始), since prehistorical times (*yūshi izen kara* 有史以前から), primitive expression (*kongentekina hyōshutsu* 根元的な表出), [Yamato words] are as old as our blood (*wareware no chi to onaji furui* われわれの血と同じく古い), to have deep roots (*ne ga fukai* 根が深い), since times immemorial (*taiko kara* 太古から, *shindai kara* 神代から, *shindai irai* 神代以来, *taiko irai* 太古以来, *shindai yori* 神代より), in the ancient times (*kodai* 古代, *korai* 古来) → Yamato period (*yamato jidai* 大和時代 250–710 AD), ancient Japan/Japanese (*kodai nihon* 古代日本, *jōdai no nihon* 上代の日本, *kodai nihonjin* 古代日本人)

HISTORICITY/MODERNITY

Historicity (*rekishisei* 歴史性) → Nara period (*nara jidai* 奈良時代 710–794 AD)

yamatokotoba 大和言葉, *nihonrashisa* 日本らしさ	*kango* 漢語, *ishitsu* 異質
CONTINUITY	**INTERRUPTION**
Continuity (*renzokusei* 連続性), to continue to be linked (*musubitsuiteiru* 結びついている), to keep deploying (*tsukaitsuzuketekuru* 使い続けてくる), without interruption (*taeru koto naku* 絶えることなく), to continue (*renzokusuru* 連続する), one single dynasty continuing to succeed (*hitotsu no ōchō ga tsuzuite iru* ひとつの王朝が続いている), [Yamato words] trace back directly to an era when an ape-like Japanese ancestor uttered for the first time articulated sounds (*saru mitai na dōbutsu ga, saisho ni nihonjin no senzo toshite, nanikakuchi kara motomatta oto o dashita jidai ni made, massugu ni sakanoboru no de aru* サルみたいな動物が、最初に日本人の先祖として、何か口からまとまった音を出した時代にまで、まっすぐにさかのぼるのである), [Yamato words] are lexical items handed down orally and continuously by the Japanese race since prehistorical times (*nihon minzoku ga yūshiizen kara kuchi tsutae nitsudukete kita kotoba na no de aru* 日本民族が有史以前から口伝えに使い続けてきた言葉なのである), since Yamato words have continued to be used without interruption after being generated simultaneously with the Japanese race, they are inseparably tied with the Japanese soul (*yamatokotoba wa nihon minzoku no hassei to tomo ni hassei shite taeru koto naku rennzoku shite kita no de, nihonjin no tamashii to wakachigataku musubitsuite ite* 大和言葉は日本民族の発生とともに発生して絶えることなく連続してきたので、日本人の魂と分ち難く結びついていて), to have been transmitted (*denshō sarete kita* 伝承されてきた), ancestor (*senzo* 先祖), to remain/linger (*nokoshite iru* 残している), the country of ancestral divinities [Japan] (*senzokami no kuni* 先祖神の国), tradition (*dentō* 伝統), the venerable treasure of future	Either ethnic groups or dynasties keep changing over time (*minzoku mo ōchō mo kawatte iru* 民族も王朝も変わっている), to be changing (*kawatte iru* 変わっている), not to be succeeding one after another [dynasties] (*keishōsarete inai* 継承されていない)

yamatokotoba 大和言葉, *nihonrashisa* 日本らしさ	*kango* 漢語, *ishitsu* 異質
generations [Yamato words] (*oie jūdai no tama* お家重代の玉), to continue, to make succeed (*seizoku sasete kita* 継続させてきた), our descendant (*ware ware no shison* われわれの子孫), to be continuing since times immemorial (*shindai kara tsuzuite iru* 神代から続いている), to have kept existing as a substance of continuity since prehistorical times without interruption [modern Japanese language] (*yūshiizen kara taeta koto no nai renzokutai toshite sonzoku shite kita mono* 有史以前から絶えたことのない連続体として存続してきたもの)	

yamatokotoba 大和言葉, *nihonrashisa* 日本らしさ	*kango* 漢語, *ishitsu* 異質

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Intuition/Irrationality/Emotionality: Spirit

Japanese soul (*yamatodamashii* 大和魂, *nihonjin no tamashii* 日本人の魂, *nihon seishin* 日本精神), spirit (*kokoro* こころ), soul (*tamashii* 魂), emotional, spiritual (*kanjōteki* 感情的, *seishinteki* 精神的), the spirituality possessed by the Japanese (*nihonjin no motsu seishinsei* 日本人の持つ精神性), individual emotions [of the Japanese] (*jiko no jōsho* 自己の情緒), individual sentiments [of the Japanese] (*jibun no kimochi* 自分の気持ち), the homeland of the Japanese soul (*tamashii no furusato* 魂のふるさと), the "spirit" originally emotion-oriented (*ganrai jōshotekina kokoro* 元来情緒的な「こころ」), the Japanese spirit of the language (*nihon no kotodama* 日本の言霊), intellect is not needed to understand such simple and pure words [*yamakatokotoba*], nor it is necessary to have such a high cultivation to use them: it is sufficient to be Japanese (*kō iu tanjunna kotoba ga wakaru ni wa chishiki wa iranai. kō iu tanjun na kotoba o haku ni wa takai kyōyō wa iranai. nihonjin de areba yoroshii* こういう単純な言葉がわかるには知識はいらない。こういう単純な言葉を吐くには高い教養はいらない。日本人であればよろしい), the learning of waka as the crystalline form of Yamato words as the first high-level education (*yamatokotoba no kesshōkei toshite no waka ga shotō kyōiku* 大和言葉の結晶形としての和歌が初等教育), emotionality (*jōsho* 情緒), [Yamato words] are not suitable for building intellectual thought (*chiteki ni shisō wo tsumiagete iku ni ha futekitōna tokoro ga aru no da* 知的に思想を積み上げていくには不適当なところがあるのだ)

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Reason/Rationality: Thought

Foreign thought, thought of foreign contents (*gairai shisō* 外来思想, *shikō naiyō ga gairai shisō* 思考内容が外来思想), intellect (*chi* 知), mind (*seishin* 精神, kokoro 心), rational, intellectual thought (*gōriteki* 合理的, *ri* 理, *chitekina shikō* 知的な思考, *chitekina reberu* 知的なレベル, *ganrai chitekina shisō* 元来知的な思想), the intellectual learning of foreign languages (*chiteki gaikokugo kyōiku* 知的外国語教育), intellectuality (*chisei* 知性), the so-called foreign language education based on "intellectuality" (*iwayuru "chisei" naru kyōiku wa gaikokugo kyōiku* いわゆる「知性」なる教育は外国語教育)

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yamatokotoba 大和言葉, *nihonrashisa* 日本らしさ	*kango* 漢語, *ishitsu* 異質
SEMANTIC, COGNITIVE IMMEDIACY/DIRECTNESS/CLARITY Semantic immediacy (*massugu* 真直ぐ), sensorial directness (*jōsho ni chokusetsu ni sūtto fureru* 情緒に直接にすうっと触れる)	SEMANTIC, COGNITIVE MEDIATION/INDIRECTNESS/OBSCURITY Unintelligibility (*chinpunkanpun* チンプンカンプン), impossible-to-read sinograms (*yomikonasenai yōna kanji* 読みこなせないような漢字), a Japanese language incomprehensible by listening to it (*mimi de kiite wakaranai nihongo* 耳で聞いてわからない日本語, *mimi de kiite wa mattaku rikai dekinai nihongo* 耳で聞いてはまったく理解できない日本語), objective distance posed between the cognitive targets, to be distant (*taishō to no aida ni kyori* 対象との間に距離, *yosoyososhii* よそよそしい)
AUTHENTICITY/ORIGINAL/NATURE *honne* 本音, innate form of individual [of the Japanese] sentiments (*jiko no jōsho no honnen no sugata* 自己の情緒の本然の姿), human feelings (*ninjō* 人情), originality (minamoto 源), set one's roots (ne o orosu 根を下ろす), originally (honseitekini 本性的に, honrai 本来, honshitsuteki ni 本質的に), original quality, essence (honshitsu 本質), the foundation principle as Japanese nationals (nihon minzoku toshite no kongen 日本民族としての根源), homeland of the Japanese soul (nihonjin no tamashii no furusato 日本人の魂のふるさと), nature-oriented (shizen shikō 自然志向), the true quality of Yamato words and waka (*yamatokotoba to waka no honshitsu* 大和言葉と和歌の本質)	FAÇADE/FICTIOUS/ARTIFICE Social principles, etiquette, official stances, ideals, overt principle (*tatemae* 建前), obligation (*giri* 義理), otherness (*ibutsu no toshite gairaigo* 異物のとして外来語), artifice (*jinkō* 人工), corruption (*konnnyū* 混入, *haitte kuru* 入ってくる)

