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The (Un)Healing Leprosy of Cresseid in Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*

Henryson'un *Testament of Cresseid* Eserinde Cresseid Karakterinin Cüzzam Hastalığı

Burçin Erol   0000-0003-4928-7842
Hacettepe University

ABSTRACT
Robert Henryson, the medieval Scottish poet, wrote the *Testament of Cresseid* as a sequel to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. Chaucer treated the disloyalty of Criseyde to Troilus with respect to the circumstances that did not put all the blame on her. Henryson, however, depicts Cresseid as an arrogant, lustful and disloyal character who behaves disrespectfully against Eros and Venus. She is punished for her sins by contracting leprosy and at the end of the poem, she is disfigured and when she begs for alms from Troilus he does not even recognize her. In the Middle Ages it was believed that moral depravity and spiritual corruption were the reasons for leprosy. It was strongly associated with pride and lustfulness. Hence, Cresseid's pride and arrogance lead her to insult the gods and she was punished by leprosy. Her leprosy caused her disfigurement, that is, her bodily beauty, and her pride and arrogance were tamed when she had to beg for alms. Finally, at the end of the poem, which is specified to be a tragedy, she came to the realization of her fault and sins. Leprosy in the Middle Ages was also regarded as a divine favor, as it purified the soul and although the leper suffered bodily in this world s/he would win her/his wealth in the other world. In this poem, Henryson presents leprosy not only as an illness but employing medieval medical knowledge and myths turns the illness into a healing agent in the recognition and spiritual growth and perhaps salvation of Cresseid.

Robert Henryson, the medieval Scottish poet, wrote the *Testament of Cresseid* as his version of the Troy story in a way to deal with the aspects that both overlap with Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* and present the fate of Cresseid that Chaucer did not deal with in his work. Henryson introduces further elements to the story and presents a different treatment to make it into a more complex narrative. Chaucer's story deals in detail with how the Trojan Prince Troilus who is inexperienced in love falls in love with Criseyde, the daughter of Calchas who is a traitor and has gone over to the Greek side during the Trojan war. Although Criseyde is hesitant in the beginning, fearing for her reputation and feeling insecure because of her position as the daughter of a traitor, with the help and machinations of Pandarus the two lovers are brought together and they consummate their love. After a short period of bliss, the Greek war prisoner Antenor is exchanged with Criseyde at which point the lovers think that she will be able to come back. However, there is no return for her and in the Greek camp Diomedes takes interest in Criseyde and she eventually becomes his

CONTACT Burçin Erol, Prof. Dr., Dept. of English Language and Literature, Hacettepe University, Turkiye | burc@hacettepe.edu.tr; ORCID# 0000-0003-4928-7842; https://doi.org/10.47777/cankujhss.

mistress. On the other hand, Troilus loses hope of her return and realizes her unfaithfulness. Chaucer when narrating the story ended the unhappy separation of Troilus and Criseyde and the liaison of Criseyde with Diomedes in the Greek camp. The death of Troilus is stated very briefly at the end where the narrator seems to sum up the ending. This section is followed by Troilus's soul ascending to the heavens and his moralizing comment on the pettiness of all earthly things. Although in comparison to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* is very short, its plot includes various details that do not exist in Chaucer's version, and he deals with the tragic story of Cresseid, leading up to her death which was not given in the former work. MacQueen commenting on this difference very aptly points out that "In the most Chaucerian of his works, Henryson is not the disciple, rather he regards himself with some justification as a fellow innovator with Chaucer" (55). Henryson's narrative begins with a very swift depiction of Cresseid in the Greek camp, and how her relationship with Diomedes is very short lived and how he deserted her in a short time. The flow of the narrative is very speedy; the developments are given very briefly sparing all the details. Henryson's narrator describes Cresseid's life after her desertion by Diomedes where she seeks solace in the companionship of other men and depicts her anger at the gods whom she holds responsible for her unhappiness in love. In this aspect of the portrayal of Cresseid she is cast in a very different light than Chaucer's Criseyde. Chaucer constantly stresses Criseyde's awareness of her act of disloyalty to "true" Troilus and her utterances expressing her disloyalty and her sorrow in committing this act (Book V, 1051-85). However, Henryson does not dwell on Cresseid's thoughts or emotions about her disloyalty to Troilus, moreover she seems to be unaware of her own act of betrayal, but she appears more concerned with her own earthly happiness. When she is disillusioned in love, she blames the gods for her unhappiness with total disregard of her own actions and responsibility. Upon this disrespectful behavior of Cresseid towards the gods, a council of the gods is called to assembly by Cupid whereupon they decide that she should be punished for her blasphemy with the "incurable sickness." As Stearns points out, it was Henryson who "added the leprosy element and it continued with other writers" such as Shakespeare and Dryden (265) who also produced their own versions of the story. Both Beryl Rowland (176) and Hudson (151) argue that Cresseid's illness was not leprosy but syphilis, basing their opinion on the symptoms described by Henryson. On the other hand, Richards states that syphilis was unknown in medieval Europe (159), Nikiforuk also asserts that syphilis came to the Old World from the New World after the discovery and the increasing relations between the two (122 ff.). In the Middle Ages both syphilis and leprosy were believed to be contracted by sexual promiscuity, a loose life and morals, and were incurable. Both illnesses could be functional in indicating the immoral life that Criseyde led. However, as mentioned earlier, leprosy is more appropriate both historically and for the morals and the ending of the poem in that, this specific illness had a long history and was associated with both earlier and Biblical traditions with characters who would be blessed by the salvation of their souls after the purgatory their bodies suffered in this world, being inflicted with his disease. Hence, the poem functions as a tragedy and concludes meaningfully because Cresseid's incurable leprosy is essential in her recognition of her disloyalty and true perception of both herself and Troilus leading to the cure of her vanity and pride, thus making her soul's healing and salvation possible. Syphilis, lacking this Biblical aspect would not have functioned in a similar way.

The addition of the sickness of Cresseid to the narrative is highly significant in relation to the genre, the message and the moral of Henryson's work. Criseyde, the daughter of Calchas was sent back to her father at the Greek camp in exchange for the warrior Antenor. She had to leave Troy and also her lover Troilus due to the political arrangement of the two warring sides. Although her position at Troy was a precarious one, being the daughter of a traitor who had defected to the enemy's side, she had the protection of both Pandarus and eventually her lover Troilus, the gem of a hero, the son of Priam and Hecuba. In the beginning, not realizing the true circumstances that surrounded

her, she thought she could come back in a very short time, but it proved to be impossible for her to do so. Chaucer treated the disloyalty of Criseyde to Troilus with respect to the circumstances that did not put all the blame on her and in his famous phrase he defined her with "a sliding corage" in his work *Troilus and Criseyde*. Chaucer's Criseyde, under difficult circumstances, finds herself in a relationship with Diomedes. Although the story line in Henryson's work may give the impression that he was writing a sequel to Chaucer's narrative, his approach and treatment, especially of Cresseid, is in a completely different vein and takes a different direction. First of all, as the title of the work indicates, Henryson is focusing on Cresseid and her trials and tribulations. While Chaucer's Criseyde is depicted in full detail with her hesitation and doubts when she is realizing the impossibility of her return to Troy and Troilus, and her realization of her betrayal of Troilus, Henryson, depicts Cresseid as an arrogant, lustful, disloyal, fallen character who behaves disrespectfully against Cupid and Venus, choosing to blame the gods for her present unhappy state rather than accepting responsibility for her actions. Consequently, she is punished for her sins and her blasphemy against the gods by being struck with leprosy. She is disfigured with the sickness, displaying all the symptoms. Eventually she becomes a beggar begging for alms trying to survive as an outcast of the society. When she is begging at the town gates where she is allowed by custom and law to fulfill such an activity, she encounters Troilus who is returning victoriously from the battlefield. During this encounter, although Troilus feels strangely and is reminded of his disloyal beloved, he does not even recognize her. However, the poem ends with the self –recognition and death of Cresseid.

Henryson's treatment of the story might seem to be unmerciful and harsh towards Cresseid at first sight, but on close examination it reveals the fact that the poet making use of medieval and biblical traditions provides salvation for Cresseid. She is shown to contract the unhealing sickness of leprosy but through suffering and finally gaining self-knowledge this illness becomes a healing agent for her arrogant and sinful soul. Ironically her illness becomes her cure.

The issue of the genre of the work and the leprosy of Cresseid are inseparably entwined. There have been many different approaches to the poem and views relating to its genre as Gray briefly summarizes (162-64). However, in relation to the genre of the poem the poet's narrator makes various comments. Henryson, in the opening of the poem explicitly states his choice of genre, leaving no doubt about it and perhaps implies his intention. Following the conventions, he begins the poem by giving the seasonal and psychological setting and says: "Ane doolie sessoun to ane cairfull dyte/ Suld correspond and be equivalent:/ Richt sa it wes quhen I began to wryte/ This tragedie;" (*Testamen*t ll. 1-4). In keeping with the principles of decorum, he states that he is going to narrate a tragedy in the time of the year which is not cheerful itself. As MacQueen points out "the time intended is not winter but spring; the passage is a variation on the traditional spring opening" however "the season is a spring which has been blasted until it is almost undistinguishable from winter" (51, 52). Parkinson also draws attention to the significance of this specific seasonal reference and indicates that it is ill foreboding (356). The unusual seasonal setting is in keeping with Cresseid's love life which was thwarted before it could bloom.

In the Middle Ages various dramatic forms which were written in line with the classical definitions and that were performed on stage did not exist except for a few examples where the classical examples of dramatic works were adapted to medieval themes in the continent such as the plays of Hroswitha. Although tragedy and comedy did not exist as fully staged dramatic forms, the concepts retained their existence in narrative form (Hartnoll 32-33). Moreover, as Wickham emphasizes, "the triumph of Latin as the universal language of the new Church and the new Europe" and the use in learning and teaching of the works of the classical writers and preservation of these works contributed to the survival of earlier dramatic traditions. Especially the libraries of monasteries contained some of the writings of Aristotle, Seneca, Terence and Horace (Wickham

22-23). Chaucer in the beginning of his Monk's Tale, through the mouth of his narrator, gives the medieval definition of tragedy as a form. The Monk enumerates the characteristics of tragedy before he sets out to narrate his string of tales that bear the same characteristics as follows:

> I wol bewaile, in mannere of tragedie,
> The harm of hem that stoode in heigh degree,
> And fillen so that ther nas no remedie
> To brynge hem out of hir adversitee.
> For certain, whan that Fortune list to flee,
> Ther may no man the cours of hire witholde. (Monk's Tale ll. 1991-96)

As can be seen in the words of the Monk, following the precepts of Aristotle, the tragic hero is a person of high status, and experiences a reversal of fortune the outcome of which is loss of happiness and misery. In keeping with this approach, in a similar fashion Chaucer at the end of *Troilus and Criseyde*, in the dedication section refers to his work as a tragedy: "litel myn tragedye" (ll. 1786). Although, neither the Monk's definition as given in the *Canterbury Tales* nor Henryson's definition include the tragic hero/heroine's contribution to his/her fall, Henryson depicts the tragic flaw of Cresseid as the major cause of her fall. Brody emphasizes this aspect and says that "She sins, and because she sins, she is punished by the gods with leprosy" (174).

Henryson, when narrating his version of the story, deals with the events which Chaucer did not include in his version, that is, he focuses on the life of Cresseid in the Greek camp. She has been disloyal to her love Troilus, entering a relationship with Diomedes. Henryson does not elaborate on how she drifted away from Troilus and was attracted to Diomedes who is a prominent character and strong warrior on the Greek side. Her betrayal of her true love is not dealt with. The earlier part of the story is narrated very swiftly by Henryson, and in a very short space disregarding the details of the relationship, he states that Diomedes has cast her off:

> Quhen Diomeid had all his appetyte,
> And mair, fulfillit of this fair ladie,
> Vpon ane vther he set his haill delyte,
> And sent to hir ane lybell of repudie,
> And hir excludit fra his companie.
> Than desolait scho walkit vp and doun,
> And sum men sayis, into court, common. (*Testament* ll. 71-77)

Although as Brody underlines "Cresseid is still a beautiful woman and still a person of rank, but the corruption of her soul which culminates in the corruption of her body is under way" (174). Henryson depicts Cresseid as physically beautiful but her morals have decayed. She is no longer a character of noble behavior, and after Diomedes banishes her from his presence, she leads the life of a fallen woman. The love of Diomedes and Cresseid is not noble like the love of Troilus, and as Henryson clearly expresses, it is carnal. When Diomedes's lust is satisfied, he turns his back on Cresseid. Cresseid becomes a fallen woman and she is worldly, sensuous and lustful as she chooses to satisfy these needs with other men. Henryson's narrator, in an apostrophe addressed to her, says:

> O fair Creisseid, the flour and A per se
> Of Troy and Grece, how was thow fortunait
> To change in filth all thy feminitie,
> And be with fleschlie lust sa maculait,
> And go among the Greikis air and lait,
> Sa gigolotlike takand thy foull plesance!
> I haue pietie thow suld fall sic mischance! (*Testament* ll. 78-84)

Cresseid, as Godman argues, is vain and self-centered both before and after she is struck by the disease (297). She is committing the sins of pride and lechery. She has no true knowledge of her actions and chooses to blame both Cupid and her mother Venus for her unhappy love life and her desertion by her lovers. By this action she commits blasphemy against these two gods. In her frustration, while she is praying in her own chamber, she expresses her regret that she ever worshipped them and even accuses them of misleading her:

> Vpon Venus and Cupide angerly
> Scho cryit out, and said on this same wyse:
> 'Allace, that euer I maid ʒow sacrifice!
>
> 'ʒe gaue me anis ane deuine responsaill
> That I suld be the flour of luif in Troy;
> Now am I maid ane vnworthie outwaill,
> And all in cair translatit is my joy. (*Testament* ll. 124-130)
> . . .
> 'O fals Cupide, is nane to wyte bot thow
> And thy mother, of lufe the blind goddess!
> ʒe causit me alwayis vnderstand and trow
> The seid of lufe was sawin in my face,
> And ay grew grene throw ʒour supplie and grace.
> Bot now, allace, that seid with froist is slane,
> And I fra luifferis is left, and all forlane' (*Testament* ll. 134-140)

She feels betrayed by the gods and she states that when love was going to bloom, with frost it was all thwarted. In her statement, it is evident that she fails to see her own fault in the change of her fortune.

Cupid swiftly calls the gods to assembly; Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Phoebus, Venus, Mercury and Cynthia appear. Cupid states the necessity of the punishment of those who commit blasphemy against the gods and says: "Thus hir levuing vnclene and lecherous/ Scho wald retorte in me and my mother" (*Testament* ll. 285-86). Cresseid blames the gods for her loose morals and life. On the decision of Saturn and Cynthia, who themselves are depicted in the poem with physical reflections very reminiscent of leprosy, and who are related by the humours theory and astrological texts to the illness (Parr 488), Cresseid is punished. The shared verdict of Saturn and Cynthia is that "In all hir lyfe with pane to be opprest,/And torment sair with seikness incurabill" (*Testament* ll. 306-307). Saturn decrees that she will lose her physical beauty and "cheer," she will also suffer both physical depravity and loss of health. Saturn enumerates the aspects of his punishment as follows, and says:

> 'Thy greit fairness and all thy bewtie gay,
> Thy wantoun blude, and eik thy golden hair,
> Heir I exclude fra the for euermair.
>
> 'I change thy mirth into melancholy,
> Quhilk is the mother of all pensiuenes;
> Thy moisture and thy heit in cald and dry;
> Thyne insolence,thy play and wantones,
> Togreit diseis; thy pomp and thy riches
> In mortall neid; and greit penuritie
> Thow suffer sall, and as ane beggar die.' (*Testament* ll. 313-22)

Saturn decrees her to lose her good looks and joy, golden hair, to be in a melancholic state and die a poor beggar. All these aspects, as illustrated by a number of critics, are in keeping with the allegorical character of Saturn. Cynthia adds her own punishment:

> 'They cristall ene mingit with blude I mak,
> Thy voice sa cleir, vnplesand, hoir and hace,
> Thy lustie lyre ouirspred with spottis blak,
> And lumpis haw appeirand in thy face:
> Quhair thow cummis, ilk man sall fle the place.
> This sall thow go begging fra hous to hous
> With cop and clapper lyke ane lazarous.' (*Testament* ll. 337-43)

The most frequent adjective used to describe Cresseid in the *Testament* is "fair" and this is the quality she loses by the decree of the gods. She belonged to the respectable society and mixed with the upper class, now she is condemned to marginalization, isolation and being an outcast, without any protector; she is shunned by all except the other lepers. As Parr points out, "description of leprosy was found in almost all medical works of the fourteenth and fifteenth century" (489). In keeping with these descriptions, Cresseid's clear bright eyes become bloodshot, her clear voice becomes hoarse, her complexion is marred with black spots and ulcerations (Parr 490). Stearns states that the sickness was widespread in England and Scotland; in England it almost died out by the fifteenth century but in Scotland it lasted till the end of the eighteenth century (265). Stearns is of the opinion that Henryson was also informed of the illness and the symptoms from his personal observations (266) however most of the critics do not agree with Stearns assertion that his firsthand observations provided him with such detailed information about the symptoms of the disease because the disease was well known and its descriptions were provided in medical handbooks. The symptoms that are described in the *Testament* are detailed and accurate. In Henryson's time leprosy was classified in four types. Cresseid's illness can be identified as *elephantiasis* which was believed to be incurable (Stearns 268). The leper immediately became a social outcast, who was forced to reside in isolated villages or leper houses located outside the towns. Stearns also points out the desire of the person who suffered from leprosy to avoid society to be a frequently-noted symptom. Cresseid follows a similar path when she discovers that she has been struck by the disease; she expresses her wish to secretly depart from her father's mansion and to live in a leper house. The lepers were allowed limited access to certain parts of the town for limited periods, they had to beg for their food and alms at town gates (Brody 60 ff). Since they were deemed to be a threat to society and were accepted as carriers of contagion, the society felt the need to take protective measures (Brody 79, Stearns 266, Richards 153-56). In 1427 the Scottish Parliament announced decrees strictly regulating the movement of the lepers and outlining where and when they could beg (Stearns 266). On similar moral grounds, in England in "1346 Edward III had issued a royal mandate excluding lepers from London" (Brody 96). The leper had to announce his presence warning the community of his approach with his clapper, the bell or the horn he carried (Richards 154-55). He would collect the alms in the bowl he carried. Similar to some other distinctive marginalized groups of the Middle Ages, the lepers were also segregated by means of specific dress and items of costume (Richards 154-55). Henryson does not include any reference to the specific costume in the depiction of Cresseid but he refers to the clapper and the begging bowl. These two items were the immediate symbols of the begging leper which the gods decree Cresseid to carry. Cresseid waking up from her dream where she was punished, checks her face in a mirror and sees her face disfigured beyond recognition. She weeps bitterly and admits that she has deserved this end because of her sin against the gods, she says: "My blaspheming now haue I bocht full deir" (*Testament* l. 354). In relation to the sin, she commits detailed information is provided for the medieval audience in one of the works of religious instruction. The author of *The Acrene Riwle* in his book of instructions for three anchorites presents a very systematic description

of all the sins in the "Temptations" section. Here he presents an allegorized depiction of the Seven Deadly Sins, assigning each a symbolic beast and comments on the off-springs of these beasts to specify the subdivisions of the specific sin. The Lion of Pride is said to have many cubs and the seventh cub is stated to be Blasphemy. The author says: "This cub is nourished by the man who swears great oaths, or curses bitterly, or speaks in an evil way about God or about His saints on account of some suffering that he has, or something he sees or hears" (86-87). The story of Troilus and Criseyde belongs to the Matter of Rome, and although it is a story set in pagan times Christian beliefs and dogma is being appropriated and employed in this ancient story. Henryson's Cresseid recognizes her misconduct against the gods, but her recognition is not fully achieved. She realizes that she was blaming the gods whereas her attitude should have been one of acceptance and obedience. *The Acrene Riwle* also comments on the sin of Lechery and describes it as the Scorpion of Lechery. Various forms of it are enumerated as its off-springs and Fornication which Cresseid commits is also mentioned (91). Within this systematic classification, Cresseid has committed the spiritual sin of Pride and the bodily sin of Lechery (*Acrene Riwle* 85). As Richards also points out, the link between leprosy and sin was established as early as the Hebrew commentators of the bible and had later been taken on into Christianity (159). Cresseid still cannot fully grasp her situation and fails to see her immoral behavior as the other important reason she has been punished with leprosy. However, since she is aware that everyone will be able to recognize her sin associated with her illness, she asks her father to help her in going to a leper house secretly where she is unrecognized. As she comes from a noble family she is accepted (*Testament* ll. 352-57, 345-51).

At this point Cresseid's first lament is given. The lament follows the well-established form of the *ubi sunt* tradition, lamenting the loss she is to endure. She laments for the loss of all the earthly pleasures, goods and luxury items she enjoyed in her healthy days enumerating luxurious chambers, textiles, gold cups, and rich food (*Testament* ll. 368-85). These are followed by her lament of the loss of enjoyable stroll of the May gardens and the joyful days. She laments her loss saying where are they? The wheel of fortune has turned and as befits the tragic hero/heroine, she has lost all that she enjoyed formerly, never to be recovered again. She says referring to her state:

> Thy greit triumphand fame and hie honour,
> Quhair thou was callit of erdlye wichtis flour,
> All is decayit, thy weir is weltreit so;
> Thy hie estait is turnit in darknes dour." (*Testament* ll. 386-89)

However, at this point she still cannot perceive her true situation. In the words of Godman in this lament "self-pity, regret for lost elegance and erstwhile honour, and despair prevail; what is wholly lacking is remorse" (296). She is still vain and self-centered. When in an address to the ladies of Troy and Greece, showing her fall as a warning, she still blames the fickleness of Fortune (*Testament* l. 404). The only moral she can grasp at this stage at the most can be a warning against devotion to worldly values and pleasures.

Upon the chiding of a fellow leper woman and the demands of necessity, Crisseid not being supported by anyone has to go begging for her survival. The woman says: "Go leir to clap thy clapper to and fro/ And leif efter the law of lipper leid.'" (*Testament* ll. 431-32). Since there is no help, she in the end has to go out begging, forced by cold and hunger. Meanwhile, Troilus is coming back from the battlefield where he was victorious and the paths of the former lovers cross. When the beggars approach him in their normal begging area by the town gates Troilus is overcome by pity and gives generously to the leper woman whom he fails to recognize as Cresseid. Although Cresseid is disfigured beyond recognition, something reminds Troilus of her and out of pity and remembrance of Cresseid, he gives his girdle and purse of gold to this woman. When Cresseid recognizes Troilus, she faints. When she comes round, it is the moment of true recognition of Cresseid in the poem. As Godman puts it, she "understands the deepest source of her suffering to

be neither leprosy nor the enmity of Fortune but her own infidelity to and loss of Troylus" (298). She reproaches herself by repeatedly saying "O fals Cresseid and trew knicht Troilus!" (*Testament* l. 497). She also sees the reality that she is solely responsible for what has become of her, she says: "Nane but myself as now I will accuse'" (*Testament* l. 525). She then prepares her testament in which she sends the ruby ring which had been given by Troilus to her to inform him of her death. According to medieval lapidary lore the ruby is a sign of virtue and lordship over others, making all men show respect to the bearer (Evans and Serjeantson 41,110), thus she acknowledges Troilus's worth once more in humility. She also commends her soul to Diana, which is of significance, as she is singled out with her properties of the chaste goddess of the wilderness and woods, as Parkinson points out "Cresseid envisions a chaste refuge for her soul" (360). Hence, it seems that Cresseid has been reformed and wishes for her soul to be chaste.

Medieval convention supported that moral depravity and spiritual corruption were the reasons for leprosy. Rawcliffe states that "With varying degrees of sophistication, poets and storytellers further elaborated the theme of leprosy as a punishment for crime or depravity, especially of a sexual nature"(*Medicine and Society* 15, *Leprosy* 53ff) and she further specifically comments on Cresseid and says: "How appropriate that the lovely Cresseid, who is not only vain, blasphemous and proud but also little more than a harlot with 'wantoun blude', should be condemned to end her days in the dirt and penury of a 'spittail-hous'" (*Medicine and Society* 15). It was strongly associated with pride and lustfulness. Hence, Cresseid's pride and arrogance lead her to insult the gods and she was punished by leprosy. Her leprosy caused her disfigurement, that is, her bodily beauty was lost, and her pride and arrogance were tamed when she had to beg for alms.

On the other hand, the disease was also accepted as a special grace of God, hence the leper was specially chosen by God for salvation (Brody 101, Rawcliffe *Leprosy* 47). In general illness was believed to have a sanctifying effect. In *The Acrene Riwle* there is a special reference to the attitude and function of illness in general which is relevant to Cresseid's situation. The author elaborates on the topic as follows:

> Illness is a fire of which we must endure the heat, but nothing purifies gold so well as illness cleanses the soul.
> Illness which is sent by God, and not caught by some through their own foolishness, does these six things: washes away sins previously committed; protects against those that were threatening; tests our patience; keeps us humble; increases our reward; puts the patient sufferer on a level with the martyrs. Thus bodily illness is the health of the soul, salve for its wounds, a shield against further wounds, which God sees it would receive did not prevent it. Illness causes man to understand what he is, to know himself, and like a good master it chastises us, in order to teach us how powerful God is, how precarious worldly happiness. Illness is your goldsmith who in the happiness of heaven is gilding your crown. The greater the illness, the busier the goldsmith, and the longer it lasts, the more he burnishes the crown. What greater grace could there be, for those who have deserved the tortures of hell, world without end, than to become, through an adversity which soon passes, equal with the martyrs? (80)

The religious authorities tried to comfort the lepers by stating that this illness was the salvation of the soul and that the illness would be the purgatory of their soul (Brody 103, Rawcliffe *Medicine and Society* 16). Leprosy in the Middle Ages was also regarded as a divine favor, as it purified the soul and although the leper suffered bodily in this world s/he would win her/his wealth in the other world. In *The Testament of Cresseid* Henryson presents leprosy not only as an illness but employing medieval medical knowledge and myths turns the illness into a healing agent in the recognition and spiritual growth and perhaps salvation of Cresseid. Cresseid was vain, proud of her beauty, and fond of worldly and fleshly pleasures. When she contracted leprosy she realized

the transitoriness of all worldly beauty and possessions. With the final encounter with Troilus she realized her infidelity and the true noble love and character of Troilus. As the best example of tragic heroes, she does not only experience a reversal of fortune, but she also achieves recognition of her sins and gains wisdom through this self-recognition.

It would not be wrong to say that her horrible incurable "unhealing" physical illness enables Cresseid to gain wisdom through the recognition of her vanity and pride, and results in the healing of her soul. Her incurable leprosy which cannot heal itself is instrumental in healing her sinful character and saving her soul. Her incurable leprosy which cannot be healed itself is instrumental in healing her sinful character and saves her soul.

In conclusion, it can be said that Henryson in *The Testament of Cresseid* takes up the unhappy love story of Troilus and Cresseid and focuses on Cresseid's fortunes on the Greek side living with her father. Henryson introduces the theme of the illness of leprosy contracted by Cresseid to the narrative and following medieval beliefs and theories writes a tragedy. The poet portrays her not as a victim of fortune but as a proud, arrogant and lecherous figure who commits the sin of blasphemy against the gods blaming them for her unhappy love life. As a result of her sins, following medieval medical beliefs, she is struck by leprosy which was specifically associated with the Christian sins of pride and lechery. She loses all her worldly assets; once a beautiful woman with a high status in the society, she is disfigured beyond recognition. Even Troilus her former lover cannot recognize her. Due to her uncurable illness she has become a social outcast because she has to live away from the society, limited to the leper's quarters and she has to beg for alms for her sustenance. Although the sickness was believed to be an incurable punishment of loose life and morals following medieval biblical tradition, it was also deemed to be a divine favor and blessing sent by God. It was a purgatory on earth but it led to salvation. Also following the tradition of tragedy, Henryson depicts Cresseid experiencing a fall that is caused by her flawed character and sins, but through the fall she gains self-recognition and repents. Hence, ironically the unhealing physical sickness cures and heals her soul.

Disclosure Statement

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Language | research article

A Descriptive Content Analysis of Bibliometric Analyses of SSCI-Indexed Language and Linguistics Journals

SSCI Dizinli Dil ve Dilbilim Dergilerinin Bibliyometrik Analizleri Üzerine Betimsel İçerik Analizi

İbrahim Halil Topal [iD] 0000-0003-4220-3706

Gazi University

ABSTRACT

Despite a growing number of bibliometric studies in various disciplines, there is a lack of consolidated analysis focusing on SSCI-indexed language and linguistics journals. Through a descriptive content analysis approach, this study offers a panorama of bibliometric research on SSCI-indexed language and linguistics journals. Specifically, it addresses the frequently analyzed journals, the metrics used in these studies, publication trends over the years, bibliometric differences between high- and low-impact journals, and institutional/geographical distribution of authors. Consequently, it intends to reveal under-researched journals and relevant bibliometric trends that warrant further bibliometric attention. To this end, 629 relevant journals were identified using a SCImago search. Two hundred twenty-four were validated for SSCI-indexation through the Web of Science (WoS) Master Journal List. After establishing the inclusion and exclusion criteria, a keyword query was performed using the WoS Core Collection. Results indicated 18 bibliometric studies analyzing 20 journals between 1984 and 2023. Commonly used metrics showed similarities, albeit five studies with individual foci (e.g., methodological characteristics and impact factor). Most studies were multiple-authored publications, with 33.33% international collaboration. The annual scientific production peaked in 2022 and 2023 despite long-lasting stagnation and fluctuations. The bibliometrically analyzed journals had varied impact factors. Geographical distribution showed U.S. and Chinese dominance, followed by Spain. Analyses suggest a vast literature gap in bibliometric mapping of language and linguistics journals. Altogether, this analysis contributes to a deeper understanding of bibliometric practices and their implications for research evaluation in language and linguistics.

Introduction

Bibliometric analysis has manifested as a significant method for examining research output, author collaboration, and scholarly influence across disciplines in academic evaluation environments. Grounded in informetrics and scientometrics (Bawden & Robinson, 2012; Leydesdorff & Milojević, 2015), this method occupies a central place in understanding the dynamics of scientific communication through such metrics as citation counts, co-authorship networks, and keyword trends (Donthu et al., 2021; Passas, 2024). Although bibliometric methods have gained traction in fields such as business (Donthu et al., 2020) and education (Dao et al., 2023), their application in language and linguistics—particularly concerning SSCI-indexed

journals—remains fragmented and underexplored. The Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), managed by Clarivate Analytics, curates over 3,500 journals across various disciplines, including 629 in language and linguistics as of 2023 (Clarivate Analytics, 2024; SCImago Journal & Country Rank, 2024). These journals represent the most visible and impactful research in the field, yet there is no consolidated understanding of how they have been bibliometrically analyzed over time.

To date, most bibliometric studies in language and linguistics have focused on either specific topics, such as English as a medium of instruction (Wu & Tsai, 2024) and translanguaging (Xin et al., 2024) or individual journals, such as the *Computer Assisted Language Learning* (CALL) journal (Goksu et al., 2022) and the *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching* (*IRAL*) (Zhong & Liu, 2023). While informative, these efforts fall short of offering a comprehensive synthesis of which SSCI-indexed journals have been examined, what bibliometric indicators have been used, and which research areas remain underrepresented.

This study seeks to address this gap by conducting a descriptive content analysis of existing bibliometric studies focused on SSCI-indexed language and linguistics journals. It aims to identify publication trends, commonly used metrics, and the institutional and geographical distribution of research while also pinpointing neglected journals and subfields. This contributes to a more coherent understanding of bibliometric practices in the discipline and provides practical insights for researchers, journal editors, and policymakers.

In this regard, the research addresses the following research questions:

1. Which SSCI-indexed language and linguistics journals have been most frequently analyzed in bibliometric studies?
2. What are the bibliometric indicators used in these studies?
3. How have the publication trends of bibliometric studies in language and linguistics journals evolved over time?
4. What is the distribution of the citational impact of the bibliometrically analyzed journals?
5. What is the institutional and geographic distribution of the analyzed bibliometric studies?
6. Which journals or subfields are underrepresented and should be prioritized for future bibliometric research?

Literature Review

The bibliometric approach has long been used to evaluate scientific communication patterns, academic productivity, and influence (Ellegaard, 2018; Donthu et al., 2021). The development of major citation databases, including the Science Citation Index (SCI), SSCI, and Arts & Humanities Citation Index (AHCI), has contributed to the growth of bibliometric studies in academic evaluation (Garfield, 2007; Liao & Ma, 2018). Today, the SSCI comprises a vast and rigorously curated body of journals, accessible via the Web of Science (WoS) Core Collection, with more than 11 million records (Clarivate Analytics, 2024).

The widespread adoption of tools such as Biblioshiny, CiteSpace, and VOSviewer has further facilitated the accessibility and appeal of bibliometric analysis (Donthu et al., 2021). These technologies allow researchers to visualize co-authorship patterns, keyword clusters, and citation networks with relative ease (Donthu et al., 2021; Dao et al., 2023). As a result, bibliometric methods have been employed across a range of disciplines—including business, education, and health sciences—to track research evolution, identify high-impact publications, and assess journal performance (Mukherjee et al., 2022).

In language and linguistics, however, bibliometric studies remain relatively sparse and are often limited in scope. Researchers have examined broad areas, such as applied linguistics (Lei & Liu,

2019) and second language acquisition (Zhang, 2020), niche areas such as artificial intelligence in second language teaching (Kartal & Yeşilyurt, 2024) and prosody in linguistic journals (Yan & Wu, 2024), and specific journals such as *TESOL Quarterly* (Riazi et al., 2023) and *English for Specific Purposes* (ESP) Journal (Yang et al., 2023). These studies typically use indicators such as citation analysis, keyword co-occurrence, authorship, and institutional affiliation.

Despite the contributions of these individual studies, no systematic synthesis currently exists to show how bibliometric research has covered SSCI-indexed journals in language and linguistics as a whole. Additionally, inconsistencies in study design and bibliometric indicators make it difficult to generalize trends or identify gaps in coverage. For instance, specific journals may receive disproportionate attention while others are neglected, and some analyses may emphasize methodological features while others focus purely on citation metrics.

The absence of a unified framework or dataset representing the bibliometric landscape of SSCI-indexed journals in this field thus presents a clear research opportunity. A synthesis of existing studies can help identify which dimensions have been emphasized, which journals have been overlooked, and how scholarly attention is distributed geographically and institutionally. This need provides the rationale for the current study.

Method

Research Design

This study is designed as a systematic review employing the descriptive content analysis (DCA) method, one of the three primary approaches used in systematic reviews, alongside meta-synthesis and meta-analysis (Çalık & Sözbilir, 2014). Descriptive content analysis is particularly suited for synthesizing and mapping trends in existing research by systematically examining documented data (e.g., journal articles) to identify recurring patterns, themes, and methodological characteristics (Cohen et al., 2007; Selçuk et al., 2014).

Within the scope of this study, DCA is used to analyze previously published bibliometric studies focusing on SSCI-indexed journals in language and linguistics. By systematically reviewing these studies, the research aims to determine which journals have been most frequently examined, the bibliometric indicators employed, and the institutional and geographical publication trends. This method allows for a systematic yet flexible synthesis of research findings.

The suitability of DCA for this purpose is well supported in the literature. Previous research has adopted this approach to explore scholarly trends across disciplines (e.g., Birgili et al., 2021; Çevik, 2024; Kandal & Baş, 2022; Kılavuz, 2023), confirming its methodological value for capturing evolving research landscapes. Situating this study within the systematic review tradition and employing descriptive content analysis as its analytical framework, the research ensures methodological rigor and replicability while offering a comprehensive overview of bibliometric practices in the language and linguistics domain.

Database and Instrument

The study exploited Clarivate's WoS Core Collection database. Clarivate is a prominent worldwide supplier of transformative intelligence, providing enhanced data, insights, analytics, workflow solutions, and expert services in academia and government, intellectual property, life sciences, and healthcare (Clarivate Analytics, n.d.). The WoS database houses over 81 million publication records as of June 2021 (Olaleye et al., 2023). Along with Scopus, the WoS is the world's leading citation database (Zhu & Liu, 2020). It also contains 13,605 academic journals (Mongeon & Paul-Hus, 2016). In addition, the WoS database provides users with quantifiable data (e.g., article types, research areas, author profiles, and citations) on scholarly publications (Mongeon & Paul-Hus, 2016). All things considered, this study utilized the WoS database for its extensive refereed journal

coverage in social sciences and humanities (Darvish & Tonta, 2016; Steinhardt et al., 2017), user-friendly presentation of bibliometric data (Pranckutė, 2021) and common usage in bibliometric studies (Mongeon & Paul-Hus, 2016; Singh et al., 2021; Stahlschmidt & Stephen, 2022).

The study employed a data classification form (a spreadsheet) developed by the researcher to extract and organize the data from the identified publications systematically. This form functioned as the data collection tool and was used to record key attributes of each bibliometric study included in the analysis. The form included the following categories: study title and authors, publication years, publication venues, bibliometric indicators used (e.g., citation analysis, keyword co-occurrence, authorship patterns), methodological characteristics (e.g., data sources, tools, analysis type), number of authors and collaboration type (national vs. international), institutional and geographical affiliations, and research focus.

The development of this classification form was informed by prior descriptive content analysis studies (Birgili et al., 2021; Kandal & Baş, 2022) and established practices in bibliometric reviews (Donthu et al., 2021; Pranckutė, 2021). The tool provided an organized framework for identifying publication trends, methodological patterns, and literature gaps. All data extracted using this tool were manually coded and entered into a spreadsheet for further analysis and synthesis.

Data Retrieval

The WoS Core Collection was selected as the primary database for data retrieval due to its comprehensive coverage of peer-reviewed publications in the social sciences and humanities and its widespread use in bibliometric research (Pranckutė, 2021; Steinhardt et al., 2017; Stahlschmidt & Stephen, 2022). As this study focuses on bibliometric research concerning SSCI-indexed journals in language and linguistics, the first step involved compiling a definitive list of relevant journals in the field.

To generate an initial list of journals in the "Language and Linguistics" domain, the researcher used the SCImago Journal & Country Rank (SJR) website, a publicly accessible tool that allows users to filter journals by subject area and discipline. Although WoS is the authoritative source for SSCI-indexed journals, it does not offer a user-friendly way to filter journals strictly by subject category (e.g., "Linguistics" or "Language") in bulk. Therefore, SJR was used solely as a practical starting point to compile a preliminary list of potentially relevant journals. Previous research has also used this approach to identify subject-specific journal sets (Comel et al., 2023; Gómez et al., 2024; Vaccaro et al., 2022).

In November 2024, a search was conducted on the SJR platform using the "Linguistics and Language" subject area filter, which yielded 629 journals across four quartiles: Q1 = 248, Q2 = 162, Q3 = 123, and Q4 = 96. Recognizing the limitations of SJR in terms of SSCI validation, the complete list of 629 journals was then cross-verified using Clarivate's Web of Science Master Journal List (Clarivate Analytics, n.d.), which serves as the definitive source for indexation status.

This cross-check confirmed that 224 journals were indeed indexed in SSCI at the time of the study: Q1 = 176, Q2 = 38, Q3 = 8, and Q4 = 2. These 224 journals were used as the final sampling frame for the bibliometric study search. Following this, the researcher applied a set of predefined inclusion and exclusion criteria (see Table 1) to identify relevant bibliometric studies within the WoS Core Collection that focused on these journals.

Table 1 *The Inclusion Criteria*

Category	Corresponding characteristic
Subject area	Language & Linguistics

Publication source	Academic journals
Indexing	SSCI
Research type	Bibliometric analysis

Accordingly, a keyword search was conducted to initiate a search in titles (i.e., the title of a journal article, proceedings paper, book, or book chapter). Due to the excessive number of journals (n=224) available for analysis, the researcher conducted the query for each journal separately using the following keyword search displayed in Table 2.

Table2 *Sample Keyword Search on the WoS Core Collection*

Search: "bibliometric*" **OR** "scientometric*" **OR** "bibliometric analysis" **OR** "scientometric analysis" **OR** "bibliometric study" **OR** "bibliometric research" **OR** "scientometric study" **OR** "scientometric research" (Title) **AND** "Communication Research" (Title) and Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) (Web of Science Index)

Date Run: Mon Nov 11 2024 15:10:52 GMT+0300 (GMT+03:00) **Results:** 5

The researcher performed the sample search for each journal and manually sifted (Hernández-Vásquez & Rosselli, 2017) the yielded results until a publication title matched the search criteria (i.e., one of the SSCI-indexed language and linguistics journals and bibliometric analysis). In addition to the full journal titles, the abbreviated forms (e.g., *CALL* for *Computer Assisted Language* Learning and *IRAL* for *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*) were also used to warrant the inclusion of all relevant studies. Following this process, the matched studies were recorded for analysis. The search was also conducted with journal names in quotes, excluding such terms as "bibliometrics" or "bibliometric mapping." In sum, 18 bibliometric studies were acquired from the keyword search. The bibliometric indicators used in these studies, publication dates, authors' affiliations and geographic distributions, and key findings were extracted from the acquired studies that matched the criteria.

Data Analysis

The researcher exploited a combination of qualitative content analysis (Selvi, 2020), quantitative content analysis (Riffe et al., 2023) The first two analyses were performed to organize and generate descriptive statistics, while the latter was conducted in line with the predetermined themes to identify common focal points and areas that need further exploration. The researcher also employed visualization tools like RStudio's Biblioshiny app to illustrate the relationships between authorial, institutional, and geographical data.

Validity and Reliability

The study employed several strategies to ensure validity and reliability. Content validity was addressed through developing and pilot-testing a structured classification form informed by prior studies and refined based on a subset of articles (Birgili et al., 2021; Kandal & Baş, 2022). Construct validity was ensured by confirming the SSCI status of journals through the WoS Master Journal List and applying clearly defined inclusion/exclusion criteria (see Table 1). Triangulation was used by integrating qualitative, quantitative, and bibliometric visualization techniques to cross-check themes and patterns.

A systematic coding protocol was followed to ensure reliability with explicit definitions for each category in the classification form. Intra-rater reliability was checked by re-coding a sample of the articles after a two-week interval to confirm consistency. All data, coding sheets, and extracted variables were stored in structured digital archives to support transparency and replicability.

Findings

The findings are presented in accordance with the research questions: frequency and scope, trends over time, comparative insights, institutional/geographical distribution, and research gaps and future directions.

Frequency and Scope

The first research question concerns the journals whose bibliometric analyses were conducted and their scope (i.e., the bibliometric indicators included in these studies). Accordingly, the content of the relevant publications was analyzed descriptively. Findings indicated the scant presence (n=18) of bibliometric analyses of language and linguistics journals, remaining at 8.04% (among 224 journals). The journals that were bibliometrically analyzed are presented in Table 3. Beatty et al. (2012) examined *Communication Monographs* and *Human Communication Research* in the same study. Similarly, Knobloch-Westerwick and Glynn's paper (2013) included two journals – *Communication Research* and the *Journal of Communication.* Accordingly, 20 language and linguistics journals were analyzed bibliometrically in 18 publications. Additional information about the journals can be found in Table 3.

Table 3 *Descriptives for the Analyzed Journals*

Journal Title	Country	Publisher	First year published	H index	Impact Factor (2023)	Issues per year	ISSN/ E-ISSN
Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences (HJBS)	USA	Sage	1979	70	1.2	4	0739-9863 / 1552-6364
Cognitive Psychology (CP)	USA	Academic Press	1970	132	3.0	8	0010-0285 / 1095-5623
Lexikos	South Africa	Buro van die Wat	1991	19	0.9	1	1684-4904 / 2224-0039
Communication Monographs (CM)	UK	Routledge	1976	84	3.1	4	0363-7751 / 1479-5787
Human Communication Research (HCR)	USA	Oxford University Press	1974	106	4.4	4	0360-3989 / 1468-2958
Communication Research (CR)	USA	Sage	1974	124	4.9	8	0093-6502 / 1552-3810
Journal of Communication (JOC)	USA	Oxford University Press	1950	162	0.7	6	0021-9916 / 1460-2466

Journal of Quantitative Linguistics (JQL)	UK	Routledge	1993	31	0.9	4	0929-6174 / 1744-5035
Porta Linguarum (PL)	Spain	Universidad de Granada	2004	21	5.0	2	1697-7467 / 2695-8244
Journal of Second Language Writing (JSLW)	USA	Pergamon	1991	105	3.3	4	1060-3743 / 1873-1422
Language Teaching Research (LTR)	New Zealand	Sage	1997	81	4.9	6	1362-1688 / 1477-0954
System	UK	Elsevier	1973	104	1.5	4	0346-251X / 1879-3282
Journal of Language, Identity, and Education (JLIE)	USA	Routledge	2002	33	3.1	6	1534-8458 / 1532-7701
Journal of English for Academic Purposes (JEAP)	Netherlands	Elsevier	2002	75	1.8	4	1475-1585 / 1878-1497
Intercultural Pragmatics (IP)	Germany	De Gruyter Mouton	2004	47	2.2	4	612-295X / 1613-365X
Language Testing (LT)	UK	Sage	1984	83	6.0	4	0265-5322 / 1477-0946
Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL)	UK	Routledge	1988	75	1.4	8	0958-8221 / 1744-3210
International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching (IRAL)	Germany	Walter de Gruyter	1963	53	3.2	4	0019-042X / 1613-4141
English for Specific Purposes (ESP)	USA	Pergamon	1981	91	1.2	4	0889-4906 / 1873-1937
TESOL Quarterly (TQ)	USA	Wiley-Blackwell	1967	122	3.0	4	0039-8322 / 1545-7249

*The H-indices are based on SCImago (https://www.scimagojr.com/), the impact factors are from the journal websites, while the other data are retrieved from the WoS Master Journal List (Clarivate, n.d.). The

first years of publication indicates the journal's first publication indexed in SSCI.

Table 3 lists the journals in order of publication year of their bibliometric analyses. The journals are published by prominent publishers (e.g., Oxford University Press, Wiley-Blackwell, Sage, and Routledge) based predominantly in the USA (n=9), followed respectively by the UK (n=5), Germany (n=2), South Africa, Spain, Netherlands, and New Zealand (n=1 each). With the first publications of journals ranging between 1963 and 2004, the oldest (1963) journal is the *IRAL*, and the youngest (2004) ones are *PL* and *IP*. The journals' publishing frequency varies from annual (e.g., *Lexikos*) to eight annual issues (e.g., *CALL* and *CR*). The h-index of a publication represents the highest number of h for which at least h articles have each been cited h times or more (Norris & Oppenheim, 2010). For instance, if a journal has an h-index of 100, it indicates the publication of 100 articles that have each received 100 or more citations. In this regard, the analyzed journals' h-indices vary between 21 and 132.

Equally, a journal impact factor indicates the average count of citations that articles from that particular journal receive over a specific timeframe (Mammola et al., 2021). As displayed in Table 3, the impact factors ranged from 0.36 to 3.53 in 2023. Further details about the relevant bibliometric studies are shown in Table 4.

Table 4 *Bibliometric Research on Language and Linguistics Journals*

Article title	Authors	Publishing journal	Year	Volume	Issue	Pages
Personal and institutional sources of manuscripts and book reviews in the *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*	Caraveo-Ramos, L. E.	Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences	1984	6	1	3-11
Three decades of psychological research in the journal *Cognitive Psychology*	Mestre, V., Tortosa, F., Samper, P., & Nácher, M. J.	Psychological Reports	2003	93	3	972-982
Lexikos at Eighteen: An analysis	de Schryver, G.	Lexikos	2009	19	-	372-403
Journal impact factor or intellectual influence? A content analysis of citation use in *Communication Monographs* and *Human Communication Research* (2007–2009)	Beatty, M. J., Feeley, T. H., & Dodd, M. D.	Public Relations Review	2012	38	1	174-176
The Matilda effect—role congruity effects on scholarly communication: A citation analysis of *Communication Research* and	Knobloch-Westerwick, S., & Glynn, C. J.	Communication Research	2013	40	1	3-26

Journal of Communication articles						
Quantitative Aspects of *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics*	Chen, R., & Liu, H.	Journal of Quantitative Linguistics	2014	21	4	299-340
Bibliometric study and methodological quality indicators of the journal *Porta Linguarum* During six-year period 2008-2013	Sabiote, C. R., & Rodríguez, J. A.	Porta Linguarum	2015	24	-	135-150
Analysis of the empirical research in the *Journal of Second Language Writing* at its 25th year (1992–2016)	Riazi, M., Shi, L., & Haggerty, J.	Journal of Second Language Writing	2018	41	-	41-54
Research in language teaching over two decades: A retrospective of the first 20 volumes of *Language Teaching Research*	Stapleton, P., & Shao, Q.	Language Teaching Research	2018	22	3	350-369
The research trends and contributions of *System*'s publications over the past four decades (1973-2017): A bibliometric analysis	Lei, L., & Liu, D.	System	2019	80	-	1-13
A systematic analysis of five years of research articles published in the *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* (2015-2019)	Gao, F., & Wright, W. E.	Journal of Language, Identity & Education	2020	19	1	3--9
The contexts, theoretical and methodological orientation of EAP research: Evidence from empirical articles published in the *Journal of English for*	Riazi, A. M., Ghanbar, H., & Fazel, I.	Journal of English for Academic Purpose	2020	48	-	-

Academic Purposes						
Data collection methods applied in studies in the journal *Intercultural Pragmatics* (2004–2020): A scientometric survey and mixed corpus study	Kirner-Ludwig, M.	Intercultural Pragmatics	2022	19	4	459-487
Research trends and development patterns in *Language Testing* over the past three decades: A bibliometric study	Dong, M., Gan, C., Zheng, Y., & Yang, R.	Frontiers in Psychology	2022	13	-	-
The content analysis and bibliometric mapping of *CALL* journal	Goksu, I., Ozkaya, E., & Gunduz, A.	Computer Assisted Language Learning	2022	35	8	2018-2048
A bibliometric analysis of the *IRAL* over the past six decades	Zhong, X., & Liu, H.	International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching	2023	61	1	155-200
Tracing the development of *English for Specific Purposes* over four decades (1980–2019): A bibliometric analysis	Yang, R., Xu, L., & Swales, J. M.	English for Specific Purposes	2023	71	-	149-160
Review and analysis of empirical articles published in *TESOL Quarterly* over its lifespan	Riazi, A. M., Ghanbar, H., Marefat, F., & Fazel, I.	Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching	2023	13	4	811-841

All articles were multiple-authored except three (Caraveo-Ramos, 1984; de Schryver, 2009; Kirner-Ludwig, 2022). The earliest study was conducted in 1984, followed by two in 2018 and 2020, and three in 2022 and 2023. Additionally, all publications were included in different journals. However, the *CP*, *CM*, *HCR*, *LT* and *TQ*'s bibliometric analyses were not published in journals with the same titles but in others. The bibliometric indicators of the analyzed studies are presented in Table 5.

Table 5 *The Bibliometric Indicators Used in The Analyzed Studies*

Authors & years	Analyz	Analyz	Analyzed	Bibliometric indicators

	ed journal	ed articles	temporal ranges	
Caraveo-Ramos (1984)	HJBS	120	1979-1983	personal and institutional authorship
Mestre et al. (2003)	CP	565	1979-1999	research topics and authorial productivity
de Schryver (2009)	Lexikos	543	1991-2008	article frequency, language, page number, publication type, authors, affiliations, countries, and keywords
Beatty et al. (2013)	CM & HCR	579	2007-2009	citations and impact factor
Knobloch-Westerwick & Glynn (2013)	CR	1,020	1991-2005	research topic, author productivity, citations, and gender
Chen & Liu (2014)	JQL	374	1994-2013	keyword frequency, publication type, countries, authors, and affiliations
Sabiote & Rodríguez (2015)	PL	161	2008-2013	sample types, literature novelty, data collection instruments
Riazi et al. (2015)	JSLW	416	2002-2019	contexts and participants, research foci and theoretical orientations, research methodology and data sources, and pedagogical implications
Stapleton & Shao (2018)	LTR	359	1970-2015	research topics and trends (e.g., instructional effects, teacher cognition, and learner behavior)
Lei & Liu (2019)	System	1,589	1973-2017	research topics, highly cited articles, references, and authors
Gao & Wright (2020)	JLIE	114	2015-2019	word frequency, integration of language, identity, and education, research methodologies, authorship, and countries
Riazi et al. (2020)	JEAP	416	2002-2019	contexts and participants, research foci and theoretical orientations, research methodology and data sources, and pedagogical implications
Kirner-Ludwig (2022)	IP	358	2004-2020	data collection methods
Dong et al. (2022)	LT	759	1984-2020	publication frequency, frequent test types and topics, highly cited papers and authors, regional/institutional distribution, and international collaboration
Goksu et al. (2022)	CALL	310	2014-2019	keyword trends, countries, affiliations, authors, and methodological trends
Zhong & Liu (2023)	IRAL	1,214	1963-2022	frequent topics, citations, sources, references, authorship,

				h-indices, and countries/regions
Yang et al. (2023)	ESP	758	1980-2019	topic frequency, highly cited articles, references, authorship, and geographical distribution
Riazi et al. (2023)	TQ	696	1967-2019	contexts and participants, research foci and theoretical orientations, research methodology and data sources, and pedagogical implications

Although the bibliometric mapping of language and linguistics journals showed similarities in general, some differed in scope. For instance, Caraveo-Ramos (1984) examined only personal and institutional authorship. Similarly, Mestre et al. (2003) tackled research topics and authors' production. Equally, Beatty et al. (2013) analyzed the relationship between citations and the journal's impact factor. Likewise, Sabiote & Rodríguez (2015) focused only on the methodological characteristics of *PL* publications. Additionally, Kirner-Ludwig (2022) surveyed the methods for data collection in the *IP* journal. The remaining studies included similar bibliometric analyses (e.g., keyword trends, authorship, citation analyses, and geographical/institutional distribution) in their research.

Cumulative Publication Trends

The second research question dealt with the publication trends in bibliometric studies that centered on language and linguistics journals. Accordingly, the researcher used RStudio's Biblioshiny app to visualize the temporal trends of bibliometric studies of language and linguistics journals. As Figure 1 shows, 18 studies spanned between 1984 and 2023, with a 2.86% annual growth rate. A total of 41 authors used 75 keywords and 772 references in their documents. International co-authorship remained at 33.33%. Figure 1 displays the annual scientific production.

Timespan	Sources	Documents	Annual Growth Rate
1984:2023	18	18	2.86 %
Authors	**Authors of single-authored docs**	**International Co-Authorship**	**Co-Authors per Doc**
41	3	33.33 %	2.5
Author's Keywords (DE)	**References**	**Document Average Age**	**Average citations per doc**
75	772	9.44	14.94

Figure 1. General publication data
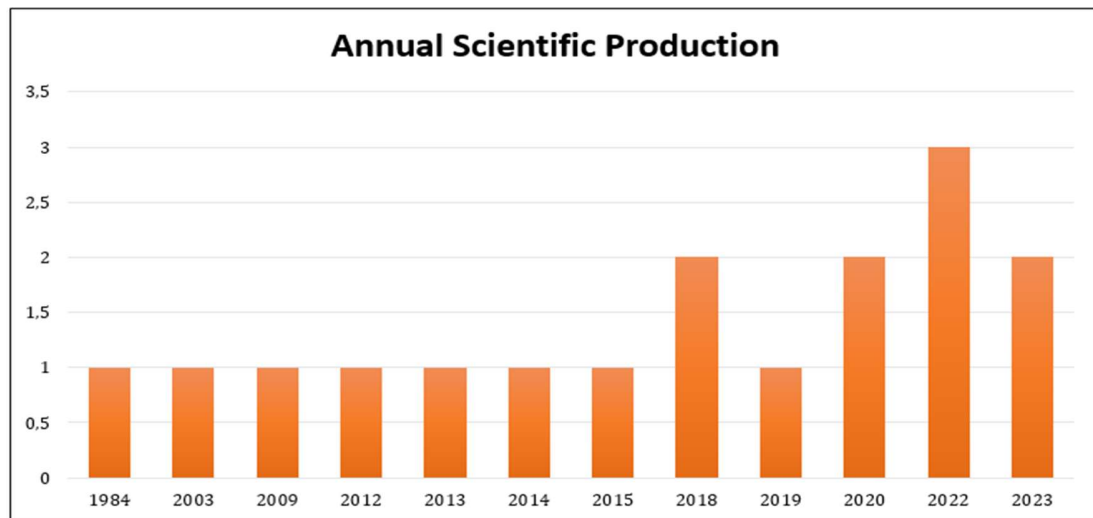
Figure 2. Annual scientific production

As Figure 2 demonstrates, bibliometric studies of language and linguistics journals started in 1984 (n=1), stagnated between 1985 and 2002, fluctuated between 2003 and 2021, peaked in 2022 and 2023 (n=3).

Comparative Insights

The third research question intended to reveal whether there were any differences in journals with higher and lower impact scores. Accordingly, h-indices, journal impact factors (JIF), journal citation indicator (JCI) metrics, and citations were analyzed descriptively and inferentially and shown in Table 6.

Table 6 *Descriptives for Impact of Journals*

Journal Title	Quartile	H index	JIF (2023)	Five-Year IF	JCI
HJBS	Q1	70	1.2	1.6	0.36
CP	Q1	132	3.0	3.3	1.10
Lexikos	Q2	19	0.9	0.7	0.42
CM	Q1	84	3.1	7.6	1.18
HCR	Q1	106	4.4	4.7	2.14
CR	Q1	124	4.9	5.9	2.14
JQL	Q1	31	0.7	1.1	2.80
PL	Q1	21	0.9	1.0	0.65
JSLW	Q1	105	5.0	5.9	2.84
LTR	Q1	81	3.3	4.3	2.07
System	Q1	104	4.9	5.5	3.08
JLIE	Q1	33	1.5	2.1	1.22
JEAP	Q1	75	3.1	3.7	2.45
IP	Q1	47	1.8	1.7	1.70
LT	Q1	83	2.2	3.4	2.05
CALL	Q1	75	6.0	6.8	3.53
IRAL	Q1	53	1.4	1.3	1.35
ESP	Q1	91	3.2	3.9	1.77
TQ	Q1	122	3.0	4.6	1.83

*Quartile & H-index: SCImago Journal Ranking; JIF & 5-year IF: Journal websites & WoS journal info; JCI: Master Journal List Clarivate

The h-index of a journal refers to the highest number of h for which at least h articles in that journal have each been cited at least h times (Costas & Bordons, 2007). For example, a journal with a h-index of 30 has published 30 articles that have been cited at least 30 times. H-indices are advantageous for objectively delineating scientific output since they combine quantity and impact measures calculated by publications and citations (Hirsch, 2005). The impact factor indicates how often articles in a journal are cited within a specific year (Larivière & Sugimoto, 2019). On the other hand, the 5-year impact factor refers to the average number of citations for articles published in the journal over the last five years (Pagani et al., 2015). Ultimately, The JCI represents the average Category Normalized Citation Impact (CNCI) of citable works, such as articles and reviews, published by a journal over the last three years (Crea et al., 2023). Local citation measures the frequency of citations of a document from all the articles/periodicals of a specific collection. The other instance of citation is global citation, which measures the total times any document in the collection is cited from all publications represented in the source (Batista-Canino et al., 2023).
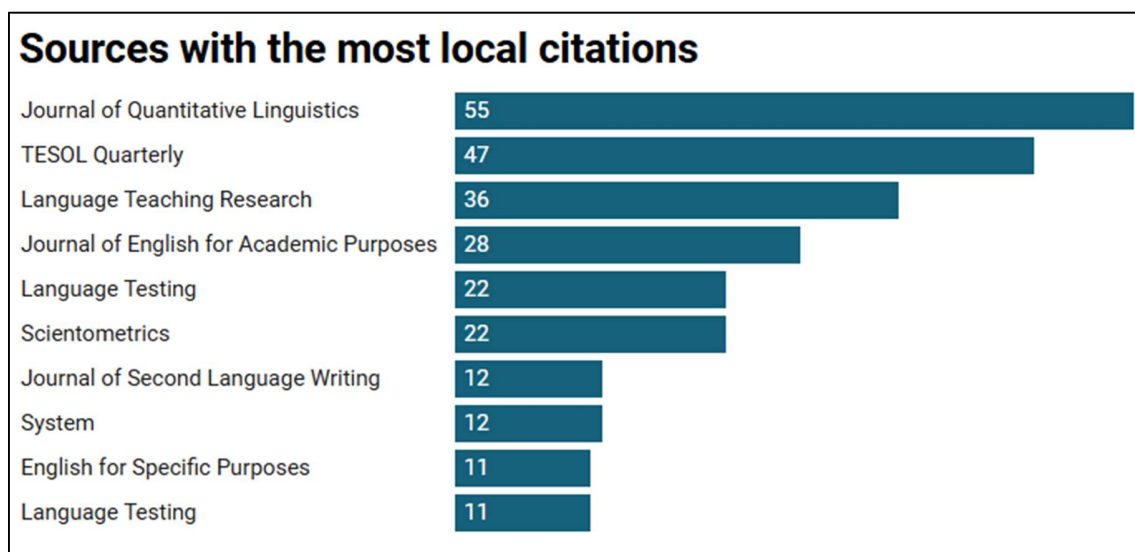
Figure 3. Sources with the most local citations

Figure 3 shows the journals cited in the 18 documents analyzed in this study. The total citations from these local sources were between 11 and 55. It is also evident that citations were received from journals with different scopes, such as Scientometrics, Language Testing, and English for Specific Purposes. These descriptive statistics also suggest the recognition of bibliometric studies from diverse academic venues.

Table 7 *Documents with the Most Global Citations*

Paper	Journal	TC	TCPY	NTC
Knobloch-Westerwick & Glynn (2013)	CR	71	5.46	1.00
Riazi et al. (2018)	JSLW	59	7.38	1.76
Lei & Liu (2019)	System	52	7.43	1.00
Riazi et al. (2020)	JEAP	16	4.00	1.92
Goksu et al. (2022)	CALL	15	2.50	1.67
Beatty et al. (2012)	Public Relations Review	11	0.79	1.00
Chen & Liu (2014)	JQL	9	0.75	1.00
Stapleton & Shao (2018)	LTR	8	1.00	0.24

Dong et al. (2022)	Frontiers in Psychology	5	1.25	0.60
De Schryver (2009)	Lexikos	5	0.29	1.00
Kirner-Ludwig (2022)	IP	4	1.00	0.48
Sabiote & Rodríguez (2015)	PL	4	0.36	1.00
Gao & Wright (2020)	JLIE	3	0.50	0.33
Zhong & Liu (2022)	IRAL	3	1.00	1.80
Mestre et al. (2003)	Psychological Reports	2	0.09	1.00
Riazi et al. (2023)	SSLLT	1	0.33	0.60
Yang et al. (2023)	ESP	1	0.33	0.60
Caraveo-Ramos (1984)	HJBS	0	0.00	-

TC: Total citations, **TCPY:** Total citations per year, **NTC:** Normalized total citations

As Table 7 shows, Knobloch-Westerwick and Glynn's study (2013) received the most citations (n=71) on the WoS, followed by Riazi et al. (2018) and Lei and Liu (2019). One interesting finding was that there were no citations for the first bibliometric analysis of HJBS (Caraveo-Ramos, 1984).
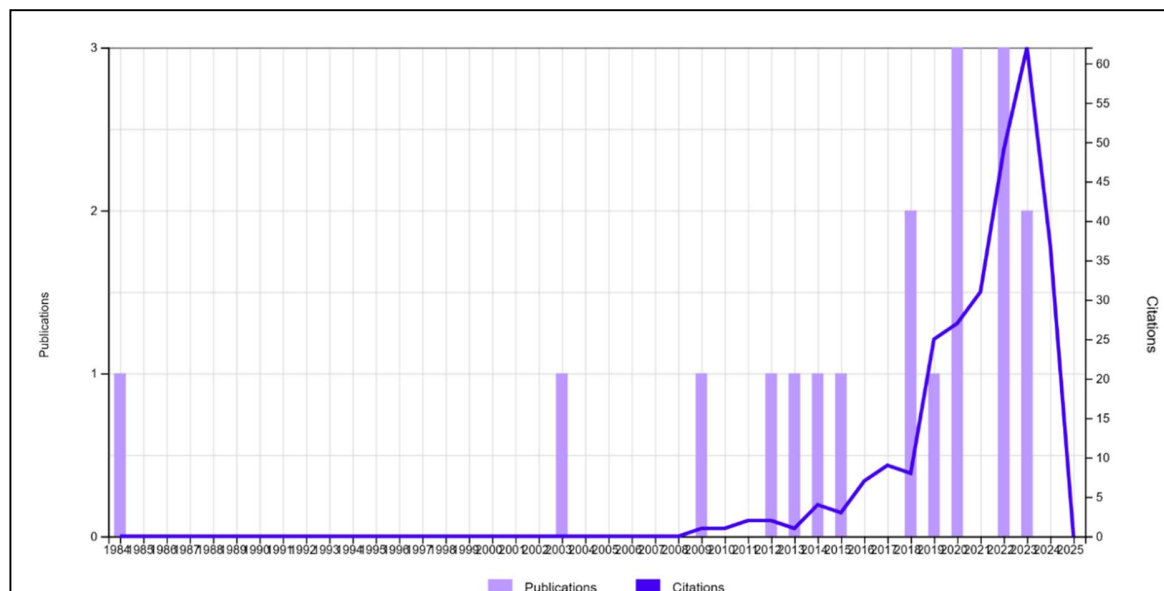
Figure 4. The overall citation counts of all 18 publications (1975-2024)

As Figure 4 displays, all publications received a total of 269 citations (257 without self-citations) from 244 articles (238 without self-citations) between 1975 and 2024. All 18 articles were cited 14.94 averagely.

Institutional and Geographical Distribution

The fourth research question sought to discover the distribution of authors' affiliations and countries. A full-count method was adopted for geographical and institutional distribution. If, for example, a paper was published by three authors, two of whom are from the same country, it was counted as one. This approach was embraced for fair distribution. As Figure 4 displays, the USA (n=6) ranked first, followed by China (n=5) and Canada (n=3). Three countries (Australia, Iran, and Spain) were represented in two publications. The remaining countries had one publication. For example, the paper with the highest citation (n=71) was published by U.S.-based authors Knobloch-Westerwick and Glynn (2013). Similarly, the document with the second most citations

(n=59) was an Australian-Canadian collaboration (Riazi et al., 2018). Equally, the third most cited article (n=52) was a U.S.-Chinese collaborative study by Lei and Liu (2019).
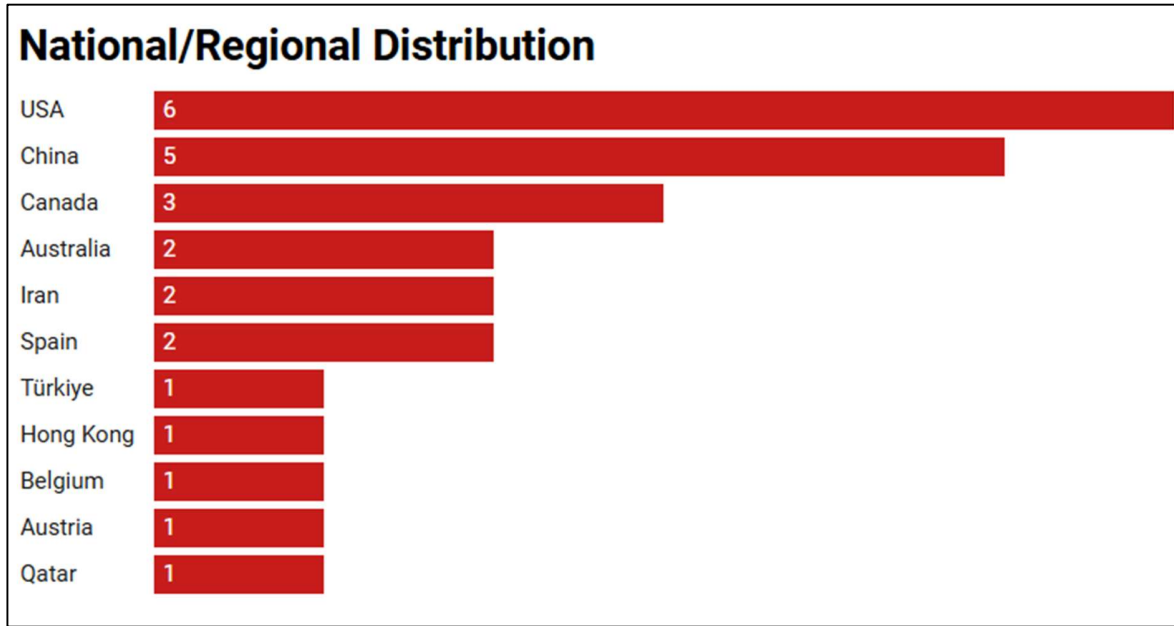
Figure 5. Geographical distribution of authors in bibliometric studies
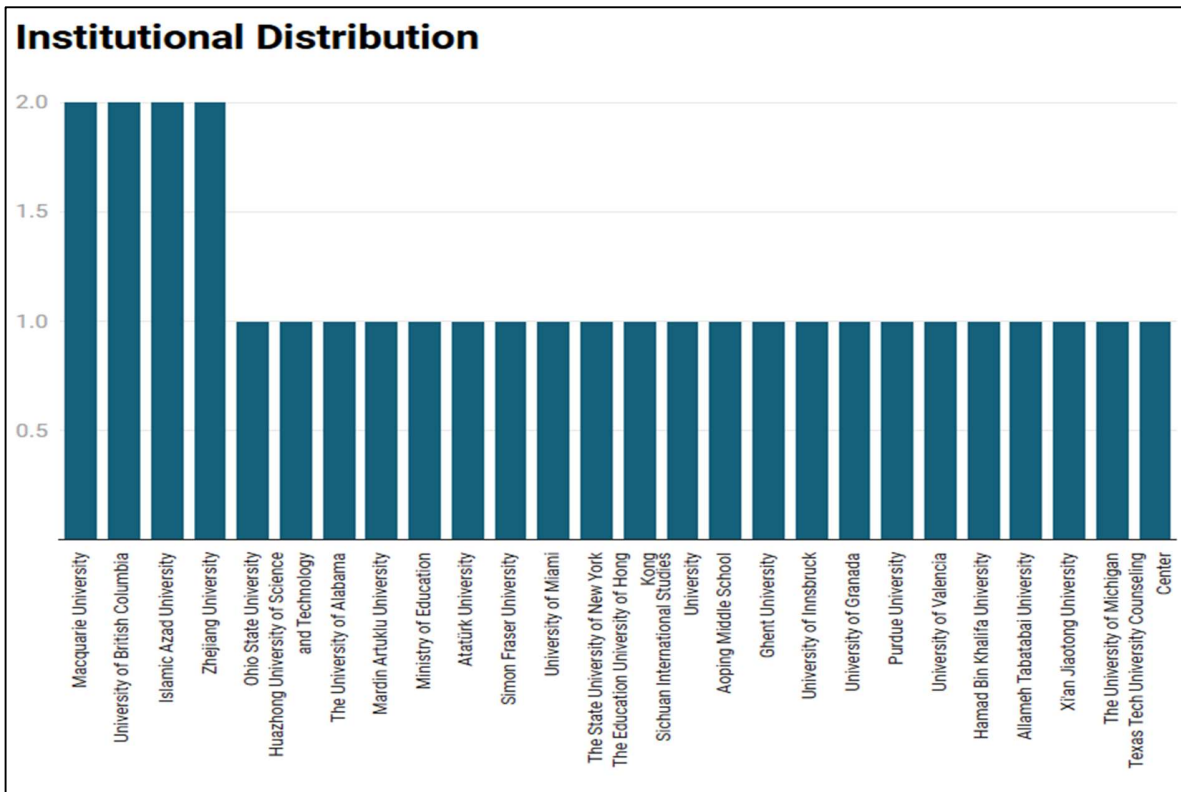
Figure 6. Institutional distribution of authors in bibliometric studies

Four institutions shared the first place in terms of academic productivity: Macquarie University (Australia), The University of British Columbia (Canada), Islamic Azad University (Iran), and Zhejiang University (China). The remaining publications were affiliated with 22 institutions. The document with the second most citations (Riazi et al., 2018), for example, involved A. Mehdi Riazi, a professor from Macquarie University at the time, currently affiliated with Hamad Bin Khalifa University. The other two authors in the same publication were Ling Shi and John Haggerty from the University of British Columbia. Co-authoring two papers (Riazi et al., 2020, 2023), Hessameddin Ghanbar is an assistant professor of applied linguistics from Islamic Azad University.

Research Gaps and Future Directions

The final research question sought to identify the gaps in the existing literature, guiding future researchers interested in conducting bibliometric analyses of journals in language and linguistics. In this context, descriptive statistics revealed a considerable research gap in the literature of bibliometric mapping of language and linguistics journals. Two-hundred and four SSCI-indexed journals in language and linguistics still await bibliometric analysis. Table 9 shows the top 30 well-known journals in different areas of language and linguistics that were not analyzed bibliometrically. The list of journals was identified based on SCImago ranking, journal scope diversity, h-indices, and impact factors.

Table 8 *Top Thirty SSCI-Indexed Journals Requiring Bibliometric Mapping*

Journal Title	Country	Publisher	H index	JIF (2023)
Language Learning	UK	Wiley-Blackwell	132	3.50
Applied Linguistics	UK	Oxford University Press	125	3.06
*Journal of Pragmatics**	Netherlands	Elsevier	120	1.80
Studies in Second Language Acquisition	UK	Cambridge University Press	115	4.20
The Modern Language Journal	USA	Wiley-Blackwell	112	4.70
Applied Psycholinguistics	UK	Cambridge University Press	101	2.40
Journal of Phonetics	UK	Academic Press	97	1.90
Reading and Writing	Netherlands	Springer Netherlands	92	2.00
Bilingualism – Language and Cognition	UK	Cambridge University Press	82	2.50
Language Teaching	UK	Cambridge University Press	79	4.00
*ELT Journal**	UK	Oxford University Press	72	3.10
Second Language Research	UK	Sage	72	1.90
ReCALL	UK	Cambridge University Press	67	4.60
Journal of Neurolinguistics	UK	Elsevier	67	1.20
Foreign Language Annals	USA	Wiley-Blackwell	65	1.50
Journal of Sociolinguistics	UK	Wiley-Blackwell	64	1.50
World Englishes	USA	Wiley-Blackwell	64	0.80
Annual Review of Applied Linguistics	UK	Cambridge University Press	62	2.08
International Journal of Applied Linguistics	UK	Wiley-Blackwell	53	1.50
International Journal of Corpus Linguistics	Netherlands	John Benjamins	53	1.60
*Assessing Writing**	UK	Elsevier	50	4.20

				2.00
International Journal of Multilingualism	UK	Routledge	50	
Language Awareness	UK	Taylor & Francis	49	1.50
Journal of Semantics	UK	Oxford University Press	48	2.00
RELC Journal	UK	Sage	47	3.60
Social Semiotics	UK	Routledge	41	1.60
Discourse and Communication	UK	Sage	38	2.10
Language Assessment Quarterly	USA	Routledge	36	1.40
Translation Studies	UK	Taylor & Francis	27	2.20

*H- index: SCImago; JIF: Journal websites

Table 9 shows a considerable research gap in the bibliometric mapping of the prominent journals in language and linguistics. These journals are mostly U.K., U.S., or Dutch-based and released by distinguished publishers. Also, their h-indices vary between 27 and 132, with different degrees of JIF. Some studies were conducted on the journals indicated with an asterisk in Table 9. However, they were not bibliometric studies. For instance, Anderson (2017) investigated the history of the PPP model through *ELT Journal*'s publications. Similarly, Zheng and Yu (2019) explored the content of publications (n=219) in *Assessing Writing* to reveal the evolution of writing assessments between 200 and 2018. Similar treatment was exhibited for numerous other journals, among which are *Linguistic Inquiry* (Sprouse et al., 2013), *Journal of Pragmatics* (Egbert et al., 2016), *Natural Language Engineering* (Tait & Wilks, 2019), *English in Education* (Hodgson & Wilkin, 2014), *Cognition* (Hardwicke et al., 2018), *Language Problems and Language Planning* (Li & Liu, 2013), *Language Teaching Research* (Lindstromberg, 2016), *NAMES: A Journal of Onomastics* (Nuessel, 2013), *Topics in Language Disorders* (Stark, 2010), *Ibérica* (Escudero & Swales, 2011), and *TESOL Quarterly* (Jiang & Jiang, 2023).

Researchers interested in language and linguistics might explore the research trends in the eminent journals in Table 9. Prospective scholars are reminded that the current study included bibliometric studies indexed in SSCI. Hence, language and linguistics journals (see Appendix 1 for a complete list) included or excluded in Table 9 may have been analyzed bibliometrically in journals indexed in other databases.

Discussion

The present study aimed to synthesize existing bibliometric analyses of SSCI-indexed journals in language and linguistics by revealing patterns in journal focus, methodological approaches, collaboration dynamics, and geographical trends. While bibliometric research has become increasingly popular in disciplines such as business (Donthu et al., 2021) and education (Dao et al., 2023), our findings reveal that such work remains underrepresented in language and linguistics, confirming similar concerns expressed by Wu and Tsai (2024) and Goksu et al. (2022), who noted the scarcity of bibliometric evaluations outside high-impact or technologically oriented journals.

The relatively small number of studies (n = 18) analyzing only 20 journals—out of a verified 224 SSCI-indexed journals in language and linguistics—suggests that bibliometric attention remains highly selective. Interestingly, these studies were distributed across a wide topical and regional spectrum, from applied linguistics journals such as TESOL Quarterly and IRAL to regionally rooted journals like HJBS and Lexikos. This spread contrasts with the findings of Vaccaro et al. (2022), who observed that bibliometric analyses in other disciplines tend to focus disproportionately on high-impact journals. The language and linguistics field appears more eclectic in this regard, although the overrepresentation of U.S. and U.K.-based journals may still reflect global publication hierarchies (Liu & Hu, 2024).

Regarding bibliometric indicators, the findings confirmed that most studies employed similar metrics (e.g., citations, h-index, co-authorship patterns, and institutional affiliations). Thus, they aligned with standard bibliometric practices (Donthu et al., 2021). However, methodological variations (particularly in terms of temporal ranges and document counts) suggest a lack of standardized approaches. For instance, the earliest bibliometric window began in 1963 (IRAL), while others started decades later. This inconsistency limits cross-study comparability and reinforces calls made by Pranckutė (2021) and Mongeon and Paul-Hus (2016) for more methodologically unified bibliometric reporting frameworks.

The temporal trends of bibliometric publications also reflect broader patterns in the field. After decades of inactivity, interest began increasing in the 2010s and peaked in 2022 and 2023. This mirrors the growing reliance on bibliometric indicators for research assessment worldwide (Mukherjee et al., 2022). The annual growth rate of 2.86%, though modest, supports the idea that language and linguistics is only beginning to embrace bibliometric evaluation at scale. Compared to more mature domains in bibliometric research (e.g., economics and medicine), this field still appears to be in an early developmental stage (Zhu & Liu, 2020).

Institutional and authorial data revealed a concentration of output in specific countries, particularly the USA, China, and Canada. This echoes global research output patterns across disciplines but also aligns with findings from Wu and Tsai (2024) who reported similar geographic dominance in English-medium instruction research. Notably, leading institutions such as the University of British Columbia and Zhejiang University show consistent engagement with bibliometric research. However, compared to domains like scientometrics or business analytics, language and linguistics still lacks regionally diverse bibliometric scholarship, suggesting the need for greater international collaboration.

Furthermore, while citation metrics such as JIF, five-year IF, and JCI were examined, there was no consistent pattern of selecting high-impact journals for bibliometric analysis. This suggests that researchers in this domain are not driven purely by impact factor considerations but perhaps by topical or regional relevance. Still, some highly cited studies (e.g., Knobloch-Westerwick & Glynn, 2013) demonstrated wide citation visibility across WoS, Scopus, and Google Scholar, implying that bibliometric work, when done rigorously, achieves interdisciplinary recognition.

The last dimension emphasizes a pressing need for diversification. Despite their high visibility and influence, mainstay journals (e.g., Language Learning, Applied Linguistics, and System) remain underrepresented in bibliometric studies published in SSCI-indexed journals. Dao et al. (2023) observed that bibliometric neglect of high-performing journals can distort our understanding of field-wide dynamics, leading to skewed perceptions of scholarly influence and trends.

Overall, the study mapped out the bibliometric studies of journals related to language and linguistics. The content of these studies was analyzed descriptively. The results pointed to the scarcity of bibliometric research of related journals, urging for more academic ventures. Such attempts will bridge significant gaps and contribute significantly to the relevant literature by guiding researchers, journal publishers, and other specialists.

Conclusion

This study aimed to map and synthesize the existing bibliometric research conducted in SSCI-indexed journals in language and linguistics. By analyzing 18 bibliometric studies covering 20 journals, the study provided a comprehensive overview of how these journals have been examined, which indicators have been used, and which scholarly communities have contributed to this line of research.

The findings revealed that bibliometric attention to language and linguistics journals has been

limited in quantity and scope, with only 8.04% of SSCI-indexed journals analyzed in previous studies. The journals explored varied in geographic origin, scope, and impact metrics but showed no systematic pattern regarding journal selection or bibliometric focus. Most studies were authored collaboratively, reflecting a growing trend of co-authorship and international engagement. Institutional and geographical data showed dominance by U.S., Chinese, and Canadian scholars, with notable contributions from leading universities in those countries.

The overall scientific output indicates reduced consistency in bibliometric studies in the field. However, the citational activities and WoS-indexation of the reviewed journals indicate their increasing recognition and academic value.

Collectively, the results confirm that bibliometric research in language and linguistics holds substantial potential for informing scholarly assessment, journal positioning, and disciplinary trends despite its infancy. This synthesis contributes a foundational reference point for future bibliometric inquiries in the field.

Suggestions for Researchers and Practitioners and Limitations of the Research

Based on the synthesis and interpretation of the findings, the following recommendations are proposed to support future bibliometric research in the field. Future bibliometric studies should include more SSCI-indexed language and linguistics journals. With 224 such journals identified, there is substantial potential for widening the scope beyond the currently analyzed 20 journals. Equally, dividing the journals into more specific sub-categories (e.g., language acquisition, applied linguistics, discourse studies, academic writing, technology-assisted language learning) would enable more precise mapping of research trends and publication behaviors within each sub-discipline. In addition to field-wide analyses, future research may benefit from detailed bibliometric investigations of individual, high-impact journals—such as *Applied Linguistics*, *Language Learning*, or *System*—to reveal shifts in editorial policy, citation impact, and thematic development.

Given the high proportion of co-authored studies in the current analysis, bibliometric scholars are encouraged to pursue national, institutional, and international collaborations. This way, they can achieve more inclusive perspectives and contribute to knowledge exchange across academic communities. Researchers should consider adopting shared frameworks for indicator selection (e.g., h-index, JIF, JCI), timeframes, and analytical tools to enhance cross-study comparability. Consistency in methodological approaches will strengthen the integrity and utility of bibliometric analyses in the field (Donthu et al., 2021; Pranckutė, 2021).

Although this study focused on the Web of Science (WoS), future work may include Scopus and Google Scholar to capture broader citation data and regional publication dynamics, especially from less frequently indexed or open-access journals. These recommendations will guide emerging and experienced researchers in developing more rigorous, representative, and methodologically sound bibliometric studies. They also offer practical insights for journal editors, policymakers, and institutions evaluating publication impact and visibility in language and linguistics.

Data Availability Statement

The data used in this study are available at https://shorturl.at/q5bME

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s)

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Entertainment, Alcoholism, Music:
Individual and Social Struggles in South Africa
Eğlence, Alkolizm, Müzik: Güney Afrika'da Bireysel ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler

Özgür Yılmaz 🆔 0000-0003-3020-8550
Independent Scholar

ABSTRACT
Exploring the interplay between entertainment, alcoholism, and music, this article investigates how everyday cultural practices in South Africa have served as both individual coping strategies and catalysts for collective resistance, particularly during and after apartheid. Moving beyond the simplistic opposition of personal escapism and organized political protest, the analysis adopts a contextual and theoretical perspective inspired by Gramscian and contemporary class theories. The study demonstrates that seemingly apolitical actions—such as informal musical gatherings, theatrical performances, and communal drinking—can lay the groundwork for broader social mobilization and emergent collective agency over time. By focusing on examples like Sophiatown's vibrant nightlife, the radical performances of the Market Theatre, and the tradition of protest music, the article highlights the gradual transformation of micro-level acts into sources of collective memory, solidarity, and political opposition. The South African experience reveals that cultural expression is not merely a passive reflection of domination, but a dynamic arena in the ongoing "war of position" against hegemonic structures. The findings argue that significant social change often emerges from the cumulative impact of everyday practices rather than exclusively from organized movements. Ultimately, this article underscores the importance of recognizing the blurred boundaries between individual and collective action, and the crucial role that ordinary life plays in cultivating resilience, resistance, and pathways to social transformation.

Introduction

Political protest has been a defining element in shaping societies and political landscapes throughout history. From revolutions to civil rights movements, protests have consistently demonstrated their power to challenge existing systems and catalyse societal change. Today, protests continue to play a vital role in pushing for reforms and sparking conversations around issues of social justice, equality, and human rights. In recent decades, the frequency and scope of protest activities have expanded beyond national borders, making them a global phenomenon that transcends cultural and political boundaries. This paper aims to explore the intricacies of protest,

examining its manifestations as both an individual and collective expression.[1]

Contemporary protest is a fluid phenomenon, shaped by the dynamic interplay between individual agency and collective mobilization. Rather than existing as separate or opposing forms, individual and social protests are often intertwined: personal acts of dissent can spark broader movements, while collective campaigns may begin with—and continually depend on—the agency of individuals (Buck-Morss, 2021, pp. 71, 83, 85). These acts of resistance, whether symbolic, spontaneous, or carefully orchestrated, demonstrate that protest operates along a spectrum: it can be both a deeply personal expression and a strategic, organized effort to challenge the status quo.

Social movements traditionally represent the more institutionalized, sustained end of this spectrum. They draw together diverse actors under a common identity and purpose, amplifying the voices of marginalized groups and pushing for systemic transformation. Yet, as recent global and local developments demonstrate, the boundaries between individualized protest and collective mobilization are increasingly porous—particularly in societies undergoing rapid cultural and political change.