yamatokotoba 大和言葉, *nihonrashisa* 日本らしさ	*kango* 漢語, *ishitsu* 異質
INTIMACY/SUBJECTIVITY/BEHIND Inward-oriented, intimate, introverted, deeply inside the soul (*uchi* 内, *uchiwa* 内輪, *uchigawa* 内側, *oku* 奥, *tamashii no oku no oku kara kuru* 魂の奥の奥からくる, *naikōteki* 内向的, *wareware no tamashii no uchigawa* われわれの魂の内側), subjective (*shukanteki* 主観的), behind (*ura* 裏), to set their roots (*ne o oroshite iru* 根を下している), [Yamato words] spread their roots in Japanese spirit and grow up from it (*nihonjin no kokoro no naka ni ne o haratte, soko kara haete kita* 日本人の子心の中に根を張って、そこから生えてきた)	**SUPERFICIALITY/OBJECTIVITY/FRONT** Outward-oriented, superficial, extroverted, outside the soul (*soto* 外, *sotogawa kara* 外側から, *tamashii no sotogawa de* 魂の外側で, *gaikōteki* 外向的), objective (kyakkanteki 客観的), front (*omote* 表, *omote muki* 表向き), loanwords that are superficially rooted [in the Japanese language] (*ne no asai gairaigo* 根の浅い外来語, *ne ga harinikui* 根が張りにくい), since loanwords come from outside, they don't spread their roots [in the Japanese spirit] (*gairaigo wa soto kara kita no de aru kara ne o hatte inai* 外来語は外から来たのであるから根を張っていない)
PRIVATE Private (*watakushi* 私, *shiteki* 私的, *puraibeeto* プライベート)	**PUBLIC** Public (*ōyake* 公, *kōteki* 公的)

Table 2: The lexical and conceptual dichotomy between Yamato words/emotional involvement and Sino-Japanese words/intellectual exaltation: The language of feelings

yamatokotoba 大和言葉, *kandō* 感動	*kango* 漢語, *kangeki* 感激
HARMONY Peaceful (*heiwateki* 平和的, *yūwateki* 融和的), harmony (*wa* 和), emotions without a fighting spirit (*'kioi' o nakushite* 「気負い」をなくして, *kioi no nai jōsho* 気負いのない情緒)	**CONFLICT** Bellicose (*kōsenteki* 好戦的), aggression, violence (*konnyūdo* 混入度, *kioi* 気負い, *hito o kiowaseru* 人を気負わせる)
SPONTANEITY Spontaneously flowing from the inside [the spirit] (*uchigawa kara honseiteki ni wakiagaru* 内側から本性的に湧き上がる), [yamatokotoba] overflow without limits from inside (*mukumuku to saigen naku uchi kara waite kuru* むくむくと際限なく内から湧いてくる)	**ENFORCED** To enter by force from the outside as alien element [the thought] (*sotogawa kara ibutsu toshite haitte kuru shisō* 外側から異物として 入ってくる思想)

yamatokotoba 大和言葉, *kandō* 感動	*kango* 漢語, *kangeki* 感激
EVER LASTING Like the delicate emotion, mystic ecstasy caused by a glimpse of nature (*shizen no ibuki ni binkan ni kandōsuru* 自然の息吹に敏感に感動する, *chiisana shizukana kōkotsukan* 小さな静かな恍惚感), everlasting (*sameru koto wa nai* 醒めることはない)	**EPHEMERAL** Like the euphoric inebriation caused by the abuse of alcohol (*hito wo yowaseru* 人を酔わせる, *seinen wo yowasu* 青年を酔わす), temporary (*sameru koto no dekiru kandō* 醒めることのできる感動)
DELICATE SENTIMENTS: LOVE Softness (*yasashisa* やさしさ), tenderness (*komayakasa* こまやかさ), delicateness (*yawarakai* 柔らかい), love (*ai* 愛, *ren'ai no jō* 恋愛の情), romantic love between a man and a woman (*danjo no ren'ai no jō* 男女の恋愛の情, *danjokan no kanjō* 男女間の感情), the country started on the basis of love between a man and a woman (*danjo no ai de kuni ga hajimaru* 男女の愛で国がはじまる, *fūfu no ai de kuni* 夫婦の愛で国), a sentiment as if the inner spirit would warp something nostalgic (*natsukashii mono wo dakishimetai yōna kimochi* なつかしいものを抱きしめたいような気持)	**EUPHORIC STATES OF MIND: VIOLENCE** Fervor (*akogare* あこがれ), pride (*hokori* 誇り, *puraido* プライド), exaltation (*kōyōshita kimochi* 高揚した気持ち), ambition (*yashin* 野心), expectation (*kibō* 希望), mundane aspiration, vanity (*shusse* 出世), thirst for conquest (*seifukutekina kimochi* 征服的な気持ち), toughness (*katai* 堅い)
MATERNAL: FEMININE PRINCIPLE Mother (*haha* 母), the soft futon of a mother (*yawarakana haha no futon* 柔らかな母のふとん), [motherly] skin (*hada* 肌), breast (*chichibusa* 乳ぶさ), uterus (*shikyū* 子宮), like babies who, tired of playing, seek refuge in their mother's breasts (*asobitsukareta akanbō ga haha no mune ni mogurikomu* 遊び疲れた赤ん坊が母の胸にもぐりこむ)	**PATERNAL: MASCULINE PRINCIPLE** Father (*chichi* 父), the tough futon of muscled-father (*kinniku no katai chichi no futon* 筋肉の堅い父のふとん), [fatherly] muscles (*kinniku* 筋肉), like children who play catch with their father (*kodomo wa kyacchi bōru wa chichi to yaru* 子どもはキャッチ・ボールは父とやる)
FOLKLORISTIC World of softness (*"yasashisa" no sekai* 「やさしさ」の世界), folkloristic world (*fōkutekina sekai* フォーク的な世界 a precious world (*kichō na sekai* 貴重の世界), the world of "emotions" of Japan since times immemorial (*shindai kara no nihon no "jōsho" no sekai* 神代からの日本の「情緒」の世界)	**SYSTEMIC** Bureaucratic (*kanryōteki* 官僚的), systemic (*taiseiteki* 体制的), socially controlled (*kanrishakaiteki* 管理社会的) world, the world of foreignness (*ikoku no sekai* 異国の世界)

yamatokotoba 大和言葉, *kandō* 感動	*kango* 漢語, *kangeki* 感激
NON-VERBAL	VERBAL
Not to rely on eloquence, speech (*benzetsu ni tayoru koto ga sukunai* 弁舌に頼ることが少ない), to hate verbosity (*taben o kiratte ita* 多弁を嫌っていた), the tradition of "the country which does not accomplish the verbal act" (*"kotosaegu kuni" no dentō* 「言挙げせぬ国」の伝統), the country of empathetic silence rather than verbosity (*taben yorimo haragei no kuni* 多弁よりも腹芸の国), not to be good in speech in international meetings (*kokusai kaigi de hatsugen ga heta* 国際会議で発言がへた), quiet, sound familiar to small conversation should sound like that (*shizukana, kuchikazu sukunai kaiwa ni nareta mimi ni wa sō kikoeru hazu* 静かな、口数少ない会話に慣れた耳にはそう聞こえるはず), the language that overcomes "the mean of communication" (*"dentatsu no shudan" o koeru mono* 「伝達の手段」を超えるもの), the condensed expressivity (*hyōgen ga tanjuku sareru* 表現が短縮される), the uselessness of any verbal explications (*setsumei mo nanimo iranu* 説明もなにもいらぬ)	Unintelligible, bothersome, noisy (*kotosaegu* 言さへぐ), to hear something unintelligible, unclear and noisy without understanding it (*nani ka ga wake ga wakarazu chinpunkankan de, yamashiku kikoeru* なにかがわけがわからずチンプンカンカンで、やましく聞こえる), to have been considering the languages, words of neighbouring countries as wild things (*shūhen no kuni-guni no kotoba o mono, no na mono to ite ita* 周辺の国々の言葉をもの、野なものと見ていた), to listen to the so-called foreigners' conversation [that is loud-voiced and noisy] (*gaijin no kaiwa to iu no wa kikoeru* 外人の会話と言うのは聞こえる)

Table 3: The lexical and conceptual dichotomy between Yamato words/lyricism and Sino-Japanese words/intellectual literature or public language: Literary/discursive genres

Yamatokotoba 大和言葉, *uta* うた	*Kango* 漢語, *giron* 議論/public language
High degree of linguistic purity (*yamatokotoba no jundo no takai* 大和言葉の純度の高い歌, *yamatokotoba hyaku pāsento* 大和言葉百パーセント)	High-kango degree language (*kango ganyūryō no takai* 漢語含有量の高い, *kango no konnyūdo ga takai* 漢語の混入度が高い)
Japanese prehistorical oral poetry/songs (*uta* うた) Japanese traditional poetry (waka 和歌): Man'yōshū 万葉集, Genji monogatari 源氏物語, Kokinwakashū 古今和歌集, Ise monogatari 伊勢物語, Kojiki no uta 古事記の歌, Nihon shoki no uta 日本書紀の歌, Hyakunin isshu 百人一首 *Haiku* 俳句 Folkloristic ballads/popular songs (*ryūkōka* 流行歌, *popyūra songu* ポピューラソング, *fōku no kashi* フォークの歌詞, *fōkutekina uta* フォーク的な歌, *hitto kyoku* ヒット曲)	Scholarly literature (*chitekina koto* 知的なこと, *chitekina bunshō* 知的な文章, *gakujutsu ronbun* 学術論文, *giron* 議論, *tetsugaku ya shakaigaku no ronbun* 哲学や社会学の論文) Legal documents (*hōritsu no bunsho* 法律の文書) Bureaucratic (*kanryōteki shakai* 官僚的社会) Newspaper (*shinbun* 新聞) Propaganda speeches (*gakusei undō* 学生運動, *kageki-ha no aji enzetsu* 過激派のアジ演説, *sayoku enzetsu* 左翼演説) Military code (*senjinkun* 戦陣訓) Military songs (*aikokukōshinkyoku* 愛国行進曲) Pre-war school and dormitory songs (*kōka* 校歌, *ryōka* 寮歌)
Spontaneous, informal, familiar language	Artificial, formal, official language
Language of emotions, private sphere: individual stance	Language of bureaucracy, law and intellectuals: public sphere: collective stance

As well as the characteristics peculiar to one's own homeland (*furusato* 故郷) might be fully understood only after travelling throughout a foreign country (*ikoku* 異国), and as well as ancient Japanese scholars studied zealously the alterity represented at that time by ancient China re-elaborating Japan's reality, Watanabe declares to have been able himself to rediscover Japan's diversity thanks to his own life and study experiences abroad. It is precisely the shocking contact with the 'Other' that seems to have induced the scholar to conceive and put in writing the above discussed literary work *Nihongo no kokoro* (Watanabe 1974a, 213). Moreover, its lexical and conceptual distinction between Yamato words and Sino-Japanese words are inscribed in an ambitious and concrete proposal of returning to the pre-war system of education, revised during the Amer-

ican occupation and considered by Watanabe as more reliable and patriotic for having been directly conceived by the Japanese people. His initiative envisaged the recovery of the traditional intellectual dualism between Japanesesness and foreignness elaborated throughout the centuries in Japanese culture. The aims were to restore in the elementary school the learning of Japanese classical poetry, defined as "the venerable treasure of future generations" (*oie jūdai no tama* お家重代の玉) and considered as paradigms of a crystalline usage of the ancient and "uncorrupted" Yamato language, thus recovering the "lost" Japanese pride for their identity and history. On the other hand, he purported to maintain the pragmatic and intellectual study of foreign languages as solely *forma mentis*, because, as Watanabe argues and the ancient scholars teach, the understanding of Japaneseness necessarily passes through cultural confrontation (Watanabe 1974a, 202). Only plunging oneself into an alien world, only imbibing oneself of foreign culture through the medium of another language, the Japanese may acknowledge the richness and the uniqueness of their own nation and culture, and they may foster their own identity. Only by setting out on a journey into the Otherness, the Japanese shall be able to find out the existence of a "warp" (*tateito* タテ糸) inside their own language, otherwise destined to oblivion through the strength of tendencies of modernisation and internationalisation spreading all around the world (Watanabe 1974a, 206). Watanabe also advocates the prestige of the well-known poet of *haiku* Bashō to justify the apparent paradox inherent in his own statements: should the poet not have engaged himself in a fictious voyage into alterity, namely into the classical Chinese culture he loved so much, the inestimable emotional world of *yamatokotoba* evoked in his brief and short verses would likely not have been so polished (Watanabe 1974a, 211). The ultimate goals of the amendment invoked by Watanabe were the re-discovery of autochthonous purity and the reach of a conscious re-evaluation of the Japanese true essence by the Japanese themselves in order to oppose the corrupting foreign influence. Therefore, these plans merged into the theoretical identity discourse of nihonjinron, which is definitely judged as an illustrative case of social and cultural construction of the diversity where the real state of affairs – the multicultural heterogeneity of the 'Japanese' and their internal variations – is deliberately ignored, as well as the fundamental principles of biology such as the inexistence of human races. In conclusion, Watanabe indicates the key to redefine the tattered post-war Japanese identity in the scholastic revival of the ancient Japanese language or Yamato language through the eyes of modernity and foreignness to "correctly" educate new generations, namely via the study of classical Japanese poetry, rep-

resenting a "pure" usage of language, together with the simultaneous analysis of the "dianoethic" foreign language" (Watanabe 1974a, 210):

> The deep understanding of the Archipelago of Green Mountains called "Japan" shall be peculiar to the traveler who wandered through the immense continental lands.
>
> 日本という緑島山をほんとうに理解するのは、やはり大陸の広漠たる地をさまよったことのある旅人であろう。

4 Conclusions

Much has been discussed so far and the time to draw the conclusions has come. First, I will point out some contradictions, irrationalities, and criticisms inherent to Watanabe's nationalistic rhetoric; second, inspired by this analysis, I will propose a reflection as a way of conclusion about the mechanisms through which nationalism and identity narrations are potentially activated by emphasising the importance of the "primordial element".

As far as the first aspect is concerned, it is worth noting the linguistic incoherence in the conceptualisation of the qualities considered as distinctive of the sole Japanese, that is the use of Sino-Japanese words to express supposedly native concepts: the most evident case is that of *ai* 愛 'love', a *kango* used to denote the "most primitive expression of the Japanese". The same goes, for instance, for *kandō* 感動 'emotional involvement', defined as the kind of emotion typically provoked by *yamatokotoba*: if that is the case, why is it then expressed through a non-native word? Another kind of incoherence, typical of *nihonjinron* discourse and of many national identity discourses, is the necessity of the comparison with the "Other" to express and foster "Japaneseness", namely the dependence upon value standards of out-groups other than their own to reflect upon their own group (cf. Yoshino 1992). His amateur speculations also show to be highly irrational and lacking scientific rigor given two unquestionable evidences: the internal heterogeneity and variation of the so-called "Japanese national community" (cf. Sugimoto 2010) and the artificial, socially-constructed character of concepts like 'human race', 'blood', 'cultural purity', 'national community', which are social constructions and not tangible realities. Moreover, he explicitly confesses not to believe to evolution, as if it was a sort of belief or religious credo to which one could adhere or not: in this way, he gives a hint of the degree of his lack of seriousness and scientific precision. Besides, the sort of nationalism attested by the ideology underlying the lexical and conceptual dualism between Yamato words and *kango* and the rhetoric around Japanese uniqueness

developed by Watanabe should be considered in a critical perspective because they imply at least three potential dangers: first, the revival of the 1930s' ultra-nationalistic, xeno-phobic ideology of the former Japanese empire represented by the infamous *Kokutai no hongi* (Principles of National Polity) and evoked by the claims surrounding concepts such as 'yamatokotoba', 'kotodama', 'yamatodamashii'; second, Watanabe's purpose to transform words into concrete deeds, namely to restore the Japanese pre-war education system centred on the inculcation in Japanese pupils' mind of Japanese "racial purity"; third, the diffusion of a poisonous chauvinism intended only to foster Japanese pride, re-discover a "lost" identity and a "primordial" purity, and re-evaluate "the true essence of the Japanese spirit" by excluding the Other – here "all those people without Japanese blood" – that is the implementation and boosting of a rhetoric of exclusion.

In the light of these considerations, a reflection on Watanabe's rhetorical strategy is required in order to grasp the scope of the nationalistic discourse he represents and ex-presses. I argue that the core of his argument is what I referred to as "primordialism" or the primordial character of the "Japanese nation", since a fundamental nucleus in this sense could be found in his assertions, whose claims could be summarised as follows:

1. NATURALNESS of the Japanese nation, conceived as a homogenous biological and territorial community of people sharing the same blood/genotype-phenotype/lineage/ancestry/kin and the same living territorial bonds, which are thought to determine the automatic, passive transmission of the same cultural traits (cus-toms, values), the same language, the same religion, the same social institutions, from one generation to another;

2. ORGANICITY of the nation: the Japanese nation is considered in terms of an or-ganic whole that cannot be divided;

3. CONTINUITY over time of the Japanese national community through the passive genetic transmission of its essence from the first pithecanthropus ancestor to the modern Japanese: linear historical evolution;

4. TIMELESSNESS of the Japanese national community, for having been originated "since immemorial times", "since prehistorical times";

5. MYTHICALNESS: the temporal and historical origins of the nation are wrapped in the fog and mystery: the line between history and myth is very evanescent;

6. SAMENESS of the national community: since it is transmitted genetically since the beginning of time, its essential traits are determined and are not subject to change;

7. PERENNIALNESS of the nation: it is an entity which recurrently and cyclically occurs in history by eternally re-producing and re-generating itself.