South Africa's history provides an instructive case for re-examining these dynamics. The anti-apartheid movement, often remembered for its mass mobilization, was built on countless individual acts of defiance, everyday resistances, and the creative use of cultural practices. Today, the legacy of this struggle continues to inform not only the methods and messages of protest, but also the cultural repertoires—such as music, entertainment, and even everyday practices like drinking—that give protest its local resonance and symbolic power. These practices reveal how protest is embedded within the fabric of ordinary life and collective memory, continually adapting to address new challenges.

This article adopts a contextual reading approach to analyse protest in South Africa, paying close attention to the intersections of culture, identity, and resistance. Rather than focusing solely on the historical narrative, the study seeks to understand how entertainment, music, and social behaviours function as both sites and instruments of protest—past and present. In doing so, it aims to move beyond description, offering an integrated perspective on how protest is enacted, experienced, and transformed in a society marked by both enduring inequalities and creative forms of resilience.

Guided by these theoretical perspectives, the central hypothesis of this article is that everyday practices—such as entertainment, music, and even alcohol consumption—though often originating as individual acts of escape or coping, have the latent potential to evolve into nuclei of collective mobilization and new forms of social agency, particularly within contexts of subalternity or colonial domination. The study aims to interrogate the permeability of boundaries between individual and collective resistance by demonstrating how micro-level acts, which may appear apolitical or personal, can incubate shared identities, solidarity, and eventually organized opposition. By situating the South African experience within a broader dialogue that draws on Gramscian theory,

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[1] This paper draws substantially on Asef Bayat's theoretical framework, which challenges conventional social movement paradigms by emphasizing that protest and resistance are not limited to large-scale, organized collective actions. Rather, as Bayat (2016) argues, everyday practices, dispersed and uncoordinated acts by ordinary people, and so-called "non-movements" can also effect social change and constitute meaningful forms of resistance, particularly in contexts of political constraint or repression (pp. 23–28, 42, 48–49, 58, 75, 82, 129, 133, 139). Bayat's analysis foregrounds the importance of informal, quotidian practices—what he terms "the politics of the ordinary"—and highlights how individual agency and daily acts of defiance or adaptation may collectively shape political and social landscapes, even in the absence of explicit organization or leadership. For Bayat, such forms of agency and resistance are especially prevalent in authoritarian and postcolonial settings, where overt protest is often risky or suppressed. This approach underpins the analytical perspective adopted in this study.

contemporary class analysis, and theories of radical democracy, the article seeks to move beyond conventional binaries of protest and instead foregrounds the role of cultural, affective, and everyday practices in forging collective subjectivities. Methodologically, this approach relies on interpretive and interdisciplinary analysis, synthesizing insights from cultural theory, political sociology, and social movement studies, to reveal how seemingly mundane acts of survival and enjoyment are woven into the very fabric of political resistance and social transformation.

Protest: Individual or Social

Political protest has long been a central element in the repertoire of political action and the progression of political development. From the French Revolution to the civil rights movements of the 1960s in the United States, and the "people power" protests associated with the Third Wave of democratization, popular protest has played a significant role in shaping political history. Protest has also emerged as a powerful tool for public influence on government policymaking and its execution. Furthermore, protest activity appears to be on the rise not only in advanced industrial democracies but also on a global scale. In fact, several recent studies characterize protest as an almost universal feature of contemporary politics (Dalton, van Sickle, & Weldon, 2010, p. 51).

Protest is an essential part of human existence and has had the potential to create meaningful change throughout history. Individuals come together to engage, persuade, and inspire others, using whatever means they can find to do so: money, media, stories, collective identities, jokes, caricatures, and sometimes weapons. In recent years, scholars of social movements have increasingly appreciated the cultural meanings and sentiments that accompany protests and how people weave them together to make sense of their own lives and develop their moral imaginations. Nowhere else is the creation of culture and its effects on the world we live in more evident. To understand protest, it is necessary to acknowledge the value of culture, but on the other hand, protest helps us understand where culture comes from (Jasper, 2017, pp. 9-11).

Individuals do not always wait for social movements to protest. Some find an individual way to protest, with dramatic actions such as hunger strikes or self-immolation, which cannot be ignored by others. However, individuals who want to coordinate their protests organize some movements (Jasper, 2017, p. 12). Individuals resist things that make them uncomfortable or protest them in several ways (Jasper, 2002, p. 28). When individuals protest, they distance themselves from their roles in organizations, ignore the rules they do not like, criticize, complain, try to disrupt their bosses' plans to various extents, and steal small items. Quiet resistance can become more public, as when individuals write letters to lawmakers or newspapers. In other words, there are protests independent of organized movements. Individual protesters, as we will see later, have various relationships with the formal groups that are most visible in protest movements (Jasper, 2002, p. 29).

Individuals may protest things before (or before) joining organized groups. Going beyond silent forms of resistance such as work slowdowns, poor work, or even sabotage, ordinary and local actions such as complaining or arguing with superiors are also open criticism of existing practices. Like the self-immolation of the Buddhist monk or the package bombs sent by the Unabomber, whistleblowing is a particularly thoughtful form of individual protest. Individual actions sometimes, but not always, occur before joining more organized protest movements (Jasper, 2002, p. 232).

Social movements, in their simplest definition, are the coming together of a group of people around a common goal over a long or brief period. Social movements formed by creating a common identity and activity have intensely influenced politics and democracy since the first period when democracy began to be institutionalized. They have undertaken various functions to expand the freedom of individuals and society, especially in the women's, workers', and youth movements (Sanlı, 2005, p. 12). The role played by conflict in the functioning and survival of society is

considered a critical point in understanding social order. Social movements, as a phenomenon, are one of the critical issues that strengthen the belief that the social order is maintained by conflicts and at the same time enable the re-evaluation of society as a political entity. From this perspective, social movements express a conflict, the conflict situation experienced by a regular society, and strategies of struggle and resistance. At the same time, this expression also evaluates social movements as one of the dynamics of social change. Accordingly, we can define social movements as a form of collective behaviour that takes action to create a new lifestyle, a new model in society (Işık, 2015, p. 1).

While social movements are often defined as broad organizations comprising diverse interest groups (Tilly, 2008, p. 13), their scope and structure can vary significantly depending on the issues they address and the social contexts in which they emerge. In addition to formal organizations such as women's associations, student unions, or workers' collectives, social movements frequently involve informal networks and alliances that cut across social strata. This flexibility allows movements to mobilize around a single cause—such as gender equality—or encompass multiple, intersecting issues like labour rights and educational reform. Such complexity highlights not only the diversity within social movements, but also their ability to adapt and persist in changing political landscapes (Tilly, 2008, p. 13).

To further clarify the nature of social movements, it is important to distinguish them from individual acts of protest. While both represent forms of dissent, they differ in several fundamental aspects. Individual protests do not require joining organized groups, whereas social movements are inherently collective. The action repertoire also varies: individual actions may be more spontaneous and short-term, while social actions often require more time and coordination. Social movements typically involve the long-term coming together of a group of people, whereas individual protests tend to be unorganized and of shorter duration.

Literature Review

South Africa's complex history of resistance and resilience cannot be understood without recognizing the crucial role of cultural practices, particularly in the realms of entertainment and music. From the colonial period through apartheid and beyond, cultural expression has been both a site of oppression and a vital resource for survival, identity formation, and collective action (Başer, 2017; Deniz, 2005). In this section, I examine how entertainment, alcohol consumption, and music have intersected as vehicles for both individual coping and social resistance, offering insight into the interplay between everyday life and broader movements for change.

During apartheid, cultural practices became essential tools for preserving identity and resisting systemic oppression. Music, language, and art were harnessed to challenge the racial hierarchies imposed by the state, helping communities to assert their dignity and autonomy in the face of repression (Başer, 2017). Entertainment spaces—most famously, the vibrant social scenes of Sophiatown—served as refuges where cultural identity could flourish despite the oppressive regime, while traditional crafts and artistic practices reflected ongoing struggles against colonial erasure (Deniz, 2005). These spaces enabled a sense of normalcy and community cohesion, creating opportunities for subtle acts of defiance that contributed to a wider culture of resistance.

Entertainment, in its many forms, was not merely a means of escape from the harsh realities of apartheid. Instead, it frequently became a platform for solidarity, resistance, and the forging of collective identity. For instance, live performances, dance, and theatre provided spaces where marginalized communities could both temporarily transcend their immediate circumstances and build networks of mutual support (Erdemir, Yalçıner, & Kulaklı, 2014; Vershbow, 2023). In this context, entertainment functioned as a crucial mechanism for reasserting humanity, fostering hope, and sustaining resilience in the face of ongoing injustice.

The social function of entertainment was closely linked to other cultural behaviours shaped by colonial and apartheid legacies—most notably, patterns of alcohol consumption. Initially, alcohol held a regulated and communal role within traditional African societies, serving ceremonial and social purposes. However, colonial interventions such as the "dop system" weaponized alcohol as a means of controlling and exploiting Black labourers, embedding alcohol abuse within structures of socioeconomic domination. This legacy persists today, as unregulated and hazardous alcohol consumption remains associated with unemployment, violence, family breakdown, and public health crises, all exacerbated by poverty and systemic inequality (Setlalentoa et al., 2010, pp. 11–15). Thus, alcohol consumption in South Africa is not merely a social ill, but also a historically rooted response to oppression—serving at times as both a coping mechanism for individuals and a tool of social control.

In contrast to the destructive potential of alcohol, music has historically served as a force for unity, resistance, and social transformation in South Africa. Throughout and after apartheid, music operated as an implicit cultural policy, shaping collective identity, critiquing authority, and galvanizing political action (Nawa & Mugovhani, 2017, p. 77). Artists such as Sello Galane and Rudzani Colbert Mukwevho have used their work to address issues of urban marginalization, cultural erasure, and the tension between tradition and modernity, exemplifying music's ability to mobilize communities and challenge social hierarchies. Protest songs in particular played a critical role in fostering solidarity, sustaining morale, and articulating shared grievances, making music both a reflection of, and catalyst for, collective struggle (Erdemir, Yalçıner, & Kulaklı, 2014; Power, 2014).

The central role of entertainment and music in South Africa resonates with broader insights from cultural and sociological theory, which emphasize the significance of mass culture in shaping human interactions and social change (Sayre & King, 2003, pp. 3–7; Bates & Ferri, 2010, p. 1; Stebbins, 2007, p. 188). Entertainment's narrative power and capacity to evoke empathy have enabled it to address social issues, foster activism, and mobilize audiences across diverse backgrounds (McGowan, 2019; Tatarchevskiy, 2011, p. 309; Seçkin, 2008, p. 471). At the same time, the intertwining of entertainment with societal structures has made it both a field of contestation and a source of agency, facilitating individual and collective efforts toward justice.

While alcoholism is recognized globally as a chronic disease with severe social consequences (Morse & Flavin, 1992, p. 1013; Futures, 2023), in South Africa its history and meaning are inseparable from the country's broader struggles over power, participation, and community. For example, in political contexts such as the Soviet Union, alcoholism has been linked to broader questions of governance and civic engagement (Field, 1955, p. 100). In the South African context, however, this study considers alcoholism primarily as an impediment to, rather than a driver of, organized social movements (Room, 1995, p. 56).

Music, by contrast, stands out as a universal element shaping emotional, moral, and cultural life (ACCSC, 2023; Petrušic, 2021, p. 138). Its capacity to foster social connection, maintain collective memory, and communicate across barriers has made it a powerful catalyst for change—especially in times of conflict or crisis (Eyerman, 1998, p. 19; Dennis, 2016, p. 35; Vilches, 2004, p. 197). Musicians and activists have historically leveraged song to both galvanize social movements and to sustain their momentum, while also transcending dominant cultural narratives and offering new forms of solidarity. The transformative power of music, as seen in the anti-apartheid struggle, demonstrates the vital importance of cultural practices in shaping both individual agency and collective resistance (Danaher, 2010, p. 811).

Taken together, these dynamics reveal how entertainment, alcohol consumption, and music are not merely aspects of daily life in South Africa but are deeply intertwined with broader processes of

societal struggle, resistance, and identity formation. By tracing their interconnections, we can better understand how culture has functioned both as a means of endurance and as a vehicle for social transformation, shaping the contours of individual and collective action throughout South Africa's turbulent history.

Entertainment, Alcoholism and Music in South Africa

The historical dominance of coercion as the foundation of hegemony within the South African social structure has positioned the social sphere as a primary area of contention between the state and its radical opposition forces. Cultural practices have played a significant role in these conflicts due to their capacity to shape individuals' understandings of social processes and transformations. Black theatre, as part of initiatives by radical oppositional movements, has aimed to counter the state's myths surrounding South African history and society by presenting alternative historical narratives and aspirations. The sites of conflict between Black performance and the government have evolved over time, with changes in the themes of plays and the organization of Black performance reflecting the shifting nature and terrain of these struggles (Peterson, 1990, p. 229). Building upon the centrality of theatre as a site of contestation, specific venues and productions played a particularly visible role in challenging apartheid's cultural and social order.

In 1976, during the height of apartheid, an extraordinary theatre emerged in Johannesburg. The Market Theatre boldly defied the regime by positioning itself as a venue where audiences of all racial backgrounds could unite to enjoy performances, openly challenging apartheid policies. Soon after its inception, it gained global recognition as the Theatre of the Struggle, symbolizing the fight against apartheid. Mannie Manim and Barney Simon, the founders, held firm beliefs in their ability to influence societal change, and their efforts undeniably left a profound impact. Among the notable productions staged here was Woza Albert!, a renowned anti-apartheid play portraying the return of Christ amidst the oppressive apartheid regime's attempt to annihilate him with an atomic bomb. This production stood as the most successful theatrical endeavour in South African history. Additionally, the theatre served as the premiere venue for many of Athol Fugard's acclaimed plays. Fugard remains a revered figure in South African literature and theatre, renowned for his works challenging apartheid (KLM, n.d.). Much like theatre, other cultural arenas—including film—became battlegrounds for shaping consciousness and contesting the dominant political narrative.

From the outset of commercial cinema in South Africa, filmmaking was inherently political. Authorities as having a profound influence on the Black population, whether for positive or negative purposes, warranting strict control, viewed cinema, a highly popular medium. While cinema for White audiences became a vehicle for nationalist propaganda (as in De Voortrekkers), artificially constructed "Black cinema" was intended to pacify and distract rather than empower. Yet, even under intense censorship, filmmakers used the medium to challenge the status quo and foster resistance. For example, films such as My Country, My Hat (1983) and Ngomopho were not merely entertainment, but became symbols of protest by directly addressing discriminatory laws and giving voice to Black South Africans' lived realities. Although these films may not be widely known by contemporary audiences, they played a significant role in the cultural landscape of their time, influencing perceptions, inspiring solidarity, and contributing to the broader anti-apartheid struggle (Davis, 2000; Haynes, 2015; Botha, 2012, p. 1). The use of cinema as a tool for resistance thus highlights the importance of media in shaping political consciousness, even when its legacy may be obscured in the present. Beyond the realms of theatre and cinema, sporting culture also became a contested field where issues of identity, inclusion, and resistance were negotiated.

During the 1960s, apartheid policies extended to sports, with segregated events aimed at minimizing racial tensions. International pressure, spearheaded by countries like the Soviet Union and various global South nations, led to South Africa's exclusion from the Olympics in 1964.

Attempts to integrate sports within the country faced resistance, but gradual progress was made throughout the following decade. While symbolic, the integration of sports marked a significant acknowledgment of the previously denied status of Black individuals within the nation (Gershon, 2022). These developments set the stage for even more consequential confrontations within the world of sports, particularly with international boycotts and solidarity campaigns.

By 1990, South Africa had been expelled from every major international sports federation. This development was not merely a matter of athletic exclusion, but rather a powerful example of how cultural and social spheres—such as sports—became crucial battlegrounds in the struggle against apartheid. The Anti-Apartheid Movement's collaboration with the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) to secure the country's exclusion from the Olympic movement, along with widespread boycotts of rugby and cricket, demonstrates how international solidarity and collective action extended beyond formal politics or protest marches. These campaigns, supported by organizations and activists around the world, brought global attention to apartheid's injustices and helped to delegitimize the regime on the world stage. The sports boycotts, including high-profile campaigns like the Stop the Seventy Tour and the 1977 Gleneagles Agreement, exemplify how non-traditional forms of resistance—rooted in everyday practices and cultural institutions—can mobilize collective identities and foster international solidarity, reinforcing the broader anti-apartheid movement's goals (AAM, n.d.). Thus, the politicization of sports in South Africa illustrates the interconnections between culture, identity, and resistance, and underscores how even recreational activities can become sites of meaningful protest and social change. The pervasive reach of apartheid, however, was not limited to the fields of culture, media, or sport. Its legacy also extended to deeply personal and social issues, such as patterns of alcohol consumption, which were shaped by racialized narratives and structural inequalities.

While the racialized attitudes toward alcoholism in South Africa can be traced, back to colonial-era Social Darwinist discourses and economic interests in the liquor trade, the real impact of these beliefs extended far beyond policy and profit (Mager, 2004, pp. 736–739). By constructing Africans as "naturally heavy drinkers," colonial and apartheid authorities not only justified exclusion from support and treatment but also perpetuated a narrative that undermined community well-being and dignity. These stereotypes, rooted in both racism and economic exploitation, contributed to the normalization of alcohol abuse as a social problem that was deeply intertwined with broader patterns of inequality. Importantly, the persistence of these narratives—despite evidence that alcohol abuse affected all racial groups—reflects how issues of public health and morality were used to reinforce social divisions. In my view, understanding the evolution of these discourses is essential for recognizing how legacies of colonialism and apartheid continue to shape social and health challenges in South Africa today. The shift toward "responsible drinking" campaigns in the 1990s, while an important development, must therefore be seen in the context of a much longer and more complex history of racialized control and marginalization. This historical background helps explain why alcoholism emerged as a particularly pervasive issue among Black workers during apartheid, and why it remains a significant social problem in contemporary South Africa.

Alcoholism emerged as a pervasive issue among Black workers during apartheid, a problem that persists today, with South Africa ranking highest in alcohol consumption on the continent. Despite initial denial by authorities, social workers highlighted the prevalence of alcoholism among Africans, leading to the establishment of treatment centres. Apartheid policies, including the ban on homemade alcohol, fuelled resentment among Black communities, further highlighting the injustices of the regime (London, 1999, p. 1407; Harker et al., 2020, p. 3537; Mager, 1999, p. 381; de Haas, 2020). Despite these challenges, South African communities continued to draw on cultural resources for resilience and resistance—most notably through music, which provided both a voice for protest and a means for forging collective identity.

Apartheid's influence extended to cultural domains, including music, which became a tool for political manipulation. The regime implemented strict censorship measures, controlling broadcasts and recordings to suppress dissenting voices. However, music, particularly jazz, emerged as a powerful medium for expressing frustration and resistance. Originating from local adaptations of African American genres like Ragtime and Dixieland, South African jazz, epitomized by artists like Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela, became a beacon of hope and liberation during turbulent times, resonating not only within the country but also on the global stage (Schumann, 2008, p. 19; Hiney, n.d.). The political role of music was further amplified by organizations such as the African National Congress, whose use of protest songs helped sustain the momentum of resistance and foster a sense of unity among diverse communities.

The African National Congress (ANC), founded in 1912, utilized music as a means of unity and resistance, with iconic songs like Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika becoming anthems of the struggle. Jazz, with its ability to transcend barriers, provided a platform for expression and activism, fostering a sense of solidarity among oppressed communities. As the apartheid era unfolded, music evolved into a potent force for change, challenging injustice and inspiring movements for liberation (Hiney, n.d.).

Figure 1: A Graffiti of Rap Music Artist "Biggie", Johannesburg, South Africa, Photo: Özgür Yılmaz

Music helped Black Africans in South Africa in their fight against racism and oppression. Music also gave a voice where politics could not, particularly for protest. The songs provided the opportunity to directly address certain political issues and politicians. Songs of the time reflected social reality and offered an effective way to acknowledge and protest an unjust political system (Power, 2014, p. 3). Music has also been used to keep alive the memory of murdered political icons such as Steve

Biko, Chris Hani, and Solomon Mahlangu. They also helped ensure that resistance leaders who were imprisoned, such as Nelson Mandela, or exiled, such as Oliver Tambo, were not forgotten. These dead and living people represented the political struggle of the country. The songs were also a way to mark moments of grief, and occasionally moments of hope, which were numerous as Black South Africans impatiently, awaited the collapse of apartheid (Nkoala, 2022). Taken together, these examples reveal how cultural practices, whether through music, entertainment, or even coping mechanisms such as alcohol consumption, operated on both individual and collective levels throughout the apartheid era.

As can be seen, entertainment, alcoholism, and music are important tools for individual and social struggles. In South Africa, the anti-apartheid struggle, entertainment, alcoholism, and music were often used in social contexts. However, these practices were generally rooted in individual experiences and agency. Thus, when examining the South African context, it becomes clear that while entertainment, alcoholism, and music sometimes functioned as means of personal escape from an oppressive regime, they also evolved into powerful vehicles for expressing dissent and transmitting social messages. This dual function underscores the intricate relationship between individual acts and collective resistance and highlights how culture can both reflect and shape the ongoing struggle for justice.

In the aftermath of apartheid, South African cultural practices such as entertainment, music, and alcohol consumption have reflected the paradoxes of democratic transition and neoliberal transformation. As Ballard (2005, pp. 77-80) notes, the liberalization of the cultural sphere allowed previously marginalized forms of expression—especially protest music and grassroots artistic performance—to become more visible and widely accessible. However, the incorporation of these once-radical forms into mainstream markets has sometimes blunted their oppositional power, as commercial imperatives increasingly shape the production and circulation of music and entertainment (Ballard, 2005, pp. 87-89). Meanwhile, Madlingozi (2007, pp. 90-92) argues that the post-apartheid era's social movements continue to leverage cultural practices as vehicles for critique and mobilization, yet they do so within a neoliberal context that often commodifies dissent and narrows the scope for transformative action. Changing patterns of alcohol consumption further mirror broader inequalities, as commercialized recreational spaces both reflect and reproduce new social divisions in the so-called 'new' South Africa (Ballard, 2005, pp. 92-95). Thus, the evolution of cultural practices since 1994 demonstrates the complex interplay between resistance, commodification, and the ongoing quest for genuine social transformation.

Discussion

The preceding section explored the conceptual spectrum between individual and collective protest, emphasizing that the boundaries between these forms of resistance are often porous rather than absolute. Building on this foundation, this discussion now moves beyond basic definitions to analyse how such dynamics played out in the South African context, especially under apartheid and in the micro-politics of everyday life. As discussed earlier, acts of entertainment, music making, and even drinking may originate as personal coping strategies. However, the South African experience demonstrates that these practices frequently developed into nuclei of broader social mobilization and emergent collective agency. Venues like Sophiatown's entertainment spaces, the radical performances at the Market Theatre, and the evolution of protest jazz and song exemplify how micro-level practices and localized acts of endurance became catalysts for collective memory, shared identity, and long-term solidarity.

From a Gramscian perspective, as developed by Ransome (2011, pp. 103-112), everyday cultural acts are not merely passive responses to domination but are part of the ongoing "war of position," in which consent and hegemony are simultaneously reinforced and contested. This aligns with

Gramsci's view—outlined earlier in the article—collective identities can germinate in the contradictions of daily life, before fully developed class-consciousness or explicit political organization emerges. Thus, informal gatherings and coded cultural expressions, even when seemingly apolitical, are not peripheral; rather, they may create fissures in the dominant order and lay the groundwork for resistance. While earlier sections clarified the distinctions between individual and collective action, contemporary theories of social movements highlight their practical interconnectedness. As theorists like Kioupkiolis and Katsambekis (2016, pp. 32-35) and Hardt and Negri (2013, pp. 31-42) argue, resistance today is often networked, fragmented, and plural. The South African case vividly illustrates this: music, theatre, and sport did not simply provide emotional release for individuals but functioned as key sites for sustaining resistance and generating new forms of collective power. Protest songs, communal celebrations, and sporting boycotts operated as both outlets for personal agency and as mechanisms for articulating grievances and maintaining organizational momentum, particularly under conditions of repression (Benlisoy, 2012, p. xvii).

Furthermore, recent scholarship suggests that in the neoliberal and post-political era, movements frequently arise from dispersed, everyday acts rather than organized class struggle alone (Negri, 2017, p. 194; Taşkale, 2015, pp. 11, 22, 29). Brown (2021, pp. 55-56) notes that as neoliberalism erodes collective security, new solidarities and forms of collective identity are forged through micro-resistances in cultural and recreational domains (Balta & Keyman, 2022, pp. 44-45). The persistence of protest music and the transformation of entertainment venues into loci of opposition show how everyday life itself can become political—what Bayat terms "the politics of everyday life"—even if not always intentionally progressive. This analysis also echoes Poulantzas's (2014, pp. 29, 69) insight that class and social power function across multiple, overlapping levels—economic, political, and ideological. Méda's (2018, pp. 27, 173) reflections on work and sociality further highlight how cultural and affective labour—embodied in music, theatre, and sport—are central, not peripheral, to the formation of new social relations and collective identities.

In summary, the South African case demonstrates that individual acts of survival and escape—such as music, entertainment, and even drinking—are deeply intertwined with the emergence of collective resistance. Rather than seeing meaningful social change as the exclusive result of explicit, organized movements, this analysis—supported by Gramsci and contemporary class theorists—shows that collective subjectivity often emerges from diffuse, everyday practices and contradictions (Ransome, 2011, p. 112; Özpınar, 2018, pp. 34-36; Hardt & Negri, 2013, pp. 31-42; Poulantzas, 2014, pp. 29, 69). In conclusion, everyday practices under apartheid did not merely offer coping mechanisms; they became resources for political opposition and social transformation. The evolution of these micro-resistances into powerful movements reaffirms that the boundaries between the individual and the collective, and between personal endurance and political action, are more porous and dynamic than traditional social movement theories suggest.

Conclusion

This study has explored how entertainment, alcohol consumption, and music in South Africa, often understood, as individual responses to oppression, also constitute powerful resources for collective resistance and social transformation. By focusing on the interplay between culture, identity, and protest, the article has challenged the binary between personal coping and organized political action. The analysis demonstrates that individual acts of resistance—such as participation in musical gatherings, artistic performances, or even everyday acts of endurance—should not be dismissed as apolitical or isolated phenomena. Instead, they can provide the groundwork for the emergence of collective memory, shared identities, and new solidarities.

The South African context illustrates that practices originating in the sphere of the everyday

frequently acquire wider social and political significance over time. As discussed, entertainment venues in Sophiatown, the radical performances at the Market Theatre, and the persistent tradition of protest music all began as localized, often informal responses to apartheid but ultimately became central in mobilizing larger communities and shaping oppositional cultures. These micro-resistances, while initially fragmented, helped foster a climate where new collective subjectivities and alliances could be articulated. The discussion section has emphasized how such transformations are best understood through perspectives that move beyond traditional models of class-consciousness, drawing on Gramscian and post-Marxist theories to highlight the emergent, processual nature of "becoming-class."

Moreover, this analysis underscores that social change does not always arise from grand, organized movements. Rather, as highlighted throughout the discussion, it is often the cumulative effect of everyday acts—music, celebration, and even seemingly apolitical escapes—that weakens hegemonic structures and creates openings for new forms of solidarity and action. The South African case, therefore, exemplifies how cultural practices can be both sites of domination and creative tools for contesting social order, supporting the argument that individual and collective resistances are deeply intertwined.

In conclusion, understanding protest and resistance in contexts marked by enduring inequalities requires a more nuanced approach—one attentive to the porous boundaries between the personal and the political, the individual and the collective. The South African experience demonstrates that everyday cultural practices are not merely peripheral to social movements but are foundational to the development of oppositional agency and the reimagining of social possibility. Thus, the transformation of individual "escapes" into collective mobilization serves as both an analytical framework and a call to recognize the power of everyday life in driving historical change.

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The Literary Turn:
Comparative Literature as Deconstructive Pedagogy
Edebî Dönüş: Yapısökümcü Pedagoji Olarak Karşılaştırmalı Edebiyat

Hakan Atay 🔵 0000-0002-0829-4619
Mersin University

Hivren Demir Atay 🔵 0000-0001-8249-2181
Mersin University

ABSTRACT

Deconstruction as a mode of thinking has long informed Comparative Literature studies, especially through the influence of the Yale School in the 1970s. Having always been exposed to criticism for performing unworldly readings, blurring real and political problems, and using theoretical jargon with no practical consequences, deconstruction is now considered an obsolete style of approaching literary texts. More than two decades after the death of Jacques Derrida (1930-2004), the most prominent philosopher of deconstruction, this article questions the assumed tension between theory and *praxis* in the studies of Comparative Literature. It argues that problematizing the structure of representation, as Comparative Literature scholar Christopher Fynsk (b. 1952) suggested, has practical consequences in the long run. Departing from Fynsk's ideas and engaging in the relevant thoughts of Maurice Blanchot (1907-2003) and Jean-Luc Nancy (1940-2001), who inspired Fynsk considerably, the article aims to show that carrying the studies of different literatures beyond thematic analyses may constitute an important phase in the dislocation of common sense. The possibility of such a dislocation might enable Comparative Literature to dwell in the world with a renewed attention to the different meanings of the shared existence of the human. Therefore, the article suggests, deconstructive pedagogy, calling for a literary turn, with the emphasis on the conceptual thinking that undermines presuppositions, might still be an important component of Comparative Literature education.

Introduction

Christopher Fynsk (b. 1952), a professor of modern Continental philosophy and literature, opens his book, *The Claim of Language: A Case for the Humanities,* with an anecdote on a student who realized her interest in literature and the arts while preparing for medical school in the USA. The student was originally from Afghanistan and wanted to open a medical clinic in her home country. In response to her inquiry about doing a major in Comparative Literature, in addition to her studies in the sciences, Fynsk volunteered to help her see how such a study would make her a better doctor.

Fynsk had in his mind the student's possible encounters with questions about life, death, mortality, and the social construction of health during her medical profession. He believed she could question the presuppositions of medical knowledge and practice by thinking through literature (Fynsk, 2004, pp. vii-viii). The function Fynsk attributes to the study of the humanities and particularly literature makes a case for why deconstruction is a mode of *praxis* and is still relevant in the contemporary world. He holds that fundamental research in the humanities should question the "structure of representation" (Fynsk, 2004, p. 10), thereby offering a reading style with practical and theoretical consequences.

As anyone involved in literary studies would notice, there has been a strong tendency to turn away from deconstruction and gravitate towards so-called "vital" theories for the last few decades. The realities of life and the dangers our planet is exposed to have been foregrounded as legitimate objects of study, while the linguistic turn has been blamed for distancing literary studies from life, nature, and politics. Jean-Michel Rabaté, discussing the assumed tension between theory and *praxis* in *The Future of Theory,* underlines the role of deconstruction in the creation of endless alterities extending from ethnic minorities to various gender categories, which, he suggests, earned theory a bad reputation (Rabaté, 2002, p. 144). Rabaté points to the fragile relationship between deconstruction and identity politics. How can a theoretical approach blamed for its disengagement from life and politics be responsible for splintering alterities? This seemingly ambivalent situation, which is a consequence of questioning the structure of representation or resisting any central position, holds significance for reflecting on the relationship between deconstruction and *praxis*.

This article discusses how deconstructive approaches relate to the question of identity that has always been at stake in the studies of Comparative Literature due to its emphasis on difference and diversity. As Carolyn D'Cruz rightly states, "[D]econstructive strategies of reading and writing not merely expose but importantly *work otherwise* what is already there" (emphasis in original) (D'Cruz, 2008, p. 5). For that reason, she maintains, the transformative effect of deconstruction cannot be instantly noticed (D'Cruz, 2008, p. 4). Likewise, the article posits that the function of Comparative Literature is not limited to the study of identities—national, ethnic, cultural, sexual, etc.—that are "represented" by the texts. Yet moving beyond mere representations and putting the knowledge, structure, and origins of these identities into crisis requires a process of abstraction. For that reason, Fynsk's telling anecdote on the practical "use" of deconstructive reading should be better understood.

Hence, the article will engage in Fynsk's suggestion to turn to language in the humanities, which brings forth the ontological dimensions of poststructuralist thought. To better pose the problem in the context of Comparative Literature, it will first provide a framework on how the discipline has dealt with hegemonic sign systems, which inherently relate to the question of identity, by drawing especially on the scholars of Anglo-American universities like Susan Bassnett, Charles Bernheimer, Rey Chow, and Gayatri Spivak. Elucidating Fynsk's reconciliation of poststructuralist thought with ontology, it will devote a part to Maurice Blanchot's (1907-2003) placement of ambiguity in the core of literary activity, and Jean-Luc Nancy's (1940-2021) replacement of signification with senses.

The article does not aim to explicate Blanchot's and Nancy's philosophical universes extensively. Rather, it aims to illustrate how their manners of dislocating common sense inspired Fynsk to foreground an approach that values the deconstruction of the symbolic order's discursive foundations. It limits its interest in Blanchot's comprehension of literature as a "cooperative" activity that works through both signification and its negation, and Nancy's understanding of arts and literature as "shared experiences" that dwell in the world through the senses. Thus, the article aims to illustrate that carrying literary studies of different nations and identities beyond thematic analyses may constitute an important phase in the dislocation of common sense. These theoretical discussions are empowered in the final part by a deconstructive pedagogical approach to highlight

once again why conceptual and deconstructive education in Comparative Literature has practical consequences.

Comparatists on Hegemonic Sign Systems

Comparison has always been a source of anxiety for the scholars of the field, as Charles Bernheimer rightly posits. According to him, multiculturalism, which is "inherently pluralistic," is expected to encourage comparison. Yet the comparatist has an anxiety related to the "issue of entitlement," i.e., the problematized status of declaring ideas about a culture to which one does not belong (Bernheimer, 1995, p. 9). Bernheimer expresses this anxiety as follows:

> Even though I am fascinated by African literatures, do I have any chance of getting a job to teach them if my skin is white? Is it not desirable these days to be able to offer the construction of one's own subjectivity as a particularly telling context through which to perform a reading of so-called foreign or ethnic texts? It seems that it is no longer enough for comparatists to speak different tongues: now they have to put on different skins as well. (Bernheimer, 1995, p. 9)

Following this provocative questioning, Bernheimer maintains that the scholars of Comparative Literature have diverse views on the issues of "multiculturalism," "polyglossia," and "intercultural understanding." His edited book shows, for example, how Mary Louise Pratt welcomes these concepts, while Peter Brooks is worried about obfuscating the aesthetic domain when one invests too much in identity politics (Bernheimer, 1995, pp. 9-10). Although Comparative Literature has already developed along different schools and understandings since the nineteenth century, hardly reconcilable thoughts about intercultural dialogues became more visible with the influence of poststructuralism on the discipline.

The fact that the boundaries are getting blurry not only in geographical terms but also in the social sciences and scientific research has also led to the interdisciplinary exploration of Comparative Literature. Since interdisciplinarity, like comparison, might have easily restored the hierarchy that the discipline claimed to avoid, this change required reformulating the problem of "function," i.e., the uses of the accumulated knowledge in Comparative Literature, in an innovative manner. Do the encounters and exchanges among the disciplines, promoted by the field, serve to create democratically motivated minds? Suppose the "simplest" definition of the discipline underlines its interest in intercultural and interdisciplinary study of the texts (Bassnett, 1993, p. 1). In that case, the creation of centers while establishing these relations proves to be unavoidable. From area studies to the studies of identity politics and gender, one has to confront the constructions that implicitly or explicitly determine some paradigms. This confrontation may well lead to an ethical responsibility that supposedly draws on the idea of collectivity. Gayatri Spivak's suggestion that Comparative Literature should make a "responsible effort" towards a "politics of friendship to come" is based on such an idea of collectivity (Spivak, 2003, p. 13).

Inspired by Jacques Derrida, Spivak's politics of friendship does not view literary studies as a means to understand society or decipher the codes of humanity, but as a field that should focus on "the undecidable figure." According to her, the dis-figuration of the figure destroys the power of literature as a "cultural good" and brings forth the meaning of being human. If "to be human is to be intended toward the other," then Comparative Literature should figure itself as "planetary" rather than "continental, global, or worldly" to underline the difference between "living" and "the possibility of thinking to control" (Spivak, 2003, pp. 72-73). In Spivak's view, it is in the "planetary" figuration of Comparative Literature that the discipline can move towards thinking of various dimensions of the human. The dis-figuration of the figure, a reminder of Paul de Man's conceptualization of the "allegory of reading," leads Spivak to place reading itself in the heart of education (Spivak, 2003, p. 72). However, as often put on the agendas of Comparative Literature

meetings and conferences, the relationship between literature and the human inescapably raises the problem of language. Since there have been many languages across time and space, each of which has had its own cultural, linguistic, and symbolic formulations, different solutions have been offered for the studies of Comparative Literature.

Rey Chow's discussions in "In the Name of Comparative Literature" concisely cover many dimensions of the problem. In response to the 1993 Report on Standards by the ACLA (American Comparative Literature Association) committee, which recommends teaching languages and literatures other than central languages such as English, French, and German more widely, Chow expresses her concern that teaching these languages has an institutional history in the US (Chow, 1995, p. 108). The European notion of the nation-state as well as the study of the "masterpieces" of national literatures amounts to the restoration of Eurocentrism "in-the-name-of-the-other" (Chow, 1995, p. 109). Therefore, according to Chow, multilingualism may not simply remove the problems of power structures. She suggests that while the theory has also been viewed as dominated by Western philosophy, deconstruction and poststructuralist theory have the potential to inform cultural, ethnic, and gender studies. These study fields need to contain an implicit theoretical understanding "to critique hegemonic signs and sign systems from without as well as from within" (Chow, 1995, 111-112). To keep this understanding, Chow suggests that Comparative Literature should bring forth the limits of the concept of the nation and the power structures inherent in all languages. Hence, demonstrating the power structures within hegemonic sign systems becomes a function of Comparative Literature.

Although Spivak and Chow trace different paths that naturally shape some practical sensitivities, they share a belief in the power of literature. As exemplified by these two approaches, when literature ceases to be conceived mainly as an instrument of representing identities or exposing socio-political agendas, theory is kept "in" literature as an embedded component. Yet the arguments against theory revolve around the obscure status of "action" in such deconstructive reflections and ask how power structures in reality, or the material world, would be handled. Some feminists, for example, problematize deconstruction's engagement with the concept of identity. As Kate Nash summarizes, Derrida's concept of "undecidability" led them to think that deconstruction does not enable an "authentic or coherent women's voice" to be heard. They are concerned that the definition of identities as constructed in discourses may prevent people from seeing oppressed women. For this group of feminists, women's demands are undermined by a theory that centers on unstable identities (Nash, 1994, pp. 70-71). Similarly, as Simone Drichel points out, deconstructive postcolonial studies have trouble questioning sovereignty. Not only are they challenged by those who view the expansion of deconstruction beyond the Western world as a form of intellectual imperialism, but they also have difficulty figuring out what to do with Derridean conceptualization of unstable identities (Drichel, 2013, p. 47). The postcolonial resistance to domination and fight for freedom aims at what Drichel calls "the *autos,*" i.e., the independent identity, which puts postcolonialism at odds with deconstruction (Drichel, 2013, p. 49). Although Drichel deems this reaction a defence mechanism originating from the traumatic experience caused by the colonial violence (Drichel, 2013, p. 49), her discussion provides us with examples of how the deconstructionist view of identity has been found questionable by some when it comes to practical concerns of the world.

Claims to differences, such as women's and subaltern's independent identities, are considered to have the power to change their oppressed status, whereas "theory," including deconstruction, is regarded as abstract and nihilistic. Yet the attempts to politicize identity under the umbrella term of "post-theory" have also drawn criticisms for reproducing grand narratives. Geoffrey Bennington, for example, argued that most of the time politicizing meant historicizing, which assigned a transcendental position to history (Bennington, 1999, p. 105). What is at stake here is to

comprehend the abstraction in deconstructive thinking not as an un-worlding activity but as a critical practice of all discourses. Fynsk's suggestion to turn to language at a fundamental level departs from this intrinsic relationship and opens to the possibility of a polyphonic sense of being in the world. Literature and its "world-ings" as ontological questions demonstrate how social, political, and ethical problems are inhabited by language itself.

Fynsk on Collectivity

Relating the human notions of life, death, and experience to the pedagogical engagement of the humanities with the grounds of being-together, Fynsk calls for a theory that brings forth difference rather than a theory that analyzes globalization without providing its communication with a thought of world and life. Since the questions of language and literature, as well as the issues of freedom and human rights, need to be defined and discussed at global and local levels, Fynsk underlines that his call for thought should target artistic and literary event rather than amounting to mere representation and thematization. Fynsk's anecdote about the medical student points out that the contribution of literary studies to medicine or that of the humanities to the sciences occurs in an "imminent fashion," placing language at the intersection of these fields. Considering language both in a linguistic sense and the languages of the visual image, body, and new technologies, he argues against an instrumental understanding of theory (Fynsk, 2004, pp. ix-xi). But how does *praxis* find a place in this abstraction? Will the response of the medical student "really" change after she practices reading deconstructively? It is indeed this kind of questioning that alerts Fynsk. The problem, he posits, is that "the very *sense* (direction and meaning) of the humanities as a discursive field is unavailable" (emphasis in original) (Fynsk, 2004, p. 51). To elucidate this point, Fynsk appeals to the 1998 "Report on the State of the Humanities at Cornell University" and observes that the report views theory as answerable to historical concerns in a transformative manner:

> We may rightfully assume that the authors of the report are envisioning something more transformative than a sociology of knowledge that finds a new horizon of inquiry in "the emerging transnational context of cultural production and cultural critique." But how can a historicizing critique of the humanities be truly historical if it does not acknowledge the historicity of its object? (Fynsk, 2004, p. 54)

Fynsk's question is geared toward understanding forms of knowing and practicing in the humanities. He draws attention to the urgent need for "thinking" when responding to political issues and the newly emerging concerns of the global world.

Fynsk agrees with Spivak's claim that the task of the humanities is "to help us move beyond global political programs [...] toward a thinking that is more planetary in its opening to the many dimensions of human finitude" (Fynsk, 2004, p. 56). Then he draws our attention to the rare interest in the ontological dimension of language among the North American theorists and philosophers. He maintains that their demand to find a "political relevance" or a "real" referent shaped their agenda, leading to the fact that the humanities lost their object (Fynsk, 2004, p. 58). His suggestion is to start with an alternative reading of poststructuralist theory, which he believes will reveal "a thought of language that quite surpasses the simple formulas concerning 'the play of the signifier' or 'the linguistic construction of reality' that have been endlessly rehearsed in Anglo-American literary and cultural studies" (Fynsk, 2004, p. 60). According to him, identity theories and cultural analyses based on psychoanalysis and semiotics failed to render such a thought, while a second linguistic turn, this time with an ontological weight, might enable one to view the human in a new way (Fynsk, 2004, p. 60). Walter Benjamin, Maurice Blanchot, Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault, Martin Heidegger, and Jacques Lacan are among the names Fynsk pronounces for such a second coming, which we might go ahead and suggest calling "the literary turn."

Among the thought-provoking works of these thinkers, Blanchot's seminal article "Literature and

Right to Death" is worth examining to better comprehend how the idea of "shared existence" relates to the problematization of the structure of signification. Fynsk reminds us of Blanchot's investigation about the function of literature and the arts regarding "the discursive foundations of any institution and the symbolic order as a whole," to which Fynsk's response is crucial. According to him, the thought that such an existence calls for "does not lend itself immediately to representation and thematization" (Fynsk, 2004, 70). In fact, Blanchot's understanding of literature amounts to a similar idea with a particular focus on the significance of conceptual thinking and an ambiguity that lies at the heart of literary activity.

Blanchot on Shared Existence

In "Literature and the Right to Death," Blanchot opens up the possibility of scrutinizing literary creation as a unique conceptual operation making two seemingly uncompromising problems cooperate side by side: on the one hand, there is death as the topological awareness of the contours of the human world and on the other, there is the existence of a reality which is absolutely deprived of it. According to Blanchot, what commands literary activity is the ambiguity concerning the exact nature of this operation, which begins a pure negation, but later ends up in a network comprising every single thing. Therefore, logically speaking, what is at stake is an impossible operation having at its core an irresolvable dilemma: one can decide upon the ultimate condition either negatively or positively, depending upon the trajectory one follows.

That is to suggest that Blanchot considers work as a two-tiered concept which designates both the activity, that is, the act of producing, and the product that is a complex result of both this unique activity of negation and a certain negation in itself as a form of disappearing. Blanchot gives a compact form to this argument that builds relations among writer, work and the term "disappearing" as follows: "As we have seen, he [the writer] exists only in his work, but the work exists only when it has become this public, alien reality, made and unmade by colliding with other realities. So he really is inside the work, but the work itself is disappearing. This is a particularly critical moment in the experiment" (Blanchot, 1998, p. 364). Hence, the abode of writer in its pure self, that is work, undergoes in a becoming along with the movement of negation as a result of "colliding with other realities". Blanchot, few lines later, names the realm of those other realities as the "shared existence" (Blanchot, 1998, p. 365). Thus we reach the critical point that he emphasized: the very site of the writer's pure self dealing with the realization of unreality through literary creation becomes populated by that which lacks or is absent in the writer's activity, that is, existence.

It seems that the writer leaves his status in the "marvelous force" of literature, or the force of creative negation, and overwhelmed by the disappearing work that moves towards the site of existence, the very movement Blanchot prefers to call the "truth of the work." So, the proposed unity between the writer and what is written comes to a halt despite writer's unwillingness to be away from the motion that the disappearing of the work brings up. Now, a different entity is produced and retains its own place among other things. The pure self in pursuit of participating in the work's becoming has undergone a radical change itself by turning into that new thing, namely "the book."

However, through the process of pure negation, the writer underestimates the condition of this obvious becoming and pretends to preserve his previous state in which he finds himself unlimited and unbounded from the world: "[H]e denies everything he is, in order to become everything he is not" (Blanchot, 1998, p. 372). In such periods when the literary mind cannot help continuing to negate everything, it turns out to be that every other thing, that is, everything again, becomes possible. This is basically the definition of revolution for Blanchot, in which action in a deconstructive reading is also crystallized. The revolutionary moments are nothing but "fabulous moments: in them fable speaks; in them the speech of fable becomes action" (Blanchot, 1998, p.

375). Fable makes history seem like a "void," which means readiness for any kind of realization without resistance. At this point, if we remember that the present situation of a man who writes is closely related with the concept of literature, and that Blanchot made a lot of effort to pose them side by side, we anticipate he would explain the absence of existence in language with the act of naming that distracts things from their proper existence by turning them into mere generalities that are classified under the title "being", of course, insofar as they partake of the circle of signification (Blanchot, 1998, p. 378).

The writer may have a goal to save the meaning that is a product of one of the imaginary worlds that the writer considers as a substitute for reality. Yet there is another slope caused by "the horror of existence deprived of the world" (Blanchot, 1998, p. 389). The writer at this slope deals with "things and beings" as if there were no world, the totality of which leads the literature of the whole to play with its contents, and to open them up to the process of an arbitrary bringing together. Blanchot does not conceal his reaction towards the stubbornness of the former type of literature, although, at the end, he recognizes it as one of the legitimate parties of the overall ambiguity that gives shape to the human condition. To be stuck in indifference to existence is the main peculiarity of both the ideal of literature and the status of the writer working in the imaginary realm.

Nevertheless, Blanchot realizes that there is another opportunity to summon the veiled or forgotten existence to appear, even if in an ambiguous manner: "Yes, happily language is a thing" (Blanchot, 1998, p. 384). The materiality of language paves the way for the disenchantment of literature by its own unreal presence and brings back the lost element in the imaginary, which is time. The concept of temporality makes it possible to ask the question of a *before* that precedes this vital material of language. At the end, a literary existence is put forward as a new site for literary creation: "The language of literature is a search for this moment which precedes literature. Literature usually calls it existence" (Blanchot, 1998, p. 383). This shared existence is another name for the writing process that produces a collective work (Blanchot, 1998, p. 371). Here, existence replaces signification while the right to death keeps producing the force of negation.

Blanchot's thought, in all its complexity, highlights literary language as something with an ontological weight. This ambiguous co-existence of meaning and being in literary creation needs to be understood by the scholars and students of the humanities, to which Fynsk draws attention. What follows in the context of globalization and identity is a pedagogical stance that involves a "relational structure" engaging in the idea of "being-together" (Fynsk, 2004, p. 74). Fynsk does not mean that the analyses of globalization are useless, but he wants to add to them a discussion on the thought of "world" or "forms of life." Hence, theory must "bring forth difference, *speak from difference*, making resonant the fact that *there* is a question of community, a question of freedom, a question of the human in the sites that call for response" (emphases in original) (Fynsk, 2004, 7, p. 6). In this polyphonic realm, questions and differences will resonate to make sense of the world shared with others. The sense of "being-together," as a question of community or as it relates to the idea of collectivity, finds an inspiring form in Jean-Luc Nancy's "Why are There Several Arts and Not Just One?", the first essay of *The Muses.* Here, Nancy discusses the possible "world-ings" in language through his concept of "singular plural art" and ponders the shared affectivity intrinsic to the arts.

Nancy on Sharing

In his discussion on the hermeneutic circle, Heidegger, an important inspiration for Nancy, writes, "Whenever something is interpreted as something, the interpretation will be founded essentially upon fore-having, fore-sight, and fore-conception. An interpretation is never a presuppositionless apprehending of something presented to us" (Heidegger, 1962, pp. 191-192). Furthermore, any interpretation expected to contribute to understanding "must already have understood what is to be interpreted" (Heidegger, 1962, p. 194). Although this seems to be a vicious circle, Heidegger

maintains that "What is decisive is not to get out of the circle but to come into it in the right way. This circle of understanding is not an orbit in which any random kind of knowledge may move; it is the expression of the existential *fore-structure* of Dasein itself" (Heidegger, 1962, p. 195).

Although Heidegger's hermeneutic circle begs much more attention to better understand Nancy and Fynsk, this condensed outline provides helpful clues as to the ontological dimension of interpretation. One confronts the essential presuppositions in the hermeneutic circle, including the existential ones. Similarly, Nancy considers touch as the essential sense. Referring to Aristotle, Plato, and Sigmund Freud in his discussion on the heterogeneity of senses, he defines touching as "the *corpus* of the senses" (Nancy, 1994b, p. 17). Thus, touch is considered a sense that "presents" something "as" something, but there are more than two something(s): feeling of feeling of feeling… When Nancy proposes that art touches on this sense, on the sense of touch, we have to consider all zones of touching, feeling, and sensing. That is why he would say, "Art does not deal with the 'world' understood as simple exteriority, milieu, or nature. It deals with being-in-the-world in its very springing forth" (Nancy, 1994b, p. 18). The entanglement of arts and senses occurs in a way that the arts relate to the world ontologically.

In *Listening,* Nancy underlines the difference between listening to something for "itself" and for "the message," the former entailing being in the world (Nancy, 2007a, p. 5). He implies that there is a correlation between one's existence and the resonance of what one listens to. Listening, he suggests, implicates a relationship to "self," which is not a given subjectivity with a substantial essence (Nancy, 2007a, p. 12). Both the importance Nancy attributes to the plurality of arts in *The Muses* and the meaning he finds in resonances illustrate his desire to replace signification with senses.

According to Adrienne Janus, Nancy's objection to the superior status of seeing in the hierarchy of senses warns us about some limitations of ocularcentrism, including its consideration of signification as the only way of viewing the world (Janus, 2011, pp. 188-189). Yet, one should add, Nancy nonetheless avoids portraying art as something that becomes "a sense," whether it is a sense of seeing or hearing. Something "lived" marks this experience and exposes a world that is now "pictorial" or "musical" rather than "visual" or "sonorous" (Nancy, 1994b, p. 21). The unity of signification or representation is transformed into something else through the touch of another unity, but the result is a world of "equivalents, pitches, scales, harmonic relations, melodic sequences, tonalities, rhythms, timbres, and so forth" (Nancy, 1994b, p. 21). In a way, if senses are detached from signification through art, touching occurs in the infinity of zones where differences proliferate.

The singular plural Muses tells us both the sensuous and technical plurality of arts, through which occurs the "dis-location of common sense." The dis-location of common sense through touching *ad infinitum* (Nancy, 1994b, pp. 22-27) may help us understand how Comparative Literature and the humanities can deal with the world and the human as a linguistic and artistic event. Carrying the problems of languages and literatures of different nations and identities beyond simple representation and thematization seems to be an important phase of this dis-location. As François Raffoul and David Pettigrew, translators of Nancy's *The Creation of the World* suggest, the world, for Nancy, needs to free itself from *Weltanschauung* to come up as the world. If the world is viewed from a vantage point, it can be seen, represented, and thus neutralized. For that reason, they maintain, "Nancy insists on the fact that the world emerges as a world against the background of a historical withdrawal of the representation of the World" (Raffoul, 2007, p. 4). In other words, Nancy's polyphonic senses posit themselves against representation or more generally against the understanding of the world as an exteriority.

The concepts of multiculturalism, multilingualism, and interdisciplinarity abound in the studies of Comparative Literature. Some scholars remain completely within the thematic and representative

realms and feel the anxieties of comparison because of their identity-oriented approach. Some others, on the other hand, emphasize the aesthetic dimension of a literary work, the necessity to think of the world as planetary, and the exigency to turn to language and theory. These approaches differ from each other in many ways and fundamentally in the way of problematizing how Comparative Literature should relate to the world. The *praxis* of coexistence, as discussed by Nancy, might guide literary studies as to the meaning of the world, whether it is the world of the text or the world in which one lives and dies. In both cases, it is the world that is seen, heard, smelled, and touched, and thus it is the space of shared affectivity.

Nancy describes the world as "the place of any taking-place" where "there is room for everyone [*tout le monde*]" (emphasis in original) (Nancy, 2007b, p. 42). The ethics of being-in-the-world is based on a *praxis* of coexistence that does not rely on any substantials. Explaining how coexistence occurs through the sharing of the inner resonances of the world, he refers to literature and the arts, and suggests that one recognizes "a short passage from Bach or from Varese—but also a fragment from Proust, a drawing from Matisse, or a Chinese landscape" through the resonances echoed by various elements of the World (Nancy, 2007b, p. 42). This movement, which integrates literary and theoretical thinking, may enable Comparative Literature to dwell in the world.

Humanities Beyond the Classroom

If the humanities lost their object of study while searching for concrete relevance to the real problems of the world, then one should also question the status of the classroom as an educational setting. Rethinking education in a deconstructive manner requires questioning the discourses of educational institutions and the mainstream roles assigned to teachers and students. This style would force the limits of existing worldviews and open a space for what has not yet been recognized. The ideas of collectivity, shared existence, and sharing, as envisaged by Fynsk, Blanchot, and Nancy, respectively, expose a world of differences.

Indeed, the linguistic turn produced effective pedagogical thoughts that highlight its practical consequences. The scholars of deconstructive education emphasize that Derrida taught how to subvert metaphysical assumptions of all kinds of texts, including political discourses. According to them, deconstruction does not take an apolitical stance, or disable scientific and analytic clarity as widely assumed (Peters and Biesta, 2009, p. 9). Gert Biesta, underlining Derrida's exposition of the metaphysical desire for "fixed, self-present origins" which can present themselves only with the help of what is not present yet (Biesta, 2009, pp. 16-22), goes on to argue, in opposition to various claims, that deconstruction has an "ethicopolitical motivation" (Biesta, 2009, p. 15). This denotes the impossibility of signification, i.e., the impossibility of understanding the relation between the signifier and the signified in terms of representation (Biesta, 2009, p. 24). The illusion of identity as a "self-sufficient presence" is broken, and an otherness that has been suppressed to keep this illusion starts being recognized (Biesta, 2009, p. 27).

Although the otherness emphasized here is crucial for the education of every individual, it is particularly significant for a student of Comparative Literature, who is always exposed to the problem of comparison, i.e., the risk of restoring hierarchies among different languages, cultures, writers, and works. Theory, whose death is sporadically announced, and abstraction, which is frequently blamed for distancing people from worldly affairs, are critical for preventing these threats and for creating what Caputo calls "the spectral effect" of teaching (Caputo, 2016, p. 122). Accordingly, education is guided by a "hauntological principle" that considers the event as something to come. In Caputo's words, "the event is what is going on in what happens, which we cannot get our hands on, cannot master or manipulate it, cannot make it happen, but only conjure up" (Caputo, 2016, p. 122). This Derridean hauntology carries education beyond the classroom and invites a rethinking of presumably self-sufficient identities.

Conceptual thinking is an important component of this hauntology as the literary realm has presented its vulnerability to the penetrations of the philosophical by gradually turning out to be a sacred site of a series of modern problems and respective questions. Nor is it impossible to change this intricate expression counter-clockwise and to say that modern reformations and differentiations taken place in the milieu of art and literature have contingently yielded to a reorientation of philosophical problem setting. In both ways, there is no reason to quarrel about the existence of a movement which resonates and establishes affinity both with philosopher's and artist's positions.

Trying to name the immediate effects of the modern condition on philosophical discourse, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari aver the new mise-en-scene of conceptual thinking, which reversed the roles of essential players on the stage. As they suggested in "Geophilosophy", the fourth chapter of their co-authored book called *What is Philosophy?*, modern thinker would have no difficulty getting at concepts to articulate on what is at stake in the discursive plane of his thought. Unlike ancient philosophers, modern men of thought find concepts in their minds almost taken for granted. However, this priority leads directly to a totally new form "in which communication, exchange, consensus, and opinion vanishes entirely." According to Deleuze and Guattari, this is because the so-called "new form" is "non propositional" in nature (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994, p.99). Beginning with concepts instead of endeavoring to demarcate them and depict the corresponding limits has vouchsafed a considerable power to the elements of thought, which have gained the required elasticity to put concepts in new interrelations that have not even been imagined before.

Concepts getting closer and more interrelated to each other give rise to the very abstract nexus or a web whose threads are not composed of the material of the ancient syllogistic continuum of "logical" arguments but of a brand new logic that has got rid of the propositional form. Blanchot, as discussed above, pursues the possibilities of this new wave of thought by bringing forth the shared existence of the human. Fynsk's and Nancy's reflections on the co-existence of beings further emphasize the ontological and ethical dimensions of education. The world makes sense only when it is shared with others, yet the meanings of "world, "sense," and "other" are not predetermined. Thinking through literature and listening to artistic resonances, the world and the classroom appear to be the spaces of events where differences proliferate.

Conclusion

Derrida's avoidance of attributing to deconstruction any beginning and ending goes hand in hand with his avoidance of differentiating between theory and action. In his philosophy, it is the discourse that matters, whether one refers to a written or unwritten text or an ethical or political action. Discourse analysis requires close reading, which he defines not simply as spending time with the books but as criticizing all kinds of events and situations around and analyzing various rhetorics (Derrida, 1999, p. 67). Accordingly, a medical student who encounters the strategies of deconstructive reading will not learn how to read but will be transformed by being exposed to new modes of thinking and styles of teaching. In a space of undecidabilities, she will question the representation of structures such as bodies, medical discourses, and institutions. She will also be alert to the historically and politically constructed stories of illnesses and patients. In contrast to a subject who deems herself capable of deciphering the truth in a text, she will have the chance to encounter others. Reading, in her case, will be a mode of *praxis* not because it feeds her self-recognition but because it resists any presuppositions. Derrida, borrowing the term from de Man, writes that "[Reflexive structure] projects forward the advent of the self, of 'speaking' or 'writing' of itself as other, that is to say, what I call a trace" (Derrida, 1989, p. 29). The advent of the self as other denotes not only the dissemination of the text into traces but also the multiplicity of voices.

Taking a medical student's possible encounter with these traces and multiplicities as a practical

example, one may argue that the recent developments on a global scale have not obliterated the relevance of deconstruction. It is more so in Comparative Literature, which is a dynamic study field very much influenced by hegemonic power relations. At a time when migrations and neoliberal policies sweep the world, a mode of thinking that questions the structure of representation is still needed. Identity politics based on mere representation and its mimetic presentations in the literary and cultural worlds might easily restore self-recognition and presuppositions. Thus, the accusation against deconstruction that it is not interested in taking action and that it is not useful in this unequal and unjust world is not fair. Deconstructive modes of philosophers of different traditions, namely Fynsk, Blanchot, and Nancy, illustrate that the problematization of signification might open the door to challenging ideas. Although Derrida's ambivalent relationship with Heidegger (Derrida, 1999, p. 82), whose thought is traced in Fynsk, Blanchot, and Nancy, and his "uneasiness with Nancy's ontological claims" (Watkin, 2009, p. 137) are well-known, they converge on the dis-location of common sense. Fysnk's, Blanchot's, and Nancy's ideas on existence and co-existence might give a clue as to how action in deconstruction is performed. These seemingly abstract discussions may not urgently solve the problems of the contemporary world, but they present styles that teach in a performative manner how to work with traces.

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Translation Studies | research article

Baumanian Perspective on Translation Sociology:
A Non-Essentialist Reading of Orhan Pamuk's *A Strangeness in My Mind* as the Representation of the Other
Çeviri Sosyolojisine Bauman Perspektifinden Bakmak: Orhan Pamuk'un *A Strangeness in My Mind* Çeviri Romanının Öteki'nin Temsili Açısından Özcülük Dışı Bir Okuması

Dudu Özbek 0000-0003-1113-9000
Sinop University

ABSTRACT
Translation sociology has been constructed and evolved with the contribution of interdisciplinary studies. While drawing on the works of various sociologists, little attention has been paid to the sociology of Zygmunt Bauman to conduct interdisciplinary research in the field of translation studies. This article considers the possibility of adopting Bauman's sociological perspective to understand translational phenomena, particularly through his methodological conceptualization of 'defamiliarization'. Applicability of his theory in translation research was tested in this study through the analysis of the novel *A Strangeness in My Mind* by the Nobel prize winner Turkish writer, Orhan Pamuk. As part of the research in translation sociology, the analyses involved both the agents of the translation process and the textual analysis of the cultural content of the book. The cultural elements in the original novel were detected according to Aixela's (1996) definition of the culture specific items and their translations in *A Strangeness in My Mind* were examined in terms of defamiliarization. Additionally, the translator's and the publisher's approaches to defamiliarization were analyzed using Bourdieu's concept of the 'habitus'. The aim of these analyses was to examine the reflections of defamiliarization in the approaches of the translator and the publishing house as well as in the translated work itself considering that Bauman finds defamiliarization necessary in order to comprehend the ambivalence and the difference of the Other. Results of the study reveal that although the habitus of the publisher aligns with Bauman's approach to defamiliarization, both the translator's habitus and her translation approach indicate dispositions to create a familiarizing effect on the target readers more than defamiliarization.

Introduction

In the humanities, interdisciplinary studies are valuable in the sense that it is very difficult to explain social phenomenon through the tools of one particular discipline since the complex nature of the social contexts require a versatile approach to understand their multifaceted dynamics. After the foundation of translation studies as an autonomous discipline and the 'cultural turn' in the field (see Bassnett and Lefevere 1990), interdisciplinary research has gained more prominence to explore the cultural and social functions of translations. Translation research mainly cooperates with fields

such as literary studies, cultural studies, linguistics, ethnography, philosophy, computer engineering, and sociology. By collaborating with related scientific disciplines, translation studies aim to gain deeper insights into various aspects of the act and theory of translation.

As part of these developments, sociology of translation has been a field of research since the 1990s (Sapiro, 2014). Through such studies in the field of translation sociology, it was possible to investigate various aspects and agents of the translation processes. Interdisciplinary research in the field, particularly helped "to challenge those approaches claiming to hold a monopoly on text comprehension and those sustaining a sociological reduction to external factors" (Wolf, 2010, p.341). In other words, it is not sufficient to focus only on textual or the sociological external factors in order to reveal multidimensional nature of translation. In Wolf's (2010) words, "a sharpened attention to the processuality of translation and its constituencies (sociology of agents, sociology of the translation process, sociology of the cultural product) has opened up an array of research fields which highlight the urgent need to foster interdisciplinary work" (p. 342).

Integrating insights from sociology and translation studies, this interdisciplinary research uses Bauman's sociological perspective to analyze the English translation of Orhan Pamuk's novel, *Kafamda Bir Tuhaflık*. In particular, this article aims to present an interdisciplinary methodological contribution to the ongoing methodological discussions in translation sociology. In this context, Bauman's methodological framework is mainly used to expand the boundaries of translation sociology particularly through his concept of 'defamiliarization' in comprehending the Other.

It should be primarily emphasized that the influence of Bourdieu as a sociologist is undoubtedly observed during the process of constructing a sociology of translation. In the pioneering book, *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (2007), there is a whole chapter allocated to the influence of Bourdieu in translation studies. In the introduction part of the book, Wolf (2007) emphasizes the crucial role Bourdieu's work has played in the methodological conceptualization of translation sociology. She also mentions that many studies in the field were conducted based on Bourdieu's key concepts like *illusio*, *cultural capital*, and *habitus*. The other scholars that are mentioned as influential in translation sociology, though not as much as Bourdieu, are Latour and Luhmann. Wolf (2007) indicates that Latour's and Luhmann's sociological theories were also tested by the researchers in terms of their applicability to translation studies (pp. 18-22).

Although Zygmunt Bauman is one of the most well-known and influential sociologists in Europe and forms connections between sociology and textual productions to advocate interdisciplinary studies, he has not received much attention from scholars in translation studies. Acknowledging such a prospect of relevance, this study is an attempt to form a bridge between his theoretical discussions and the research areas in translation sociology.

Bauman's work is, indeed, cross-disciplinary and amenable to conduct research in various fields including translation studies. In relation to the ambivalent and hybrid nature of Bauman's theoretical approach, Jacobsen and Poder (2008) state that "by mixing sociology with literary sources and poetic formulations such as metaphors, Bauman dissolves clear-cut divisions between the different realms of human knowledge and exposes a more lenient attitude towards how to conduct and report sociological knowledge" (p.8). To clarify Bauman's hybrid methodological perspective, Jacobsen and Marshman (2008) cite one of his interviews with Maaretta Jaukkuri, during which he explains his interdisciplinary attitude towards sociology and literature/art. In that interview, Bauman states that "there is a striking similarity between the sociological and the artistic vocations. They operate on the same ground, they feed from the same table; hence one would expect them to be engaged in some sort of 'sibling rivalry', but also to complement, correct and inspire each other and learn from each other" (p.19). Thus, as Vecchi (2004) puts it, "Zygmunt Bauman has often been defined as an eclectic sociologist, and he would certainly take no offence at such a definition"

(p.2).

In order to reveal Bauman's sociological thought in that respect and adopt it to explore the sociological aspects of the translation practices, his theoretical formulations will be used in this research to analyze the English translation of Orhan Pamuk's novel, *Kafamda Bir Tuhaflık* which was published with the title *A Strangeness in My Mind* in English. In the following parts of the article, first, some information is provided about the representation of the Other in the novel and then, its translation into English is analyzed in terms of Bauman's theoretical conceptualization of "defamiliarization."

Identification of the Other in *A Strangeness in My Mind* from a Non-Essentialist Perspective

When the novel *A Strangeness in My Mind* (2015) is considered overall, it is clearly noticed that the story is deeply connected to the story of Istanbul, which has undergone strong changes and transformations since the 1960s. While describing these transformations of the city in the background, it tells the events in the life of boza and yoghurt seller character, Mevlut Karataş. Just as it is stated in the epigraph of the book, the novel is about "the adventures, and dreams of Mevlut Karataş, a seller of boza, and of his friends, and also a portrait of life in Istanbul between 1969 and 2012 from many different points of view" (Pamuk, 2015).

As mentioned in the epigraph, the novel presents different time periods of Istanbul from various political and sociological perspectives. The underlying orientation of the novel as the subtext is the sociological evolution and social problems of Istanbul in the last 50 years until the 2010s and these problems are mostly based on the documentary research and observation of the author, himself. As Pamuk mentions in various interviews, it took him six years to write this novel since he collected data about the distant parts of the city, about the outsiders, and the life of the poor by conducting interviews with the meat-ball sellers, mussel sellers, etc. to learn about their lives and experiences. In this sense, Pamuk indicates that the book has a realistic and sociological character like a documentary (Milliyet Sanat, 2014; Özdemir, 2015).[1] This documentary character of the book is emphasized by Karal (2017) as "the novel is one of the literary sources for the sociology of literature and urban sociology in terms of its themes about the increase in urban slums and urban struggles as it is based on realistic sociological data" (p. 159).

From this point of view, *A Strangeness in My Mind* has a different character compared to Pamuk's earlier books. It is observed that since the publication of his first book, Orhan Pamuk has mainly told stories taking place in the central parts of Istanbul where usually wealthy people live. In his first book, *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları/Cevdet Bey and His Sons*, he depicted a three generational picture of a wealthy family living in Nişantaşı, which is a central district inhabited by wealthy Istanbulites. In that book, Pamuk reflected on the lifestyles and the transformations of these people during the early modernization periods of the Turkish Republic. Similarly, *Kara Kitap/ The Black Book* is concerned with Istanbul as the main setting and the districts in which the events take place are prosperous neighborhoods like Nişantaşı, Beyoğlu and Teşvikiye. Pamuk's other well-known book, *The Museum of Innocence*, is set in Istanbul during the end of the 1970s and again the characters are members of the secular, westernized social classes living in the upscale, central parts of the city. As a consequence, it is evident that growing up and living in Nişantaşı and Cihangir, has had a personal influence on Pamuk's choice of themes and settings for his novels. That is a significant issue in relation to how the Nobel-prize winner author presents Istanbul to the readers in different parts of

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[1] See the following videos for the interviews with Orhan Pamuk about his book, *Kafamda Bir Tuhaflık/ A Strangeness in My Mind*: Milliyet Sanat. (2014) *Orhan Pamuk Kafamda Bir Tuhaflık'ı anlatıyor.* Retrieved from https:// www. youtube.com/watch?v=nOYTwl-lULM and Özdemir, C. (2015) *5N1K Kafamda Bir Tuhaflık.* Kanal D Arşiv. Retrieved from https:// www. youtube. com/watch?v=h1c-23BQe-8.

the world, particularly the West.

Contrary to such settings and the characters in his earlier novels, while writing *A Strangeness in My Mind*, Pamuk turned his face to the outer parts of the city and looked from the perspectives of the poor and the working classes. The events in the novel mainly take place in two fictional neighborhoods, Kültepe and Duttepe, which represent the slums of Istanbul. In Karal's (2017) words, "*A Strangeness in My Mind* is a novel which involves the people of the slums, the Alevis, the Kurds, the women, the street vendors; that is, the 'others' of Istanbul" (p. 159). In a similar vein, Güngör (2015) mentions that, in this book, Pamuk describes Turkey's social formation by shifting his focus to impoverished neighborhoods or districts (p. 125). Consequently, the novel can be read not only as a search for a compromise between different parts of Istanbul so that they can exist together but also as a reconciliation of Orhan Pamuk's career as a Turkish writer with the remote parts of Istanbul and with their residents.

In fact, in one of his interviews, Pamuk, himself, mentions this issue frankly by stating that he is not familiar with this face of Istanbul and the experiences of the people living in the outer suburbs of the city. He admits that he had to collect information and make observations in order to understand life in such places and to adopt these people's points of view while writing *A Strangeness in My Mind* (Özdemir, 2015).[2] Accordingly, it would not be wrong to state that this novel is the novel of 'a reconciliation with the Other' in a variety of aspects.

In relation to these representations of the Other, it is clearly observed that the novel draws a picture of the differences and main causes of the social clashes in Turkey (Budak, 2015; Genç, 2020; Karal, 2017; Kula, 2016). It bears many forms of the conflicts between self and the other or clashes between different groups and identities in the society occurring as *us* vs. *them*. These oppositions and differences can be summarized as the *secular/Islamıst*, *East/West*, *modern/traditional*, *urban/suburb*, *Alevis/Sunnis*, *leftists/nationalists*, etc. A list of these binary oppositions which reflect how the book is based on the issue of the Other and difference is demonstrated in Table 1 below:

Table 1. Binary oppositions and distinctions indicated in *A Strangeness in My Mind* (2015)

Binary oppositions and distinctions mentioned in the book		Page numbers for reference to the binary opposition
East	West	453, 490
Turkey	Europe	256
Village	Town	45-62 , 94
Westernized Seculars	Islamist Conservatives	341
Sunni	Alevi	124, 158, 466, 491
Maliki Sunnis	Hanafi Sunnis	124
Ottoman	Republican	31
Kültepe	Duttepe	139, 141
Rayiha (The girl Mevlut married)	Samiha (The girl Mevlut actually fell in love and to whom he wrote love letters at the beginning)	12, 488, 494, 508, 520-523, 669-673

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[2] See the video for the interview: Özdemir, C. (2015) *5N1K Kafamda Bir Tuhaflık.* Kanal D Arşiv. Retrieved from https:// www. youtube. com/watch?v=h1c-23BQe-8.

Aktaş (Whitestone) family	Karataş (Blackstone) family	52
Houses of devout families who perform daily prayers and leave their shoes outside	Houses of rich and westernized families where you can go in with your shoes on	25
European men	Turkish men	387
European girls	Turkish girls	109
Women wearing headscarves	Women not wearing headscarves like the ones in the European movies	78
Children of decent families who always sit in the front rows of the class	Poorer boys sitting in the back rows of the class	90
Lifestyle of the people from the western cities like İzmir or from the cities in Central Anatolia like Konya	Lifestyle of the people from the eastern parts of Turkey like Bingöl	156
Children of the civil servants, doctors and lawyers who live in modern and European style apartments	Children of the families who immigrated from the Anatolian cities and who live in the slums of the new quarters of Istanbul	92
Nationalists	Leftists-socialists	142
Pro-Moscow socialists	Maoists	149
Motherland coffeehouse in Duttepe which is attended mostly by the nationalists	Homeland coffeehouse in Kültepe which is visited mostly by the leftists	142
Public view a person declares	Private thoughts	169, 427, 469, 519, 585
Civil marriage	Religious marriage	253, 255
Pro-Soviet factions in left-wing clubs	Pro-China factions in left-wing clubs	292
'Family room' in some restaurants which is reserved for women and the families only	Floors of the restaurants which are open to all customers	308
Haremlik (Private parts of the Ottoman palaces & the houses for women and the children)	Selamlik (Rooms in the Ottoman houses reserved for men or used for hosting the guests)	309
Book of nationalistic names from Central Asia	Handbook of Modern Baby Names	309
Bathroom families use in their houses which the servants are not allowed to use	Small servants' bathroom that the cleaning lady shares with the cat or dog of the house	364

Public appearances	Private motivations	382
Turkish style music (*alaturka*)	European style music (*alafranga*)	22, 385
Conservative, old neighborhoods across the Golden Horn like Çarşamba in Fatih	Stylish and more modern neighborhoods of Istanbul like Nişantaşı in Şişli	436, 437
Ottoman calligraphy	New Latin alphabet	452
Adopting the western values	Keeping the national values	490
Realm of the real world	The other realm of the spiritual	492
Public intentions	Private intentions	609
What our heart intends	What our words intend	611
Supporters of the secular Republican People's Party in the migrants' association	Conservative members of the migrants' association	646
Intentions	Actions	651
New neighborhoods beyond the old city walls/ Outside the city	Old neighborhoods in the city center / Inner city areas	653
Gangs from Mardin trying to hold control of the markets in Beyoğlu	Gangs from Diyarbakır active in the territory of Tarlabaşı in Beyoğlu	662
Court literature	Folk literature	717

As can be seen in Table 1, it is obvious that there are 'others' mentioned in the novel which include their own 'others'. For instance, outer neighborhoods which are represented with Kültepe and Duttepe are distinct from the central and upscale districts of the city like Nişantaşı. These are the two poles that constitute what we call the Other in many respects such as prevalent lifestyles, social practices and beliefs of the residents. However, there are distinctions between Kültepe and Duttepe as well. They are different from each other in terms of the political orientations, religious practices and the hometown of the people living in these two places (Pamuk, 2015, p.142). Thus, it is clear that the two parties constituting the Other reciprocally are not homogeneous in themselves and Pamuk illustrates this interwoven and fluid character of the Other well in the novel. In this respect, all the examples that are listed in Table 1, indicate that Pamuk takes on a postmodern, non-essentialist approach while revealing the dynamics of the culture and the society he writes about.

At this point, it would be useful to mention postmodern, non-essentialist approaches in intercultural studies as a background to analyze how the novel handles the issue of representing the Other with reference to the sociology of Bauman as well.

For modernist and essentialist approaches in cultural studies, "there is a universal essence, homogeneity and unity in a particular culture" (Holliday *et al*., 2004, p. 2). In line with the modernist perspective, cultural groups were regarded as grounded in the nation and the nation-states. Not surprisingly, this holistic approach produces cultural stereotypes while describing other cultures like one simple society with fixed cultural and social patterns. Non-essentialist approaches, on the other hand, emphasize "the complexity of culture as a fluid, creative social force which binds different groupings and aspects of behavior in different ways, both constructing and constructed by

people in a piecemeal fashion to produce myriad combinations and configurations" (Holliday *et al.*, 2004, p.3). What is significantly distinct in this approach is "the multifacetedness of Other people and societies" (Holliday *et al.*, 2004, p. 7).

Such a non-essentialist approach to the phenomenon of the Other and the organization of the societies is very well reflected in the works of Bauman. In *Thinking Sociologically*, Bauman and May (1990/2019) identify the fluid, non-essentialist nature of the social groups by stating that "although often characterized by similar language and customs, they are also divided in their beliefs and practices" (p. 30). In other words, there are many variables for the individuals in different communities to relate with or to reject as the Other. As a result, in today's world, it is difficult to imagine societies as single, homogeneous entities. Undoubtedly, every society is complex and culturally varied. Schalk (2011) mentions this variety within the societies as following:

> When one enters a room s/he doesn't just notice races, but also gender, age, ability and a variety of other identifiers which affect our perception of others. And furthermore, when one enters a room of people with whom one is acquainted, one is able to recognize and assess multiple visible and non-visible identities of those individuals as well. It is not that every black person most identifies with every other black person, but that when in contact and communication with others, people are making constant calculations of their relatedness with others, or lack thereof. (p. 200)

With regard to this discussion in terms of the nature of the social identifications, it is possible to conclude that the representation of the Other in the book, *A Strangeness in My Mind*, is compatible with the non-essentialist, postmodern views of culture beyond stereotypical nation-state definitions since it displays social dynamics of Istanbul with all its varieties, conflicts and various social identities it bears. The novel reflects this view through the plot, underlying themes, settings, and various identities of the characters, which are exemplified in Table 1 above. Considering the novel's culturally loaded context, an analysis of the translator's decisions reveals how effectively this multidimensional perspective is reflected in the target text. Such an analysis illustrates if the translation approach aligns with the perspective in the novel in terms of the representation of the Other. The analysis will be conducted by using one of Bauman's theoretical conceptualizations, namely, "*defamiliarization*."

Defamiliarization as a Strategy to Comprehend the Other

Zygmunt Bauman's personal life experiences during the political, economic and social turmoil in Europe situate him in an ambivalent social position "as a thinker who at various times and in various places has been cast as a stranger *ante portas*, in, but not of, the West" (Palmer, 2023, p. 3). These experiences of him, especially as an exile for many years, enabled him to critically question the fixed categories of modernity and its uniform social systems. From an 'outsider' perspective, Bauman criticized the modern societies of the West in terms of classifying people as the Other and he searched for the possibility of managing the '*art of living together*' which was actually a part of European cultural heritage (Palmer, 2023, p. 177).

It is obvious in his works that the issue of the Other constitutes a large part of Bauman's sociology. According to Bauman and May (1990/2019), "we come to know ourselves through others via symbolic communication. Language is the medium through which we speak, but also how we hear ourselves and evaluate our actions and utterances according to the responses of others" (p.20). In consequence, communication with others helps us to understand ourselves and form our social identities. It largely determines how we form our relation with the world and give meaning to it. Particularly, it is noticeable that "our ability to make distinctions and divisions within the world includes those between "us" and "them" (Bauman & May, 1990/2019, p. 29).

The divisions between "us" and "them" take different forms in the societies. Social groups are formed based on similar social identities and this results in an exclusion of the others who do not share these. Actually, there is a dialectical relationship between self and the Other, and between "us" and "them." In Bauman's words (1990/2019), "these opposites are inseparable, for there cannot be one without the other. They sediment our map of the world on two poles of what can be an antagonistic relationship. Such fixities in assumptions render the groups "real" to their respective members and provides for the inner unity and coherence they are taken to possess" (Bauman & May, 1990/2019, p. 29).

This positioning of the self and the groups as "us" and "them" within the specific societies are usually based on certain differences like political views, religion, class, etc. In other cases, the divisions can be based on larger groups such as countries, cultures or nationalities. In-groups and out-groups within a particular society are usually visible by looking at the social spaces these people use in their everyday lives. Modern cities are full of examples for such differences between the social spaces. As Bauman (1997) indicates, "in the postmodern city, the strangers mean one thing to those for whom 'no-go area' (the 'mean streets', the 'rough districts') means 'I won't go in', and those to whom 'no go' means 'I can't go out'" (p. 28).

Similarly, in the book *Other Colours*, Orhan Pamuk (2007) discusses this situation in modern cities. In the chapter entitled "No Entry", he centers on a sign saying 'No Entry' on the street, and opens up a discussion related to the 'no-go areas' which divide people who have the privilege to pass through the door and who do not. Inevitably, the discussion of the barriers that take people apart as "us" vs. "them" turns into a question of identity. It appears that the people on the other side of the door represent "all those who oppose those virtues which they have assigned themselves. However, they now define themselves, the people outside are their opposite. It could even be said that they are only able to define themselves by saying what they are that the people outside their door are not" (Pamuk, 2007, p. 186).

As a result of this process, the outsiders also start to form their identities in opposition to the others that are inside. Pamuk (2007) states that "now, it has become important for him to know who, and what, he is. He must establish an identity that rejects all that the arrogant insiders stand for" (p.187). Relatedly, Bauman (1998) explains how this feeling of rejection turns into a vicious cycle between the rejected identities and the people who reject as "rejection and exclusion are humiliating and meant to be such; they are meant to result in the rejected/excluded accepting their social imperfection and inferiority" (p. 126).

Considering these points about the various aspects of the Other, what can be the solution for realizing the 'art of living together' despite such differences? For Bauman, 'defamiliarization' is an answer to that question. According to him, for opening the ways to gain insight of what the other is, such a defamiliarization process is necessary to develop. The responsibility of the sociologist, specifically, is therefore "to 'defamiliarize the familiar' because familiarity may hamper and hinder inquisitiveness and the impetus to innovate and transform" (Jacobsen & Poder, 2008, p. 3). In this sense, by defining defamiliarization as one of the responsibilities of the scholars in the field of sociology, Bauman frames a methodological perspective for the researchers to conduct sociological research.

While explaining the concept of defamiliarization as a methodological framework to analyze social phenomena and to foster understanding between different social groups and identities, Bauman (1982) rests on the idea that there is a historical tendency "to absorb and accommodate new experience into the familiar picture of the world; habitual categories are the main tools of this absorption. New experience does not fit the categories easily" (p. 192). Thus, trying to fit new experiences into our familiar categories, in other words, trying to replace what is different in the

existence of the Other with our familiar concepts, prevents us from appreciating the true nature of the world around us. Consequently, it is claimed that "defamiliarization shatters the impenetrable walls of common sense that prevents us from experiencing and understanding the world anew" (Jacobsen & Poder, 2008, p. 4).

Defamiliarization is, therefore, required to get out of the comfort zone of what is familiar in an attempt to reach more comprehension of the Other. For Bauman, that is particularly crucial in today's postmodern cities as "strangers are part of the social order, they will not disappear neither through pragmatic statements nor by wishful thinking" (Månsson, 2008, p. 157). Defamiliarization process is directly linked to "the right of the Other to his strangerhood" (Bauman, 1991, p. 236). Its most obvious benefit is that "it opens up new and previously unsuspected possibilities of living one's life with more self-awareness, understanding of others, and comprehension of our surroundings in terms of greater knowledge" (Bauman &May 1990/2019, p. 9).

Within this framework, it is possible to think about the question of how the methodological conceptualization of defamiliarization can be used to analyze translations as "'inventions' or 'constructions' of the 'Other'" (Wolf, 2007, p. 3). In other words, how can translation be used as a tool to '*defamilarize the familiar*'? In order to answer this question, it is helpful to discuss how translations can be utilized differently either to familiarize the Other which exists in the original text or to defamiliarize it. This is specifically crucial considering that "translations of literary works are often regarded as a relevant source for learning about the culture in which they were originally produced" (Sapiro, 2014, p. 88).

Analysis of *A Strangeness in My Mind* in terms of Defamiliarization through Translation

Historically, discussion of the translations in relation to the representation of the Other or the foreign essence of the original texts has been carried out around the question of how to convey the unfamiliar aspects of the source text to the target readers. Schleiermacher (1813/1992), Nida (1964), Newmark (1988), Venuti (1995), and Toury (1995) are the scholars who put particular emphasis on different strategies to convey the unfamiliar content of the original text to translations. With the help of these discussions, it became possible to reveal the relationship between the prevalent translation strategies used during the translation process and the approach adopted by the translator to represent the foreign essence of the Other which already exists in the original text.

Related to this discussion, scholars such as Venuti (1992, 1995), Appiah (1993/2004), and Spivak (1992/2004) obviously advocated an approach which is widely known as foreignization later in the field. In general terms, these scholars are in favor of keeping the foreign essence of the original text in translation. For instance, Venuti (1992, 1995) is fiercely against domestication as he views that "domesticating" translation serves the Anglo-American cultural hegemony by assimilating the cultural difference of the original text for the sake of fluency. He suggests that "foreignizing translation seeks to restrain the ethnocentric violence of translation, it is highly desirable today, a strategic cultural intervention in the current state of world affairs, pitched against the hegemonic English-language nations and the unequal cultural exchanges in which they engage their global others" (Venuti, 1995, p. 20).

Similarly, Spivak (1992/2004) claims that the translator should 'surrender' to the source text and reveal its original rhetorical aspect since translation is "a simple miming of the responsibility to the trace of the other in the self" (p.397). However, according to Spivak (1992/2004), translators mostly do not adopt this approach in translation as they choose the easier and safer way of the logic and the systematic structure of the languages. Through domesticating strategies, they ignore the rhetoricity of the original and usually for the sake of convenience, they transfer bodies of meaning and produce texts which are safe but at the same time, the same.

As for Appiah (1993/2004), translation creates an opportunity and a challenge for us to face the difference and show a genuine respect for the others. Like Venuti and Spivak, he favors the autonomy of the Other in translation. To achieve this, Appiah (1993/2004) suggests 'thick translation' as a translation methodology which is based on providing annotations and glosses with the aim of locating "the text in a rich cultural and linguistic context" (p. 427).

In line with the proposals of such scholars in translation studies, Bauman puts forward defamiliarization in sociology as a procedure for comprehending the Other. For him, it is only through defamiliarization that the ambivalent and foreign essence of the Other can be noticed in social relations. While describing how difference of the Other is lost in familiarization processes, Bauman (1982) asserts that "in order to be reduced to the familiar and therefore 'understandable', its protruding edges must be trimmed, its uncustomary colours dulled, and everything genuinely novel must be explained away or dismissed as an aberration" (p. 192). With these words, Bauman displays a very similar approach to Venuti, Spivak and Appiah in relation to the risks of domestication in the social representations of the Other. He clearly expresses that "if all these 'domesticating' expedients have been successful, much of the truly unprecedented quality of the new experience may have passed unnoticed for a considerable time" (Bauman, 1982, p. 192).

Bearing such a similarity in these approaches, it is significant to note that Bauman particularly underlines the social dynamics in his conceptualization of the idea of defamiliarization. Thus, there is an emphasis on the sociological aspect of the term in Bauman's understanding. From such a perspective, it is possible to evaluate how far the translations provide the readers with an opportunity to face the Other through defamiliarization in a social sense by conducting research which involve various agents of the translation process as well as the translated text itself. In order to shed light on the possibility of adopting Bauman's concept in studying translational phenomena, an analysis of *A Strangeness in My Mind* is carried out in terms of its capacity for defamiliarization. It is assumed that this analysis yields interesting results as to the representation of the Other for the readers of the book in English.

Methodology

Since interdisciplinary research in translation sociology requires investigations more than solely text-based analyses, the present study evaluates *A Strangeness in My Mind* in terms of its capacity for defamiliarization based on the sociology of the agents in the translation process and the representation of the cultural content in the translated book.

In order to reveal the dynamics that could be influential on the translation approach of the translator in terms of defamiliarization, the analyses firstly involve an investigation of the translator's and the publisher's habitus based on the conceptualization of Bourdieu. The term 'habitus' in Bourdieu's sociology is defined as "a system of *dispositions*, that is of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking, or a system of *long-lasting* (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 43). To elaborate on this definition, it can be suggested that 'habitus' indicates internalized attitudes and characteristics which shape the perceptions and actions of individuals in a particular field. The skills and capacities that underlie how individuals interact with the world and how they behave in certain manners are predisposed by their habitus, a collective condition resulting from a lengthy process of socialization.

In the field of translation sociology, one application of the term 'habitus' as a methodological concept is to reveal how the habitus of the translator can be influential on the translation process (Gouanvic, 2010; Simeoni, 1998). In such studies, familial or educational backgrounds as well as world views of the translators are studied as their habitus in order to investigate the relationship between the translation process and the habitus as a social variable. Furthermore, the term 'habitus'

is not restricted to the human agents like translators. As Philpotts (2012) mentions, "a literary journal is characterized by what we can identify as its own 'common habitus', the defining ethos which unites the members of its 'nucleus' and which acts as 'a unifying and generative principle' for their cultural practice" (p. 42). Thus, it is possible to conduct research on the editorial habitus of a journal or habitus of a publishing company as a socio-cultural institution which has varying dispositions in the field. Publishers compete with each other and act depending on their aims, values and institutional history which collectively form their action schemes or habitus while deciding which books to choose for translation and how to introduce them to the readers. Consequently, grounded on this theoretical framework, this study conducts analyses of both the translator's and the publisher's habitus in order to reach conclusions related to defamiliarization potential of the translated book *A Strangeness in My Mind* for the target readers.

In addition to these analyses, the present study involves textual analysis of the cultural content of the novel in terms of defamiliarization. This analysis is based on the translation of the culture specific items (CSIs) in the book. These items were detected for examination according to Aixela's (1996) definition. Aixela (1996) defines culture specific item (CSI) as the expression in the source text which "poses a translation problem due to the nonexistence or to the different value (whether determined by ideology, usage, frequency, etc.) of the given item in the target language culture" (Aixela, 1996, p. 57). Based on this definition, after collecting data in relation to the CSIs in the original book, their translations were examined in terms of the strategies proposed by Aixela (1996). The translation strategies that were used for these items in the target text were found to be *repetition*, *linguistic (non-cultural) translation* (using the target language version of the item), *orthographic adaptation* (adapting the item to the alphabet or spelling norms of the target language), *naturalization* (substitution with a similar item in the target culture), *absolute universalization* (substitution with a general/neutral item), *intratextual gloss* (providing in-text explanation) and *deletion*. With the analysis of these translation strategies used for the CSIs in the translated book, it was aimed to reach more insights in relation to the defamiliarization opportunities the target readers are provided with.

In consequence, through the analyses and evaluation of the translator's habitus, the publisher's habitus and the translation of the CSIs in the book, this study aims to find answers to the following research questions:

1. "What kind of a translation approach in terms of defamiliarization is reflected in the English translation of Orhan Pamuk's novel 'Kafamda Bir Tuhaflık' considering the translator's habitus?"
2. "Does the publisher's habitus, in the case of the English translation of "Kafamda Bir Tuhaflık", reveal a tendency to encourage defamiliarization through its publishing strategies?
3. "To what extent do the translation strategies used for the translation of the CSIs provide opportunities for the target readers to defamiliarize and face the Other represented in the original book?"

With the purpose of finding answers to these research questions, in the following parts of the study, first, the translator's and the publisher's habitus will be examined in terms of Bauman's concept of defamiliarization. After these analyses, translation of the CSIs will be analyzed with respect to the defamiliarizing potential of the cultural content for the target readers who encounter the Other through translation.

Translator's Habitus in terms of Defamiliarization

As a start for the analysis, the translator's habitus which is a crucial factor that has an impact on the translator's attitude towards the translation process is discussed in order to evaluate the capacity of the translation in terms of providing the target readers with the possibilities of defamiliarizing and comprehending the Other in the source culture.

Such an analysis on the translator's habitus involves a biography of the translator in terms of his/her familial, educational and intellectual background as well as his/her experience in the field of translation. According to Wolf (2010), research on the biographies of translators and interpreters is one of the fields that are "partly under-researched and/or under-theorized" (p. 337) Similarly, for Sapiro (2014), a significant research question might be related to how the social characteristics of translation agents affect their translation approaches. She believes that these characteristics are incorporated in Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus'. In Sapiro's (2014) words, "these agents' beliefs and practices, as well as their strategies, are informed, first, by their habitus, i.e. their cultural and ethical disposition and the kind of resources they possess (economic, cultural, and social capital) according to their family background, education, and social trajectory" (p. 84). As a consequence, it is claimed that translational actions of the translators are not independent of their habitus; hence, it is a significant social factor that is worth researching for revealing the underlying aspects of the translation processes.

In order to discuss the influence of the habitus of the translator on his/her approach to defamiliarization, personal history of the translator, his/her beliefs, social circle, educational, familial, intellectual background and his/her experience as a translator are investigated in this part of the study. It is believed that the habitus of the translator is significant since creating opportunities for the target readers to defamiliarize what is new, requires having a considerable command of the source culture and its prevalent rhetorical forms.

Following the translation process, *A Strangeness in My Mind* was published in 2015 by Faber& Faber as the English translation of Orhan Pamuk's *Kafamda Bir Tuhaflık* which is originally in Turkish. It was translated into English by Ekin Oklap. According to the biography on the publisher's web site[3], the translator of the book, Ekin Oklap was born in Turkey but she grew up in Italy and she currently lives in London. In an interview with Vanwesenbeeck (2017), Oklap mentions that she was born in Turkey but her family moved to Italy when she was two years old and she went to an international school where she received English medium education. After that, she moved to England for university and she has been living there since then. In another interview which was conducted by Canseven (2016) about the translation process of the book, Oklap states that she knows English better than Turkish. This information is valuable in the sense that such a situation can be influential on her decisions about defamiliarization as reflecting the foreign essence of the book requires to be highly knowledgeable about the source culture and its language use.

Furthermore, in terms of Oklap's experience as a translator, it is noted that this translation is considered Oklap's first full-length book translation. After the translation of *A Strangeness in My Mind*, she translated other books by Orhan Pamuk but she was not experienced as a translator before she translated this book. In her interview with Vanwesenbeeck (2017), Oklap mentions this situation by stating that she started her journey as a translator only a few years ago by translating the catalog Orhan Pamuk wrote for his museum, which was published with the name *The Innocence of Objects* in 2012. Other than this catalogue of Pamuk's museum, Oklap did not have any published translations until the publication of *A Strangeness in My Mind.*

With respect to the translation approach, on the other hand, Ekin Oklap favors producing a fluent text in the target language which can be read easily by the readers. In her interview with Canseven (2016), she states that she prefers translated texts to be read as if they were written in the target language. In this sense, she finds it natural to be invisible as the translator of the book. She reinforces this idea by mentioning that although the role of the translator is crucial, the most important part of the process is the story and the text, itself. She suggests that the readers of the novel usually talk

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[3] See the biography of the translator on the publisher's web site: Faber. (2021). Ekin Oklap. Retrieved from https://www.faber.co.uk/author/ekin-oklap

about its story. When she reads the reviews about the book, for instance, she takes it as a positive response if they do not mention the translation or the translator (Canseven, 2016).

This attitude of the translator is also observed related to the use of the footnotes, annotations and glosses in the translated text. As in Appiah's (1993/2004) thick translation, such strategies are usually used by the translators to provide the readers with the cultural and linguistic context of the source text in a more detailed way. When the translation of the novel is examined in terms of such strategies, it is observed that the translator did not use any of these strategies throughout the translation. During the interview with Canseven (2016), Oklap explains this approach by stating that she did not prefer using translator's notes in her translation as she believes that some of the unfamiliar expressions can be explained within the text and strategies like using footnotes would not be practical for the translation of the book.

Given these points about the profile and the attitude of the translator, it is concluded that the translator opted for producing a comprehensible and fluent text for the target readers who read the book in English. In her interview with Canseven (2016), Oklap states that at the beginning, Orhan Pamuk was searching for a translator for his book and Oklap recommended herself as the translator. This indicates that it was Orhan Pamuk who chose the translator for his book. In addition, Oklap mentions in the same interview that they had a close cooperation with Pamuk during the translation process. Consequently, it can be concluded that Orhan Pamuk also supported Oklap's translation approach favoring comprehension and fluency in the target language over the visibility of the translator in the text. As the scholars like Venuti, Spivak and Appiah indicate, such an approach usually results in a more familiar text to the readers and this decreases the opportunities for the target readers to defamiliarize and face the difference already existing in the Other.

Publisher's Habitus in terms of Defamiliarization

Just like the other agents of the translation processes such as the translator, the publisher or the editor, publishing companies are characterized by their own ethos, underlying beliefs and principles, all of which constitute their habitus. Being socio-cultural institutions, publishing companies act as active agents in their own right to participate in the cultural field to acquire economic and symbolic capital. Bourdieu (1996) describes the habitus of the gallery directors and publishers as a unique form of habitus, and their roles are termed as 'double personages'. They serve as intermediaries between the aesthetic/intellectual domain and the commercial domain and these domains usually operate in opposing dispositions (p. 216). As a consequence, in the literary field, publishers have both economic dispositions and intellectual dispositions, both of which contribute to their habitus and determine their actions.

When the habitus of the publisher of *A Strangeness in My Mind* is examined, it is firstly noticed that the firm, Faber& Faber, has a long history in the publishing industry. Founded in 1929 in Britain, it has published works of reputable writers including T. S. Eliot, Ted Hughes, Harold Pinter, Sylvia Plath, Samuel Beckett, and Kazuo Ishiguro. It also publishes works of contemporary writers such as Sally Rooney and Max Porter. Publications of the company involve fiction, non-fiction, poetry and drama. It also promotes translated fiction of various authors in world literature including Orhan Pamuk, Natsuko Imamura, Lucas Rijneveld and Leila Slimani.

Based on this information, it is suggested that Faber& Faber has particular intellectual dispositions in addition to its economic inclinations. When the official website of the publisher[4] is examined, it can be seen that its intellectual dispositions are emphasized more than the commercial ones. The publisher specifically underlines its pride in publishing classical literary works of the foremost

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[4] For more information about the publisher, visit the following web site: Faber (2021) About Us. Retrieved from https://www.faber.co.uk/

figures in the literary field. On the timeline of the history of Faber & Faber, it emphasizes the fact that during the 1930s when James Joyce's *Ulysses* was banned in the country, it published Stuart Gilbert's study on the novel, which contained very long quotations from the original book to introduce it to the readers. Faber &Faber also highlights that it is an independent publishing house and it has Faber Academy to assist novice writers from all over the world through workshops, courses, mentoring, etc.

Another significant fact in terms of the publisher's approach to defamiliarization is that it has a specific plan to enhance diversity in its organization and to create an environment which is free of bias. According to this plan which is described on its official website, members of Faber "believe in championing equality, in challenging discrimination of any form and in supporting one another to advocate for fairness. Our goal is for Faber to be an organization that is free of bias and open to all" (Faber, 2021). This statement is crucial in comprehending the publisher's habitus in terms of its attitude towards defamiliarization. As part of this diversity action plan, the publishing company aims to follow a five-step program to promote empathy, awareness of others and tolerance for the differences.

All this data related to the habitus of the publisher indicate that the company has highly intellectual dispositions in its actions and it adopts an encouraging approach towards promoting defamiliarization in its attempts to represent the Other and show respect for cultural and individual differences.

Cultural Content of Translation in terms of Defamiliarization

In this part of the analysis, translation strategies used for the culture specific items in the book are examined in terms of defamiliarization. To begin with, culture specific item (CSI) is defined as the expression in the source text which creates a difficulty in translation as it does not have an equivalent term or has different implications in the target language (Aixela,1996, p. 57). These items are significant since analysis of their translation may yield results in relation to the representation of the Other and the opportunities given to the readers to comprehend the cultural differences through defamiliarization. Sapiro (2014) points out this relation as "the gap between languages is also a source of enrichment for critical thought, since it can force us to compare not only two linguistic systems but also two cultural systems, and subsequently to relativize our own categories of thinking" (p.90). In other words, translations provide the readers with the opportunity to face different cultural systems and their way of thinking, which eventually facilitate developing a critical perspective towards difference. In this vein, analyses of the representation of the source culture in *A Strangeness in My Mind* is crucial in this study in order to determine the extent the translated book facilitates defamiliarization for the target readers.

As a start for the analysis, when the novel *Kafamda Bir Tuhaflık* was examined as the original book, a total number of 435 CSIs of the source culture was detected depending on every different type, which means that the recurrent items with the same translation strategy were not counted. This total list of the CSIs also excludes the proper nouns for ordinary people and places like Mevlut or Nişantaşı. Thus, the items included in this part of the analysis are mainly the common nouns and the well-known brands which are specific to the source culture.

After compiling the list of the CSIs in the original book, all the strategies that were used for the translation of these CSIs in the translated book were listed next to the items. On the whole, the strategies that were documented involved 'repetition', 'using the target language version', 'adapting the item to the alphabet or spelling norms of the target language', 'substitution with a similar item in the target culture', 'substitution with a more general/neutral item', 'in-text explanation' and 'deletion'. These are what Aixela (1996) calls 'repetition', 'linguistic (non-cultural) translation', 'orthographic adaptation', 'naturalization', 'absolute universalization', 'intratextual gloss' and

'deletion', respectively. It was noted that strategies of 'extratextual gloss', 'synonymy', 'limited universalization' and 'autonomous creation', which take place in Aixela's (1996) original categorization, were not used for the translation of the CSIs by the translator of the book.

In addition, to test the reliability of the research, both the list of the CSIs and the categorization of their translations into the translation strategies were subjected to inter-coder agreement. According to Geisler & Swarts (2019), inter-coder agreement is "a measure of the extent to which coders assign the same codes to the same set of data" (p. 160). By determining the agreement rate for listing and categorizing the data into the strategies, it was aimed to reach an 'inter-coder reliability percentage' at the end of the process. This number gives the percentage of the agreements and is found by dividing the total number of coding decisions by the number of agreements (Geisler & Swarts, 2019, p. 160). For a high reliability rate, the result is expected to be above 90% (Neuendorf, 2002). Accordingly, in this study, two experts in the fields of literature and translation studies took part in the process of coding the CSIs in the list and the categorization of the items in terms of the translation strategies. As a result of the process, the agreement rate was found to be 97% for the list of the CSIs and 98% for the categorization of the items into the translation strategies.

As to the translation of 435 CSIs detected in the book, it is firstly noticeable that a large number of these items were translated through familiarization strategies for the readers in order to ease their comprehension. Other than very few items that were translated as they are such as "rakı", "ayran", "boza", "yogurt", "bulgur", "baklava", "sunni", "alevi", "yenge", "hafız", "imam" and "muezzin", most of the CSIs were translated either by using similar words in target culture instead of them or by providing explanations in the text to familiarize the readers with these items. Oklap explains this situation in her interview with Canseven (2016) as an answer to the question about why she retained some cultural items in Turkish in italics. She mentioned clearly that actually she did not want to use them as they are in Turkish. She wanted to use English equivalents for the cultural items whenever possible. The idea behind leaving these words as they are, was their familiarity to the readers. As an example, she translated the word "rakı" as it is in Turkish since she believed that the readers would already know what it is. However, she stated that she translated the dessert "tavukgöğsü" with its description like *shredded-chicken blancmange* without using the original word. She explained that if she left the word in italics in Turkish, the readers would not understand it at all and it would be difficult for the target readers even to read it. Thus, it can be concluded that the translator of the book aimed to achieve familiarity, comprehension and fluency in the translation of the CSIs more than achieving defamiliarization. Table 2 below illustrates how the translator applied her translation approach in practice by demonstrating the distribution of the CSIs (excluding the proper nouns for ordinary people and places) in the novel in terms of the translation strategies proposed by Aixela (1996).

Table 2. Translation Strategies Used for the CSIs in *A Strangeness in My Mind* (2015) Based on Aixela's (1996) Categorization Model

TRANSLATION STRATEGY	NUMBER OF THE TRANSLATION STRATEGIES USED FOR THE CSIs*
Repetition (Retaining the item as it is)	33
Linguistic (non-cultural) translation (Using the target language version of the item)	76
Orthographic adaptation (adapting the item to the alphabet or spelling norms of the target language)	8
Naturalization	217

(Substitution with a similar item in the target culture)	
Limited universalization (Using a less specific item which is closer to the target readers' cultural background)	-
Absolute universalization (Substitution with a general/neutral item)	22
Synonymy (using a synonym or a parallel reference in the target text for stylistic reasons)	-
Intratextual gloss (providing in-text explanation)	62
Extratextual gloss (providing explanation of the item in the form of footnotes, endnotes, etc.)	-
Deletion	17
Autonomous creation (adding an item or extra information to the target text which is non-existent in the source text)	-
TOTAL	435

*The numbers do not involve the strategies used for the proper nouns for ordinary people and places

In the detailed analysis of the results, Table 2 shows that 33 CSIs were retained in their original forms. and these are mostly the items that the target readers are presumably familiar with. Among 435 items in the book, 12 of them are potentially familiar to the target readers, such as "rakı" and "boza.". In addition, 21 well-known brands of the source culture were also translated by using this strategy of repetition. These brands included *Çamlıca chewing gum*, *Tamek tomato ketchup*, *Yeni Harman cigarettes*, *Arçelik three-wheelers*, *Lux soap*, *Tipitip chewing gum*, *Golden chocolate bars*, *Flinta ice-cream*, *Filiz tea*, *Samsun cigarette*, *Maltepe cigarette*, *Murat cars*, *a pack of Bafras*, etc.

On the other hand, a large number of the other culturally loaded items were predominantly translated with strategies which would not hinder readers' comprehension and the text's fluency. It was found out that 217 items were translated by the substitution of the CSI with a similar item belonging to the target culture. In Aixela's (1996) model, this strategy is called naturalization. By way of illustration, translation of the different entertainment places is discussed through examples from the source text (ST) and the target text (TT) below:

Table 3. Examples about the use of naturalization for the translation of the CSIs related to entertainment places

	ST	TT
Example 1	"On beş yıl önce, 1970'lerin sonunda Beyoğlu'nun arka sokaklarında müzikli salaş **gazinolar, pavyonlar** ve yarı gizli randevuevleri hala açıkken oralarda gece yarısına kadar satış yapabiliyordu Mevlut" (Pamuk, 2014, p. 29)	"Fifteen years ago, toward the end of the 1970s, when the area's ramshackle **cabaret bars** and **nightclubs** and half-hidden brothels were still in business, Mevlut was able to make sales in the backstreets until as late as midnight" (Pamuk, 2015, p. 22, translated by Oklap)
Example 2	"Satıcı giremez" diye **meyhanelerden, gazinolardan** pek çok kereler uzaklaştırıldık" (Pamuk, 2014, p. 90)	"Many times we were turned away from **bars** and **nightclubs** with the old 'No vendors allowed'" (Pamuk, 2015, p. 120, translated by Oklap)

It is noticeable in the excerpts that the translator preferred to use *cabaret bar* for "gazino", and *nightclub* for "pavyon" in example 1 and she used *nightclub* for "gazino" and *bar* for "meyhane" in example 2. It seems that she did not differentiate between these places while translating the items as she used *nightclub* as a familiar item in the target culture both for "gazino" and "pavyon" in the source culture. Throughout the book, it was observed that the translator used *nightclub* or *club* for "pavyon" and *bar* for "meyhane" although these do not represent the same entertainment places in the two cultures. Since the original book reflects the major events, places and lifestyles of the people in Istanbul during a particular time period, it is actually significant to display their understanding of entertainment in the translation as well. Accordingly, in the following examples in Table 4, it is seen that the translator replaced the items related to food and drink with more familiar items in the target culture:

Table 4. Examples about the use of naturalization for the translation of the CSIs related to food and drink

	ST	TT
Example 1	"Ona hediye olarak **elma şekeri** al" (Pamuk, 2014, p.149)	"You should send her a **lollipop"** (Pamuk, 2015, p. 219, translated by Oklap)
Example 2	"… sonra annesinin çantaya özenle yerleştirdiği **gözlemesini** yerdi" (Pamuk, 2014, p. 51)	"… while eating the **wrap** his mother had dutifully packed for him" (Pamuk, 2015, p. 55, translated by Oklap)

In the examples in Table 4 above, it is seen that the translator used similar items in the target language to translate "elma şekeri" and "gözleme" in the source text. Although *lollipop* and *wrap* are similar to these, they do not convey the real meaning of the items in the source culture. Thus, it is seen that the translator prefers to use familiar items to increase comprehension of the text. In many other cases, too, she adopts this strategy of replacing the words with more familiar items. For instance, she translated "tarhana" as *homemade soup powder*; "dolmuş" as *taxi*; "aşiret"_as *clan*; "kahya" as *assistant*; "muhallebi" as *pudding*; "cacık" as *yogurt*; "çörek" as *biscuits*; "mesnevi" as *ode*; "deĝnekçi" as *valet*; "mezeci" as *restaurant*, "tombalacı" as *lottery-ticket seller*, etc.

In addition to naturalization, the translator employed absolute universalization-a strategy involving the use of general and neutral terms-for the translation of 22 CSIs. She replaced these CSIs with more general and neutral items which would be more comprehensible and familiar to the target readers. An example of this strategy can be seen below:

Table 5. Example about the use of absolute universalization for the translation of the CSIs

	ST	TT
Example	"… babası onu Kasımpaşa'da ahşap bir evdeki bir **şeyhe** götürüp okuyup üfletti" (Pamuk, 2014, p. 56)	"his father took him to a **holy man** in a wooden house in Kasımpaşa who said a few prayers and breathed a blessing over Mevlut" (Pamuk, 2015, p.65, translated by Oklap)

Example in Table 5 above illustrates that the translator used the general item *holy man* to translate the word "şeyh". In other words, instead of using the specific word "şeyh", she used a general item *holy man* to describe the term. She used this strategy in the translation of "Aygaz" as *butane*; "Spor Toto" as *sports betting*; "Arap sabunu" as *soap*; "çoban salata" as *tomato salad*; "kaşar peyniri" as *cheese*; "Fatiha" as *a few prayers*, etc.

Furthermore, it was detected that 62 CSIs were translated with an in-text explanation for the target

readers. In Aixela's (1996) terms, this strategy is called 'intratextual gloss'. An example for the use of this strategy in the translated book is indicated below:

Table 6. Example about the use of intratextual gloss for the translation of the CSIs

	ST	TT
Example	"… Karaköy'deki, yalnızca **güllaç** ve **aşure** satacak bir dükkan tanıtılıyordu" (Pamuk, 2014, p.317)	"…a place in Karaköy selling **rosewater and milk-soaked Ramadan pastry** and *aşure*, **the traditional pudding of fruits and nuts**" (Pamuk, 2015, p. 490, translated by Oklap)

As seen in the example in Table 6 above, the items "güllaç" and "aşure" pose a translation problem for the translator and she chooses to translate them by explaining what they are. In the case of "güllaç", she only describes the dessert and while translating "aşure", she adds the original name of the dessert as well as its description. In both cases, she aims to increase the comprehension and familiarity of the items to the target readers. The translator used this strategy mostly for the names of the food and drink and the specific places selling these. As another example, she translated the word "kuruyemişçi" with its description in the text as *the shop that sold nuts and sunflower seeds*.

Other than these, 76 CSIs out of the total number of 435, were translated with their versions in the target language and this strategy is called linguistic (non-cultural) translation. For instance, the translation of the game "okey" as *rummikub*, "Ramazan" as *Ramadan*, "yeniçeri" as *janissary* and the translation of the name of the political group "ülkücüler" with their well-known names in the west as *Grey Wolves* are examples of this strategy. Furthermore, 8 CSIs that were detected in the original book were found to be translated by using orthographic adaptation in the target text. Examples of this strategy include the translation of "hacı" as *hadji* and "şiş kebap" as *shish kebab*. As these examples suggest, this strategy refers to the adaptation of the item to the morphological or phonological system of the target language.

Additionally, it was found out that 17 CSIs were totally deleted in the translation process and were not reflected in the translated text at all. It was observed that most of these items were specific ways of addressing people in the source culture like "abi" and the names of certain leftist political organizations or workers' unions like the leftist police union "Pol-Der."

As a final remark, it is significant to note that the translator did not use any footnotes or glossaries for the explanation of the CSIs, a strategy which would typically be classified as extratextual gloss. There were no instances of synonymy, limited universalization and autonomous creation as well. In addition to these, translation of the word "gecekondu" was interesting on its own. Throughout the translation, it was translated in 15 different ways including *a house in one of those slums, a gecekondu, a slum house, gecekondu homes, unregistered houses, homes built overnight, illegal home, poor neighborhoods, gecekondu building, impoverished neighborhoods, ramshackle, gecekondu houses*, etc. Due to such diversity in its translation, this word was not included in the total number of the CSIs and was examined separately.

Based on this analysis, it is revealed that the CSIs which were detected in the original novel as common nouns and well-known brands that are considered to be unfamiliar to the target readers, were predominantly translated through familiarizing strategies in the translated text.

On the other hand, as to the proper nouns for ordinary people such as Mevlut, Vediha, Rayiha and for the public places like Şişli, Beyoğlu, Tarlabaşı, Harbiye, Fatih, Erzincan, Beyşehir, Konya, etc., it was found out that they were all translated with their original names except a few cases. In these few cases, it was observed that the translator added the literal meaning of the items next to them

like translating "Buzludere" as "Buzludere, Icy Creek" or translating "Kültepe" as "Kültepe, Ash Hill". Additionally, for a few items, she added an explanation next to the proper noun such as translating the name "Bozkurt" as "Bozkurt (named after the legendary Grey Wolf that saved the Turks)". Other than these, all of the proper names for ordinary people and places that were found out in the original book were translated by repeating their original names in Turkish.

As a consequence of these findings, it is possible to claim that in line with the translator's approach, unfamiliar items to the target readers were largely translated through familiarizing strategies which decrease the readers' opportunities to defamiliarize and to face the Other through translation. Defamiliarizing effect of the translation was mainly observed in the translation of the names of the characters and the places belonging to the source culture.

Conclusion

The above analysis of Orhan Pamuk's *A Strangeness in My Mind* reveals how the sociological perspective of Bauman is applicable in translation research. Through Bauman's concept of defamiliarization, it is possible to evaluate translations as a means of representing the difference of the Other to the target readers. In this sense, this study is the first to use Bauman's sociology in analyzing translational phenomena. As interdisciplinary research, the study involved both textual analyses and sociological evaluation of the translation agents' habitus, particularly in relation to 'defamiliarization'.

When Bauman's sociology is considered, it is evident that he puts great emphasis on understanding the complex and multidimensional nature of the modern societies. For Bauman, the Other is ambivalent and we should accept its difference without excluding or familiarizing it. Through the present analysis, it is evidenced that such a non-essentialist view of representing the Other is well reflected by Pamuk particularly with the plot, settings and backgrounds of the characters in his novel, *A Strangeness in My Mind*. The novel presents the Turkish culture with a dynamic view of representing its social groups and its ongoing social construction as well as the conflicts among different identifications in it.

A similar approach is observed when the habitus of the publisher of the book, *A Strangeness in My Mind* is investigated. The analysis of the publisher's habitus proved that the publishing company had an ethos to promote cultural diversity in its actions in the literary field. Interestingly though, it is found out that this view is not reflected in the translation process of the novel. Regarding the analysis of the translation approach adopted and the cultural elements in the translated text, it is clear that the translator opted for a familiarizing effect on the readers more than defamiliarization. Indeed, since translation is a kind of Other for the target readers, they are expected to find ambivalence in it and accept its difference as Bauman suggests. That is especially true for the culture specific words and the rhetoric of the book. However, the analysis of the translators' habitus, her translation approach and the translation strategies that were used for the culture specific items revealed that the translator tried to produce a comprehensible, fluent text for the target readers more than providing opportunities for them to defamiliarize themselves to comprehend the Other. Through the analysis of the translator's habitus and her translation approach which was indicated by herself in the interviews, it was identified that she was more concerned with conveying the story of the novel in a fluent manner than creating a defamiliarizing effect on the target readers.

In consequence, this study shows that translations have various sociological functions that can only be comprehensively analyzed through interdisciplinary research. It has been significant more than ever in today's multicultural societies to face the ambivalent and unfamiliar nature of the Other. This increases the need for the societies to facilitate the 'art of living together' in Bauman's terms. Undoubtedly, translations have such a potential to promote cultural awareness and respect for the differences beyond merely conveying stories to different parts of the world. Through studies on the

different aspects of the translation processes such as various sociological functions of the translation agents and the cultural content of the translated texts, it can be possible to reveal the position of translations in fostering cultural reconciliation. Further studies utilizing Bauman's various sociological concepts in analyzing such functions of translations will certainly expand the horizons of translation sociology as a field of translation studies.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors

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Toward a Shared Language of Domestic Violence
Aile İçi Şiddetin Ortak Diline Doğru

Fatma Yuvayapan 0000-0002-7924-0933
Kahramanmaraş Sütçü Imam University

ABSTRACT
Domestic violence referring to a range of violent, coercive, and controlling behaviors perpetrated mostly by men against women in the context of family or intimate relationships is a deep-rooted social problem with devastating impacts. A lack of shared understanding of domestic violence is a barrier to preventing this social problem in the global world. Thus, a clear terminology of domestic violence is essential to frame what is understood as domestic violence. Based on the fact that language is a central focus of establishing a shared understanding of domestic violence, the present corpus-based study intends to identify the common words of domestic violence and their collocations in the international news. Frequency-based and collocation window approaches were used for the identification process. In total, 45 common words of domestic violence about participants, locations, type, and social and legal aspects were found, which confirmed one of the properties of a shared language. A limited variety of common collocations of these words were observed in the data. New understandings of the dynamics of domestic violence may be revealed through further studies concentrating on linguistic variations of the issue in relation to gender, culture, and sector.

Introduction

Domestic violence can be defined as patterns of abusive behaviors such as physical, sexual, emotional, economic, or psychological actions used to gain power over intimate people in families or relationships. Taking many forms, it affects many people regardless of age, gender, socio-economic and cultural background. In the vast majority of cases, victims are mostly children and women and many of the perpetrators are male. Hence, domestic violence is a gendered pattern of behavior, rooted in systemic gender inequality in many cultures. The United Nations (1993) declared that domestic violence especially against women is a hindrance to the management of equality and social peace. This threat to women is rooted in historically unequal power relations between men and women, leading to the domination of men and the subordinate role of women.

In every corner of the world domestic violence is a growing social problem. According to a report published by the World Health Organization, 1 in 3 women experience domestic violence globally (Violence Against Women Prevalence Estimates, 2018), resulting in increasing attention. World

Health Organization (2024) reported that most of the domestic violence is related to intimate partner violence. Throughout the world, almost one-third (27%) of women aged 15-49 years who have been in a relationship accept exposure to some form of physical and/or sexual violence by their intimate partners.

Domestic violence against women is a historical phenomenon. Zamba et al. (2022) summarize the history of the concept. During the Roman era, women were considered the property of their husbands. In the 15th century, husbands had the right to punish their wives for their behavior. In the 1960s, domestic violence against women became a reality due to the media. In some states, violence towards women was banned. At the end of the 1970s, with the Women's Movement, an awareness of domestic violence in many societies began and domestic violence was labeled as a crime by the Criminal Justice System of the USA. Since the 1980s, legislation has been enacted in many countries to prevent domestic violence.

Both cultural and international news agencies have played an important role in reporting domestic violence events, increasing public awareness of the issue and shaping state policies. Thus, media reporting of this issue is an increasing concern of several studies centering on the representation of domestic violence in different cultural contexts such as Italian (Rolle et al., 2020). In the American context, newspaper coverage of domestic violence (Maxwell et al., 2000) was examined, and incident-focused reporting was found to be more common than socially focused reporting in domestic violence news. From a different perspective of race, Enck-Wanzer (2009) concentrated on the racism against African-Americans and claimed that black male bodies were portrayed as the site of criminal rage and gendered violence was seen as appropriate for hegemonic (white) masculinity. Meluzzi et al. (2021) examined the construal of argument structure constructions in Italian newspapers to portray gender-based violence and found that the perpetrators were assigned less responsibility through the use of the passive and nominal constructions in the newspapers. In a recent study, Storer et al. (2024) analyzed the representations of safety within newspapers' reporting of domestic violence amid the Covid pandemic.

The rhetorical and linguistic features of domestic violence in the news have also received attention in the literature. Media coverage of domestic violence was investigated from a diachronic perspective in another study conducted by Ryan et al. (2006, p. 209). They found significant changes in the coverage like "increased labeling of the murder of intimates as domestic violence and doubled usage of advocates as sources." Domestic violence murders were framed as unpredictable private tragedies, but recently, they have been the reflections of an important social problem warranting public intervention. Gillespie et al. (2013, p. 237) analyzed the framing of stories about domestic violence in the news and found four types of framing: "a commonplace frame, an isolated incident frame, a frame that blames the criminal justice system, and a victim-blaming frame." Santaemilia and Maruenda (2014) examined the linguistic evaluation of gender violence victims in Spanish contemporary newspapers and observed objectification and institutionalization of victims in the news. Utilizing a discourse analysis approach, Dmitrieva and Glukhova (2022) focused on the themes of domestic violence in English and social institutes' attitudes towards the issue. They reported that the use of language influenced people's cognitive boundaries, thinking processes, value acceptance, and beliefs and views on domestic violence.

The reality of domestic violence in many societies has influenced languages, leading to the emergence of many words and phrases such as collocations and lexical bundles. As English is accepted as the lingua franca of the global world, any lexical changes related to the socially sensitive topics in English receive the attention of linguists, and the concept of domestic violence is not an exception. However, there seems to be little agreement on the shared language of domestic violence. Williams and Stebbins (2023) highlight the difficulties with the language used to identify and recognize domestic violence acts by victims and perpetrators. Basically, victims may not find the

correct words and expressions to express their experiences as a coercive exposure. Service providers, especially in different sectors, struggle to communicate appropriately in cases of domestic violence. Police and the courts usually consider violent acts in families as a series of isolated incidents rather than a form of abusive behavior over an intimate partner. Such a construction of domestic violence acts referring to a time-specific loss of control reduces the responsibility attributed to the perpetrator.

Apparently, the linguistic framing of domestic violence is essential to enhance a deeper understanding of domestic violence events and to construct a shared language. As such, the present study seeks to examine the common words of domestic violence and their collocations in the international media discourse in English. The reason for the selection of this discourse is that in contemporary international media discourse, domestic violence is a major topic of interest, shaping the perceptions of individuals and implementing policies. Besides, collocations, common strings of words conveying more than the sum of their meanings, are significant linguistic means of the English language, which reflect the attitude of global societies towards certain issues, which is domestic violence in the present case. It is hoped that the study will contribute to the understanding of a shared language of domestic violence. As Easteal et al. (2012, p. 326) state, "Our language filters what we want to see, or choose to see, and by doing so it influences what we communicate to others." The following research questions shape the essence of this study:

What words of domestic violence occur most frequently in the international news?

What collocations of domestic violence occur most frequently in the international news?

Methodology

This corpus-based study examines the emerging words of domestic violence and their collocations in the context of international media discourse using a mixed-method approach.

Data Collection

The corpus for this study was made up of 412,320 words on international news agencies covering the period January 2024 to October 2024. There was a total of 128 news items about domestic violence. These news items were identified as particular as they concerned the real stories of domestic violence occurring throughout the world. The news items about the adoption of law, protests, or the speech of authorities on domestic violence were excluded. The key search terms were *domestic abuse* and *domestic violence*.

All the news items making up the corpus were sourced from the websites of six international news agencies. Firstly, a Google search was done to decide the top ten international news agencies. After the identification of the agencies, each of them was checked to verify whether they published news about domestic violence. Some of them did not include such news so they were excluded from the study. The reason for using international news agencies is that the present study is associated with the global language of domestic abuse, so the data needed to be composed of the news at the international level. After that, all the online news items between the mentioned periods were manually examined by each international news agency. When the news items were related to the real stories of domestic abuse occurring throughout the world, they were added to the related subcorpora as a UTF8 file to make them compatible with the concordance tool. All of the news items utilized were also coded with a metadata format including title and date. All the news items from a specific international news agency were compiled as a subcorpora. At the end of this process, six subcorpora were complied. Table 1 illustrates the distribution of the subcorpora including the word counts and their percentages in the corpus, as well as the news agencies utilized. The BBC, one of the world's largest news agencies, broadcasts news in the UK and around the world. The subcorpus consisted of 344,189 word counts, which is 83% of the corpus. Operating in the USA, CNN is another

multinational news agency. In our data, the news taken from CNN had 17,377 words and comprised 4% of the corpus. Reuters, one of the largest international news agencies in Germany, comprised 2% of the corpus with 9,539 words. Founded in the Middle East, Aljazeera had 15,793 words, constituting 4%. Another American news agency, AP Press, comprised 5% of the corpus with 18,604 word counts. Xinhua, a state international news agency in China, had 6,818 words, which is 2% of the corpus.

Table 1. The corpus

News Agency	News Agency Description	Word Counts	%
BBC	The world's largest broadcast news organization broadcasting news and current affairs in the UK and around the world	344,189	83
CNN	A multinational news website located in the US	17,377	4
Reuters	A British news agency operating in about 200 locations worldwide writing in 16 languages.	9,539	2
Aljazeera	The first global English-language news channel to be headquartered in the Middle East	15,793	4
AP Press	An American news agency that operates in 94 countries	18,604	5
Xinhua	The state news agency in China has 181 bureaus globally and publishes news in multiple languages	6,818	2

Data Analysis

Based on real-language data, corpus analysis is one of the prerequisites of language description. Vaughan and O'Keffee (2026) state that corpus linguistics includes the use of computers to quickly search and analyze databases of real language called corpora and they can consist of any systematic series of written or transcribed spoken language. As for Flowerdew (1998), one of the most common analyses used in corpus-based studies is the collocability of language – the employment of certain lexical items in naturally occurring discourse with certain grammatical patterning. In such analysis, concordancing is the most widely used approach as Condrad (2002) claims. Concordance lists show all occurrences of certain words or patterns in data.

Bednarek and Caple (2014) suggest the possible stages in the corpus linguistic analysis of new values including the analysis of frequency, parts of speech, proximity, novelty, word senses, keyness, and collocates. Based on their suggestions, this study aims to find out the most common words related to domestic violence and their collocates. The term collocation in this study accounts for both lexical and grammatical collocations. Lexical collocations "involve two items belonging to open (non-finite) classes, for instance, a verb and a noun or an adjective and a noun" while grammatical collocations "involve one element from an open class and an element from a closed class" such as a preposition (Fontenelle, 1994, p. 4). For instance, the verb "depend" grammatically collocates with "on" and the verb "make" may collocate with "a claim" as a lexical collocation.

Different approaches for the classification of collocations have been noted in the literature. Frequency-based approach delves into quantitative evidence about word co-occurrence in corpora whereas the phraseological approach draws on maintaining the semantic relationship between two (or more) words (Gablasova et al., 2017). The study adopted the frequency-based approach to label the common words of domestic violence. When identifying the collocations of domestic violence, the collocation window approach was utilized to determine the adjacent combinations of the words of domestic violence within a specified window span (2L 2R, in our case). The first step of the

analysis was to identify the most common words of domestic violence in the corpus. The present analysis was done simply by running word analysis through Antconc (2024), a free online software for corpus linguistics analysis. This enabled the scanning of the corpus for the most frequent words. Words that occurred more than 50 times in the corpus were considered to be common. There were 44 words meeting the criterion.

The second step of the analysis was to label the collocates of the words of domestic violence that have more than 50 occurrences. The graphcoll function of LancsBox X 5.0.3, a free online corpus linguistics analysis tool available at https://lancsbox.lancs.ac.uk/ was used to find the collocates of the most common words with a span from the left (2L) and to the right (2R) with a minimum frequency count of 30 as Biber (1993) suggests. In previous studies, the cut-off points for the MI value showed variations concerning the cut-off points (3, 4, 5, and 6) To illustrate, in his study of collocation networks related to swearing in English, McEnery (2006) used Mutual Information (MI) with a cut-off point of 3 and a span of +/- 5 words around collocation nodes in his data. In our case, the cut-off point of the MI value was decided at 5 and above for collocate identification. As Brezina et al. (2025) state, the MI value is a measure of strength used in corpus studies.

A total of 45 common words were analyzed to find collocates of them through the GraphColl function of LancsBox X 5.0.3. Based on the criteria mentioned, a collocation table for the most common collocations of family violence was prepared. The Log-Dice value, the type of the collocations, and the syntactic pattern of each collocation were also mentioned in the table. Log-Dice value indicates "the tendency of two words to co-occur relative to the frequency of these words in the corpus" (Gablasova et al., 2027, p. 164) and the highest Log-Dice value is 14.00 in LancsBox X 5.0.3. The collocations were further explained in detail in the context of domestic violence through the extracts taken from the corpus.

Findings and Discussion

The first aim of the present study was to identify the most common words associated with domestic violence in international news. Utilizing AntConc's (2024) word function, the most frequent words in the corpus were identified, and those related to domestic violence were manually extracted. Words with more than 50 occurrences were recognized as the common words of domestic violence, as shown in Table 2. A total of 44 words were identified as common words of domestic violence in the corpus.

Table 2. The most common words for domestic violence in the international news

Word	Frequency	Word	Frequency
police	411	guilty	70
woman	380	assault	68
violence	248	judge	68
court	240	killed	67
victim	202	accused	66
domestic	217	sexual	62
man	184	arrested	59
abuse	165	behavior	59
child	160	wife	59
home	152	evidence	58

family	133	former	55
case	122	husband	55
partner	117	ex	54
relationship	105	charges	53
murder	96	died	52
trial	94	justice	52
death	87	support	52
officer	80	attack	51
rape	79	hospital	50
help	76	prison	50
house	76	statement	50
daughter	73		
mother	73		

A quick analysis of the table reveals that most of the common words were the referent nouns pertinent to domestic violence incidents. These words are meaningful to highlight as they represent the conceptualization of the participants engaged in domestic violence, which was a sign of shared language. *Police (411), woman (380), victim (202), man (184), child (160), officer (80), daughter (73), mother (73), judge (68), wife (59) former (55), husband (55),* and *ex (54)* represented the participants involved in the domestic violence acts. In other words, they were the human referents in the corpus. The high frequency of words like *woman, mother, daughter,* and *wife*, underscores the central role of women as the key referents of domestic violence. As Krantz and Garcia-Moreno (2004, p. 818) claims, violence against women which refers to "a multitude of abuses directed at women and girls over the life span" is a notable public health problem and human rights violation of worldwide. They further explain the typology of violence towards women which is examined under two categories in terms of who commits the violent acts and the nature of the violent acts. As explained in the following paragraphs, the question of who commits the violent acts is quite clear, which is proven by the high frequencies of three words - *man, husband, and ex*.

Additionally, the *victim* often referred to women and children subjected to domestic violence, as shown in the extracts below. *Child*, which was another identical referent, usually appeared as *the death of a child* in the corpus, which displayed the deadly results of domestic violence on children. As Mulhivil and Vicky (2024, p. 4) claim, "male perpetration and female and child victimization are the common paradigm" in the context of gender-based violence, which is illustrated in the following corpus examples:

(1) She added that "there is also the additional grotesque feeling of injustice where you are actually the **victim**…

(2) Reforms aimed at reducing the number of deaths in Scotland from domestic abuse "can save lives," says the mother of **a teenage victim**.

(3) A **woman** who was abused by her **ex-husband** has said his behavior escalated in the days before he broke into her home at night.

(4) … denies causing or allowing the death of a **child** and child cruelty.

Man, husband, and *ex* labeled perpetrators of domestic violence in the data. The word *former* was frequently used in a similar context. In all the sentences below, it is clear that the perpetrators had

a dominant role in domestic violence. Based on the taxonomy explained by Krantz and Garcia-Moreno (2004), the type of violence in our analysis was usually physical and sexual.

(5) In May 2022, her **ex-husband** broke into her house at night and attacked her, along with new partner.

(6) A French woman who was raped by unknown men over 10 years after being drugged to sleep by her **husband**….

(7) A woman told police she was being stalked by **a man** who was later accused of murdering her…

(8) Man jailed for defrauding his **former** partner.

Police, *judge*, and *officer* referred to individuals addressing domestic violence within the legal framework. These words highlighted the roles of law enforcement and the judiciary in responding to domestic violence. *Police* and *officer* were frequently depicted as the first responders in domestic violence situations, emphasizing their pivotal role in ensuring immediate safety and initiating investigations*. Judge,* on the other hand, represented the judicial process and law enforcement mechanisms that seek to hold perpetrators accountable and deliver justice to victims. The significance of these roles is further illustrated in the following examples:

(9) **Police** said he continued to harass his partner once she found the strength to end the relationship.

(10) … after hearing evidence from various experts **the judge** ruled that he was capable of following the process.

Violence (248), domestic (217) abuse (165), and *relationship (105)* formed the core framework of domestic violence as depicted in the corpus. These terms collectively highlighted the essence of the issue, serving as pivotal descriptors of the phenomenon. *Violence* (11) is a broad term that encapsulates the physical, emotional, and psychological harm inflicted on victims, while *domestic* situates the context within family or intimate relationships, emphasizing the close and personal nature of these acts. *Abuse* (13) extends the scope to include non-physical forms of harm, such as coercion, intimidation, and control. These words not only appeared as the frequent words used in reporting such events but also underlined the pervasive and multifaceted nature of domestic violence. Their interconnectedness in the corpus emphasized the need for comprehensive interventions that address the physical, emotional, and systemic dimensions of the issue. *Relationship* (14)*,* referring to a specific interaction between two people, is another word to be highlighted. Analyzing the following examples of the word, it is possible to come to a conclusion that domestic violence goes beyond family contexts, and in many relationships, violence towards the intimate partner is customary. Seemingly, the term *domestic violence* has become synonymous with Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) which refers to "all acts that a person carries out to hurt another with whom he/she is/was in a relationship, such as between husband and wife or boyfriend and girlfriend" (Ademiluka, 2018, p. 342).

(11) We want to send a strong message that **violence against women and girls** should not and will not be tolerated.

(12) She was a survivor of **domestic violence**.

(13) She said it was difficult to calculate the number of victims of **domestic abuse** and coercive control because many cases were not reported.

(14) …, who was in a **relationship** with one of Katie's sisters, initially told police she had tried to take her own life

Dmitrieva and Glukhova, (2022) argue that the term *domestic*, as opposed to *family*, conveys a more symbolic and significant understanding of the issue, minimizing its family context. In this study, however, *domestic violence* and *domestic abuse* served as general terms encompassing all forms of

coercive behavior towards intimate partners and family members. Mulhivil and Vicky (2024) state that the term *abuse* includes all the ways that perpetrators may seek to hurt, threaten, and control their victims even if they are not visible and tangible. They further mention that the English language tends to associate abuse with children. However, in the present study, *abuse* predominantly referred to women.

The words *home (152), house* (76), and *hospital (50)* depicted the physical locations where domestic violence incidents were often unfolded. These settings proved the unsettling reality that violence often occurred in spaces traditionally considered safe havens. Warrington (2001) who concentrates on the geography of women violence states that there is a type of migration including women and children who run away from their homes due to domestic violence. Women mostly encounter domestic violence in the home and this place becomes the major site for domestic violence. As seen in example 15 and 16, the recurrence of *home* and *house* as frequent terms highlighted the betrayal of trust and intimacy within personal and family spaces, which should ideally provide security and comfort. This betrayal was particularly striking, as it reflected a deep violation of environments meant to foster love and protection. The term *hospital* (17) further emphasized the grave consequences of such incidents, marking it as a site where physical injuries were treated, and the long-term impacts of abuse were often addressed. These physical locations symbolized the far-reaching disruption caused by domestic violence, challenging societal assumptions about safety and the sanctity of personal spaces, as illustrated below:

(15) A suspect in is custody after six people were found dead at **a home** in the Barrhaven suburb of Ottawa…

(16) …, who was due to turn two this month, died at **a house** in Windmill Court.

(17) In another incident, she described needing to go to **the hospital** after he "strangled" her during a holiday to Spain.

The words *court (240), case (122), trial (94), guilty (70), arrested (59), accused (66), evidence (58), charges (53), prison (50),* and *statement (50), murder (96), death (87), killed (67), died (52)* were the identical lexical items utilized to manifest the discussion of the issue in the context of the law and "represented the process of criminalization of the intimate partner abuse cases" (Dmitrieva & Glukhova, 2022, p. 60). *Guilty, murder, arrested, accused, charges,* and *prison* contextualized the results of the violence regarding perpetrators, while *death, killed,* and *died* were among the most serious and physical outcomes of domestic violence maintained in the law context. Besides, they were the indications of the gendered nature of domestic violence: women as objects and men using violence. As the following examples confirm, these words supported a nuanced understanding of the shared language of domestic violence about the role of men and women as the referents;

(18) A former nursery worker **accused** of murdering her two-year-old daughter wept in court as she went on trial.

(19) … he pleaded guilty to **charges** of wounding with intent to cause grievous bodily harm, assault, and making a threat to kill.

(20) … was **killed** in her home in March 2021 as part of a double killing.

Domestic violence occurs in many different forms. In our analysis, *rape (79), assault (68) sexual (62),* and *behavior (59)* were associated with the types of physical domestic violence. *Rape* which can be shortly defined as unwanted sexual behavior seemed to be the most pervasive type of domestic violence in the data. It causes both physical and psychological damage, which ruins the embodied self of the victim. The word *behavior* broadly referred to violent actions as seen in (21). *Assault –* usually conducted by a male partner- is a form of punishment toward an intimate partner who has committed an offense. These findings were not in line with Adily et al. (2021), who examined domestic violence narratives in police reports and found that the most common abuse types were

non-physical. This is corroborated by the following sentences:

(21) … was jailed for a minimum of 23 years for murder and other offenses, including coercive **behavior.**

(22) Along with two other women, they accuse him of **rape** and sexual **assault**.

(23) … was accused of **sexual assault** dating back to 1991 by multiple women.

Domestic violence may affect anyone regardless of gender, age, or societal boundaries, necessitating increased awareness and preventive measures. The words *help* (76), *justice* (52), and *support* (52) highlighted the social aspects of domestic violence, emphasizing the need for victim assistance and systemic change. They referred to women as objects, which is a property of gender-based language. Women were phrased as being affected by violence and needing help and support from others. *Help* (24) reflected the immediate and ongoing interventions required to address the needs of survivors, ranging from emotional support to financial aid and legal representation. *Justice* (26) emphasized the importance of holding perpetrators accountable and ensuring that victims receive fair treatment within the legal system, fostering trust in judicial processes. By the same token, *support* signified the broader societal commitment to creating a network of services and policies that not only respond to but also prevent domestic violence, such as shelters, counseling services, and community awareness programs as illustrated in (27 and 28). Together, these terms illustrate the multifaceted approach needed to combat domestic violence effectively.

(24) The local community raised thousands of pounds to **help** the young girl.

(25) Her friends tried to **help** her but she was pronounced dead a short time later.

(26) We condemn such acts and call for **justice**.

(27) Lorraine told me she wanted to see better **support** for victims.

(28) "Our long-term plan for housing will **support** the delivery of more homes,

The second step of the analysis was to establish the collocations of the words of domestic violence having more than 50 frequency counts. The Graphcoll analysis of LancsBox 5.0.3 tool was run to create the collocation networks of the words of domestic violence in the corpus. Each common word was searched for its collocates and the ones having 30 or above occurrences were considered to be the common collocates of the domestic violence. The cut-off MI value was decided at 5 and above for this analysis. There were only five collocations in the corpus meeting these criteria. Table 3 displays the strongest collocations of domestic violence in this analysis. Although 44 common words were found in the first step of the analysis, their collocations were limited. *Domestic violence* and *domestic abuse* were the most identical collocates with occurrences of 108 and 72, respectively. Both of them were lexical collocations with a syntactic pattern of noun + noun. The other three collocations were grammatical collocations and appeared in the noun + preposition syntactical pattern. *Violence against* (F= 40), *relationship with* (F=30), and *accused of* (F= 59) had high MI values.

Table 3. The most common collocation of domestic violence in international news

collocate	F	Log Dice	MI	Type	Pattern
domestic violence	108	7,3	13	Lexical	noun+noun
domestic abuse	72	7,2	12,6	Lexical	noun+noun
violence against	40	6,8	11,9	Grammatical	noun+prep
relationship with	30	5,4	10,7	Grammatical	noun+prep
accused of	59	5,3	10,2	Grammatical	noun+prep

As illustrated in the below examples, *domestic violence* and *domestic abuse* were the most prevalent collocations in the corpus, which is consistent with Dmitrieva and Glukhova (2022), who found that these two collocations were the most common expressions of domestic violence during the feminist movement after 2008. The frequent use of these two collocations signifies that domestic violence has been recognized as a social problem that not only occurs at home or in marriages but also in dating relationships. It goes beyond physical acts of violence to psychological and financial abusive acts. Mulhivil and Vicky (2024) explain that the prefix "domestic" can be an indication of violence by co-habiting partners occurring at home. Instead, *domestic violence* refers to all intimate partners such as dating relationships.

(29) A defense barrister told the court that Spence witnessed and was the victim of **domestic violence** during his childhood and "is a man who needs help and assistance as much as he needs punishment."

(30) Because her daughter was too young to be classed as a victim of **domestic violence** her death will instead be filed for statistical reasons as a knife crime… It also means the focus is on the weapon used rather than the build-up, which has all the warning signs of **domestic abuse.**

(31) This case highlights that **domestic abuse** is not just physical or sexual, it includes abusive behaviors or financial abuse.

The collocation *violence against women* was observed 40 times in the corpus, all of which appeared as *violence against women and girls*. This may indicate a dramatic social reality. Most of the time, the victim is a woman and the perpetrator is a man. José and Maruenda (2014, p. 4) claim that *violence against women* is a widespread expression of domestic violence. It refers to "a performance of an aggressive, hegemonic, heteronormative masculinity. Seemingly, this collocation conveys the construction of sexual inequality based on the so-called men's power and control over women, as can be illustrated in (32);

(32) There is no greater crisis in our community than **violence against** women and girls, and it's partly a cultural thing that we've not yet got to grips with."

The portrayal of having a relationship with an intimate partner is shown in the examples 33, 34, and 35. A negative viewpoint was explicitly conveyed in those examples through the use of certain lexical items such as *sexual, abusive,* and *domestic*. It is probable that such negative expressions provide a fine-grained subjective construction of domestic violence cases in the news.

(33) …she had also been in an abusive **relationship with** a man who wanted her to hand over all her earnings to him.

(34) But the officer, according to the findings of a disciplinary panel, had a "deliberate" and "predatory" plan to have a sexual **relationship with** her.

(35) The man is believed to have been in a domestic **relationship with** the victim.

The grammatical collocation -*accused of*- denoted the state of perpetrators that has not been proven to be true in the law context, which may be a rhetorical act of objectivity in the news. As Bergstra and Düwell (2021, p. 7) explain, the collocation conveys that "it is not obvious that the accused must have 'done' something." Thus, it is assumed that one can only talk about an accusation if the matter is under investigation or contested, as illustrated in the following examples:

(36) A former nursery worker **accused of** murdering her two-year-old daughter wept in court as she went on trial.

(37) DiGiorgio is **accused of** drugging and sexually assaulting the women between May 2019 and November 2021.

Overall, the present study was designed to examine the common words of domestic violence and

their collocations to understand how the concept was maintained through a shared language in the international news. The common words were categorized under five headings: participants, locations, types of violence, and reflections of domestic violence in the law context and social aspects of the issue. These words are quite significant since they contribute to forming public attitudes towards the issue of domestic violence and its devastating results. Besides, they shape a new semantic category in English lexicology, which affects individuals' and societies' awareness, empathy, and understanding of domestic violence. Thanks to international news, individuals' mindsets are changing and developing new perspectives on domestic violence problems throughout the world. Although many words were observed to be prevalent in the corpus, their collocations were quite rare. The reality of domestic violence has been accepted as an important social problem in the 20th century. Hence, the lexical framing of the issue does not seem to be complete.

Conclusion

Domestic violence is a universal problem, influencing women at all levels of society. It is a complex problem that has been resistant in all cultures over the centuries. However, since the 20th century, a new conceptualization of domestic violence has been constructed. One of the complexities of this new conceptualization, leading to failures in recognizing domestic violence acts, is to define and talk about domestic violence through the lens of victims and perpetrators. Hence, a common language has become essential to create a shared understanding of domestic violence in many contexts. This paper explores how linguistics can contribute to the creation of the shared language of domestic violence with particular attention to common words and collocations of these words. A corpus consisting of domestic violence news in the international news agencies was complied. The reason behind the choice of international news is that agencies play a pivotal role in influencing the way domestic violence is recognized across society, so the language used in the news is crucial to framing the issue. The corpus included 412,320 words extracted from the international news agencies news items covering the period January 2024 to October 2024.

The study adopted frequency-based approach to identify the common words of domestic violence. For the recognition of collocations of domestic violence, the collocation window approach was utilized within a specified window span (2L - 2R). Frequency analysis was run through Antconc (2024) and words appearing more than 50 times in the corpus were considered to be common. The graphcoll function of LancsBox X 5.0.3 enabled us to find the collocations of the most common words with a span from the left (2L) and to the right (2R) and with a minimum occurrence of 30. The cut-off point of the MI value was decided at 5 and above for the collocate identification. Based on the criteria, a total of 44 common words were found and categorized under specific headings. Most of the common words were the referent nouns associated with the participants of domestic violence - *police* and *women* in our analysis. Regarding the type, *rape* was observed frequently in the corpus and *home* was the most mentioned location where domestic violence events took place. The lexicons reflecting social and legal aspects of the issue were also pervasive. Two words *court* and *help* emphasized these aspects in the present study. These common words were the indicators of a shared language of domestic violence. However, the collocations of the common words of domestic violence were seen with a limited variety.

Language conveys real-world understandings, behaviors, and practices through its role in constructing discourses. When the construction of vocabulary in relation to domestic violence is completed, a big picture of the issue, including the establishment of mutual understanding, shared language and definitions appears. The current study revealed the common words of domestic violence in the international news. These findings provide important insights into the construal of a shared language of domestic violence, which may help linguists and journalists to employ a common language of domestic language. For the prevention of domestic violence, it is important for

linguists and especially journalists to grapple with the role that they play an important role in the dissemination and maintenance of domestic violence events.

Additional research, including larger corpora from different public and academic discourses such as news, columns, and articles is needed to better establish the language of domestic violence. Further study would also follow a diachronic approach to examine the construction of new words of domestic violence. To develop a full picture of domestic violence lexicology, additional studies may focus on the lexical properties of domestic violence in cross-linguistic contexts since each context has its own linguistic and cultural conventions to present and maintain domestic violence issues.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors

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Conversational Maxims and Moments of Physical Violence in John Osborne's *Look Back in Anger*

John Osborne'un *Look Back in Anger* (Öfke) Eserinde Konuşma İlkeleri ve Fiziksel Şiddet Anları

Samet Kalecik 🆔 0000-0002-5494-6470
Bitlis Eren University

ABSTRACT

It is crucial to use language effectively in dramatic texts to communicate a central idea to the audience or reader. Based on the premise that each writer has his/her own unique style, stylistics, which encapsulates many subfields and areas of research, appears as a cardinal method of criticism that allows analysing an author's style by utilising the possibilities and elements of linguistics. The present study examines how language is used in John Osborne's *Look Back in Anger* to depict the theme of violence, a prominent aspect of Kitchen Sink Drama, which is grounded in realism. The analysis approaches the selected dialogues from the play through the lens of stylistic theories, specifically focusing on scrutinising them with the Cooperative Principle (CP) that targets cooperation in the structure of a proper dialogue for sound conversation. Therefore, applying CP theory to selected parts of drama texts effectively provides a deeper understanding of dialogues in the literature. The primary objective of this study is to illustrate that the multiple imbalanced uses of maxims in the dialogues may result in flawed or disrupted communication. This is exemplified through the selected excerpts from *Look Back in Anger*, a Kitchen Sink Drama in which Osborne's protagonist represents the Angry Young Men generation in British society. In this context, the study demonstrates that in the analysed dialogues, instances where one of the speakers perceives verbal communication as ineffective and dysfunctional may lead to misunderstandings, communicative breakdowns, and, at times, physical violence, which is identified in the study as a "Non-verbal Act."

Introduction

The academic value of language studies has been recognised relatively earlier than literary studies, which often emphasise artistic qualities. In this regard, literary studies have been influenced by concepts and notions borrowed from philosophy, sociology, history, and ideology, with the efforts of scholars who approached the texts with diverse perspectives, focusing on the relationships among text, writer, and reader. However, with the appearance of Structuralism and New Criticism, literary studies have gained a systematic perspective as scholars who benefited from linguistics began to categorise genres and examine texts not only as individual works of art but also as systems constructed with repeating elements. Thus, instead of being analysed through diverse approaches and changeable readings, the examination of literary works with the use of language-assisted

methods has enabled the attainment of more verifiable results. In the light of these shifts, as one of the language-based theories, stylistics, evolving from "rhetoric, Russian Formalism, structural linguistics, Systemic Functional Linguistics, and the cognitive sciences" has emerged basing on the assumption that each writer has a unique style and has developed with a focus on social and contextual aspects in the contemporary period (Gibbons & Whiteley, 2018, p. 5).

Style and Literary Stylistics in Drama Studies

The most essential element that constitutes literature is language. By using it effectively, authors rescue their works from mediocrity, differentiate and re-synthesise them in harmony. While doing this, writers present their own style by selecting words from a vast web, like a mathematician whose combinations provide different results in their use of calculations. Therefore, this selection reveals the writer's style, and each style, whether similar or different, requires a careful and systematic study with a focus on language. At this point, stylistics appears as "a method of textual interpretation in which primacy of place is assigned to language" (Simpson, 2004, p. 3). Jeffries (2017) points out that "stylistics is the study of textual meaning. Historically, it arose from the late-19th- and early-20th-century Russian formalist approach to literary meaning, which endeavoured to identify the textual triggers of certain literary effects from their structures" (para. 1). Although it is regarded as a tool for understanding structural aspects of any written text, stylistics contributes to literary theory and criticism with the elements of linguistics, specifically pragmatics, and the approach of structuralism. Linguists tend to view literary criticism, which employs the methods of philosophy and other humanities disciplines, as an abstract and subjective approach, because they perceive language as a system of codes composed of countable linguistic units that are the essential components of language. In a similar manner, Simpson states that "Stylistic analysis is not the end-product of a disorganised sequence of ad hoc and impressionistic comments, but instead underpinned by structure models of language and discourse that explain how we process and understand various patterns in language" (2004, p. 4). Stylistics has also been defined as "the analysis of the language of literary texts, usually taking its theoretical models from linguistics, in order to undertake this analysis" (Mills, 1998, p. 3). Leech& Short also pay attention to the mutual aspect of it and defines stylistics as "a dialogue between literary reader and linguistic observer" (1994, p. 5). Then, "stylistics is to explore language and, more specifically, to explore creativity in language use. Doing stylistics thereby enriches our ways of thinking about language and as observed, exploring language offers a substantial purchase on our understanding of (literary) texts" (Simpson, 2004, p. 3). Based on various theorists' perspectives, literary stylistics can be broadly defined as an analytical approach to decoding all types of literary texts, utilising elements of linguistics, linguistic theories, and methods to achieve countable results accompanied by more profound readings and interpretations by decoding the dominant side of language in creating meaning, rather than relying on external theories apart from the texts.

Culpeper et al. (1998) note that "in the late 1970s and in the 1980s, developments in discourse analysis, conversation analysis and pragmatics […] have equipped stylisticians with tools to analyse the meaning of utterances in the fictional dialogue". However, they also emphasize that "they have been somewhat tardy in investigating play-texts" (p. 4). Short asserts that it is insufficient to analyse drama solely through "performance", and he further notes that "practical criticism" is inadequate for evaluating dramatic texts (2005, p. 137). However, studies of drama criticism also employ stylistics to understand the problems, style, and deeper meaning of dialogues, monologues, and soliloquies, which are the essence of drama texts. However, the hypotheses offered by stylistics in the analysis of drama, which mainly consists of dialogues, are more likely to be a systematic and scientific methodology for literary criticism, as it is a language-assisted method in which the main points of the work and the areas of discussion are revealed through the analysis of the use of language. Yet, since the drama texts are mainly composed of dialogues, Paul Grice's Cooperative

Principle (1975), which scrutinises the structure and components of conversations, provides insights into the power relationship between the characters or speakers involved in the dialogues for pragmatic analysis.

Look Back in Anger is a canonical work that has been studied from various perspectives, from feminism to alienation. However, research focusing on the analysis of the related play with language-assisted methods remains limited. Previous studies have approached it from various angles. For example, Herman (2002) analysed the play from the perspective of turn allocation. In contrast, Kalaba (2014) focused on verbal aggression and sarcasm in the play. Additionally, Kadhim and Mohammed (2021) explored both *Look Back in Anger* and Harold Pinter's *Birthday Party* from the perspective of pragmatics. While these studies provide new insights, they leave certain gaps in the analysis of the dialogues, which keep deeper messages than they initially appear. Therefore, our research aims to address these gaps by offering a new perspective on the nature of conversations in drama when physical violence sometimes appears as an act of a last attempt to communication as illustrated in the selected part of the play as "Non-verbal Act" by following the application of Grice's theories to the conversation.

Therefore, the primary purpose of this article is to decode the style of communication in the dialogues in John Osborne's *Look Back in Anger*, classified as one of the pioneering examples of Kitchen-Sink drama with Paul Grice's Cooperative Principle Theory with the claim that flouting and violation of multiple maxims may result in physical violence, which might be considered as an ultimate action of reflecting the intention to stay in the conversation and the desire to transmit a message when the interlocutor/s diminish all means within their capacity for language. Given that, before examining the use of the Cooperative Principle in its various forms and their implications in the quotes, it is crucial to examine the literature of the Angry Young Men period and Kitchen Sink Drama in order to contextualise the period in which the play was written. While doing so, it is also necessary to study the characteristics of the play, the theme of violence, the function of language used among the characters and the reasons for its occasional dysfunction.

Angry Young Men Movement and Kitchen-Sink Drama

The English theatre of the Post-war period, influenced by realism, witnessed some developments deeply concerned with the condition of English society. In this way, younger writers from the working class in England started to compose plays in the 1950s that addressed ideas and problems that troubled them profoundly. Therefore, the period is called the angry young men period, and the term "angry young man" is used to refer to "both rebellious, often working-class male characters in plays and novels (to which the phrase `kitchen sink drama' was also applied), and also novelists such as Alan Sillitoe and playwrights such as Osborne, who were either from working-class backgrounds or who wrote about working-class themes" (Wolfreys et al., 2006, p. 9). Disillusioned with the ideals of modernism, which failed to prevent the outbreak of WWII, some writers directed their attention to the domestic but complex lives of average Britons in a realistic manner. Since, especially in drama, some plays reflect the psychology of young people who had big ideals before they experienced the heavy burden of living in a limited space in their homes, they are called kitchen-sink drama with an analogy to an everyday reality: the kitchen. In this context, kitchen-sink drama is "often used derogatorily, it applied to plays which, in realist fashion, showed aspects of working-class life at the time" (Cuddon, 2013, p. 385).

In the plays labelled as kitchen sink, the traditional working-class lifestyle is portrayed from multiple angles, with characters and their style of language befitting the strict social class system in post-war England. As Dornan notes, "unlike traditional theatre, kitchen sink drama depicted, sometimes with raw realism, the everyday lives of ordinary people in a struggle against the degradation of powerlessness, the loss of community, or the deadening influence of suburbia"

(2007, p. 452). The main characters are politicised, leftist young people who are restless due to their awareness of the present condition in which they are compelled to struggle with the everyday banalities of life rather than achieving a victory or revolution. The protagonists of the kitchen sink plays are young and educated characters who do not comply with the idea that they cannot change the country by supporting a political view against the long-established political system. Moreover, the dilemmas faced by characters in kitchen sink drama are prevalent, and they are at the centre of life, surrounded by ambiguities and amoral situations related to social issues such as disillusionment, abortion, adultery, economic inequality, and violence. These characters, who are alienated by the multiple social and psychological aspects that determine their status in life, cannot become vital and indispensable figures in their society. As for setting and language, May (2010) highlights that the plays of "Osborne, Pinter and Delaney" are set in "bedsits and neglected city parks" and involve spaces that are "rented, dilapidated, and often contested." The language, used departs from "the prewar repartee of Coward for the demotic (everyday speech) of the working class" (p. 14). Therefore, the sense of stagnation and being ignored by others leads the characters in these plays to resort to verbal violence, which reveals fragile points in their communication.

David I. Rabey claims that "Osborne was willingly labelled as a vanguard of the 'Angry Young Man' conglomeration of male artists who assumed a confrontational attitude towards the platitudes of the older generation, with particular attention to the question of social purpose in the wake of World War Two" (2003, p. 30). As one of the Angry Young Men, John Osborne is considered one of the most influential playwrights of the kitchen sink realist theatre, who gave voice to disillusioned young men whose ideals were shattered by the political changes in England. As a prominent representative of kitchen-sink realism, John Osborne (1929-1994), born and raised in London, worked in different areas of theatre as an actor and assistant stage manager before creating his plays. He is often linked with social realism and the Angry Young Man generation due to his renowned play *Look Back in Anger*, whose influences were widely discussed in English drama during the post-war period (D'Monté, 2019, p. 77).

Gricean Maxims and Physical Violence Scenes in *Look Back in Anger*

Look Back in Anger (1956) is a play that explores the social conditions and emotions of the younger generation, who struggle to cope with feelings of frustration and restlessness within society. "Osborne's play—an attack on the English class system and traditional values—was a slap in the face of 'respectability'" (Brockett et al., 2017, p. 204). The play opens with the introduction of characters and setting. Jimmy Porter is a disheartened young man who resides with Alison in a modest apartment. He is restless about the country's condition, but he vents his anger at Alison in an insulting manner. However, in Act II, the problems with communication and relationships between characters become more complex with the advent of Alison's close friend, Helena. In the last Act, complications among the characters Jimmy, Alison, Helena, and Cliff appear to resolve after the dispersal of the love triangle. The play, with its limited space and characters, strikingly displays the crucial problems, such as class consciousness, social injustice and degenerated relationships in English society after the post-war period. The rage and fury of the characters in the play are masterfully reflected by Osborne through the use of language and carefully structured dialogues. For this reason, the play will be analysed here in terms of how the emotional states of the characters are reflected in accordance with the characteristics of kitchen sink theatre, utilising stylistic analysis methods in selected parts of the work.

Conversations are rarely without purpose, as most are initiated with a specific goal in mind. While some reasons for engaging in conversation may remain private and may even cause embarrassment if disclosed, others are openly expressed and recognised by everyone involved (Clark & Shober, 1992, p. 22). However, the dialogue is distinct from the conversation in terms of its purpose. In line with the conversation, dialogue is an essential component of drama. Stylistics allows us to make

inferences about this fundamental unit by providing the possibilities of linguistics. Although various critical theories about dialogues have been introduced by stylistic researchers, an essential one is the Cooperative Principle, put forward by Paul Grice, who proposes that individuals tend to display cooperation during their conversations to promote a healthy exchange of ideas for successful communication. (1975, p. 45; 1991, p. 30). Grice also argues and provides a general outlook about certain principles called maxims in communication and juxtaposes them as "Quantity," "Quality," "Manner," and "Relation" under the theory of Cooperative Principle (1975, pp. 45-47, 1991, p. 28).

In spite of the direct maxims determined by Grice (1975, 1991), in his study "Logic and Conversation", Levinson (1983) systematically outlines Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP). According to Levinson's exposition, the maxim of Quality highlights the importance of truthfulness in communication, which spurs individuals to refrain from stating what they believe to be false and from making assertions without sufficient evidence (pp. 101-102). Namely, Grice highlights that the speaker in the conversation should not tell a lie (1991, p. 27). This emphasis on truthfulness and evidential support underscores the fundamental importance of sincerity and reliability in effective communication. Furthermore, the maxim of Quantity emphasises the necessity of providing a balanced amount of information for the given context without unnecessary elaboration or withholding important details (Levinson, 1983, p. 101-102). Grice emphasises the balanced "informative" aspects of the speaker's "contribution" to the conversation (Grice, 1991, p. 26). By following this maxim, participants of the conversation can ensure that their contributions are neither excessively verbose nor lacking in content, which facilitates effective and meaningful exchanges of ideas and emotions (Levinson, 1983, pp. 101-102). Moreover, the maxim of Relation emphasises the importance of maintaining coherence in conversation, which prompts participants to follow their contributions in relation to the subject matter (pp. 101-102). Grice, who proposes the "relevance" of the ideas and emotions shared in the conversation, claims that digressions deteriorate communication (Grice, 1991, p. 27). Finally, the maxim of Manner emphasises clarity and coherence in expression, directing communicators to avoid obscurity, ambiguity, verbosity, and disorderliness in their speech acts (Levinson, 1983, pp. 101-102). This comprehensive framework of Gricean maxims, along with the clarified versions by Levinson, offers considerable insights into the underlying principles structuring effective communication and serves as a foundational reference for understanding the nature of discourse across various contexts (pp. 101-102). In the same vein, Yule points out that "we expect our conversational partners to make succinct, honest, relevant and clear contributions to the interaction and to signal to us some way if these maxims are not being followed" (2020, p. 174). Considering the underlying signals and messages in conversation, in his introduction to the functioning of CP and its relationship with conversational implicature, Grice attempts to explain the situations in which maxims cannot be fulfilled by employing two fundamental concepts. He calls exceeding the maxim limits a "violation" and evaluates the "blatant" incompleteness of these maxims with "flout" (Grice, 1975, p. 49). Therefore, "by violating or floating these maxims in a foregrounded way, we intend to put some extra meaning (implicature in Grice's terms) into our speech" (İsci, 2022, p. 1410).

The collapse of Gricean maxims in dramatic conversations illustrates the deterioration of healthy and effective communication, leading to the emergence of physical violence as a means to continue the conversation in an extreme form, where non-verbal interactions dominate over verbal ones when the common ground for communication is completely lost. It is possible to follow these rare scenes in Act I Scene I and Act II Scene II of Osborne's play, where the characters lose their emotional control, break multiple conversational maxims, and attempt to continue their conversations, with a non-verbal means. This is referred to as violence in the play and can be observed in various forms of non-verbal communication, such as jests, gestures, and mimics. This attempt to continue the conversation using non-verbal communication tools, as proposed in this study, may be stylistically referred to as a "Non-verbal Act", which appears only when the intention to continue

communication is observed. However, the "Non-verbal Act" cannot be limited to violent actions; it may appear as a gesture, mimic or another element than verbal communication, implying an intention to continue the conversation.

In the dialogue below in Act I, Scene I of the play, Jimmy and Cliff have a more prominent role than Alison in the opening conversation. Jimmy is quite angry because he feels that he is the only person who can understand the social, political and intellectual changes in English society. However, Cliff, who is accustomed to Jimmy's arrogant and aggressive attitudes, strives to defuse his verbal attacks while also trying to prevent his misogynistic and derogatory remarks against Alison. Jimmy perceives himself as an intellectual and belittles Cliff and Alison for their lack of knowledge despite their close friendship and marriage. The turns are numbered to analyse the maxims of the selected extracts from the play.

> **Dialogue I**
> (1) JIMMY: Why do I do this every Sunday? Even the book reviews seem to be the same as last week's Different books – same reviews. Have you finished that one yet?
> (2) CLIFF: Not yet.
> (3) JIMMY: I've just read three whole columns on the English novel. Half of it's in French. Do the Sunday papers make you feel ignorant?
> (4) CLIFF: Not 'arf.
> (5) JIMMY: Well, you are ignorant. You're just a peasant. (to Alison) What about you? You're not a peasant are you?
> (6) ALISON: (absently) What's that?
> (7) JIMMY: I said to the papers make you feel you're not so brilliant after all?
> (8) ALISON: Oh – I haven't read them yet.
> (9) JIMMY: I didn't ask you that. I said –
> (10) CLIFF: Leave the poor girlie alone. She's busy.
> (11) JIMMY: Well, she can talk, can't she? You can talk, can't you? You can express an opinion. Or does the White Woman's Burden make it impossible to think?
> (12) ALISON: I'm sorry. I wasn't listening properly.
> (13) JIMMY: You bet you weren't listening properly. Old Porter talks, and everyone turns over and goes to sleep. And Mrs Porter gets 'em all going with the first yawn.
> (14) CLIFF: Leave her alone, I said.
> (15) JIMMY: (shouting) All right, dear. Go back to sleep. It was only me talking. You know? Talking? Remember? I'm sorry.
> (16) CLIFF: Stop yelling. I'm trying to read.
> (17) JIMMY: Why do you bother? You can't understand a word of it.
> (18) CLIFF: Uh huh.
> (19) JIMMY: You're ignorant.
> (20) CLIFF: Yes, and uneducated. Now shut up, will you?
> (21) JIMMY: Why don't you get my wife explain it to you? She's educated. (to her) That's right, isn't it?
> (22) CLIFF: (kicking out at him from behind his paper). Leave her alone, I said.
> (23) JIMMY: Do that again you Welsh ruffian, and I will put your ears off. *He bangs Cliff's paper out of his hands.* (Osborne, 1973, pp. 10-11)

When the selected conversation is examined until the moment of physical violence, it is first observed that Jimmy violates the maxim of Quantity as he uses more words (205 words) than Cliff (37 words) and Alison (14 words), and it is apparent that he dominates the conversation. However, Cliff and Alison, bored with Jimmy's blunders about casual matters that are not so enjoyable to talk to, flout the maxim of Quantity with very short or incomplete sentences in their responses [2, 4, 6, 18] to silence him. Moreover, the maxim of Quality is not so openly violated and satisfied in the dialogue, but the other maxims, the relation and the manner, are often infringed. Alison violates the maxim of Relation two times with her responses [6, 8] in the dialogue, which indicates that she is

completely indifferent to what Jimmy tries to say. However, Jimmy, who considers himself superior to other characters due to his so-called social and intellectual awareness, undermines the maxim of Manner as he strives to impose his point of view on the people in his life. He looks down on Cliff and Alison for being with his insulting responses [5, 19], and this way, his multiple acts of rudeness overtly violate the maxim of Manner. It is possible to observe the appearance of physical violence with the word "bang" in the middle of line 23 following the collapse of the multiple maxims. However, in this act, Jimmy, who wishes to reflect his dominance over the other characters, especially over Cliff, the last interlocutor in the scene, loses his hope in the influential use of language, refrains from verbal communication, and attacks him as the last "Non-verbal Act", the ultimate intent of delivering a message without words.

In most parts of the play, Jimmy is portrayed as an active character whose actions are not easily predictable, as he seeks to demonstrate his power and assert his authority over the other characters through his energy. Jimmy seems to love Alison, but sometimes acts as if he is taking revenge for something that is not related to her. "[T]he emotional space between them dilates, contracts, and dilates again. Act I demonstrates that mechanism, reaching its apogee when Jimmy, in an excess of physical action, smashes into Alison's ironing board" (Gilleman, 2002, p. 48). Therefore, in the selected conversation, Jimmy, who desires to be regarded as powerful and intellectual, has an argument with the other characters and bangs Cliff's paper as an element of a "Non-verbal Act" as a last attempt to pursue the conversation or end it with the symbolical reflection of limning his power.

Dialogue II
(24) JIMMY: Oh, hell! Now the bloody bells have started! He rushes to the window. Wrap it up will you? Stop ringing those bells! There is somebody going crazy in here! I don't want to hear them!
(25) ALİSON: Stop shouting! (Recovering immediately.) You'll have Miss Drury up here.
(26) JIMMY: I don't give a damn about Miss Drury- that mild old gentlewoman doesn't fool me, even if she takes in you two. She's an old robber. She gets more than enough out of us for this place every week. Anyway, she's probably in church, (points to the window) swinging on those bloody bells! Cliff goes to the window, and closes it.
(27) CLIFF: Come on now, be a good boy. I'll take us all out, and we'll have a drink.
(28) JIMMY: They're not open yet. It's Sunday. Remember? Anyway, it's raining.
(29) CLIFF: Well, shall we dance? He pushes Jimmy round the floor, who is past the mood for this kind of fooling. Do you come here often?
(30) JIMMY: Only in the mating season. All right, all right, very funny. He tries to escape, but Cliff holds him like a vice. Let me go.
(31) CLIFF: Not until you've apologised for being nasty to everyone. Do you think bosoms will be in or out, this year?
(32) JIMMY: Your teeth will be out in a minute, if you don't let go! He makes a great effort to wrench himself free, but Cliff hangs on. They collapse to the floor C., below the table, struggling. Alison carries on with her ironing. This is routine, but she is getting close to the breaking point, all the same. Cliff manages to break away, and find himself in front of the ironing board. Jimmy springs up. They grapple.
(33) ALISON: Look out, for heaven's sake! Oh, it's more like a zoo every day! *Jimmy makes a frantic, deliberate effort, and manages to push Cliff on the ironing board, and into Alison. The board collapses. Cliff falls against her, and they end up in the heap on the floor. Alison cries out in pain. Jimmy looks down at them, dazed and breathless.* (Osborne, 1973, pp. 25-26)

This dialogue from the middle of Act I is the earliest example of the appearance of physical violence and disruption of communication after the violations of the Gricean maxims. Jimmy, in this scene, as in most scenes in the play, violates the maxim of quantity by uttering 122 words in these dialogues [24, 26, 28, 30, 32] and speaks more than Cliff (62 words) and Alison (21 words), which implies that he wants to put pressure on the other interlocutors to demonstrate his dominance and power despite being wrong in terms of his approach to the events and lack of courtesy in his relationships with his wife and friend. At the beginning of the dialogue, in turn [24], he provides

excessive information about the "bells" by overusing exclamations to reflect his irritation by giving more details than necessary. Jimmy distorts the maxims while attempting to maintain a dominant position in the dialogues. Therefore, he sarcastically calls Miss Drury as "old robber" in because he claims that she demands costly rent for her house. At this point [26], he flouts the maxim of quality by displaying the house tenant, Miss Drury, in a totally different character owing to his emotional judgements. Jimmy implies that she covers herself as a religious person by attending church. By exaggerating her character and actions, he presents his restlessness about the living conditions and the people around him. However, Cliff, who frequently adopts the role of peacemaker, flouts the maxim of Relation [27] because his offer to drink something outside is not a proper or expected suggestion following Jimmy's complaints about the bells. Consequently, Jimmy is distracted by Cliff and his proposal, seems to forget his obsession with the bells, and attempts to give meaningful answers. He displays his rejection by making feeble excuses. In turn 29, Cliff breaks the maxim of Relation again with his new proposal, saying, "Well, shall we dance […]," which refers to a physical activity requiring a completely different mood. Cliff's answers and proposals focus on Jimmy's serenity. In analysing Cliff's responses to Jimmy's aggression, it becomes apparent that Cliff violates the maxim of Manner, which is evident in the way Cliff approaches Jimmy's aggression with humour and irrelevant responses and commentaries. By doing so, Cliff fails to adhere to the principle of being clear, brief, and orderly in his communication, thereby violating the principle of manner in conversational implicature in turns 27 and 29. Cliff violated the maxim of Manner by responding to Jimmy's aggression with a humiliating and irrelevant question: "Do you think bosoms will be in or out this year?" in turn 31. The violation of the maxim results in Jimmy's threat in turn 32. In the final part of the dialogue, before the act of physical violence between two male characters, Alison flouts the maxim of Relation when she begins her sentence with a warning and retreats with a general comment on the chaotic atmosphere of the house [33]. Following the analysis of flouting and violating several maxims in the dialogue, it becomes clear that the complex elements of conversations between characters, including their emotional states and personalities, influence their styles. The imbalance in the use of maxims disrupts the proper structure of communication, and that may lead to physical violence, as in the case of Jimmy and Cliff, resulting in Alison's injury. This act of violence scene displays parallelism with the former ending of the conversation in which Jimmy wishes to be the dominant side. Therefore, this conversation may indicate that Jimmy's physical action is part of a "Non-verbal Act", which implies a character who demands to be understood by the other interlocutors despite his actions having negative effects on them.