These claims are set forward through the medium of various linguistic, stylistic, and rhetorical devices, which all gravitate around a central, essential claim, that is the postulation of the primordiality and the primacy of the Japanese language, born together with the Japanese nation and from which all the other unique aspects of the Japanese (history, culture, worldview...) derive. What follows is an attempt to sketch at least some of the possible communicative strategies deployed by Watanabe in his nationalistic discourse:

1. POLARISATION: enumeration of markedly valued attributes or positive/negative attributes associated to Japaneseness/Foreignness, that is the outline of dichotomic differences by emphasising the evaluation or the qualification given to the attributes rather than the significance given to them and the deployment of a "loose semantics" (Głowiński 2006, 175);

2. MAGICALITY: the use of the "magical element", i.e. words create reality, especially an expected, desired situation as if it was real (Głowiński 2006, 176), that is, in this case, the social perception of a strong identity diversity and particularism;

3. VAGUENESS: usage of a nebulous expressive style, such as expressions conveying temporal imprecision or referring vaguely to a "lost past" or a "golden age" (e.g. shindai kara 'since the times of gods', korai 'in ancient times', etc.) or ambiguous grammatical constructions conveying probability and not certainty (e.g. *kamoshirenai* 'might', *de arō* 'may', *te itte mo ii* 'it is possible to say that', *to iwareru* 'it is said that', *dewa nai darō* 'to suggest that something is possible to', etc.);

4. BANALITY: the subtle use of common, "innocent" words already widespread in the Japanese language in order to enhance the nationhood such as *nihonjin toshite* (as a Japanese), *waga kuni* (our country), *wareware nihonjin* (we Japanese), etc. and their semantisation, in particular of some ordinary verbs such as *tsuduku* (to continue), *nokoru* (to remain), *kaifukusuru, modoru* (to restore, return) or adjectives such as *hontō, honshitsuteki, honrai* (true, original), *kanjōteki* (emotional), etc., to which an unprecedented significative, value-marked meaning is attributed;

5. POETICALNESS: wide use of metaphors from kinship language (mother/father/child attributions, ancestor, descendant reference), love-relationship language (e.g. love between man and woman), of poetical images from mythology (especially *Kojiki, Nihon shoki*...) and ancient poetry (*Man'yōshū, Genji monogatari*...) transferred to a broader, "national" scale.

If we understand "primordialism" as a category of practice representing a specific ingredient of nationalistic rhetoric, that is "as a sentiment, or affect laden set of beliefs and

discourses, about a perceived essential continuity from group ancestry to progeny (perceived kith and kin), located symbolically in a specific territory or place (which may or may not be the current place of the people concerned)" (Weinreich et al. 2003, 119 in Coakley 2017, 3), then Watanabe's rhetoric, here viewed as an extreme manifestation of *nihonjinron* nationalistic rhetoric, is essentially constructed upon the primordialist belief whose gravitational axis is language. In fact, this understanding of "primordialism" "draws attention to the vast amount of material that has been generated by élites as part of the nationalist project" (Coakley 2017, 3): the features of the primordialist nucleus I have outlined in the specific context of *nihonjinron* through the analysis of an exemplar nationalistic discourse could be studied in comparison with other nationalistic narratives in other contexts in order to broaden our comprehension of the nationalistic phenomenon.

In light of this, I would like to present three suggestions. First to remove "primordialism" as category of analysis and to restrict it to its original, nationalistic significance, namely to interpret it as a specific ingredient or moulding component of the nationalistic discourse, that is the sentiment or belief in the perceived genetically-transmitted, natural character of a national community, conceived as a mythic/historical "organic whole" located in a specific and symbolical territory and characterised by continuity, timelessness, perennialness and monolithicity. Second and subsequently, to operate an overcoming of the nomenclature in nationalism studies about "primordialism", by re-thinking the entire categorisation of the field, by restricting the meaning and denotation of its definition and by introducing another kind of terminology, which would be, for instance, "analyst of the primordial" in order to indicate those scholars like Steven Grosby who defend the original significance of the category of the "primordial" for analytical purposes, i.e. for the "analytical recognition of that existential significance, namely, kinship, as one among a number of persistent orientations of self-classification having a bearing on human action because of the preference expressed toward what one perceives as one's kin, variously understood" (Grosby 2016). Third, I urge the necessity to reinterpret *nihonjinron* in the specific light of nationalism studies and, in particular, by paying attention to the "primordialistic ingredient" which I take as the essence itself of *nihonjinron* discourse in order to achieve a deeper understanding of its scope and meaning in Japanese society. In this sense, a careful and special attention should be reserved to the linguistic mechanisms through which Japanese nationalism is reproduced in everyday language and discourses and so a metalinguistic analysis of *nihonjinron* texts may help to shed light on the importance of language in vehiculating and slyly imposing ideology, power, identity paradigms and distorted realities in the minds of social actors, and, thus, to show how nationalism and ideology work and manifest themselves

through language. The final purpose of this desirable tendency is to stimulate collective awareness of the modalities through which nationalism is slyly imposed in order to resist to it: I think this is all the more current in the contemporary world, where the spread of nationalisms and ethnic conflicts is sustained by a scattered usage of rhetoric and ideological narratives.

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(Un)doing Nationalism through Familial Metaphors: The Case of Modern China/Taiwan

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Abstract

Ideals of femininities and masculinities (to a lesser extent) are often used to mobilise citizens in testing socio-political times. Familial roles such as mother and wife are prime targets for politicians crafting ideals of nationalism. Comparing the political rhetoric of two of the most prominent female politicians in Chinese/Taiwanese modern history, Mme. Chiang Kai Shek (Mme. CKS, 1989–2003) and Annette Lu (b. 1944), I argue that ideal familial roles have always intersected with politics during social transitions. Moreover, in the developing China/Taiwan contexts, these ideals parallel changes from feudalistic to modern society, and from authoritarian to democratic rule. By looking into the argumentative strategies and familial metaphors, I offer a comprehensive view on how gender, nation, and family values have been articulated in times of transition in Taiwan in the 20th century.

Key words: gender, nationalism, family, familial metaphors

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1 Introduction

Taiwan is situated at the strategic centre of the Pacific Ocean. It experienced a brief period of colonisation by the Dutch and the Spanish in the 16th century and was one of their destinations before landing at Fujian, one of the provinces of China during the Qing dynasty, the last Chinese dynasty. At the beginning of the 20th century, Taiwan became the first colony of Japan (1894–1945) as a result of the first Sino-Japanese War. It also experienced a 50-year period of authoritarianism as the then ruling Nationalist Kuomintang Party (KMT) retreated to the island after it lost the civil war to the Chinese communists in the late 1940s. In the 1980s, the island started to democratise rapidly with the opposition demanding changes and direct elections. In 1996, the island held the first presidential election in Chinese history; in 2000 the then oppositional Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) won the election and ended the 50-year monopoly of the KMT. Since the turn of the 21st century, the island has experienced three party turnovers.

This paper uses modern China/Taiwan as a case study to demonstrate how ideals of femininity and masculinity and politics are mutually interconnected and how Chinese patriarchy and its impact on family values have been (re)positioned to meet national goals and personal ambitions in times of national crises at the turn of the 20th century. It also explains how the same familial ideals have been repositioned for the political opposition platform as Taiwan was trying to shed layers of traditional identity to meet the demands of the democratised 21st century.

These waves of socio-political transition, from Japanese colonialism (1894 to 1945) to KMT authoritarianism (1949 to 1987) to rapid democratisation since the 1980s, have made the island an interesting case to see how familial gender roles can be interpreted and reinterpreted during times of social change. To further illustrate the modern China/Taiwan case, I chose two of the most prominent female politicians in Chinese/Taiwanese politics, Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek (Mme. CKS, 1898 to 2003) and former Vice President Annette Lu (2000–2004, 2004–2008), to examine how ideals of family and gender roles/expectations are embedded in political transitions. Specifically, I am interested in how female politicians in China/Taiwan's modern period have framed familial gender roles such as wife, mother, and parent and have utilised ideas of family values for their personal and political convictions.

Following Brownell and Wasserstrom (2002) and Chang (2002, 2009), I see ideals of gender roles and politics as mutually intertwined, and I am interested in the following questions:

1. How do political transitions from feudal society to modern state and from authoritarianism to democracy change the way we view gender roles and expectations?
2. If gender and politics are mutually interconnected, how do shifts in political ideology change the way politicians frame nationalism?
3. Does the Confucian emphasis on women's subordination and subservience still pervade 21st-century Taiwan?

I start with Mme. C.K.S., also known as Soong Mei-ling, the wife of the Generalissimo and President Chiang Kai-shek and sister-in-law to Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Republic of China (ROC). She played a very important role in rallying the Chinese people against Japanese invasion during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) and went on a speaking tour in the U.S. in the 1940s to rally moral and monetary support. In addition, she saw women's subordinate status and illiteracy as one of the major culprits for China's malaise in modern times. She was active in advancing women's status and strongly emphasised women's education. Her conviction and vision were incorporated into Chinese nationalism and patriotism where women were shown to lead in all spheres of society, and their potential was unrestrained. Women were discursively constructed as strong and rebellious, and their defiance of Chinese patriarchy was conditionally granted so long as it was an act of patriotism. Gender socialisations were strategically targeted in cultivating *xianqi liangmu*, "able wives and wise mothers", where these familial roles could be incorporated into various national projects[1] (cf. Diamond 1975). The well-defined, well-bounded complementary gender roles and the adaptations of Chinese traditions into patriotism parallel China/Taiwan's transition from a feudal society to a modern nation state and coincide with Taiwan's authoritarianism from the 1940s to the 1980s.

Annette Lu was a rising political star in the 1970s and her belief in seeing gender equality as a fundamental human right served as one of the driving forces for her political beliefs. By embedding her gender convictions into her democratic appeals, her rhetoric constantly attacked Chinese patriarchy and Japanese militarism for women's inferior status to men and framed the status of Taiwan as a result of failed colonialism. Her adaptations of wife, mother, and parent seen from women/Taiwan's 'victim status' challenged the cardinal belief in women's dependence on and obedience to men as dictating gender relations. Lu's stress on agency and independence in both gender and

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[1] This refers to the New Life Movement launched by Chiang Kai-shek in 1934. With the endorsement of the national government, the movement spread and became part of the official ideology. According to Diamond (1975), the aim of the movement was a "social regeneration of China" through a revival of the moral principles by way of neo-Confucian moral teaching (8).

politics resonated with the many national/international issues prevailing on the island from the 1970s to the 90s.

The (un)doing of nationalism incorporate both political rhetoric promoting visions of family, nation, and international politics with national programmes such as education and war-aids in testing times. The discursive strategies and nationalised programmes not only helped them establish their career but have also influenced the lives of generations of women and men in modern China/Taiwan. I will start with the unpacking of the socio-political contexts to explicate how nationalistic ideologies help promote certain talents in familial roles and why they are needed in developing China/Taiwan from the 1940s to 1970s.

2 *xianqi liangmu*, "able wives and wise mothers"

I adopt a critical approach to deconstruct the political contexts to question how and why certain ideas of femininities are emphasised for nationalistic purposes. Unpacking how ideological effects of nationalism and patriotism give rise to specific features of femininities can help explicate how and why gender related "virtues" are stressed and normalised. When Mme. C.K.S. tried to consolidate global female talents and virtues to build a stronger modern China in the midst of the West's and Japan's military expansions, gendered and familial metaphors such as *wife*, *mother*, and *parent* were iconised with heightened nationalism and patriotism. The rhetorical and related national programmes aimed to rally international support and to re-regulate gender relations under Confucian dictates with which individual rights and freedom were erased and penalised under the construction and popularisation of *xianqi liangmu*, "able wives and wise mothers". George Lakoff's analysis of metaphors as a cognitive shorthand helps us understand abstract and complicated ideas by comparing the two seemingly different notions and by transferring the compatible features of the simple to the difficult one (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). While the transfer of experiences from one domain to another can be benign in most daily communication, it can be used by skilful politicians to call for action. That is, metaphorical mapping from easy to difficult and from concrete to abstract is not only cognitive but also political during periods of regime transition and moral in calling for international support and for naturalising nationalism and patriotism.

Xianqi liangmu[2] was popularised during the period of modernisation in China/Taiwan, and the modern rendition of "able wives and wise mothers" was charged with nationalism and militarism. Gendered and nationalised talents and virtues were carefully selected, enforced, and naturalised to ensure the survival of a Chinese nation in times of adversity. This is not uniquely Chinese, since the ideas and phrases were borrowed from Japanese as Japan was the first nation in Asia to modernise successfully (Nakamura 2014). Among the many talents and virtues needed for national projects, duty, loyalty, and sacrifice were stressed. Discursively, historical precedence and metaphors were used to inculcate their importance. A good case in point is from "Women's work" (Soong 1941, 306–338) where Mme. CKS not only outlined the importance of women's contributions to war time projects but also highlighted the most needed services and virtues as she said:

> The fact that Chinese women are rising to unusual heights of self-sacrifice is, however, nothing new. Here is a story from the Warring States Period in Chinese history (fifth to third century B.C.) which shows that the capacity to forget the self in the face of greater issues is inherent and is as true today as it was in the past.
>
> The Chi kingdom sent an army to attack the Lu Kingdom. On the Lu border a general of the Chi forces, at a distance, observed a woman carrying one child and leading another. As the Chi army pressed closer, the woman put down the child she was carrying, picked up the one she was leading, and resumed her journey. The abandoned child began to cry, but the woman paid no attention to it.
>
> The General approached the crying child and asked: "Who is that woman?'
>
> "My mother."
>
> Hurriedly the astonished General approached the woman and asked why she acted as she did.
>
> "The child in my arms is my brother's. The one whom I have deserted is my own. The Chi army is advancing pace, and as I have not the strength to care for two, I was obliged to abandon my son."
>
> "Which is dearer to you—your son, or your brother's son?" he inquired.

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[2] According to Diamond (1975), the "social regeneration of China" as stressed by Chiang Kai-shek serving as Commander in Chief in the nationalist government in the 1930s incorporated moral principles of *li*, *yi*, *lian*, and *chi* (propriety, justice, honesty, and self-respect), a neo-Confucian revival which would return to the traditional moral teachings and apply them to ordinary matters (8).

"Of course, my own son. *But to save my own child is selfishness; to rescue my brother's is duty. Although my son suffers, it is but right.*" [italics mine]

The Chi General thereupon withdrew his army from the Lu border.

Returning to his lord, he reported: "Lu is unconquerable. Even a woman of the common people places duty before self. How much more should one expect of its scholars and officials? Hence I withdrew my army."

"How great is the strength of a sense of duty. Although only a woman, yet upon her depended the destiny of the country," the recorder of the Annals commented.

And today China is as unconquerable as was the Kingdom of Lu in the past. (Soong 1941, 337–338)

In addition to citing historical precedence, metaphor is another way to transfer the needed familial values to nation building. Metaphorically, by comparing the new nation to a family, the leaders of the country are the parents of the family and the loyalty to one's family members is now transferred to the leaders of the country and to their demand for service. These ideas/ideals of family and familial roles were different from the traditional ideas when women's education, status, and contributions to society were marginalised and in sharp contrast to a family-oriented feudal society where clan loyalty prevailed over public service, such as sacrificing one's life as well as one's offspring for the greater good.

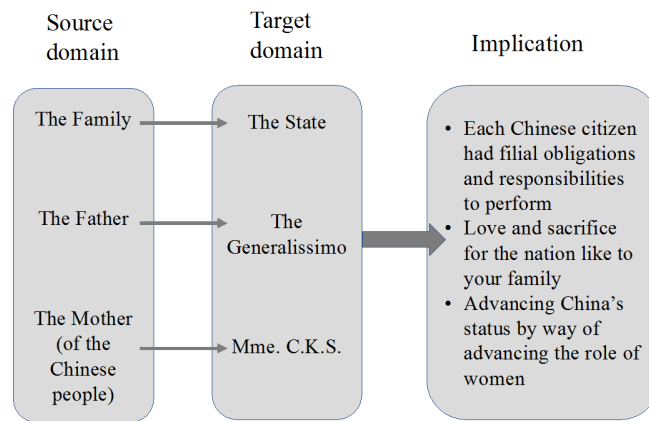Figure 1 summarises how metaphor can help transferring Chinese clannishness to the newfound nation state:

Figure 1: Mme. CKS's familial metaphor

In the following paragraphs, I will use excerpts from Mme. C.K.S.'s speeches to demonstrate how the ideals of parents and women were appropriated to stress the importance of obligation and self-sacrifice.