Although there are many different scenes in the play where verbal violence takes place, physical violence as a "Non-verbal Act" emerges as a last resort of communication with the collapse of all four components of Grice's CP theory, as proposed in the study. At this point, the important element is that the speaker or the other person thinks that he/she has exhausted the verbal means of communication and tries to give his/her last message through physical violence and the communication is terminated. This situation unfolds in a limited number of scenes, in which Jimmy plays an active role. Therefore, it would be appropriate to analyse a sample of the scenes in which this situation does not occur in the play in order to support the main claim of the study. In the following dialogue, a "Non-verbal Act" is not observed because the four maxims of Grice are not collapsed sequentially. In this scene from Act I, Jimmy, who employs sarcasm and irrelevant responses to provoke Alison and Cliff, appears to act out of his innate frustration and isolation. Moreover, he is unable to establish meaningful communication with both his spouse and friend due to intellectual and emotional conflicts, which are often accompanied by sarcasm and irrelevancies, leading to the violation of multiple conversational maxims.

Dialogue III
(34) JIMMY: (TO Cliff). Did you read that bit?
(35) CLIFF: Um? *He has lost, them and he knows it, but won't leave it.*

(36) JIMMY: (*to Alison*). You don't suppose your father could have written it, do you?
(37) ALISON: Written what?
(38) JIMMY: What I just read out, of course.
(39) ALISON: Why should my father have written it?
(40) JIMMY: Sounds rather like Daddy, don't you think?
(41) ALISON: Does it?
(42) JIMMY: Is the Bishop of Bromley his nom de plume, do you think?
(43) CLIFF: Don't take any notice of him. He's being offensive. And it's so easy for him.
(44) JIMMY: (quickly). Did you read about the woman who went to the mass meeting of a certain American evangelist at Earls Court? She went forward, to declare herself for love or whether it is, and in the rush of converts to get to the front, she broke four ribs and got kicked in the head. She was yelling her head off in agony, but with 50,000 people putting all they'd got into "Onward Christian Soldiers", nobody even knew she was there. *He looks up sharply for a response, but there isn't any.* Sometimes, I wonder if there isn't something wrong with me. What about that tea?
(45) (*still behind paper*). CLIFF: What tea? (Osborne, 1973, p. 14)

As it is observed in the dialogue, Jimmy wants to provoke Cliff with an inquiry about reading the piece to text in turn 34, but against his expectation, Cliff provides a very short reply, "Urn", implying that he does not care about what Jimmy mentions in turn 35, which violates the maxim of Quantity because his answer is too short compared to Jimmy's expectations. Following the dialogue, Jimmy points at Alison and flouts the maxim of Quality when he asks, "You don't suppose your father could have written it, do you?" [36] in a sarcastic manner. Clearly, Jimmy does not want to know whether the writer of this text is her father or not, or whether these sentences were written authentically for Alison. However, her request, "Written what?" in turn 37, appeals to the maxim of Manner because, despite its brevity, the speaker here utters it in the conversation, demanding clarity. Jimmy clarifies the information in turn 38 to provide clarity for his response, but Alison's response displays a violation of the maxim of Relation, as she exhibits a kind of confusion. At this point, Jimmy continues to provide sarcastic expressions: "Sounds rather like Daddy, don't you think?" [40] provides an offensive comparison, which results in a very short reply from Alison, violating the maxim of Quantity. Alison's succinct answer, which displays an emotional and intellectual distance, again provides the flout of the maxim of Quantity. Following the conversation, in turn 42, Jimmy flouts both the maxim of manner and the maxim of Quality because he employs irony with his blatant provocation of Alison, using an expression that sets up a similarity between "Bishop Bromley" and her father. Following the conversation, Jimmy violates the maxim of relation and quantity because he digresses from the topic of conversation and shifts to an irrelevant and lengthy anecdote about an "American Evangelist" in turn 44, as well as another unusual demand about tea. The conversation ends with the violation of the maxim of Quantity because Cliff intentionally fails to demonstrate intellectual engagement with Jimmy. As can be clearly seen in this conversation, although more than one maxim is violated and flouted, not all maxims are collapsed. In addition, the deviation at the end of the excerpt disrupted the integrity of the subject, but the "Non-verbal Act" did not appear, as the speaker switched to a different topic and received answers from the other speakers, albeit insufficient.

However, the last instance of physical violence, as a "Non-verbal Act", occurs in Act II, Scene II, when Helena loses her temper and slaps Jimmy. The tension in the play is so increased that the female character Helena, who cannot stand Jimmy's amoral perception of love and marriage, realises that words are useless for him to change and become rational.

Dialogue IV
(46) HELENA: (calmly). If you'll stop thinking about yourself for one moment, I'll tell you something I think you ought to know. Your wife is going to have a baby. He just looks at her. Well? Doesn't that mean anything? Even to you? *He is taken aback, but not so much by the news, as by her.*
(47) JIMMY: All right-yes. I am surprised. I give you that. But, tell me. Did you honestly expect me to

go soggy at the knees, and collapse with remorse! (Leaning nearer.) Listen, if you'll stop breathing your female wisdom all over me, I'll tell you something: I don't care. (Beginning quietly.) I don't care if she's going to have a baby. I don't care if it has two heads! (He knows her fingers are itching.) Do I disgust you? Well, go on- slap my face. But remember what I told you before, will you? For eleven hours, I have been watching someone I love very much going through the sordid process of dying. She was alone, and I was the only one with her. And when I have to walk behind that coffin on Thursday, I'll be on my own again. Because the bitch won't even send her a bunch of flowers-I know! She made a great mistake of all her kind. She thought that because Hugh's mother was deprived and ignorant old woman, who said all the wrong things in all the wrong places, she couldn't be taken seriously. And you think I should be overcome with awe because that cruel, stupid girl is going to have a baby! (Anguish in his voice.) I can't believe it! I can't. (Grabbing her shoulder.) Well, the performance is over. Now leave me alone, and get out, you evil-minded little virgin. *She slaps his face savagely* [...] (Osborne, 1973, pp. 25-26)

In this final dialogue, physical violence is observed as the maxims collapse and are openly disrupted by the second interlocutor, Jimmy, who frequently indulges in his ideals like a self-centred person. He employs more (221) words than Helena (40 words) in order to be more dominant and powerful in the dialogue, and this condition breaks the maxim of Quantity. In turn 46, Helena, a member of the love triangle in the play, reasons and intends to warn Jimmy about an important matter, namely, critical news about the pregnancy, by adhering to the Gricean maxims efficiently. She adheres to the maxim of Manner by communicating clearly and without displaying ambiguity, reflected in her calm disposition and direct approach to communication. Helena anticipates a strong emotional response from Jimmy, as would be expected of any adult who considers family and ethical principles of living together, following the maxim of Relation by sharing vital information that she considers to be of utmost importance to their relationship. However, the assumption that she will trigger a particular reaction from Jimmy may imply a common understanding that does not exist, violating the maxim of Quality in turn 47. Contrary to Helena, Jimmy violates the maxim of Quantity with the excessive use of words. Moreover, he violates the maxim of Quality because his discourse is composed of a lie to display himself as not only smart but also a stern man. Additionally, in his discourse, he utilises misogynist language that reflects his humiliating opinions towards women, which violates the maxim of Manner. Finally, he digresses from the subject in the middle of his discourse, which might be considered a violation of the maxim of Relation. In this part of the play, the character Helena attempts to express physical aggression towards Jimmy because she believes that warning him verbally or attempting to convince him of his responsibilities will be futile. Jimmy not only provokes her but also verbally insults the other women with gender-biased expressions in his speech. Therefore, with a slap as a "Non-verbal Act", it is possible to observe physical violence against the other interlocutor in this scene as a means of continuing the communication in a different language, exempt from words. Although the maxims are both flouted and violated in this conversation, Helena, who goes beyond verbal expression through the use of the Non-verbal Act of slapping, displays a last attempt to imply the message to Jimmy that he must fulfil his responsibility as a father.

Conclusion

In John Osborne's *Look Back in Anger*, there are some instances where the conversational maxims are flouted and violated. Therefore, due to these disharmonious deviations from the communication rules, the characters in the play cannot properly understand each other. Instead of cooperating in their communication attempts that require harmony and balance, the characters feel frustrated and misunderstand each other, which puts physical attacks and violence at the forefront. As a result of the collapse of multiple maxims in the selected conversations of the play, physically violent actions appear as "Non-verbal Act" in which the last interlocutor intends to continue the conversation with acts that might be considered as non-verbal because he/she believes that verbal communication turns out to be functionless. As the analysis of the selected dialogues reveals, it is possible to assert that healthy communication, consisting of mutual speeches and dialogues, requires a fair structural

and linguistic design to ensure cooperation. Furthermore, it is possible to argue that proper communication, comprising conversation and dialogue, requires a balanced structural and linguistic design that the speakers are often unaware of, with the intention of facilitating mutual understanding. Therefore, any violation or flouting of the maxims purported by Grice may create a different kind of meaning and problematised communication, which provokes deeper insights into understanding the speaker's intention.

John Osborne created his play to portray the condition of people who have lost their ideals due to the political developments in Post-war England. Since the dialogues are professionally designed and posited in the play, the violent speech of the protagonist, Jimmy, foregrounds that he unconsciously violates the qualities originated by Grice. It is possible to infer that the dialogues analysed with Grecian maxims exceed the limits of the maxims that violate the proportional balance of the Cooperation principle for natural and meaningful communication and pave the way for violence, not just with words but also with acts and attitudes in the play. The act of banging on paper and fighting in the first dialogue, Jimmy's push and Alison's wound in the second scene and Helena's slap in the last conversation are the final attempts to continue the conversation. Although they appear as an escalated form of aggression, they can be considered as Non-verbal Acts concretised with physical violence, which conveys messages when verbal communication possibilities are distorted, multiple conversational maxims are violated and flouted, and the intent of cooperation in the nature of the dialogue is lost. As a result, it can be concluded that Osborne's *Look Back in Anger*, as analysed through the application of Grice's theory of maxims, demonstrates that physical violence, proposed in this study as a "Non-verbal Act", can emerge under the condition that multiple maxims of the Cooperation principle are violated and flouted. This results in a breakdown of verbal communication and a shift toward non-verbal means as a final effort to continue the communication.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors

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Morphological Processing of Complex Words in Turkish
Türkçedeki Karmaşık Sözcüklerin Biçimbilimsel İşlemlenmesi

Samet Deniz 0000-0002-4493-816X
Anadolu University

Zeynep Doyuran 0000-0002-8365-9905
Hacettepe University

ABSTRACT
The main objective of this study is to examine how native speakers of Turkish process morphologically complex words when they are presented with masked primes. The present paper also seeks to find out whether semantics and/or orthography play a role in the early stages of morphological processing. A masked priming visual word recognition experiment was conducted with 44 Turkish speakers. Based on the accuracy rates and reaction times of the participants, this study aimed to figure out the organization of the mental lexicon. The results showed statistically significant priming effects for transparent items while no significant priming was revealed for the opaque and form items. These results replicate earlier studies and indicate that native speakers of Turkish decompose inflectionally and derivationally complex words in the early stages of visual word recognition. Moreover, the results also suggest that early morphological processing is blind to orthographic properties.

Introduction

Cross-linguistic studies have shown that human beings have a visual word recognition system which helps them to analyze letter strings in terms of their constituent morphemes (Rastle et al., 2004). Morphologically complex words give us a lot of information about the visual word recognition system. It has been observed that the visual word recognition system relies on morphological information (Diependaele et al., 2011). An essential component of the structure is supplied by morphemes, in other words, arbitrary orthography between word forms and their meanings (Marslen-Wilson et al., 1994). Words and morphemes are stored in our mental lexicon, that is why the study of morphology has an utmost importance in understanding the structure of the mental lexicon. Morphological processing has vital value for psycholinguists as it helps us understand how access to the mental lexicon is affected by form and meaning.

There are three leading ideas about how whole words and constituents are represented in the

mental lexicon. While the full decomposition hypothesis proposed by Taft and Forster (1975) proposes that complex forms are parsed into their stems and affixes, Butterworth's (1983) full listing hypothesis claims that regardless of their internal structure, all words (simplex and complex) are listed in the mental lexicon as they are. Words and Rules Theory (Pinker, 1999), on the other hand, posits that both of the aforementioned hypotheses are partially correct, suggesting that while some of the words are stored as full forms, others are decomposed.

Another discussion concerns the comprehension of complex words in terms of the number of mechanisms in operation. These are single-mechanism models and hybrid models. Single mechanism rule-based accounts (similar to the full decomposition hypothesis) by Ling and Marinov (1993) suggest that formal rules are in use during the formation of complex words. For instance, a word such as 'players' is stored in the mental lexicon as *'play + -er + -s'*. It means that morphemes of complex words are stripped and their affixes and stems are stored separately. Single mechanism associative accounts of morphological processing (similar to the full listing hypothesis) by Rumelhart and McClelland (1986), on the other hand, postulate that both simplex and complex word forms are listed as full forms in the mental lexicon. So, the word in the previous example is stored as a whole form and other complex and/or simple words related to this word such as *'player'* and *'play'* are also stored in the lexicon separately. Alternatively, hybrid models (similar to words and rules theory) (e.g., Pinker, 1991) propose that processing of complex words can be both associative and rule based. To exemplify, consider two words such as *'played'* and *'went'*. According to hybrid models, while regularly inflected words like *'played'* are stored after affix stripping, irregular words like *'went'* are stored as whole constituents.

Some researchers argue that morpheme, which is defined as the smallest unit to analyse grammar (Lyons, 1968) or the smallest meaningful unit in a language (Bloomfield, 1933), is the unit for language recognition. Since words such as *cups*, *undo*, and *airplane* are composed of more than one morpheme *(cup + -s, un + do, and air + plane)*, they are considered to have complex structures according to the morpheme-based approach. There are three ways of forming morphologically complex words: derivation, inflection, and compounding. If a derivational or inflectional affix is added to a stem *(e.g., un + do → undo, cup + -s → cups)*, these processes are called derivation and inflection respectively. Compounding, however, requires us to combine two stems *(air + plane → airplane)*. Since the aim of this study is to examine the processing of derived and inflected words, compounds are not a part of the current research.

The (Dis)Similarities between Inflection and Derivation

Even though this research considers derivation and inflection as separate processes, it is still a matter if derivation and inflection are two distinct phenomena. From one standpoint, inflection and derivation have similarities, and they should not be regarded as separate processes. Aronoff (1994), for instance, posits that there are some affixes *(e.g., -AcAk in Turkish)* which might act as both derivational and inflectional morphemes. Likewise, Bochner (1992) postulates that processes such as suffixation, infixation, and prefixation are used for both derivation and inflection in numerous languages. Moreover, there is no distinction between derivational and inflectional processes according to Distributed Morphology approaches (Harley & Noyer, 1999).

On the contrary, derivation and inflection are considered to be different mechanisms according to classical descriptions of morphological processes. While inflection is seen as a process that produces disparate word-forms of a specific lexeme, derivation is defined as a "word formation" process that forms novel lexemes (Blevins, 2006). Thus, realization-based theories of morphology assume that there are different morpholexical representations of inflected and derived words in the mental lexicon based on this difference (Matthews, 1991; Anderson, 1992).

Along with the difference in terms of definition between derivational and inflectional processes, five

criteria are offered by Stump (1998) with the aim of differentiating inflection and derivation. Firstly, inflectional processes keep syntactic category and lexical meaning of the stems the same *(e.g., chairs is an inflectional form of the noun chair)*, while derivational processes often do not *(e.g., the noun beauty becomes the adjective beautiful with the addition of derivational morpheme -ful)*. The second criterion is that inflectional affixes are syntactically pertinent, which means the usage of a specific inflectional word-form heavily depends on the syntactic context of a lexeme in hand. However, derivational affixes are not syntactically relevant as it is not required for a lexeme to be morphologically simplex or complex in a grammatical context. The case of productivity comes as the third criterion. Inflectional processes are used effectively; however, derivational processes are restricted in terms of variety of application. Semantic regularity is listed as the fourth criterion. The regularity of inflection is higher than derivation by means of semantics. As the fifth and the last criterion, when an inflectional affix is used, that word becomes closed to derivation, whereas after a derivational affix, a word is still open to derivation.

To date, most of the research on morphological processing focused on either inflected words or derived words. There is limited research investigating the interplay of these two morphological processes within a single study. The presence of both inflectionally and derivationally complex words in this research enables a comparison of the mechanisms underlying the processing of morphologically complex words.

The majority of studies to date have focused on Indo-European languages, such as French, German, English, and Portuguese (see Grainger et al., 1991; Sonnenstuhl et al., 1999; Rastle et al., 2000; Veríssimo & Clahsen, 2009). Consequently, there is a lack of research on typologically diverse languages, which limits the generalizability of findings. As a non-Indo-European language with highly productive agglutinating morphology, Turkish provides an important case for such studies. The topic remains underexplored, especially in terms of understanding its mechanisms and generalizability across languages. While a few studies have examined morphological processing in Turkish (e.g., Gürel, 1999; Kırkıcı & Clahsen, 2013; Jacob et al., 2018), it remains an area open for in-depth investigation to understand its underlying mechanisms and generalizability in comparison to other languages.

Gürel (1999) investigated the extent of morphological decomposition in native Turkish speakers using an unprimed lexical decision task. She found that not all multimorphemic Turkish words are accessed in a decomposed form. Words with frequent suffixes appear to be accessed via a whole-word access procedure. The study suggests that the frequency of the suffix influences whether a word is accessed through a direct route or a parsing route. This research challenges the assumption that agglutinative languages like Turkish always involve decomposition during lexical access and highlights the role of affix frequency in processing strategies. It also suggests that the morphological parser in Turkish is highly effective. Kırkıcı and Clahsen (2013) compared the processing of inflectional (aorist) and derivational (-lIk nominalization) morphology in native and non-native Turkish speakers using masked priming. The study revealed similar priming patterns for inflection and derivation in native Turkish speakers. However, non-native speakers showed priming for derivation but not for inflection. The authors proposed that non-native speaker processing may not utilize early automatic morphological decomposition for inflection to the same extent as native speaker processing, and that non-native speaker priming may rely on shared lexical entries. This research suggests a dissociation between inflectional and derivational processing in non-native speakers, unlike in native speakers. It contributes to the understanding of how non-native speakers process complex morphology and suggests that morphological decomposition might not be a primary mechanism for all morphological types in second language acquisition. This study also highlights that non-native data can provide unique insights into theoretical distinctions in morphology. Jacob et al. (2018) examined the processing of derived (-(y)IcI) and inflected (-mIş)

Turkish words in heritage speakers living in Germany and compared them to native speakers in Türkiye using masked priming. The key finding was that both heritage and native speakers showed significant priming effects of similar magnitude for both derivation and inflection. Control conditions confirmed that these priming effects were morphological. The study concluded that heritage speakers possess preserved, native-like decomposition mechanisms for complex words despite potentially limited language input. However, they also found that overall lexical decision times were slower for heritage speakers. This research indicates that fundamental morphological processing mechanisms can be preserved in heritage speakers of Turkish, suggesting that sufficient input for the development of these mechanisms can occur even in a heritage language context. It also distinguishes heritage speakers from non-native language learners in terms of inflectional processing and suggests that differences in language output observed in heritage speakers might not stem from deficits in processing mechanisms.

Lastly, although there are studies considering the effects of orthography and semantics on the morphological processing of Turkish words, there are just a handful number of these studies (e.g., Gacan, 2014; Şafak, 2015). Gacan (2014) primarily investigated the processing of derived words in native speakers of Turkish and non-native speakers of English at different proficiency levels. It focused on the Turkish suffixes -lI (attributive) and -sIz (privative), and their English counterparts -ful and -less, using masked priming experiments. The findings provided evidence for the automatic language decomposition of Turkish derived words formed with transparent, frequent, and productive suffixes -lI and -sIz during visual word recognition. The observed priming effects were morphological in nature and independent of orthographic overlap. This research supports the claim that languages with rich morphology like Turkish utilize combinatorial processing for complex word forms, aligning with suggestions by Frauenfelder and Schreuder (1992) and Hankamer (1989). It extends the findings of Kırkıcı and Clahsen (2013), who also observed priming effects for Turkish derived words with another transparent and frequent suffix (-lIk). The study suggested that native speakers of Turkish rely on the morphological structure of derived words during early visual processing. Şafak (2015) examined the processing of both inflected and derived words in native speakers of Turkish and non-native speakers of English. She used masked priming experiments with native Turkish speakers processing Turkish inflected verbs with -mIş (evidential) and derived nouns with –(y)IcI (agentive), as well as advanced Turkish learners of English processing English inflected verbs with -ed and derived nouns with -er. The study aimed to determine if complex words are decomposed and the role of semantic and orthographic relatedness. The results indicated that native Turkish speakers decompose both inflected and derived words into stems and suffixes during visual word recognition in Turkish. This morphological processing in Turkish was found to be independent of semantic relatedness between the complex words and their stems. The study supports the expectation that native speakers of Turkish process both inflected and derived words in a morphologically structured format due to the productive morphological system of Turkish. This aligns with findings from Kırkıcı and Clahsen (2013). Şafak's findings contribute to the understanding of whether a single combinatorial mechanism underlies the processing of all complex word forms in Turkish.

Aim of the Study

The aforementioned reasons establish the foundation for the present study. This study has three primary objectives. First, it aims the examine how native speakers of Turkish process complex words. Second, it seeks to determine the role of semantics and orthography in early morphological processing in Turkish. Finally, it investigates whether there are differences in the processing patterns of derivationally and inflectionally complex words in Turkish. In light of these objectives, the present study addresses the following research questions:

1. Are Turkish derived and inflected words stored as full-forms or decomposed into morphological

units by native speakers during visual word recognition?
2. Do semantics and/or orthography play a role in L1 Turkish morphological processing?

Based on the findings of previous experimental research conducted on native speakers of various languages along with Turkish (Silva & Clahsen, 2008; Kırkıcı & Clahsen, 2013; Jacob et al., 2017), it is predicted that L1 speakers of Turkish will decompose inflectionally and derivationally complex word forms into their constituents (i.e., roots and suffixes). One of the reasons behind this prediction depends on the economy of storage claim. In Turkish, to form morphologically complex words, affixation (almost always suffixation) is used. While the number of inflectional forms an English verb can have, is thought to be four (Carlisle et al., 1997), the number is over 2000 for a Turkish verb (Hankamer, 1989). Moreover, the number of derivational morphemes is over 100 in Turkish (Aksan, 1987) and these morphemes generally have more than one function and meaning.

According to the economy of storage claim, the listing of all the words would take up an excessive amount of place in the mental lexicon, thus the mind would be put under a substantial load for the storage and retrieval of words (Frauenfelder & Schreuder, 1992). Additionally, Hankamer (1989) asserts that millions of words are generated by agglutinative languages such as Turkish, hence making the human mind insufficient to store words (simple, complex, and compound) separately.

Moreover, there are studies showing that early morphological processing is semantically blind (Longtin, Segui & Halle, 2003; Rastle et al., 2004); therefore, they support an early morpho-orthographic stage during morphological processing. However, there is also research showing the opposite: a morpho-semantic stage during early morphological processing. These studies assert that semantically dissimilar (opaque) word forms do not prime their stems (e.g., Feldman et al., 2009; Feldman et al., 2012). Since Turkish is a morphologically highly productive language, it is expected that opaque primes in Turkish will not facilitate target words. Finally, it is anticipated that early morphological processing will be independent of orthographic relatedness as most of the previous research findings (e.g., Rastle et al., 2000; Marslen-Wilson et al., 2008) show that morphological properties drive the early decomposition process, not the form of words.

Despite the increasing number of studies on the processing of inflected and derived words together, their number is still comparatively low and the languages examined are predominantly Indo-European languages such as English and German. Therefore, with the purpose of generalizing the findings coming from these languages, it is necessary to analyse typologically different languages such as Turkish. As Frauenfelder and Schreuder (1992) suggest, Turkish is a great ground to be studied. Since there is only a handful of research (e.g. Gürel, 1999; Kırkıcı & Clahsen, 2013; Jacob et al., 2018) examining morphological processing in Turkish by using experimental psycholinguistic methods, more research needs to be conducted.

Methodology

In morphological processing research, priming is one of the most widely employed methods, with the lexical decision task being a common experimental paradigm used in priming studies. The lexical decision task, which operates within the visual word recognition system responsible for reading, requires participants to rapidly determine whether a presented stimulus is a real word in the target language. This method assumes that participants access their mental lexicon during the task. The priming paradigm follows the same general procedure as the lexical decision task but introduces a critical modification, making it an extension of the latter. Specifically, in the priming method, a stimulus (prime) is presented immediately before the target word, upon which participants make a lexical decision. When a word is encountered, its mental representation is activated along with related lexical items. Primes interact with the mental representation of target words in memory, allowing researchers to infer the structure of lexical representation by analyzing reaction time patterns for target words relative to control words (Gernsbacher, 1994).

In most of the morphological processing studies, masked priming, which is a type of priming, is used. With the help of this method, examining the relationships between the words and having an insight about how monomorphemic and polymorphemic forms are represented in the mental lexicon becomes easier.

The Present Study

In the experiment conducted for this study, the focus is on the processing of inflectionally and derivationally complex words. In addition to the similarities/differences between inflection and derivation, the effects of semantics and orthography are also analyzed in this experiment. Contrary to the previous studies carried out on Turkish, the types of inflectional and derivational morphemes are not limited in this research, which gives the opportunity to generalize the findings to more inflectional and derivational suffixes. Thus, a variety of morphemes and target words are used. Since the processing of complex words is asserted to be influenced by phonological transparency, all suffixes are chosen carefully so as not to cause any changes in the word root.

Considering the statements made above, the purpose of the experiment is to examine the processing of inflectionally and derivationally complex words in native Turkish. Thus, the way in which Turkish native speakers process morphologically complex words and whether these words are stored in their mental lexicon as full forms or decomposed into their building constituents will be analyzed in the following sections.

The Experiment Design

The experimental methodology employed in this study is the masked priming paradigm. In this method, participants are first presented with a string of symbols, typically hash marks (e.g., #####). This is followed by the prime word (e.g., *yürüdü*), which is subsequently replaced by the target word (e.g., *YÜRÜ*). Since the prime appears between the forward mask (hash marks) and the target word, this technique is also referred to as the *sandwich technique*. Participants are required to make a lexical decision—determining whether the target stimulus is a real word or a nonword.

In masked priming experiments, the interval between the onset of the prime and the onset of the target, known as stimulus onset asynchrony (SOA), is kept extremely brief (typically 30-80 ms), rendering the prime nearly imperceptible to conscious awareness.

The masked priming technique was developed by Forster and Davis (1984) to prevent participants from adopting predictive strategies, as they are unable to consciously perceive the primes during the initial stages of visual word recognition. This paradigm is well-suited to the present study, as Boudelaa and Marslen-Wilson (2005) suggest that during the early stages of visual word recognition, complex words are automatically decomposed into their constituent morphemes. Moreover, as Forster and Davis (1984) argue, masked priming minimizes the influence of episodic memory effects.

Furthermore, masked priming experiments allow precise control over the relationship between prime and target words, facilitating the systematic investigation of the role of orthography, semantics, and morphology.

Materials

In the present experiment, there are 150 Turkish words serving as critical targets all of which are paired with a prime. In addition to these critical items, there are 300 fillers and 10 practice items. The experimental stimuli comprised of five prime-target conditions in total. These are inflectional transparent, inflectional opaque, derivational transparent, derivational opaque, and form. All the sets had two conditions: related and unrelated. Unrelated primes were morphologically, semantically, and orthographically unrelated (-M, -S, -O) with the target words, and they did not

share any letters in the same position. The first set was composed of 30 inflectional transparent items (see Appendix 1). The related primes were morphologically (inflectionally), semantically, and orthographically related (+M, +S, +O). The second set was composed of 30 inflectional opaque items (see Appendix 2). The related primes were morphologically (inflectionally) and orthographically related but semantically unrelated (+M, -S, +O). The third set was composed of 30 derivational transparent items (see Appendix 3). The related primes were morphologically (derivationally), semantically, and orthographically related (+M, +S, +O). The fourth set was composed of 30 derivational opaque items (see Appendix 4). The related primes were morphologically (derivationally) and orthographically related but semantically unrelated (+M, -S, +O). The fifth set was composed of 30 form items (see Appendix 5). The related primes were orthographically related but morphologically and semantically unrelated (-M, -S, +O). All the targets were embedded in the primes. Form primes were made of the target words and non-Turkish suffixes. A sample set of stimuli is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. An example for the stimuli set

	Primes		Target
	Related	Unrelated	
Inflectional Transparent	geçti (passed)	önüne (in front of)	GEÇ (PASS)
Inflectional Opaque	hızlı (speedy)	annem (my mother)	HIZ (SPEED)
Derivational Transparent	azim (ambition)	uyur (sleeps)	AZ (LITTLE)
Derivational Opaque	kaygı (anxiety)	yorum (comment)	KAY (SLIDE)
Form	zarif (elegant)	aylar (months)	ZAR (DICE)

The length and frequency of the targets for each item type were kept as similar as possible. The same measure was taken also for related and unrelated prime sets for each item type (see Table 2). The reason behind this measure was to prevent any unwanted participant bias with regards to the experimental items. The frequency of all the experimental items was taken from the Middle East Technical University (METU) Turkish Corpus (Say et al., 2002).

Table 2. Mean word-form frequencies and length (in letters) of all the experimental items

Item type	Condition	Mean word-form frequencies	Mean number of letters
Inflectional Transparent	Target	95.77	3.50
	Related Prime	93.27	5.03
	Unrelated Prime	98.17	4.93
Inflectional Opaque	Target	97.63	2.97
	Related Prime	97.13	4.53
	Unrelated Prime	98.07	4.6
Derivational	Target	96.00	3.30

Transparent	Related Prime	95.07	5.23
	Unrelated Prime	96.97	5.13
Derivational Opaque	Target	98.20	3.13
	Related Prime	98.23	4.87
	Unrelated Prime	97.97	4.90
Form	Target	87.37	3.10
	Related Prime	88.73	4.80
	Unrelated Prime	97.73	4.73

To preclude participants from guessing the purpose of the experiment and coming up with strategies about the order of the words, 113 nonword-nonword, 112 word-nonword, and 75 nonword-word filler pairs were also added to the experimental word pairs. The Turkish module of the software Wuggy (Keuleers & Brysbaert, 2010) was used to generate nonwords, thus making sure that all the nonwords were in line with the orthographic and phonological properties of Turkish. The filler primes and targets were also matched in terms of length with the experimental primes and targets.

Moreover, a Latin Square design was used to create two lists by distributing all prime-target pairs. The order of filler and experimental items were pseudo-randomized to make sure that the same prime-target pair types did not occur successively. Furthermore, the lists were reversed with the aim of eliminating the fatigue effect, which means that there were four lists in total at the end. In each list, half of the targets were preceded by a related prime, and the other half was preceded by an unrelated prime.

According to Clahsen et al. (2001), target words should not bring any new material which is not available from the prime to check the priming effects of the stem since there is a possibility that the unprimed material can decrease potential priming effects (as cited in Kırkıcı & Clahsen, 2013). All the targets were simple words, and they were presented in upper case letters while the primes were presented in lower case with the aim of minimizing visual overlap between them.

Participants

A total of 44 native speakers of Turkish (mean age = 22.16 years, SD = 3.72, age range = 18-31, 22 females) participated in this study. All participants reported having acquired Turkish as their first language from birth. They were randomly selected from **** University and participated voluntarily. No financial compensation or course credit was provided. All participants were either undergraduate or graduate students and were unaware of the study's purpose until the experiment concluded. Additionally, all participants reported having normal or corrected-to-normal vision, and none disclosed a history of neurological or psychological disorder.

Procedure

A laptop with a 15.6-inch monitor was used to run the experiment. The computer ran on a Windows 8.1 system. The experiment was controlled by the software DMDX (Forster & Forster, 2003), and responses to the target words were collected via a Logitech gamepad. The masked visual priming method (Forster & Davis, 1984) was used with the help of the software.

A pilot study was conducted with six participants to refine the experimental design and implement necessary adjustments. During this process, participants' responses, reaction times, and feedback were carefully evaluated to refine the experimental design.

The experiments took place at Hacettepe University. Before the beginning of the experiment, each participant was given an informed consent form, which made clear that they could withdraw from the experiment any time they wished. The participants were instructed to decide whether the presented string of letters were real Turkish words or not as accurately and fast as possible and press the appropriate button on the gamepad. The participants were provided with both oral and written instructions before the experiment started. All the participants were instructed to use their dominant hand to press the 'yes' button whether it was right or left.

Each experiment started with 10 trials as an orientation process, and at the end of this process, the participants could ask any questions they had. Just after the short practice session, a manipulation checklist (see Appendix 6) was given to the participants in order to make sure that the primes could not be recognized. In the checklist, there were some of the primes and targets, as well as some other words which did not appear during the practice session. The participants were requested to mark the words that they had seen. None of the participants marked the primes presented during the practice session. Then, they could start the actual experiment.

Each trial started with a forward mask of hash signs (#) for 500 milliseconds (ms). The number of hash marks was the same as the number of letters in the primes they were matched with. The forward mask served as a fixation point. After the hashes, the prime was shown for 50 ms and then the target word was displayed for 500 ms. When the time for the target word passed, the participants had 5000 ms to decide whether the word shown was an existing word or not (see Figure 1). The background colour was black while the words were displayed in white colour, primes with Bookman Old Style and targets with the Courier New font in size 28.

| #### | imzalı | İMZA | |
| 500 ms | 50 ms | 500 ms | 5000 ms (maximum) |
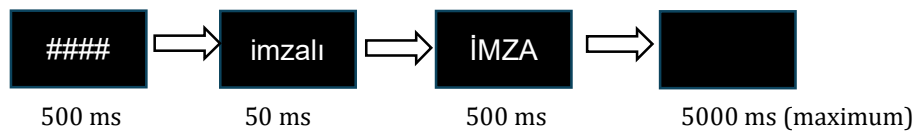
Figure 1. Representation of the sequences for each trial in masked priming procedure

There was one break during each experiment after half of the test trials were completed. After half of the test trials were completed, the software paused, and the participants saw instructions telling them that they could continue the experiment whenever they were ready to do so. The experiments were carried out in a quiet place. Each experiment lasted approximately 30 minutes. Upon completion of the experiment, each participant was asked to describe their experience, report their observations, and speculate on the study's objective. No subject stated seeing any prime stimulus.

Data Analysis

Prior to the analyses, data was cleaned by applying the steps used in previous morphological processing studies. In order to do so, first, all response times to fillers and practice items were deleted. Second, two inflectional transparent and one derivational opaque item were removed as they were responded to incorrectly by more than 30 percent of the participants. Additionally, responses of two participants were also removed since they reacted to more than 20 percent of the items incorrectly. Then, inaccurate responses (i.e., nonword responses to real words) and outliers (extreme RTs) were excluded from the analysis. Reaction times below or above 2.5 standard deviations were treated as outliers and they were not included in any further analyses.

As in Diependeale et al. (2011), in order to reduce the positive skewness of the data distribution, all reaction times were inverse transformed by dividing -1000 by the reaction times (i.e., -1000/RT). Then, inverse transformed data were submitted to repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) with the factors item type (inflectional transparent, inflectional opaque, derivational transparent, derivational opaque, and form) and relatedness (related and unrelated). After this, planned comparisons (post-hoc tests) were performed to examine the significant main effects. Lastly, in

order to find out the significant main effects, paired-samples t-tests were performed.

Results

In this section, firstly, descriptive results of the experiment are presented. After that, inferential results are given. In the inferential results part, statistics obtained from the analyses are given.

Descriptive Results

Table 3 shows the mean reaction times, standard deviations (SDs), and priming effects for inflectional transparent, inflectional opaque, derivational transparent, derivational opaque, and form conditions. Participants responded to transparent (both inflectional and derivational) words faster than opaque (both inflectional and derivational) and form words. Participants responded to target words with related primes faster than target words with unrelated primes (except for inflectional opaque), but the priming effects were significant only in inflectional transparent and derivational transparent conditions. These effects suggest that morphological complex words with transparent relationships between the prime and the target are processed via decomposition, facilitating faster lexical access. Conversely, the lack of significant priming effects in the other conditions demonstrates that morphological decomposition does not occur when semantic transparency is absent or when words share only orthographic similarities. These findings suggest that early decomposition is not purely form-driven.

Table 3: Mean RTs (in ms), SDs (in parenthesis), and priming effects in the experiment

Item Type	RTs	Priming Effect
Inflectional Transparent	646.26 (131.22)	39.89
Inflectional Opaque	683.18 (140.09)	-3.68
Derivational Transparent	640.72 (140.34)	38.80
Derivational Opaque	681.00 (144.38)	6.75
Form	675.09 (128.68)	12.98

Table 4 shows the mean number of errors and percentage of errors for each item and prime type. The highest number of errors were seen in inflectional transparent targets preceded by unrelated primes while the lowest number of errors were seen in inflectional opaque targets primed by unrelated words.

Table 4: Mean number of errors and percentage of errors in the experiment

Item Type	Mean number of errors	Percentage of errors
Inflectional Transparent Related	1.07	7.14
Inflectional Transparent Unrelated	1.26	8.41
Inflectional Opaque Related	0.67	4.44
Inflectional Opaque Unrelated	0.45	3.02
Derivational Transparent Related	0.52	3.49
Derivational Transparent Unrelated	0.52	3.49
Derivational Opaque Related	0.79	5.24
Derivational Opaque Unrelated	1.12	7.46
Form Related	0.86	5.71
Form Unrelated	1.07	7.14

Inferential Results

The repeated measures ANOVA conducted on the error data revealed significant main effects of item

type (inflectional transparent, inflectional opaque, derivational transparent, derivational opaque, and form) in participant analysis ($F(4, 164) = 8.43$, $p< .001$). However, prime type (related and unrelated) did not demonstrate any significant main effects in item analysis ($F(1, 41) = 1.36$, $p< .250$). This suggests that the error rate differed statistically significantly among the five item types but not between the prime types. Subsequent planned comparisons demonstrated the following significant differences in terms of error rates:

inflectional transparent-inflectional opaque ($p< .003$)
inflectional transparent-derivational transparent ($p< .001$)
inflectional opaque-derivational opaque ($p< .033$)
derivational transparent-derivational opaque ($p< .012$)
derivational transparent-form ($p< .001$)

The repeated measures ANOVA analysis on the inverse transformed reaction time data demonstrated that there was a statistically significant main effect of prime type ($F(1, 41) = 23.47$, $p< .001$) in participant analysis. A paired samples t-test was run to see which item types had a significant difference between related and unrelated conditions. Table 5 demonstrates that inflectional transparent related items received significantly faster reaction times compared to inflectional transparent unrelated items ($t(41)= -5.22$, $p< .001$), and derivational transparent related items were responded to significantly faster than derivational transparent unrelated items ($t(41)= -7.39$, $p< .001$) across participants. On the other hand, no significant difference was found between the related and unrelated conditions of inflectional opaque, derivational opaque, and form items. These results suggest that only transparent (+M +S +O) items (both inflectional and derivational) yielded significant priming effects, indicating that morphological decomposition is driven by semantic transparency. These results highlight the role of semantics even at early stages. On the other hand, opaque (+M -S +O) items (both inflectional and derivational) and form (-M -S +O) items did not facilitate priming effects. These findings suggest that semantic relatedness plays a crucial role in early word recognition, contradicting purely morpho-orthographic accounts. These results also reinforce that morphological processing in Turkish is morphology-specific, not confounded by orthographic similarity.

Table 5: Pairwise comparisons of the RTs in the experiment

Pair 1	Inflectional Transparent Related	t(41)=-5.22, p< .001
	Inflectional Transparent Unrelated	
Pair 2	Inflectional Opaque Related	t(41)=-0.41, p< .683
	Inflectional Opaque Unrelated	
Pair 3	Derivational Transparent Related	t(41)=-7.39, p< .001
	Derivational Transparent Unrelated	
Pair 4	Derivational Opaque Related	t(41)=-1.28, p< .207
	Derivational Opaque Unrelated	
Pair 5	Form Related	t(41)=-1.88, p< .067
	Form Unrelated	

Moreover, the repeated measures ANOVA analysis on the inverse transformed reaction time data also showed a significant main effect of item type ($F(4, 164) = 8.13$, $p< .001$) in participant analysis, but not in item analysis ($F(4, 142) = 1.55$, $p< .19$). Planned pairwise comparisons revealed that the differences between the items reported below were statistically significant:

inflectional transparent-inflectional opaque ($p< .019$)
inflectional transparent-derivational opaque ($p< .006$)

inflectional transparent-form (*p*< .002)
derivational transparent-inflectional opaque (*p*< .001)
derivational transparent-derivational opaque (*p*< .001)
derivational transparent-form (*p* < .001)

These results indicate that transparent items (both inflectional and derivational) were significantly faster than opaque (both inflectional and derivational) and form items, whereas there was no significant difference between inflectional opaque and derivational opaque items (*p*< .578), inflectional opaque and form items (*p*< .478), and derivational opaque and form items (*p*< .882).

Discussion and Conclusion

The present study aimed to examine the morphological processing of inflectionally and derivationally complex words in Turkish among native speakers. Specifically, it investigated the early stages of visual word recognition to determine whether complex words are stored in the mental lexicon as whole forms or decomposed into their constituent morphemes. The analysis of derivationally and inflectionally complex words was conducted to assess whether these two types of morphological complexity are processed similarly or differently. Additionally, the study explored the influence of semantic transparency and orthography on early morphological processing by incorporating opaque, form, and transparent word pairs. To address these research questions, a lexical decision experiment employing the visual masked priming technique was conducted. The following sections present a discussion of the experimental results in relation to the study's objectives and research questions.

Processing of Inflection and Derivation in L1

Regarding the processing of inflectionally and derivationally complex words, related primes facilitated reaction times to the target items statistically significantly in transparent conditions (39.89 ms and 38.80 ms priming effect respectively). This means that inflected and derived complex words are stored in native Turkish speakers' mental lexicon in a decomposed manner, not as whole forms. This result lends support to the findings of previous research conducted both on Turkish and other typologically different languages *(e.g., Silva and Clahsen, 2008 for English; Kırkıcı &andClahsen, 2013 for Turkish; Jacob et al., 2017 for German)*. The studies of Kırkıcı and Clahsen (2013) and Jacob et al. (2018) found comparable priming effects for inflection and derivation in native Turkish speakers, as well.

Moreover, no significant difference was found between the reaction times given to these two types of word pairs (derivational transparent and inflectional transparent). This can be considered as a convincing implication that inflectionally and derivationally complex words are represented similarly in the mental lexicon. This result is in contradiction with realization-based morphological theories (Matthews, 1991; Anderson, 1992). Instead, the results support dual-route models, where both inflected and derived words undergo morphological decomposition. Furthermore, the indication that inflected and derived words are decomposed during the early stages of visual word recognition supports the economy of storage principle. The reasons behind this may be the facts that Turkish is a rich language in terms of morphological processes and the number of words to be represented in the lexicon is quite high, which generates an immense amount of memory load (Frauenfelder & Schreuder, 1992). For the attenuation of this load, the decompositional track is better compared to full listing of all words. Besides, according to Hankamer (1989), a native speaker of Turkish who is educated is required to store more than 200 billion words. He also suggests that this number is well beyond the capacity of the mind, and the richness of Turkish in terms of morphology supports relying on decompositional processes.

One explanation for the lack of significant difference between inflectional and derivational

processing could be the nature of Turkish morphology itself. As an agglutinative language, Turkish maintains consistent morpheme boundaries, making decomposition more efficient regardless of whether the affix is inflectional or derivational. Thus the current study highlights the importance of considering linguistic typology when interpreting morphological processing mechanisms.

The Effect of Semantics

In order to check whether semantics plays a major role in early morphological processing, opaque items (+M –S +O) were implemented for the experiment. The difference between related and unrelated conditions of opaque words (both inflectional and derivational) were found to be not significant. This was due to the fact that related items *(e.g., çilek 'strawberry')* were reacted to as slow as unrelated items *(e.g., konum 'location')* during the recognition of targets *(e.g., ÇİL 'freckle')*. This suggests that opaque items did not facilitate priming. These results imply that even though the presentation of the prime stimulus was very short (50 ms), semantic properties of words are significant in early visual word recognition. The finding that semantic transparency influences early morphological processing presents an intriguing contradiction to some established views in the literature. This finding runs counter to several studies arguing that early morphological processing is blind to semantic properties (e.g., Rastle et al., 2004; Longtin et al., 2003), and challenges morpho-orthographic accounts of early word recognition. Similarly, the finding in this study appears to contradict Şafak's (2015) observation that morphological processing in Turkish operates independently of semantic relatedness between complex words and their stems.

On the other hand, these results support previous studies, which posit that semantics plays a role in the early stages of morphological processing (e.g., Diependaele et al., 2011; Feldman et al., 2012). The presence of priming only for transparent items indicates that the visual word recognition system of Turkish speakers may be particularly sensitive to semantic coherence when analyzing morphologically complex words.

The Effect of Orthography

In this study, aside from transparent and opaque items, there are also form items, which are morphologically and semantically unrelated, but orthographically related (-M -S +O). The integration of this set of control items *(e.g., araba 'car' – ARA 'to call/to search')* allowed the experiment to check the role of word form properties in early visual word recognition. Form items did not produce any significant priming effects as related and unrelated primes elicited similar response latencies. This result is in line with earlier cross-linguistic findings (e.g., Rastle et al., 2000; Kırkıcı & Clahsen, 2013; Heyer & Clahsen, 2014; Jacob et al., 2018), which postulate that L1 processing of morphologically complex words is independent of orthographic relatedness. The lack of priming effects for form items despite orthographic overlap between primes and targets suggests that orthographic similarity alone is insufficient to trigger significant facilitation. This pattern indicates that early morphological processing in Turkish is primarily guided by morphological structure with semantic constraints, while being relatively blind to purely orthographic properties.

General Discussion

To sum up, the following general conclusions can be drawn based on the findings of the current research. First, complex words with inflectional and derivational suffixes are stored in the mental lexicon in a decomposed fashion (i.e., root+suffix) and they yield equivalent priming effects. Second, native Turkish speakers' early visual word recognition is affected by the semantic transparency of items, that is transparent items were responded to significantly faster than opaque items. Finally, the morphological processing of complex words in Turkish is not affected by form properties. Hence, it can be argued that priming effects are obtained in the absence of orthographic relatedness.

The significant priming effects for transparent items indicate that decomposition occurs during

processing, which appears to support Taft and Forster's (1975) full decomposition hypothesis. However, the absence of priming for opaque items challenges the strict version of this theory, which would predict decomposition regardless of semantic transparency. Similarly, the results do not align with Butterworth's (1983) full listing hypothesis, which would predict no priming effects for any condition, as all words would be accessed as whole units without decomposition.

Instead, the findings of the current study most closely resemble predictions from hybrid models such as Pinker's (1999) Words and Rules Theory, which proposes that both direct access and decomposition routes are available during processing. However, the findings suggest a modification to this theory, particularly for agglutinative languages. Rather than distinguishing between regular and irregular forms (as Words and Rules Theory does for English), the processing distinction in Turkish appears to be primarily based on semantic transparency. Transparently related forms undergo decomposition, while semantically opaque forms may be processed through direct access despite their regular morphological structure.

This pattern supports a dual-route model that is semantically constrained, where the decomposition route is favored for semantically transparent forms, and the direct access route is employed for forms where decomposition would yield semantically incongruent constituents. Such a model would be particularly adaptive for processing in agglutinative languages like Turkish, where decomposition is typically the more efficient strategy but must be constrained by semantic plausibility to prevent misanalysis.

For further studies, as there was a significant priming effect caused by the semantics of words, further research can be conducted with different SOAs (e.g., 30 ms, 80 ms, 130 ms) in order to examine the time course of morphological processing. Moreover, only semantically related items (-M +S –O) such as *klavye 'keyboard' – FARE 'mouse'*, which are not implemented in the present study, can also be employed to better understand the role of semantics in early word recognition.

Ethics Committee Approval

An ethics committee approval was granted by Hacettepe University, Ethics Committee before the experimental session started. Date: May 24, 2016. E-35853172-431-1640

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors

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Appendices
Appendix 1: Inflectional Transparent Items

Prime Conditions		Target
Unrelated	**Related**	
gider	adamı	ADAM
gidip	babam	BABA
elimi	çaldı	ÇAL
gören	değer	DEĞ
budur	dersi	DERS
zorlar	emindi	EMİN
suya	fonu	FON
önüne	geçti	GEÇ
uçmak	yürüdü	YÜRÜ
güçlü	halde	HAL
suyu	indi	İN
salla	jetin	JET
üstüme	kamuda	KAMU
açın	ligi	LİG
ağlar	maaşı	MAAŞ
övgü	notu	NOT
vuran	ürünü	ÜRÜN
girip	oranı	ORAN
sürdü	tarzı	TARZ
gözü	payı	PAY
düşüş	riski	RİSK
laflar	sitede	SİTE
baktı	sordu	SOR
yazdı	telim	TEL
yapar	tenin	TEN
zevki	uğrar	UĞRA
coşkun	vadede	VADE
ölçmek	yalıda	YALI
olma	kalktı	KALK

asık	zili	ZİL

Appendix 2: Inflectional Opaque Items

Prime Conditions		Target
Unrelated	**Related**	
içki	ayı	AY
uyur	azim	AZ
sürer	bacak	BACA
uçtu	bela	BEL
düzey	borsa	BOR
ekip	boya	BOY
cini	boza	BOZ
uzan	çayır	ÇAY
zorla	daire	DAİR
girdi	demir	DEM
tepki	döviz	DÖV
ruhu	fena	FEN
sona	film	FİL
yüzey	gitar	GİT
yerli	halka	HALK
ilde	gene	GEN
diyor	hazır	HAZ
yumak	martı	MART
topu	sekiz	SEK
gördü	otur	OT
akın	özür	ÖZ
üçgen	pasta	PAS
dilli	serum	SER
adlı	sıra	SIR
koydu	şahin	ŞAH
bitti	şarkı	ŞARK
dikiş	okul	OK
sevme	hasta	HAS
batı	illa	İL
kumsal	haciz	HAC

Appendix 3: Derivational Transparent Items

Prime Conditions		Target
Unrelated	**Related**	
doğu	açan	AÇ
pula	adaş	AD
vurgu	başla	BAŞ

sizin	canlı	CAN
eroine	davacı	DAVA
ayın	elle	EL
bunlar	farklı	FARK
başlı	seçim	SEÇ
annem	hızlı	HIZ
kaseti	imzalı	İMZA
bazda	istek	İSTE
şıklar	jöleli	JÖLE
andan	kaçış	KAÇ
boğmak	liseli	LİSE
genler	mayalı	MAYA
saati	akıllı	AKIL
zulada	naneli	NANE
dağı	olgu	OL
teki	örtü	ÖRT
sonsuz	pahalı	PAHA
görsel	planlı	PLAN
arzda	raylı	RAY
hayatı	renkli	RENK
yeşile	şakacı	ŞAKA
keser	taşlı	TAŞ
evim	uçan	UÇ
yönü	kurum	KUR
çıktı	yapan	YAP
girer	yatak	YAT
donmuş	zırhlı	ZIRH

Appendix 4: Derivational Opaque Items

Prime Conditions		Target
Unrelated	Related	
atıcı	bakla	BAK
yoksa	barış	BAR
özgür	basit	BAS
ürktü	bilek	BİL
kesme	çanak	ÇAN
köylü	damat	DAM
içici	dekan	DEK

yazıp	delil	DELİ
geçip	falan	FAL
kumun	fişek	FİŞ
uygun	gerek	GER
şansı	güreş	GÜR
yuttu	halat	HALA
sesin	kabak	KABA
atmak	kalıp	KAL
dergi	kanal	KAN
yorum	kaygı	KAY
büyür	kazan	KAZ
ölmek	masal	MASA
çıkan	milli	MİL
konum	çilek	ÇİL
yüklü	niyet	NİYE
tüyü	odak	ODA
üstün	paket	PAK
adlar	senet	SEN
önde	sevk	SEV
planı	sokak	SOK
alıp	üst	ÜS
birer	yanıt	YAN
verir	yazık	YAZ

Appendix 5: Form Items

Prime Conditions		Target
Unrelated	**Related**	
dolu	aday	ADA
sende	ajans	AJAN
yanı	aktif	AK
görüş	araba	ARA
dönüp	aşırı	AŞI
yüzüm	balo	BAL
ünlü	beyaz	BEY
sınav	çağrı	ÇAĞ
ikide	darbe	DAR
olsam	devre	DEV
yoktu	dikkat	DİK

yılım	disko	DİSK
aitti	dolap	DOL
tipim	efekt	EFE
güne	esas	ES
rayı	evre	EV
artar	gazoz	GAZ
uslu	golf	GOL
çeken	hapis	HAP
cine	iris	İRİ
ahlakı	karton	KART
senin	kolay	KOLA
tıpta	külah	KÜL
hapı	morg	MOR
dedem	namaz	NAM
günde	silah	SİL
pili	solo	SOL
sorsa	takas	TAK
bölüm	taraf	TARA
aylar	zarif	ZAR

Appendix 6: Manipulation Checklist

Lütfen alıştırma kısmında görmüş olduğunuz sözcükleri işaretleyiniz.

☐   Kalorifer

☐   Mavi

☐   Bulutlar

☐   Gez

☐   Çanta

☐   Kumurta

☐   Pırlanta

☐   Baklava

☐   Kumanda

☐   Çaycı

☐   Lastik

☐   Otur

☐   Kıvrıl

Speech and Language Therapy Students' Knowledge and Awareness Levels Regarding Augmentative and Alternative Communication Systems
Dil ve Konuşma Terapisi Öğrencilerinin Alternatif ve Destekleyici İletişim Sistemlerine Yönelik Bilgi ve Farkındalık Düzeyleri

Işılay Nur Güngör 🆔 0000-0002-6998-5982
Ankara Medipol University, Anadolu University
Mümüne Merve Parlak 🆔 0000-0002-1603-2360
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University
Mehmet Akpınar 🆔 0009-0008-6308-8309
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University
Didem Çevik 🆔 0000-0001-9678-0379
Kütahya Sağlık Bilimleri University

ABSTRACT

Purpose: Alternative and Augmentative Communication (AAC) Systems refer to various mechanisms that support, complement or replace speech in individuals whose communication skills need to be increased. Speech and language therapists (SLT's) play an active role in the preparation and implementation of AAC Systems. Adequate and efficient training is a prerequisite for effective and successful AAC Systems services. In this study, it is aimed to investigate the level of knowledge and awareness of Speech and Language Therapy (SLT) undergraduate students in Turkey according to their taking AAC Systems course. **Material and Method:** 204 SLT undergraduate students from 10 different universities in Turkey, including 96 participants (47.06%) who took AAC Systems course and 108 participants (52.94%) who did not take AAC Systems course, participated in the study. Data were collected through an online questionnaire created by the researchers. The questionnaire included a total of 41 questions about the sociodemographic information of the participants and the level of AAC knowledge and awareness. Participants were recruited via social media platforms. **Results:** A statistically significant difference was found between those students who have taken AAC Systems course and those who did not ($p<0.05$). Participants who took the course gave an average of 6.16 to the efficiency of the course and 6.36 to the adequacy of the course out of 10. **Conclusion:** It was found that taking a course on AAC Systems increased awareness. However, improvements should be made in the efficiency and adequacy of the course in the undergraduate period.

Introduction

Speech-based verbal communication is a unique ability of humans. However, this ability can be lost either temporarily or permanently due to developmental disorders or acquired conditions.

Individuals with developmental disorders such as autism spectrum disorder (Ganz et al., 2013) down syndrome (Babb et al., 2021) cerebral palsy (Clarke and Price, 2012) and intellectual disabilities (Elsahar et al., 2019), and individuals with acquired disorders such as apraxia (Oommen and McCarthy, 2015), dysarthria (Bloch and Wilkinson, 2004) and dementia (Bourgeois et al., 2010) are only some of the disadvantaged groups who have difficulty in verbal communication. Individuals with these conditions have difficulty in conveying their most basic needs and requests to other people. As a result, these individuals experience limitations in daily life activities according to the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health proposed by the World Health Organisation (WHO) and social isolation occurs by decreasing participation in life (WHO, 2001). To prevent all these situations, there is a need to increase the communicative skills of individuals. To meet these communication needs, the use of Alternative and Augmentative Communication (AAC) Systems is essential (Beukelman and Mirenda, 2013).

AAC Systems includes methods used to support or replace an individual's verbal communication skills, including verbal and written forms of communication, which identify temporary or permanent impairments, activity limitations, and participation restrictions in speech-language production and/or comprehension, and attempts to compensate when necessary (Johnston et al., 2004). AAC Systems refers to various mechanisms that support, complement, or replace speech in individuals whose communication skills must be increased (Shahbaz et al., 2022). There are many AAC Systems designed differently from each other to increase the communication skills of these individuals. Basically, it is possible to categorize AAC Systems as unaided and aided (Marshall and Goldbart, 2008). Unaided systems do not require any external equipment and technology such as gestures, facial expressions, or body movements (Coyne, 2016). Aided systems, on the other hand, can be classified as either high-tech, such as programs installed on devices such as computers, phones, and tablets, which allow individuals to create words and/or sentences appropriate to their needs, or low-tech, such as communication boards (ASHA, 2024). These different systems are used specific to the needs of the individual after the evaluation of the relevant experts (Buekelman and Mirenda, 1998).

AAC Systems requires multiple disciplines to work together due to the multiple needs of individuals who use it. Speech and language therapists (SLT's), occupational therapists, and special education teachers are among the professional groups that can be found in AAC Systems services (Beukelman & Light, 2020). SLT's, who graduated from the undergraduate department of speech and language therapy (SLT), play an important role in the evaluation and intervention process of individuals in need of AAC Systems (Kovacs, 2021). SLT's working in this field are expected to have a good level of knowledge in areas such as situations requiring the use of AAC Systems, types of AAC Systems, methods of deciding the suitability of AAC Systems for the individual, and evaluating their effectiveness (Zarifian et al., 2021). It is very important to have adequate and effective training to provide AAC services correctly and effectively (Murray et al., 2020; Subihi, 2013). Despite this, many SLT's have shared information in different studies that their undergraduate education is insufficient, they feel inadequate in practices in this field, their knowledge level is incomplete, and they need more education in the postgraduate period to overcome these deficiencies (Flores and Dada, 2024; Kemp and Hayes, 2005; Koçak et al., 2023; Marvin et al., 2003; Wormnæs and Abdel Malek, 2004).

The foundation of AAC Systems courses in the field of SLT is laid during the undergraduate period and the competencies in this field are initiated with the AAC Systems course taken in this period. In Turkey, the courses to be included in the SLT undergraduate program and their contents are determined according to the National Core Education Program for Speech and Language Therapy (NCEP-SLT) (Council of Higher Education, n.d.). Courses on AAC Systems usually start in the 3rd and 4th year of SLT undergraduate education. In these courses, it is aimed to establish basic

competencies for AAC Systems. The AAC Systems course taken during the undergraduate period affects the services to be provided during clinical practice and the clinical research to be conducted in this field. For this reason, the course is expected to increase the level of knowledge and awareness of the students. However, it is very important that the course taken is adequate and efficient for the students. While these courses aim to build foundational AAC competencies, there is limited evidence on their actual effectiveness in improving student awareness and knowledge. Identifying and eliminating the deficiencies in this area during the undergraduate period will ensure the development of clinical research and services in the future. Many other international and national awareness and knowledge level studies in the field of AAC Systems have been conducted with different populations such as SLT's (Koçak et al., 2023; Wormnæs & Abdel Malek, 2004; Yaşa & Tokalak, 2023; Zarifian et al., 2021), special education teachers (İnce et al., 2023; Servi and Baştuğ, 2021; Subihi, 2013) who provide clinical services after completing their undergraduate education rather than undergraduate students. As in this study, there are few studies conducted with SLT undergraduate students (Shahbaz et al., 2022). As far as we know, there is no study examining the effect of taking AAC Systems course during the undergraduate period on awareness levels. This study addresses a critical gap in the literature by examining how exposure to AAC Systems courses affects the knowledge and awareness levels of SLT undergraduate students in Turkey. Unlike previous research, which mostly focuses on clinical professionals, this study uniquely targets students still in training. By doing so, it offers early insights into the potential strengths and shortcomings of AAC education at the undergraduate level.

In light of the above, this study aims to examine the awareness and knowledge levels of the students studying in different universities in Turkey according to the status of taking AAC Systems courses in SLT undergraduate departments. In addition, with this study, the adequacy and efficiency of the AAC Systems course taken during the undergraduate period will be evaluated in terms of students and the relationship between the level of knowledge and awareness will be determined. Determining the effect of the AAC Systems course at an early stage will help to identify and overcome the deficiencies of this course, if any, and will help to develop research and applications in this field. In this context, answers to the following questions will be sought:

1. What are the knowledge and awareness levels of SLT undergraduate students regarding AAC Systems?
2. What are students' perceptions of the adequacy and efficiency of the AAC Systems course?
3. What is the impact of taking an AAC Systems course on SLT students' levels of knowledge and awareness, as well as their understanding of target users, the implementation process, and perceived professional implications?

Materials and Methods

Research Design

This study is a descriptive survey study aiming to examine the awareness levels of SLT undergraduate students in Turkey according to their AAC Systems course-taking status.

Participants

The study was conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki and approved by the Ankara Medipol University Non-Interventional Clinical Research Ethics Committee (25.03.2024, 42). Subjects were informed about the aims and procedures of the study, and informed consent was obtained after they agreed to participate.

The number of participants in this study was determined according to the rule that the number of participants should be 5 times the number of questions adopted in survey studies (Taherdoost, 2007). In this context, since there were 41 questions in the study, it was aimed to reach 205

participants. To participate in the study, it one was required to be a 3rd or 4th-year SLT student. As a result, 204 students studying in SLT undergraduate program at different universities in Turkey participated in this study. 1 student was excluded from the study because she answered the questionnaire even though she was a 2nd-year SLT undergraduate.

Materials

An online questionnaire created by the researchers was used to collect the quantitative data for this study. Two types of research were conducted to create these questionnaire items. As the first source, a literature review was conducted and studies investigating the level of awareness and knowledge about AAC Systems were examined by the researchers (Koçak et al., 2023; Shahbaz et al., 2022; Zarifian et al., 2021; Wormnæs & Abdel Malek, 2004). As the second source, the NCEP-SLT prepared for the SLT undergraduate departments in Turkey and AAC Systems course contents from different university curricula were examined (Council of Higher Education, n.d.). After these analyses, the questionnaire items were created by the researchers. Then, 2 expert SLT's working in the field of AAC Systems evaluated the survey questions and expert opinion was taken and it was revealed that the questions were aimed at the information to be measured. To reach the participants more easily, the questionnaire was converted into an online format.

The content of the questionnaire prepared by the researchers for this study is as follows: 6 open-ended questions about the sociodemographic information of the participants, including age, gender, the university where the undergraduate education continues, whether they have studied other departments before, in which year they are studying in the undergraduate department, whether they have done a practical internship before; 8 open-ended and optional questions about AAC and the course taken about AAC and whether they have heard of AAC before, whether they have knowledge of the abbreviations AAC, whether they have taken AAC course, in which class, how many semesters and how many hours per week, and whether this course time is sufficient; If the course was taken, there are 2 questions in which they rate the efficiency and adequacy of this AAC Systems course according to Likert-type scoring between 1 (minimum) and 10 (maximum) and 2 questions in which they rate their level of knowledge about AAC Systems and their recommendation of AAC Systems according to Likert-type scoring between 1 (minimum) and 10 (maximum). There are also 23 information questions about AAC systems, which are asked to answer by marking one of the options 'Yes', 'No', and 'I don't know'. In other words, there are 41 questions in total. Table 1 presents the content-item number information regarding the content of the information questions about AAC Systems (see Table 1, question content-item number information).

Table 1 Content and item number of the knowledge questions on AAC Systems.

Content	Item Number
Information about individuals using AAC Systems	1,2, 3, 4,6,7,8,9,13, 14, 15
Information about the impact of AAC Systems on speech and language skills	5, 22, 23
Information about the assessment of individuals using AAC Systems	11, 12
Information on the use of AAC Systems	10, 19, 20
Information about SLT's practicing AAC Systems	16, 17, 18, 21

Data Collection

Participants in this study were 3rd- and 4th-year SLT undergraduate students recruited via social media platforms (WhatsApp, Instagram, Twitter, Facebook) using a Google Forms survey link. Before starting the questionnaire, participants were informed about the study and asked to provide

informed consent.

To minimize bias, the survey was anonymous and did not collect personal information. Neutral language was used, and demographic questions were kept general to avoid social desirability bias. Participants were instructed to complete the survey independently in one session. Sharing the survey across various platforms and university student communities aimed to reach a more diverse and representative sample.

Data Analyses

The SPSS v.23 (IBM, NY, USA) package program was used for data analysis. We evaluated categorical variables as numbers and percentage for descriptive analyses, normally distributed numerical variables as mean and standard deviation, and non-normally distributed numerical variables as median (minimum-maximum). As a result of the normal distributions of the obtained data, the Student t-test, or Mann-Whitney U test, was used for two-group comparisons. Chi-Square Test of Independence was used for two-group comparisons of categorical data. The significance level was accepted as $p<0.05.$

Results

Results Related to Participant Characteristics

Participants from 10 different universities in different regions of Turkey participated in this study. 204 SLT undergraduate students, 182 female (89.22%) and 22 male (10.78%), participated in the study. The average age of the participants was 21.9±1.05 years. 103 (50.49%) of the participants were 3rd grade students and 101 (49.51%) were 4th grade SLT undergraduate students. The mean ages of the participants according to gender and grade are presented in Table 2 (see Tablo 2, number and mean age of participants by gender and class).

Table 2 Number and mean age of participants by gender and class.

	n	Age Mean ± *SD*
Female	182	22.0 ± 1.04
Male	22	21.8 ± 1.18
Class 3	103	22.04 ± 0.946
Class 4	101	22.04 ± 0.943

In this study, 96 participants (47.06%) had taken AAC Systems course; 108 participants (52.94%) had never taken AAC Systems course before. Of the participants who took AAC Systems course, 32 (33,33%) took AAC Systems course in the 2nd grade, 34 (35,42%) in the 3rd grade, and 68 (70,83%) in the 4th grade. The participants who took AAC Systems course stated that the course they took lasted 1 half term. 18 participants (18,75%) took AAC Systems course for 1 hour per week, 63 participants (65,63%) for 2 hours per week, 14 participants (14,58%) for 3 hours per week, and 1 participant (1,04%) for 4 hours per week. 15 participants (15,63%) who took the course wanted the course hours to be increased. 9 of the participants (9,31%) stated that they had not done an internship with a speech and language therapist before. In the comparison of the sociodemographic characteristics, including age and gender, internship status, and grade levels of the participants who took and did not take the AAC Systems course, no significant difference was found between age, and internship status, while statistically significant differences were found between gender and grade levels *(p<0.05)* (see Table 3, Comparison of participants' age, gender, internship status and class level according to taking AAC Systems course). In addition, it was determined that 70.83% of the participants who took the AAC Systems course and 30.56% of the participants who did not take the course were enrolled in the 4th grade.

Table 3 Comparison of participants' age, gender, internship status and class level according to taking AAC Systems course.

	Course Takers (n:96)	No Course Takers (n:108)	*p*
Age	22.3 ± 0.995	21.7 ± 1.03	-
Internshıp Status	YES 84 NO 12	YES 101 NO 7	*p=0.134 (2.1796)*
Gender	MALE 6 FEMALE 90	MALE 16 FEMALE 92	***p=0.049 (3.875)***
Class Level	CLASS 3 28 CLASS 4 68	CLASS 3 75 CLASS 4 33	***p<0.001(32.9836)***

Results Related to Participants' Knowledge and Awareness Levels of AAC Systems

23 participants (11.27%) stated that they had never heard of AAC Systems before. 178 participants (87.25%) stated that they did not know that AAC Systems was called 'ADIY' in Turkey before (see Table 4, Comparison of the participants' hearing about AAC Systems and knowing that it is called (ADİY), their level of knowledge according to their own opinions, and their recommendation of AAC Systems according to whether they have taken the course or not). 27 participants (13.24%) stated that they did not know the definition of AAC Systems, while 9 participants (4.41%) gave incomplete or incorrect answers, although they stated that they knew. There were 168 participants (82.35%) who gave complete and correct answers. 3 participants made the definition of AAC Systems wrong even though they took the course.

Table 4 Comparison of the participants' hearing about AAC Systems and knowing that it is called (ADİY), their level of knowledge according to their own opinions, and their recommendation of AAC Systems according to whether they have taken the course or not.

	Course Takers (N:96)	No Course Takers (N:108)	*p*
Hearing About AAC Systems	YES 96 NO 0	YES 85 NO 23	-
Knowing That It Is Called (ADİY)	YES 19 NO 77	YES 7 NO 101	***p<0.01 (8.0965)***
Level Of Knowledge	5.47 ± 1.69	2.67 ± 2.14	***p<0.01***
Recommendation Of AAC Systems	5.47 ± 1.95	2.31 ± 2.34	***p<0.01***

The knowledge level of the participants, according to their own opinions, was 5.47 ± 1.69 out of 10 points for the participants who took the course and 2.67 ± 2.14 points for the participants who did not take the course. In terms of recommending AAC Systems, the participants who took the course gave an average score of 5.47 ± 1.95 out of 10 points, and the participants who did not take the course gave an average score of 2.31 ± 2.34 (see Table 4, Comparison of the participants' hearing about AAC Systems and knowing that it is called (ADİY), their level of knowledge according to their own opinions, and their recommendation of AAC Systems according to whether they have taken the course or not). According to the participants' own opinions, when the knowledge levels and AAC Systems recommendation status were compared according to the status of taking and not taking

the course, it was found that there were significant differences between the two groups *(p<0.05)* (see Table 4, Comparison of the participants' hearing about AAC Systems and knowing that it is called (ADİY), their level of knowledge according to their own opinions, and their recommendation of AAC Systems according to whether they have taken the course or not).

The participants who took the course gave an average of 6.16 ± 2.58 for the efficiency of the course and 6.36 ± 2.58 for the adequacy of the course out of 10 points. The efficiency and adequacy responses of the course takers are shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2. (see Figure 1, course efficiency; see Figure 2, course adequacy)
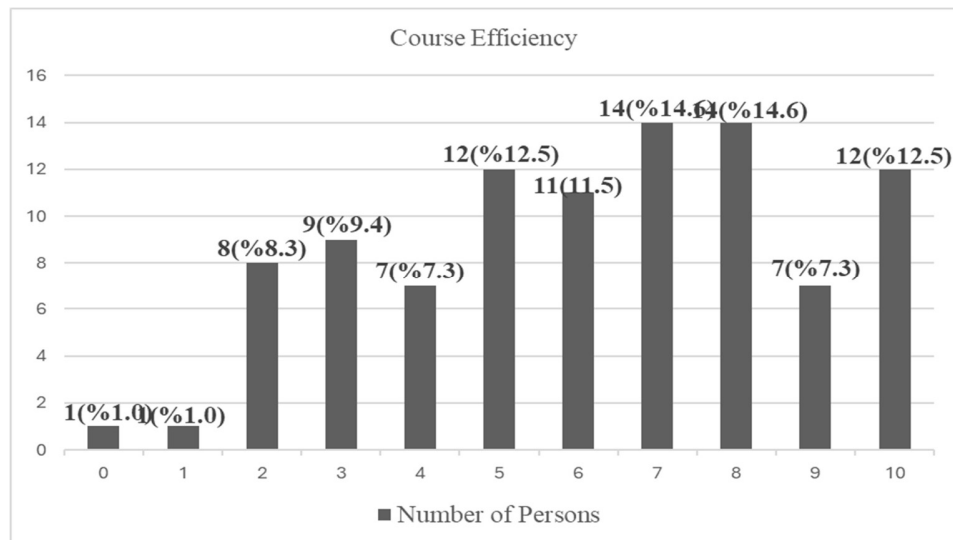
Figure 1: Participants' course efficiency scores.
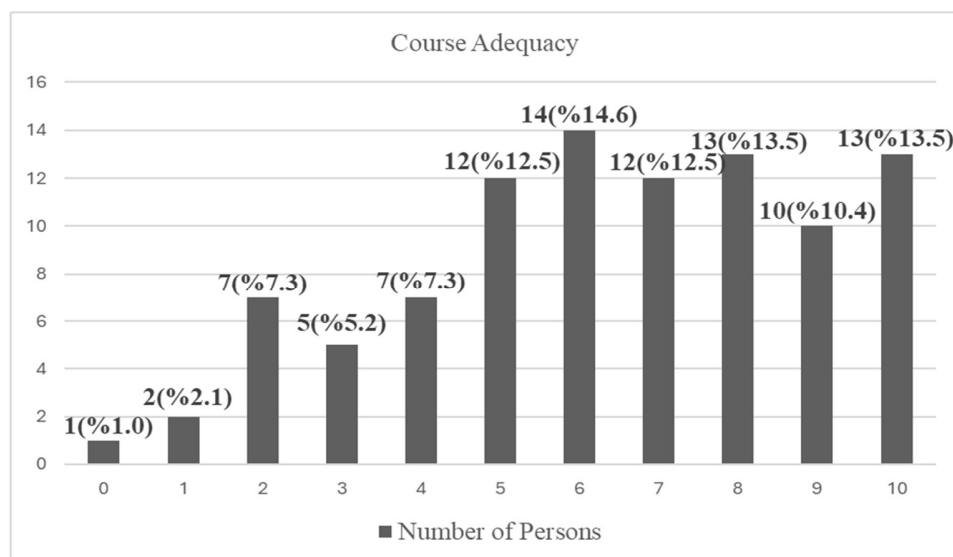
Figure 2: Participants' course adequacy scores

All participants considered their overall knowledge level to be 3.99 ± 2.39 on average (see Figure 3, knowledge level) and stated that they would recommend AAC Systems with an average of 3.79 ± 2.68 (see Figure 4, recommend AAC Systems).
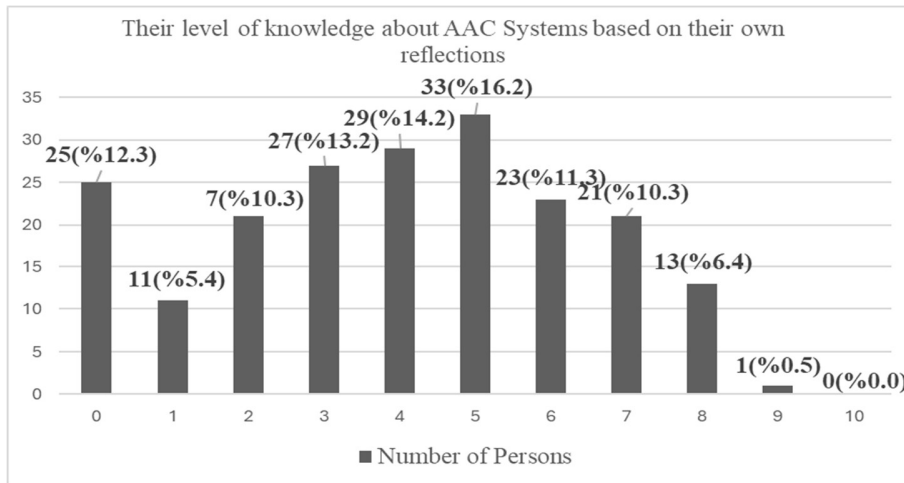
Figure 3: Participants' knowledge level scores based on their own views about AAC Systems
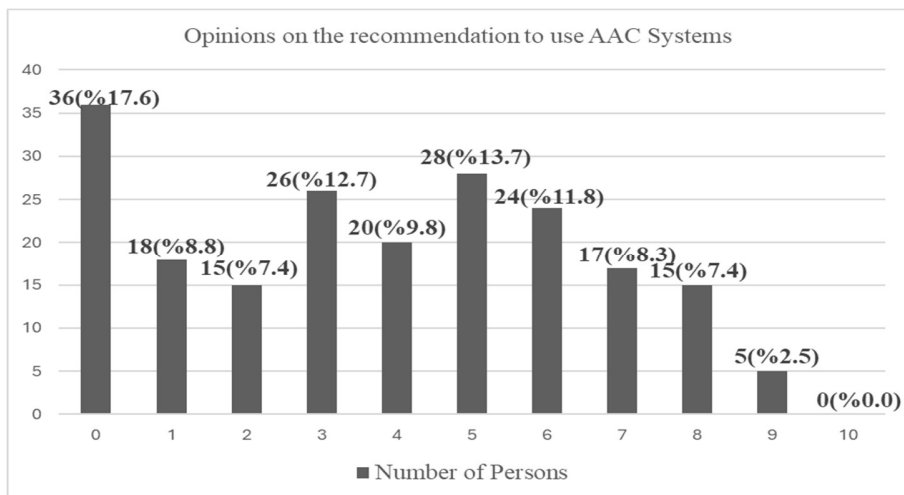
Figure 4: Respondents' scores for recommending the use of AAC Systems

It was found that there was a statistically significant difference between the participants who took the course and those who did not take the course in terms of the answers given as 'Yes', 'No', and 'I don't know' for the 23 information questions asked *(p<0.05).* It was observed that the percentage of ''I don't know'' answers given by the participants who did not take the course was high. Table 5 shows the information questions and the answers given by the participants. Correct answers are also marked in bold and italicised (see Table 5, questionnaire items, participant answers and correct answers).

Table 5 Participants' responses to the questions according to whether or not they have taken AAC Systems course and statistical significance levels and correct answers).

Question	All Answers n (%)	Course Takers n(%)	No Course Takers n(%)	X^2, p

Statement	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Statistic
AAC Systems can be applied to all age groups.	**Yes** 137(67.2) No 27(13.2) I don't know 40(19.6)	**Yes** 75 (78.1) No 20 (20.8) I don't know 1 (1.0)	**Yes** 62 (57.4) No 7 (6.5) I don't know 39 (36.1)	43.036, *p<0.00001*
AAC Systems must be used for life.	Yes 30(14.7) **No** 103(50.5) I don't know 71(34.8)	Yes 14(14.6) **No** 68(70.8) I don't know 14 (14.6)	Yes 16 (14.8) **No** 35 (32.4) I don't know 57 (52.8)	36.168, *p<0.00001*
Individuals with at least some verbal output are not eligible to use AAC Systems.	Yes 13 (6.4) **No** 143(70.1) I don't know 48(23.5)	Yes 7 (7.3) **No** 84(87.5) I don't know 5 (5.2)	Yes 6 (5.6) **No** 59(54.6) I don't know 43 (39.8)	33.943, *p<0.00001*
An individual with a cognitive disability cannot use AAC Systems.	Yes 17 (8.3) **No** 127 (62.3) I don't know 60(29.4)	Yes 14 (14.6) **No** 71 (74.0) I don't know 11 (11.5)	Yes 3 (2.8) **No** 56(51.9) I don't know 49(45.4)	32.362, *p<0.00001*
A person using AAC Systems stops developing speech.	Yes 2 (1.0) **No** 163 (79.9) I don't know 39(19.1)	Yes 2 (2.1) **No** 91 (94.8) I don't know 3 (3.1)	Yes 0 (0.0) **No** 72 (66.7) I don't know 36 (33.3)	-
AAC Systems can also be used as a support for those whose speech is not understood by unfamiliar people and who want to improve their communication.	**Yes** 159 (77.9) No 7 (3.4) I don't know 38(18.6)	**Yes** 90 (93.8) No 4 (4.2) I don't know 2 (2.1)	**Yes** 69 (63.9) No 3 (2.8) I don't know 36 (33.3	32.745, *p<0.00001*
AAC Systems cannot be used in infancy.	Yes 39 (19.1) **No** 85 (41.7) I don't know 80(39.2)	Yes 26 (27.1) **No** 48 (50.0) I don't know 22 (22.9)	Yes 13 (12.0) **No** 37 (34.3) I don't know 58 (53.7)	21.325, *p<0.000023*
AAC Systems is only used in adults.	Yes 4 (2.0) **No** 159 (77.9) I don't know 41(20.1)	Yes 1 (1.0) **No** 89 (92.7) I don't know 6 (6.2)	Yes 3 (2.8) **No** 70 (64.8) I don't know 35 (32.4)	23.157, *p<0.00001*

AAC Systems can be used by healthy individuals.	**Yes** (56.4) No (11.8) I don't know 65(31.9)	115 24	**Yes** No I don't know	68 (70.8) 13 (13.5) 15 (15.6)	**Yes** No I don't know	47 (43.5) 11 (10.2) 50 (46.3)	22.21 9, *p<0.0 0001 5*
When using AAC Systems, the individual needs to use the same system without changing it all the time.	Yes (4.4) **No** (60.8) I don't know 71(34.8)	9 124	Yes **No** I don't know	5 (5.2) 80 (83.3) 11 (11.5)	Yes **No** I don't know	4 (3.7) 44 (40.7) 60 (55.6)	43.82 5, *p<0.0 0001*
Talent profiling should be done in the AAC Systems.	**Yes** (68.6) No (2.5) I don't know 59(28.9)	140 5	**Yes** no I don't know	81 (84.4) 4 (4.2) 11 (11.5)	**Yes** No I don't know	59 (54.6) 1 (0.9) 48 (44.4)	27.85 1, *p<0.0 0001*
The communicatio n profile is not required for every individual in the AAC Systems assessment.	Yes (5.4) **No** (60.3) I don't know 70(34.3)	11 123	Yes **No** I don't know	8 (8.3) 72 (75.0) 16 (16.7)	Yes **No** I don't know	3 (2.8) 51 (47.2) 54 (50.0)	25.87 0, *p<0.0 0001*
AAC Systems can only be offered to individuals who have not benefited from therapy.	Yes (6.9) **No** 142 (69.6) I don't know 48(23.5)	14	Yes **No** I don't know	5 (5.2) 89 (92.7) 2 (2.1)	Yes **No** I don't know	9 (8.3) 53 (49.1) 46 (42.6)	50.07 0, *p<0.0 0001*
AAC Systems may be recommended for speech intelligibility in individuals with apraxia and dysarthria.	**Yes** (63.2) No (6.9) I don't know 61(29.9)	129 14	**Yes** No I don't know	73 (76.0) 10 (10.4) 13 (13.5)	**Yes** No I don't know	56 (51.9) 4 (3.7) 48 (44.4)	24.27 9, *p<0.0 0001*
Individuals with dementia cannot use AAC Systems due to cognitive impairment.	Yes (8.3) **No** 89(43.6) I don't know 98(48.0)	17	Yes **No** I don't know	14 (14.6) 50 (52.1) 32 (33.3)	Yes **No** I don't know	3 (2.8) 39 (36.1) 66 (61.1)	19.63 5, *p<0.0 0005 4*
All SLT's	**Yes**	154	**Yes**	92 (95.8)	**Yes**	62 (57.4)	41.45

should know AAC Systems.	(75.5) No 9 (4.4) I don't know 41(20.1)	No 2 (2.1) I don't know 2 (2.1)	No 7 (6.5) I don't know 39 (36.1)	0, *p<0.00001*
Training is required to use AAC Systems.	*Yes* 128 (62.7) No 30 (14.7) I don't know 46(22.5)	*Yes* 65 (67.7) No 24 (25.0) I don't know 7 (7.3)	*Yes* 63 (58.3) No 6 (5.6) I don't know 39(36.1)	32.499, *p<0.00001*
Only people trained in this field can recommend AAC Systems.	*Yes* 96 (47.1) No 53 (26.0) I don't know 55(27.0)	*Yes* 55 (57.3) No 32 (33.3) I don't know 9 (9.4)	*Yes* 41 (38.0) No 21 (19.4) I don't know 46 (42.6)	28.609, *p<0.00001*
Continuous assessment of the difficulties experienced by individuals using AAC Systems is necessary.	*Yes* 153 (75.0) No 3 (1.5) I don't know 48(23.5)	*Yes* 92 (95.8) No 1 (1.0) I don't know 3 (3.1)	*Yes* 61 (56.5) No 2 (1.9) I don't know 45 (41.7)	42.807, *p<0.00001*
Using AAC Systems reduces the workload for families.	*Yes* 151 (74.0) No 8 (3.9) I don't know 45(22.1)	*Yes* 90 (93.8) No 3 (3.1) I don't know 3 (3.1)	*Yes* 61 (56.5) No 5 (4.6) I don't know 42 (38.9)	39.300, *p<0.00001*
The use of AAC Systems affects the job opportunities of employees working in special education and rehabilitation centers.	*Yes* 64 (31.4) No 64 (31.4) I don't know 76(37.3)	*Yes* 32 (33.3) No 44 (45.8) I don't know 20 (20.8)	*Yes* 32 (29.6) No 20 (18.5) I don't know 56 (51.9)	25.435, *p< 0.00001*
AAC Systems helps develop language skills.	*Yes* 129 (63.2) No 20 (9.8) I don't know 55(27.0)	*Yes* 73 (76.0) No 12 (12.5) I don't know 11 (11.5)	*Yes* 56 (51.9) No 8 (7.4) I don't know 44 (40.7)	22.211, *p<0.000015*
The use of AAC Systems regresses existing speech skills.	Yes 15 (7.4) *No* 130 (63.7) I don't know 59(28.9)	Yes 7 (7.3) *No* 77 (80.2) I don't know 12 (12.5)	Yes 8 (7.4) *No* 53 (49.1) I don't know 47 (43.5)	24.640, *p<0.00001*

Discussion

This study aimed to examine the knowledge and awareness levels of SLT undergraduate students studying in different universities in Turkey according to the status of taking AAC Systems course. In addition, it was also aimed to evaluate the AAC Systems course taken in terms of adequacy and efficiency and to determine its relationship with knowledge and awareness levels. The findings obtained in line with these objectives were discussed in response to relevant questions.

1. **What are the knowledge and awareness levels of SLT undergraduate students regarding AAC Systems?**

The first finding to be discussed is the participants' rating of their own level of knowledge about AAC Systems. According to this, all participants think that their level of knowledge about AAC Systems is 3.99 on average out of 10 points. Considering the fact that there are some of the participants who did not take the course, it is seen that the level of knowledge about AAC Systems is insufficient. In this evaluation, in which the participants rated their knowledge level about AAC Systems, a statistically significant difference was found according to the status of taking AAC Systems course, with an average of 5.47 for the participants who took the course and 2.67 for the participants who did not take the course. This finding shows that the knowledge level of the participants who took the AAC Systems course increased according to their own thoughts and that they were more confident in their own knowledge about AAC Systems than those who did not take the course. As a result, it can be said that taking a course related to AAC Systems is effective in having basic knowledge in this field. However, the theoretical and practical nature of the course taken and its content according to the topics covered were not asked in our study. In future studies, information can be obtained from SLT students on these issues.