(1)

The ancient mothers conceived it to be their obligation to bring up their children so that they might *devote their lives to the welfare of the nation* [italics mine]. That principle and that practice are needed now more than ever, for we have a ruthless invader stalking our land who must be exterminated, just as all his evil influences must be eradicated. (Soong 1941, 58–59)

(2)

There are women in our past for us to honor and to emulate; there are some to avoid but to study as a warning. There were women of literary brilliance such as Pan Chao of the Han dynasty, author of the Nu Chieh, or the Precepts for Women. There were, too, heroic figures such as Hua Mu-lan, Lian Hung-yu, and Chin Liang-yu. These women were of those who *dedicated their brains and their energies to the upbuilding and improvement of the nation* [italics mine]. On the reverse side were what are regarded as self-seeking women such as Tan Tsi, Pao Chia, Wu Tsei-tien, and Yang Kuei-fei. Perhaps they were guilty of harmful intrigue, or perhaps they wielded a baneful influence which reduced the rulers of those times to degenerates.

Perhaps they did both and nothing good for the country. (Soong 1941, 55–56)

In Excerpts (1) and (2), Mme. C.K.S. lays out the obligations for mothers in times of national crises and uses opposing examples from Chinese history to point out good and bad women – those who dedicated their brain and energy to nation building and those who were self-seeking, respectively. In order to avoid the guilt of harmful intrigue or wielding baneful influence, women's talents and energy should be directed at service to the country.

The next excerpt stresses the importance of education for women and how investing in women's potential talents can advance China's venture to the modern world. This is also a way to inform her audience of the 'wisdom' of mothers (and fathers) on the importance of women's education.

(3)[3]

My parents seemingly broke every Chinese tradition in sending me as a child America-ward to study instead of accumulating money for an ample dowry. This was considered not only the *summum bonum* for all young Chinese girls but the wisest course and the duty of affectionate parents. By sending their daughters America-ward to school, however, they were but fulfilling their vision of what educated women could contribute toward a strong revitalized modern China. (Soong 1942)

By using her own example and her parents' seeming defiance of Chinese traditional expectations of women, Mme. C.K.S. advances China's status (from traditional to modern) by way of advancing the role of women (from monetary to intellectual investment). These goals are consistent with overall Chinese modernisation where educating women as important national investment and incorporating women's production/reproduction into national projects were needed.

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[3] Mme. CKS spoke at the inauguration for the Mayling Soong Foundation for Eastern culture at Wellesley College in June 1942.

The next example shows how gendered international relations are used to reflect the imbalance of power relations between China and the West during war time:

(4)[4]

Since China *was opened* to the world, relations between East and West may be divided into three stages.

In the first the weapon of the West toward China was always force.

By *pointing a gun at her* the West made her suffer humiliation after humiliation.

All *her port cities were opened*, in an actual as well as a metaphorical sense, at the point of the bayonet.

Then began the second stage.... When *Japan forced war upon us* [italics mine] in 1937—which interfered with China's foreign trade—the West became very sympathetic. China was immediately applauded, perhaps, at first, rather condescendingly.

But the interest, although sympathetic, was detached as that of *spectators at a college football game*, cheering from the safety of the stand while taking no personal risk in the game themselves.... We were regarded by him with a kind of puzzled interest inspired by good-will but still uncomprehending. (Soong 1942)

China under international military threats is seen by Mme. C.K.S. as a woman forced to open herself up and who suffered humiliation after humiliation (see the italics for emphasis). The West and Japan are comparatively forceful and condescending, and their detached attitude is compared to that of college football spectators. The iconic imageries such as "open up" and "football" are both sexual and gendered. They are used to remind her international audience of the atrocity and the indifference from the West that China endured.

Mme. C.K.S.'s rhetoric thus uses historical precedence and familial metaphors to re-appropriate ideals of family and familial roles during wartime. The gendered metaphor with a feminised China and a masculinised West is intended to rally the necessary aid and attention needed for China under attack. These political rhetorics and deeds are all synchronised for a nationalised and modernised China by advancing women's status and incorporating their talents into various national projects aimed at survival and

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[4]   The April 19, 1942 edition of the *New York Times* Magazine with the title "First Lady of the East Speaks to the West."

modernisation. These discursive practices helped iconise *xianqi liangmu*, "able wives and wise mothers", in modern China, naturalised nationalism and patriotism, and at the same time they marginalised individual rights and freedoms.

3 The Social Gender under *jia*, "familial lineage", in Chinese Contexts

I turn my attention to how ideas of gender have been problematised in Chinese contexts and draw out their relevance to my study in seeing gender intersect with social and political issues. Brownell and Wasserstrom (2002) suggest that we put gender centre stage in order to understand transitions of modernity in different contexts. Ideas of gender in Chinese contexts do differ from those in the West; for example, before intense contact with the West, Chinese gender concepts were anchored in beliefs about family structure and social roles more so than beliefs about biological sex. *Men* and *women* were plural categories rather than unified categories opposed to each other; *motherhood* and *womanhood* were not directly linked to heterosexuality, and reproducing the lineage was a more important aspect of sexuality (ibid, 34). The emphasis of family structure in constructing gender roles remains distinctive even after China's transition from feudalism into modernity and the pragmatic imperative of protecting as well as producing the familial lineage remains strong. Changes involved in sexuality began gaining importance in the 1990s, and femininities and masculinities were constructed less in roles such as *daughter/son* but remained prominent in the roles of *mother/father* and *wife/husband*.

Barlow (1991) argues that in imperial China there was no generic category of *woman*: there were *nu*, "daughters", in the family, *fu*, "wives", and *mu*, "mothers". Two neologisms – ordinarily translated as *funu* or *nuxing* "woman"—were created when sex-identity politics first emerged in the May Fourth Movement (1919). *Nuxing* was a Western inspired concept used by Republican-era reformers to name the newly discovered transcendent category of *woman* (ibid, 8). Barlow's study on theorising women in the Chinese context further provides specific examples for how *gender* is seen and enacted through the dictate of familial structure (or protocol), as she explains that

> what appear as "gender" are *yin/yang* differentiated positions: not two anatomical sexes, but a profusion of relational, bound, unequal dyads, each signifying differences and positioning differences analogically. A *nu* "daughter" unequally related to parents and parents-in-law. A *xiaozi* a "filial son" is differentially unequal to mother and father, *yin* to their *yang*. A

> *fu* is a "wife", tied in a secondary relation to her husband. A *xianfu* is a
> "wife", who grasping the powers visited upon the secondary *yin* term mas-
> ters through familiarity with protocol. (ibid, 136)

Barlow further explains that *jia*, "familial lineage", should be conceptualised as protocol
as it is neither a mere code, nor a map, nor a 'role.' It rests on a shifting foundation, the
cosmic activity of *yin/yang*, yet provides advice and counsel on achieving naturalised,
normative, and gendered relational subjects. Protocols instruct. They provide continu-
ity and reinforce subject positions by linking the archaic past in which these protocols
were first established to contemporary texts (ibid, 137).

Rosenlee (2006) explains that in Chinese society, the category of "woman" describes
the role of a wife and mother, and the role of a wife and mother is, in turn, perceived
as constitutive of women's gender identity. It is only through occupying the kinship
roles that a woman becomes socially recognisable. Marriage is the definitive marker of
womanhood, and hence by definition an unmarried girl is, in a sense, not fully gendered
(ibid, 126). Her book on Confucianism and women further explains that in the case of
Chinese women, the concept of *woman* signifies a set of kinship roles, a ritually proper
sphere and division of labour within the hierarchical kinship system. In other words,
genderisation coincides with ritualisation and civilisation in Chinese society, where a
gendered being is also a being that embodies ritual propriety and hence civility (ibid,
151). The importance of Confucian ethics in seeing the family structure/relation as
mirror to that of the nation and society cannot be underestimated when we try to under-
stand gender relations, socialisation, and hierarchy in Chinese contexts. Again, Rosen-
lee (2006) provides the following account:

> Confucian ethics assumes the priority of the family, and familial virtue as
> the necessary condition for the actualization of public virtue. An unfilial
> son/daughter is also an untrustworthy subject and one way to ensure the
> harmony and longevity of the state is to groom trustworthy subjects by
> grooming filial sons/daughters. Once the foundation is firm, the embodi-
> ment of public good would be firm as well. Or, to put it in contemporary
> political rhetoric, strong family values mitigate social discord. (ibid, 156)

Diamond (1975) suggests adopting a feminist perspective – a heightened awareness of
problems shared by women across cultural boundaries and class lines – at different stages
of economic development and under differing political systems when studying positions
of women in modern Taiwan (ibid, 4–5). She further suggests that women's positions
under the KMT were similar to those in Nazi Germany, and she explains the parallels
as "both were strongly militaristic and strongly anti-communist regimes, infused with

a neo-puritanism and distrust of human impulses unhampered by the strictest control" (ibid, 13).