2. **What are students' perceptions of the adequacy and efficiency of the AAC Systems course?**

Although the quality and content characteristics of the AAC Systems course were not questioned in this study, the participants who took the course gave an average of 6.16 to the efficiency of the course and 6.36 to the adequacy of the course out of 10. This scoring shows that there are basic competences and efficiencies of the course according to the participants. Shahbaz et al. (2022), as a result of a study conducted with 50 final year SLT undergraduate students, found that the majority of the students who took the AAC Systems course had sufficient knowledge and training on AAC Systems (Shahbaz et al., 2022). The results of our study supported this study. However, in a study conducted by Koçak et al. (2023) to examine the opinions of 45 SLT's about AAC Systems, although 57.8% of the participants took AAC Systems course during their undergraduate education, only 8.9% of them stated that they found this course sufficient (Koçak et al., 2023). In our study, the participants' opinions about the adequacy and efficiency of the AAC Systems course were not found to be as low as those of graduated SLT's. This difference may have resulted from the fact that the participants in our study had not yet performed independent clinical practice for AAC Systems and therefore had not tested the adequacy and efficiency of the theoretical knowledge in the AAC Systems course. Another reason for this difference may be that the participants in the study received education in different schools with different course contents. In addition, in our study, all participants gave an average score of 3.79 out of 10 points, the participants who took the course gave an average score of 5.47, and the participants who did not take the course gave an average score of 2.31. This finding shows that having taken the AAC Systems course has an effect on the use and recommendation of AAC Systems. However, the average score of the participants who took the course could have been higher. This may have been due to their lack of clinical experience for the use of AAC Systems and their hesitation to mislead.

3. **What is the impact of taking an AAC Systems course on SLT students' levels of knowledge and awareness, as well as their understanding of target users, the implementation**

process, and perceived professional implications?

One of the basic pieces of information about AAC Systems is knowing that the acronym stands for 'Augmentative and Alternative Communication' Systems and knowing that the former acronym in Turkey was 'ADIY'. In this study, although most of the participants knew the acronym AAC Systems, the majority stated that they did not know that AAC Systems was previously called ADIY in Turkey. This finding shows that although SLT undergraduate students do not take AAC Systems courses directly, they have heard of AAC Systems anywhere, but they need to do more research or take a course to know that it is called AAC Systems, which is retrospective information. In addition, the fact that this information is not known by the participants taking the course may be since the development of AAC Systems in Turkey is not covered as a course content. This situation should be taken into account when designing the course content course.

AAC Systems can be used in all individuals who need to improve their communication skills for different reasons, regardless of age (ASHA, 2024). AAC Systems is not only used for individuals who have problems in verbal communication but can also be used for different purposes in healthy individuals. For example, AAC Systems can be used to support literacy skills in education and training services (Foley & Staples, 2003). The use of gestures and mimics together with speech to support communication is another example of the use of AAC Systems in healthy individuals. AAC Systems is used in communication disorders that may be experienced due to many developmental and acquired disorders. In our study, with the questions prepared to test this knowledge, the knowledge levels of SLT undergraduate students about AAC Systems were compared according to their course taking status. Except for certain items, it was found that the level of knowledge about AAC Systems in the undergraduate period was good. However, as expected, it was found that the accuracy rate in the answers of the participants who took the course was higher than those who did not take the course, the answers given differed statistically according to the status of taking the AAC Systems course, and the percentage of 'I don't know' answers given by the participants who did not take the course was high. This finding shows that taking AAC Systems course increases the level of knowledge. For this reason, trainings can be given and seminars can be organised to overcome the knowledge deficiencies of those who have not taken AAC Systems course. In addition, these topics can be covered with different contents in other courses before taking the AAC Systems course.

When the salient findings from the information questions in this study are examined in detail, '*AAC Systems should be used for life*' , '*AAC Systems cannot be used in infancy*' , '*AAC Systems can be used by healthy individuals*', and '*Individuals with dementia cannot use AAC Systems due to cognitive impairment*', it was seen that the 'I don't know' answers of the individuals who did not take the course were higher than the correct answers. These findings show that taking undergraduate courses is very important in the selection of individuals who will use AAC Systems. This finding is consistent with the finding in an awareness study conducted with 111 SLT's in Iran that the level of knowledge of therapists about the target group of AAC Systems is insufficient and that more training is needed (Zarifian et al., 2021). The good knowledge of SLT's about the identification of suitable candidates for AAC Systems and determining the needs of these candidates will ensure that people in need of AAC Systems have access to appropriate services at an early stage. In this study, the reason why the knowledge questions included questions about the candidates suitable for the use of AAC Systems is that this is the first competence to be provided in this subject.

For individuals using AAC Systems to use the system efficiently, an individual assessment should be carried out by SLT's, a skill profile should be prepared, and an appropriate system should be recommended by identifying their communicative skills. Accurate assessment is vital in recommending appropriate and sustainable AAC Systems (Costigan and Light, 2010). The questions '*Communication profile is not necessary for every individual in the evaluation of AAC Systems*' and '*When using AAC Systems, the individual should use the same system without changing it*' were

answered as 'I don't know' by those who did not take the course. Following the evaluations, the process of AAC Systems implementation and intervention can be challenging and requires special knowledge (Siu et al., 2010). Due to the need for advanced knowledge to answer these questions, participants who did not take the AAC Systems course may have stated that they did not know the answer. For this reason, there is a necessity to include information about the communication profile of individuals who are the target audience of AAC Systems, and AAC Systems is a process that needs to be constantly renewed according to the needs profile of the person. Increasing the knowledge and awareness of SLT's on these issues will ensure that AAC Systems assessment and intervention processes are carried out correctly.

Finally, the question "*The use of AAC Systems affects the job opportunities of those working in special education and rehabilitation centers*," which questions the effect of AAC Systems on the work and job opportunities of SLT's, was answered as "no" by those who took the course and as "I don't know" by those who did not take the course. This result shows that those who took the course are aware that AAC Systems is the field of work of SLT's and that recommending AAC Systems to their clients will not negatively affect their business lives. SLT's who graduated from undergraduate education by taking the AAC Systems course can decide on the adequacy of the training in this field and analyze the impact on job opportunities.

Conclusion

The findings revealed that most SLT undergraduate students perceived their knowledge about AAC Systems as limited. This limited understanding also appeared to influence their hesitation to recommend AAC Systems in clinical practice. These results emphasize the need for targeted educational efforts in undergraduate programs to improve foundational awareness and knowledge in this field.

Although students who had taken the AAC Systems course felt somewhat more confident, their evaluations of the course's adequacy and efficiency suggested that the current content may not be fully meeting their learning needs. This highlights the importance of reviewing and enhancing the course structure, possibly by integrating more practical components and up-to-date clinical applications.

The course appeared to positively influence students' knowledge and awareness, particularly in recognizing individuals who may benefit from AAC Systems and understanding the basic processes of assessment and implementation. However, students who had not taken the course demonstrated notable gaps in these areas. Addressing these gaps through structured education and additional training opportunities would contribute to better clinical readiness. Enhancing undergraduate training in AAC Systems can ultimately support early intervention strategies and improve the quality of life for individuals in need.

This study contributes uniquely to the literature by focusing on SLT students rather than graduates, thereby identifying knowledge gaps and educational needs at an earlier stage of professional development.

Clinical Implications

SLT's should receive the necessary training to carry out the identification, evaluation and therapy processes for individuals in need of AAC Systems services to provide clinical services. These trainings start during the undergraduate period. As emphasized in this study, taking effective and sufficient courses during the undergraduate period will strengthen the content of the services provided in the clinical environment.

Limitations and Future Directions

In this study, while comparing the level of awareness and knowledge according to the status of taking an undergraduate course on AAC Systems in Turkey, information such as the content of the course taken and whether an application was made was not questioned. In new studies to be conducted with undergraduate students, the content and qualitative characteristics of the course can be questioned. In addition, participants who do not take the course can be given training about AAC Systems in accordance with the course curriculum, and the effect of the course can be observed more accurately by reapplying the same questionnaire after the training.

Ethics Committee Approval

This study was conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki and approved by Ankara Medipol University Non-Interventional Clinical Research Ethics Committee (25.03.2024, 42). Subjects were informed about the aims and procedures of the study, and informed consent was given after they agreed to participate. Dated 25.3.2024/42. Ankara Medipol University.

Author Contribution Statement

Planning of the study MMP and MA; survey design ING, MMP, MA, DÇ; data collection ING, MA and DÇ; interpretation of the results ING and MMP; writing of the article ING, MMP and DÇ.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors

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Linguistics | research article

An Analysis of the Functions and Temporal Semantics of Converbs in Turkish Official Written Discourse
Yazılı Türkçe Resmi Söylemde Ulaçların İşlevleri ve Zamansal Anlamlarına İlişkin Bir Çözümleme

Emine Yarar ⓘD 0000-0002-9300-9148
Hacettepe University
Doğan Baydal ⓘD 0000-0001-9392-4779
Ondokuz Mayıs University

ABSTRACT
The aim of this study is to uncover the functions and temporal meanings of the converb clauses in Turkish official written discourse. The converbs analysed in the study include -(y)IncA (when), -DIğIndA (when), -DIğI zaman (when), -(y)ken (while), -Ir...-mAz (as soon as), -mAdAn önce (before), -DIktAn sonra (after) and -DIkçA (whenever). The data are collected from the government programs issued between 1923 and 2016. A total of 565 converbs are found in the corpus. The findings illustrate that these constructions are mostly used as temporal clauses. Six of them also have other discourse roles in addition to their temporal markers. The suffixes -Ir...-mAz (as soon as) and -mAdAn önce (before) are utilized only as temporal converbs. Concerning other discourse functions, it is found that most of these converbs serve as the modifier of the head nouns in relative clauses. It is also revealed that -(y)IncA (when) and -DIğIndA (when) are utilized as topic markers. Of the converbs sampled -(y)ken (while) is the most frequently used construction. The other converbs are used less in the government programs. The findings of the study suggest that the converb constructions are very rich in terms of their functions that they assume in the government programs.

Introduction

Adverbial clauses are subordinate clauses modifying the proposition in the main clause. These constructions have finite and non-finite types. Major categories of the former include concessive clauses and conditional clauses among others. Converb clauses are the non-finite types of the adverbial clauses. The term non-finite here refers to the fact that verbs suffixed with these non-finite (subordinating) constructions do not bear the full range of morphology that finite verbs do. Slobin, studying Turkish child language, explains converbs as verb forms that function to connect clauses, similar to adverbs (1995, p. 349). Kornfilt (1997) categorizes converb clauses into seven groups based on their semantic relationships: (i) time, (ii) manner, (iii) purpose, (iv) cause, (v) condition, (vi) result, (vii) degree, (ix) place, and (x) concessive. This study deals with the temporal converbs which are produced through the following suffixes: -(y)IncA (when), -DIğIndA (when), -

DIğI zaman (when), *-(y)ken* (while), *-Ir…-mAz* (as soon as), *-mAdAn önce* (before), *-DIktAn sonra* (after) and *-DIkçA* (whenever). Some of these temporal converbs are illustrated in (1):

(1)   a. [Okul-a   gid-ince] Cem biz-i   ara-dı.
            school-DAT   go-CVB   Cem we-ACC   call-PST-3SG
            'Cem called us when he went to the school.'

        b. [Okul-a   gid-erken] Cem biz-i   ara-dı.
            school-DAT   go-CVB   Cem we-ACC   call-PST-3SG
            'Cem called us while he was going to the school.'

        c. Okul-a   gid-er git-mez Cem biz-i   ara-dı.
            school-DAT   go-CVB   Cem we-ACC   call-PST-3SG[1]
            'Cem called us as soon as he went to the school.'

It is well established that the function of these converb constructions is not limited to express temporality. In other words, these constructions may assume other discourse functions. Although Turkish temporal converb clauses have been examined in terms of their structural properties and discoursal characteristics (e.g. Hacıoğlu, 1993, Acar, 2014), their temporal meanings and functions in discourse have only partially been studied so far. In addition, these constructions have not sufficiently been analysed based on the data from authentic texts in Turkish. At this point it should be added that the infrequency of the studies on the semantic and discourse-pragmatic variation of the converbs is not limited to Turkish converbs. Such studies are also rare for other languages (Muravyev, 2018, p. 86). Similar views about these constructions can also be found in Nedjalkov's (1998) cross-linguistic analysis of converbs, as well as in typological research on converbs by Xrakovskij (2009).

The present study aims to provide a more complete description of the temporal semantics and functions of Turkish converbs using the data from the government programs published between 1923 and 2016. The converbs examined in the study include *-(y)IncA* (when), *-DIğIndA* (when), *-DIğI zaman* (when), *-(y)ken* (while), *-Ir…-mAz* (as soon as), *-mAdAn önce* (before), *-DIktAn sonra* (after) and *-DIkçA* (whenever).

The article is organized as follows: The theoretical framework of the study focuses on the structural and discoursal characteristics of temporal converb clauses in Turkish. Methodology section introduces the method of the study, including the corpus, converbs analysed, data collection and analysis. Then the results of the analysis and discussion of the findings are presented. After that, the conclusion of the study and suggestions about future studies together with implications of the study are given.

Theoretical Framework

Converbs in Turkish are non-finite verbal endings used to denote adverbial subordination. They mostly function as free adjuncts and have many distinct semantic roles (Johanson, 1995, p. 321). As clausal constructions, converbs in Turkish do not impose any specific actancy patterns on their main (matrix) clauses. Such clauses can be recursively embedded, meaning that a converb clause can include another converb clause within it. They can also be linked together through coordination, although conjunctions are rarely used for this purpose. As expected in predominantly head-final languages, Turkic converb clauses typically appear before the predicate in their main clauses.

There are several categories of converbs in Turkish, including temporal converbs (Kornfilt, 1997;

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[1] The Leipzig Glossing Rules are employed in the examples where relevant.

Lewis, 1986). In the present study, temporal converbs in Turkish are examined in terms of their temporal meanings and their functions in official written discourse. These constructions are defined as follows: "temporal converb clauses specify the time of the situation expressed by the superordinate clause by reference to how it relates to the time of some other situation (event or state)." (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005, p. 415). The following endings are utilized to produce temporal converbs: *-(y)IncA* (when), *-DIğIndA* (when), *-DIğI zaman* (when), *-(y)ken* (while), *-Ir…-mAz* (as soon as), *-mAdAn önce* (before), *-DIktAn sonra* (after) and *-DIkçA* (whenever).

Some temporal converb constructions in Turkish are headed by postpositions such as *önce* (before) in *-mAdAn önce* (before) and *sonra* (after) in *-DIktAn sonra* (after). Such converb constructions are complex subordinators, whereas plain converbs such as *–(y)ken* and *-DIkçA* (whenever) are simple subordinators (Zeyrek & Weber, 2008).

Temporal converbs in Turkish have been studied in terms of their structural and semantic features. For instance, Çetintaş Yıldırım (2005) examined their aspectual characteristics arguing that these constructions express the following temporal semantic categories: simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority. As stated by Muravyev (2018) concerning Finno-Ugric languages, these temporal relations are often expressed by more than one converb. Similarly, one converb may communicate more than one temporal relation in Turkish (Banguoğlu, 1995). Existing descriptions of the converbs on their temporal semantics are summarized below.

Simultaneity refers to the fact that the events given in the temporal clause and in the main clause occur at the same time. This temporal relation is conveyed by *–(y)ken* (while), *-DIğI zaman* (when), *-DIğIndA* (when) and *-DIkçA* (whenever). Anteriority denotes the events in the embedded clause occurring before those expressed in the main clause. Major converb markers of the anteriority relation in Turkish include *-(y)IncA* (when), *-DIğIndA* (when), *-DIğI zaman* (when), *-Ir…-mAz* (as soon as)*, -DIğIndAn beri* (since) and *-DIktAn sonra* (after). In the posteriority relation, the events in the temporal clauses occur after the events expressed in the main clauses. This temporal meaning is communicated through the following converb markers: *-DığIndA* (when), *-DIğI zaman* (when) and *-mAdAn önce* (before).

It is seen that some of these converbs such as *-DığIndA* (when) and *-DIğI zaman* (when) have overlapping temporal semantics, and that the same temporal relation may be expressed by more than one converb. Discourse functions of some Turkish temporal converb clauses have been examined in authentic texts in two studies. For instance, Hacıoğlu (1993, p. 74) reports that temporal converb *–(y)IncA* (when) may function as a topic phrase as illustrated in (2):

(2)   [Çorap-lar-ım-a   gel-ince],   çok   pis.
        sock-PL-POSS-DAT   come-CVB   very   dirty
        'As for my socks, they are very dirty.'

As can be seen in (2), *–(y)IncA* (when) is used to mark the topic of the sentence which denotes the discourse-old information. Here the converb is added to the verb *gel-* "come". Acar (2014) examines the functions of converbs, including four temporal converbs, using the data from Turkish Discourse Bank. He concludes that the temporal converbs *-DIğIndA* (when), *-(y)IncA* (when), *-(y)ken* (while) and *-DIkçA* (whenever) appear to assume various discourse roles although their major function is to indicate temporal relations in the corpus. For instance, he reports three different roles of the *-DIğIndA* (when) clauses: a temporal converb clause, a complement of verb phrase and a discourse adverbial (Acar 2014, p. 39). When this converb is utilized as a discourse adverbial, it marks a discourse relation between two events. Its role as a complement of a verb phrase is illustrated in (3):

(3)   Tanık-lar ve   kanıt-lar   katil-in   İbrahim Y. ol-duğunda   birleş-miş-ti.

witness-PL and evidence-PL   killer-GEN İbrahim Y.   be-CVB   converge-PFV-PST
"The witnesses and the evidence converged on the conclusion that the killer was İbrahim Y.'

The converb -*DIkçA* (whenever) is found to serve three distinct functions in Turkish Discourse Bank: a temporal converb, an adverbial item in discourse and a lexicalized compound word (Acar, 2014, p. 43).

In Acar's study the -*(y)IncA* (when) clauses are found to function as a temporal converb, an adverbial expression and a lexicalized compound word (2014, p. 44). It should be stated that the category of adverbial expressions in Acar's study (2014) refers to the category of topic phrases in the study of Hacıoğlu (1993). Both terms denote the topic marking by the converb -*(y)IncA* (when).

It is also reported that the –*(y)ken* (while) clauses may be utilized as a lexicalized discourse adverbial in addition to their temporal converb role (Acar, 2014, p. 46). In short, the function of these constructions is not limited to that of temporal converbs. Instead, they may assume various functions in discourse. However, there is no sufficient finding on their multi-functionality in Turkish.

Methodology

This section includes information on the corpus, converbs analysed, data collection procedure and data analysis.

Corpus

A self-compiled corpus was produced consisting of the government programs (GP) issued between 1923 and 2016. These texts were accessed from the website of the Turkish Parliament. The government programs contain brief information about the general policy of a newly established government and activities to be carried out. These documents were read by the prospective prime minister at the Parliament before the vote of confidence and then, were published in the Official Gazette. Therefore, they are part of the planned discourse which is produced after forethought and organizational preparation before its presentation (Ochs, 1979). At the same time these texts are representative of the official language since they are produced and used for official purposes.

A total of 65 governments was formed in the period between 1923 and 2016. However, three governments did not issue any program. Therefore, the number of the government programs from which converb constructions are elicited is 62. These texts have not been issued since 2016 when the last cabinet was formed under the parliamentarism system. This system was replaced with the presidential government system in 2017 after the referendum.

Each government program in the corpus is composed of different number of words with a mean of 7,000. Therefore, the government programs sampled contain approximately 434,000 words.

The data collection procedure was carried out manually. The converbal endings per government program were independently counted by two researchers. The consistency of their coding was assessed using Cohen's Kappa. The Cohen's Kappa between the raters is found to be 0.998 indicating that the coding process is reliable.

Converb Endings

In the study the following eight temporal converb endings were analysed: (1) -*(y)IncA* (when), (2) -*DIğIndA* (when), (3) -*DIğI zaman* (when), (4) -*(y)ken* (while), (5) -*Ir…-mAz* (as soon as), (6) -*mAdAn önce* (before), (7) -*DIktAn sonra* (after) and (8) -*DIkçA* (whenever). The reason for choosing these converb constructions is that these are the major markers of temporal converbs. Each of these converb markers is described below in terms of their temporal meanings and morphological

structures.

The converbs -*(y)IncA* (when) and -*Ir … -mAz* (as soon as) are utilized to express events which occur before the events expressed in main clause (Gencan, 2001; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Lewis, 1986; Kornfilt, 1997). In other words, these constructions convey anteriority meaning. The related examples of these converbs are given in (4):

(4) a. Çocuk   ev-e   gel-ince   yemek   ye-di.
         child-NOM   home-DAT   come-CVB   meal   eat-PST-3SG
         'When the child came home, s/he ate.'

     b. Misafir-ler   oda-lar-ı-na   çık-ar çık-maz uyu-du.
         guest-PL   room-PL-POSS-ACC   go-CVB   sleep-PST-3PL
         'As soon as the guests went to their rooms, they slept.'

One of the converbs which expresses posteriority of the embedded event is -*mAdAn önce* (before). Its opposite is -*DIktAn sonra* (after) which refers to the anterior events in relation to those communicated in main clauses (Lewis, 1986). These two converb markers are complex subordinators headed by the following postpositions: *önce* (before) and *sonra* (after). Related examples of these constructions are shown in (5):

(5) a. Kapı   aç-ıl-madan   önce sıra-da   bekle-di-k.
         door   open-PASS-CVB   before queue-LOC   wait-PST-1PL
         'Before the door was opened, we had waited in the queue.'

     b. Toplantı   bit-tikten   sonra ofis-e   geç-ti-k.
         meeting   finish-CVB   after office-DAT   go-PST-1PL
         'After the meeting had finished, we went to the office.'

There are two converb endings which express all three temporal meanings, anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority: -*DIğIndA* (when), and -*DIğI zaman* (when). The latter is a complex subordinator having the word *zaman* (time) as its head. Example (6) illustrates the use of these two converbs as temporal clauses:

(6) a. Yeri-m-e   dön-düğümde onlar-ı   gör-me-di-m.
         place-POSS-DAT   turn-CVB   they-ACC   see-NEG-PST-1SG
         'When I turned my place, I didn't see them.'

     b. Yemeğ-i-ni   bitir-diği   zaman koltuğ-u-na   uzan-dı.
         meal-POSS-ACC   finish-CVB   time armchair-POSS-DAT   lie-PST-3SG
         'When he/she finished his/her meal, he/she laid down his/her armchair.'

The converb -*DIkçA* (whenever) communicates simultaneous events as illustrated in (7):

(7) Kitab-ı   oku-dukça merak-ım   art-ar.
     book-ACC   read-CVB   curiosity-POSS   increase-PRS
     'Whenever I read the book, my curiosity increases.'

Although major temporal meaning of -*(y)ken* (while) is that of simultaneity, due to its distinct morphological structure it may express other temporal meanings. Unlike other converbs, -*(y)ken* (while) has two allomorphs: (a) a bound morpheme -*(y)ken* which is attached to the embedded verbs, and (b) a free morpheme *iken* which is attached to the embedded nominal predicates. The use of these two constructions as temporal clauses is shown below:

(8) a. Pazar-da   gez-er-ken   o-na   rastla-dı-m.
         bazaar-LOC   walk-PRS-CVB   him/her-DAT   come.across-PST-1SG
         'While I was walking in the bazaar, I came across him/her.'

    b. Okul-da   iken   kimse-ye   karış-mı-yor.
        school-LOC   CVB   nobody-DAT   meddle-NEG-PROG-3SG
        'He/she doesn't meddle with anybody while he/she is at the school.'

There is another difference between *-(y)ken* (while) and other converbs mentioned above. The bound variant of this converb ending is not directly attached to the verb stem (Çetintaş Yıldırım, 2005, p. 58). Instead, it is attached to the present tense suffix *-Ir* and/or the aspect markers *-(I)yor*, *-mIş* and *-AcAk.* Example (9) illustrates the use of *-(y)ken* (while) with these suffixes in temporal clauses:

(9)   a. Ali   ev-e   gid-iyor-ken   bir   kitap   al-dı.
        Ali   home-DAT   go-PROG-CVB   a   book   buy-PSt-3SG
        'While Ali was going home, he bought a book.'

    b. Ali   ev-e   git-miş-ken   bir   çay   iç-ti.
        Ali   home-DAT   go-PFV-CVB   a   tea   drink-PST-3SG
        'When Ali went home, he drank tea.'

    c. Ali   ev-den   çık-acak-ken   bir   kitap   al-dı.
        Ali   home-ABL   leave-FUT-CVB   a   book   buy-PST-3SG
        'While Ali was about to leave, he bought a book.'

Therefore, *-(y)ken* (while) has the ability of assuming all temporal meanings when it is attached to these tense and aspect markers on the embedded verb. In short, its temporal semantics is governed by these tense and aspect suffixes on the embedded verb, whereas the temporal semantics of the other converb suffixes is governed by the tense, aspect and modality suffixes on the main verb. The morphological structures of *-(y)ken* (while) and other converb endings are summarized in (10):

(10)   a. Vemb + TAM suffixes + -(y)ken

        a'. NOMINAL PREDemb+ iken

        b. Vemb + -(y)IncA (when); -DIğIndA (when); -DIğI zaman (when); Ir... -mAz (as soon as); -mAdAn önce (before); -DIktAn sonra (after); -DIkçA (whenever)

Based on this description of eight converbs, their temporal meanings are summarized in Table 1:

Table 1. Temporal meanings of converbs in Turkish

	Anteriority	Simultaneity	Posteriority
-(y)IncA (when)	+	-	-
-DIğIndA (when)	+	+	+
-DIğI zaman (when)	+	+	+
-(y)ken (while)	+	+	+
-Ir...-mAz (as soon as)	+	-	-
-mAdAn önce (before)	-	-	+
-DIktAn sonra (after)	+	-	-
-DIkçA (whenever)	-	+	-

Data Collection Procedure

All sentences containing the converbs (*-(y)IncA* (when), *-DIğIndA* (when), *-DIğI zaman* (when), *-(y)ken* (while), *-Ir…-mAz* (as soon as), *-mAdAn önce* (before), *-DIktAn sonra* (after), and *-DIkçA* (whenever)) were extracted from the texts. The converbs collected were grouped into two categories based on their functions: those with the temporal meanings and those with other discourse functions. Then, those converbs with temporal meanings were categorized into the

following three groups: those with anteriority meaning, those with simultaneity meaning and those with posteriority meaning. Converbs with other functions are grouped depending on their discourse functions.

Data Analysis

The data were analysed using the descriptive statistics. Frequency and percentage of the converb constructions are found to show the distribution of their functions in the corpus.

Results and Discussion of the Findings

In this section, the results of the study are presented. Then the findings on the temporal semantics of eight converbs and their discourse functions are discussed.

Functions of Converb Clauses in the Government Programs

A total of 565 converb clauses is found in the government programs. Therefore, it can be argued that these constructions are not very common in the official texts sampled. It is also important to state that the frequency of converbs is unevenly distributed. Baydal & Yarar (2024) state that the normalized frequency value for -(y)ken (while) converb ending is 811 in one million. in Turkish National Corpus (TNC) for both written and spoken text types. In Turkish government programmes, it is 713 in one million. These findings clearly illustrate that -(y)ken (while) converb ending in the government programs has a similar use rate in TNC. However, the use of other converbial endings in this study is different from their use in TNC. Therefore, it is safe to argue that the converb constructions are sensitive to distinct discourse types.

Of 565 converbs 493 are found to serve as temporal converbs (87,2%), whereas 72 assume other discourse functions (12,7%), clearly showing that the converbs sampled are mostly utilized as temporal clauses. It should be added that these constructions also serve other discourse functions albeit less frequently. The distribution of both functions by each converb is illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. Distribution of the functions by converbs

	Temporal Clause	Other Discourse Function
-(y)IncA (when)	10	18
-DIğIndA (when)	10	19
-DIğI zaman (when)	6	1
-(y)ken (while)	403	4
-Ir...-mAz (as soon as)	8	0
-mAdAn önce (before)	13	0
-DIktAn sonra (after)	30	6
-DIkçA (whenever)	13	24

Table 2 shows that although most of the converbs are utilized as temporal clauses in the corpus, each converb has its own function pattern. More specifically, some of these constructions such as -DIkçA (whenever), -DIğIndA (when) and -(y)IncA (when) are more frequently used for other discourse functions in contrast to their roles as temporal converbs. It is also seen that two converbs, -Ir...-mAz (as soon as) and -mAdAn önce (before), are utilized only as temporal clauses in the corpus. In other words, these two converbs are found not to assume any other discourse role in the corpus. The remaining three converbs, -DIğI zaman (when), -(y)ken (while) and -DIktAn sonra (after), appear to have both temporal converb functions and other discourse functions. However, their primary function is that of temporal converb. Each of these converbs are discussed below concerning their temporal semantics and functions in the government programs.

Functions of the converb -(y)IncA (when)

As a temporal construction the converb *-(y)IncA* (when) expresses events which occur before the events expressed in main clause (Göksel & Kerslake 2005; Lewis, 1986; Kornfilt, 1997). Therefore, it is one of the anteriority expressions in Turkish. As reported by Hacıoğlu (1993), this construction may also function as a topic marker.

A total of 28 *-(y)IncA* constructions is found out of 565 converbs in the corpus (4,9%). This converb assumes the role of a temporal clause in ten cases (35,7%), whereas 18 *-(y)IncA* constructions are utilized as topic phrases (64,2%). Therefore, its temporal converb role is less common than its use as a topic marker in the government programs. The latter function is illustrated in (11):

(11) Mamul   madde-ler maliyet fiyat-lar-ı-nda-ki   tesir-i-ne   *ge-lince*
      Manufactured good-PL   cost   price-PL-ACC-LOC-POSS effect-GEN-DAT come-CVB
      bu   ancak amele ücret-ler-i-nin   hakikî kıymet-ler-i-nin   düşür-ül-me-si
      this only worker wage-PL-GEN-POSS real value-PL-GEN-POSS reduce-PASS-NMLZ-GEN
      demek-tir ki   yine gaye-miz-e   muhalif-tir. (GP 9)
      mean-AOR that again purpose-POSS-DAT contrary-AOR
      'As for the effect on the cost prices of manufactured goods, this only means reducing the real value of workers' wages, which is again contrary to our purpose.'

Example (11) shows that *-(y)IncA* acts as the topic marker of the NP *mamul maddeler maliyet fiyatlarındaki tesiri* 'the effect on the cost prices of manufactured goods.' In this function the *-(y)IncA* construction does not express anything about temporality but marks the NP as the topic of the sentence which is the discourse-old information. It is seen that after this topic NP a demonstrative pronoun *bu* 'this' is utilized which reinforces the topicality of the NP. As reported by Hacıoğlu (1993) *-(y)IncA* is attached to the verb *gel-* 'come' when it is utilized as a topic marker. Consistent with her view it is found that all 18 *-(y)IncA* constructions are suffixed to this verb in the corpus. The use of the *-(y)IncA* converb as a temporal clause is shown in (12):

(12) Hazırla-dığım kabine liste-si   kabul buyur-ulunca, 23 Haziran 1991
      prepare-REL cabinet list-GEN accept-CVB   23 June   1991
      gün-ü, 48'inci Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümet-i   teşekkül et-ti. (GP 48)
      day-GEN 48th   Turkey   Republic   Government-GEN form-PST
      'When the cabinet list I prepared was accepted, the 48th Government of the Republic of Türkiye was formed on 23 June 1991.'

As can be seen in (12) the converb *-(y)IncA* functions as a temporal construction expressing an anterior event. This converb communicates only anterior events when it is utilized as a temporal clause in the corpus. This finding is consistent with the previous findings describing it as a marker of anterior events in temporal clauses. It appears that the converb *-(y)IncA* has a stable pattern in the government programs in that it is used either as a topic marker or as a temporal converb expressing anteriority relations. It is also seen that it does not assume simultaneity or posteriority temporal meanings in the corpus.

Functions of the -DIğIndA (when)

The converb *-DIğIndA* (when) may express all three temporal meanings, anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority, when it is utilized as a temporal construction. Acar (2014) reports that in addition to its role as a temporal converb this construction has two more functions in discourse: a complement of verb phrase and a discourse adverbial.

There are 29 examples of this construction out of 565 converbs in the government programs (5,1%). Of 29 *-DIğIndA* (when) converbs, ten are found to assume the role of temporal clause (34,4%), whereas there are 19 *-DIğIndA* (when) clauses with other discourse functions (65,5%). In the latter

function this construction is found to serve three distinct discourse roles: a modifier of the head nouns in relative clauses, a discourse adverbial, and a topic marker. These other discourse functions of -*DIğIndA* (when) are illustrated in (13):

(13)   a. Katılım   müzakere-ler-i *başla-dığında* ortaya kon-ul-an   tam üyelik
             participation negotiation-PL-GEN start-CVB   put-PASS-REL   full membership
             hedef-i, AB   kaynak-lı gecikme-ler-e ve   engel-ler-e   rağmen,
             goal-POSS EU   source-ADJ delay-PL-DAT and   obstacle-PL-DAT despite
             bugün de   aynı şekil-de   devam etmekte-dir. (GP 62)
             today also same way-lOC   continue-AOR
             'The full membership goal set forth when the accession negotiations began continues in the same way today despite EU-related delays and obstacles.'

        b. 21. yüzyıl-ın   evrensel standart ve   norm-lar-ı ile   *birleş-tiğinde*
             21st century-GEN universal standard and norm-PL-POSS with   unite-CVB
             bu   temel parametre-ler çeşitli alan-lar-da at-ma-mız gereken
             this basic parameter-PL various field-PL-LOC take-REL.   necessary
             ilave   adım-lar-ı ve yap-ıl-acak   ileri   reform-lar-ı   büyük
             additional step-PL-ACC and do-PASS-REL   advanced reform-PL-ACC   large
             oran-da   ifade et-mekte-dir. (GP 62)
             extent-LOC   express AUX-AOR
             "When combined with the universal standards and norms of the 21st century, these fundamental parameters largely express the additional steps we need to take in various fields and the advanced reforms to be implemented."

        c. Türkiye-nin coğrafî   konum-u   ve bölge-de   meydana   gel-en
             Turkey-GEN geographical position-POSS and region-LOC   occur-CVB   come-REL
             gelişme-ler   dikkat-e   *al-ın-dığında*,   güvenlik ve savunma
             development-PL consideration-DAT take-pass-CVB   security and defence
             konu-lar-ın-da hükümet-imiz-in   çok   daha duyarlı   ol-acağ-ı   açık-tır.
             topic-PL-ACC-LOC government-POSS-GEN much   more sensitive be-REL-ACC clear-AOR
             'When Turkey's geographical position and the developments occurring in the region are taken into account, it is clear that our government will be much more sensitive regarding security and defence matters.' (GP 59)

In (13a) the -*DIğIndA* (when) construction modifies the head noun *tam üyelik hedefi* 'the goal of full membership' in the relative clause. It adds a temporal description to the head noun in this example. This function of the converb -*DIğIndA* (when) has not been reported in the previous studies. In (13b) the converb -*DIğIndA* (when) functions as a discourse adverbial which is also reported in Acar's study (2014). Here it expresses a discourse relation between two entities showing their correlation in achieving a specific outcome. In (13c), the -*DIğIndA* (when) construction is utilized as a topic marker of the NP. It is found that it is suffixed to the verb *dikkate al-* 'to consider' when it is utilized as a topic marker in the corpus. This topicality function of -*DIğIndA* (when) has not been reported in the previous studies.

As mentioned above, the -*DIğIndA* (when) construction as a temporal converb may express all three temporal relations: anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority. It is found that this converb is utilized to convey anteriority and simultaneity meanings in the government programs. However, its use for posterior events is not found in the corpus. Example (14) illustrates the use of this converb as a temporal clause marker communicating anterior and simultaneous events:

(14) a. Terör-ün   ver-diğ-i zarar   halk-ımız-ın   da   destek-i-yle
         terror-GEN   give-REL damage people-POSS-GEN also support-POSS-with
         önle-n-diğinde   ülke-miz-in   ve   bilhassa terör-den   zarar gör-en
         prevent-PASS-CVB country-POSS-GEN and especially terror-ABL   get.damage-REL
         bölge-nin   gelişme   potansiyel-i   artır-ıl-acak-tır (GP 55)
         region-GEN development potential-POSS   increase-pass-FUT-AOR
         'When the damage caused by terrorism is prevented with the support of our people,
         the development potential of our country, and especially the region affected by
         terrorism, will be increased'

       b. Amaç-ımız   bu   dönem *sona er-diğinde* çok   daha güçlü   müreffeh
          goal-POSS-1PL this period   end-CVB   much   more strong prosperous
          ve   özgür   bir Türkiye-ye   ulaş-mak-tır. (GP 61)
          and   free   a   Turkey-DAT   reach-INF-AOR
          'Our goal is to reach a much stronger, more prosperous, and freer Turkey when this
          period ends.'

The converb *-DIğIndA* (when) in (14a) expresses an event which occurs before the event contained in the main clause. Therefore, here it conveys an anteriority relation. Its use as an expression of a simultaneous event is illustrated in (14b). Therefore, the corpus data are partly consistent with the multi-temporal semantics of this converb in that its use as an expression of the posterior relation is not identified in the government programs.

Functions of the -DIğI zaman (when)

Like the converb *-DIğIndA* (when), the converb *-DIğI zaman* (when) may express all three temporal relations when it is utilized as a temporal converb: anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority. This converb is headed by the word *zaman* 'time' and therefore, is a complex construction. There is no previous finding on the other discourse roles of this converb ending.

In the analysis only seven uses of the converb *-DIğI zaman* (when) are found among 565 converb constructions (1,2%). Therefore, it is the least used converb ending in the corpus. Of seven *-DIğI zaman* (when) uses, six are utilized as temporal converbs (85,7%), whereas one functions as a modifier of the head noun within the relative clause (14,7%). These two functions of the *-DIğI zaman* (when) constructions are shown as follows:

(15) a. Ara-da-ki   fiyat fark-ı   *çoğal-dığı zaman*, bu madde-ler-den
          between-LOC-REL price difference-POSS increase-CVB   this substance-PL-ABL
          bir-i   diğer-i-nin   yer-in-e   kaim   ol-mak-ta-dır. (GP 13)
          one-POSS other-POSS-GEN place-POSS-DAT substitute be-INF-AOR
          'When the price difference increases, one of these substances substitutes for the other'

       b. Muhalefet-te   *bulun-duğ-umuz zaman* daima riayet   et-tiğ-imiz
          opposition-LOC be-CVB   always adherence   do-REL-1PL
          bu prensip-e,   Hükümet   olarak da sadık kal-acak-ız. (GP 20)
          this principle-DAT government as   also   loyal remain-FUT-1PL
          'To this principle, which we always adhered to when we were in opposition, we will
          also remain loyal as the Government.'

As can be seen in (15a) the converb *-DIğI zaman* (when) is used as a temporal construction expressing a simultaneous event. In the corpus it is found to be utilized only to communicate simultaneous relations. Put differently, all six temporal clauses formed with the converb *-DIğI zaman* (when) convey simultaneity. There is no example of its use as an expression of anterior

events and as an expression of posterior events in the government programs. In (15b) the ending -*DIğI zaman* (when) also expresses temporality. However, in this example it is not utilized as a temporal converb construction. Instead, here it modifies the head noun *bu prensip* 'this principle' in the relative clause adding a temporal description about it. The latter function is not reported in previous studies.

Functions of the -(y)ken (while)

As mentioned in Converb Endings Section, the *-(y)ken* (while) converb follows the tense or aspect endings such as *-Ir* or *-mIş* attached to the embedded verbs. Therefore, it differs from other converbs which are directly suffixed to the embedded verbs. Due to its morphological structure, *-(y)ken* (while) may refer to the simultaneous, posterior or anterior relations based on the tense or aspect ending it follows. Another difference between *-(y)ken* (while) and other converbs is that the former has a variant, *iken*, which is a free morpheme used in temporal clauses with nominal predicates. The other converb constructions analysed in this study do not have a variant like that.

A total of 407 *-(y)ken* (while) constructions is found out of 565 converbs making it the most frequent converb in the corpus (72%). There are 65 *iken* (while) forms out of 407 constructions (15,9%). The *-(y)ken* (while) constructions including *iken* forms are mostly utilized as a temporal converb (403/407, 99%). There are only four other discourse roles of this construction in the corpus (1%). All these other discourse roles are produced with the suffix *-(y)ken* (while). Put differently, *iken* is used only as a temporal clause construction in the corpus. The use of *-(y)ken* (while) and its variant *iken* as temporal converbs is illustrated in (16):

(16)   a. Yeni   yol-lar   *yap-ıl-ır-ken*   şimdi   mevcut   iyi   kötü
           new   road-PL build-PASS-AOR-CVB   now   existing   good bad
           güzergâh-lar-dan da   faydalan-mak tabii-dir. (GP 15)
           route-PL-ABL   also   benefit-INF   natural-COP
           'While new roads are being built, it is natural to also make use of the existing good and bad routes.'

        b. Şehir-ler ve   milletler-arası   otomatik konuşma yap-an köy   sayı-sı
           city-PL   and international   automatic speech   do-REL village number-POSS
           1983 yıl-ın-da   sadece 12 *iken*,   1987 yıl-ın-da   20 bin-dir. (GP 46)
           1983 year-POSS-LOC only 12 CVB,   1987 year-POSS-LOC   20   thousand-COP
           'While the number of villages with automatic city and international calls was only 12 in 1983, it was 20 thousand in 1987.'

The use of *-(y)ken* (while) as a temporal converb clause in a verbal temporal clause is illustrated in (16a), and its use as a temporal converb clause in a non-verbal embedded clause is shown in (16b). It is seen that when *-(y)ken* (while) is attached to the aorist *-Ir,* it expresses a simultaneous event as in (16a). The ending *-(y)ken* (while) is also used with perfective aspect marker *-mIş* and progressive aspect marker *-mAktA* in the corpus. The temporal meaning of *-(y)ken* (while) changes depending on these suffixes. In short, these findings are consistent with the view of Çetintaş Yıldırım (1995) who argues that this converb may assume all three temporal meanings: simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority. It is also seen that *iken* (while) in (16b) expresses a posterior event. It is found that *iken* (while) is utilized to convey only posteriority relations in the corpus.

Concerning other discourse roles, *-(y)ken* (while) is utilized as a modifier of the head nouns in relative clauses as illustrated in (17):

(17)   *Çalış-ır-ke*n   işsiz   kal-an-lar-ın   gelir kayıp-ı-nı   belirli
          work-AOR-CVB unemployed remain-REL-PL-GEN income loss-POSS-ACC certain
          bir süre   telafi et-mek   amaç-ı-yla   işsizlik   sigorta-sı

a period compensate-INF purpose-POSS-with unemployment   insurance-POSS
program-ı   başlat-ıl-acak, bu program-ı   yürüt-ecek olan İş   ve
program-POSS start-PASS-FUT   this program-ACC conduct-FUT-REL work and
İşçi   Bulma Kurum-u   yeniden yapılandır-ıl-acak-tır. (GP 57)
worker Finding Institution-POSS again   restructure-PASS-FUT-COP
'To compensate for the income loss of those who become unemployed while working for

a certain period, an unemployment insurance program will be launched, and the   Work
and Worker   Finding Institution, which will implement this program, will be
restructured.'

Example (17) shows the use of the *–(y)ken* (while) ending as a modifier of the head noun *işsiz kalanlar* 'those who become unemployed' in the relative clause. Although Acar (2014) documents the use of this suffix as a lexicalized discourse adverbial, its function as a modifier of the head nouns of the relative clauses is not reported in previous studies.

Functions of the -Ir… -mAz (as soon as)

The converb *-Ir … -mAz* (as soon as) expresses anteriority relations in temporal clauses. Such events occur before those communicated in the main clause. There is no previous finding on the other discourse roles of *-Ir … -mAz* (as soon as).

There are only eight *-Ir … -mAz* (as soon as) clauses in the corpus (1,4%). Therefore, it is not commonly utilized in the government programs. This converb is found to serve only as a temporal converb expressing anteriority relations. It has no other discourse roles in the corpus. Example (18) below shows the use of this converb in the temporal clause in the corpus.

(18)   3 Kasım   seçim-ler-in-den   başarı-yl-a *çık-ar çık-maz* Avrupa   Birliği
3 November election-PL-GEN-ABL   success-with exit-cvb   European Union
konu-su-nda   ciddî bir etkinlik üret-tik. (GP 59)
topic-POSS-LOC serious   an   activity   produce-PST.1PL
'As soon as we successfully emerged from the 3 November elections, we generated serious activity regarding the European Union.'

As clearly seen in (18), the *-Ir … -mAz* (as soon as) clause expresses an event which occurs before the one given in the main clause. This converb ending is found to convey only anterior events and is utilized only as a temporal clause. In short, its temporal meaning and function are not flexible unlike other converbs in the corpus.

Functions of the -mAdAn önce (before)

The converb *-mAdAn önce* (before) expresses posteriority of the embedded event. This converb is headed by a postposition *önce* 'before', making it a complex construction. There is no previous finding on its other discourse functions.

There are thirteen *-mAdAn önce* (before) constructions in the corpus all of which are temporal converb clauses (13/565, 2,3%). This converb is found to express posterior relations as seen in (19):

(19)   Maruzat-ım-a   başla-ma-dan önce, Yüksek Meclis-i   Hükümet-imiz
statement-POSS-DAT   start-CVB   High Assembly-POSS government-POSS
adına   hürmet-le   selâmla-rım. (GP 23)
behalf   respect-WITh greet-1SG
'Before beginning my statement, I respectfully greet the High Assembly on behalf of our Government.'

As illustrated in (19) the converb *-mAdAn önce* (before) expresses a posterior event which indicates a textual temporality. In other words, it is used by the text producer to organize his message. It is found that all examples of this converb are used to communicate the posteriority relations which are utilized to arrange the messages of the text producers.

Functions of the -DIktAn sonra (after)

The converb *-DIktAn sonra* (after) is utilized to express anterior events in relation to those given in main clauses when it functions as a temporal clause. This complex subordinator is headed by a postposition *sonra* 'after'. There is no previous finding about its other discourse functions.

There are 36 *-DIktAn sonra* (after) constructions out of 565 converbs found in the corpus (6,3%). This converb is mostly used as a temporal clause conveying anteriority relations (30/36, 83,3%). It is also found that six *-DIktAn sonra* (after) constructions have other discourse roles (16,6%). The functions of *-DIktAn sonra* (after) are illustrated in (20):

(20) a. Bütçe imkân-lar-ın-ı   temin   *et-tikten*   ve   tali
          Budget opportunity-PL-POSS-ACC secure   do-CVB   and secondary
          tetkik-ler-in-i   de *tamamla-dıktan sonra* huzur-unuz-a   gel-ecek-iz.
          examination-PL-POSS-ACC also complete-CVB   presence-POSS-DAT come-FUT-1PL
          'After securing the budgetary resources and completing the secondary examinations, we will come before you.' (GP 9)

      b. Beş sene sür-en çetin   bir işgal   devre-si   *geç-ir-dikten sonra*
          five year last-REL difficult an occupation period-POSS   pass-caus-CVB
          memleket-ler-i-nin   kurtuluş-un-u   kutla-yan   Fransız-lar
          country-PL-POSS-GEN   liberation-POSS-ACC   celebrate-REL   French-PL
          kendi-ler-i-ne   has   yurtsever bir gayret-le milli   kalkınma-yı
          self-PL-POSS-DAT unique patriotic an effort-with national development-ACC
          başar-makta-dır-lar. (GP 15)
          achieve-PROG-COP-3PL

      c. 55'inci   hükümet   *düşür-ül-dük-ten sonra*   bile   bu yön-de
          5th   government overthrow-PASS-CVB   even   this direction-LOC
          yararlı   adım-lar   at-mış-tır. (GP 56)
          beneficial   step-PL   take-PFV-COP
          'Even after the 55th government was overthrown; it took beneficial steps in this direction.'

In (20a) the *-DIktAn sonra* (after) construction functions as a temporal clause communicating an anterior event. Example (20b) shows its use as a modifier of the head noun *Fransızlar* 'The French' in the relative clause. Therefore, this converb may also appear as the modifier of the head nouns like other converbs such as *-(y)ken* (while) and *-DIğI zaman* (when). In (20c) *-DIktAn sonra* (after) construction is used for another discourse role. Here, it is embedded within the concessive clause adding a temporal description. As mentioned above, the other discourse functions of this construction are not reported in the former studies. The corpus data indicate that although temporal semantics of *-DIktAn sonra* (after) is stable, its discourse functions are varied.

Functions of the -DIkçA (whenever)

The converb *-DIkçA* (whenever) is utilized to express simultaneous events when it is used as a temporal converb. Acar (2014) reports that it serves three functions in Turkish Discourse Bank: a temporal converb, an adverbial item in discourse and a lexicalized compound word.

There are 37 *-DIkçA* (whenever) constructions in the government programs (37/565, 6,5%). Temporal converb function of this ending is found to be less than its other discourse roles. More specifically, 13 *-DIkçA* (whenever) constructions function as temporal clauses (13/37, 35,1%), whereas 24 *-DIkçA* (whenever) constructions assume other discourse roles (24/37, 64,8%) in the corpus. Concerning the latter, it serves as the modifier of the head nouns in relative clauses and as an adverbial phrase. It is found that when it is utilized as a temporal converb, it expresses simultaneous events as argued in the earlier studies. Three functions of *-DIkçA* (whenever) identified in the corpus are as follows:

(21) a. Bunlar *tamam-lan-dıkça* devamlı   işletme ve   bakım-lar-ın-ın
        these complete-PASS-CVB continuous operation and   maintenance-PL-POSS-GEN
        teşkilât-a   bağlan-ma-sı   iş-i   de   program-a   al-ın-mış-tır.
        organization-DAT connect-GER-POSS task-POSS also program-DAT take-PASS-PFV-COP
        'As these are completed, the task of linking continuous operation and maintenance to the organization has also been included in the program.' (GP 15)

      b. Sene-ler *geç-tik-çe* vazife-ler-i art-an   bu iki   vekâlet-in
        year-PL pass-CVB duty-PL-POSS increase-REL this two ministry-GEN
        gör-dük-ler-i   amme hizmet-ler-i-ne   nazaran bir taksim-e
        perform-REL-PL-POSS public service-PL-POSS-DAT considering a division-DAT
        tâbi   tut-ul-ma-sı   ihtiyaç-ı   hissol-un-uyor-du. (GP 12)
        subject keep-PASS-GER-POSS need-POSS   feel-PASS-PROG-PST
        'As the years passed and the responsibilities of these two ministries increased, the need to subject them to a division in consideration of the public services they performed was being   felt.'

      c. Ekonomi alan-ın-da   zaman-ın şart-lar-ı   ve istek-ler-in-in
        economy field-POSS-LOCtime-GEN condition-PL-POSS and demand-PL-POSS-GEN
        gittikçe   zorlaş-makta   ol-duğ-un-u   gör-üyor-uz. (GP 8)
        go-CVB   be.difficult-PROG be-REL-POSS-ACC   see-PROG-1PL
        'We see that, in the field of economy, the conditions and demands of the time are gradually   becoming more difficult.'

In (21a) *-DIkçA* (whenever) is utilized as a temporal converb expressing a simultaneous event. As stated above, all temporal converbs formed with this construction only communicate the simultaneous events. Thus, the finding on its temporal meaning is consistent with the previous findings. Concerning its other discourse roles, it is found that *-DIkçA* (whenever) is utilized either as a modifier of the head noun of the relative clauses as in (21b) or as an adverbial as in (21c). These findings suggest that its temporal converb role is not subject to variation, but its other discourse roles are diversified in the corpus.

Conclusion

This study examines eight converbs in terms of their temporal semantics and functions based on the corpus containing the government programs published between 1923 and 2016. The converb constructions analysed include the following: *-(y)IncA* (when), *-DIğIndA* (when), *-DIğI zaman* (when), *-(y)ken* (while), *-Ir… -mAz* (as soon as), *-mAdAn önce* (before), *-DIktAn sonra* (after), and *-DIkçA* (whenever).

The findings reveal that these eight converbs can be categorized into the following two groups: (a) Those used only as a temporal converb: *-Ir… -mAz* (as soon as) and *-mAdAn önce* (before) and (b) those utilized as a temporal converb with other discourse roles: *–(y)IncA* (when), *-DIğIndA* (when), *-DIğI zaman* (when), *-(y)ken* (while), *-DIktAn sonra* (after), and *-DIkçA* (whenever). Concerning the

second group it should be added that the constructions *-DIkçA (whenever), -DIğIndA* (when) and –*(y)IncA* (when) are utilized more frequently for other discourse roles. In other words, their use as temporal converbs is less common in the government programs.

The findings on the temporal semantics of these constructions are consistent with the previous findings. The study uncovers distinct discourse roles of the converbs. Of these other functions, the following two roles are found to be common in the corpus: (a) modifiers of head nouns in relative clauses and (b) topic markers. Most of the converbs sampled are found to modify head nouns in relative clauses. It shows the complex nature of grammatical structures employed in the government programs. The findings also reveal that not only –*(y)IncA* (when) but also *-DIğIndA* (when) serve as a topic marker.

In terms of frequency *-(y)ken* (while) is found to be the most common converb in the corpus. The other converbs are less frequently used in the government programs. The reasons for the higher frequency of *-(y)ken* (while) seem to be related to its morphological structure and its temporal semantics. As stated above it has two variants, one for verbal temporal clauses and one for non-verbal embedded clauses. In addition, this converb is attached to the tense or aspect markers which makes its temporal semantics more flexible and richer. It can be argued that through this rich morphological structure and temporal meanings *-(y)ken* (while) outnumbers the other converb clauses. It seems that because of these factors, the converb *-(y)ken* (while) replaces other constructions in the corpus.

The findings reported in the study are obtained from the government programs which allow us to uncover various functions of the converbs. It is seen that using authentic texts as a data source is very fruitful in the description of these constructions. Therefore, there should be similar studies on different text types to have much more comprehensive insights about their functions. Such studies may also offer new findings on the temporal semantics of converbs.

The findings of the study may be used in the teaching of Turkish as a second language to inform learners about the complexity of these constructions. More specifically, during the teaching of these converb constructions learners may be given examples about the other functions of these constructions. It is also possible to employ these findings in translation studies involving Turkish. Such an awareness would help translators to produce much more accurate translation of Turkish converbs into other languages.

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Olufs' *Odd Adventures or Marvellous Skirmishes in Turkey* (1747) and Diversity of the Ottoman World

Oluf'sun *Odd Adventures or Marvellous Skirmishes in Turkey* Eseri ve Osmanlı Dünyasının Çeşitliliği

Hasan Baktır (iD) 0000-0002-1078-8589
Erciyes University
Sümeyye Öztürk (iD) 0000-0002-9255-7441
University of Minnesota

ABSTRACT
Edward Said's *Orientalism* opened up new horizons for the interpretation of Europe's view of the Orient. Said developed a new scholarship that examines the common view of the orientalist scholarship centering on European domination of the oriental world. This theory is popularized by critics such as Kim Hall, Emily Bartels, and Jack D'Amico, who generalize the European domination over the Orient even before European colonialism. Nabil Matar, on the other hand, presents a counterargument to the application of Said's theory to early modern writings, emphasizing the necessity of conducting a comprehensive examination of the intricacies and subtleties inherent in Ottoman-European relations. He argues that the emphasis on supposed European supremacy over the Orient during this period is deceptive. Therefore, it is imperative to use a new methodology to investigate and elucidate the dynamics of Euro-Ottoman relations in the early modern period. As a result, Matar adopts a micro-historical approach, focusing on the examination of archival sources. This technique allows for the incorporation of a wide range of perspectives from various European travelers who visited the Ottoman world. Consequently, he adopts a micro-historical approach by studying archival sources in which he includes diverse experiences of the different European travelers to the Ottoman world. The diversity Matar uses includes the thick description of the rich and polyphonic narratives written between the 16th and 18th centuries. Additionally, it is crucial to examine in which ways the Dano-Norwegian observations differed from the other European influential nations, as these have been under-represented. For this purpose, the analysis of Hark Olufs' *Odd Adventures or Marvellous Skirmishes* in Turkey (1747) has been conducted using Nabil Matar's methodology. This analysis aims to delve into Olufs' past and the underlying motivations that drove him to document and subsequently publish his captivity account. This article will argue for the significance of incorporating Nabil Matar as an alternative critic for elucidating the early Euro-Ottoman connections, instead of relying solely on Edward Said's *Orientalism*.

Nabil Matar and Diversity of the Oriental World

When it comes to diversity, one important aspect to consider is the inclusion of individuals, from different and various social, religious, and ethnic backgrounds. Unlike what orientalists suggest, i.e.,

a single category of "otherness" to identify the Eastern world, Nabil Matar focuses on the early modern period and explores the Eastern Mediterranean, European regions, and the diversity of the population thereof. For example, he draws a comparison between the Christian and Muslim societies during the 16th century, asserting that the Spanish, French, British, and Dutch governments implemented laws that prohibited the admission of non-Christians into their respective territories. Conversely, Ottoman and North African kings invited European traders, soldiers, and scholars to visit and settle down in the countries they ruled. The Netherlands and Britain implemented restrictive policies that permitted only a limited number of Jews to enter (2015, pp. 31-32). European nations were allowed to partake in commercial activities, acquire resources, and establish diplomatic ties with non-Christian regions, ultimately leading to the subsequent expansion of colonial and imperial influence across the globe. The Europeans acquired knowledge of Christians residing outside of Europe through these intercultural exchanges. However, the orientalists usually overlook the presence of non-Muslims as well as the diversity of the local population, including native Arabs, living among Muslims. It is crucial to acknowledge that in East Europe, there was a particular situation where the population of Euro-Christians surpassed that of Muslims. This was due to specific legal and religious protections granted to non-Muslims, known as "dhimmis." Moreover, the notable representation of Euro-Christians within the Muslim community can be ascribed to the liberties extended to Catholic and Orthodox Christian Arabic writers, who were permitted to travel to both Western and Eastern territories. This is evident in the works of Muhammad Amin ibn Fadlallah al-Muhubbi and Muhammad Khalil al-Muradi (2015, p. 32).

Considering such differences, Matar rediscovers archival sources that suggest diverse perspectives. His book *An Arab Ambassador in the Mediterranean World* (2015) is based on one of the rare records of a non-Christian Moroccan diplomat, namely Muhammad ibn Uthman al-Miknasi, who traveled and recorded his observations between 1779 and 1788. It provides valuable insights into his travel observations during that period. Al-Miknasi undertook a series of visits to many places, encompassing Spain, Malta, Turkey, and Arabia among others. In contrast to Edward Said's Euro-centric representation of the Other, al-Miknasi's depiction of the Christian world does not depend on fabrications.

Matar argues that while European travelers projected their fantasies onto their observations, Arab writers were mainly factual, since they were writing for authoritative figures responsible for conveying accurate information on diplomacy and trade (Matar, 2003, p. xxxi). In Arabic texts, the primary objective was to relay information about "the lands, customs, religion, and social organization the traveler had seen – and which another wanted to confirm" (2003, pp. xxxi-xxxii). Rather than focusing on personal reflections about the places they visited, the events they witnessed, or their interactions with Europeans, their writing aimed to be collective, where subjectivity was reduced and objective observations emphasized (2003, p. xxxii).

One of Matar's examples is Ahmad bin al-Mahdi al-Ghazzal, the Moroccan ambassador, who, in 1766, dedicated his travel account to the highest authorities:

> I was ordered by his highness [Mulay Mohammad bin Abdallah, reg. 1759-90] may the heavens elevate him, to write down during this auspicious journey all that I heard, saw, noted and learnt; and to tell about the cities and villages and describe all that I experienced during my travels and stay. (2003, p. xxxii)

While Arabic writers produced empirical accounts that intended to inform the government and support diplomatic relations, European travelers relied on "classical or biblical sources as their guides" (2003, p. xxxii). Unlike Europeans, who framed their observations within mythical and religious narratives, Arabs approached their experiences "with an open mind and a clean slate" (2003, p. xxxii). Matar underscores that since these approaches are fundamentally different—one

lacking a model for comparison while the other does—the theoretical framework for analyzing them should also differ. He asserts that Arab travel writers did not deliberately seek to distinguish themselves from Europeans; rather, they aimed to observe without epistemological bias and, in some cases, even "criticize their own religious society too" (2003, p. xxxiii).

Matar provides examples such as al-Tamjarouti, who condemned Turkish rule in Algiers, and Al-Miknasi, who denounced Turkish oppression, drawing parallels with Spanish ecclesiastical rule. Another example is Ali Agha, who praised the French emperor. Their accounts were considered more reliable due to their relatively unbiased observations compared to European travelers. Additionally, while Arab writers frequently expressed strong views on religion, often rebuking Christianity, their hostility stemmed from historical experiences—such as the expulsion of Muslims from Andalusia—rather than from ethnic or cultural prejudice (2003, p. xxxiii). For Arabs, Europe was seen as rich, complex, and dynamic.

Al-Miknasi, for instance, delivers first-hand observations based on empirical data though he sometimes distorts certain facts as a result of memory lapses (2015, p. 34). Al-Miknasi's misrepresentations were not motivated by a desire to justify conquest, as presented in Said's theory. Despite occasional disputes arising from theological differences with Euro-Christians or North African diplomats, al-Miknasi consistently used the term "muhabba" (love) to characterize his dialogues with them (2015, p. 35). Occasionally, al-Miknasi utilized derogatory terminology while discussing with Europeans, albeit exclusively in instances where he saw their conduct as antagonistic against the Muslim community. Therefore, his observations were driven by emotions rather than theology, ideology, or commerce (2015, pp. 35-36). Matar's argument suggests further possibilities for a non-essentialist view of the Muslim and Christian interaction during the early modern era. Thus, when Goffman suggests that the Ottomans should be given a voice to embrace diversity, Matar's *An Arab Ambassador* serves as an apt example. The book effectively distinguishes between various social, religious, and ethnic groups, avoiding their conflation. Through al-Miknasi's three accounts, Matar introduces non-Eurocentric perspectives and provides a local view of the problematic and cooperative sides of Euro-Ottoman encounters in the early modern era.

The narrative voice also plays a crucial role in shaping fabrication, credibility, and the overall genre of travel literature. Matar argues that travelogues changed in style, noting that "some were written in first person, others in the third, the choice suggesting differing authorial strategies and goals" (Vitkus, 2001, p. 34). Applying a single framework to all travel accounts ignores the diversity of authorship and writing techniques. Matar criticizes the scholarly tendency to make such generalizations and raises several key questions to highlight the limitations of this approach:

> But such formulizing ignores the differences in narrative voices, the uncertainty and multiplicity of authorship (is the author the captive himself or the editor/publisher?), and various modes of publication (did the captive oversee the publication of the account or was it left to a publisher who changed, added, or deleted as he saw fit?) [...] Furthermore, captives frequently told and retold their tales. Which version of their oral narratives saw print: the early ones, which may have been close to truth, or the later ones, which inevitably became ideologically burdened? (Vitkus, 2001, p. 34)

These questions are particularly significant in the study of travel writing, as elements such as narrative perspective, editor/pastor influence(s), chronology, and historical accuracy should be analyzed to provide a more nuanced understanding. Moreover, Matar stresses the importance of distinguishing between travel accounts from the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods and those produced after 1640. The earlier accounts were typically brief, as captives during this time had limited knowledge of Islam and Ottoman-North African culture. These narratives were mainly introspective, concentrating on the hardships of captivity whilst maintaining a strong allegiance to

national and religious identity. The accounts could differ, influenced by personal or public motives, depending on the political and religious context at the time of publication.[1]

Europe Through Arab Eyes (2009) is another work by Matar that makes a valuable contribution to the discourse on diversity by emphasizing the distinctiveness and disparities among various ethnicities. In this work, Matar dedicates considerable effort to delineate the various interactions that occurred between different regions, particularly after the Ottoman victory in 1453 (2009, p. 3). The book explores the interactions of many ethnic groups, including Arabs, Berbers, Turks, Ottomans, Eastern Christians, and European Christians, who came from numerous geographical regions (2009, p. 4). Matar characterizes these encounters as "venues of interaction" predominantly defined by diplomacy, trade, and political alliances, rather than conflicts (2009, p. 4). Despite the prevalence of warfare during this period, these groups managed to establish strategic and conciliatory relationships. Matar highlights the reciprocal nature of their interactions, where both parties benefited from meeting their own needs while advancing the interests of their allies. For instance, "Muslims recruited Christian mercenaries to fight in their wars, as Christian rulers earlier relied on Muslim physicians and military personnel to help them in times of need" (2009, p. 4). The Euro-Ottoman encounter, influenced by geopolitical ties and power dynamics, encompassed a range of perspectives that were diverse, intricate, and nuanced. This complexity challenges the conventional colonizer-colonized dichotomy, as commonly depicted by orientalist and essentialist authors (2009, p. 5).

Matar initiates the discourse by critically examining the overarching classification of the word "Arab," offering other viewpoints that go beyond superficial categorizations. He argues that the word "Arab" can embrace a range of identities originating from various backgrounds such as Eastern, Moroccan, Algerian, Tunisian, and Libyan. These identities represent a broad array of religious, racial, and ethnic origins found within the Maghreb and Mashriq regions (2009, p. 5). Moreover, Matar highlights the contrast between Muslim populations located in closer proximity to Europe, specifically the Western Mediterranean, and those residing in the Maghreb/Mashriq regions. While all Turks and Arabs belong to the monotheistic faith of Islam, national, religious, local, cultural, tribal, and geographical differences should be considered to understand the diversity of Dar-al Islam. These factors should be taken into account to have a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted nature of Dar-al Islam. Matar argues that the presence of variety poses a challenge to prevailing narratives that prioritize the intricate dynamics and diverse viewpoints associated with traditional colonialism. The suggested diversity provides a nuanced understanding of the historical dynamics between various ethnic and religious groups of the European and Mediterranean world. However, archival documents present an extensive historical record of the Ottoman Empire, the Western Mediterranean, the Maghrib/Mashriq regions, and the New World. In *Turks, Moors and Englishmen* (1999), Matar sheds light on the tendency to portray a singular type of persona, often derived from the imaginations of Renaissance literary authors like Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Blount, among others (1999, pp. 6-7). The reliability of these sources comes into question when they lack specific nuances in dialogue, overlook aspects of character descriptions, and are disconnected from historical and real-world contexts. To provide an example, the categorization of sub-Saharan Africans alongside North African Muslims (referred to as "Moors") has often been inaccurately employed as a means to illustrate the concept of ethnic and national identity. Yet, it is imperative to differentiate between the two entities, taking into account their geographical and, more significantly, political contexts, to prevent any potential historical

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[1] Upon returning to their homelands, captives-turned-writers would often use their narratives to express a Christian viewpoint while seeking reintegration (2001, p. 36). Sometimes, with the help of a community pastor or editor, these freed captives would reinforce the truth of the Christian God, hence stressing that despite their enslavement under Muslims, Christians would eventually triumph because of their steadfast faith (2001, p. 37).

misunderstandings (1999, pp. 7-8). For example, while the British interactions with sub-Saharan Africans were characterized by enslavement and dominance, their relationships with North African Muslims were marked by a sense of "anxious equality and grudging emulation" (1999, p. 8). Scholars' tendency to interchange ethnic groups has the potential to obscure the power dynamics and dynamics of subordination. While these groups may appear similar, such confusion can lead to an inaccurate representation of history, ultimately resulting in misinterpretation. Matar repetitively emphasizes this tendency, drawing attention to this particular oversight of contemporary research; the general attitude of post-colonial discourse is to overlook the diverse elements thus failing to embody the complex nature of the Ottoman-European relationship. Matar argues that British literary writers, driven by frustration and a sense of inadequacy in their inability to possess Muslim territories, frequently blurred distinct groupings. Consequently, they would interchange the terms "Indians" and "Muslims" to such an extent that, for certain writers, both terms became synonymous (1999, p. 17). This phenomenon of ideological control enabled British writers to force an Indian American identity upon Muslims. In this way, they gradually developed a broad and stereotypical representation of the "other" and represented an authoritative picture of their own regime. Nevertheless, Matar emphasizes that fiction should not supplant reality. Therefore, scholars should analyze canonical texts and archival sources within a historical and contextual framework for the sake of diversity.

Despite the oversimplification, English travel writers consciously utilized the term "barbary" to categorize various Mediterranean areas. British travelers and writers exclusively applied the term "barbary" to refer to "the Ottoman regencies of Libya (Tripolitania), Tunisia and Algeria, and the kingdom of Morocco" (2005, p. 3). The Barbary States should be viewed as distinct geopolitical entities (2005, p. 3). Morocco maintained its independence separate from Ottoman rule, whilst Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya fell under Ottoman influence, with Ottoman Deys and their troops governing these regions under designated military commanders. Notwithstanding these variations, they exhibited commonalities in ethnolinguistic qualities, practices of religion, geographic affiliations, and legal customs. In these geographical areas, a multitude of distinct groups coexisted, including "Moors," "Turks," "Arabs," "Moriscos," "Jews," "Armenians," and "European renegades" (2005, p. 3). Language usage varied as well, encompassing lingua franca, Arabic, Turkish, and Spanish. While the region may have seemed predominantly Muslim, discerning English travelers recognized differences between Islamic schools, such as the Ottoman Hanafi and the native Maghribi, particularly the Maliki school (2005, p. 3). The distinction between generalization and differentiation is evident in the local records. According to Matar, literary sources are more prone to fabricating images of Euro-Ottoman relations, often using terms interchangeably to foster a colonizing discourse with the aim of asserting ideological dominance over the Mediterranean basin (1999, pp. 13-15). However, firsthand sources documenting Euro-Ottoman relations found in travelogues, archival records, diplomatic and commercial documents, as well as slavery accounts, include and reflect minimal "racial, sexual, or moral stereotyping of the Muslims" (1999, p. 13). Lastly, Olufs' account deviates from the established macro-narrative found in canonical literature. His account challenges the prevailing Euro-Christian discourse, which typically characterizes the connection between the East and West in a simplistic binary framework of "us vs them." His text is a first-hand source that renders his experiences on observations pertaining to his captivity, the regents in Algiers and Tunisia, the North African climate and landscape, Moors and Turks, their eating habits, customs and traditions, Euro-Ottoman contacts, pilgrimage to Mecca and superstitious belief systems.

Hark Olufs' *Odd Adventures or Marvellous Skirmishes in Turkey* (1747)

European travelers to the Ottoman Empire were from many social and economic layers. For instance, ambassadors from the European courts, merchants, priests, and soldiers visited and

settled down in the Ottoman territories. There were also captives and slaves who either willingly or by force visited the Empire from different European countries. Nevertheless, the number of Scandinavian travelers visiting the Ottoman Empire was relatively lower compared to their British, French, and Italian counterparts. The Dano-Norwegian Hark Olufs from Amrum (1708-1754) is an example of a captive who spent twelve years in Algiers as a slave to serve the Dey at the time. He published his travelogue after his return to Denmark. In particular, the presence of the priest Otto Riese in the drafting of his travelogue is an important aspect of the narrative that demands additional examination. Some information in the text suggests that Priest Riese worked on the editing and annotation of Olufs' travelogue, raising questions regarding the credibility of his records. The narrative seems to have undergone editing by the priest to be consistent with the principles of the Christian faith. Upon analyzing Olufs' memoir, it becomes difficult to view the travel account as anything other than the priest's mission to promote the Christian message. Rheinheimer emphasizes that Olufs was intentionally distanced from his national self and forced into a new identity suitable to the missionary goals. In this process, the priest assisted him in developing and carrying out a Christian mission to reintegrate Olufs' new identity thus cleansing his sins (Rheinheimer, 2003, p. 224). The success of the reintegration process becomes apparent in Olufs' autobiography through its beginning and final stages, wherein he places significant emphasis on his unshakable Christian faith. Thus, there is a contradiction between lived experiences and the promoted Christian messages in Olufs' text, which also leads to diversity in the narrative. The distinction is visible when the priest's possible intervention and Olufs' personal observations are compared. There are two different attitudes and voices rendering two different perspectives; the former centers on bringing forward a Christian message, that is, never to give up on one's Christian faith, especially in times of adversity and hardship, while the latter is more focused on the lived experiences, presenting them from a humanistic standpoint with less emphasis on theological ideology.

Despite Olufs' missionary goals and his strong Christian viewpoint, his narrative is less prejudiced against the Ottoman world. His extensive interaction with Algerians and keen observation of the administration in North Africa after his presumed conversion to Islam could perhaps have fostered a sense of sympathy with the Ottoman world. It is important to consider the impact of his influential status and position within the Algerian regency which may have prompted him to write in a more positive way. While Olufs describes his long period of slavery to the Ottoman ruler (the Dey of Constantine) during which he established a close relationship, he also had doubts about Islam, which may have been added or changed by the editing priest. An example of Olufs' positive description of the Algerian Bey and their mutual affection is proven in the following description where the Bey asks Olufs whether he wishes to undertake a certain duty:

> My Lord, who loved me and therefore did not wish to burden me with such a difficult task, asked me if I wanted to do it. I replied: It is not a matter of what I want, but of what Efendi (that is, my gracious master) will command. (Olufs, 1747, p. 15)[2]

This scene challenges the commonly held negative aspect of Euro-Ottoman connections in postcolonial contexts by offering favorable depictions. As stated earlier, Matar highlights a variety of positive interactions that took place across divergent ethnic and religious populations. Instances of such events can also be seen in Olufs' narrative, particularly regarding his relationships with the Dey of Algiers. Readers are invited to witness a relationship built on compassion, loyalty, and friendship with reciprocal respect and admiration. Another example of this mutual affection can be read in the following excerpt where Olufs expresses his gratitude for serving the Bey that values

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[2] Translated from Dano-Norwegian: "Min patron, som elskede mig, og derfor ikke så gerne ville pålægge mig så vanskelig en forretning, spurgte mig, om jeg havde lyst dertil? Jeg svarede: her gælder ikke, hvad jeg har lyst til, men hvad Efendi (det er, min nådige herre) vil befale."

him: "…God granted me favor with my patron, so that he always held great kindness for me. He entrusted me with the position of great importance called Gasnedahl or Gasnadi" (1747, p. 9).[3] A last example of diversity is Olufs' decision to return to his home island following twelve years of serving the Bey. The mutual emotions expressed here are the most intense when compared to other scenes in the text which is why it is worth quoting it here at length:

> The next day, as I was preparing to depart, I went to my patron, kissed his hand, and said, "Efendi! I thank you for the bread and salt that I have received from your hands for almost 12 years. I seek your blessing and ask for forgiveness for any wrongs I may have committed." His response was, "I thank you, Captain, for your service, and if I have wronged you in any way, I hope you will also forgive me." At these last words, I burst into tears and embraced his knees. He lifted me up, and as tears streamed down his cheeks, the old man placed his hand on my head and said, "Go with God! Be careful of strong desires, women, and the Jews in Algiers, so they do not trick you out of your money". (1747, p. 27)[4]

Each of these instances proves crucial when advocating heterogeneity of the Muslim-Christian interactions as an alternative to a single approach while studying Euro-Ottoman relations. Additional instances can be discovered within the book, yet the ones mentioned above are particularly useful for portraying a positive view of the Euro-Ottoman interactions in the early modern period, as they demonstrate tolerance and friendly relations. Overall, the dynamic between the Dey and Olufs can be defined as useful and profitable for both parties. Olufs describes how he was put in charge of the tax administration ("Gasnadahl") and later promoted to the chief of the Dey's cavalry. The Dey bestowed upon him a considerable force of five hundred horses and an equal number of men to be led and commanded (Simonsen, 2019, p. 427). In the year 1732, after his victory in a military raid against Bu Aziz, Olufs was granted a higher position. This new rank entrusted him with the responsibility of guiding and directing the entire cavalry of the Dey, thus elevating him to the status of one of the highest officials (Rheinheimer, 2003, p. 211). According to Rheinheimer, Olufs also took responsibility for managing native troops in rural regions, having control over a considerable number of thirty-nine clans (2003, p. 211). In his travel account, Olufs himself acknowledges that owing to his prestigious position, renegades and slaves became jealous of him and started spreading false rumors, accusing him of being a "spy sent to gather intelligence on the enemy's facilities" (Olufs, 1747, p. 17).[5] Additionally, Olufs embarked on a pilgrimage to Mecca, funded and accompanied by the Dey and his entourage, which led to further speculations about his possible conversion to Islam.

The impending demise of the aging Dey posed a threat to Olufs' hard-earned status. It was expected that the subsequent ruler would take over the possessions of people who had been under the authority of the preceding leader. Olufs believed that this new ruler would exhibit greed, subjecting the entourage to torture and eventual death (1747, p. 26). Another instance of diversity is evident within the context of this particular setting. Olufs distinguishes between two governors who have

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[3] Translated from Dano-Norwegian: "…gav Gud my yndest hos min patron, så at han bar altid stor godhed for mig. Han anbetroede mig det embede, som der er af megen vigtighed, kaldet Gasnedahl eller Gasnadi". A "Gasnadi" or "Gasnadahl" is a person working in the tax administration."

[4] Translated from Dano-Norwegian: "Dagen derefter da jeg var rejsefærdig, gik jeg til min patron, kyssede hans hånd, sigende: Efendi! Jeg takker for det brød og den salt, jeg nu næsten 12 år annammede af deres hænder, udbeder mig deres velsignelse, og om forladelse for de ting, hvorudi jeg måtte have forseet mig. Hans svar var: Jeg takker dig, Kaptajn, for din tjeneste, og har jeg gjort mig imod, du ligeledes giver mig det til. Ved de sidste ord faldt jeg i gråd, og omfavnede hans knæ; men han rejste mig op, da den gamle herre, i det at tårerne kendtes på hans kinder, lagde sin hånd på mit hoved, sigende: far med Gud! Tag dig vel i agt for stærk drift, for kvindfolk og for jøderne i Algier, at de ikke lurer dig dine penge fra."

[5] Translated from Dano-Norwegian: "Jeg var udsendt, for at udspejde fjendens anstalter."

the same racial, religious, and societal background. Whereas the former shows sympathy and compassion, the latter is malevolent and cunning, solely focusing on his own interests. For him, the activities of the preceding regent were driven by avarice, at the expense of others, all in pursuit of accumulating larger fortunes (1747, p. 26). Faced with this situation, Olufs sought a way out. When an opportunity for escape presented itself in the form of an offer from the Dey himself, he seized it. In the year 1735, the Dey signed an agreement to release Olufs from captivity on condition that he performed a final task, which was to spy and arrange an ambush on the enemy camp led by the Dey of Tunis. The attack was carried out with success, resulting in effective control over the Tunisian camp. As promised, the Dey granted Olufs his release following his twelve-year service. He also furnished him with the necessary assistance while helping him to use his funds for his return. Such interactions celebrate the friendly and diverse nature of Euro-Ottoman relations.

Matar's "English Accounts of Captivity in North Africa and the Middle East: 1577-1625" further highlights the context of diversity. Fernand Braudel (d. 1985) argues that captives who returned to their home countries often portrayed Islam in a polemic light due to the encouragement from European governments in their process of alienating the West from the allure of Islam. Nevertheless, Matar presents a more comprehensive view, offering accounts that were led by selfish goals (2001, p. 553). The personal interests of these individuals were driven by their ambition to find employment in their native lands after their return. As a result of the economic strain put on them by large sums of ransom money, the families of former captives often turned to asking for help from the English crown. An example is Edward Webbe (1590), who addressed the Queen of England, writing that had he wanted, he could have been employed in the countries he stayed in (Spain, Persia, Russia, Palestine among others) but chose to show his commitment by serving his own country instead (2001, p. 556). To establish a distinction, it is crucial to situate the ideological, polemical, or personal objectives that writers projected upon their narratives within the framework of diversity.

In the case of Olufs, his travelogue was aimed at reintegrating him into society, thereby ensuring his employment and well-being. While Riese's edition is evident throughout both the preface and the conclusion, traces of Olufs' original narrative can still be distinguished on closer inspection, particularly in his description of his friendship with the Ottoman Dey. Olufs' account addresses the ideological, theological, and social concerns of the Amrum community. His reintegration was intended to affirm his national and religious self, denouncing and disclaiming anything that belonged to the anti-Christian world. The autobiography is situated within a Christian framework and is meant to serve as a guide for the Christian community to gain knowledge regarding the challenges that a devout Christian must overcome to preserve his or her faith against the alien "other". It also serves as a message to Christians so that they can maintain steadfastness when confronted with the allure of Islam. The travelogue concludes with Olufs drawing a comparison between his own fate and that of Joseph while emphasizing the element of luck. Similarly, he compares his father's emotional state to that of Jacob, who, believing he would never see his son again, experienced a reunion (Olufs, 1747, p. 31). Lastly, Olufs expresses his gratitude to Christian God for protecting him through numerous dangers and temptations until his eventual release. A God, who showed "mercy on him so that he could safeguard himself against all evil. In return, he is gifted with tranquility, faith, and trust, away from the vanity, concerns, and strife of this world" (1747, p. 31).[6] This Christian narrative appeals to the prevalent expectations of Danish-Christian society of the mid-18th century.

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[6]Translated from Dano-Norwegian: "Abrahams, Isaks og Jacobs Gud, som har opholdt mig iblandt mange farligheder indtil denne dag, og gav mig sin nåde så at hans frygt må vogte mig for alt det onde, som han er imod, og tilbringe resten af mine dage i rolighed, tro og tillid til ham, adskilt fra denne forfængelige verdens tummel og uro."

Other examples related to superstition are also found in the text such as Olufs' statements about Muslims in Constantine who believed that when marabouts died, they would turn into an animal called "dyp" which resembles swine (1747, p. 25). Another superstition suggests that the spirit of a murdered person would return to earth to "hover and safeguard their treasure, ensuring that no one else but themselves could possess it" (1747, p. 20).[7] These particular statements, in addition to other allusions to Ottoman religion, could possibly be associated with the influence of Priest Riese. However, due to the convergence of both voices, distinguishing one from the other becomes challenging. Regardless of the author, it is important to consider the concept of diversity within these observations. Instead of relying on a postcolonial framework that promotes the notion of a superior West and an inferior East, it is essential to examine and explain alternatives. Additionally, it can be discussed whether to even categorize these statements to be "negative" as they express more odd and unusual observations about the Ottomans rather than denigrating a certain culture, its people, and religion (as those often found in literary postcolonial interpretations). If Olufs wanted to criticize the Muslim community, he would have done so without making distinctions between their various ethnic and characteristic qualities, languages, rituals, and traditions. He instead highlights the presence of diversity by examining the distinct traits common to Turks and Moors:

> The country is inhabited by Turks and Moors; the latter are called both white and black. Their language is distinct from that of the Turks, and they call it Arabic... In religion, the Moors are not very different from the Turks, except in some of their ceremonies... The Turks are more sincere than the Moors. (1747, pp. 6-7)[8]

Following this statement, Olufs admits that Turks, regrettably, possess a degree of honesty similar to that of Christians. While the contradictory voices challenge the common understanding of the Ottomans (as the foreign "other"), Olufs celebrates the diversity highlighting the natural similarities found among Muslims who are typically perceived to be different from Christians. Instead of classifying the less sympathetic views as a means for justifying colonization, the narrative provides alternative explanations for the depiction of Muslims. According to Rheinheimer, Olufs utilized his captivity narrative in a manner that served two distinct objectives. Firstly, it enabled his reintegration into society by solidifying his national and Christian identity. Secondly, it communicated a Christian message to the Amrum community, encouraging them to take on and embody their Christian faith. Feelings of awe and allure play an essential role here, as the Amrum clergy believed the Ottoman Mediterranean to be profoundly powerful. Seeing that Olufs returned in Ottoman attire, with substantial wealth and increased status, the Amrum community feared an attraction towards the Ottoman Mediterranean, which needed to be curbed to prevent Dano-Norwegian Christians from following Olufs' example. To reclaim Christianity and discourage Christians from abandoning their religious convictions for personal gain and social standing, his text served as a theological example advocating the Christian faith. The extent to which Olufs, with the assistance of Riese, effectively disguised his feelings of admiration for the Ottoman Empire is still dubious, as evidence of attraction and awe are merged in the text. This is discernible, for instance, when Olufs describes the Muslim practice, stating that "In their false religion, they [Muslims] are zealous, and hardly anyone can be found who deliberately acts against the things they

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[7] Translated from Dano-Norwegian: "Tyrkerne er i den overtro, at den sjæl, som er myrdet, ligesom svæver eller våger over skatten, så at ingen uden ejermanden kan få den."

[8] Translated from Dano-Norwegian: "Landet beboes af Tyrkere og Moorer, de sidste kaldes både hvide og sorte. Deres sprog er adskilt fra Tyrkernes og de kalder det Arabisk... Udi religionen er Moorerne ikke meget adskilte fra tyrkerne, undtaget noget i deres ceremonier... Tyrkerne er oprigtigere end Mohrerne."

consider to be a duty of a Muslim" (1747, p. 7).[9] The Christian message is further emphasized in both the introductory and concluding sections, wherein the portrayal of superstitious beliefs and the disapproval of Islam serve to underline the affirmation of Christendom. Additionally, the depiction of the unusual and strange practices of the Ottomans further reinforces the point. This view promotes an alternative perspective in contrast to the post-colonial Orientalist framework. As Matar claims, many motivations, including envy, prompted some non-Muslim writers to create depictions of Muslims as a means of establishing intellectual hegemony to justify an idea of European superiority and Oriental inferiority.

Conclusion

It can be stated that there is a need for an alternative view of the Euro-Ottoman relations from the early modern era. Edward Said's postcolonial theory cannot be applied within this timeframe as the power relations, historical backdrop, and geopolitical structure were different from that of the post-18th century. The postcolonial framework proves inadequate when analyzing the complex and diverse relationships between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. This is especially conspicuous in the context of trade, business, and diplomatic relations. In response to this, Matar offers an alternative perspective on the study of Euro-Ottoman relations in the early modern period. He suggests breaking free of dichotomies while advocating for a nuanced and alternative view when studying the "venues of interaction". Furthermore, he highlights that Euro-Ottoman relations were reciprocal, not partial, rich in nature, and dynamic all depending on different locations, times, and the backgrounds of those involved. In this respect, he writes about diversity by referring to the different groups, the prevailing power relations, language, sources, and various descriptions that can be found in travel texts. This article has focused on Hark Olufs' *Odd Adventures and Marvellous Skirmishes in Turkey* (1747) as an example of diversity using the abovementioned arguments to enhance the notion of diversity. In conclusion, this paper offers an alternative perspective to Orientalism by providing a more comprehensive understanding of Euro-Ottoman relations, considering contextual factors and the timeframe in which Olufs' text was produced.

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[9] Translated from Dano-Norwegian: "Udi deres falske religion er de nidkære, og skal næppe nogen findes som forsætlig handler imod de ting, som de holder for at være en Mahometaners pligt."

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Tracing Female Quixotism from a Gendered Stereotype into a Heroine: Lady Errants and Quixotes in Petticoats

Cinsiyetçi bir Stereotipten Kahramanlığa Kadın Kişotluğun İzini Sürmek: Kadın Şövalyeler ve Etekli Kişotlar

Cemre Mimoza Bartu (iD) 0000-0002-6254-6151
Independent Scholar

ABSTRACT

Although *The Female Quixote* (1752) is widely regarded as one of the corner stones of quixotism studies, a retrospective analysis of Arabella's antecedents is crucial to understanding its evolution until the end of the eighteenth century. Dating back to the first quarter of the seventeenth century, female quixotism, as a topos, was considered and employed as a means of laughter and a light-hearted subject for the readers. The first examples of women quixotes were identified with the habit of excessive romance reading *Don Quixote* had originated. Early poetic depictions, such as Thomas Overbury's *Characters* (1615) and Wye Saltonstall's *Picturæ Loquentes* (1635), feature maids aspiring to be lady-errants. Later, women characters in William Cartwright's *The Lady-Errant* (1651) and Richard Steele's *The Tender Husband* (1705) reinforce comic stereotypes, emphasizing their absurd expectations and idiosyncratic use of language. Until Lennox's Arabella as the female quixote, these pioneering characters function as the preliminary elements defining the contours of the stock type, soon to be a character. Within the context of the development of a character that peaked in the eighteenth century, this study aims to trace back this progress to study the cultural and literary evolution that enabled the birth of a heroine. It offers a comprehensive insight into how a conventional stock type evolved into more complex female characters, ultimately leading to the development of more multifaceted and unconventional heroines.

Introduction

In March 1752, a decade after the publication of the first quixotic novel in English, *Joseph Andrews* (1742), Henry Fielding wrote an appreciative review of another quixotic novel, Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote,* in his *Covent Garden Journal*. He asserts that the author "hath excelled the Spanish writer" and adds his views about the work:

> First, . . . that the Head of a very sensible Person is entirely subverted by reading Romances, this Concession seems to me more easy to be granted in the Case of a young Lady than of an old Gentleman. Nor can I help observing with what perfect Judgment and Art this Subversion

of Brain in Arabella is accounted for by her peculiar Circumstances, and Education. To say Truth, I make no Doubt but that most young Women of the same Vivacity, and of the same innocent good Disposition, in the same Situation, and with the same Studies, would be able to make a large Progress in the same Follies. (1752, p. 173)

Fielding makes a witty yet essentialist remark on the gist of quixotism by attributing it to female (in)experience, which he considers more susceptible to deception and likely to embody the principles of quixotism. As to Fielding, compared to a frail-minded elderly Don Quixote, a young girl's mind serves as a more suitable ground to grow possible wrong judgements about life. While his commentary displays positive remarks for the novel, it reveals the deep-seated gender roles and their attributions in the literature of the period. At the end of his review, persisting in the gender question, he evaluates the work as a helpful conduct book for young ladies in that it "expose[s] all those Vices and Follies in her Sex which are chiefly predominant in Our Days" (Fielding, 1752, p. 174). Assuming that women are inherently more predisposed to quixotism, Fielding recommends that they read Lennox's novel to learn lessons and avoid the fate of Arabella. Likewise, female quixote figures portrayed in works produced in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were also shaped by the same perspective adopted by their male writers. Addressing the alleged harm caused by the reading habits of women, they associated quixotism with them to ridicule the reading frenzy of the so-called "weaker" sex. Therefore, this study aims to examine the development of female quixotism through its definition and practice before Lennox's seminal work in order to provide a broader understanding of how quixotism was appropriated to female characters who follow a pattern of excessive reading.

Although the method of quixotism provided a vast source of inspiration for literary production in different genres, the burgeoning popularity of the novel in the eighteenth century led quixotism to become a term that was closely associated with this new form. Nevertheless, during the heydays of the novel, the most popular of many quixotic emulations followed the original example set by *Don Quixote* and these works featured male quixotes with their unique or whimsical dispositions and obsessions. Even though the national quixote concept was established as a masculine figure in its early examples, the link between quixotism and masculinity "was complicated by the potential passive penetrability of quixotism and the proliferation of narratives about female quixotic readers" (Dale, 2017, p. 5). Considering the same views Fielding put forward in his commentary, the feminine quixotic candidate was seen as a more fitting figure for her malleable subjectivity and mind. In the same vein, Dale points out the gendered nature of quixotic qualities and links it to the patriarchal perspective that regards feminine "as soft and penetrable" (p. 7) creatures that can easily be "molded, imprinted and formed" (p. 7) by the materials they read and are exposed to. Despite the derogatory view, the emergence of female quixotism in literature was not propelled by contempt for women. As Amelia Dale notes, there was a noticeable rise in its employment with the increase of women writers and works about female romance readers with quixotic dispositions. Within the scope and selection of works focusing on female quixotism, Lennox's novel is treated as a cornerstone by many scholars in terms of its innovative approach, subversive method and skilful emulation of the concept of quixotism. However, upon closer examination, the precursors to female quixotes written before Lennox's Arabella present a significant literary and cultural framework regarding the gender norms of the time and how female quixotism was defined vis-à-vis quixotism.

From a retrospective angle, up until the point of *The Female Quixote*'s publication, the quixotic characters created in the period were the British ones with their domestic problems and criticisms. Within this view, the ways of anglicizing Don Quixote into a British figure offer such a wide variety of choices that each one of the writers was able to create their exclusive and topical quixotes. The characterization of a British quixote, with a problem rooted in one or more institutions of eighteenth-century Britain, is woven around the fundamental realities of his/her temporal, spatial

and social background. The reason why these writers feel the need to design a whole new quixotic character rests on the issues that the authors especially focus on in their works. The issues problematized in each British quixote are the components of the unique quixotic combination of the writers.

Despite the lack of literary attention given to the earlier emulations of female quixotes, the advent of Cervantic and quixotic studies has provided a platform for their recognition and exploration. The emergence of the trope of female quixotism dates back to the early seventeenth century (Borham-Puyal, 2012, p. 177) when *Don Quixote* was published and eventually reached England. In the early phase of the novel's impact on national literature, the prevalent perspective treated Don Quixote and his adventures with a light-hearted and humorous approach. The core of this approach fundamentally stems from Don Quixote's excessive immersion in romance reading, which leads to the deterioration of his mental faculties and distorted perception of the real. Both his wit and madness accommodate this entertaining tone in the initial reception. Thus, the earlier representations of both female and male British quixotes were frequently portrayed as unreliable and exaggerated characters, contributing to the overall comical effect with their eccentric dispositions. Being the early experiments with quixotism, these characters lacked depth and subtlety in their character formulations, making them akin to the stereotypical figures that can be identified with oversimplified traits. Therefore, the early emulations of quixotic characters were often depicted as bookish individuals who espoused the ideals of the romance universe while remaining oblivious to the ways of the world. By the same token, Don Quixote's devotion to his books also resonates with certain social and gender issues prevalent in eighteenth-century England and the previous age, particularly in its representation of literary engagement and societal expectations.

In order to explore female quixotism with a deeper understanding, it is vital to designate the gendered perception of reading and romances in the period. Because, as it will also be observed in other female quixotes, the act of misguided reading is the first and foremost common feature they share. Therefore, the concept of female readership in the period demonstrates the socio-cultural foundation that links women with the prejudice of unrestrained reading. Within the discourse of British quixotism, the socio-cultural fact of "reading woman" had been employed in literature as a trope and male writers found a chance to lampoon these women who lend themselves to overindulge in reading romances and novels. Glancing at the data given the female reading culture, the rate of female literacy witnessed a radical improvement, rising from 1% in the sixteenth century to 25% by 1714, largely due to the growing availability of printed materials (Brewer, 2013, p. 141). Especially the second half of the century reached higher figures up to 40% of aristocratic members of the society (Brewer, p. 141). As the ubiquity of books of different sorts increases, aristocratic female readers who lead monotonous domestic lives are involved in reading as a recreational activity. Due to the fact that "[n]o one need[s] the services of the well-to-do young women" for economic and domestic work, novel-reading evolves into a new leisure activity for young women along with "paying visits, playing cards, drawing or performing on a musical instrument … dancing, and flirting" (Meyer Spacks, 1978, p. 426). However, young ladies who develop reading mania are also warned against the detrimental effects of over-reading by the prominent writers or the conduct books of the age.

Enlightenment philosopher David Hume exhorts that novels and romances are harmful to the minds of the fair sex for their "false representation" and he is "sorry to see them have such an aversion to matter of fact, and such appetite for falsehood" (1987, p. 564). To that end, in a conduct book titled *Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex* (1797), the author, priest Thomas Gisborne carries this warning further with his delineation of the possible progress of female reading frenzy.

[T]he perusal of one romance leads, with much more frequency than is the case with respect

to works of other kinds, to the speedy perusal of another. Thus a habit is formed, a habit at first, perhaps, of limited indulgence, but a habit that is continually found more formidable and more encroaching. The appetite becomes too keen to be denied; and in proportion as it is more urgent, grows less nice and select in its fare. What would formerly have given offence, now gives none. The palate is vitiated or made dull . . . Hence the mind is secretly corrupted. Let it be observed too, that in exact correspondence with the increase of a passion for reading novels, an aversion to reading of a more improving nature will gather strength. (1797, pp. 206-18)

Examining the progression of an indulgence into a monomania, Gisborne emphasizes the impending hardships of growing a passion fuelled by unrestrained reason. The corruption of the mind along with passion leads to the agitation of emotions, causing young girls, in particular, to end up in unhappy marriages. Since didacticism is inherent in the conduct books, Gisborne frames his advice in the form of a cautionary tale illustrating how passion for reading can cause the demise of women, even resulting in wrong marriages. In line with this attitude, the eighteenth-century view on romance and its effects often received backlashes that even carried the matter to definitive gendering of the act of reading.

Apart from the debilitating side of romances, reading itself as an activity for women is considered to have inferior features compared to male reading. Though reading is accepted as essential for both women and men, Pearson notes that based on the "blatantly gendered" features of the act of reading, "male reading. . . evoke[s] to represent civilized values" (2000, p. 4) that are endorsed by canonical, classical and more reasonable texts which contribute to their mental advancement. Furthermore, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu also posits that while reading is crucial for the "Reputation of Men" it should be for "the Amusement of Women" and as the inferior type of readers, women should "[l]et their brothers shine" and "content themselves with making their lives easier by it" (1803, p. 85). This double-standard approach to reading stems from the view that men, with their innate intellect, are capable of comprehending and interpreting the material correctly. The reason why women fail to live up to the standards of ideal reading experience arises from the fact that they lack "the formal training and education that men received" (Kvande, 2011, p. 222) and for this very reason, they are often interested in novels or romances, not the sophisticated works requiring higher intellectual levels. To that end, reading is considered to be an intellectual activity for men, whereas for women, it is assumed to be more of a hobby or entertainment, based on the assumption that they lack the discipline or endurance for serious reading. Disciplined reading refers to the ability to mentally benefit from the act of reading while maintaining an emotional detachment, preventing oneself from becoming overly absorbed in its effects, and keeping a critical distance from the material. Evidently, this type of reading is seldom linked with female experience, which in contrast, is often depicted as uninhibited, emotionally driven and lacking the critical detachment deemed vital for intellectual engagement.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, excessive and improper reading was not merely dismissed as a harmless habit but was regarded as a legitimate medical concern, particularly in relation to female quixotism. The frequency of reading among female patients was considered so high that it was sometimes diagnosed as monomania—a condition believed to trigger various physical symptoms, including insomnia, breathlessness, trembling, upset stomachs, vertigo, headaches, ringing ears, rising sensations, and swooning (Johns, 1998, p. 408). Associating femininity with the body and irrationality and masculinity with mind and reason, the eighteenth-century attitude towards reading cannot detach itself from the deeply-rooted gender issues. While confining women into domestic spheres and limited knowledge opportunities, the dominant patriarchal discourse of the age consequently offers men unlimited access to their needs and wishes. Thus, the prevalent gender norms of the time create a dilemma for women, preventing them from

fully exercising their agency and stigmatizing them as inadequate or irrational based on their so-called inherent feminine qualities. When the eighteenth-century physiological and psychological theory of reading is projected on "Don Quixote's malady" (Kvande, 2011, p. 223) which renders him unable "to distinguish between true and false knowledge," (p. 223) this new combination opens up a space for the writers to display the reverberations of the cultural and sexual anxieties of reading in their works.

Female Quixotism as a Topos

The emergence of female quixotism as a topos could be traced back to the previous century, in which quixotism was considered and employed as a means of laughter and a humorous subject for criticism. This early perception of quixotism as a source of comedy laid the groundwork for later literary depictions of women whose excessive reading shaped their behaviour and understanding of the world. One of the earliest examples of romance-reading women in British literature appears in Thomas Overbury's *Characters,* which is a compilation of satirical portraits of various personalities. Written ten years after the release of *Don Quixote*, Overbury describes the Chambermaid as a lower-class character who muses to be like the romance ladies she reads. In the first lines of the poem, the maid is described as having "green-sickness" (Overbury, 1614) also known as "the virgin's disease" (Loudon, 1984, p. 28) that presents an "irritable mood" that thrives on "gloom, despair and melancholy" (Loudon, 1984, p. 29). However, it is also highlighted that provided she sleeps at the feet of her master's bed, "she is quit of green-sickness forever" (Overbury, 1614), implying she is freed from her melancholic state as long as she keeps close proximity to her master, also suggesting sexual intimacy. She dreams of being free like the romance ladies and finds solace in reading: "…Greenes works over and over, but is so carried away with the *Mirror[1] of Knighthood*, she is many times resolv'd to runne out of her selfe, and become a lady errant" (Overbury, 1614) with the intent of searching chivalric love adventures like the knights, yet as a female. The dream of freedom and love tempts her to be like these figures roaming on horseback for romantic adventures. She longs to be loved but finds herself in an illicit relationship, impregnated by the "pedant of the house" (Overbury, 1614) and carries her ideas of lady-errantry to another level rather than being courted and revered like the romance ladies. However, upon the pattern of unguided reading like the mad knight, the Chambermaid is employed by Overbury to illustrate the detrimental effects of romance reading on women. According to the writer, Nameless Chambermaid's wish to be a "lady-errant" is caused by the romantic and inappropriate urges she developed by reading.

Given the association of exciting romantic stories with women and the lower class, maids constitute a particularly receptive target audience for the genre and a similar case was introduced in "A Mayde" featured in Wye Saltonstall's *Picturæ Loquentes, Or Pictures Drawn forth in Characters* (1635). Similar to Overbury's work, the poem portrays a maid while interweaving warnings and moral lessons for women throughout the text. The relevant part of the poem is a speech by Saltonstall concerning the dangers of romance reading. As to the poet, these romances can spoil the maids' minds and can jeopardize their chastity and virtue.

> Nor should they read books which of some fond Lover,
> The various fortunes and adventures show;
> Nor such as natures secrets do discover,
> Since still desire doth but from knowledge grow:
> These bookes if that within the brest remaine,
> One sparke of ill will blow't into a flame. (Saltonstall, 1631)

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[1] *A Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood* (1578) by Margaret Tyler is the first English romance written and translated by a woman writer.

Though indirectly, Saltonstall's warning about romances highlights the notion that the knowledge acquired from the books poses a danger to the codes of male hegemony, which suppresses women under the yoke of virtue, propriety and beauty. Hence, reading was deemed to be an activity reserved especially for men. Even though the illustration of these reading maids may not fit the definition of a female quixote, they are significant in terms of tracing the trope and establishing its fundamental early formations. Due to the early phases of female quixotism in literature being constructed upon the false assumptions of gendered reading practices and patriarchal norms, it offered a skewed portrayal of women and their social roles.

Despite the common trait of bookishness, each type of quixote develops their own idiosyncrasies, and a female quixote represents "what [her] male counterparts do not" (Newman, 1995, p. 134) or cannot be within their scope. Considering the common points among the previous female quixotes, the chief idea of "the serious consequences of engaging in quixotic fantasies" (p. 134) constitutes the common fulcrum of their diverse experiences. A staunch belief in what they read as the "models of the world" (Kvande, 2011) leads all of them to their quixotic problems, as these stem from their misguided reading habits. Living in a world of fantasy and twisted judgements; female quixotes, like male ones, are considered outlandish to their own society and time (Borham Puyal, 2016, p. 175). Yet their eccentricities escalate to such a position that they evoke pity in the readers for their foolishness and despise for their poor judgements. Gillian Brown terms this reciprocal alienation process a "quixotic fallacy" and explains it as follows: "The waywardness of quixotes' reading arises from the fact that their reading doesn't accord with peer perceptions and valuations of literary and real objects. The quixotic reader fails to conform with the local standards by which an individual lives as a member of a given society-she doesn't share the same sense of reality" (1999, p. 259). This misalignment between individual perception and societal norms not only isolates the quixote but also highlights the tension between personal idealism and collective reality, which also reveals the consequences of an incoherent worldview.

Lacking the cultural or conventional filter in her learning process, a female quixote's brain is imprinted with the knowledge she acquires from the romances and these ideas are transformed into her behaviours structuring her personality. The heroine perceives herself as a romance lady and adopts the manners and speech to fit the idealized image in her constructed universe. However, in the reality of the period, this imitation is seen as the affectation of the individual which ends up being labelled as a ridiculous and disagreeable example. Nevertheless, the idealization of a literary model is not the main problem in her attitude; the problem is that she lacks the "mental discipline of selectivity" (Kvande, 2011, p. 226). Instead of choosing the most suitable parts of the romances, they slavishly absorb them as a whole. Therefore, due to their incompatible perception of reality, British female quixotes are at times discussed as the characters who are closest to madness. Though they are not pathologically insane, the phenomenological frame of how they experience the world and life differs from those of others and their stories.

By ascertaining their voices and stories, female quixotes began to be a part of the mainstream literature of their periods. Given the stereotypical representation, the character's comic attitude, the absurdity of her expectations and the misunderstandings caused by her language rightly corresponded to the stage of the period. As a minor example from the pre-*Female Quixote* period, William Cartwright's play *The Lady-Errant* (1651) is set in the court of Cyprus, where men left the country because of the war with Crete. Women who remained in Cyprus took this as a chance to take control of the government to help the king and his army financially. Machessa is the titular heroine lady errant, "who is sworn to succor distressed men" (Farnsworth, 2002, p. 383). In the absence of men, Machessa realizes her wish to be a female knight by shifting the gender roles. Besides, Machessa's female quixotism seems to be reproduced from the particular qualities of Alonso Quijano, who decides to call himself Don Quixote, the knight. Defined as a burlesque figure

and a woman warrior by Farnsworth (p. 383), Machessa, like Alonso Quijano, decides to call herself "Monster-quelling-Woman-obliging-Man-delivering Machessa" (Cartwright, 1651) to increase her imaginary heroic reputation. In a similar vein to Don Quixote and Sancho's master-side kick relationship, Machessa has a page called Philaenis and due to their heroic delusion, the pair dream of vanquishing the Amazons and Pigmies to be the queens of both. Although the main theme of the play is the Cyprus-Crete war, Machessa, as a preliminary representation of a female quixote, finds a chance to bring forward her own issues of being a female knight and gaining independence. Taking the lead in representing female quixotism on the British stage before its heydays in the eighteenth century, *Lady-Errant* can be regarded as a figure that sketches out the female quixote character in a period of low literary presence.

Prior to the publication of Charlotte Lennox' *The Female Quixote* in 1752, the quixotic character Biddy Tipkin in Richard Steele's *The Tender Husband: Or, the Accomplish'd Fools* (1705) stands as a noteworthy precursor of the women quixotes in the early eighteenth century. Biddy, the niece of a wealthy merchant, is a young girl preoccupied with romances, imitating and believing in the disposition of romance ladies whom she idolizes. Discontented with the arranged marriage forced by his uncle to a country bumpkin, Biddy is swayed into a secret marriage by Clerimont Junior, a needy aristocrat pretending to be a romantic suitor. Similar to the former examples of female quixotes and Don Quixote, Biddy is an ardent romance reader and she is under the influence of the imaginary worlds depicted in the hefty romances. She lives in utter oblivion of the ways of the world as her existence is dedicated to solitary immersion in romances. In her daily life, she behaves as if the romances are the door that opens to reality, hence she creates a world of her own that is made up of elements, references and expectations of romance ladies.

She is deeply fascinated with the idea of being a romance lady, which often leads her to challenge her life and personality in pursuing this dream. She believes that a lady's name should signify her beauty and coyness and her origin should be of an extraordinary one. In a conversation with her aunt, she expresses this frustration upon having an ordinary birth as follows:

> *Niece*: . . . I must needs [sic] to tell you that I am not satisfied in the point of my nativity. Many an infant has been placed in a cottage with obscure parents, till by chance some ancient servant of the family has known it by its marks. (Steele, 1791, p. 37)

In an attempt to live by instruction she learnt from the books, Biddy cannot but slavishly follow the conventions and patterns of these fictional ladies. As a typical trait of quixotism, she not only desires to change her birth but also her name into a heavily romanticized one of Parthenissa[2] (Steele p. 45). In the discussion about the naming issue, the libertine Captain Clerimont gently, yet rather prematurely, implies that he can change her and her future children's surname if she marries him. Biddy retorts fiercely:

> *Niece*: O fie! Whither are you running? You know a lover should sigh in private, and languish whole years before he reveals his passion; he should retire into some solitary grove, and make the woods and wild beasts his confidants. You should have told it to the echo half-a-year before you had discovered it, even to my handmaid. And yet besides—to talk to me of children! Did you ever hear of a heroine with a big belly? (Steele, 1791, pp. 45-46)

At this point, Biddy's answer to this untimely offer raises the issue of inspiration/influence that Lennox might have acquired from the play. The apparent similarity between Biddy and Arabella's attitude towards romance rules and their incorporation into daily life make Biddy a much closer representation. In a small network of female quixotes created up to Lennox's work, it was

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[2] Probably inspired by the heroine of Roger Boyle of Orrey's *Parthenissa: That Most Fam'd Romance: The Six Volumes Compleat* (1676).

unavoidable that the authors would draw inspiration from a plethora of sources, including other works and theatre productions. Like every other topos, female quixotism flourishes through imitation and the appearance of various representations in literature and every work is significant in illustrating the evolution of female quixotism through its developmental stages to the present day. Although some earlier examples depict these young women with a tone of ridicule, these works are loaded with sociological and cultural implications, offering insights into the progress made in their agenda.

Despite how happily she lives with her ideals, people around Biddy are often left appalled at her peculiarities and out-of-context utterances. Similar to the book-burning scene in *Don Quixote* where his niece and priest destroy the romances that Don once read, Biddy's family blames books for her unstable condition and tries to prevent her from their detriments. Her aunt accuses her of filling her head with "thousands of foolish dreams" (Steele, p. 219) and deems her head is quite turned because of them. Furthermore, later in the play, her suitor Clerimont calls Biddy "quixote in petticoats" for the same reasons she was accused of. At this stage, Biddy's quixotism is diminished into a vulnerability that Clerimont exploits for his own advantage. Her eccentric personality transitions from a challenge to a vulnerable spot that could be manipulated.

> *Clerimont:* A perfect Quixote in petticoats! I tell thee, Pounce, she governs herself wholly by romance—it has got into her very blood. She starts by rule, and blushes by example. Could I but have produced one instance of a lady's complying at first sight, I should have gained her promise on the spot. How am I bound to curse the cold constitutions of the Philocleas and Statiras? . . . (Steele, 1791, pp. 47-48)

As defined in Samuel Johnson's dictionary, a petticoat denotes "the lower part of a woman's dress," (1755) and an underskirt adding volume and layers to the dress. However, the deliberate use of the word petticoat to address women is an expression of the patriarchal discourse which reduces women to a clothing item. In specific contexts like *Tender Husband,* the word suggests a patronizing attitude for females who aspire to break free from the confines of societal and traditional gender norms, implying that such ambitions are not fitting for women and this use leads to a derogatory synonym for women (Lorenzo-Modia, 2006, p. 107). In this context, the pervasive patriarchal tone sensed in the works that involve female quixotes can deservedly be called the chief problem in the agenda of female quixotism. In this gender-prejudiced socio-literary atmosphere of the age, avid female readers are directly associated with socially misfit characters. Women who are marginalized as readers are further stigmatized as eccentrics, deemed incapable of following proper reading practices, and thus seen as losing both their sense of reality and expected social respectability. From another angle, these misfits, either intentionally or unintentionally, hold forth the points of how women should not behave. Being the anti-portrayal of a marriageable lady, female quixotes represent the other unwanted party of women who are regarded as rather odd, at times lacking sanity.

Despite its single use in *The Tender Husband*, the expression "quixote in petticoat" can be traced in various European works. Since the female quixotes in literature were seen as national types, the expression makes a sweeping generalization regardless of their diversity. Akin to the stereotypical characters of comedy of manners, quixote in petticoat was used as a category encapsulating all its representatives, still in a deprecating tone. In her article, Lorenzo-Modia points out that Lennox's *The Female Quixote* was translated into Spanish by Bernardo Maria de Calzada in 1808 with the title of *Don Quijote con faldas* [Don Quixote in petticoats] (2006). Following the example of the same novel's German translation of *Quixote in Reinfrocke* (1754), Calzada was most probably aware of Steele's phrase and by his choice, he helped the use of the expression to stretch over time and places (Lorenzo-Modia, 2006, p. 106). Thus, the prolonged use of this expression over periods and locations suggests language can preserve and reinforce a patriarchal tone. Furthermore, it is also

meaningful to note that all the female quixote characters preceding Lennox's Arabella were either written or translated by a male figure. Although Lennox's novel brought about a different perspective on female quixotism, the deliberate use of petticoats instead of the literal translation of the title highlights the prejudiced perspective of the subject matter. By adopting Steele's phrase, translators and writers like Calzada contributed to the endurance of the sided perspective, demonstrating how linguistic choices shape cultural perception over time.

Even after the publication of *The Female Quixote,* the very phrase was still used in the title of the play *Angelica; or Quixote in Petticoats* (1758). Similar to the other plays examined, *Angelica* concentrates on the clash between reality and the illusions of a young girl named Angelica who loves to read. Although the play does not introduce any innovation to the established thematic convention, the anonymous playwright corroborates this fact in the Advertisement of the work stating: "The author of the following sheets thinks himself under an indispensable obligation to inform the public that the character of Angelica and the heroic part of Careless is not only borrow'd, but entirely taken, from the female Quixote, of the ingenious Mrs Lenox" (Anonymous, 1758). It is also evident in the play that the titular character Angelica is modelled upon Arabella in her romance mania, unhinged behaviours and fear of persecution that her father "Sir William is of opinion that she is a little crack brain'd; and has advis'd with a mad doctor what is best to be done with her" (Anonymous, 1758). However, a character who cannot help but be a sketchy adaptation of Arabella, Angelica falls short in representing her distinct quixotism effectively. Thus, rejected by theatre manager David Garrick for not being authentic, the play shows great similarities to *The Tender Husband* regarding the courting scenes between Careless-Angelica and Biddy-Clerimont. In terms of the comedy of manners elements, the play lacks intrigue and multifaceted plot construction. As the anonymous playwright also expressed, the focus of the play is to transfer Arabella to the stage and in his attempt, he reproduces certain parts from *The Female Quixote*. Particularly in demeanour and language, Angelica copies Arabella's tone when with similar wording as she commands her lover Careless to live; "No! Live Careless! and if possible, forget a weakness, I cannot but condemn – But remember that your death will be a fault which I cannot resolve to pardon. – Adieu! I stay for no thanks, neither presume to follow me!" (Anonymous, 1758). Though the playwright achieves his goal, the play cannot escape being an unfavored and poor imitation of not only Arabella but also Steele's Biddy Tipkin. Furthermore, female quixotism in this context seems to stem from the same qualities of over-reading, romantic delusions and expectations. Evidently, like her predecessors Biddy, Machessa and the maids, the characterization of Angelica fails to be a refined example of quixote and only imitates Lennox's characterization in dramatic form. Ostensibly, the set of defining traits and behaviours of the discussed female quixotes was treated like a formula to create a female character who resembles a quixote. As the title suggests, the play also steers a steady route in terms of representing a quixote in petticoats, a stereotype who is an eccentric female, eventually reformed by marriage. Therefore, as the authors implemented this imitative but superficial strategy, some examples were bound to have less depth, but still significant in terms of representation and diversity.

The duplication of these features inevitably transforms the character into a rather ridiculous type full of whims and irrational behaviours. The deliberate lack of subtlety and depth in these characters is intended to emphasize the notion of how unfit and problematic figure a female quixote is. Additionally, it reinforces the idea that female quixotes are located in the context of comedy, suggesting that their actions and aspirations are often seen as facetious and absurd by social norms. Because of the patriarchal voices in the literature of the era, certain quixotic traits of these heroines are accentuated and even exaggerated to the point of caricature. However, with the advent of the novel genre, the trajectory of female quixotes took a new turn in their representations and with the turn of the new century, the novel genre became adept enough to deliver upgraded and enriched literary works. Although the female quixotes before Lennox's Arabella were not many, with the

subsequent examples in literature the group of female quixotes reached a considerable number across two and a half centuries with the help of George Coleman's *Polly Honeycombe* (1760), Maria Edgeworth's "Angelina" in *Moral Tales for Young People* (1801), Eaton Stannard Barrett's *Heroine or: Adventures of a Fair Romance Reader* (1813), Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* (1813), Sarah Green' *Scotch Novel Reading or; Modern Quackery* (1824) and American writer Tabitha Tenney's *Female Quixotism, -Adventures of Dorcasina Sheldon* (1801) and also Seth Kaufman's *The Seductive Lady Vanessa of Manhattanshire* (2022).

Ultimately, Charlotte Lennox makes a daring manoeuvre by changing the gender of the quixote, shifting the context to female quixotism and transforming her into a full-fledged character, much more than a stock type. Even though her work has been accepted to be the most acclaimed narrative of a female quixote, her novel does not represent an endpoint for the topos but a pivotal shift toward a more sophisticated character and dynamic story. Inspired by real women who loved reading romances, these female figures were later exaggerated into stereotypes by male writers, transforming their passion for literature into a mark of excessive and misguided sensibility. By covering the early representatives of the type, this study expands the scope of quixotic studies in order to allow a more nuanced and egalitarian appreciation of the early examples and their progress. Therefore, before their rise to prominence, early female quixotes also laid bare the prolonged trials and tribulations that the reading women and also their literary representations were exposed to. Although the examined works reinforce a problematic approach and a degrading attitude to the characters, a concentration on the so-called problematized behaviours call the gendered nature of quixotism into question to illuminate its cultural function and perception spanning across centuries. Furthermore, the recovery of overlooked literary figures within the research agenda, along with the critical gender inquiry into the intersection of gender, reading, and quixotism, enriches the discourse on female literary representations and their cultural implications. Being one of the literary contributions to the patriarchal concept of "quixote in petticoats" or "lady-errants" each and every early representation of reading women holds the potentially subversive power to change the route of their narratives that seek to confine them. Thus, as the literary examples of female quixotes increased over the centuries, their subversive potential continued to unfold, forming new narratives and redefining their roles in literature.

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Brexitland's Emerging Identities in Clint Dyer and Roy Williams's *Death of England* Trilogy
Brexit Ülkesi'nin Yükselen Kimlikleri: Clint Dyer ve Roy Williams'ın *Death of England* Üçlemesi

Hakan Gültekin 0000-0001-7802-7009
Artvin Çoruh University

ABSTRACT
This article examines the intersection of political identities and cultural conflicts in the post-Brexit United Kingdom through Roy Williams and Clint Dyer's *Death of England* trilogy. It examines how individuals in the United Kingdom, already marked by deep identity divisions, confront identity, belonging and nationalism, and how they redefine these concepts in a changing socio-political context. The first play in the trilogy, *Death of England*, is about Michael coming to terms with his father Alan's nationalist and xenophobic views. The play explores how Brexit has exposed individual and generational tensions and addresses identity crises on a personal level. The second play, *Death of England: Delroy*, shifts the narrative to the perspective of a Black British character, examining Delroy's vote to leave the European Union despite his marginalisation. This conflict reveals how race, immigration and class dynamics are intertwined with nationalist discourses. *Death of England: Closing Time*, on the other hand, critiques the gendered dimension of national identity politics by focusing on the perspectives of female characters Carly and Denise. Drawing on Soboleska and Ford's (2020) concept of Brexitland, which also gives its title to the book, the article discusses how Brexit has pushed traditional economic class conflicts into the background and brought identity-based divisions to the forefront. As a result, the plays bring the emotional and ideological fractures created by Brexit to the stage, demonstrating that theatre is a critical tool for understanding this transformation.

Introduction: The Way to the "Brexit" Referendum

Throughout the history of the countries in the European continent, it is clear that many kings, statesmen, philosophers or writers, spread over periods, emphasized the need for the unification of Europe or at least to act with a common mind on certain issues. As Fontaine (2010) asserts famous French Writer Victor Hugo, who lived in the 19th century, is one of the most prominent examples of this situation, with a humanitarian approach and a peaceful "United States of Europe" (p. 3) discourse. Although European countries have been involved in wars with heavy consequences, the need for a united Europe has become indispensable after the calamities that have had heavy costs over the years.

As Dinan (2004) reports major European countries such as Italy, France or Belgium founded the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951. Throughout the 1960s, the cooperation became the trigger for the enlargement movement. This inclination continued in the following years and the number of members gradually increased. Organized collaborations that started on specific topics such as steel, coal, or atomic studies have evolved into a single organization over the years and have grown stronger over the years. Qualitative and quantitative increases continue in terms of the number of participants in cooperation and political effectiveness. Eventually, the European Union was officially established in 1993.

European Union experience of the UK goes back half a century. Although the country had been a member of the union, it was always a matter of debate among the political actors in the country before and after membership. According to Harris (1992), contrary to many countries occupied in Europe after World War II, the UK described itself as having emerged victorious from the war. Also, World War II had a unifying character among the British people, in which various distinctions were set aside and a kind of national unity was achieved. The exposure of all social and economic classes to the bad conditions of the war during the war brought people together; collectivism gained strength and individualism left its place to social actions in the post-war period. Depending upon the post-war context, The UK governments started to get closer to the European Union and even applied to become a member of the Community twice in the 1960s. However, these attempts were rejected, especially with the opposition of France. The United Kingdom eventually joined the union in 1973, bringing the number of European Union members to nine, along with Denmark and Ireland. Integration of the UK into the union gave moral strength to an ancient European state called 'the empire on which the sun never sets' to join the union, and material strength for the joining of an industrial power with rich resources, although it had some difficulties.

In many ways, Brexit is not a surprise when one looks at UK political history. Britons have always preferred to look at the glass half empty at European unification. Although the idea of an economic and political union with Europe is always a subject that finds many supporters; it has also become an area where so many dissident citizens are organized. For example, Helm (2016) reports that Margaret Thatcher, believing in the power of the transatlantic relationship, often mentioned in her speeches during her time in office that being under the control of a transnational power within the framework of Europe would create disadvantageous situations. So much so that although European scepticism is identified with the Brexit referendum, in fact, not one but two referendums have been held in order to leave the union over the course of decades.

Although there are sometimes positive discourses in the atmosphere created by these changing figures, The United Kingdom "has never joined either the eurozone or the Schengen area, and it managed to opt-out from the full application of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (the Charter) on its territory" (Besirevic, 2020, p. 622). Over time, this situation started to support the existing and deepening problems related to the idea of being subject to the EU. Euroscepticism among citizens continues to increase, and many citizens have even started to attribute the causes of the worsening economy to European Unionist policies. Euroscepticism, which is prevalent in the UK political universe, has increased over time, combined with other factors. The cost of living crisis, anti-immigration, Austerity policies and the increasing discourse of politics of nostalgia focusing on Britain's imperial past have made the Brexit referendum necessary.

Following a referendum held on 23 June 2016, the United Kingdom finalised its intention to leave the EU on 29 March 2017, and Brexit took place on 31 January 2020. In the referendum, "the United Kingdom as a whole chose to leave the European Union (EU) by a narrow margin: 51.9% to 48.1% of those who voted" (Henderson et al., 2017, p. 631). Negotiations to sign a new Trade Agreement, which will shape relations between the EU and the UK in the new period, were completed on 24 December 2020, and the Agreement entered into force provisionally on 1 January 2021 and entered

into force on 1 May 2021.Many things have changed radically in the UK since Brexit.

Identity Politics and Mainstream Identities in the UK

Identity politics refers to the ways in which individuals and groups organize around social identities, such as race, gender, sexuality, and religion, to address issues of systemic oppression and discrimination. The United Kingdom is a diverse country with a range of identities including national, ethnic, cultural and religious identities. Overall, identities in the UK are complex and diverse, reflecting the country's rich cultural fabric and history. The most mentioned and ancient identity in the UK is naturally British. Mike Wayne argues that capital "has been a decisive force in helping to shape British national identities" (2018, p. 9). According to Wayne, within the framework of its historical development, British-based capital movements played a leading role in the formation of political and national identities in the country. The first British national identity, known as the 'Nation of shopkeepers', diversified over time with the development of maritime trade. For Wayne, "growth in trade preceded, helped capitalise and then helped expand other forms of capital and therefore extend the material terrain for other versions of national identity" (p. 10). There has been a relative increase in the diversity of identities in the UK, driven by maritime trade and new geographical discoveries.

With the industrial revolution, a new phase has begun in the diversity of UK identity. The British, who were called the nation of shopkeepers until 200 years ago, started to be known as the owner of 'the industrial workshop of the world' after the Industrial Revolution. Industrial capital then produced irreversible changes in the diversity of British identities. While these identities have positive qualities like 'the pioneers of the technic and industry', they also have negative features that are hostile to the environment, like "the Dirty Man of Europe" (Porritt, 1989 p. 489). Robin Richardson (2015) argues that Modern Britishness is a complex and multifaceted identity concept embracing a range of social, historical, political and cultural parameters. Robinson argues that modern British identity is a "multi-layered and multi-faceted mixture and muddle of turbulent anxieties and uncertainties around national identity" (p. 38). At the same time, Robinson argues that British identity is shaped by a series of tensions and contradictions, such as the tension between nationalism and internationalism, the tension between tradition and modernity, and the tension between individualism and community. He argues that these tensions reflect broader debates within British society about the nature and direction of modern British identity.

The United Kingdom's composition four primary countries; Scotland, England, Northern Ireland and Wales, serves as the foundation for its diverse identity. In *British Cultural Identities,* Peter Childs and Mike Storry (2022) argue about the various regional identities that exist within Britain, and how they have been shaped by history, geography, and culture. The authors discuss different parts of England, including England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and how each region has its own distinct identity. They note that regional identities are often linked to local history and traditions, "such as Cornish (from Cornwall) and Manx (from the Isle of Man)" (p. 222). The authors also explore the influence of geography on regional identities, such as Scotland's rugged landscape that helped shape Scottish identity. The authors note that regional identities may also be influenced by economic factors, such as the decline of the coal industry in Wales, which has had a significant impact on Welsh identity.

According to David Voas and Alasdair Crockett (2005), the UK's religious identities are diverse and complex. Christianity is the predominant religion in the United Kingdom and the Church of England is the established church. The country is also home to other Christian denominations, including the Presbyterian Church, Roman Catholic Church and Methodist Church. Christianity has been the dominant religion for centuries, but its influence has waned in recent years. Voas and Crockett state that other religions such as Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism and Sikhism have grown in the UK due to

immigration and conversion. The authors also note that a significant percentage of the population is non-religious, with the number of people identifying as non-religious increasing in recent years. Religious identities in the United Kingdom are diverse, with a range of religions and beliefs represented. The main religions in the UK are Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism, and Judaism.

In the UK Political identities have been the most crucial identity forms that define the general structure of the society and the general course of the country. As Frank McDonough (2016) states, class has historically played an important role in shaping politics and society in the UK. The class system is based on social and economic status, with different groups having different levels of power, influence and access to resources. This has led to a hierarchical structure in society and created the classical binary in the society: the tension between the upper class and the working class. The polarization "produced a society divided between 'Us' (the workers) and 'Them' (the rich and the bosses). Pubs always had a 'public bar' and a 'lounge'" (p. 177). "The traditional upper-class members were "hereditary elite whose wealth and position were based on property and title. These were both used to gain substantial political privileges" (McDonough, 2016, p. 178) on the other hand, working class individuals generally have less political power and representation than those in the upper classes.

Political parties in the UK have often aligned themselves with certain class interests. For example, the Labour Party traditionally represents the interests of the working class and seeks to promote greater equality and social justice, while the Conservative Party traditionally represents the interests of the middle and upper classes and seeks to maintain the status quo. According to Alistair Clark's statement based on the study, *Political Change in Britain: Basis of Electoral Choice*, done by David Butler and Donald Stoke, "72 per cent of the working class identified themselves as Labour supporters, a figure which rose to 77 per cent for the lower working class" (2018, p. 31). By contrast, the same study points out that more than 75 percent of the middle classes and 100 percent of the upper class reported that they identified as Conservative party voters.

According to Clark (2018), the Liberal Democrats, the third largest party in the Westminster system, are a party that has the capacity to get votes from both the working class and the upper classes. The relationship between class and politics has become more complex in recent years with changes in the economy and changes in social attitudes. For example, the decline of traditional working-class industries and the growth of the service sector have led to new forms of class identity and political participation. Precariat as "a new dangerous class" (Standing, 2011, p. 1) might be a suitable example for the new diversified social class positions. Additionally, issues such as gender, race, and identity have become increasingly important in shaping political views and trends. The Scottish National Party, "promoting Scotland's interests rather than such ideological positioning" is a political organisation that focuses on anti-statism and decentralisation rather than class politics and advocates the independence of Scotland from the United Kingdom. Additionally, Plaid Cymru (Party of Wales) is the major representative of identity politics in Wales and Democratic Unionist Party is for Northern Ireland.

Maria Soboleska and Robert Ford (2020) examine contemporary UK identity variations in detail in their work *Brexitland*. For example, the authors note that ethnic minority voters in the UK are generally close to liberal think tanks that hold a pro-immigrant position. According to the authors, these voters unconditionally approve of the immigrant-friendly policies of political parties, but generally do not support policy positions on LGBTQ+ or gender equality issues. The authors call this type of voter, who exhibits a kind of political expediency, "necessity Liberals." (p. 6). In this respect, they differ from the political identity group they call "conviction liberals", who are classically endowed with liberalism as an ideological stance and for academic and technical reasons. Soboleska and Ford (2020) also position a political identity group they call "identity conservatives" (p. 6) in opposition to the political identity group they call necessity liberals. This group is a political group

that divides society into two as 'us' and 'them', generally consisting of white men, and can be called the locomotive of the ethnocentrism approach, which is a political discourse.

Brexit and Political Identities in "Brexitland"

After 2010 election, Euroscepticism grew stronger and Prime Minister David Cameron had to come up with new plans to be re-elected in 2015 and to win back his supporters who had moved to the UK Independence Party (UKIP) founded by Nigel Farage and who did not support the European Union. He also wanted to ensure that the eurosceptics in his own party remained in the party. As a result of these events, Jensen & Snaith (2016) state that Cameron declared as an election promise that he would ask the people through a referendum whether he would continue with the European Union if he became prime minister, and that he would continue on his way with the decision of the people. Thus, the road to Brexit was officially opened. As Brown (2017) informs, participation in the referendum was achieved with a rate of 72.2%, and the voters of the United Kingdom expressed a will to leave the European Union with a rate of 51.9%.

One important issue that was overlooked after the Brexit referendum was that identity, particularly British nationalism and ethnocentrism, played a role in deciding whether to leave the European Union. The European Union, which did not expect such a result, did not seem very prepared for the situation. Because the UK had been one of the strongest partners in the Union for years. The United Kingdom implemented the decision to leave as a result of the referendum and left the European Union in the first month of 2020. The United Kingdom, considering the fact that the common policies and privileges within the European Union were not sufficient for their own countries, added the word 'Brexit' to the world literature and ended 43 years of cooperation.

In 2015 general elections, the influence of identity politics was evident "in the rise of UKIP and the decline of the Liberal Democrats in England and Wales, and the rise of the SNP and decline of Labour in Scotland" (Soboleska and Ford, 2020, p. 223), However, the Conservatives managed to succeed by exploiting their geographical advantage and the continuation of traditional economic divisions. However, this return to political normality was short-lived, as their majority in the House of Commons forced an EU referendum, which quickly became more than a simple ballot question and a battle of identity politics. For Soboleska and Ford, the Leave side has turned the issue to ethnocentrism, instead of discussing the pros and cons of the European Union with quantitative and qualitative data. For instance, the leave side "drew attention to Turkey's 76 million-strong population, and linked this to immigration by presenting maps with very large arrows drawn from Turkey to the UK" (p. 227). On the other hand, "the Remain campaign was not able to mobilise tolerance and inclusiveness as core values to rally its own supporters around" (p. 229). Consequently, The EU Referendum has divided British voters along new fault lines, pushing traditional economic conflicts into the background and bringing identity-based conflicts to the forefront.

Norris and Inglehart (2019) examine voting trends from 2014 to 2017 and argue that they find rich sociological evidence to further test voter and party relationships over this period. The authors compare voting behavior and public opinion in the United Kingdom over time, examining the dynamics of support for authoritarian populism for both Brexit and recent reactionary parties such as UKIP. The authors analyze several studies conducted at different scales, using the results of the 2015 UK general election, the 2016 Brexit referendum, and the 2017 general election as a basis. The result "confirms that populism is indeed statistically significant as a predictor of voting Leave and supporting UKIP, as hypothesized." (p. 390). Calhoun (2017) argues that the interaction between Nationalism and populism is a phenomenon that resonates with the UK electorate. To Calhoun, "Nationalism flourishes precisely when people feel threatened by international forces. Populism flourishes when people feel betrayed by elites" (2017, p. 63). Calhoun states that Multiculturalism,

which became a state policy under the leadership of Tony Blair's Labour Party in the 1990s, turned into a nationalist populism after the mid-2000s instead of creating a cosmopolitan society as planned. This type of populism was also one of the important factors that triggered Brexit.

Soboleska and Ford (2020) prefer to name post-Brexit Britain as 'Brexitland'. They declare that 'Brexitland' is the name we give to our divided nation" (p. 2), the Brexit referendum is a turning point. They claim that a society whose unity has been damaged for many years has experienced a final division with Brexit, and they call this divided country Brexitland. According to Soboleska and Ford (2020), "The 2016 referendum was the first national political choice to be structured primarily around identity divides" (p. 11). For them, the 2016 Brexit referendum was the first election dominated by identity politics. Classic political polarizations such as class differences, income distribution and ideological oppositions were replaced by tensions between ethnic minorities and conflicts between new identity-focused groups such as whites and blacks or young and old. Identity-based polarizations marked the campaign period. During the campaign, new identity groups were formed as "two tribes of antagonists 'Leavers' and 'Remainers'" (p. 218), which brought together all these identity groups under two main headings.

During the referendum campaign, remainers based the need for the United Kingdom to remain the United States largely on economic grounds, while Leavers were fuelled by factors such as the immigration invasion, the loss of British values and the dream of becoming a superpower again. As John Curtice states, "remainers are mostly convinced that Britain's economy will be weakened by Brexit, the vast majority of very strong Leavers are of the opposite view" (2018, p. 16). Referendum identities are constructed through mutual accusations and hostilities. As "Leavers' attacked 'Remainers' as metropolitan elites stuck in a bubble of privilege" (Soboleska and Ford, 2020, p. 218), remainers labelled leavers as ignorant voters who knows nothing about the country's good.

Exploring Brexit identities in *Death of England* Trilogy

The main argument of this article is to demonstrate that the reflections of political identities and cultural conflicts in the post-Brexit United Kingdom on contemporary English literature can be examined through theatre. The article explores how individuals in the United Kingdom, marked by deep identity divisions, confront identity, belonging and nationalism and redefine these concepts in a changing socio-political context through the *Death of England* trilogy by Roy Williams and Clint Dyer. The play explores how Brexit has exposed individual and generational tensions and addresses identity crises on a personal level. The present article discusses how Brexit has pushed traditional economic class conflicts into the background and brought identity-based divisions to the forefront. As a result, the plays bring the emotional and ideological fractures created by Brexit to the stage, demonstrating that theatre is a critical tool for understanding this transformation. *Death of England* was written by Roy Williams and Clint Dyer and commissioned by Guardian News and Media Ltd and the Royal Court Theatre. First staged at the Dorfman Theatre in 2020, this compelling work is set in the UK post-Brexit and explores deep social issues such as British identity, class, and race. The play begins with a striking speech by Michael at the funeral of his father Alan, immediately drawing the audience into the story. Furthermore, the fact that Alan, Michael and Delroy are played by the same actor enhances the multi-layered nature of the story, inviting the audience to explore the internal and external conflicts of the characters more deeply. According to Roy Williams (2023), the thematic structure of the play is shaped not only by individual loss but also by collective loss. The death of Michael's father and the decline of England's status as football champions serve as metaphors for the country's changing identity in a broader context. The play questions the lost opportunities of the white working class who feel left behind, the fading power of Britain, once an influential empire on the world stage, and how traditional ways of life are losing their place in new Britain rich with culture and colour. The hostility and tension created by these losses are at the heart of the play and are felt strongly even without being explicitly presented to the audience.

Death of England: Delroy is a compelling sequel to *Death of England*, written by Roy Williams and Clint Dyer. First staged at the Olivier Theatre in London in October 2020, the play focuses on Delroy, Michael's friend raised by his Jamaican-born mother who remained silent in the previous play. In *Death of England*, Delroy's British identity was challenged, and his pro-Brexit political stance is mocked. As Arifa Akbar (2020) states, in this sequel, themes of belonging and identity become the main focus of Delroy's story. The character responds to Michael's criticism with his unique wit and anger. Although Delroy is equipped with a rapid and uninterrupted narrative power like Michael's, his words are as full of humour as they are of anger. Delroy's uniquely witty charisma eases the play's sharp tensions while compellingly engaging the audience. *Death of England: Closing Time* is the final play in the trilogy and was first staged at the Dorfman Theatre in London in 2023. The events and situations described through Michael and Delroy in the first two plays are this time depicted with the help of Michael's sister and Delroy's partner Carly and Delroy's mother Denise. As Arifa Akbar asserts, "Clint Dyer and Roy Williams' state-of-the-nation series continues, this time giving the perspective of the women in its central duo's lives" (2023).

At the beginning of *Death of England*, Michael starts a monologue discussing what kind of person his father was at his father's coffin. He goes back to his childhood and tells that he once argued with Delroy about who broke his Nintendo and it turned into a fight. He states that his father wanted him to keep fighting Delroy until he won even after the fight was over, but he added that he never won. He says that his father covered his ears when a black player was insulted in Leyton Orient matches, "But never at his stall. Black, Asian, yellow, it didn't matter to him who bought flowers, not a jot" (Williams and Dyer, 2024, p. 13). From Michael's description, it is clearly understood that his father Alan has a racist political identity. Later in the monologue, Michael brings up an interesting point about the Brexit process and his father's political identity. He states that his father kept his negative comments about black people and other races to himself, but when the European referendum was announced, he could no longer hold it in. Michael states that the conversations his father had at the counter at that time were entirely about this issue, and that the Brexit process released the nationalist feelings that his father and many people around him had suppressed for years.

In *Death of England,* Michael says that his father got excited with statements like "we are going to get our country back, immigrants out" (Williams and Dyer, 2024, p. 17), which meant nothing to him but were very important to his father. He states that in the months leading up to the referendum, his father's conversations at the counter focused entirely on these issues and that during this period he made the worst sale he had made in years, but he never questioned or refused to question the reason for this. Michael states that after 'Leave' won the referendum, his father frequently said "England belongs to the English" (ibid, p. 13) and that this made him sound like someone who had never read a book or watched Passage to India. From what Michael says, it is clear that his father Alan had traditionally racist political views. However, from what Michael says, it is also clear that Alan experienced a transformation as a result of the Brexit referendum.

Identity Conservatists are a political group that can be called the locomotive of the ethnocentrism approach, which "is a technical term for a persistent tendency to see the social and political world as a battle between groups, pitting the familiar 'us' against the unfamiliar 'them'. This tendency makes this group experience demographic and social change as a threat, and as they want to slow or reverse this change" (Soboleska and Ford, 2020, p. 6). As an example of ethnocentrism, the authors give a group in the United Kingdom, generally led by white people known as 'school leavers', who are over middle age. This group is a politically extreme group that works to slow down any kind of change in society. According to Soboleska and Ford, both good and bad changes scare this group. One of the symbolic political stances of this group, anti-immigration, for example, is based on this ethnocentric attitude. They always produce hate speech through groups belonging to the social layers they marginalize as "them" due to the pain of social transformations.

In *Death of England: Closing Time*, Alan states that "an Englishman's home is his castle" (2024, p. 110). It has been a common proverb and, as Archer Taylor (1965) mentions, the earliest recorded use of this proverb dates back to 1567, and it has remained a part of British everyday life in some form ever since. Alan certainly did not use this proverb, which sums up the fact that the British people should decide for themselves what happens in their own homes and that no one should tell them what to do in such an innocent context. Alan refers to 'home' as the territory of the United Kingdom. He argues that the arrival of immigrants has polluted this land and that, like a man's private property, the homeland must be defended. These words clearly symbolise Alan's ethnocentric character. Alan, in addition to voting Leave in the referendum, is an identity conservative who has internalized his vote too much. When Michael's description of Alan is considered, Alan's ethnocentric political identity becomes clear. In addition, Alan's ethnocentric preferences are also influenced by his belonging to the 'Leavers' group, which is a Brexit political identity.

In *Encyclopedia of Personality and Individual Differences* (2020), ethnocentrism is described as "a multidimensional attitudinal construct, comprising intergroup and intragroup attitudes, emanating from the belief that one's own ethnic group is of immense importance" (p. 1701). Soboleska and Ford (2020), "ethnocentrism may be an aspect of the 'authoritarian personality'" (p. 37) and Alan is a quite convenient character of this kind of personality. In addition to the level of education, another defining feature of ethnocentrism is naturally ethnic identity. In recent years, due to increasing ethnic diversity, new gaps have emerged between ethnocentric voters and those who reject group-centred worldviews. In *Death of England*, Alan's remarks about English national football player Raheem Sterling during a conversation are particularly significant in this context:

> **Alan** Look at their shirts. They look like table cloths.– *he joked.* Can't believe he's still playing Sterling he's shit for England.– now looking serious, almost violent. I thought I'd try and calm him down.
> **Michael** He's low on confidence aint he?
> **Alan** He's low on fucking Englishness.–
> *he sharply replied, swigging his third pint.* (Williams and Dyer, 2024, p. 14)

This conversation clearly reveals the authoritarian personality and Alan's ethnocentric worldview. The phrase "low on fucking Englishness" that Alan uses to criticize the football player Sterling shows that he defines the concept of "Englishness" within a narrow framework of national identity and is prone to excluding individuals who do not fit this framework. Sterling's attribution of his performance to a lack of "Englishness" implies that Alan relies not only on rational reasons such as lack of talent or confidence but also on cultural and ethnic prejudices. This perspective shows that Alan's authoritarian attitude is based on a mindset that sees his own ethnic group as superior to others. Moreover, his use of a sarcastic tone throughout the conversation and his increasingly violent attitude clearly reveal how this prejudice guides his behaviour.

Soboleska and Ford (2020) note that identity conservative voters have until recently constituted the overwhelming majority of the total electorate and highlight the importance of this group for understanding UK politics. From the ethnocentric white school leavers perspective, society has evolved, leaving these individuals feeling left behind, with their primary perceived only failing being their inability to adapt. As a result, they often adopt a conservative stance, aiming to slow or reverse social changes that they regard as a threat to their group and that erode their former dominant status. for ethnocentric white school leavers, change is synonymous with loss. The loss of their position and the loss of cultural cohesion and continuity that they value terrify them. Many within this group regard the expansion of education and growing ethnic diversity with a loss of political status. Such a tendency is also consistent with the ethnocentric worldview of these voters. When such people are chronically inclined to view politics as a conflict between 'us' and 'them', they will

naturally tend to believe that the rise of new groups can only be accommodated by marginalising formerly dominant groups in politics. It is therefore not surprising that restoration slogans such as "immigrants out!" (Williams and Dyer, 2024, p. 19) or "take the country back from the Blacks" (p. 20) used by Alan in the play resonate with identity conservative voters. All types of identitiy stances are represented in the Death of England: Delroy.

Such divisive expressions can be observed in Delroy's speeches. His monologue at the very beginning of the play, which is adorned with issues of belonging, identity, and national consciousness, can be a good example of this situation. At the beginning of a long speech in which Delroy questions his own life and existence in the world, he also makes speeches touching on his national identity:

> **Delroy** That's my favourite … he ain't paid his bills and I'm the scum. 'How dare you!' Jokes, man. He drinks down the last of the Guinness and opens another. Then … he wants my sympathy … I mean what the actual fuck … I was like Mate, I'm a black man. Of West Indian descent, claiming some kinda Britishness … on the account of the fact that I was born here and my grandparents was born in a British colony that 'reach inna England' with a British passport in the fifties, and had learnt all the British values there, of not giving a shit about anybody! Part from their kin … I'm a product of this country! (Williams and Dyer, 2024, p. 51)

As a Black man, Delroy constantly feels the need to emphasize his British identity. In *Death of England: Closing Time*, he even defends the Crown against his mother Denise, who disdains his coronation ceremony, by saying "Slavery is over, let them have their day" (Williams and Dyer, 2024, p. 124). Britishness always runs through some of his speeches, and it is important for Delroy to insist on this. Because deep down, he lives with the preconception that the British, especially the white British, do not see him as one of them. This situation makes the audience sense from the very beginning that Delroy is psychologically deficient or fragile. In other words, Delroy does not feel free and equal in the country where he was born, paid taxes, voted, and went to school. According to Soboleska and Ford (2020), the rise of ethnic diversity has led to new debates about the meaning of British identity. While ethnic minorities born in the UK have embraced a multicultural understanding of Britishness that recognises and includes them, older white voters still cling to a traditional sense of Britishness shaped by a homogeneous society before immigration. This traditional approach has been so strong at times that state-backed repatriation schemes have been proposed to reverse ethnic change, and have won the support of many white voters for many years following mass immigration.

Delroy was born in the United Kingdom and has been shaped by the sociology of this country since childhood. However, he always carries a deep sense of immigration in his heart, as his ancestors immigrated to the United Kingdom. In *Death of England: Delroy*, he asserts:

> **Delroy:** all of dem island mentality innit. All that European shit … don't connect to me, man, as long as my tax ain't too high, why should I care? …no one cares bout me. Had no European Union questioning the police stop and search figures for black people here. Checking up on our black deaths in custodies, black mental health figures… no European law on dat is there. 'Bout he's cussing me out at his dad's funeral for voting Brexit. (Williams and Dyer, 2024, p. 53)

Although Delroy was born in the United Kingdom, he is still a second-generation black immigrant due to his family's ethnic origins. Soboleska and Ford (2020) emphasize that ethnic minority voters in the United Kingdom have traditionally been more liberal. They also reveal that in the Brexit vote, ethnic minority voters voted 'Leave' instead of the relatively more liberal option of 'Remain'. This result is surprising to them. Delroy's words reflect the social and political identity search of a Black British person who is confronted with his immigrant identity. Delroy does not want to define

himself as an immigrant because, according to him, the indifference of the European Union and Europe in general to the injustices against Black British people has made it difficult for him to accept this identity. Also, "ethnocentric views are prone to perceive immigrants as a threat to the national in-group and will mobilize to defend their national in-group" (Soboleska and Ford, 2020, p. 43), thus Delroy refrains from being labelled as an immigrant. He also bases his choice of "Leave" on Brexit on the lack of any effective intervention by the European Union against the mistreatment of Black people in the UK. For him, he has no connection with Europe itself and sees no reason to be interested in its policies outside of his personal interests. Delroy's perspective includes not only an identity-based rejection but also a critique of the discriminatory nature of social structures and policies.

It is interesting that Delroy used sentences in his speech that were incriminating the European Union. Another major factor in the ethnic minority voting "leave" appears here. It is a known fact that the Windrush Generation, known as "British citizens who came to the UK from Commonwealth countries in the period 1948–1971" (Taylor, 2020, p. 3), was subjected to intense procedures and psychological pressure in order to become British citizens. Before the referendum, "the idea that leaving the EU might lead to more equal treatment of all migrants, with greater control of European migration and more liberal rules for Commonwealth migrants refecting their home nations' historical connections to Britain was popular among ethnic minority voters" (Soboleska and Ford, 2020, p. 237). This generation and their children are disturbed by the fact that the last wave of EU-based immigrants, who came to the country intensively during Tony Blair's government, have had a relatively more comfortable and practical citizenship application system than their own. As a member of a Windrush Generation family, Delroy remembers on a postmemorial level that his family and circle were subjected to intense procedures and psychological pressure in order to become British citizens. It is an indisputable fact that this was Delroy's motivation behind voting Leave in the Brexit referendum. As a second generation descendant of the post-Second World war immigration wave, Delroy was born and raised in Ebgland. Even though his ethnicity is different and he has been marginalized at certain periods of his life, Delroy finds himself marginalizing immigrants who came to the United Kingdom with another wave of immigration in the 1990s. In fact, in addition to not wanting them, Delroy was also affected by the danger of new waves of immigration, which was frequently emphasized in the Leave campaign, and he determined his voting preference accordingly.

Conclusion

Roy Williams and Clint Dyer's *Death of England* trilogy investigates the depths of identity, belonging and cultural conflicts in post-Brexit Britain. Each play in the trilogy examines how the characters define and transform their identities and social roles. Brexit is not just a political choice, but also a major transformation in the cultural and social structure of England. Each character experiences different aspects of this change after Brexit and reveals their own search for identity. The first play is Death of England. This play begins at the funeral of Michael's father Alan, which marks a turning point in the search for identity and social questions. Michael's relationship with his father opens with a monologue in which he questions Alan's views on ethnic identity and racism. Alan supported the Leave campaign and argued that England's cultural identity was under threat with statements such as 'England belongs to the English'. Michael criticizes his father's racist and ethnocentric views, while explaining how Brexit has brought such feelings to the surface. Alan's identity crisis is not only an individual issue but also reveals the social tensions of the post-Brexit era. Michael questions his father's views and tries to understand England's historical identity and how this identity has transformed.

Death of England: Delroy focuses on Delroy's perspective, as the name suggests. Unlike Michael, Delroy defends his own identity and discusses his connection to the concept of 'Britishness'. Delroy

defines himself as British, but on the other hand, he is also influenced by his origins and past. During the Brexit process, he feels that the European Union is not beneficial enough for the Black British community and votes leave. Delroy's story reveals the efforts of ethnic minorities to redefine their identities, and the feeling of exclusion imposed on them by the social structure. While his search for identity is shaped as an individual effort to defend his freedom and rights, the problems of social identity and belonging are also brought to a broader perspective. Delroy struggles with the divisive discourses brought about by Brexit in his quest for a definition of 'Englishness' that does not ignore cultural diversity and historical ties.

The third play, *Death of England: Closing Time*, deals with social issues from the perspective of female characters. Carly questions the worldviews of men as Delroy's partner, while Denise challenges the moulds of the past and family as Delroy's mother. This play goes beyond the male-dominated narrative and says more about women's lives and their social and cultural identities. Carly and Denise's stories reflect the experiences of women who resist social norms and the effects of the past, trying to reshape their own identities. This play discusses the effects of social transformation on individual and family relationships, while also revealing how women adapt to this transformation and construct their own identities.

The trilogy deals with the social tensions and identity searches of the post-Brexit period. Michael's father Alan sees ethnic diversity as a threat by confining his ethnic identity within a certain national framework, while Delroy, as an individual who questions his own belonging and British identity, opposes social injustice. The tension between the perspectives of these two characters reflects the social changes in England after Brexit, offering the audience a deep intellectual experience. While the conflict between Alan and Michael reveals the effects of the wave of nationalism brought by Brexit on individual relationships, Delroy's story offers an important perspective on the exclusion and identity crisis that ethnic minorities face. This trilogy examines the changes in England's social structure after Brexit, how different identity groups cope with this change, and how each individual constructs their own identity. Through characters such as Michael, Alan, Delroy, Carly, and Denise, the audience is shown the social and cultural effects of Brexit through cultural conflicts, identity crises, and questions of belonging. Each of these characters plays an important role in understanding England's modern identity and reflects the difficulties of this identity.

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Not Drowning But Drawing: The Defiant Vision Of Stevie Smith
Boğulmuyor, Çiziyor: Stevie Smith'in Direnişçi Vizyonu

Asya Sakine Uçar (ORCID) 0000-0002-9653-2911
Giresun University

ABSTRACT

This article aims to provide an analysis of how English poet and novelist Stevie Smith's poetry and simple sketches oscillate between despair and creative survival, intricately navigating the theme of death, as most notably seen in poems such as "Not Waving but Drowning," "The River Deben", "Oblivion," "Black March," "Come, Death (2)" and "Tender Only to the One." This work also argues that Smith's treatment of death as a gentle friend rather than a feared, ominous entity and even reframing it as a figure of god reveals a gradual transition from a misunderstood force, obscured by alienation and miscommunication to a desirable oblivion, liberated from suffering and constraints of life. Finally, a dimension of reverent, solemn acceptance and eager anticipation offer eternal and genuine relief from the unbearable burdens and turbulences of life. In that sense, Smith's configurations of death and evocative drawings accompanying some of her poems mirror a sense of existential solitude while simultaneously resisting despair through creative expression.

Introduction

Most notably known for her poetry collections and only novel, *Novel on Yellow Paper* (1936), English writer Stevie Smith (1902-1971) has surprisingly been an overlooked figure in critical enquiries. Her childlike verses and ostensibly amateurish sketches have often been dismissed, however her unique appreciation of death which is a persistent theme in her oeuvre is projected into constructing her own 'god' amplifying how the creative impetus is not limited with drawing skills but also literary vision which turns into a defiance and survival for her in grappling with the tragedies of her own life as "her mother died when [she] was in her teens and for the rest of her life [she] lived, unmarried with her aunt" (Masud and White, 2018, p. 291). Having suffered from tuberculosis and subsequent health issues at a young age might have fuelled, at least in part, the dominance of mortality as a motif in her poetry. Lee Upton's *Stevie Smith and the Anxiety of Intimacy* delves deeply into these aspects of Smith's life, highlighting how they influenced her poetic expressions of isolation, abandonment, and existential uncertainty. Upton discusses the key events in Smith's early years that contributed to her emotional landscape, noting: "The separations within Smith's own life have been rehearsed frequently: a father who abandoned the family during Smith's

infancy; Smith's hospitalization at the age of five for nearly three years in a home for the tubercular; her mother's early death while Smith was still a teenager" (1991, p. 25). It is observed that, Stevie's interaction with death, without a chronological order, embodies shifting perspectives from ambiguous, humorous detachment to a comforting isolation in conjuring her own god and in doing so; in spite of not offering direct and explicit interpretations, Smith's doodles shape the reading experience becoming an integral and idiosyncratic part of her poetic vision. In that regard, the death wish that permeates her poems is not merely an end or elusive, distant, fearsome phenomenon but a reassuring, intimate, pervasive presence.

Death and Drawing

When it comes to the scholarly approach to Stevie Smith's poetry, Jihyun Yun highlights a crucial oversight, pinpointing how critics have traditionally prioritized textual interpretation while treating the drawings as secondary elements. Although early evaluations like the one made by Philip Larkin dismissed them as whimsical and amateurish, Larkin's description of the drawings as "cute" and "crazy", there has also been alternative readings as by their sheer placement and presence on the page, demand immediate attention and shape the reader's experience before the words are even processed:

> In approaching Smith's poetry as a composite of image and language, previous scholars have, almost without exception, tried to seek a possible relation between the drawings and the words *only after* interpreting the words first. That is, the drawings have always been considered as secondary to words. I propose a different approach from this established method of reading: I suggest that we close-read the drawings first and then move on to reading the words. (Yun, 2021, p. 1129)

Stevie Smith's poetry reveals a dynamic fusion of the verbal and the visual, where imagery is not merely descriptive but functions as a process of self-construction and meaning-making. Her work frequently dissolves the boundaries between the textual and the pictorial, demonstrating a profound engagement with visual thinking and iconic projection. Smith's distinctive hand-drawn illustrations alongside her poetry reinforce this intermedial approach, transforming her poems into aesthetic structures engaging with the visual as an essential mode of poetic expression. In his work "The Relevance of Stevie Smith's Drawings" Jack Barbera mentions while researching a biography of Stevie Smith with William McBrien how he discovered that drawing was "one of Stevie's constant delights as a child" (1985, p. 222). Despite lacking formal training and doubting her drawing skills, Stevie Smith was deeply committed to publishing her artwork, which, though not primarily intended as poem illustrations, appeared in every poetry collection. Scholars have noted that Stevie Smith's drawings are not merely decorative but actively shape the reading experience. As Stewart observes:

> Drawings, then, often enter into a gap in the text and force us to read between the lines. In addition, they serve as perhaps Smith's most playful and subversive "construction site," the place where we literally see – that is, receive a visual representation of – the carnivalesque banter of traditions, languages, and cultural scripts that reverberate in her work. The words of the poem most often do not simply tell the story of the pictures. Instead, the drawings supply yet another marker in the play of difference. (1998, p. 71)

Accordingly, in Kay Dick's interview from the book *Ivy&Stevie* (1971), Smith herself admitted that her drawings "have nothing to do with the poems" (p. 70) and described keeping them in a playbox, suggesting that they emerged independently rather than as direct illustrations of her literary work. On the other hand, in her critical biography Spalding notes that "Stevie was insistent that the drawings were a part of the verse and must be published" (1990, p. 221). Stevie Smith's relationship with her own artistic abilities was marked by a characteristic ambivalence, particularly in regard to

her drawings as her visual art, much like her verse, operates within a space of contradiction – crafted with deliberation yet seemingly spontaneous, whimsical yet deeply evocative. This duality mirrors the thematic tensions in her poetry, where irony and sincerity, detachment and deep emotional resonance, coexist. The whimsical juxtaposition of her drawings with her poems highlights her resistance to rigid artistic categories, creating an interplay between word and image that enlightens the layered ambiguity central to her work.

Early analyses of Stevie Smith's drawings often regard them as seamless extensions of her poetry, echoing its tone and thematic concerns. However, a closer look uncovers a stark tension between image and text. While her poetry delves into profound themes of death, alienation, and despair, her deceptively simple, childlike drawings create an ironic or dissonant contrast, unsettling the reader's expectations and complicating the relationship between visual and verbal expression. This visual naïveté, juxtaposed with the weight of her poetic subjects, creates a tension that complicates interpretation. She doodles spontaneously – on the backs of envelopes, memo pads, and scraps of paper – and keeps the ones she likes, without necessarily connecting them to specific poems. Yet, despite this professed separation there are instances where the two forms seem to complete each other, reinforcing or deepening meaning. In Kristen Marangoni's words the doodled drawings function as "creative evoking of the 'spirit of the poem' in her pairings of texts and images" (2018, p. 378). In that sense, Stevie Smith's drawings intervene in the text, encouraging readers to look beyond the written words. They act as a playful and subversive space where visual elements reflect the interplay of traditions, languages, and cultural influences in her work. Rather than directly illustrating the poems, the drawings create a new dimension of meaning, adding to the richness and complexity of her artistic expression.

Smith's doodles or simple sketches accompanying her poems not only add a unique whimsical touch but they also mirror and exemplify how illustrations interact with written words which inevitably leads to comparisons with another visual poet William Blake. What these two comparative figures share as thematic preoccupations and artistic styles like fairy tale aesthetics can be enriched through certain poems. Although Smith's sketches lack the elaborate details of Blake's illumination, in terms of evoking imagery they share the same function. Smith's sketches do not merely provide visual counterpoints, they could also make the poems more accessible to interpret steering the readers into thematic depts. Blake's works brim with color, intricate patterns, and interwoven text, creating a visual and textual simultaneity that reinforces his poetic vision. Smith, on the other hand, adopts an intentionally sparse and minimalist approach, her line drawings exuding a stark loneliness that mirrors the emotional landscape of her poetry. Yet, in both cases, illustration becomes an essential part of poetic expression, guiding interpretation and deepening thematic resonance.

Death naturally occupies a central position in Smith's thoughts, shaping much of her poetic imagination. Throughout her work, she repeatedly flirts with the idea of suicide, portraying life as burdensome and death as a longed-for release. In her article "Fear, Melancholy and Loss in the Poetry of Stevie Smith," Ruth Baumert (2007) pleads that unlike other women writers like Virginia Woolf or Anne Sexton, Smith "seems to have found her coping style" (p. 216) and "the most important factor was that she learned to accept her marginality and even make a virtue out of it" (p. 216). In a way, Smith's "coping style" could be seen making death a recurring theme in her poetry and framing it on her own terms. In the same interview made by Kay Dick, Smith confesses "I love death, I think it's the most exciting thing" (1971, p. 71). She says "one has the power to summon God, because death is a god…" (1971, p. 71). Stevie Smith's lifelong argument with the Christian God

of her childhood and her preoccupation with Thanatos[1], the servant-god of death, are central themes in her poetry. Her distinctive treatment of death as a comforting presence or companion rather than a tragic mood of mortality has always been considered a hallmark of her poetry. Although Stevie Smith frequently rejects Christian doctrine in her meditations on death, her poetry also reveals an ongoing engagement with religious themes, suggesting that her agnosticism was, at times, a site of inner tension. As noted in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, Smith is described as "a religious skeptic" whose work is nonetheless deeply invested in "theological speculation, the language of the Bible, and religious experience" (Ramazani & Stallworthy, 2012, p. 2599). Rather than adhering to traditional Christian belief, her poetry often replaces institutionalized religion with a distinctive, personal spirituality. This is particularly evident in her reflections on death, where God is frequently supplanted by Death itself – a figure that emerges as both an inevitable force and, at times, a source of solace. In this way, Smith's work does not simply reject religious frameworks but reshapes them, transforming death into a metaphysical presence that occupies the space traditionally reserved for the divine.

To fully grasp Smith's complex perspective on death, it is crucial to consider the historical backdrop of her time. Born just before World War I, she lived through Europe's descent into World War II, an era defined by widespread devastation and loss. However, despite the turbulent political landscape of her time, Smith's poetry remains strikingly apolitical. Rather than engaging directly with political themes, she adopts a fairy-tale style, often employing a childlike voice that paradoxically deepens the impact of her reflections on mortality. Philip Larkin, in his article "Frivolous and Vulnerable", expands on this aspect of Smith's work, remarking:

> I am not aware that Stevie Smith's poems have ever received serious critical assessment, though recently I have seen signs that this may not be far off. They are certainly presented with that hallmark of frivolity, drawings and if my friends had been asked to replace Miss Smith they would no doubt have put her somewhere in the uneasy marches between humorous and children's. (1991, p.75)

Therefore, Smith's preoccupation with death can be juxtaposed with a childlike treatment, as seen in her use of fairy-tale motifs and deceptively simple language. This contrast between innocence and existential depth complicates the reading of her poetry, making death not merely an end but a space of transformation and release. Romana Huk, in her article "Poetic Subject and Voice as Sites of Struggle: Toward A Post-Revisionist Reading of Stevie Smith's Fairy-Tale Poems", interprets this tension as a means of negotiating identity and language itself. She argues that:

> Death becomes the as yet unimaginable possibility beyond imprisoning language, the space against which words and identities take definition, symbolic and imaginary words collide, it is the night or blankness into which Smith's speakers often run or ride as they attempt to escape from their own discursively constructed selves in her fairy tale poems. (1997, p. 154)

The fairy tale framework and its simplistic structure allows Smith to subvert expectations to amalgamate complex inquiries through childlike lens and wonder with a playful tone steering readers into existential reflections. For that matter, Stevie Smith's poetic style is often characterized by a *fausse-naïve* quality, a term coined by Philip Larkin to describe her distinctive blend of childlike simplicity and deep philosophical inquiry. Christopher Ricks further emphasizes this notion stating "Fausse-naive: an odd turn, but the right route into the world of Stevie Smith" (1981, p. 147). This phrase, with its Anglo-French origins and paradoxical nature, aptly captures the complexities of Smith's work. While her poetry may appear whimsical or naïve on the surface, it frequently grapples

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[1] "The Death instinct described by Freud as 'Thanatos' is a death drive manifested as a desire to return to the previous state, lifelessness and stasis, and the state of none-existence in which individuals no longer experience anxiety, stress or tension" (Heidarzadegan & Shareef, 2021, p. 1628).

with profound and unsettling themes, particularly those of childhood and death. Her voice, often childlike and accompanied by whimsical drawings, has led to her work being frequently overlooked as serious poetry. Jane Dowson, in *Women's Poetry of the 1930s: A Critical Anthology*, notes that one of the reasons for the scarcity of serious analysis of Smith's poetry is its being unclassifiable (1996, p. 139). At first glance, the juxtaposition of children and death in Smith's work may seem incongruous. However, both themes reflect her fascination with the tension between innocence and knowledge, playfulness and existential dread. In poems like "Not Waving but Drowning", Smith intertwines a seemingly playful tone with profound tragedy, a hallmark of her distinctive style. Her work thrives on contradictions, blending the peculiar, the paradoxical, and an unsettlingly childlike perspective to explore life's most somber themes. In doing this, one can place Smith within a realm of contradictions, resisting easy categorization, questioning religious dictates, embodying both playfulness and profound existential inquiry, which defies conventional norms and ultimately strengthens her poetic legacy.

Representations of Death in Poems

Whether it represents a peaceful release, a passage to the eternal, or a reconciliation with the inevitable, the theme of death has been a central preoccupation for poets, spanning from the metaphysical inquiries of John Donne to the modernist and postmodernist contemplations of Sylvia Plath, Emily Dickinson, and Stevie Smith. Stevie Smith's exploration of death diverges significantly from that of Sylvia Plath and Emily Dickinson, particularly in the approach to the concept of mortality and suicidal tendencies. As Lawson observes "…death was never for Stevie Smith what it became for Sylvia Plath, a terrible solution to an intolerable existence, an action of despair, anger and outrage" (1983, p. 95). Unlike Plath's harrowing depiction of death as a means to resolve the conflict between life and suffering, Smith's death is often viewed as an opportunity for peace, even though it is sometimes accompanied by a sense of resignation or ambivalence. On the other hand, like Emily Dickinson, Smith incorporates a philosophical and introspective approach to death. Like Smith, Dickinson approaches death not with despair but with curiosity and contemplation. Her perspective is deeply spiritual and philosophical, delving into its inevitability and mystery while often reflecting on the metaphysical dimensions of mortality. She portrays death as an inevitable meeting with God, presenting it as a release from the suffering of life rather than a feared end. Dickinson's twelve-line poem "Drowning is not so pitiful" not only resonates with Smith's most famous poem in terms of title, it also encapsulates the notion that eternal life in heaven is preferable to the hardships of earthly existence.

> "Drowning is not so pitiful
> As the attempt to rise.
> Comes up to face the skies,
> And then declines forever
> To that abhorred abode
> Where hope and he part company
> For he is grasped of God.
> The Maker's cordial visage,
> However good to see,
> Is shunned we must admit it,
> Like an adversity" (Dickinson, 1994, p. 25)

Dickinson's "Drowning is Not So Pitiful" and Smith's "Not Waving but Drowning", albeit years apart, both use drowning as a central metaphor for death. While for Dickinson death, symbolized by drowning could be a more desirable fate than the painful struggle to survive, it equals to a tragic consequence of miscommunication and isolation for Smith.

This theme of misinterpretation and alienation is at the heart of Smith's most famous poem, "Not Waving but Drowning", first published in her 1953 collection of the same name – the same year she attempted suicide at her workplace. The poem encapsulates Smith's persistent preoccupation with death, drawing on personal experiences from both her childhood and adult life. At the same time, it challenges the notion of romanticized suicide, a recurring yet complex theme woven throughout her body of work. Through its portrayal of death, the dying, and the deceased, the poem raises profound existential questions that challenge conventional perceptions of mortality.

> "Nobody heard him, the dead man,
> But still he lay moaning:
> I was much further out than you thought
> And not waving but drowning
> Poor chap, he always loved larking
> And now he is dead
> It must have been too cold for him his heart gave way,
> They said.
>
> Oh, no no no, it was too cold always
> (Still the dead one lay moaning)
> I was much too far out all my life
> And not waving but drowning" (Smith, 1983, p. 303)

Stevie Smith, "Not Waving but Drowning", *Collected Poems* (Smith, 1983, p. 303)

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Jack Barbera and McBrien's biography of the poet suggests that Smith was likely inspired by a newspaper story about a drowning man who was mistaken for waving (1985, p. 186). The poem also arouses an immediate sense of misunderstanding, isolation and ignorance offering a paradoxical act of moaning for a dead man probably implying the lingering emotional or mental pain beyond physical death. This could also enact waving as a mental anguish or desperate plea illustrating how signs of distress go unnoticed. On the other hand, "Not Waving but Drowning" epitomizes what water imagery in many of her poems symbolises like death and isolation often suggesting a transition, fluidity rather than negativity. Although the quiet, undisturbed nature of water contrasts with the violence of drowning, it can also be eerily calm, aligning with her view of death as a comforting, almost welcoming presence. Although the first stanza offers an observer's perspective with third person narrator suggesting lack of recognition for the dead man, the shift to first person in the third stanza makes the poem deeply personal paralleling Smith's own feelings of emotional alienation.

Stevie Smith's accompanying sketch which has an androgynous, even feminine quality with long hair and slightly rounded features in contrast with the masculine identity of the poem's subject further reinforces the idea that the speaker's voice and the dead man's voice are intertwined. The ambiguity in the sketch might reflect her personal identification with the drowned figure – perhaps mirroring the shift in perspective within the poem, where the voice of the dead man merges with the speaker's own emotions. The poem's protagonist, a drowning man whose cries for help are

mistaken for mere gestures of playfulness, mirrors Smith's own sense of being unheard and misread by society. Her resignation is evident in the transition from struggling against isolation to surrendering to it – there is no longer an effort to be understood, only the quiet acceptance of drowning. The tragi-comic quality of the poem heightens its impact; the absurdity of the misinterpretation is both darkly humorous and deeply unsettling. In this way, Smith blends irony with existential despair, reinforcing her recurring motif of death not as an end but as a return to an earlier, perhaps more peaceful state.

In examining Stevie Smith's artistic and literary approach, the poem not only serves as a powerful lens in suggesting a transformation of how Smith channels her own struggles into artistic expression, but it also mirrors how her work often navigates themes of isolation and existential crisis through both poetry and illustration. The title of the poem, which reinforces the sense of an unheard plea, echoes Smith's drawings that often accompany her poetry, serving as a second voice that demands to be seen and interpreted rather than dismissed. Her art is not just an echo of suffering but an active means of reinterpreting and reframing it. As Steward suggests: "The poem stands as a kind of analogy for the drawings in all of Smith's poems. Nobody may "hear" them, but they continue to speak, almost "too far out" from body of the text, but not quite. As extra-discursive components, they dramatize play within language and the possibilities of deconstructing meaning so that there are always meanings thrashing about in the sea of textuality" (1998, p. 79). The description of drawings as "extra-discursive components" suggests that they exist outside conventional linguistic structures, offering an alternative mode of communication that destabilizes fixed interpretations. Their presence creates a visual dialogue with the text, much like figures "thrashing about in the sea," struggling to be seen and understood.

"The River Deben," like "Not Waving but Drowning," uses water as a metaphor for death. However, while "Not Waving but Drowning" portrays a tragic and unnoticed passing, "The River Deben" presents death with a sense of spiritual acceptance, embracing its inevitability rather than resisting it.

> "All the waters of the River Deben
> Go over my head to the last wave even
> Such a death were sweet to seven times seven.
>
> Death sits in the boat with me
> His face is shrouded but he smiles I see
> The time is not yet, he will not come so readily" (Smith, 1983, p. 48)

Stevie Smith, "The River Deben", *Collected Poems* (Smith, 1983, p. 48)

According to Smith, in offering a sense of calm and relief, death and river bear explicit comparisons as Smith portrays death as a tranquil, natural occurrence, much like a river's steady flow. The smiling death imagery suggests a gentle surrender, emphasizing its inevitability and its peaceful embrace. The key tension in the poem is between the desire for the serenity of death and the understanding that it is not yet time. The line *"Thou comest unwished"* suggests that, despite moments of longing for rest, death is not something she actively seeks. Smith's sketch appears to depict two figures – a rower and a seated, possibly female figure representing Stevie Smith herself, contemplating death but not yet ready for it. Meanwhile, the male figure in the boat could symbolize Death, rowing steadily yet patiently, complying with Smith's frequent personification of Death as a quiet, almost companion-like presence – neither menacing nor immediate, but always near.

Stevie Smith's engagement with death is neither wholly despairing nor conventionally redemptive, but rather a paradoxical embrace of its finality as a form of liberation. While death is often portrayed as an end, in Smith's work it is also an ever-present possibility – one that, rather than inducing fear, can provide a means of coping with life's inherent suffering. Spalding (1990) observes that "in her attitude to death, Stevie is, it at first seems, at her most unchristian" (p. 242). Unlike traditional Christian narratives that frame death as a transition to eternal life, Smith saw it as "a scatterer," a force that dismantles the rigid structures of human existence and offers "a release that is absolute" (Spalding, 1990, p. 242). Though she rejected the Christian notion of death as a passage to divine realm, Smith's humanist perspective remained curiously buoyant. She likened death to "waiting for a train one really longs to take", suggesting an eager anticipation rather than dread (Spalding, 1990, p. 242). This outlook aligns with her broader philosophical stance – one that finds solace in the inevitability of death rather than in the promise of an afterlife. In this way, Smith does not simply dwell on mortality as a source of anguish, but rather, as a persistent undercurrent that tempers life's hardships, allowing for an ironic, at times even playful, engagement with the concept of oblivion.