I have reviewed work on gender in the Chinese context before and after contact with the West to see how gender specifics resonate with deeper social and political issues. One feature stands out in Chinese gender symbolism: sex-linked symbols are often secondary to other more fundamental principles of moral and social structure in which gender is situated within broader networks of social relations that take precedence over the dyadic sexual relation (Brownell and Wasserstrom 2002, 26). The importance of familial roles in Chinese contexts has their historical roots and has been proven pervasive even with and during periods of political transition. These points should serve as important pretexts to understand how and why familial roles along with other discursive practices are vital for our understanding of gender, nation, and family values in Chinese political discourses.

4 Lu's Political Rhetoric on Family and Familial Roles

Madame C.K.S.'s ideals for gender roles and expectations can be best summarised in "*able wives and wise mothers*", an epithet popularised in wartime China in the 1930s and during much of Taiwan's KMT rule from the late 1940s to the 1980s. Decades later, as the island engaged in more drastic democratisation in the late 1970s, Annette Lu (1944–) became one of the most prominent female politicians both for her convictions about human rights and her advocacy of feminism. Mme. C.K.S. and Ms. Annette Lu might seem worlds apart in their upbringing and in what they advocated for but in Chinese/Taiwan modern history they perhaps rank as the two most influential female politicians given what they have accomplished. For my interest in how changing political contexts influence family values and gender roles/expectations, I am interested in comparing how Lu framed her beliefs and missions and linked them to filial responsibilities or rights of individuals as wives, mothers, and daughters. Doris Chang (2009) sees Annette Lu and Mme. C.K.S. both as social feminists as they try to extend familial roles of mothers and wives beyond the domestic realm into the public arena in order to serve the nation. Though both were forward thinking in their times and incorporated women's issues into their own personal convictions and political ambitions, their ideals of parents, mothers, and wives were drastically different. Moreover, although Lu was born and raised in a different place and time when Taiwan was in transition from authoritarianism to a civil society, she nevertheless never abandoned Confucian family values and never embraced radical feminism as some of her supporters would have ex-

pected. Lu was more conscious of the *gender inequality* which she had experienced and stressed human rights (and especially women's rights) issues since the 1970s when the island was under martial law (Lu and Esarey 2014).

Lu was the first female vice president elected by popular vote in Chinese history and was also the only vice president in Taiwan who served two terms (2000–2008). Her upbringing and background further differentiate her from many of the fe/male politicians in Asia. Born to an ordinary family, twice in her childhood she was nearly put up for adoption. Rather than through family influence, her rise in politics began with her participation in street protests against the KMT's monopoly of power. In 1971, she initiated a Taiwan feminism movement, and in 1979, she was arrested and imprisoned for six years on charges of sedition. In the speech given at the rally shortly before her arrest, Lu saw the uncertain status of Taiwan as the result of failed colonialism and used that as reason for seeking independence.

Figure 2 summarises Lu's stance as a feminist politician, seeing herself as a victim of gender inequality in Taiwan, women as victims of Chinese patriarchy and Japanese chauvinism, as well as Taiwan as victim of "failed parental guidance" – by the Qing dynasty, the U.S., and Japan – resulting in Taiwan's undecided national status:
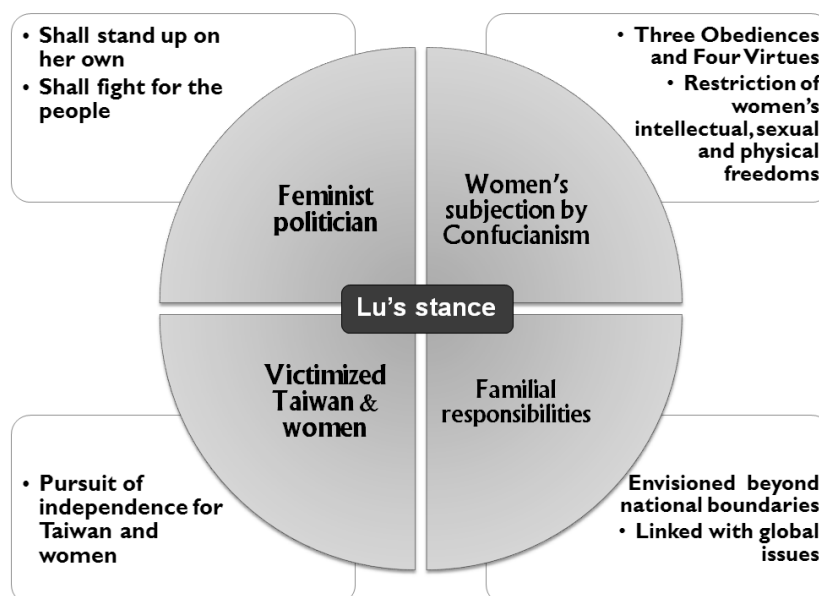

Figure 2: Annette Lu's stance

In the next section, I quote parts of Lu's speeches to further explicate these points.

The first is an interview with Renate Schmidt (SPD) in Bonn, Germany,[5] where she summarises how and why she combined gender inequality with human rights issues and used it as part of her political platform for independence.

(5)

Q: Were you jailed for your involvement in the women's movement?

A: No, but you can put it that way, perhaps. This is mainly because I have moved from *contemplating the fate of women's issues to the fate of the Taiwanese people*. I found that there are similarities between the two: both constitute more than half of the population in Taiwan, and both are not minorities. Nevertheless, both have suffered long overdue discrimination and marginalization. This reflects a common problem – women and Taiwanese need more awakening and make more efforts to achieve human rights. Six years into my fight with the women's movement, having experienced all kinds of smears and setbacks, I decided to get involved with political movements to awaken the Taiwanese people. (Lu 1987)

The next excerpt shows how she appropriates the familial role of *parent* in Taiwan's post-colonial contexts and uses them to argue for independence.

(6)

Before Japan's surrender, the U.S., the U.K., and the R.O.C. agreed on a declaration to return Taiwan to China when Japan gave in. However, as the Korean War broke out after the surrender of Japan, the U.S. government, realizing that it couldn't withdraw its forces in Asia, issued the Truman Doctrine, claiming that while Japan was asked to give up sovereignty over Taiwan, the treaty did not identify the country to which Taiwan was returned.

Accordingly, the legal status of Taiwan was yet to be determined. In other words, we Taiwanese were *abandoned and given to Japan by our birth parents (Qing, the last dynasty in Chinese history); Japan thus became our foster parents*. Then when the Japanese lost the war and their power, they *abandoned* us again. However, this doesn't mean that our *birth parents* are qualified or able to adopt us back.

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[5] The interview was published by *Awakening Magazine* (*Funu xinzhi Zazhi*) (Lu 1987, 16–17).

> Ladies and gentlemen, our country will be facing a serious crisis in three weeks, because the U.S., who has been supporting us for 30 years, has given us up. Of course, we were wrong for having been relying too much on America in the past 30 years. After all, *the U.S. is itself an imperialist*. ... It has been 35 years since Taiwan was separated from Japanese rule. Isn't it the time for us to become an *independent country*? Shouldn't we stand up and strive for the independence of this country now? (Lu 1987)

In this excerpt, Taiwan is given up and adopted by various colonial powers, which are referred to by Lu as 'birth parents' and 'foster parents', and its uncertain status is the result of failed colonialism. By victimising Taiwan and pointing to the indecision of international powers, Lu urges for the independence of the country:

(7)

Everybody, (as for) our grandfathers and grandmothers, nobody asked for their consensus, and they were changed from Chinese to Japanese. They can be changed into someone else in the future. This is very much against human rights. (Lu 1987)

In the last part of the speech, Lu adopts a more indirect strategy, albeit with the same persuasive force as the speech was given at a time when Taiwan was under martial law and authoritarianism dictated the words and actions of citizens. With the linguistic strategy of no-naming – not pointing out the reference of her intention, she engages her audience in the imagination of what had been happening to Taiwan's national identities (Flowerdew and Leong 2010). The lack of consensus among the people to decide what they were is seen by Lu as a violation of human rights for which she is a firm advocate.

By victimising Taiwan, her repositioning of parents – both natural/birth and foster – with their failed responsibilities in internationally troubled times results in Taiwan's undecided national status. She uses that as part of her political platform to seek independence both for Taiwan and for women. Her personal experience again is relevant for her convictions, as she points out, even today, that except for her, all Asian female national leaders have come from prestigious political families where either their father or husband or brother was originally the powerful political figure. Some of them in fact are political widows, 'widow politics' being a unique phenomenon in Asia. But as Lu sees it, a feminist politician shall stand up on her own, not on her family ties; shall fight for the people, not for her family or herself (Lu 2013).