In exemplary poems like "Oblivion", Smith's reflections on death deepen as she moves into creating a desirable space devoid of sufferings and constraints. Such an oblivion not only equals into state of independence but also spares one from the burdens of existence. Her belief that "one longs to die, because it would be more in control of everything … because being alive is like being in enemy territory" (Dick, 1971, p. 71) complies with broader critique of the human condition – her skepticism toward societal norms, her rejection of conventional religious belief, and her fascination with death as a form of escape. In "Oblivion," Stevie Smith encapsulates a poignant struggle between the peace of death and the pain of human connection.

> "It was a human face in my oblivion
> A human being and a human voice
> That cried to me, Come back, come back, come back.
> But I would not. I said I would not come back.
> It was so sweet in my oblivion
> There was a sweet mist wrapped me round about
> And I trod in a sweet and milky sea, knee deep,
> That was so pretty and so beautiful, growing deeper.
> But still the voice cried out, Come back, come back,
> Come back to me from sweet oblivion!
> It was a human and related voice
> That cried to me in pain. So I turned back.
> I cannot help but like Oblivion better
> Than being a human heart and human creature,
> But I can wait for her, her gentle mist
> And those sweet seas that deepen are my destiny

And must come even if not soon" (Smith, 1983, p. 562)

Stevie Smith, "Oblivion", *Collected Poems (*Smith, 1983, p. 562).

This sketch, with its simple yet haunting depiction of a face under a wide-brimmed hat, resonates strongly with the themes of "Oblivion". The figure's vacant expression, lack of detailed features, and almost detached gaze evoke a sense of isolation and detachment from the world – aligning with the poem's depiction of death as an alluring escape from reality. Geraldine Bell interprets the face "wearing an enigmatic smile, perhaps one of confidence or conviction" and the hat signifying "going away and also running away" quoting from Smith's poems (2016, p. 4). The speaker's journey into the "sweet oblivion" represents a desire to escape the burdens of life and the emotional tumult that accompany human existence. The repeated use of adjectives like "sweet," "gentle," and "milky" conveys a serene, almost childlike yearning for death, presenting it as a release – a blissful retreat from the harshness of life. Smith moves from depicting another's drowning in "Not Waving but Drowning" to embodying the experience herself, signaling a shift in her poetic engagement with death. Through recurring imagery of water, rivers, and boats, she constructs a liminal space between life and death, where oblivion appears serene and almost hypnotic rather than terrifying. This evolving perspective suggests a growing detachment from the physical world, as the poet resists return and instead surrenders to the irresistible pull of the unknown.

This idea of detachment in contemplating death is further underscored from the abstract erasure of "Oblivion" to the intimate conversation with death in "Black March". Rather than offering a straightforward reflection, "Black March" embodies a fluid and unpredictable creative process – one that oscillates between detachment and connection, allowing for interpretation and ambiguity.

> "I have a friend
> At the end
> Of the world.
> His name is breath
>
> Of fresh air.
> He is dressed in
> Grey chiffon. At least
> I think it is chiffon.
> It has a
> Peculiar look, like smoke.
>
> It wraps him round
> It blows out of place
> It conceals him
> I have not seen his face.

> But I have seen his eyes, they are
> As pretty and bright
> As raindrops on black twigs
> In March, and heard him say:
> I am a breath
> Of fresh air for you, a change
> By and by.
> Black March I call him" (Smith, 1983, p. 567-568)

The speaker in the poem expresses a deep conviction in the figure of the "black march," whose position at the end of the world suggests a god-like stature. Death is depicted as a breath clothed in grey chiffon, evoking both its spectral presence and ominous nature. However, the poet's attempt to reconcile with death is evident in the choice of the word "friend," signaling a paradoxical intimacy with the inevitable. Smith is not the first poet to personify death; her portrayal immediately recalls John Donne's "Death Be Not Proud", which similarly challenges and reimagines the nature of mortality. Smith personifies death as an ethereal figure dressed in "grey chiffon," an image that evokes both delicacy and elusiveness. The fabric, "like smoke," wraps around him, concealing his face, reinforcing the idea that death is an unknowable force, present but never fully revealed. Yet, she does not describe him in ominous or threatening terms. Instead, his eyes are "as pretty and bright / As raindrops on black twigs / In March," suggesting a quiet beauty in the transition from life to death.

Smith is engrossed with the idea of death to such an extent that, death becomes the only true source of freedom while life is intolerable and fraught with pain, exhaustion and discontent. The poet's unwavering trust in Death's companionship is evident in "Come, Death (2)":

> "I feel ill. What can the matter be?
> I'd ask God to have pity on me,
> But I turn to the one I know, and say:
> Come, Death, and carry me away.
> Ah me, sweet Death, you are the only god
> Who comes as a servant when he is called, you
> Listen then to this sound I make, it is sharp,
> Come Death. Do not be slow" (Smith, 1983, p. 571)

Stevie Smith's poem "Come, Death (2)" is one of her last works, written as she was suffering from the brain tumor that would ultimately take her life. The repeated imperative "come, death" creates an intimate and almost urgent tone, as if she is calling on a long-awaited friend. This coincides with her frequent depiction of death as a source of relief rather than tragedy. In "Come, Death (2)," Stevie Smith personifies death as a benevolent deity – one that is more reliable, accessible, and merciful than the Christian God. The opening lines adhere to a conventional religious framework – "*I'd ask God to have pity on me*" – yet this plea is swiftly abandoned. Instead of seeking solace in the distant, unresponsive Christian God, the speaker turns to a more immediate and reliable force: "*But I turn to the one I know, and say: / Come, Death, and carry me away.*" Unlike a divine figure that demands devotion while remaining distant, death is portrayed as both obedient and reliable – arriving promptly when called. This depiction underscores the speaker's authority over death, presenting it not as a mysterious or fearsome force, but as something entirely within human grasp. Unlike religious interpretations that require faith or suffering in exchange for salvation, Smith's vision of death is free from judgment, offering immediate and unconditional release. This perspective corresponds to her broader skepticism toward religious doctrine, rejecting the notion of death as a passage to the divine and instead framing it as an ultimate and absolute reprieve. The shift from tentative inquiry to resolute certainty mirrors a growing acceptance of mortality, culminating in the

final, commanding invocation, "*Come Death. Do not be slow.*" This quiet confidence – rooted in the inevitability of death rather than despair – distinguishes Smith's reflections on mortality from the rhetoric of resignation or desperation. The urgency in the closing lines reinforces the poem's central argument: life has become intolerable, and death should not delay its arrival.

Likewise, in the final lines of "Tender Only to the One," Stevie Smith portrays death as both intimate and inevitable.

> "Tender only to one,
> Last petal's latest breath
> Cries out aloud
> From the icy shroud
> His name, his name is Death" (Smith, 1983, p. 93)

The phrase "Tender only to one" suggests a deep, personal connection, emphasizing a relationship with death as a companion. The "last petal's latest breath" evokes fragility and the fleeting nature of life, while the cry "cries out aloud" underscores the urgency of this final moment. Death is not met in silence or reluctance but with a desperate call, mirroring the plea in "Come, Death (2)": *"Listen then to this sound I make, it is sharp."* The speaker does not passively await death but deliberately summons it, emphasizing the crushing weight of existence. This urgent plea reinforces Smith's perception of death not as a tragic loss but as a means of escape – a release from relentless suffering. The "icy shroud" evokes death's cold and unyielding grasp, while the repeated invocation of *"his name is Death"* transforms it into a distinct and almost intimate presence. These lines reflect both acceptance and resignation, presenting death not as a feared adversary but as an inevitable force, met with quiet determination. Smith's exploration of death becomes increasingly intimate, shifting from a mere servant responding to her call "Come, Death (2)" to a lover – perhaps the only entity deserving of true affection. This transition imbues her relationship with death with a personal, even romantic quality, highlighting the profound despair that makes life intolerable. The final lines, much like those in "Come, Death (2)" convey an intense longing for the finality that death offers, yet they do so with a tone of mournful devotion. Across her poetry, Smith's engagement with death extends beyond fascination; it becomes an all-encompassing fixation. Whether portrayed as a deity who answers her summons or as the sole recipient of tenderness, death emerges as the dominant force in her work – the ultimate resolution to life's unbearable weight. Her engagement with death is not linear but navigates between detachment, humor, and an almost devotional esteem, ultimately constructing a personal mythology drawing from personal losses, solitude but eliciting a defiant vision that withstands classification.

Conclusion

It is an undeniable fact that, like many poets, death is also in the territory of Stevie Smith; however, she chooses to glorify it, even crafting a counterpart to it. Smith not only personifies death as a divine presence, but she also assigns a god-like status to it as an extension of her existential yearning and perception that death is preferable to life. Her thematic engagement follows such a gradual trajectory that, death is not just a peaceful release and soothing presence but also a form of oblivion culminating in a rejection of life inviting readers to reconsider its role in the human experience. A crucial aspect of understanding Smith's vision lies in recognizing her habit of illustrating some of her works. These doodles and hand-drawn sketches serve as fleeting expressions of creative outpouring, aligning with the sense of release she seeks in her exploration of death and God, ultimately contributing to her poetic emancipation. The sense of an unheard, unrecognized plea, most famously portrayed in "Not Waving but Drowning", project Smith's drawings that often accompany her poetry, serving as a parallel voice that demands to be seen and reckoned rather than being dismissed. These illustrations, often deceptively simple, reveal a tension between playfulness

and despair, reinforcing the underlying contradictions in her work. In transforming despondency into a visual and literary dialogue, Smith draws on the interplay between death and river in order to convey a sense of tranquility, relief and in particular the flow of the river emerging as a natural passage. While creating a threshold between life and death, oblivion becomes almost mesmerizing rather than terrifying reflecting a detachment from the world. Death's spectral and enigmatic nature, always near but never fully grasped, does not preclude the poet from looking forward to it with urgency, even summoning it so that she can eventually embrace her benevolent deity – one that is more reliable, accessible, and merciful than the Christian God who demands suffering for salvation. Smith's depiction of death seems to border on reverence, not as an adversary to life but as a steadfast companion – an ever-present, intimate force that is both inescapable and familiar. For Smith, death is an unwavering source of solace and liberation, offering an affection so absolute that it renders life, with all its burdens, unbearable in comparison.

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Disrupting the Journey:
Gavin Weston's *Harmattan* as an Anti-Bildungsroman
Kesintiye Uğrayan Yolculuk: Bir Anti-Bildungsroman Olarak Gavin Weston'un *Harmattan* Eseri

Ersoy Gümüş 0000-0002-3919-336X
İstanbul University

ABSTRACT
This article explores Gavin Weston's *Harmattan* as an anti-Bildungsroman, subverting the traditional coming-of-age narrative through its portrayal of the protagonist Haoua, a young girl in Niger whose development is stunted by external forces such as poverty, gender oppression, and socio-political instability. Unlike a conventional Bildungsroman, which traces the protagonist's psychological, social, and moral growth, *Harmattan* presents a fragmented and regressive narrative structure. Haoua's journey is marked by her inability to achieve personal growth, thwarted by socio-political conditions, oppressive societal norms, and familial obligations. The non-linear plot emphasizes the stagnation of Haoua's development, underscoring the trauma and disillusionment she faces. Key elements of the anti-Bildungsroman are highlighted through Haoua's denial of her educational opportunities, forced marriage, and the physical and emotional violence she endures. Her story concludes not with self-actualization but with personal and social disintegration, culminating in her imprisonment. Through this analysis, the article argues that *Harmattan* critiques the very possibility of personal fulfilment in the face of systemic oppression, making it a powerful example of anti-Bildungsroman in postcolonial African literature. Also, the article examines how the novel ultimately challenges the reader's expectations of character growth and societal integration, presenting a bleak and unresolved vision of identity and agency.

Introduction

Originating from the German words "Bildung," meaning "education or formation," and "roman," standing for "novel," Bildungsroman refers to a literary genre that focuses on the psychological, moral, and social growth of the protagonists from youth to adulthood. In literary terms, the Bildungsroman, more commonly referred to as a "novel of formation" or "coming-of-age novel," dates back to the 18th century, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's work *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, written between 1795 and 1796, is regarded as the first and a seminal example of Bildungsroman in literature. In line with the spirit of the late 18th and 19th centuries, the Bildungsroman is a genre that allows the protagonists to express their own world view, reflects the development of their subjective personality, enables the formation of a personal perspective, and

even permits an expression of individual values in contrast to stereotypical societal viewpoints (Golban, 2017, pp. 112-113). Emphasizing the individual and individuality, the Bildungsroman focuses on the emotional, psychological, and spiritual insight of the protagonist as an individual. Additionally, it highlights the possibility of the character's undergoing a transformation, gaining a new identity, achieving self-completion, and experiencing a complete metamorphosis, all of which ultimately bring protagonists to maturity.

Although there are many different and diverse definitions of the Bildungsroman, Karl Morgenstern, who first used the term as a concept in the early 19th century, defined this genre as follows: "it portrays the Bildung of the hero in its beginnings and growth to a certain stage of completeness" (Morgenstern, 1819, as cited in Swales, 1978, p. 12). Based on Morgenstern's definition, it is possible to say that the fundamental requirement of the Bildungsroman is character transformation and identity formation. The protagonist, who embarks on a type of journey, experiences ups and downs along the way. However, every experience the hero undergoes is of critical importance for his development and transformation, or in Bakhtin's term, his "becoming" – allowing him to reach a higher stage (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 19). In this regard, the definition provided by Wilhelm Dilthey, which is based on Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, serves as one of the paradigm-setting descriptions of the Bildungsroman:

> A regulated development within the life of the individual is observed, each of its stages has its own intrinsic value and is at the same time the basis for a higher stage. The dissonances and conflicts of life appear as the necessary growth points through which the individual must pass on his way to maturity and harmony. (Dilthey, 1913, as cited in Swales, 1978, p. 3)

Based on Dilthey's definition, which "has acquired almost canonical status within German literary history" (Swales, 1978, p. 3), it can be argued that the Bildungsroman centres on the protagonist's journey and personal history, both of which are filled with challenges and crises. One of the characteristic features of the Bildungsroman is that, despite all the challenges, protagonists in the Bildungsroman come to terms and reaches reconciliation both with their own identity and with society and social expectations by the end of this journey (Gehrmann & Schönwetter, 2017, p. 2). Therefore, the Bildungsroman heroes ultimately mature by not only overcoming all the crises they encounter but also drawing the necessary constructive conclusions from them.

Originating primarily in German literature, thus having European roots, the Bildungsroman has not only undergone changes within historical periods but has also shown variations in cultural contexts. In other words, the Bildungsroman has gone through "radical changes in human society and writers who use the form in different socio-political eras and geographical spaces, modify the Bildungsroman so as to draw attention to specific experiences of a particular culture and historical period" (Addei, Osei, & Ennin, 2021, p. 77). As a reflection of this, the Bildungsroman has found unique expressions in African literature as it often intertwines with the continent's historical, cultural, and socio-political contexts. Unlike the traditional European Bildungsroman, which primarily focuses on the individual's journey toward self-actualization within a relatively stable society, the African Bildungsroman is frequently set against a backdrop of colonialism and post-colonialism. This genre in African literature does not merely narrate the personal growth of its protagonists but also reflects the collective experiences of their communities, grappling with the aftermath of colonial exploitation, the quest for identity, and the clash between traditional values and modernity. As such, the African Bildungsroman becomes a site of resistance and reclamation, offering nuanced explorations of how young African characters navigate the complexities of identity, power, and belonging in societies marked by profound change. These narratives often conclude not with the protagonist's full integration into society, as is common in the classic Bildungsroman, but rather with an ambivalent or open-ended resolution that reflects the ongoing challenges of defining selfhood within a postcolonial context. Therefore, in the African novel,

protagonists who struggle to grow, establish their identity, and complete their personal development in unstable societies may fail and thus transform into anti-Bildungsroman heroes.

Gavin Weston is a British "visual artist and writer" (Weston, 2012, p. 574) whose works span multiple creative fields, including literature, photography, and charity work. Born in Belfast, Northern Ireland, Weston has drawn much of his artistic and literary inspiration from his extensive travels and experiences in different cultures, particularly in West Africa. In addition to his literary works, Weston is also involved in humanitarian efforts, particularly in advocating for the rights and welfare of children in Africa. Weston's novel *Harmattan*, which "is based on first-hand experiences of Niger and its people" (Weston, 2012, p. 574) is a striking example of this, as it explores the harrowing realities faced by a young girl, called Haoua, in Niger. The novel, which was published in 2012, is set against the backdrop of the Sahel region's severe socio-political issues, including poverty, forced marriage, and legacies of colonialism. The novel is a powerful critique of the societal structures that trap individuals in cycles of suffering, and it reflects Weston's deep concern with human rights and social justice. More specifically, in *Harmattan*, Weston tells the story of an eight-year-old girl Hauoa, who has dreams for the future and fights to achieve them but experiences a devastating journey which ultimately shatters her dreams. Therefore, the aim of this article is to investigate *Harmattan* as an anti-Bildungsroman with respect to its portrayal of Haoua since the novel subverts the traditional coming-of-age narrative by highlighting the protagonist's stagnation rather than growth, disillusionment, fragmentation, and the absence of a positive resolution.

Hauoa as a Disjointed Victim

The elements of anti-Bildungsroman in *Harmattan* are evident through its non-linear plot, lack of personal growth, denial of agency, and the overwhelming presence of external forces that thwart any attempt at self-realization. One of the most striking elements of *Harmattan* as an anti-Bildungsroman is its non-linear plot structure which becomes evident from the very beginning of the novel. Unlike the classic Bildungsroman, which follows a clear, mostly -though not always-chronological trajectory that mirrors the protagonist's personal growth, *Harmattan*, which can be claimed to be "a story told in reverse" (Ever, 2017, p. 396), unfolds in a fragmented, disjointed manner. The narrative jumps between past and present, presenting key moments in Haoua's life out of sequence. The section that is actually the novel's first chapter, but is titled as a "Prologue," begins with "Niamey, January 2000" (Weston, 2012, p. 9) and ends with "That was before my twelfth birthday" (Weston, 2012, p. 12). As can be understood from this, Haoua is in Niamey, the capital of Niger, and it is evident that she has passed the age of twelve, which conveys a sense of being a pivotal period in her life. However, in the first chapter following the prologue, the narrative shifts back to April 10, 1995, and the setting moves to Wadata, a remote village of Niamey where Haoua lives with her family. On this, Ever claims that anti-Bildungsromans' "regressive plot has often been contrasted to the progressive narrative of the classical Bildungsroman" (Ever, 2017, p. 397). From this perspective, it can be claimed that flashbacks in an anti-Bildungsroman serve to disrupt traditional narratives of growth and development by revealing past traumas or failures that inform the protagonist's present state. They emphasize stagnation rather than progression, highlighting how past experiences shape a character's disillusionment or sense of loss. This is also applicable to Haoua as she goes back and forth between her life before and after her twelfth birthday. While referring to her life now, she speaks of "little landscapes" her "tears have made" (Weston, 2012, p. 9) that can be interpreted as an outcome of her past traumas which forms or more precisely deforms her current state. Additionally, Haoua's physical condition which is described as "I rock backwards, forwards backwards, forwards" also serves as an expression of the instability in which she finds herself (Weston, 2012, p. 9). The disappointments and feelings of loss stemming from the fragmentation and disillusionment Haoua has endured arise through flashbacks. Thus, this use of non-linear storytelling challenges the reader's expectations of character evolution, underscoring

themes of existential crisis and the complexity of personal identity. Ultimately, flashbacks deepen the sense of a life lived in contradiction to typical notions of maturation which is also true for Haoua.

Additionally, as indicated by the dates in Haoua's correspondence with her Irish sponsor family, there are significant gaps in her life story that could be considered major omissions. For instance, while the second letter she writes is dated "3rd July, 1996" (Weston, 2012, p. 18), the third letter is not written until "21st June, 1998" (Weston, 2012, p. 21). These temporal discontinuities highlight how Haoua's journey towards adulthood, unlike a traditional Bildungsroman, is marked by insecurity and instability. In other words, this narrative style reflects the unpredictable and often chaotic nature of Haoua's world, where any semblance of a linear, progressive path to adulthood is thwarted. Besides, by destabilizing time and sequence, Weston emphasizes the discontinuities in Haoua's development, rejecting the idea that her life can be understood as a coherent, upward journey toward maturity. Instead, her story is one of fragmentation, reflecting how various external forces – such as gender-based violence, poverty, and socio-political instability – consistently undermine her potential for growth.

Another element that firmly situates *Harmattan* within the anti-Bildungsroman genre is the absence of personal growth or self-realization in the protagonist's journey. In a traditional coming-of-age novel, the protagonist's evolution is marked by increasing self-awareness and the development of a clear identity. However, Haoua's experiences are defined not by growth but by regression and loss. Her life is marked by the gradual stripping away of her childhood innocence, security, and future possibilities. Throughout the beginning chapters of the novel, Weston portrays Haoua as a "very happy" (Weston, 2012, p. 13) girl living in a traditional Muslim Nigerian family with her siblings Fatima and Adamou, her elder brother Abdelkrim who is a soldier, her mother Azara and her father Salim. Supported by the Boyd family from Northern Ireland through the Vision Corps International (VCI) which is a branch of Tera Area Development Programme, Haoua is able to continue her education at a local primary school. Despite the burdensome and strenuous traditional roles imposed on girls in Wadata, such as "pounding millet, washing clothes, fetching water from the river, herding animals, cooking, gathering firewood, and tilling the dry ground" (Weston, 2012, p. 15) which prevent girls from going school and receiving education, Haoua, as a promising student, dreams of transcending these roles through education and aspires to become a teacher and "see more of the world" (Weston, 2012, p. 19). Her life, however, is turned upside down after the day Haoua finds her mother "lying, face down in a mess of millet and sand" (Weston, 2012, p. 97). Azara is first taken to a dispensary in Wadata and then sent to Niamey due to AIDS, a disease that Haoua describes as "a very bad thing" and "it brings great shame on a family" (Weston, 2012, p. 107). As a result of living in a traditional society and being the only daughter in the household, Haoua is forced to "be the woman of the house" during her mother's stay in hospital (Weston, 2012, p. 110). This transition from a schoolgirl to the woman of a house not only means an increase in household duties and responsibilities for Haoua, but it also signifies her being pulled away from formal education, which is the fundamental key to her development and maturation. Although she manages to complete her schoolwork in the first few days after her mother leaves by waking up earlier and staying up later, the arrival of Alassane (who is, in fact, a prospective wife for Haoua's father) makes Haoua's dreams shattered as she sternly declares that "your father sent me over to tell you that you must help your brother tend to the livestock and crops today," a process which will certainly end up Haoua's formal education (Weston, 2012, p. 111). Despite Haoua's insistence on continuing her education, Alassane's response becomes fierce and Haoua becomes the victim of physical violence which is described by Haoua as "one hand clenched my jaw while she jabbed me in the ribs with the other" (Weston, 2012, p. 112).

Not only Alassane, but also Haoua's father, Salim, is a key factor in obstructing his daughter's education. Helpless in the face of Alassane, Haoua insists to her father by saying "I have to go to

school, Father. It is what Mother wants for me too" (Weston, 2012, p. 118). However, the outcome is hardly different as Salim first grips Haoua's wrist tightly, grasps "her shoulders in his big strong hands," (Weston, 2012, p. 118) and then raises "his right hand to strike" her (Weston, 2012, p. 119) (although he refrains from completing the act due to Adamou's intervention). Nonetheless, his actions lead to the abrupt halt of Haoua's formal education – arguably her greatest opportunity to realize her potential. As a result, there comes out a "confrontation between collective tradition and the modern, individualistic career of the protagonist" (Austen, 2015, p. 217) whereby Haoua is pushed to fall in line with the conventional expectations of the society and her schooling is forced to come to an end. Therefore, it can be claimed that forcing a character to end her formal education becomes a significant element of the anti-Bildungsroman mainly because it disrupts the conventional trajectory of personal growth and self-realization which education typically provides in a traditional Bildungsroman. Education is often portrayed as a key avenue for characters to achieve intellectual development, social integration, and autonomy. Hence, in contrast to traditional Bildungsroman which "should deal with an individual's life focusing on his or her formative youth" (Austen, 2015, p. 215), the abrupt termination of Haoua's formal education symbolizes the barriers to her personal advancement imposed by societal or familial forces. This limitation stifles Haoua's potential, trapping her in a state of "arrested development" (Esty, 2012, p. 22) where growth is neither possible nor valued. Instead of gaining knowledge and empowerment, her journey starts to be marked by frustration and stagnation, highlighting the anti-Bildungsroman's emphasis on thwarted growth and the inability to achieve fulfilment.

In the genre of Bildungsroman, the mentor plays a crucial role in guiding the protagonist's personal and intellectual growth, often acting as a catalyst for self-discovery and development. Traditionally, the mentor is an older, wiser figure who provides advice, support, and sometimes challenges that help the young protagonist navigate the complexities of life. In the book *Reflection and Action: Essays on the Bildungsroman*, the role of the mentor and mentorship is highlighted as follows:

> Being a novel of education, the Bildungsroman needs not only an impressionable or receptive young person as pupil and central figure but also a teacher or mentor, who in the neo-Platonic tradition functions to initiate the neophyte into secret and sublime mysteries. (Glattery, 1991, p. 317)

As can be understood from the quotation, the essential dynamic between the mentor and the protagonist in a Bildungsroman should be underscored by emphasizing the mentor's role as a guide who facilitates the protagonist's intellectual and moral development. Also, the reference to the neo-Platonic tradition highlights how the mentor introduces the young character to deeper, often transformative knowledge, aligning the journey of personal growth with philosophical enlightenment. In this context, the mentor is not merely an instructor but a catalyst for the protagonist's transition from ignorance to understanding, guiding them through both external experiences and internal revelations. Similarly, when discussing the term Bildung in African literature, Austen not only emphasizes that the protagonist has "a relationship to personal mentors" but also underlines the support mentors provide for the character's education – whether formal or informal (Austen, 2015, p. 216). In *Harmattan*, it can be claimed that Haoua has more than one mentor. Foremost among them is her teacher, Monsieur Boubacar who is "a wonderful man" (Weston, 2012, p. 128). During the time Haoua is able to continue her education, the role of Monsieur Boubacar is highlighted by Haoua who says Monsieur Babacar was "never far away if I got stuck with either reading or writing" (Weston, 2012, p. 20). However, as a mentor, his role is not confined to the school and he does not remain silent when Haoua's education is interrupted. In an attempt to rectify the situation, he visits Haoua's home and indicates: "I am very concerned that one of my students might fall behind with her work, so I thought that perhaps we could work out some kind of plan whereby you might keep up your studies at home – until things return normal" (Weston,

2012, p. 128).

As can be inferred from Monsieur Boubacar's statement, when "formal and institutionalized education" is not feasible, pursuing individual studies and "independent reading" can be seen as a prudent solution to ensure protagonists' continued educational development and growth as it is the case with Haoua (Austen, 2015, p. 216). Monsieur Boubacar, who "cared enough to come to" (Weston, 2012, p. 128) Haoua's house, attempts to persuade Salim to send her daughter back to school by both highlighting the significance of Haoua's education and underlining Haoua's excellence as a student:

> Your daughter is a bright student. She has learned a great deal over the last few years and continuous to make good progress in her studies. I have high hopes for such a promising girl. ... Salim, your daughter's education is very important. You must not take it away from her now, please. With an education she can help to make things better. She could be a doctor or a teacher or a great writer, or an interpreter like Monsieur Richard. (Weston, 2012, p. 129)

While this moment fills Haoua "with a great surge of hope and happiness" (Weston, 2012, p. 128), Salim's coarse and uncompromising attitude, conveyed by his command to "get away from my home" (Weston, 2012, p. 131) signals to Haoua that her opportunities for both formal and informal education have been extinguished. Expressing her deep disillusionment, Haoua says, "A cold chill ran down my spine. 'No! No!' I whispered" (Weston, 2012, p. 130). In this moment, she not only loses the hope of continuing her education but also the extraordinary teacher and mentor who has been guiding her. The relationship between her teacher and Haoua could have offered the protagonist a chance to gain insights into the world thanks to education and the possibility of personal maturation. These elements could have ultimately helped her grow and integrate into society. However, her identity – as well as her chances for growth and integration – is shattered due to her father's behaviour which also damages the relationship between the pupil and the mentor.

At the heart of the Bildungsroman lies the journey of self-discovery. The protagonist embarks on a journey – both literal and metaphorical – that leads to a deeper understanding of themselves and their place in the world. This journey is not merely physical; it is an inward exploration that requires the protagonist to confront their desires, fears and limitations. Discussing the role of journeys in Bildungsroman, Golban explains:

> This hero's journey corresponds to a process of individual development from a disjointed sense of identity to a consolidated identity, when the individual acquires a clear sense of aspiration in life. In other words, the monomyth reveals human experience, in particular the process of maturation of an individual, the reaching and acknowledgment of the adult self. (Golban, 2014, p. 34)

As Golban puts forward, the hero's journey symbolizes a process of personal growth, where an individual moves from a fragmented sense of self to a unified, mature identity. Through this journey, the individuals gain clarity about their purpose and aspirations in life, ultimately reaching and recognizing their adult self. This transformation reflects the universal experience of maturation and self-discovery. In *Harmattan*, much like traditional Bildungsroman protagonists, Haoua embarks on a journey. However, this journey is far from one that matures, unifies, or shapes her identity into a coherent whole. Before she can even recover from the devastation caused by her mother's illness and the emotional distance created by their separation, Haoua faces another setback, the interruption of her education, which forces her to focus on reuniting with her mother and seeking her support, a case which is only possible by a journey from Wadata to Niamey. Nevertheless, Salim deems such a journey as "too dangerous, too far, too expensive" (Weston, 2012, p. 156) and refuses to permit the trip. Ultimately, Haoua sacrifices her shoes, a gift from her sponsor family from Ireland, in exchange for travel money, and Salim's cousin Moussa, who lives in Niamey, agrees to

accompany her on the journey to the city which makes Haoua's journey possible. However, a few days before Haoua's journey begins, she experiences her first menstrual cycle, which often symbolizes key moments of growth and transformation. The onset of a menstrual cycle holds particular symbolic weight in the context of a female protagonist's journey as it can mark a crucial transition from childhood to adulthood, often signifying a deeper understanding of identity, sexuality, and societal expectations. As such, Moussa's comment on seeing Haoua, "Ah, so you're a real woman now" and "it just means that you're ready" (Weston, 2012, p. 161) signifies the societal expectations, namely marriage. In addition, before starting the journey, Haoua expresses her hesitation or discomfort with the idea of having to travel with two men by saying "Suddenly, it struck me that I was about to set off on the first stage of a long journey with two men whom I barely know" (Weston, 2012, p. 180). Considering all of this, it becomes clear that Haoua is on the verge of a difficult and arduous journey, which also triggers feelings of anxiety and hesitation in her from the very beginning.

Throughout the journey, Haoua has to cope with various difficulties. Despite the physical discomforts she has to endure on camels just behind a man, what Haoua finds most troubling is Moussa's attitude and behaviours. The constant feeling of being under Moussa's watchful eye, "it seemed like I could feel his eyes boring into me" (Weston, 2012, p. 183), makes Haoua feel excessively disturbed. In addition, Moussa's inappropriate behaviour causes Haoua to feel both frightened and increasingly anxious. Specifically, his act of urinating without any restraint and in a way that suggests sexual undertones deeply unsettles Haoua which she expresses as follows:

> On one occasion I was distracted from preparing our refreshment by the sound of splashing. I looked up to see Moussa urinating, not far from where I was kneeling. He had been squatting, in the acceptable fashion, with his jellabe and thighs affording him some privacy, but when he caught my eye, he stood up, quickly, and shook himself towards me. (Weston, 2012, p. 183)

In a Bildungsroman, overcoming such difficulties plays a central role in the protagonist's personal growth and development. The challenges protagonists face – whether emotional, social, or physical – are often key factors for self-discovery and maturity. These struggles not only shape their identity but also help them gain a deeper understanding of the world and their place within it. The journey through adversity reflects the broader theme of transformation, illustrating how resilience and perseverance are essential for achieving a more complete sense of self. Therefore, Haoua's ability to deal with such challenges, to protect herself, and ultimately to reach her main goal of reaching Niamey can be considered in line with the traditional Bildungsroman trajectory. However, the real challenge that profoundly affects Haoua and causes significant regression in her identity and journey awaits her at the hospital in Niamey, where her mother is staying. When she and her brother Abdelkrim arrive at the hospital and see the empty bed where their mother is supposed to be, it wreaks havoc on Haoua. Understanding this, Haoua says "this is how things looked just before my life changed forever: the scene that I relieve, like a dream, every day of my life" (Weston, 2012, p. 224). Soon after, they learn from the doctor that Azara "a very ill woman passed away early this morning" (Weston, 2012, p. 225), and Haoua's world begins to completely turn upside down. Hence, the loss of a significant person can symbolize the disruption or complete thwarting of the protagonist's personal development. Unlike in a traditional Bildungsroman, where such loss might lead to growth, maturity, or self-actualization, in *Harmattan*, it intensifies feelings of disillusionment, stagnation, or regression. The absence of a guiding figure or source of emotional support deepens Haoua's sense of alienation, reinforcing themes of failure, fragmented identity, or an inability to reconcile with society. Therefore, Haoua's journey which lasts "for just two days" (Weston,2012, p. 309) ends in a loss that highlights the exploration of unresolved or diminished potential of Haoua.

In an anti-Bildungsroman, the protagonist's development may be stunted or regresses due to

external circumstances that prevent traditional self-actualization. Child marriage serves as one such destructive force, as it often removes girls from education, social opportunities, and the time needed for psychological growth. These stories might depict characters trapped in domestic roles, where any semblance of personal aspiration or individual fulfilment is either postponed indefinitely or permanently denied. Instead of moving toward self-knowledge and independence, these protagonists are often forced into a life of submission, domesticity, and passivity, making their story arcs inherently tragic or incomplete, defying the optimistic arc of a traditional coming-of-age story. Similarly, in *Harmattan*, Haoua, who lost both her mother, who was her mentor and protector, and her brother Abdelkrim, who died in an internal conflict, finds herself helpless in the hands of her father, Salim, who is deeply attached to traditional societal norms and gender roles. Under the pressure of her father and with the approval of the elders of the society, she is forcibly married to Moussa, a man much older than her and already with two wives. Whenever Haoua, who "was married just days after her twelfth birthday" (Weston, 2012, p. 320) expresses her fears about this marriage, her father, relying on societal codes, defends it with the following reasoning:

> Do not question my judgement. Already I see these young boys looking at you. I will not have you falling into ... adventures and gaining a reputation. If that happens, no one will want you and I will have failed to fulfil my duties as a father. Cousin Moussa is a fine man with a good business. ... And you will obey him as your husband, just as you obey God. (Weston, 2012, p. 321)

The strict hierarchical structure of traditional families, as evident in Haoua's case, often places characters in positions of obedience to authority figures such as parents or community leaders. This emphasis on submission over individual choice suppresses the Bildungsroman's ideal of personal agency and transformation. In the anti-Bildungsroman, instead of achieving growth through self-assertion and independence, characters may internalize their lack of agency, perpetuating a cycle of passivity. Therefore, from the moment Haoua is forced into marriage at a young age, her personal development is derailed, and the possibility of achieving a sense of autonomy or self-determination becomes increasingly distant. Rather than growing into a fully realized individual, Haoua, expressing her despair by saying "this is what it must be like for the animals at the zoo in Niamey" (Weston, 2012, p. 327) is pushed into a premature adulthood that denies her the opportunity to explore her own identity.

At the end of a traditional Bildungsroman, the protagonist typically reaches a point of maturity, self-awareness, and integration into society after having undergone a journey of personal growth. The narrative arc usually leads to the character achieving a deeper understanding of themselves and their place in the world, often resolving the inner conflicts or external challenges they faced throughout the story. This culmination signifies the completion of their coming-of-age process, where they reconcile their individual desires with societal expectations, and are now ready to take on adult responsibilities. However, it is completely different in an anti-Bildungsroman where the protagonists' journey may end in despair, cynicism, or resignation, reflecting an unresolved struggle with societal pressures or personal limitations. Rather than achieving harmony, the protagonist often faces fragmentation, loss of hope, or continued oppression, especially in contexts where external forces such as poverty, gender, class, or historical trauma play significant roles. In line with this, Haoua, who says "behind me, my hacked-off life: fading fragmenting, like a recent dream" (Weston, 2012, p. 329), is forcibly married without being allowed to complete her development, torn from her home, and taken to Moussa's house in Niamey. There, Haoua is raped by Moussa and she expresses the torture she is subjected to by saying "Not the first beating I have endured since coming here three months ago. And certainly not the last" (Weston, 2012, p. 331). Although Haoua speaks about her dreams by saying "I had hoped to read many books. I had hoped to travel to the places he [Monsieur Boubacar] showed me on his maps" (Weston, 2012, p. 336), her dreams and

potential never come true. What is more tragic is revealed in the epilogue of the book. In her letter to Mademoiselle Sushi requesting news about her siblings, Fatima and Adamou, Haoua reveals that she has been confined in a prison for the past eight months. She explained what happened as follows:

> As you may have heard, Mademoiselle, they say that I murdered my husband. What I tell you now is the truth as I remember it, as God is my witness. I can remember deep despair, that this man hurt me badly, and it is true that on the evening of his death I had witnessed him slaughtering a beast to celebrate Eid al-Adha and so I would have known exactly where to find the knife and how to use it. But as to actually cutting my husband's throat, I have no recollection of this whatsoever. (Weston, 2012, p. 368)

As a consequence of being unable to bear the disappointments, unfulfilled dreams, and violence she constantly suffered from, she killed Moussa by slitting his throat and was subsequently imprisoned. As a result, Haoua, who had the potential to become "a doctor or a teacher, or a great writer" (Weston, 2012, p. 336) turns into a child victim who could not realize her potential due to familial or societal norms and pressures. The novel ends with a letter from Mr. Noel Boyd to Vision Corps International. The Boyd family – who, under normal circumstances, is expected to support Haoua throughout her education and did so until the day she was withdrawn from school – either decides to support a new student or is compelled to make this decision. VCI explains the reason for this situation by stating, "Unfortunately the girls who marry cannot continue their education because a girl at school is not allowed to get married; therefore reluctantly we have to release them from the project" (Weston, 2012, p. 378). Ultimately, Haoua is abandoned to imprisonment by her own society, which hinders her personal development and denies her the possibility of becoming a fully realized self. Also, she is no longer supported by the international organization that once backed her, and thus she becomes a lost soul since "negative/positive experiences do not carry her to an ideal point" (Özdemir, 2018, p. 498). As such, Harmattan, as a novel not of formation but of deformation, critiques the very possibility of Haoua's personal growth, highlighting her inability to achieve personal growth, fulfilment and harmony in a world marked by systemic oppression, marginalization, or existential uncertainty.

Socio-political Conditions Shattering Bildung in Postcolonial Societies

One of the most significant factors behind Haoua's transformation into an anti-Bildungsroman character is the socio-political conditions she is subjected to. Many African countries began to gain independence from colonial powers around the mid-20th century. However, a large number of these newly independent nations failed to establish stable structures. Consequently, civil wars, coups, assassinations, and the resulting instability and chaos led these countries to remain dependent on external powers in various sectors, including healthcare, education, and agriculture. In addition, the inability to form stable governments has made internal security a major issue in these nations. While the Bildungsroman typically traces a young protagonist's journey toward self-realization, independence, and social integration, Weston in *Harmattan* subverts these expectations by portraying the life of Haoua whose trajectory is marred also by unstable socio-political conditions. In other words, Weston's novel offers a pointed critique of the traditional Bildungsroman by depicting Haoua as a protagonist whose development is not only interrupted but actively dismantled by the harsh realities of her socio-political environment. In this context, the novel's title holds thematic significance, as *Harmattan* refers to "a dry dusty wind that blows from the Sahara across West Africa" (Weston, 2012, p. 1), and this storm brings nothing but destruction not only into Haoua's life but also into Niger as a postcolonial society. From this perspective, it can be claimed that political instability in Africa and other postcolonial societies often hinders the potential growth of characters in literary works, particularly in the anti-Bildungsroman. The bildungsroman traditionally follows the protagonist's development through self-discovery,

education, and eventual social integration, but in settings of political turmoil, these trajectories are disrupted. Political instability destabilizes social institutions, from education to family structures, limiting characters' opportunities to evolve in line with societal expectations. As a result, characters frequently find themselves in circumstances where personal growth is stunted or rendered impossible, underscoring the limitations imposed by larger socio-political forces. This reflects the breakdown of the ideal Bildungsroman structure, replacing it with the anti-bildungsroman form where the narrative arc resists linear progression and closure.

Harmattan is set in Niger between 1995 and 2001. Since gaining its independence from France in 1960, Niger has experienced a highly tumultuous political history including the establishment of several republics as well as intermittent military regimes. Considering that the novel begins in 1995, the National Conference, which was held in 1991, and its resulting outcomes are crucial for understanding the chaos within Niger. First and foremost the National Conference "ushered in the multi-party system in Niger" and "explicitly rejected Tuareg separatist claims" (Bekoe, 2012, p. 3). Besides, the conference also resulted in the forced resignation of the then-president, Saibo. Although the move toward a multi-party system appeared to be a positive step, the National Conference failed to bring the stability that Niger had hoped for. The primary reason for this was the rejection of the separatist demands of the Tuaregs, which Haoua define as one of "the tribes of my country" (Weston, 2012, p. 38), and this rejection ultimately led to the first Tuareg rebellion, lasting until 1995. The Tuaregs, having formed militias and engaged in armed conflict, plunged Niger into internal unrest. Furthermore, the military regime led by President Ibrahim Bare Mainassara, who was elected in 1996, faced intense criticism, particularly due to its economic policies, further worsening the country's situation. From this perspective, it is possible to argue that Haoua was affected by the chaos in her country, which was largely due to political and economic instability. Niger's economic dependence on international aid organizations such as Vision Corps International (VCI), Tera Area Development (TAD), and Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE) not only hindered the country's growth but also made the Nigerien people dependent on external aid for various sectors, including education and healthcare. In this regard, Haoua's education, which was supported by the Boyd family from Ireland through VCI, CARE's efforts to address healthcare issues, and TAD's seed support programs in agriculture all illustrate Niger's – and consequently Haoua's – reliance on external aid for development. As a consequence of not being independent, Haoua is firstly taken out of school to support her family, tend to their only source of livelihood, the animals, and do household chores. What can be seen as a worse result of the economic problems in Niger is that Haoua is forced to marry Moussa, who is much older than her, just because he is wealthy, which causes an indefinite recession in Haoua's development.

Additionally, Niger's political instability profoundly impacted Haoua and her psychology. Throughout the novel, the unrest in Niamey, and its surroundings is conveyed through radio and television. The conditions Abdelkrim depicts as a soldier in President Mainassara's unit during his brief visit to Wadata, in particular, is a direct reflection of the turbulent period Niger is going through:

> Some of the barrack have not received their wages for quite some time now. There is a great deal of unrest across the country. Many people want our president to step down. There has been a lot of trouble – unpaid wages, protests, plots, rumours of another coup, that sort of thing – mostly in the provinces. (Weston, 2012, p. 59)

The chaos in Niger reaches its climax when "the president of Niger, Ibrahim Bare Mainassara has been shot dead" (Weston, 2012, p. 318) at Niamey Airport. However, it is Abdelkrim's death "in a skirmish" (Weston, 2012, p. 319) that becomes a real turmoil for Haoua and her development because he was more than just a brother to Haoua; he was also a mentor and, after the death of their mother, her only source of support. Hence, Haoua describes what the loss of her brother means to

her, noting that "Suddenly it seemed that everything I had once thought of permanent, solid, reliable, had begun to fragment" (Weston, 2019, p. 319). In other words, it is true that postcolonial societies, often marked by legacies of violence, corruption, and economic instability, create environments where personal development becomes a luxury rather than a norm. Moreover, the constant state of crisis in politically unstable regions forces characters to prioritize basic survival over self-realization, leading to stagnation rather than growth. This environment of instability causes the bildungsroman's traditional ideals – self-improvement, education, and social mobility – to seem irrelevant or impossible as it is in the case of Haoua. The anti-bildungsroman form, therefore, becomes a powerful vehicle for illustrating how political turmoil denies individuals the agency and security needed to pursue meaningful personal growth. Instead of transformation, the narrative arc is one of inertia, as characters struggle against forces that ultimately nullify their potential for development.

Conclusion

Gavin Weston's Harmattan subverts the conventional Bildungsroman by presenting a protagonist, Haoua, whose journey is marked by fragmentation, stagnation, and systemic oppression rather than growth and maturation. Unlike the traditional Bildungsroman, where the protagonist undergoes personal development and integration into society, Haoua's story unfolds as a narrative of devolution, driven by external socio-political and cultural forces that obstruct her path to self-actualization. Through non-linear storytelling, interrupted education, and forced marriage, Haoua's potential for growth is thwarted, symbolizing the broader issues faced by girls in traditional and patriarchal societies. The anti-Bildungsroman structure of Harmattan challenges the reader's expectations by demonstrating that, for some individuals, the trajectory of life is not one of fulfilment or maturation, but one of continuous setbacks and diminished prospects. Haoua's eventual imprisonment and her inability to realize her dreams underscore the tragic consequences of oppressive societal structures. In this way, Weston's novel critiques the impossibility of personal development in contexts where systemic injustices, particularly against women, prevail. All in all, Harmattan serves as a powerful commentary on the limitations imposed on individual growth in postcolonial African societies, making it a profound example of the anti-Bildungsroman form.

This study is significant not only for its literary analysis of Harmattan but also for its contribution to the broader discourse on how the anti-Bildungsroman form reflects the lived realities in postcolonial societies. By exposing the structural barriers that obstruct individual self-realization, the novel invites readers and scholars to reconsider the applicability of Eurocentric narrative models – like the Bildungsroman – in postcolonial contexts. Instead of portraying linear development, Harmattan critiques the very conditions that make such development impossible for many, especially girls and women in traditionally structured societies.

Moreover, this analysis highlights how literature serves as a medium through which socio-political critique can be articulated and disseminated. Weston's novel not only brings attention to gender-based violence, educational inequality, and postcolonial disillusionment, but also compels readers to reflect on the global systems of aid, development, and representation. As such, Harmattan is not only a narrative of personal tragedy, but also a poignant commentary on the limitations of progress within contexts shaped by historical and structural inequality. By examining Harmattan as an anti-Bildungsroman, this study adds to a growing body of scholarship that seeks to decolonize literary forms and foreground voices marginalized by dominant paradigms of growth, identity, and agency.

Disclosure Statement

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Literary Studies | research article

A Psychoanalytic Comparative Study on Lawrence's "Snake" and Bishop's "The Fish"
Lawrence'ın "Yılan" ve Bishop'ın "Balık" Şiirleri Üzerine Psikoanalitik Karşılaştırmalı Bir Çalışma

Samet Güven (iD) 0000-0001-6883-5109
Karabük University

ABSTRACT
D. H. Lawrence's "Snake" and Elizabeth Bishop's "The Fish" are two important poems which reflect the poet's connection with nature by employing psychoanalytical theory. These poems are studied to discover basic psychological problems in the poets' subconscious minds. Lawrence's meeting with the snake symbolizes challenges against his excessive desires and constantly changing mind. He can obtain the real essence of life only through his deep journey into his inner self. Similarly, Bishop's initial encounter with the fish foreshadows her adventure towards self-realisation. She can travel in her subconscious world to discover the disordered parts of her life that lead her to mental trauma. The present study searches for the themes of suppression, desire and transformation of both poets by using Freudian understanding of psychoanalytic theory. In other words, the paper highlights the poets' distinct endeavours to meet the unconscious and how their changeable psychology affects the mood of their selected poems. Both poems touch upon similar themes, and their divergent ways of approaching the unconscious mind reveal a distinctive understanding of human psychology. In this respect, the article seeks to uncover the symbolic implications of the animals and search how the poets' inner conflicts are demonstrated through their encounters with them.

Introduction

The utilization of animals as the symbols of the unconscious mind has always been a prevalent literary device for a long period of time. Literary figures have given a place to animals to highlight the human psyche to search for themes such as desire, oppression, or instinct. In parallel to this D.H. Lawrence and Elizabeth Bishop also used animal images to write their descriptive poems. In this respect, D. H. Lawrence's "Snake" and Elizabeth Bishop's "The Fish" are considered as significant poems of the 20th century. Even though these poems focus on natural issues, the poets' inner world gives the reader information about how they understand nature. This article intends to touch upon the poets' employment of symbolism and imagery and how they use language effectively to reveal their psychological conflicts and ambitions in terms of a comparative study of the selected poems.

It will also contribute to uncovering individuals' ambiguous affairs with the natural world.

Both poets are highly influenced by the ideologies of Sigmund Freud, who suggested psychoanalytic theory with some divisions like id, ego, and superego. The id stands for our main desires, while the superego is about our sense of morality; the ego is situated between these two feelings. These concepts are clearly available in the selected poems in which the poets discover the tension between the conscious and unconscious mind. Lawrence benefits from his countenance with a reptile to seek his contradictory affair with nature and his uncontrolled desires in "Snake." Likewise, Bishop highlights the subjects of redemption by using the image of a fish caught and released to show her life difficulties and humanity's complications. Besides, these poems uncover the relationship between established social norms and inner struggle. Lawrence's "Snake" demonstrates the speaker's conflict between admiration and fear while Bishop's "Fish" presents the changing attitude of the speaker towards the animal. Each poet deals with the themes of inner transformation, repression and personal instinct to show how their encounters with the animals lead to self-realisation.

The other significant point to be considered in this comparative study is the unconscious mind. "Snake" and "The Fish" represent Freud's thoughts about the significance of unconscious in shaping our attitudes. To exemplify, D. H. Lawrence's dream-like imagery and emphasis on ultimate desires in "Snake" signify a profound contact with the unconscious mind. In parallel to this, Elizabeth Bishop's work can be given as an example of the stream-of-consciousness technique; that is, the poet allows her feelings to flow autonomously. Furthermore, symbolism is a key term in highlighting the similarities and differences between two poems. Both poets benefit from detailed images to draw a vivid image in the reader's mind. While Lawrence uses the snake to demonstrate the beauty of nature, Bishop prefers the fish to show the complexities of humanity. In this way, the poets enable readers to visualise the nature clearly. According to Freud, "the relation between a symbol and the idea symbolised is an invariable one," and for this reason, "symbols make it possible for us in certain circumstances to interpret" (1935, p. 158) such events logically. Both poets fight against their unconscious desires to accept the superiority of the animals when they are alone. Their loneliness proves the psychological disorder they suffer in their own worlds.

Moreover, these poems shed light on the subject of nature and its affair with people. Nature is reflected as a place of serenity and self-realisation in these poems. The speakers are alone in both poems, and they question their own lives by focusing on their unconscious desires. Besides, the speakers' first contact with the animals plays an important role. In "Snake," the speaker feels disgust for the snake as it means danger for him in the first place. Therefore, his feelings provoke him to kill it in the name of security despite the fact that he changes his mind as he is affected by its beauty. However, the speaker's first reaction to the fish is different in the second poem. Just after he catches the fish, the speaker appreciates its strength and power. He respects the fish after analysing it and decides to release it. While both poems employ animals to symbolize unconscious, they only differ from each other in their description and their importance. Lawrence's snake is depicted as a mysterious and powerful creature which lives underground. The speaker is not only attacted but also feared by the presence of the snake which is also linked with the biblical story of the Garden of Eden. On the other hand, Bishop's fish which lives in the water is presented as if the survivor of a war due to the scars on its body. As a matter of fact, the fish symbolizes the primitive and natural order of the universe.

Shortly, Lawrence's "Snake" and Bishop's "The Fish" discuss the inner worlds of the poet. These selected poems help the readers to comprehend the psychological moods of the poets while writing their masterpieces as they give them some information about their unconscious conditions. The transformation that the speakers undergo towards both animals shows the extension of personal growth, in that the meeting with the animals results in self-realisation of their positions in this

temporary world. From this perspective, the purpose of this article is to understand the complexities of people and how the two poets transmit their messages to readers by using their poems as a vehicle for the realities of human life.

Theoretical Background of the Study

Psychoanalytic criticism focuses on how some specific terms related to psychology can be associated with literature. Sigmund Freud, who claimed that people's behaviour could be directed by unconscious desires, is acknowledged as the father of the theory. It is an undeniable fact that "[t]he twentieth century has been called the Freudian century, and whatever the twenty-first century chooses to believe about the workings of the human mind, it will be, on some level, indebted to Freud" (Thurschwell, 2000, p.1). He was interested in identifying the human mind and reasons behind individuals' attitudes. His criticism aims to uncover the psychological incentives and senses beyond the writer's subject matters. It suggests that the writers' own desires, feelings and experiences shape their works, and thus, the readers can understand the implicit meanings through some psychoanalytic perceptions, as Freud writes in his essay "Psychoanalysis":

> It was a triumph for the interpretative art of psychoanalysis when it succeeded in demonstrating that certain common mental acts of normal people, for which no one had hitherto attempted to put forward a psychological explanation, were to be regarded in the same light as the symptoms of neurotics. (1963, pp. 235–236)

Psychoanalysis suggests that there are surely more implicit meanings beyond the surface since it is based on symbols, interpretations and layer of meanings. At this point, Freud claims that "[p]sychoanalysis [is] an art of interpretation to uncover resistances" (1955, p. 56). Another important aspect of psychoanalytic criticism is its focus on the role of trauma in determining the psychological landscape of literary works. Freud believed that traumatic experiences and suppressed memoirs can have a powerful impact on an individual's psychological development and these experiences can result from unexpected events in unconscious ways. This means that psychoanalysis "brings an end to the operative force of the idea which was not abreacted in the first instance, [allows] strangulated affect to find a way out through speech; and it subjects it to an associative correction by introducing it to the normal consciousness" (Freud, 1973, p. 17). Psychoanalytic critics focus on how traumatized victims in a literary work form their affairs with the other and how their lives are voiced throughout the texts. Furthermore, this theory highlights the irrationality. Freud thought that human behaviour is controlled and manipulated by unconscious desires. For him, these desires can emerge in an illogical way. From this perspective, literary figures search for the dream-like elements of the works to reveal ambiguous meanings by analyzing between the lines.

Besides, psychoanalytic criticism is regarded as the combination of the soul and the mind. Freud claimed that the human psyche is separated into three different parts: the id, the ego, and the superego. According to Charles Brenner, "id comprises the psychic representatives of the drives, the ego consists of those functions which have to do with the individual's relation to his environment, and the superego comprises the moral precepts of our minds" (1974, p. 38). As a matter of fact, the id symbolizes instinctive ambitions of the unconscious while the ego represents the reasonable part of the mind which goes between the id and the external world. In parallel to them, the superego stands for the moral and ethical sides, which steers people's behaviours. Considering these points, the characters and their attitudes are analyzed in literary works. To illustrate, a psychoanalytic critic may study the characters' attitudes to comprehend their uncovered inner conflicts. They might also evaluate the connection between the main character and others to learn the changing aspects of power and desire.

Moreover, Freud asserts that repression is a defence system that the ego employs to keep itself away

from excessive anxiety. In other words, "repression converts an opportunity for pleasure into a source of unpleasure [and] all neurotic unpleasure is of this kind" (Freud, 1955, p.49). However, repressed desires and memories can still influence behaviour and motivations unexpectedly. Psychoanalytic critics often examine the repressed desires and memories of characters in a literary work to understand their behaviour and motivations. They may also discuss how the authors' repressed desires and memories are reflected in the work. Freud believed that the psyche represses traumatic experiences and emotions that are too painful to be consciously dealt with. These repressed emotions can emerge as dreams in poetry. Surely, dreams should also be considered when examining poets' inner worlds. Freud explains the prominence of dreams in his *The Interpretation of Dreams* as follows: "Dreams are brief, meagre and laconic compared to the range and wealth of dream thoughts. If a dream is written out, it may fill half a page. The analysis sets out the dream thoughts underlying it, which may occupy six, eight, or a dozen times as much space" (1965, pp. 312-313).

Within this framework, psychoanalytic critics analyze the language and imagery of a literary work to detect repressed emotions or desires that the poet may have sublimated into dream works. Psychoanalytic criticism in poetry also involves the application of psychoanalytic theories to understand the poet's unconscious motivations and psychological consequences of the poem. Psychoanalytic critics believe the poetry represents the poet's unconscious desires and conflicts. They argue that the poet's soul is reflected in the poem through various symbols considered messages from the unconscious mind. This means that "symbolism is of particular importance since it can serve as a defence mechanism of the ego" (Hinsie&Campbell, 1970, p. 734). It can illuminate how the poets' personal lives and unconscious desires affect the flow of their poems. In other words, such criticism helps poets uncover their unconscious minds through the images, language and themes they use in their works.

Briefly, psychoanalytic criticism is an effective literary theory which determines our perceptions of literature and the nature. It can present deep insights and drives into the meanings beyond the words and enable us to recognize the mutual affairs among people in societies by investigating the desires, ambitions, memories and illogical incentives that form the literary works. This criticism remains a valuable tool for understanding the complex interaction between literature and the human psyche. Psychoanalytic criticism is, therefore, a useful method of analyzing poetry that aims to reveal the poet's unconscious motivations and psychological implications.

D. H. Lawrence's Unwanted (!) Guest

Although best known for his novels, D. H. Lawrence's poems also significantly impact the readers. His poetry is characterised by its intense emotion and vivid imagery, and many of his poems touch on broader philosophical and spiritual concerns, such as the relationship between humanity and the divine or the nature of consciousness. According to Fiona Becket, "Lawrence continually drew on his working-class, nonconformist background to shape his ideas" (2002, p. 5). Additionally, Lawrence's poetry explores issues related to modernity and industrialisation. He was deeply critical of the effects of modern society on human consciousness and relationships, and he saw industrialisation as a threat to the natural world and human well-being. Among Lawrence's most famous poems, "Snake" plays an important role since it explores themes of power, dilemma, ego, and other psychoanalytic elements through the narrator's vivid encounter with a snake in the natural world. Despite the negative connotations that the snake is generally associated with, the snake also stands for some affirmative aspects such as power, wisdom, or eternity:

> From the earliest records of civilization it is clear that the snake played a significant cultural role, as an enigmatic creature with supernatural powers, alternatively seen (even in the same community) as benevolent creator and protector of wisdom and eternal life, or perpetrator

of evil and agent of death. Serpents are mythologically associated with the origin of the world and creation, with veneration of ancestors, bestowal of wisdom and power and as a symbol of mother earth and eternity. (Retief, 2002, p. 553)

From this respect, Lawrence's poem is about the encounter between the speaker and a snake in a water trough. The speaker is initially filled with fear and disgust at the sight of the snake, but as he watches it drink from the trough, his feelings begin to shift. He is struck by the snake's beauty and power, which "possesses the kind of being that Lawrence wants to recuperate within humans, a being that rejects mechanistic forms of self-consciousness" (Rohman, 2009, p. 101). This encounter prompts the speaker to reflect on his relationship with nature, his own instincts and desires, and his place in the world.

The poem is written in free verse and can be divided into three parts in terms of its structure. The first part sets the scene and introduces the speaker's encounter with the snake. The second part is the longest and describes the snake's movements and appearance and the speaker's conflicting emotions as he watches it. The final part reflects on the aftermath of the encounter and the speaker's feelings of guilt and regret. The poem generally explores themes of man's relationship with nature, the conflict between civilisation and the natural world, and the struggle to reconcile rationality and instinct. It also touches on the idea of temptation and the conflict between desire and morality.

One interesting point about "Snake" is how it explores the speaker's emotions and thoughts throughout the encounter with the snake. He states: "A snake came to my water trough / On a hot, hot day, and I in pyjamas for the heat, / To drink there" (pp. 1-3). At this point, Lawrence seems to marginalise the significance of the people by highlighting a rich description of the snake's movement by using verbs that are omitted when talking about the human: "Someone was before me at my water-trough, / And I, a second comer, waiting" (pp. 16-17). At first, he is afraid of the snake and considers killing it, but as he watches it drinking from the water trough, he becomes transfixed by its beauty and majesty. This illustrates that "human beings should learn to communicate with animals by watching their behaviours" (Ağır, 2022, p.39). Accordingly, the poet accepts the snake as a guest, and he is honoured by the snake's existence. This inner struggle emphasizes the inevitable force between humanity and nature.

The other remarkable part of "Snake" is that it discovers the notion of identity and selfhood. At the very beginning of the poem, the speaker explains himself as a civilized man. However, his countenance with the animal leads him to question his modernity since he also meets his own uncontrolled desires. This self-realization increases the suspense of the poem, and it causes some question marks in the poet's mind. Besides, this narrative poem goes beyond the conventional notion of power and sovereignty. It is widely known that snakes are accepted as the symbol of evil; however, Lawrence demonstrates the snake as a novel creature which "remains in the poem, an ordinary 'earth-brown, earth-golden' Sicilian snake, but at the same time becomes a mythical, godlike lord of the underworld" (De Sola Pinto, 1988, p. 13). People are reflected as the dominating part of nature. In this poem, the snake has the power, and the speaker feels weak in front of its beauty. For me, this reversal of power shifts increases the poem's tone since it uncovers the vulnerability of humanity.

Furthermore, the encounter with the reptile stands for the sudden meeting with the speaker's subconscious wishes. This means that the subconscious mind and the unexpected appearance of the snake might be an allegory of the speaker's uncontrollable ambitions. As a matter of fact, the snake represents not only nobility but also "a serpent of secret and shameful desire" (Lawrence, 1988, p. 35), which comes into existence as part of the Freudian subconsciousness. For this reason, the man's feeling of disgust against the snake can be interpreted as a fear of his own instincts. His final consent and appreciation of the snake satisfies his conscience since the snake represents self-realisation for

the narrator. In other words, the snakes change their skin occasionally, which can be associated with the speaker's self-development time.

The poem's narrator goes between his desire to accept the reality of nature and the possible results of his fear. This conflict arises in the poem's second part, in which the speaker faces his inferiority in front of the snake. The snake can easily drink water from the tap without hesitation despite the speaker's availability, and this indifferent action provokes the man's id. The speaker is filled with self-doubt and uncertainty, questioning their own worth in comparison to the snake. In addition to this, he sees the snake as a kind of threat to his education and rational side at first although he changes his mind when he realizes its beauty. The speaker states that:

> Being earth-brown, earth-golden from the burning bowels
> of the earth
> On the day of Sicilian July, with Etna smoking.
> The voice of my education said to me
> He must be killed,
> For in Sicily the black, black snakes are innocent, the gold
> are venomous. (Lawrence, 2002, 23-28)

The encounter with the snake challenges the speaker's assumptions about their own superiority and highlights the power dynamics in society. The speaker initially views themselves as superior to the snake and highlights their superiority and dominance over the natural world. Actually, the snake played an important cultural role, as a mysterious creature with mystical powers. However, the encounter with the snake and their subsequent reflection on its beauty and power challenges this assumption, causing the speaker to feel inferior in comparison. This can be understood as a demonstration of the speaker's own internalised feelings of inferiority.

"Snake" also focuses on some keywords of psychoanalytical theory, like the id, ego, and superego. The speaker's first reaction to killing the snake can be accepted as an indication of his primitive id, which corresponds to our innate desires. However, the speaker's superego, which represents societal norms and moral standards, ultimately prevails, and he refrains from killing the snake. The tension between these two opposing forces creates a sense of psychological conflict within the speaker, which is further complicated by his feelings of guilt and shame: "The ego moderates between the authoritarian demands of the superego and the unmitigated desired of the id" (Booker, 1996, p. 29). The quotation highlights the link among these three forces. In this context, the poet explains what he thinks with the following lines: "I came down the steps with my pitcher / And must wait, must stand and wait" (5-6). This causes Lawrence to struggle with his emotions against his educational background and loneliness:

> Was it cowardice, that I dared not kill him?
> Was it perversity, that I longed to talk to him?
> Was it humility, to feel so honoured?
> I felt so honoured.
> And yet those voices:
> If you were not afraid, you would kill him! (Lawrence, 2002, 37-42)

The poet suddenly realises his meaningless ambition and wishes for the snake to come back after killing it. He immediately regrets and curses the education he has received since he cannot control his id. His immediate remorse after killing the snake is directly linked with Freudian ideas of repression and the return of the repressed. At this point, Lawrence considers that "humans have become too cerebral, neglecting their animal nature" (Keese, 2012, p. 137). In other words, there comes the full realisation of the human values turned upside and down. Furthermore, the readers see the encounter with the snake as a confrontation with the unconscious, known as "the storehouse

of painful experiences and emotions" (Tyson, 2006, p. 13). The speaker's initial fear and disgust can be seen as a manifestation of his conscious mind, which has been conditioned by social norms and cultural taboos to fear and revile snakes. This can also be interpreted as the fear of unknown for the speaker. However, as the poem progresses, the readers find out that the speaker's conscious mind begins to break down as his subconscious desires and instincts come to the fore. This is reflected in how the speaker begins to admire and even worship the snake despite his initial revulsion. The snake, for the poet, is "like a king," and his act soon meets plenty of regrets at the end of the poem: "And so, I missed my chance with one of the lords" (81-82). This explains that the speaker faces his own crime and shame. In addition, the speaker is afraid of being cursed like the mariners in Coleridge's "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" after killing the animal since he thinks the snake actually comes to honour and guide him. This is clear in the speaker's narration as the poem's tone becomes softer, and he suffers from his conscience.

As a result, D. H. Lawrence's "Snake" exemplifies the Freudian challenge between instinct and civilization in which the psychology of the speaker turns into a battleground for fighting against admiration and devastation. In other words, it mirrors the complexities of our strict affair with nature and ultimate desires. The speaker's inner conflicts, together with his sense of guilt and shame about the snake, can be regarded as his psychological disorder. The readers can get information about the incessant dilemma of the poet on his subconscious, social norms, and himself by focusing on the importance of reaching peace and satisfaction. Shortly, Lawrence's depiction of the speaker's meeting with the snake acts as a bridge between the human psyche and our irresistible relationship with innate feelings. Thus, "Snake" is a testament to the power of poetry to explore the depths of the human psyche and the numerous forces that shape our thoughts and actions.

Swimming in Bishop's Unconscious Mind like "The Fish"

Elizabeth Bishop is widely considered to be one of the most important poets of the 20th century. She is known for her precise, vivid, and often understated imagery, as well as her ability to capture the fleeting moments and complex emotions of everyday life. Her poetry is influenced by her personal experiences, including her struggles with depression, alcoholism, and the loss of loved ones. Therefore, "she is morally so attractive in poems like The Fish" (Jarrell, 1946, p. 81). Additionally, her work often deals with themes of loss, displacement, and the search for belonging, as well as the natural world. In this respect, "Bishop's poetry is to be caught upin its descriptive vitality and its psychological and philosophical wisdom" (Costello, 1991, p. 2). Her poems are also admired for their ability to convey complex emotions through simple, direct language and their sensitivity to human lives.

"The Fish" was initially published in 1946 and later included in her 1955 collection of poems, *North and South*. The poem is penned in free verse, and it consists of 76 lines. Bishop depicts the speaker's meeting with an enormous fish she captured, and her psychological journey starts to reveal her inner thoughts. When she starts to analyse it, she is astonished by its outer beauty and strength. This work highlights the close connection between humans and the natural world, just like the previous poem. Observing the world out of humanity plays a key role in the poem's formation. The poet's vivid employment of imagery and her meticulous attention to detail show the beauty in the creation of fish, while her profound mood incites the readers to evaluate their own affair with natural world.

Elizabeth Bishop's poem "The Fish" starts with the speaker explaining the fish's outer appearance by highlighting its tremendous size. While observing the fish, she appreciates its beauty through vivid descriptions. After that, the poem's tone changes to a prediction of the fish's age by discussing multiple scars on its body together with the "medals and ribbons" (60) it has gained throughout her life. At this point, she feels admiration for the wish since she witnesses the struggle for her survival

despite the hardships. The speaker is alone in the nature and he can understand the beauty of the unconscious through his interaction with the animal. The last part of the poem shows that the speaker also encountered lots of difficulties in her life, just like the fish, in that, she associates her life with the fish's life. The poem concludes with the speaker's releasing the fish back into the water.

The poet's decision to let the fish go can be regarded as a kind of respect and empathy for the continuance of natural life. This also reminds the readers that people should be able to collaborate with the natural world in a respectful way. The other significant point of the poem is Bishop's ability to use figurative language to transmit the speaker's affectionate answer to the fish. To illustrate, the speaker explains her astonishment with the eyes of the fish in the following lines: "I looked into his eyes/which were far larger than mine/ but shallower, and yellowed, /the irises backed and packed/ with tarnished tinfoil seen through the lenses/ of old scratched isinglass" (34-40). These lines show a deep connection between the fish and the speaker, who uses personification to express the fish's struggle, highlighting that it "battered" the boat as it endeavoured to be saved. The fish is compared to a "venerable" (8) king, as in the case of D. H. Lawrence's "Snake." Furthermore, the free-verse structure adds a sense of ambiguity which is especially suitable for a poem about the sea creatures. The deficiency of a particular rhyme enables independence that shapes the structure of the poem. Additionally, the repletion of some points provide coherence throughout the poem. The repeated expressions like the fish's "five-haired beard," and "rainbow" helps the readers to visualize the scene in their minds.

Besides, symbolism plays an important role in the poem. The fish is linked with the example of survival, beauty, resistance, and mystery since they are not visible to human eyes when they are deep in the water. In relation to this, the speaker pinpoints the fish's injuries which indicate a life full of struggle. This can be interpreted as an image for resistance in the natural world which has lots of fatal dangers. Moreover, the sea can be accepted as the symbol of the subconscious. In fact, "Freud considered the unconscious as the real psyche" (Hoffman, 1957, p. 28). Just as the fish is a representation of the speaker's inner turmoil, the ocean can be seen as a symbol of the vast and unknowable depths of the human psyche. By releasing the fish back into the ocean, the speaker is symbolically releasing her own subconscious and acknowledging that there are depths to the human experience that may never be fully understood.

Moreover, the fish is described as having "brown skin hung in strips / like ancient wallpaper" (10-11). The use of the word "ancient" suggests that the fish is old and perhaps even prehistoric. The barnacles on its body could symbolise the accumulated experiences and traumas that the fish has endured throughout its life. In other words, these details evoke a sense of decay and mortality, as if the fish is a relic from the past that has somehow managed to survive into the present. From a psychoanalytic perspective, we might see the fish as a symbol of the speaker's own unconscious desires and anxieties, which are also deeply rooted in the past and resistant to change as Parker explains that "[t]he fish mediates between the narrator and a language with which she can picture herself" (1988, p. 5). As the speaker continues to describe the fish, she notes that it has "five big hooks/grown firmly in his mouth" (54-55). The hooks could represent the painful memories or emotions that the fish has internalised. The hooks in its mouth can be seen as a metaphor for the ways in which our own desires and anxieties can trap us in patterns of behaviour and thought that are difficult to break free from. The fact that they are "grown firmly" implies that they have difficulty in removing. This can be associated with the speaker's past experiences and traumas. The fish stands for the poet's inner conflict and the attempt of catching it signifies her struggle to cope with it. In other words, catching and observing the fish in detail with its own scars symbolizes our own self-evaluation in life. In this way, people find the opportunity to test their own life, and they start to improve it.

Additionally, the speaker's deep emphasis on the physical details of the fish shows not only internal

but also external associations s/he establishes with the animal. This can be analyzed as a reflection of the speaker's unconscious conflicts. Besides, the role of nostalgia and how it is related to the concept of the unconscious should be taken into consideration in this analysis. The speaker's elaborated depictions of the fish and its environment emphasize a memorable moment as a kind of flashback in the poem. This emphasis on memory and nostalgia can be seen as a reflection of the psychoanalytic concept of the return of the repressed, in which forgotten or repressed memories and desires resurface in unexpected ways. In other words, Freud clarifies that

> the patient cannot remember the whole of what is repressed in him, and what he cannot remember may be precisely the essential part of it. ... He is obliged to repeat the repressed material as a contemporary experience instead of, as the physician would prefer to see, remembering it as something belonging to the past. (1955, p. 18)

The act of catching and examining the fish can be seen as a kind of symbolic dissection of the self in the same context since it is a way of exploring the deepest and most mysterious corners of the psyche. The speaker can capture and convey a sense of the strange and unsettling beauty of the unconscious and explore the complex and often contradictory emotions and desires that wait beneath the surface of our everyday experience, thanks to her depictions of the fish's physical characteristics and surroundings. In this way, "The Fish" can be seen as a kind of journey of self-discovery, a way of exploring the deepest and most mysterious dimensions of the human psyche and coming to a greater understanding of ourselves and our place in the world. According to Hegel, "the stages of the development of experience are consciousness, self-consciousness, reason" (1967, p. 695), and these stages are reflected in the narrative perspectives of Bishop's "The Fish."

Towards the end of the poem, the speaker prefers to free the fish. He does not give any harm to the fish or does not keep it as a kind of trophy. This attitude shows the speaker's consent and acceptance of fate. The reality for the poet has changed since her perception changed. In other words, she actually breaks her own chains by demonstrating her forgiveness. The last line of the poem, "And I let the fish go" (75), solidifies the main theme of compassion. The poet is directed by an ambition to surpass the fish by claiming her power; however, she is also affected by its vulnerability. This dilemma between appreciation and domination mirrors the poet's inconsistent relationship with her unconscious sides, that is, "[t]he specifically Freudian unconscious is the domain of the repressed" (Jackson, 2000, p. 30). As a matter of fact, the speaker reaches serenity and peace in her inner world by letting the fish go since she also discharges her traumatic past experiences.

As a result, Elizabeth Bishop's "The Fish" discusses the conflicting relationship between human life and the unconscious mind. Thanks to psychoanalytic criticism, it becomes possible to get some information about the speaker's inner struggles and how these struggles come to the surface via the image of the fish. Readers understand that the deepest aspects of human consciousness are affected by their anxieties and hidden prejudices. This psychoanalytic criticism makes these invisible emotions apparent, and individuals find the best way of getting rid of their futile concerns that affect their lives in a negative way. Shortly, the psychoanalytic analysis of Bishop's "The Fish" helps people learn how to cope with their mental problems by directing the complications of human life with compassion and empathy.

Conclusion

D. H. Lawrence's "Snake" and Elizabeth Bishop's "The Fish" are two comparable poems that describe the psychology of the human mind thanks to various literary ways. These poems employ the allegory of two animals to find out the subject of self-realization and revolution. As a matter of fact, the snake and the fish are used as a medium to stand for the unconscious and the hidden feelings which individuals find difficult to accept. Both works uncover how the poets weave the human mind and inner psychology. In the first poem, it is the snake that comes to the speaker's location as a

visitor to drink some water on a hot day. The speaker clashes with the snake's availability and his ambition to destroy it since he regards it as a menace to his authority. However, the speaker starts to appreciate its beauty as it satisfies its thirst. He is beaten by his id and kills the snake at the end of the poem, although he regrets it later on. The snake clearly symbolizes the unconscious since it signifies the ultimate emotions of the speaker. He constantly suffers from the dilemma since he cannot decide whether to kill the snake or not. His admiration for its beauty can be interpreted as his unconscious desires. Similarly, the second poem discusses the experience of the speaker while catching the fish which is depicted as old and battle-scarred. The speaker likes the beauty of the fish and decides to release it instead of killing it since he respects its strength, unlike the previous poem despite the fact that he desires to catch it initially. The fish represents the unconscious mind since it highlights the suppressed emotions, and this can be explained as the representation of his unconscious desires. However, the speaker releases the fish because of his respect to nature and life cycle in his inner mind. As a result, "Snake" and "The Fish" are significant poems that benefit from animal images to reflect the unconscious mind. Both animals stand for the beauty and power of the unconscious, that is, these poems invite the readers to confront their own unconscious ambitions. Besides, they touch upon the importance of nature and its close affair to people since the poets present the nature as the source of self-realisation. At the end of each poem, it is possible to deduce that the speakers accept their deficiencies after understanding the essence of the human psyche and its deep relationship with the animals, which represent nature itself.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors

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Literary Studies | research note

A Jungian Archetypal Reinterpretation
of the Psychological Undercurrents in Sylvia Plath's "Lady Lazarus"

Sylvia Plath'in "Lady Lazarus" Eserindeki Psikolojik Alt Metinlerin Jungcu Arketip Kuramı Çerçevesinde Yeniden Yorumlanması

Münevver Yakude Muştak 🆔 0000-0003-2815-8144
Ağrı İbrahim Çeçen University

ABSTRACT
The collective unconscious archetypes, including elements of the psychological process, universal symbols, and patterns of behavior, help us adapt to our internal and external environment. According to Jung, literature offers readers an understanding of the collective unconscious, allowing them to access universal symbols and archetypes of all people and societies. He thought authors frequently made unconscious use of these archetypes to produce works of art that connected with readers on a profound, psychological level. This interpretation of "Lady Lazarus" is a potent investigation of collective unconscious archetypes, particularly the Self, Shadow, Anima, Animus, Hero, and Trickster. The speaker struggles with her own impending doom. She challenges the reader to face their own deep despair and discover a method to overcome it by means of this exploration. This article aims to analyze the poem's literary analysis in light of Jung's archetypes of human behavior. By being grounded with these archetypal dynamics, "Lady Lazarus" becomes more than a confessional poem; it becomes a space for exploring the cyclical nature of destruction and renewal within the psyche. The relation between the poem and the archetypes allows readers to better understand literary characters and human psychology by remarking on universal prototypes for ideas that may be used to interpret observations. When "Lady Lazarus" is analyzed within the framework of Jung's archetype theory, it allows readers to connect with the collective unconscious and develop an understanding of their inner worlds. This, once again, demonstrates the powerful impact of literature on human psychology.

Introduction

Standing in front of the audience with its persona's experiences of death and rebirth, "Lady Lazarus" is a document of a sort of transperson who has committed suicide thrice. Plath's reflection on her own experiences with depression and suicidal ideation is evident in the expression of her sorrows and the foreshadowing of her desire, which are deeply embedded throughout her writings. Throughout the poem, Lady Lazarus recounts her own "resurrections," a form of self-destruction or a way of handling her emotional anguish, or a series of unsuccessful suicide attempts, and how she

has become almost indestructible as a result of her recurrent near-death experiences. She also appears to enjoy her own agony. The depressive mood is described so effectively with the psychological elements that the poem leaves a psychological weight on the reader by leaving them to empathize with the speaker and making them understand Sylvia Plath in a distinctive way. "Lady Lazarus" vividly depicts the tension between the self and external forces. Her antagonists are the figures of authority, power, and societal expectations, and she struggles to fully extricate her identity from their influence (Dyne, 1983, p. 400). These figures are often imbued with both personal and symbolic significance, representing not only individuals but also societal and existential pressures. Plath's complex and ambivalent relationship with these antagonists, while she names and resists them, accentuates that these figures are integral to her understanding of herself. They are both the sources of her suffering and the catalysts for her poetic expression, a duality creating a sense of entrapment, where the self is constantly negotiating its place between autonomy and subjugation.

This poem, through the interpretation of Carl Jung's theory of archetypes, becomes a way to understand the human psyche since they are "archaic remnants" (Jung, 1968b, p. 58). According to Jung, who has had a significant influence on literature and literary criticism, the human psyche is comprised of both the individual unconscious and the shared collective unconscious, which consists of universal symbols and archetypes. Jung believed that archetypes are congenital structures of the human psyche, molded by our developmental history and our experiences as a species. The human mind uses symbols to represent not-fully-grasp ideas, even before language, humans have an innate ability to create universal symbols or themes that appear across cultures (Meadow, 1992, p. 188), rejecting the idea of tabula rasa.

> In addition to our immediate consciousness, which is of a thoroughly personal nature and which we believe to be the only empirical psyche (even if we tack on the personal unconscious as an appendix), there exists a second psychic system of a collective, universal, and impersonal nature which is identical in all individuals. This Collective unconscious does not develop individually but is inherited. It consists of pre-existent forms, the archetypes, which can only become conscious secondarily and which give definite form to certain psychic contents. (Jung 1991, p. 43)

Archetypes are powerful, fundamental elements of the psyche that operate independently and have their own energy. They draw related ideas from the conscious mind to themselves (Jung, 1973, p. 308). These archetypes manifest in our dreams, our myths, and our cultural symbols and provide us with a framework for understanding and relating to the world around us. Jung's archetypes, in other words, bridge both sociological and psychological dimensions while being deeply rooted in the unconscious (Greenwood, 1990, p. 489). He believed that by becoming aware of these archetypes and integrating them into our conscious awareness, we can achieve greater wholeness and live more fulfilling lives. He thus considers archetypes as a way to connect with the deeper aspects of our psyches and discover significance and intention in our existence.

Considering this, when "Lady Lazarus" is analyzed within the framework of Jung's archetype theory, it allows readers to connect with the collective unconscious and develop an understanding of their inner worlds. While previous studies have explored Plath's work through psychoanalytic and feminist lenses, few have provided a sustained and structured application of Jung's archetypal theory to a single poem. Although Sylvia Plath's poetry has attracted considerable psychoanalytic attention, Jungian readings remain relatively scarce, and when they do appear, they often focus broadly on her life and oeuvre rather than on individual poems. The previous studies, such as Schwartz's *Sylvia Plath: A Split in the Mirror* (2011) or Sarah Josie Pridgeon's *A Woman's Pilgrimage to Herself through the Mother Complex* (2017), mainly interpret Plath's oeuvre primarily in terms of a troubled father-daughter relationship and themes such as the mother complex, individuation, and

archetypes, including the animus, shadow, and wise old woman. They provide the psychological effects of paternal absence and the internalization of negative masculine archetypes, supporting the analysis of biographical trauma. In contrast, this article builds upon and diverges from those works, providing a sustained literary analysis of "Lady Lazarus" structured explicitly around six of Jung's key archetypes: Self, Shadow, Anima, Animus, Hero, and Trickster. It uniquely emphasizes how the poem activates these archetypes to dramatize psychological transformation and rebirth. By framing the poem as a conduit to the collective unconscious, this analysis delineates the power of literature to describe universal psychic patterns, allowing readers to discover and reflect upon archetypal dimensions of the human condition. This approach offers a more structured and focused Jungian interpretation than existing works, contributing a fresh view through which Plath's poem may be understood both literarily and psychologically.

The article's specific focus, in this context, will be on how the poem evokes elements of the collective unconscious. Divided into three main sections, the analysis will begin by examining the archetypes of the Self and the Shadow, exploring how the speaker demonstrates her own identity and inner darkness. The second section will focus on the Anima and Animus, considering the poem's complex gender dynamics and internalized projections of masculine and feminine energy. Finally, the third section will analyze the archetypes of the Hero and the Trickster, reading the speaker's repeated resurrections and theatrical defiance as expressions of transformation and subversion. Throughout, the article will argue that "Lady Lazarus" is an archetypal narrative of death and rebirth.

The Dance of Light and Dark: The Self and The Shadow

A confession opens the poem: "I have done it again. / One year in every ten" (1-3). At this point, the reader is left in suspense, as the ambiguous 'it' is not immediately clarified, creating mystery and foreboding. The speaker of the poem brutally confesses because she has nothing to say except her irreversible decisions. She describes herself as a 'Nazi lampshade' and 'Jew linen' to make the scene more vivid by using Holocaust imagery to convey her own sense of hell and mental anguish, repeatedly referring to her own death and resurrection, implying that she has endured a transformation of the psyche. These disturbing metaphors, therefore, evoke a sense of dehumanization and suffering. The speaker of the poem gives those intense metaphors to describe that she is not isolated in her suffering since she compares her mental suffering to that of concentration camp prisoners by aligning her anguish with a collective history of trauma. It begins a journey because Lady Lazarus "will vanish in a day" (15). With her description of her mentality, her personality, and her journey of the Self archetype, she captures the wholeness and harmony of the mind, a symbolic journey of self-discovery.

The Self archetype in Lady Lazarus stands for the speaker's innermost core, the essence of her being that remains intact despite the numerous deaths and rebirths she has experienced. Jung's concept of the Self is "not only the center but also the whole circumference which embraces both conscious and unconscious" (Jung, 1993, p. 4). He explores the idea that the Self represents the totality and the unity of the psyche, encompassing all aspects of an individual, including both the conscious and unconscious mind. This contrasts with the ego, which is merely the focal point of awareness and does not include the whole psyche. The ego is a complex content for Jung, who describes it as "a complex of representations which constitute the centrum of my field of consciousness and appears to possess a very high degree of continuity and identity" (Jung, 2017, p. 391). The poem's repeated use of the pronoun "I" supports the notion that the self is a permanent and unalterable entity; however, the self is simultaneously portrayed in "Lady Lazarus" as divided and unstable. By calling herself "a sort of walking miracle" (4), the speaker alludes that her survival might not be an unquestioned fact. Since the ego is concerned with survival, identity, and the external world, while the Self represents a deeper, more unified state of being, the relationship between these two here unites the speaker's conscious awareness of her identity, her pain, and her role as a performer of

her own death and rebirth. She is aware of and interacts with the external world, managing the persona and the everyday self that others see. The ego-complex here demonstrates the oscillation in "Lady Lazarus" between self-assertion and dissolution. Her identity, though fragmented by trauma and death, maintains continuity within herself.

Plath's speaker's changing personas throughout the poem, from Lady Lazarus to a "victim" to a "doll" and back, reflect this dispersion. She needs to accomplish this because this is the sole means by which she will be able to realize her own self, emphasizing the significance of confronting and reconciling every facet of the self to develop a sense of unification and wellness. As the objective of the journey and the completeness of individuation, where she achieves self-realization and a harmonious state of being, Lady Lazarus speaks through her psyche, transcending the ego, representing a higher state of consciousness where she is not just focused on their personal desires and fears but has a more inclusive sense of identity and purpose. The speaker's repeated resurrections are attempts to achieve individuation, where she continually tries to integrate the fragmented parts of herself. Each death and rebirth is a symbolic process of shedding old identities and attempting to forge a new, more complete Self. Her final transformation into a vengeful, phoenix-like figure who "eats men like air" is empowerment to achieve the full integration that the Self represents. Her defiant tone and rejection of societal expectations are endeavors to transcend the ego. This exploration of the quest for wholeness and individuation, where the speaker continually attempts to integrate the fragmented aspects of her identity through the cycle of death and resurrection, captures the tension between the desire for a unified identity and the reality of fragmentation and conflict.