In the next excerpt, Lu attacks Chinese Confucianism's view of women's subordination to men and uses it as one of her personal and political platforms to liberate herself, women, and Taiwan on their path to independence:

(8)

> Chinese Confucianism subjected women to the so-called Three Obedi-
> ences and Four Virtues. The Three Obediences were to obey her father
> before marriage, obey her husband during marriage, and obey her sons in
> widowhood. The Four Virtues were fidelity, physical charm, propriety in
> speech, and skill at needlework. Together, these traditions actually created
> Three Bondages for women: Bound heads, Bound waists, and Bound feet
> to restrict women's intellectual, sexual, and physical freedoms.
>
> Under Japanese chauvinism, women were taught nothing but to serve and
> to please men, women always bent their waists, bowed their heads, and sur-
> rendered to men. If Simone de Beauvoir thought that European women
> were the *Second Sex*, what would she have made of women in Asia? (Lu
> 2008)

Here, we see that Chinese traditions are challenged, and the previously exhorted truism
for gendered relations – women's submission and subordination to men – is targeted
as the culprit for women's persistently inferior status. Lu further puts this relation in
an international context and questions the status of Asian women. Her anti-traditional
views won her both admirers and enemies. In fact, her stress on being independent and
on not seeing China/Taiwan as a family either by way of Mme. C.K.S.'s ideology or that
of the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) made her controversial, and this subjected her
to the international limelight (see the quoted Excerpt (9). Yet she chose neither to com-
promise nor sacrifice her convictions, and she gave speeches on how media attention,
especially inflammatory attention, affected her.

   The following excerpt from the speech made for BPW International in Mexico sums
up her dilemma and her conviction.

(9)

> It certainly was a culture shock for Taiwan society. The people had only
> seen the first lady standing next to the president, so some people joked that
> I should behave like the president's "political wife." So, whenever I said
> something political or sensitive, the media and general public felt uncom-
> fortable and tried to silence me, to render me powerless. The situation
> made the first two years of my vice presidency incredibly miserable. Even
> the People's Republic of China aimed its attacks at me, as an unconven-
> tional woman, calling me the "scum of the nation" and "insane." China's
> men still maintained the traditional attitude that a woman playing politics
> was like a "hen crowing at dawn," that is, to play a wrong role. (Lu 2008)

Here we see that Lu tries to defy the conventional view of a wife as passive and supportive of her husband (the president in this example). Her defiance of the traditional expectations of familial roles did not win her much support in the media and invited more criticism from China where criticisms were directed at her false expectations of women as leaders. That is, she not only refuses to be a conventional 'political wife', her views on family also go beyond the nationalistic view that had dominated Taiwan for much of the 20th century. Worse, she urges people in Taiwan and beyond to take up issues resonating beyond the national borders.

In the next excerpt, Lu stresses women's caring and nurturing qualities, which would most benefit beyond the familial confines and should extend to international affairs:

> (10)
>
> We women are the best housekeepers for the house, and also for the earth. It is time for us women, as the nurturers of life and as half of the population on earth, to launch a green renovation for green civilization! The concept of green civilization stresses the following four interests of balance: 1. The value of life, 2. The standard of livelihood, 3. The quality of environment, and 4. The benefit of industrial investment. (Lu 2011)

In this speech, as in many speeches that she has given in recent years, Lu stresses feminine qualities such as caring and nurturing, but unlike Mme. C.K.S.'s vision of family and nation, Lu's ideals extend to global and related issues, such as green renovation and green civilisation. In this sense, her use of familial metaphors such as 'housekeeper' helps her extend her ideals from domestic/national issues to international/global ones.

Born half a century apart and in times where China/Taiwan was experiencing intense nationalism, modernisation, and ultimately democratisation, Mme. C.K.S. and Annette Lu both chose to incorporate gender issues into their political rhetoric to promote their political agendas and to advance their personal convictions. While Mme. C.K.S. used Chinese traditions, especially those concerning Confucian doctrines on women's subordination and submission to men and incorporating them to a nation in order to promote militaristic and nationalistic projects, Lu used some of the same traditions to launch feminism and seek independence for both women and Taiwan in the 1970s. While Mme. C.K.S. emphasises women's sacrifices and contributions to national projects, Lu stresses women's rights and personal advancements. The former built her political career by being one of the most successful political wives in the modern Chinese period while the latter entered politics to counter injustice, to defend human rights, and refused to be a 'political wife' when she served as Vice-president (2000–2008). Moreover, Lu's family values extend to global issues such as the protection of

environmental and human rights. Both of their ideals for family, parents, as well as for wives and mothers, are still binary. Mme. C.K.S. adapts Chinese nationalism and patriotism to dictate gender roles and normalise gender socialisations. Annette Lu frames her belief on gender equality and women's independence with human rights and as the driving force for her long fight for independence for herself, women, and Taiwan. Both women embed gender/familial discourse with elements of culture and politics when modern China/Taiwan was going through socio-political transitions at the turn of the 20th century, reinventing modern China/Taiwan from feudalism to modernity and from authoritarianism to an emerging democracy.

Contrasting Lu's gender discourse to that of Mme. C.K.S. helps answer the questions raised at the beginning, i.e., whether political ideology affects a candidate's view of family values and influences how nationalism is framed. The results are positive for both Mme. C.K.S.'s appropriation of elements of Chinese nationalistic and patriarchal perspectives and Annette Lu's seeing both women and Taiwan as independent and viable and extending her idea of a family beyond domestic and national boundaries and family values to global issues.

5 Conclusions and Suggestions

In this paper, I have compared the political rhetoric of female politicians in Chinese/Taiwanese politics to test how and if their ideas and ideals for women and family values are different and whether they can be used for national objectives and to express personal convictions. By elucidating the socio-political contexts and by contrasting Mme. C.K.S. and Annette Lu at the height of Taiwan's modernisation period, during its one-party authoritarian period, and well into the 21st century, I have shown how Chinese/Taiwanese ideals for women have always been linked tightly to their obligations to the family, reflecting some of the most powerful political ideology in Chinese/Taiwanese politics.

I started with *xianqi liangmu*, an epithet popularised in Mme. C.K.S.'s rhetoric, and explained that by likening family to nation and the obligations of familial roles to those of citizens, she helped modern China/Taiwan to infuse citizens with patriotism and to harness the virtues of wives and mothers to war time projects, education, and industrialisation. In contrast, for Annette Lu, who was born half a century later and who suffered gender discrimination and political repression, her personal and political convictions helped frame *wives* and *mothers* from a liberal feminist perspective, which put femininity above masculinity and extended the obligations to care for family and nation to serving the world. In addition, Lu's political ideology in seeing the island as inde-

pendent from China marked her family model/values as different from that of Mme. C.K.S. Changing times and ideologies might have set Mme. C.K.S. and Annette Lu worlds apart but they both adopted binary gender norms and appropriated elements of Chinese patriarchy and nationalism to advance their political agenda.

Figure 3 summarises how female roles are (re)interpreted during political transitions in the speeches of Mme. CKS and Annette Lu:

I — Imperial China (before 1911)
gender socialisation via familial roles such as daughter, wife, mother, and sex is more for producing offspring to secure future

II — Modern China (1920s to 1940s)/Taiwan (1940s to 1980s)
Xianqi Liangmu incorporated into various national projects

III — Late 1970s
The opposition party challenges Chinese traditions and uses them as platforms to liberate women and Taiwan.
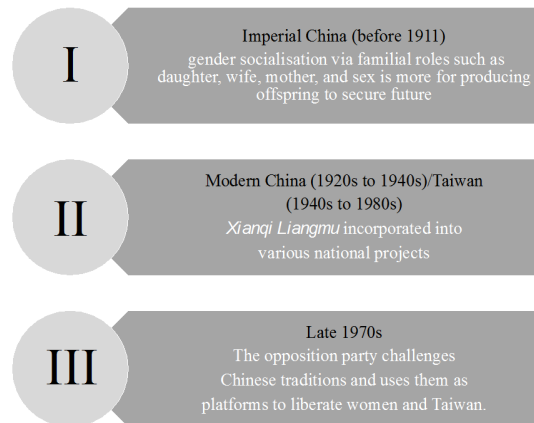
Figure 3: Changing gender roles in modern China/Taiwan

A few more words on whether family values and Confucian doctrines for wives and mothers will remain potent metaphorical breeding grounds for 21st-century Taiwan serve as a salient conclusion. As one of the prominent female politicians in Taiwan, Annette Lu broke away from the pattern of typical Asian political wives, mothers, and daughters, where family ties and political ideologies pave the road to power and domination in politics. Lu has adopted different family models focusing on human rights and environmental issues. Breaking away from traditional familial roles as the pretext for gender socialisations and adaptations of family values might now help frame femininity and masculinity in more pragmatic ways. Future studies could compare Mme. C.K.S's and Lu's political rhetoric to other emerging democracies in East Asian countries, where authoritative regimes aided by cultural or religious ideologies have produced systematic sexism in politics. With the changing socio-political forces, especially rising economic powers and opposition parties, different family values and changing familial roles might be emerging.

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