The merger of our conscious and unconscious selves, therefore, is represented by the archetype of wholeness and integration known as The Self. Jung described the process of consciousness emerging from the unconscious as a struggle, the process by which the hidden aspects of the self are brought into the light of awareness, becoming an individual is more about psychological wholeness in Jungian terms. Individuation is awareness and reconciliation of multiple sides of the psyche, including the shadow and the anima or animus. Working toward fulfilling one's true desires and potentials, which are aligned with the deeper aspects of the psyche, is about pursuing personal growth and self-realization in a way that is authentic and true to oneself (von Franz, 1964, p. 161). The speaker's journey toward integration and transformation appears for the integration of the intentional and instinctual parts of the psyche, representing individuation and completeness, where she confronts inner conflicts and integrates them to achieve a unified sense of self. Plath's speaker embarks on a deeply psychological and symbolic journey in which her repeated deaths and resurrections reflect the process of confronting and integrating disparate elements of her identity. Her repeated "deaths" are symbolic of shedding old aspects of the self, while her "resurrections" signify transformation and a deeper understanding of her identity. She embodies life and death, victim and survivor, destruction, and creation, and the true Self lies beyond them. The archetype of the Self is often realized through trials and suffering, as these experiences force an individual to confront their deepest truths. While the personal details of the poem are specific to Plath's experience, the underlying pattern of destruction and renewal of the human psyche reflects a universal human process. Jung, in the same vein, emphasizes that archetypes are universal patterns or motifs that may vary in their specific representations but retain the same core essence:

> The archetype is the tendency to form such representations of a motif- representation that can vary a great deal in their detail without losing their basic patterns. There are, for instance, many representations of the hostile brethren, but the motif itself remains the same. (Jung & von Franz, 1964, pp. 58)

A key part of achieving the Self archetype involves integrating the shadow—the hidden, suppressed elements of the psyche. In the poem, the speaker confronts her suffering, anger, and trauma through

visceral imagery, such as "The nose, the eye pits, the full set of teeth." By acknowledging and externalizing her inner pain, she moves closer to integrating these fragmented parts of herself into a cohesive whole. The poem also explores the archetype of the Shadow or "the opposite of 'ego'" (Atre, 2011, p. 155) or the darker part of human psyche. Lady Lazarus is plagued by her own mortality and the destructive impulses within her. She refers to herself as a "victim of the Holocaust" the collective shadow of humanity and the atrocities committed during the Second World War. As Jung remarks "projections change the world into a replica of one's own unknown face" (2014, p. 9), she harbors unconscious anger and starts to realize her own unresolved emotions reflected in the world around her, leading her to become a "smiling woman" watching her burn, a perverse pleasure in her suffering, and an internalized sense of self-loathing.

> By accepting evil, modern man accepts the world and himself in the dangerous double nature which belongs to them both. This self-affirmation is to be understood in the deepest sense as an affirmation of our human totality, which embraces the unconscious as well as the conscious mind and whose centre is not the ego (which is only the center of consciousness), nor yet the so-called super-ego, but the Self. (Neumann, 1990, pp. 140-141)

Plath's speaker embraces her shadow, acknowledging the destructive forces within her. The imagery of rising from the ash, like a phoenix, but with a predatory twist, so that the speaker's shadow is not just a force of self-destruction but also one of revenge. Her relationship with death is also the Shadow. Rather than fearing it, she almost revels in it, using her repeated resurrections as a way to confront and defy mortality. This defiance is a way of reclaiming power over her life, turning what is typically seen as a weakness, the impulse toward death, into a source of strength. Lady Lazarus' journey involves confronting the darker aspects of her own psyche, including feelings of hopelessness and despair. There are other characters in the poem who embody the Shadow archetype, including the Nazi genocide and demon-like beings such as men or doctors who represent the speaker's innermost rage. The Shadow archetype includes their fear of being buried before comprehensibility. Despite repeatedly confronting the image of her own death, she feels 'safe and free' because there is no longer any cause for concern or distress. Her dreams of dying, if she manages this time, mean everything becomes extremely bearable. Death seems resurrection, salvation, and power. Death represents the dream. However, actually, beneath the surface, death means the Shadow; death is the innermost fear at first. She does not feel complete if she dies without being able to do what she needs to do in the world. Even if she describes a zombie-like image of coming close to dying when the grave eats her flesh (17), she is still "a smiling woman."

She mentions her attempts at suicide by giving a sarcastic image. There is a sense of invincibility in effort 'Number Three' (22); she sees the failure of both suicide attempts as a chance given to her. It can be revealed the persona in the poem feels the same emotion because she depicts her personal derision about her attempts at suicide. This self-parody is tinged with satisfaction in her ability to deceive even death. She may think that she is so powerful that she always comes back to life regardless of her attempts or her cracked surroundings, causing her to do it. After all, to her, "Dying Is an art" that she does "exceptionally well" (43-45). These lines brilliantly highlight the poem's stunning description of being fearless about it. Therefore, her external ego and internal self undoubtedly become more united, and Lady Lazarus can even defeat death. The Self embraces the Shadow, and vice versa: after all, "[i]f a person is successful in detaching himself from identification with specific opposites, he can often see, to his own astonishment, how nature intervenes to help him. … He will then experience an inner liberation" (Zweig, 2020, p. 267). In doing so, she detaches the Self from fear and suffering. The idea of sacrifice here results in the individual transformation of their perception of good and evil.

Our suppressed or unrecognized portions of the self that are frequently denied are represented by the Shadow, the archetype of our evil side. By remarking that everyone has a dark side, but

suppressing this dark side is "a bad remedy like cutting off the head for a headache" (Storr & Jung 2013, p. 76-77), Jung implies that one cannot integrate with oneself without one's shadow since only individuals who are aware of their both sides, dark and light, and in harmony with their shadow can find an inner integration (Burger, 2014, p. 158). Jung also believed that what is repressed or denied often contains significant power. By embracing the shadow, individuals recognize new potentials, leading to greater resilience and adaptability in life. Goodness and wickedness become less absolute and more fluid, revealing that what is traditionally seen as evil has a healing purpose in "Lady Lazarus." This reconciling process helps the poet's persona connect with her "true self" in Jungian terms, the totality of the psyche and the image of the divine.

> The God-image in man was not destroyed by the Fall but was only damaged and corrupted ('deformed'), and can be restored through God's grace. The scope of the integration is suggested by the descent of Christ's soul to hell, its work of redemption embracing even the dead. The psychological equivalent of this is the integration of the collective unconscious which forms an essential part of the individuation process. (Jung, 1958, p. 37)

She confronts the depths of despair and mortality, mirroring Christ's descent into hell as an act of redemption. While societal forces attempt to destroy her through exploitation and objectification, she repeatedly rises, asserting herself as something indestructible and transcendent. Her declaration of vengeance, "Beware / Beware" (80-81), represents a self that has gone through destruction and emerged not only intact but empowered, akin to a soul redeemed through divine grace since the God-image is the 'higher spiritual man' (Meihuizen, 1992, p. 102). Her metaphorical descent into hell and subsequent resurrection is a psychological journey of individuation, where the integration of her fragmented self, including shadow elements, allows her to reclaim power. The poem thus resonates deeply with the themes of redemption, transformation, and the restoration of a damaged but enduring divine essence within humanity.

The Inner Dialogue of the Persona: The Anima and The Animus

In Jungian thought, the principle of polarity is crucial for understanding the creation of the self and the world associated with it. This principle posits that all aspects of existence are built on opposites or polarities, which are essential because one cannot exist without the other, and so one cannot complete oneself (Atre, 2011, p. 157). Regardless of our gender by birth, the Anima/Animus reflects the feminine and masculine divisions of our personalities. As a persistent thought, to foster mutual understanding, the archetypes of men and women within the collective unconscious are critically significant (Fordham, 1991, p. 70) since a man's anima enables him to access and develop his intuition, leading to deeper insights, while a woman's animus helps her formulate philosophical thoughts and attitudes grounded in logic as Jung avers: "Little girls and little boys are thus to manifest different psychological characteristics. Women are expected to be ruled by the Eros (love) principle, and men by Logos (thought)" (Jung, 1974, p. 224).

The anima and animus archetypes of frustration encapsulate Lady Lazarus' journey, in which she highlights the different roles that we play in society and the different facets of our identities. These archetypes live in another world, a world that is far from the real one, "where the birth and death of individuals count for little." (1968a p. 210). According to Jung, the anima and animus are related to schizophrenia since it is almost impossible for them to irrupt the conscious world without amounting to psychosis. In Sylvia Plath's poem, there are several references to psychological distress and a sense of detachment from reality. Throughout the poem, the speaker's undergoing multiple deaths and resurrections presents a sense of dissociation and a blurring of boundaries between life and death. Lady Lazarus' own realm in which there are no distinctions between life and death, where she is constantly dying and rising again. This realm serves as a metaphorical representation of Lady Lazarus' psychological state and the struggles she faces in her life, reflecting

the feelings of isolation, despair, and inner turmoil she experiences. Her animus is evident in her aggressive, confrontational tone and her rejection of victimhood. She does not passively accept her fate; instead, she challenges it and those who would pity or control her: "Do not think I underestimate your great concern" (72). Her anima, on the other hand, is lying in the more traditionally feminine elements of the poem, such as the imagery of beauty, art, and the body as "bright as a Nazi lampshade" (5), as an internalization of feminine vulnerability and objectification. By navigating the dark realm, she embarks on a journey of self-discovery and redemption. Her rage against humanity and ultimately finding a path toward redemption and a renewed sense of purpose leads her to a constant desire to die because she knows that she will come back no matter what. This tension highlights the difficulty of integrating these aspects of the self, as the speaker vacillates between embracing her destructive impulses (animus) and confronting her suffering (anima).

Doctors in the poem, on the other hand, are bringing Lady Lazarus back to life. In doing so, they pursue their art, that is, the art of keeping people alive; yet she regards the doctor as an adversary because they are the ones who "saved" her from death, and liberation. The doctors surmise they have the right to decide whether this woman lives or dies, which leads them to feel hatred for these "parasites." The anima and animus are evident in Lady Lazarus as a result of the speaker's battle to balance internal conflicts and establish her own sense of self in the face of desired outcomes and pressure from others. While the speaker displays a fearsome persona from time to time, she sometimes becomes a more frail, feminine one throughout the poem, indicating the presence of both anima and animus forces within her. The speaker assumes a combative, almost masculine tone in the first stanza, calling herself "a walking miracle" and comparing herself to "a sort of god." However, she exhibits a more fragile side later on in the poem when she laments being "miserable and empty" and contrasts herself with a "dove" that has parted with its way. The masculine part of the psyche, animus, can be characterized by aggressiveness and wrath, as well as the speaker's longing for dominance and control in the poem. The anima, representing the feminine qualities within the psyche, can be associated with fragility and the craving for nourishment and protection.

Lady Lazarus comes to believe that the characters she hates are also 'the evil scum of the earth' since they did not give her free will. She describes this lack of free will by making a scream-ish impression "…Herr Doktor./…I am your…. The pure gold baby" (65-69). Then, the curse becomes unbearable, and the dark power seems to win. Meanwhile, the persona makes carnival references, causing her to remember her past with alarming flashbacks. Her trauma becomes understandable to the reader owing to her fragmented surroundings. Saving her from death is an explicit reference to the swimming accident in Plath's own life. She likens this try-to-revive scene to a mock striptease. Her clothes are unwrapped by the crowd, who want to rescue her and have to repeatedly call for her forcing her to perform metaphorically. They can see her hands, knees, skin, and bones (35). Lady Lazarus loses control of her body in this imagined scene. She is an object of spectacle for a hungry crowd. 'Being a doll for the others' is the most painful nightmare for her. This 'striptease' scene reminds the reader of the speaker's vulnerability and desire to disappear from the world.

A woman who has endured significant tragedy and suffering and nevertheless has a passionate resolve to live is the persona archetype. The Persona, which represents the social roles we play and the way we portray ourselves to others, in the same respect, is the archetype of our social mask. For individuals, there are two spaces of their personalities: inner and outer. The outer stands above the inner (Storr & Jung, 2013, p. 83). Jung states that the elements that determine the inner attitude are the inner psychological processes of the individual, while the outer attitude is determined by the roles assigned to individuals by collective life, that is, social life. The outer, thus, is the individual "persona" (ibid., p. 87). The speaker of the poem assumes several guises as she addresses her audience. She portrays herself as a performer, victim, and survivor in order to draw attention to the various social roles that our identities play. She talks about her experiences of repeatedly trying to

commit suicide and being saved each time, which made her feel like a type of "miracle" or "freak show" attraction. She also makes references to authors and historical individuals who have dealt with death and rebirth, such as the Holocaust survivor Anne Frank and the mythical Phoenix. This archetype is typified by the speaker's great drive and fortitude in the face of difficulty. In addition, the poem's use of allusions to death and rebirth infer that the speaker views herself as going through a transformation, similar to the mythological Phoenix emerging from the ashes. In its overall form, Lady Lazarus is a potent examination of the archetypal figure of a woman who has gone through tragedy and suffering but objects to letting it define her. Instead, she aspires to change herself and transcend her predicament.

Rising with Defiance: The Hero and The Trickster

The journey an individual takes to achieve greater understanding, and illumination is represented by the archetype of The Hero, which is the search for self-discovery and transformation. Typically, therefore, the Hero archetype has been linked to bravery, fortitude, and the capacity to overcome challenges. In Jungian psychology, the hero's journey often involves enduring significant and numerous struggles that are depicted as having epic proportions, involving life and death challenges (Iaccino, 1998, p. 138). Not just physical battles but also psychological and moral conflicts reflect the high stakes of the hero's journey in the transformative nature of her psychological development. In Lady Lazarus, the speaker exemplifies many of these traits. She battles mental illness and has made several suicide attempts, but she still fights and defies those who want her to fail. Her self-description is "eating men like air" (84). The frequent use of the numbers as in the phrases "I am only thirty" (20) and "This is Number Three" (22) alludes to a movement reaching an increased state of awareness, much to the three phases of the journey of a hero, which are separation, initiation, and return. (Campbell, 2004, pp. 45-227). The protagonist in the poem takes on the role of the hero who must overcome her own suffering and transform herself. However, the hero archetype is also associated with sacrifice and martyrdom, and this is where the poem and the game become more complicated. The speaker in Lady Lazarus seems to both celebrate and resent her own ability to survive. Corresponding to this, Lady Lazarus calls herself a "sort of walking miracle" and a "pebble" that "repeats" itself, implying that she is fed up with being brought back to life only to encounter the same difficulties repeatedly. The complex and dynamic nature of her journey on death and rebirth constantly, as well, makes her heroin of the possibility of transformation and renewal even in the face of death and destruction. However, the hero archetype in her is complex and multi-layered. The protagonist embodies both the courage and the sacrifice associated with this archetype, but she also struggles with the weight of her own identity and the expectations placed upon her by others.

The speaker's persona itself, moreover, is interpreted by Lady Lazarus as the Trickster archetype. This archetype of mischief and volatility represents the tumultuous and changeable parts of existence. Being a complex figure embodying both destructive and transformative qualities, the trickster often undergoes significant suffering or torment, which can contribute to his seemingly wicked or disruptive nature. This suffering might not always be literal; it can also symbolize internal psychological conflicts or societal rejection. This archetype's experiences of pain and torment contribute to his role as a catalyst for chaos and change, often causing disruption or destruction (Jung, 1991, p. 15). In challenging and dismantling established norms and structures, the trickster's behavior often defies societal expectations and conventional morality, resulting in renewal. As a complex figure that distinctively embodies the collective shadow, the Trickster defies conventional categories and norms, representing a fusion of opposites and embodying both the bestial and the divine (Avens, 1977, p. 207). Representing the chaotic elements that society tends to reject, she embodies both human and non-human qualities, blending the subhuman with the transhuman. This dual nature reflects the trickster's role in transcending ordinary boundaries and defying established

categories (Jung, 1991, p. 143). The trickster's body is often depicted as lacking cohesion, just as Lady Lazarus' phoenix attributes. This metaphoric physical disunity is the trickster's role in disrupting and questioning the status quo, as well as the different aspects of the self. She is illustrated as a performer who takes on several guises in an effort to discover who she really is. She continually questions and undermines her own sense of self ironically, utilizing black humor to deal with her inner anguish. By subverting social norms and expectations with her wit and guile, the speaker in this instance exemplifies the trickster archetype.

In addition to human beings, there is another interpretation of the trickster archetype in "Lady Lazarus," which is the recurring imagery of fire and rebirth. The speaker describes her personal process of self-discovery using the allegory of the phoenix, a mythical avian that reemerges from the remnants of its own destruction. The transforming power of death and rebirth is thus linked to the trickster. With 'a charge of the light brigade' and "a cake of soap" (76) as costumes, she displays herself as a performer. She mocks her audience by challenging them to see her demise and subsequent rebirth. The Trickster archetype is characterized by this fun and erratic behavior as a revolutionary force that defies conventional gender roles and customs, and the poem can also be read as a critique of a patriarchal culture. The speaker's defiance and rebellion against the expectations placed upon her can be seen as a form of trickster behavior, using humor and irony to expose the hypocrisy and oppression of the dominant culture. Broadly speaking, this archetype of Lady Lazarus creates a sense of tension and unease that challenges the reader's perceptions and expectations.

The poem demonstrates the reborn as a redemption because while the speaker initially considers ending her own life, she finally chooses to be a light in the lives of others. The old Lady Lazarus gives birth to a new Lady Lazarus, taking control of what she lost before. The idea of death and rebirth is a common motif in mythology and literature, representing the cycle of life and the process of transformation. The speaker's journey is marked by defiance of death and an assertion of power over her own fate. Her repeated resurrections can be seen as trials or ordeals, where she emerges each time with a renewed sense of identity and purpose, albeit one that is dark and vengeful. The title, "Lady Lazarus," is also an invocation of the biblical narrative of Lazarus, who was revived from death by Jesus; furthermore, the speaker's reference to the phoenix means she will be reborn as a strong, fully formed figure this time to fight not only for herself but for all women who are dealing with similar issues, before devouring men who oppress women. Instead of being consumed metaphorically, it is now her turn to consume, rising again to start a new life. It is not a loss, but a gift. Her deaths are birthdays. She thus is a trickster as a clever hero, which is described by Klapp (1954) as a type of hero characterized by their ability to outsmart opponents who are more powerful (Carroll, 1984, p. 106), whether that power comes from physical strength or other forms of dominance. Through her use of cunning to challenge societal forces that crave to dominate or diminish her, she defies expectations and transforms what is meant to annihilate her into a source of strength and empowerment. Like the clever hero, she turns her apparent weakness, her repeated "deaths," into a weapon, reclaiming freedom in a world that tries to control her. The theatrical presentation of her own suffering is not just a physical act but a symbolic one, where she outsmarts those who try to exploit or contain her. Each time she rises, she becomes stronger, turning the destructive forces against themselves and emerging more empowered.

Conclusion

Carl Jung's understanding of psychological evolution and individuation is about the journey toward becoming one's true self; however, Jung reminded us that achieving a complete personality is seen as an unattainable ideal, something that can never be perfectly realized because the human psyche is inherently multifaceted. He argues that ideals that help one recognize one's personal journey are the "signposts" rather than actual destinations. They point individuals in the direction of

development and understanding of themselves and life (Jung, 1970, p. 172). The journey toward wholeness and the complete realization of the self remains an ever-evolving process, just like Lady Lazarus coming back to life and living in it fully again and again. She embraces her own darkness, starting to discover her self-identity after she is reborn again. Within the persona of the poet, her dual reflections, feminine and masculine sides, the Trickster's cunning and unpredictable nature, and the Hero's growth and development bring to the fore thinking beyond conventional approaches, expanding their abilities and understanding. Carl Jung's significant formulation of human psychology thus is "described as the deepest layer of the psyche, containing the experiences, fears, memories and all cognitive perceptions shared by all human beings on earth" (Ekstrom, 2004, p. 662).

Facing Lady Lazarus' fears and the darker aspects of her psyche, while at the same time showing the potential for growth and transformation through overcoming certain challenges by becoming aware of these archetypes and integrating them into our conscious awareness, so that we can achieve greater wholeness and live more fulfilling lives. While these constituent parts of the psyche are present in the life of every human being, the poem recognizes that these archetypes, shaped by pre-human and human evolution, are inherited aspects of the human mind. Jung's idea that humans can achieve greater integrity and live more satisfying lives by becoming aware of these archetypes and integrating them into their conscious awareness can be more easily achieved by directly presenting the literary object to people and letting them experience it, which means inviting them into becoming aware of the components of the psyche and living what is presented as if it were their own life. Lady Lazarus just as each individual "represents the 'eternal man' or 'man as a species and thus has a share in all the movements of the collective unconscious" (Jung, 1959, p. 42).

That being said, "Lady Lazarus" uses archetypal themes to explore complex human experiences and the transformative power of confronting one's own inner darkness. Patterns of behavior in response to external stimuli are instinctive, so these archetypes are also instinctive and innate. These archetypes, deeply rooted in the collective unconscious, provide a framework through which the poem's speaker communicates universal truths about suffering, fortitude, and renewal. The title itself reconstructs the biblical figure of Lazarus, who was resurrected by Jesus, symbolizing rebirth and the cyclical nature of life and death. This behavior of human beings can be transferred through this poem with the help of the speaker and modeling of ideas with emotional overtones that shape how we perceive our environment, our thoughts, and our feelings. However, Plath's "Lady Lazarus" reclaims the archetypes, entwining them in a narrative of personal trauma and recovery. External forces cover this personal trauma, whether societal expectations or even death itself; therefore, the poem illustrates how archetypes influence not only individual behavior but also collective perceptions of identity shaped by collective minds. Furthermore, the speaker's defiance against patriarchal oppression embodies strength, determination and resistance, qualities that resonate across cultures and eras. Her voice, dripping with irony and anger, becomes a vehicle for challenging these oppressive forces that seek to define her, asserting autonomy over her own narrative. Thus, it can be depicted as an object symbolizing the various components of the psyche, represented as archetypal images within the collective unconscious (Gallagher, 2021, pp. 1-6). This representation goes beyond mere personal narrative; it stands as a testament to the tenacity and strength of the human spirit. By embodying these archetypes, it highlights the shared experiences and struggles that connect individuals, emphasizing the enduring nature of hope and the capacity for growth despite challenges.

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Literary Studies | research note

Non-Normative Masculinities in Carson McCullers's
The Ballad Of The Sad Café

Carson McCullers'ın *The Ballad Of The Sad Café* Eserinde Normatif Olmayan Erkeklikler

Onur Yiğit 0000-0001-9652-6725
Hacettepe University

ABSTRACT

Normative masculinity has historically been defined as white masculinity staged by white, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied men. This model has been exclusively based on the (able-bodied) male body, and therefore non-male and disabled men have been prevented access to privilege, and they have confronted the forms of social oppression. By drawing insights from masculinity studies and disability studies, this article analyzes Carson McCullers's *The Ballad of the Sad Café* (1951) and examines her portraits of non-normative masculinities through the non-male and the disabled men, revealing much about the limitations of hegemonic masculinity and the contradictions present in the American South. The article not only considers how McCullers replaces normative, white, able-bodied masculinity in the novel but also discusses how Miss Amelia and Cousin Lymon construct their versions of masculinity, as each bypasses the assumptions surrounding their gender expressions. By rejecting normativity, avoiding heteronormative constraints, and disrupting gender binaries, Miss Amelia and Cousin Lymon gain agency, authenticity, and independence and actuate positive change in a bigoted southern society that is no longer the prefecture of only white able-bodied men.

Introduction

Originally published in Harper's Bazaar in 1943 and re-published as a hardcover novella in 1951, *The Ballad of the Sad Cafe* is McCullers's most critically and publicly well-received work. Edward Albee, the American playwright, later dramatized it as a stage play in 1963, and its film adaptation, directed by Simon Callow, came out in 1991. In her third full-length work, McCullers incorporates themes such as unrequited love, solitude and suffering, and the terror of a chaotic world. However, there is always eccentricity and distortion, a quirkiness that "levels a related attack [on] … gender/sexual normativity in the South" (Hutchinson, 2018, p. 279). *The Ballad of the Sad Cafe* is the story of a love triangle that includes a large masculine woman, Miss Amelia Evans, a manipulative hunchbacked dwarf, Cousin Lymon Willis, and a despicable handsome deceiver, Marvin Macy. This love triangle is said to be a "reminiscent of [McCullers's] own experience" as

McCullers was afraid of a possible affair between her husband and David Diamond, the couple's close friend, and feared this "might develop into a permanent relationship for the two of them that completely excluded her" (Carr, 1976, p. 171).

The novel centers around Miss Amelia, who operates her deceased father's store to maintain her financial independence and enhance her material assets. Being a hardworking, self-sufficient, and autonomous businesswoman who focuses only on her work, she is apathetic towards the people around her. By going back and forth between the past and the present, the narrative is recounted by a third-person omniscient narrator, who seems to witness, observe, and contemplate important events in the isolated small southern mill town, and for this reason, there is "very little dialogue to enable the characters to build their own discourses" (Bezci, 2018, p. 26). The novella begins with a short description of the town, which is dreary, boring and impoverished by the austerity of the Great Depression. A deserted house is located in the town center that leans right and is about to collapse. This is Amelia's house, part of which was once a store and then the town's trendy café. The narrator flashes back to the time when Cousin Lymon showed up on the porch of Amelia's store, claiming he was a distant cousin of hers. The two form a unique relationship, which is eventually ruined by Marvin Macy, an attractive infamous womanizer and criminal who was once married to Amelia for ten days. While Marvin Macy was in the penitentiary, Amelia's store transitions into the town's beloved cafe with the help and the presence of Cousin Lymon. After Marvin Macy is released from the prison, he arrives in the small town and schemes with Cousin Lymon to exact revenge on Amelia, who humiliated and emasculated him through their failed marriage. The tale culminates in a physical fight between Amelia and Marvin over Lymon, who betrays her, running away with the ex-con for whom he harbors romantic feelings. Amelia recedes into the cafe and becomes a hermit, with a heart broken by her beloved Cousin Lymon.

In *The Ballad of the Sad Cafe*, McCullers provides two different types of non-normative masculinity through Amelia and Lymon. While Amelia eschews conventional femininity for a powerful female masculinity, Lymon bypasses non-disabled assumptions (of asexuality and sexlessness) to construct his own disabled masculinity. In these two instances, masculinity "becomes legible ... where and when it leaves the white male middle-class body" (Halberstam, 1998, p. 2). Amelia is a masculine, sexually ambiguous woman, and Cousin Lymon is a person with a disability who has same-sex desires. In short, they question the essentialist manifestation of gender and sexuality as stable, inert, and generic. Moreover, masculinity is not a sacred fort of heterosexual men to legitimize power, authority, and privilege in the novel, but a device employed by alternative identities "through a social construction rubric that disarticulates the normative wedding of sex and gender" (Wiegman, 2002, p. 50). Amelia uses her masculine power to maintain a higher place in gendered southern society and her masculine masquerade to avoid the burdens of femininity imposed by the American South. Cousin Lymon, on the other hand, holds power in the community by disrupting the traditional misconception of disability as a personal tragedy, failure, incompleteness, feeblemindedness, and weakness. As a result, Amelia and Cousin Lymon, as representatives of transgression, disavow normative hegemonic masculinity. By drawing insights from masculinity studies and critical disability studies, this article argues that performing non-normative masculinity becomes a technique to negotiate power in a gendered normative society. It also represents a strategic alternative to hegemonic masculinity and conventional femininity, while at the same time underscoring the constructedness of gender and providing a framework to dismantle discourses of otherness.

Non-Normativity and Female Masculinity

Judith Butler uses the word normative to "describe the mundane violence performed by certain kinds of gender ideals" (1990/2007, p. xxi), referring to the acts, behaviors, and wording that construct traditional ideals of gender. For example, normativity compels women to wear feminine

attire or men to study male-coded subjects in school. In short, by serving societal expectations, normative ideals are "the norms that govern gender" (Butler, 1990/2007, p. xxi). Thus, non-normativity is an act of deviation and a form of unorthodoxy that denies traditionally and socially acknowledged norms as well as the formal specifications of gendered bodies and identity. Drawing on Adrienne Rich's notion of compulsory heterosexuality and Gayle Rubin's sex hierarchy, gender and queer theorists have developed the term heteronormativity to define the attitude of those who believe and defend heterosexuality as the only sexuality. Barker defines heteronormativity as "rooted in a linked essential, dichotomous understanding of sexuality (a person is either heterosexual or homosexual) and gender (a person is either a man or a woman) and the perception that these things are fixed and unchanging" (2014, p. 858). With their adherence to social expectations in terms of sex, gender, and sexuality, cisgender masculine men and feminine women, who are attracted to each other sexually, are the most palpable examples of heteronormativity. When one violates the codes of heteronormativity, one also defies hegemonic masculinity, a dominant practice of masculinity defined by R.W. Connell as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (2005, p. 77). In *The Ballad of the Sad Cafe*, Amelia clearly violates the social codes of normativity through her female masculinity and undermines hegemonic masculinity.

Much like any fictional town of McCullers, where sanity and normalcy are meant to prevail, the small town in *The Ballad of the Sad Cafe* is also normative in that it is "dreary," "lonesome," "sad," and "there is nothing whatsoever to do" (McCullers, 2018, p. 1). The town is rarely visited as when Cousin Lymon enters the scene, the narrator says, "It is rare that a stranger enters the town on foot at that hour" (McCullers, 2018, p. 5). In McCullers's fiction, places, and society in general, are almost always described as dull and soulless, and the overcast atmosphere anchors this normativity. However, non-conformist characters quickly disrupt the monotony with their deviation from normativity. In *The Ballad of the Sad Cafe*, Amelia's masculine body, behaviors, and disinterest in cis-gendered compulsive heterosexuality is the embodiment of a non-normative, nonconformist subjectivity that defies formal categorizations of gender, sex, and sexuality. Amelia lacks a normative female body; she is even defined as "sexless" (McCullers, 2018, p. 2). This is the first impression people have when they look at Amelia; her appearance is extraordinary and quite different from that of the rest of the townspeople. She is what queer theorists today call nonbinary or gender-nonconforming, as her gender expression is not exclusively masculine or feminine, though masculinity does dominate. Though sexless may refer to gender ambiguity, here, it may also signify asexuality and/or intersexuality given her lack of interest in sex and her obvious disdain for binaries. Amelia does not fit into descriptions of the traditional "southern belle" or "southern lady" since she is "a dark, tall woman with bones and muscles like a man," and "her hair was cut short and brushed back from the forehead" (McCullers, 2018, p. 2). She is not pictured as a beautiful, delicate, feminine woman but has a "haggard quality" (McCullers, 2018, p. 2) in her face, which certifies a masculine image. Therefore, her gender, sex, and sexuality cannot be categorized in any definitive way.

Like Cousin Lymon, whose disability will be analyzed further with respect to masculinity later in this article, Amelia is also considered disabled according to society, once again uniting them in terms of their non-normativity. She has "two gray crossed eyes which are turned inward so sharply that they seem to be exchanging with each other one long and secret gaze of grief" (McCullers, 2018, p. 2). Her visual impairment indicates that she is not a fully able-bodied person. The narrator stresses fervently, "She might have been a handsome woman if, even then, she was not slightly cross-eyed" (McCullers, 2018, p. 2). Here, having crossed eyes is stigmatized through the norms of conventional beauty: handsomeness or attractiveness is connected with having "normal" eyes. Moreover, Amelia "had grown to be six feet two inches tall which in itself is not natural for a woman" (McCullers, 2018,

p. 13). Again, the narrator determines what is natural or unnatural for a woman; being tall contrasts with the normative female body and its petite stature. Furthermore, Amelia's inward eyes, or her looking in an inverted way into herself, suggests her queerness and her deviance from normalcy, normativity, and conventionality. Invert was "the accepted term for lesbians and gay men in the 1930s and early 40s" (Dearborn, 2024, p. 89). The narrator calls Amelia's crossed eyes "queer" in multiple instances (McCullers, 2018, p. 27; p. 40). Thus, according to the conventions of the time, Amelia can be read as a queer coded character. Furthermore, Amelia's inverted eyes echoes McCullers's self-identification as an invert who wants to love and be loved by women (Carr, 1976, p. 167).

Barker and Iantaffi claim that "for female-assigned people, even wearing entirely 'masculine' clothes and hairstyle may not be enough to stop them being read simply as 'woman'" (2017, p. 116). Therefore, Amelia's appropriation of masculinity should not only be read in relation to her appearance and clothing. Amelia is non-normative not only in her masculine physicality, appearance, and clothing but also in her profession, prosperity, prestige, power, and independence in the town. She transgresses the gendered boundaries southern women who are expected to stay indoors in the domestic sphere, engage in traditionally feminine indoor activities such as sewing, cooking, cleaning and childrearing, and behave in a gentle, modest, merciful, timid and pious way. In addition to dressing in men's attire, she is engaged in traditionally male-dominated jobs and hobbies and runs multiple businesses that make her affluent as "the richest woman miles around" (McCullers, 2018, p. 3), probably the reason why Lymon chose Amelia as his target. She operates her deceased father's store, which later transitions into the town cafe with the help of Lymon, and she is a bootlegger with a still that "ran out the best liquor in the county" (McCullers, 2018, p. 2). She also functions as the lay healer of the town and is "considered a good doctor" (McCullers, 2018, p. 15); she has the ability to heal the sick by allocating "different medicines which she had brewed herself from unknown recipes" (McCullers, 2018, p. 15).

People trust Amelia's doctoring skills and bring their sick children so she can heal them. Yet, there is one major exception in her healing abilities: she does not cure female reproductive health concerns. The narrator says

> If a patient came with a female complaint she could do nothing. Indeed, at the mere mention of the words her face would slowly darken with shame, and she would stand there craning her neck against the collar of her shirt, or rubbing her swamp boots together, for all the world like a great, shamed, dumb-tongued child. (McCullers, 2018, p. 15-16)

Her reaction toward women's diseases seems confusing, childlike, and ignorant. Being sexually disinterested, she has no knowledge of female health complaints or perhaps is afraid of them due to the criminality of abortion at the time. In patriarchal societies, women are expected to define themselves by their feminine bodies. Amelia, however, is wandering around the dangerous territory of not knowing how the "female" body operates. Her confusion about women's diseases thus can be interpreted in two ways: Amelia attempts to avoid the feminine throughout her life because she is genuinely clueless, or she is not acquainted with femininity because she is determined to identify herself with masculinity. A third possible interpretation is that as a closeted queer woman, she might be afraid to treat other women because it might compel her to face her own sexual identity.

Except for her inability to remedy female health concerns, Amelia "plays the beneficent role of a bucolic Vesta, presiding over the private and public heart" (Griffith, 1967, p. 48). She has a visible prestige deriving from her status in the town, both as the sole healthcare provider and store/cafe owner. Her determination to be independent and self-sufficient is an outcome of her efforts to minimize the problems she encounters as a genderqueer woman. She remains vigilant towards people and the incidents around her throughout the novel. She has a keen interest in lawsuits,

especially for money, and law in general for her personal protection, showing her at least as a person who contemplates justice. She produces her own medicine because she is unwilling to be dependent on other people. Thus, her proclivity towards independence, whether materialistically or spiritually, illustrates her distrust of others.

Although earlier scholars read McCullers's three tomboys, Frankie Addams, Mick Kelly, and Amelia, as "transvestites" who crossdressed in male clothing, a more accurate way of understanding them is through a nonbinary lens. Their gender flexibility and nonconformity went much further than mere clothing. Their behaviors, attitudes, and way of approaching the world were also part of their gender identity. Moreover, reducing their queerness to performing through costuming deprives them of a sexual identity. Yet, there are distinct differences between Amelia and the other two characters. Frankie (Frances) and Mick (Margaret) use nicknames traditionally associated with males, which reflect "their desire to be boys" (Gleeson-White, 2003, p. 70). On the other hand, Amelia's name is a traditionally female name, and furthermore, there is a formal title, "Miss" before the name. Here, the narrator highlights Amelia's marital status as a single woman, even though Amelia is a divorced woman in her thirties and should have been called Ma'am. In this context, Miss is a southern title of respect that reinforces Amelia's independent womanhood than her relationship to the patriarchy.

Amelia is also different in that there is an ambiguity regarding her self-identification, whether she defines herself as female or male. Unlike with Mick, who outright professes to wanting to be a boy, and Frankie who tries vainly to be more feminine, readers never know whether Amelia has a desire to be one or the other sex, which is how McCullers accentuates female masculinity. Amelia never names her sexuality or desires; thus, her gender positioning does not fit into any gender categories. The reader only knows that she seems odd in a red dress – "she put[s] on a dark red dress that hung on her in a most peculiar fashion" (McCullers, 2018, p. 23) – and she feels at ease when she wears men's overalls because "their careless androgyny allow[s] her to move easily and forget the social limitations of her sex" (Whatling, 2005, 91-92). Like Amelia Bloomer, who promoted loose clothing for women, or what was called "harem pants," in the nineteenth century, Amelia's "male clothing" can also be associated with freedom, which does not necessarily have anything to do with gender identity or sexual orientation. Moreover, Amelia uses her masculinity to defy heterosexual union and its rigid gender categories of wife and mother, which becomes an example of "nonce taxonomy," as Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick calls it, or a process of "the making and unmaking and remaking and redissolution of hundreds of old and new categorical imaginings concerning all the kinds it may take to make up a world" (1990, p. 23). Thus, Amelia offers a new categorization that does not force women into heteronormativity and heterosexual unions, and her gender becomes "a mere choice between authentic masculinity and femininity" (Gleeson-White, 2008, p. 54).

Tomboyism is considered a transition phase from childhood to adolescence, and it can be tolerated when it remains only in childhood and adolescence. Halberstam argues that tomboyism "is punished when it appears to be the sign of extreme male identification and when it threatens to extend beyond childhood and into adolescence" (1998, p. 6). Thus, tomboyism becomes non-normative when one sustains it through adulthood. Amelia exemplifies this as an adult as she is "thirty years old" (McCullers, 2018, p. 3). Westling defines Amelia as a "grown-up tomboy whose physical proportions symbolize her exaggerated masculine self-image" (1982, p. 465). Her tomboyism is not rooted in an early desire to enjoy freedom and mobility that is only accessible to boys, but in a firm belief in independence as an adult, which suggests that she is not actually a tomboy but someone far more subversive. Gleeson-White argues that "it is Miss Amelia Evans, the grownup tomboy of *The Ballad of the Sad Café*, who threatens more seriously a status quo based on clear gender demarcation" (2003, p. 72). It is her determined gender intervention, non-normativity and non-conformity in a small southern town that render her more than a tomboy. Her female

masculinity is not a childhood phase or masquerade, it is "a lifestyle choice; it is not a temporary performance" (Gleeson-White, 2003, p. 72), aligning her closer to what today would be called transgenderism (and not transvestitism or crossdressing).

As an adult, seemingly without parents, siblings, or an extended family, Amelia is not bound to the familial institution in that same way as Frankie and Mick. Her mother is almost never mentioned (she most likely died in childbirth or when Amelia was a child) and she was "raised motherless by her father who was a solitary man" (McCullers, 2018, p. 10). This resulted in her early maturation, independence, and gender fluidity: there was no female presence to force her to act feminine, so she constructed her own gender norms. As Griffith conveys, "her pattern of life is both solitary and independent; she makes her own schedules…[and] ignores whenever she pleases the conventions of the community" (1967, p. 8). Her status as a self-made economically stable woman who does not need the patriarchy for anything allows her to oscillate between masculinity and femininity without much social disapproval, even though she clearly poses a profound challenge to southern gender codes. Amelia thus "appropriate[s] male power and… escape[s] the culturally inferior role of woman" (Westling, 1982, p. 466). Once again, this implies that her masculinity is not the temporary tomboy performance of an androgynous adolescent, but a deliberately crafted empowering lifestyle. She builds her physical and social appearance while carefully regulating her relationships in order to perpetuate the female masculine identity she has created. That is, until Cousin Lymon enters her life and through the obsessive love she feels for him, turns her world upside down.

As McCullers conveys, before Lymon arrived on the scene, Amelia was intolerant of external forces and influences that would destabilize her power, wealth, independence, and domination. This is the core reason why she was unwilling to surrender her subjectivity through heterosexual marriage to Marvin Macy, a virile, able-bodied, cis-gendered man. According to Gayle Rubin, American society is built around a "sex hierarchy," or a "sexual value system," which places heterosexual married couples in a "charmed circle" defined as "good, normal, blessed natural sexuality" (2006, p. 152-153). Heterosexual marriage is constructed based on the normative perception that it is natural and preferred. This is why Amelia can only tolerate marriage for ten days and it "proved a dismal failure" (Millichap, 1973, p. 334). More interested in selling the wedding gifts they received, she eventually rejects marriage, the sacred and institutional foundation of normativity. As a non-conformist and non-normative woman, she disavows marriage because it is not part of her worldview. She was particularly disturbed by his sexual advances during their wedding night and chose to isolate herself in her father's office and smoke his pipe, while wearing her overalls, instead. By divorcing Marcin Macy, she regains her financial and physical independence.

Marvin's efforts to win her heart are also an inevitable failure because of her condescending pride as a powerful masculine woman. In fact, she only agrees to the union for money in the first place, which becomes a reality when he "[signs] over to [Amelia] the whole of his worldly goods" (McCullers, 2018, p. 31). Despite her fondness for the almighty dollar, Amelia, does nothing to reciprocate Marvin's gesture of goodwill; she is unresponsive, uninterested, and unconcerned by his pitiful lovemaking. The townspeople hope that marriage will "tone down Miss Amelia's temper, to put a bit of bride-fat on her, and to change her at last into a calculable woman" (McCullers, 2018, p. 30). Marvin Macy is unable to do this, but Cousin Lymon is, for as McCullers repeatedly reminds readers, love, and not money, has the power to change people. Amelia becomes softer and generous in Lymon's presence, showering him with gifts, food, and drink, which is her way of expressing love. It is also why Marvin Macy seethes with jealousy when he returns to the town and eventually plots her overthrow with Lymon, the object of her affection.

Amelia is attracted to Cousin Lymon for numerous reasons, many of which, as McCullers admits, cannot be explained, much like love itself. For one, Lymon does not try to confine her to the social institution of marriage. Their relationship is "never threatening because he is not a real man who

sees her as female" (Westling, 1082, p. 466). Her attachment to Cousin Lymon is harmless until Marvin Macy returns to town. It is why she chooses to be the lover instead of the beloved. The lover controls the relationship and manipulates it according to his/her/their wishes: "The value and quality of any love is determined solely by the lover" (McCullers, 2018, p. 26). Loving and controlling Lymon provides her with male power, authority, and agency. The more she controls Lymon, the more powerful she feels. The object of love should remain just that, an object. It is when the object starts to form an opinion, or begins to feel oppressed in the relationship, that it begins to unravel.

In Amelia's and Lymon's relationship, there is no sexual desire, no corporeal bonding, and no requital. After all, they are cousins, and are cohabitating, though the townspeople derive pleasure from thinking otherwise. It is a union formed by two non-normative outcasts, a comradeship that simultaneously resembles a familial relationship or kinship (like that between Alison, Anacleto, and Weincheck), with Amelia as mother and Lymon as child. Amelia provides care, attention, and love to Lymon, not just spiritually but also materially. Lymon substitutes for the family Amelia is missing in her life after growing up motherless and being left alone when her father died. As Westling articulates that Cousin Lymon

> represents no threat to her power. He is a sickly, deformed mannikin whom she could crush with one blow of her fist, and, from all we can see, he makes no sexual demands. His warped, childlike form clearly indicates his masculine impotence, just as Amelia's grotesquely masculine appearance expresses her inability to function as a woman. With Lymon she feels safe in revealing affection, for she can baby and pet him without any threat of sexuality. (1982, p. 470)

Cousin Lymon is "a man loved without sex, a child acquired without pain, and a companion which [Amelia's] limited personality finds more acceptable than a husband or a child" (Millichap, 1973, p. 335). While it is unclear whether or not Amelia and Cousin Lymon sexually consummate their relationship, it is worth mentioning that they spend three days upstairs in the store's living quarters when they first meet (exactly the same location where Marvin Macy was rejected on their wedding night). McCullers leaves the reader's imagination to contemplate what may have happened between Amelia and Lymon. Moreover, during the absence of the two for those three days, "the townspeople…would rather believe Amelia capable of murdering Lymon than having sex with him" (Verstrat, 2001, p. 115). The possibility of a relationship between two non-normative disabled bodies is beyond society's imagination. However, Amelia violates all the assumptions by engaging in the impossible, the non-normative, and the unthinkable by finding Cousin Lymon attractive. Furthermore, Lymon and Amelia reverse gender roles in this "grotesque" marriage, further queering the situation. While Amelia is the dominant partner, the breadwinner, and the money-maker, Cousin Lymon is "the pampered mate who struts about in finery, is finicky about food and accommodations, and gads about town socializing and gossiping" and "he functions as a hostess would in the cafe" (Westling, 1982, p. 470). Clearly, they both rewrite and reconstruct the rules of heterosexual partnership between a man and a woman.

While Amelia is almost always "dressed in overalls and gum-boots" (McCullers, 2018, p. 3), she has a red dress that she reserves only "for Sundays, funerals and sessions of the court" (McCullers, 2018, p. 53). She feels threatened when Marvin Macy moves into the cafe to live with them, which is when she begins to wear the red dress inside the cafe to attract Cousin Lymon's attention. She crossdresses to flaunt her femininity in situations where she needs to appropriate femininity, mimicking, when she feels she must, the conventions of heterosexual relationships. Her "occasional performances of a hyper-femininity denaturalize gender categories (Gleeson-White, 2008, p. 49). Consequently, Amelia's appropriation of femininity, as a form of convenience passing, shows the constructedness of gender, but it does little to prevent the inevitable collapse of the love triangle that comes in the novella.

Disability And Masculinity

Tom Shakespeare notes that Disability Studies "explores disability as a form of social oppression, defining disabled people in terms of discrimination and prejudice, not in terms of medical tragedy" (1999, p. 54). The public, social, and cultural representations of people with disabilities have traditionally been negative, one that causes discrimination, stereotyping, condescension, and a barrier for people with disabilities to participate in public, personal, and professional life. These representations "buttress an embodied version of normative identity and shape a narrative of corporeal difference that excludes those whose bodies or behaviors do not conform" (Garland-Thomson, 1997/2017, p. 7). Disability Studies critiques the identification of disabled people as tragic, weak, and vulnerable, and the medical model that sustains to "correct" these characterizations through intervention. McCullers's sympathetic depiction of disabled protagonists, and her choice to place them front and center in her main works (*The Ballad of the Sad Cafe* and *The Heart is a Lonely Hunter*, among others), aligns her oeuvre with the objectives of Disability Studies.

In American society, able-bodied normates, such as Marvin Macy, whose physicality and appearance fit the ideal masculine mode, are entitled to power, authority, and privilege that is not accessible to corporeally different people, such as Cousin Lymon. He is not the ideal American man; his body is a violation of gender norms. Yet, rather than categorizing him as a disabled figure doomed to misfortune, McCullers constructs Cousin Lymon a non-normative male with a disability, who does not conjure feelings of tragedy, pity, shame, and guilt. If anything, he is an *extraordinary* body (to use Rosemary Garland-Thomson's phrase), who has access to agency through his vivaciousness, popularity, and positivity. Besides, he is under Amelia's protection; no one has gumption to mock him. Moreover, he has the power to transform not just Amelia, but the locals, who come to accept him as one of his own—not an easy task in such an insular, isolated, impoverished small southern town.

In terms of his specific disability, Cousin Lymon is described in terms that would not be used today—a hunchback dwarf: "The man was a hunchback. He was scarcely more than four feet tall and he wore a ragged, rusty coat that reached only to his knees. His crooked little legs seemed too thin to carry the weight of his great warped chest and the hump that sat on his shoulders" (McCullers, 2018, p. 5). He is also a consumptive with tuberculosis, signs of which are "the brightness of his gray eyes, his insistence, his talkativeness, and his cough" (McCullers, 2018, p. 56), as well as his thin skin spiderwebbed with purple veins. Cousin Lymon enters the novel as an intruder, an outsider, and an enemy who threatens the stability of the town. As Garland-Thomson asserts, "disabled characters with power virtually always represent a dangerous force unleashed on the social order" (1997/2017, p. 36). Cousin Lymon poses a danger because he is an unknown figure in this normative town. His body is unfamiliar; his age, background, family and hometown are ambiguous. Rootless and routeless like so many other Southern Gothic characters, Cousin Lymon says he was traveling when he is asked where he is from (McCullers, 2018, p. 6). His age is also unidentified; the narrator states, "No one in the town, not even Miss Amelia, had any idea how old the hunchback was" (McCullers, 2018, p. 65). Some people think that he is "about twelve years old, still a child," while others believe he is "well past forty" (2018, p. 65). While his age remains an enigma and the townspeople try to define and measure the hunchback's age and body, Amelia shows little interest in both, for it is the response he evokes in her that is more important.

At first, Lymon seems to be a stereotypical villain who disrupts the monotony and normativity of the town through his non-normative corporeality. Although teaming up with Marvin and destroying Amelia's cafe might be interpreted as a mark of his malignant spirit and his moral corruption, this action does not occur out of outright malice. Lymon does so to gain affirmation and to appeal to his object-desire, Marvin. He becomes greedy for a chance to be on the same side with Marvin. Therefore, his vicious deeds have nothing to do with an evil nature but are rather efforts to gain

Marvin's approval.

Cousin Lymon represents otherness due to his unorthodox corporeality, and the townspeople react with prejudice to the non-normative extraordinary body. Cousin Lymon causes wonder, curiosity, and fear, along with feelings of inertia. These feelings have, however, negative overtones. When Cousin Lymon begins to cry, the townspeople compare him to Morris Finestein, a Jewish person who "had lived in the town years ago" and "cried if you called him Christ-killer" (McCullers, 2018, p. 7). Conflating all forms of difference into one wave of bigotry, they add homophobia to their anti-Semitism and xenophobia, and direct these feelings towards Lymon, a disabled outsider: "Since then if a man were prissy in any way, or if a man ever wept, he was known as a Morris Finestein" (McCullers, 2018, p. 7). This exemplifies Garland-Thomson's argument that disabled people are "political minorities" (1997/2017, p. 5) who share the same burden as racial, ethnic, religious, gender and sexual minorities due to discourses of otherness constructed by normates in an attempt to maintain their social power.

The townspeople's stigmatization and dislike of Cousin Lymon, starting from the moment they saw him in the store's porch, continues with the spread of rumors that Amelia may have killed him during their three-day absence and the silence of the store. The possibility that Amelia, who also embodies non-normativity, harms Cousin Lymon, the object of stigmatization, comforts them, and some even "put on Sunday clothes as though it were a holiday" (McCullers, 2018, p. 12) in celebration of the event. Non-normativity, non-conformity, and deviation must be eliminated, and they would rather see him dead (and Amelia a murderer) than alive. According to Garland-Thomson, "the process of stigmatization thus legitimates the status quo, naturalizes attributions of inherent inferiority and superiority, and obscures the socially constructed quality of both categories" (1997/2017, p. 31). Consequently, the disabled figure almost always receives punishment from the status quo: "corporeal departures from dominant expectations never go uninterpreted or unpunished" (Garland-Thomson, 1997/2017, p. 7). This time, however, Cousin Lymon is not punished but rewarded by being loved and adopted like a child by Amelia. When the townspeople see that Cousin Lymon is alive, they are in shock as he "was not at all as had been pictured to them—not a pitiful and dirty little chatterer, alone and beggared in this world" (McCullers, 2018, p. 16). Cleaned up, well fed, and well rested, he was no longer an object to vilify. He becomes integrated into society and plants the seeds of a powerful sense of community.

Garland-Thomson argues that disabled characters have been used historically as narrative strategies in cultural and literary productions to evoke cultural anxieties rather than as a means to reflect on the experiences of disabled people (1997/2017, p. 9). In tandem with this view, Mitchell and Snyder propose the concept of "narrative prosthesis" to describe how disability operates in cultural productions including literature, media and film: "[D]isability pervades literary narrative, first, as a stock feature of characterization and, second, as an opportunistic metaphorical device. We term this perpetual discursive dependency upon disability narrative prosthesis" (2000, p. 47). As a result, disabled characters usually remain supporting characters, as "uncomplicated figures or exotic aliens whose bodily configurations operate as spectacles, eliciting responses from other characters or producing rhetorical effects that depend on disability's cultural resonance" (Garland-Thomson, 1997/2017, p. 9). They usually contribute to the development of the protagonist but remain silent in addressing inequality and/or exclusion of disabled people from society. McCullers rebels against this tradition by deploying two disabled characters, Cousin Lymon as hunchback and Amelia Evans as crossed-eyed, as main characters in *The Ballad of the Sad Café*. They are strong enough to tame the normative, prejudiced townspeople by transforming the store into a cafe that becomes a haven where feelings of unity, solidarity, and community, and not prejudice, dominate.

People with disabilities have almost always been considered less feminine or less masculine due to the perception that their bodies are insufficient and incomplete. Consequently, they have been

regarded as less attractive, "asexual, or a third gender" or sometimes even "oversexual" (Shakespeare, 1999, p. 55; McRuer, 2016, p. 401). Cousin Lymon is none of these. In fact, he uses the selfhood strategies of normative persons to access agency, power and authority. He is desiring and desirable, which projects McCullers's view of love, that "the beloved can also be of any description" (McCullers, 2018, p. 25). When Lymon sees Marvin for the first time, he "stood somewhat apart from everyone, and he did not take his eyes from the face of Marvin Macy" (McCullers, 2018, p. 48). He becomes obsessed with Marvin, and he follows him everywhere, with his ears wiggling in excitement. There is no reciprocity in this male affinity; Marvin is frustrated with the presence of Cousin Lymon and even calls him "brokeback." Nevertheless, Cousin Lymon is relentless in his love and desire for Marvin, regardless of his nasty personality. He is confident in his new position as the lover and disregards the rising tension between Amelia and Marvin. Amelia likewise disregards Lymon's disabilities, which are invisible to the lover, who does not see his betrayal coming. Disability has "historically been seen as a disadvantage or a curse" (Garland-Thomson, 1997/2017, p. 40). In Lymon's case, there are no negative consequences or disadvantages associated with his disability. The townspeople accept him, Amelia adores him, and even Marvin tolerates him as part of his plan for revenge. While one can only imagine how Marvin will betray Lymon after they run away together, that remains speculation and beyond the framework of McCullers's novella.

Šėporaitytė and Tereškinas argue that the perpetual pressure of the discourse of "normality" urge disabled men to "embody as much as possible the main features of a normal man and ignore their distinctiveness and difference" (2006, p. 125). In the novella, Cousin Lymon is not overtly masculine and does not display an exaggerated form of masculinity to fit the rules of normalcy. He makes no effort to manifest his masculinity as hegemonic in any way. Rather, he embraces his masculinity as it truly is. He has no self-shame or self-pity due to his disability or lack of orthodox masculinity. For instance, he "evince[s] some stereotypically feminine habits [such as] his extreme sociability, his unselfconscious display of fear, his fondness for sweets, his attention to wardrobe, and his affinity for flamboyant dress" (Verstrat, 2001, p. 118). He does not attempt to hide these traditionally "feminine" qualities, thus offering a non-hegemonic alternative to the hegemonic modes of masculinity.

Disability has always been associated with disempowerment, weakness, and uncontrollability in society. Garland-Thomson states that "figures such as the cripple, the quadroon, the queer, the outsider, the whore are taxonomical, ideological products ... excluded from social power and status" (1997/2017, p. 8). Similarly, Šėporaitytė and Tereškinas argue that "a physically disabled person is considered as constantly requiring control and assistance" (2006, p. 124). The situation for men with disabilities has been much more challenging because they have been compared to men with non-disabled bodies, who, as top tier members in the gender hierarchy, maintain innate privileges and advantages in public and private life. Tom Shakespeare points out that disabled men "do not have access to physical strength or social status in the conventional way" (1999, p. 60). In contrast, Cousin Lymon controls the social space around him and the interactions that occur in the cafe. He has a magical spell on the people: "Without saying a word he could set people at each other in a way that was miraculous" (McCullers, 2018, p. 39). It is Cousin Lymon who contributes to the successful transition of Amelia's store into a cafe. The narrator states, "It was the hunchback who was most responsible for the great popularity of the cafe" and "the success and gaiety of the place" (McCullers, 2018, p. 39; p. 2). He wields power over the cafe and its patrons, who are pleased with his presence and enjoy chatting with him. As time passes, he becomes the main character of the cafe and the novella, despite the initial stigma around him. His presence is important, alluring, and captivating as he spreads joy and dispels the gloom in the depressing town: "Things were ever so gay as when he was around" (McCullers, 2018, p. 39).

Garland-Thomson claims that disabled characters are denied "any opportunity for subjectivity or

agency" in representations of disability (1997/2017, p. 11). McCullers's representation of Cousin Lymon once again contradicts this. Lymon has the utmost subjectivity, audacity, gumption, and agency. His position as a friend and the beloved of Amelia provides Lymon with the privilege to access Amelia's prized possessions. He "alone had access to her bankbook and the key to the cabinet of curios," "he took money from the cash register," and "he owned almost everything on the premises" (McCullers, 2018, p. 37). Cousin Lymon owns Amelia's heart and has her support in every way possible. Consequently, as a person with a disability, he does not suffer from public pity for she would not tolerate that. He is neither excluded from social life nor personal relations; he becomes her "peanut" and even has the confidence to form a pact with Marvin Macy, no matter how cruel and deceptive it might ultimately turn out to be.

Robertson et al. have expressed that "gender identity options open to men with impairments are seemingly left as 'failed,' 'spoiled' or in need of reformulation" (2019, p. 154). However, the experience of disability for Cousin Lymon is not deprecating as he is not defeated, nor does he fail as a subject of tragedy, but is triumphant throughout the story. In the end, he steals the hearts of Amelia and the townspeople, he actuates positive change in his environment, and he flees with his beloved, Marvin Macy. This is mainly because his agency is not related to his body or disability. It is his personality that creates a sense of community in the town and turns the store into a cafe. He becomes a beloved, popular figure, not because the townspeople pity him but because they enjoy spending time with him. Cousin Lymon, thus, highlights McCullers's overarching theme of love: that love, be it romantic, familial, or communal, does not discriminate between the disabled and the able-bodied, the feminine and the masculine, the non-normative and the normative.

The novella climaxes in a physical fight, or a queer duel, between Amelia and Marvin over the demure southern belle, Cousin Lymon. Marvin and Amelia appear at the cafe to box it out—a grotesque interpretation of the Old South in the New South by Carson McCullers. Identities clash and collapse into one another during the fight, which occurs on Groundhog Day (February 2) after a period of confusion and waste and ominous snow. Amelia seems to be winning when Lymon engages in the ultimate act of betrayal: he attacks her and teams up with Marvin to destroy the cafe. They run away together, leaving Amelia heartbroken and alone. She becomes a recluse, refusing to leave the cafe, the setting of her happiest and now her saddest moments. In the end, it is the men in her life—her ex-husband, Marvin Macy, and the love of her life, Cousin Lymon—who defeat her. While it may appear that female masculinity is disciplined and destroyed by hegemonic toxic masculinity, that is not the case. The reader sympathizes with Amelia, not Marvin or his accomplice, Lymon (who turned out to be a lemon), who will surely get his comeuppance sooner or later. The novella is a ballad because it is *Amelia's* swan song, and hers alone.

Conclusion

Non-normativity and non-conformity are the main subjects of *The Ballad of the Sad Cafe*, which is McCullers's attempt to explore the constructed nature of gender and sexual categories during the 1940s when the only acceptable model of behavior for women was to be a pretty, demure, meek, and well-mannered southern lady and for men was to be strong, unfeminine and physically fit. Miss Amelia repudiates conventional femininity, embracing female masculinity and living her life according to her own rules. She is not only a woman dressed in men's attire, but also a woman whose lifestyle expands beyond her physical appearance; she is the town's most popular and significant figure as she provides food, liquor, medical help, sustenance, and ultimately love to the town. Her constant and consistent performance of masculinity upsets the prescribed gender regime of the American South. Yet, she can withhold her masculinity to perform femininity, in her red dress, whenever she wants. The malleability of gender becomes powerful for Amelia, with her non-normative female body.

Cousin Lymon is a misfit hunchback dwarf who arrives in town to seek his alleged kin, Miss Amelia Evans. McCullers first positions Cousin Lymon as an example of a non-normative body in conflict with the townspeople, who, as agents of normativity, humiliate anyone with different identity markers. Cousin Lymon does not meet the expectations of an ideal American man due to his abnormal corporeality. Yet, he becomes successful in transforming the bigoted townspeople through his welcoming, warm, and sincere approach. Cousin Lymon challenges assumptions about disabled masculinity because he does not conjure images of weakness, helplessness, and invulnerability. In the end, however, his façade of sincerity is shattered. The object (the beloved) becomes the subject (the lover) and the tables are turned. The gendered power dynamics are upended, he betrays Miss Amelia and chooses Marvin Macy over the woman who has given all of herself to him. Ultimately, toxic masculinity proves to be contagious, socially transmitted as a prerequisite of traditional types of masculinity, thereby creating cycles of perpetuation.

Compared to her other works, Carson McCullers's recurring concern with gender, sexuality, masculinity, femininity, and non-normative bodies becomes more complicated in *The Ballad of the Sad Cafe*. Nothing goes according to plan: a large masculine woman falls in platonic love with an effeminate hunchback, who is attracted to a dangerous, vicious male, who falls in love with the same large masculine woman. All gender and sexual identities, including disabled ones, are questioned in McCullers's project. Gender remains highly performative in *The Ballad of the Sad Café*; there is no innate masculinity only accessible to men, but a staged masculinity that can be accessed by everyone and used for different purposes.

Disclosure Statement

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World Englishes: Attitudes of Male and Female University Students
Dünya İngilizceleri: Erkek ve Kadın Üniversite Öğrencilerinin Tutumları

Aslı Saygı [ID] 0000-0001-7467-3994
Kahramanmaraş İstiklal University

ABSTRACT
This quantitative study investigated the attitudes of male and female university students in Türkiye toward World Englishes (WE). It aimed to measure participants' overall perceptions of WE and determine if there is a statistically significant difference between the perceptions of male and female students toward WE. In total, 50 females and 28 males from the Department of Translation and Interpreting participated in the study by filling out a 20-item Likert scale questionnaire adapted from Choi (2007). The questionnaire data were analyzed by SPSS 23 using inferential statistics and the Mann-Whitney-U test to compare the mean scores of male and female participants. The results showed that although there was no statistically significant difference between the general mean scores of two groups, there was a gender-based statistically significant difference between the mean scores of two groups regarding some specific items, which highlighted the fact that participants preferred intelligibility over native-likeness in their speech, and males' showed greater acceptance of native varieties while females tended to embrace local varieties more positively. Also, it was found that the participants showed a more favorable attitude towards Turkish-mother-tongue language teachers as they felt culturally closer to these teachers, and Turkish-mother-tongue teachers were able to use students' mother tongue to foster learning. These findings suggested that the role of the mother tongue should not be underscored and there should be a gender-sensitive approach to integrating the concept of WE in classroom practices.

Introduction

Although it is a fact that two varieties, American English and British English, received the greatest attention and prestige throughout the history of the English Language (Ladegard & Sachdev, 2006), in recent years, there has been a growing interest in the use and evaluation of Englishes spoken by non-native speakers around the World, as these varieties play an important role in motivation, eventually resulting in acquiring a particular variety (Yook & Lindemann, 2013). Regarding the spread and status of English Language worldwide, Sharifian (2010) states that "English has spread around the world for various reasons and through various routes, either through the front door, the back door or even the window, and different relationships with it have been developed by different speech communities as well as by individual speakers" (p.138). These diverse environments where English was used to convey cultural messages, emotions, and ideas caused diverse social identities to occur in relation to the occurrence of linguistic creativity (Berns, 1995). Among all language

behaviors in these diverse environments, however, the most studied one is "accent" due to its broad social implications: Individuals who speak with a "standard" and "institutionalized" accent tend to be rated more favorably than the users of other non-native varieties in all domains of life (Cargile et al., 2006, p.444). In this regard, Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) argue that, although pronunciation and accent are highly significant for communicative purposes, it also is indeed significant for one's first impression. According to Riches and Foddy (1989), accented speech is an "expressive categorical status cue" (p.198). One example of what Riches and Foddy (1989) discussed was given by Williams et al. (1972). In their study conducted with Black American teachers who have a "standard" accent, they found that those teachers tended to see Mexican-accented students as more disadvantageous, hesitant, and short-of-wit (p.198). Ovalle and Chakraborty (2013) similarly argue that individuals using a non-native accent are typically less advantaged regarding housing and job opportunities and while benefitting from healthcare services (p.57). However, accented speech is not always seen as disadvantageous and inferior, especially when considered as a way of expressing social identity and the uniqueness of one culture. In a study by Ahn (2014), Korean students showed favorable attitudes towards using "Korean English", thinking it is a way of preserving their culture and identity. Similarly, Mugglestone (2003) stated that some local accents in The U.K. have positive associations such as "trustworthiness"; thus, these individuals do not seek to accommodate their language to a standard one.

This never-ending debate over native varieties and World Englishes has tremendously shaped and affected the immediate language teaching practices (Tahmasbi et al., 2019). Sadeghpour and Sharifian (2019) argue that in order to have an effective pedagogy, language teaching practices should be modified in a way that they successfully equip international learners living in intercultural contexts with the necessary dynamics of today's communication. Brown (1995) similarly states that World Englishes cannot be implemented in classrooms successfully unless teachers become aware of the highly-spreading and pluralistic nature of the English Language and the status it provides to its learners. Jindapitak and Teo (2013) state: "We maintain that there should be an opening up for covering other varieties of English aside from the popular Anglo-American English in English classes so that learners will become truly internationally-minded speakers who are conscious of the role of English in the world and the world in English" (p.195). In their study conducted in the Japanese context, Matsuda (2003) argues that students must be exposed to different varieties of English to better communicate in international situations. According to them, one way of enhancing students' exposure is to invite international guests to the classroom. This way, students not only practice speaking but also increase their ability to communicate with and understand speakers using different varieties. In another study conducted by Matsuda and Matsuda (2010), the researchers argue that World Englishes should not only be considered while speaking but also while writing, and they offer the following suggestions regarding the ways to integrate World Englishes into second language writing:

1. Teach the dominant language forms and functions
2. Teach the nondominant language forms and functions
3. Teach the boundary between what works and what does not
4. Teach the principles and strategies of discourse negotiation
5. Teach the risks involved in using deviational features (pp. 371-373)

Specifically, integrating World Englishes into the classroom is a multifaceted process with various factors to consider, as shown in Matsuda and Matsuda's (2010) research. However, to understand the pedagogical implications of WE and to what extent World Englishes can be integrated into classroom practices, it is necessary to explore teachers' and students' perceptions (Kıyak, 2021). Various studies regarding students' and teachers' perceptions worldwide exist. The following section is dedicated to giving examples regarding the perception of WE worldwide and in Türkiye.

Background to the Study

This section will highlight the global and regional perspectives on World Englishes, focusing on how perceptions vary across cultures and contexts. It will also discuss the specific role of gender in shaping attitudes toward WE and identify research gaps within the Türkiye context, providing a foundation for the current study

Perceptions of WE Around the World

Regarding the perceptions towards World Englishes, the situation of Indonesia is quite significant as it is one of the expanding circle countries, according to Kachru (1985), which was not influenced by the colonization of inner-circle countries while also having a very multicultural environment with a relatively huge population compared to other expanding circle countries (Jon et al., 2021). One of the most recent studies was conducted in Indonesia by Suminar and Gunawan (2024). In their study conducted by 32 fourth-semester students taking the "Listening for Academic Purposes" course, they found that participants had highly positive attitudes towards WE. During the study interviews, participants mentioned that knowledge about WE improves their confidence and language skills and allows them to use diverse media tools while at the same time increasing their respect for differences. A similar study was conducted with 20 English teachers (10 native and 10 non-native speakers of English) teaching at five different universities in Jakarta by Silalahi (2022). It was found that although all participants acknowledged the existence of various varieties apart from American English and British English, they were highly skeptical and cautious regarding integrating these models into the classroom curricula and preferred traditional native varieties, seeing them as better representations of the English Language.

Similarly, Almegren (2018) conducted a study that included 25 female and 25 male students from English and translation departments in two universities in Saudi Arabia. Almegren stated that participants tended to accept British and American English as the "standard". However, they expressed that they avoid using American or English varieties when communicating with an international speaker and prefer sticking to their own variety, thinking they might misuse the patterns of these two native varieties and lose their "face". Besides, the participants listened to sound recordings in which people of different English language varieties spoke. Although they could not usually differentiate between and identify these different varieties, they could identify three dialects: British, American, and Indian. This study once again confirmed that students preferred native Englishes mostly thinking that Native teachers are more competent in various aspects than Arabic-originated teachers. According to the majority of the participants, native-speaker teachers were much more favorable as they could introduce the course without relying on Arabic, were more understanding and tolerant of students' errors, and were highly aware of the language's culture (p.245). These results indicate that participants relied on "stereotypes" and tended to disregard the significance of individual differences and culture. However, a minority of the participants also stated that they prefer non-native English teachers as their speaking pace and pronunciation are more intelligible, and they share a common cultural background with the teacher, thus feeling more motivated to learn.

Another study regarding students' perceptions towards World Englishes was conducted by Saengboon (2015) in three different universities in Thailand with 198 participants, this time studying in different fields such as law, economics, tourism, etc. 101 of these participants have never been abroad, while only three respondents have spent at least 3 months in an English-speaking country. The results were quite similar to the previously mentioned studies in the sense that %68 of the participants agreed that the English Language has one single standard form and that English and American varieties are "better" varieties compared to the others. However, one unique feature of this study was that participants found grammar very significant for Standard English. According

to them, once the speaker used correct grammar and vocabulary of the target language, they used a "standard" form. However, they also argued that conveying the correct message in communication is much more significant than using correct grammar and vocabulary. This paradoxical result highlighted the fact that students in Thailand were not knowledgeable and familiar with the concept of World Englishes and shared ambivalent attitudes towards it. Kim et al. (2017) conducted a similar study in the Korean context, with 289 participants studying at a women's university. In this study, one of the striking findings was that participants showed a sense of acceptance of the idea that the ownership of the English Language is not confined to its native speakers but also to the Outer Circle (Kachru, 1985) countries. However, they denied that Expanding circle countries own the language. Also, participants' experience abroad greatly impacted their perceptions of World Englishes. These participants were more aware of the concept of World Englishes, while also positively recognizing the significance of integrating WE into classroom practices. In summary, Kim et al. addressed the fact that Korean undergraduate students did not develop sufficient awareness regarding WE and still consider the concept from an "old habits die hard" perspective (p. 42).

In the Türkiye context, various studies have been conducted similarly. Tosuncuoğlu and Kırmızı (2019) surveyed 44 English Language Instructors and 104 students from the English Language and Literature department. The findings of the study supported the idea that while most of the instructors had heard the term "World Englishes" before, it was quite a novel concept for the student participants. Regarding whether WE should be integrated into the classroom, half of the participants agreed that standard English is much easier than other non-native varieties; thus, it is the type of language that should be taught in English language classrooms. Also, there is an outstanding difference between males and females in the sense that female participants showed a much more positive attitude towards Native Englishes, thinking that once they use it, they can be better understood by international speakers.

Another study conducted regarding students' perceptions of World Englishes was conducted by Bayyurt and Altınmakas (2012). The researchers have designed a course specific for teaching the concept of World Englishes. In this carefully designed course, they integrated various activities like debates on what standard English is, note-taking exercises done by listening to BBC All India Radio, and discussions on stereotyping, etc. The researchers suggested that, before the implementation of this 14-week-long course on World Englishes, students had almost no knowledge of the concept. However, towards the end of the term, students recognized the importance of mutual intelligibility rather than favoring standard forms like received pronunciation. Also, the researchers included that students enjoyed going beyond conventions and learning more about how the English Language is used in different parts of the world with different variations (p.175).

The Role of Gender in Language Teaching and Perception

The role of gender in language teaching is always present, although not always apparent (Sunderland, 2000). Although studies addressing the effect of gender on language perception and use emerged during the 1960s (Suárez-Gómez & Seoane, 2020), it was not until the past few decades that World English studies gradually embraced a gendered perspective, welcoming the attitudinal and perceptional differences between males and females regarding language use (Valentine, 2006). This might be due to the fact that the stereotypical gender roles are being broken day by day as a result of the progress and the modernization of the world (Nagasundram et al., 2021). Still, there have been very few studies regarding the differences between the perceptions of males and females regarding World Englishes. One of the studies considering the differences between males' and females' perceptions of World Englishes was McKenzie's (2008) study. The study has revealed that female language users had a more positive attitude towards WE than male speakers. Similarly, in a study conducted by McKenzie et al. (2016) in Thailand, it was found that female speakers were much more embracing towards WE than males, as they perceived other Englishes as a sense of

"warmth", and preferred warmth over the other social dimensions of language (p. 545). On the other hand, in their study conducted in the Hong Kong context, Chan (2018) reported that female speakers had a higher awareness of different varieties while having a more positive attitude towards the native varieties once the interlocutors were native speakers. Chan (2018), in this regard, argues that in such contexts, using a standard English variety may have an additional symbolic meaning, like signaling a higher level of education and intelligence, as well as a practical value, like keeping communication with the native speaker smooth (p.74). Another interesting finding was made by Stubbe and Holmes (2000), arguing that males with Maori identities in New Zealand preferred sticking to Maori English, which has quite distinctive phonological and syntactic features, rather than embracing the widely-used standard New Zealand variety, as a means of marking and preserving their cultural background and masculine solidarity. Similarly, in Otagadde village in India, women are the primary protectors of the local dialect spoken in the village; however, they also highly support their children in learning standard English to improve their social standing in the community (Ullrich, 1992).

In other words, language attitude significantly impacts language choice and use, with both men and women having unique relationships with how they perceive and use the language (Valentine, 2021). Nevertheless, no single study was conducted in the Türkiye context regarding the differences between the perceptions of men and women of World Englishes. The current study examines the differences between male and female language-major students' attitudes towards WE.

The Study

Objective

The objective of this quantitative study is to address the following research questions:

RQ1: What are the overall perceptions of students studying at the department of translation and interpreting regarding World Englishes?

RQ2: Is there a statistically significant difference between the male and female students' perceptions regarding World Englishes?

As a quantitative study, the research questions will be addressed using descriptive statistics. The study's findings are expected to provide new suggestions for second language curriculum design, especially for language-major students, and for considering gender differences in integrating World Englishes into the language classroom.

Participants

The participants of this study are 50 female and 28 male students studying at the Department of Translation and Interpreting at Kahramanmaras Istiklal University. The data was collected from all class years, including first, second, third, and fourth-year students, according to their voluntary participation. The sampling method for the data collection was the convenience sampling method, which is a nonrandom sampling method in which the participants are selected according to their easiness of accessibility (Etikan et al.,2016). As the researcher works as a research assistant at Kahramanmaras Istiklal University, the study participants were selected from there, as the sample group was large enough for statistical analysis and the participants were readily available. The percentage chart regarding the gender of the participants is as follows:

The participants ranged from 18 to 25 years, and their mother tongue was Turkish. Most of them had studied in the preparatory department of the same university before they started their first year, as the medium of instruction of the department is 100% English. The participants are assumed to have at least C1 level of English Language proficiency (CEFR, 2001), as it is the minimum level to successfully complete the preparatory year, and start receiving their departmental courses. Besides, the participants were included in the study with the condition of having no prior formal instruction regarding World Englishes. Conducting this study with students from the Department of Translation and

Figure 1 gender percentages

Interpreting was especially significant as, since 2023, graduates of this department can have various and diverse careers, unlike the graduates of other departments with English medium instruction.
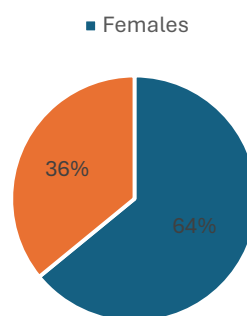
Data Collection

The study data was collected via a 20-itemed and 5-pointed Likert Scale questionnaire. The questionnaire was adapted from Choi's (2007) research conducted in South Korea (See Appendix I), and the items were translated into Turkish so that participants could easily interpret the content. To ensure reliability issues, another researcher with a doctoral degree in English Language Teaching reviewed the items in the questionnaire. The scale's reliability was double-checked with The Cronbach Alpha test (α: 0.778). The data was collected face-to-face in a paper-based format so that participants do not interfere with each other's answers to the survey. The names of the participants were anonymized, and each participant was asked to sign a consent form to avoid violating ethical issues. Completing the questionnaire for each participant took almost 7 minutes, while the whole data collection process took 1 week for the researcher.

The questionnaire included four parts (Parts A, B, C, and D) including five questions for each part. In the first part, participants' perceptions regarding the ownership of the English Language were tried to be measured. In the second part, participants were required to answer questions regarding their attitudes towards their own variety (Turkish accent) and some other varieties. In the third part, they were asked to score their perception regarding Turkish-originated English Language Teachers and native English Language Teachers, while in the last part, they were asked to score their motivation when they learned the English Language with Turkish-originated teachers. The only demographic information asked in the questionnaire was the participants' gender, as it is the only independent variable within the scope of this research.

Data Analysis

For the data analysis of this study, SPSS 23 was used as it was the only freely available version in Hacettepe University's software repository, and it can perform the necessary statistical analyses. In order to see if there was a significant difference between the results of males and females, the mean scores of the two groups were compared using a Mann-Whitney U test, as the data was not normally distributed. The normality of the data was tested using the Shapiro-Wilk test. All items showed significant deviations from normality ($p < .05$), so the null hypothesis was rejected. The items were analyzed in groups according to the categorization provided by Choi (2007). The results were presented in descriptive statistics, including mean scores, standard deviation, and frequency. The missing data in the research were replaced using the series means as the estimation method.

Results

The research questions of this study were: "What are students' overall perceptions regarding World Englishes?" and "Is there a statistically significant difference between the male and female students' perceptions regarding World Englishes?" The results for the first question are as follows:

RQ1: What are students' overall perceptions regarding World Englishes?

Table 1: *Descriptive Statistics for Items in Part A*

	N	*Mean*	*SD*
Question1	78	3.6538	1.21492
Question2	78	2.5921	1.14163
Question3	78	2.4231	1.11098
Question4	78	2.7179	1.40405
Question5	78	2.1447	1.07756

The first questionnaire item adapted by Choi's (2007) research was "Standard English is British English or American English." The results show that students were between neutral and agreeing, with a mean score of 3.65 (SD: 1.21). However, the findings regarding the first item are meaningful once they are interpreted with the findings of the second item. The second question was: "English belongs to the UK or the USA." Meanwhile, the mean score for this item was 2.59 (SD: 1.14), suggesting that participants disagreed. Similarly, participants disagreed with the third item: "It is British or American English speakers who have the right to decide how English should be." With a mean score of 2.42 (SD: 1.11). In the fourth item, "I am ashamed of my Turkish (local) accent and try to get rid of it when I speak English.", the participants disagreed, this time being closer to indecisive with a mean score of 2.71 (SD:1.40). Finally, for the last item "If English is used differently from British or American English, it must be wrong." Participants also disagreed with the 2.14 mean score (SD: 1.07).

Table 2: *Descriptive Statistics for Items in Part B*

	N	*Mean*	*SD*
Question6	78	2.7436	1.33325
Question7	78	2.6923	1.08481
Question8	78	3.2692	1.06507
Question9	78	3.1299	1.19903
Question10	78	2.4474	1.04936

The second part of the questionnaire (Part B) consisted of items regarding the notion of World Englishes and participants' attitudes towards their own variety and different varieties. Item 6 was "I have heard of World Englishes." The participants disagreed, scoring a mean of 2.74 (SD: 1.33) for this item. At the same time, they also disagreed with item 7, which stated, "Turkish English (My local variety of English) should be recognized and stand alongside British or American English." In which participants' mean was 2.69 (SD: 1.08). For the 8th item: "More lectures should be given on World Englishes and Turkish English" participants were neutral with a mean of 3.26 (SD: 1.06), and they neither agreed nor disagreed with item 9, which stated: "I am proud of my Turkish (local) accent

when I speak English." with 3.12 mean score (SD: 1.19). Lastly, for the 10th item, "Turkish English (My local variety of English) is used differently from British or American English. It should be learned by foreigners, especially the native speakers of English who want to communicate with Turkish (my local) people in English." They disagreed. For the descriptive statistics regarding the male and female students' perceptions regarding the items in Part C, see Table 3 below:

Table 3: *Descriptive Statistics for Items in Part C*

	N	*Mean*	*SD*
Question11	78	2.4359	1.20162
Question12	78	3.0513	1.27816
Question13	78	2.8442	1.30000
Question14	78	3.2564	1.23200
Question15	78	3.3205	1.16768

Part D consisted of items measuring participants' attitudes solely regarding Turkish-originated language teachers, such as the 16th item, "I learn more with Turkish teachers of English since they explain grammar better than native speaker teachers." For this item, students neither agreed nor disagreed, scoring a mean of 3.47 (SD: .86). For the 17th item, stating that "I learn more with Turkish teachers of English since they can sometimes explain in Turkish (my) language and that helps me understand English better.", participants scored 4.00 suggesting that they highly agreed. For the 18th item, "Turkish teachers help me better with difficulties in learning English since they have experienced similar difficulties.", students neither agreed nor disagreed with a mean score of 3.84 (SD: .94). For the 19th item stating "Turkish teachers of English set a good example of successful English learners. That motivates me to study hard." participants have scored a mean score of 3.79 (SD: .92) stating that they neither agreed nor disagreed similar to the item 20, stating "I want to have a Turkish teacher as my English teacher since his/her English is more realistic for me to achieve as a learning target." With a mean score of 3.33 (SD: 1.15).

RQ2: Is there a statistically significant difference between the male and female students' perceptions regarding World Englishes?

In order to answer the second research question, a Mann-Whitney U test was conducted among the mean scores of the two groups. First, it was tested whether there was a significant difference between these two groups in their general mean scores; the results are as follows:

Table 5: *Mann-Whitney U Test for General Mean Scores*

	MeanScore
Mann-Whitney U	608.000
Wilcoxon W	1014.000
Z	-.959
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.337

a. Grouping Variable: Gender

From Table 5, it can be inferred that there is no statistically significant difference between the mean scores of the two groups regarding their general attitudes toward the 20 items in the survey. However, the Mann-Whitney U test was also conducted for each group of items individually; the results are as follows for items in Part A:

Table 6: *Mann-Whitney U Test Results for Part A*

	Question1	Question2	Question3	Question4	Question5
Mann-Whitney U	503.000	684.500	607.500	653.000	607.500
Wilcoxon W	1778.000	1959.500	1882.500	1059.000	1882.500
Z	-2.148	-.166	-1.007	-.503	-1.003
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.032	.868	.314	.615	.316

The results of the Mann-Whitney U test revealed a statistically significant difference for the first question in the survey (U = 503.000, Z = -2.148, p = .032). However, there were no statistically significant differences between the perceptions of male and female students in the remaining results: for Question 2 (U = 684.500, Z = -0.166, p = .868), Question 3 (U = 607.500, Z = -1.007, p = .314), Question 4 (U = 653.000, Z = -0.503, p = .615), and Question 5 (U = 607.500, Z = -1.003, p = .316). These results suggest that, except for Question 1, males and females scored similar means in their responses to the first five questions of the survey.

Table 7: *Mann-Whitney U Test Results for Part B*

	Question6	Question7	Question8	Question9	Question 10
Mann-Whitney U	589.500	663.500	631.500	571.000	503.000
Wilcoxon W	1864.500	1938.500	1037.500	977.000	909.000
Z	-1.179	-.398	-.758	-1.383	-2.149
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.238	.691	.449	.167	.032

The results of the Mann-Whitney U test revealed a statistically significant difference between the results of the two groups in Question 10 (U = 503.000, Z = -2.149, p = .032). However, there was no statistical difference for the rest of the questions with the following scores: Question 6 (U = 589.500, Z = -1.179, p = .238), Question 7 (U = 663.500, Z = -0.398, p = .691), Question 8 (U = 631.500, Z = -0.758, p = .449), and Question 9 (U = 571.000, Z = -1.383, p = .167). In other words, while males and females differed in their perceptions of the item, "Turkish English (My local variety of English) is used differently from British or American English. It should be learned by foreigners, especially the native speakers of English who want to communicate with Turkish (my local) people in English."

Table 8: *Mann-Whitney U Test Results for Part C*

	Question 11	Question 12	Question 13	Question 14	Question 15
Mann-Whitney U	678.500	626.000	640.000	645.000	604.500
Wilcoxon W	1084.500	1032.000	1046.000	1051.000	1010.500
Z	-.233	-.797	-.639	-.598	-1.030
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.816	.425	.523	.550	.303

While the participants' responses to questions 6, 7, 8, and 9 exhibited similar patterns, the Mann-Whitney U test results for Questions 11 through 15 (Part C) showed no statistically significant differences in the perceptions of male and female students with the following scores: Question 11 (U = 678.500, Z = -0.233, p = .816), Question 12 (U = 626.000, Z = -0.797, p = .425), Question 13 (U = 640.000, Z = -0.639, p = .523), Question 14 (U = 645.000, Z = -0.598, p = .550), and Question 15 (U = 604.500, Z = -1.030, p = .303). In order to see if there are significant differences between the mean scores of two groups for Part D, see the following table:

Table 9: *Mann-Whitney U Test Results for Part D*

	Question 16	*Question 17*	*Question 18*	*Question 19*	*Question 20*
Mann-Whitney U	559.500	569.500	689.500	676.000	676.500
Wilcoxon W	965.500	975.500	1964.500	1082.000	1082.500
Z	-1.562	-1.534	-.122	-.270	-.255
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.118	.125	.903	.788	.799

The Mann-Whitney U test results for Part D showed no statistically significant differences in the perceptions of male and female students with the following test statistics: Question 16 (U = 559.500, Z = -1.562, p = .118), Question 17 (U = 569.500, Z = -1.534, p = .125), Question 18 (U = 689.500, Z = -0.122, p = .903), Question 19 (U = 676.000, Z = -0.270, p = .788), and Question 20 (U = 676.500, Z = -0.255, p = .799). Namely, in this study, the items that showed statistically significant differences between males and females were Question 1 and Question 10. To see the mean ranks of the two groups regarding these items, see the following chart:
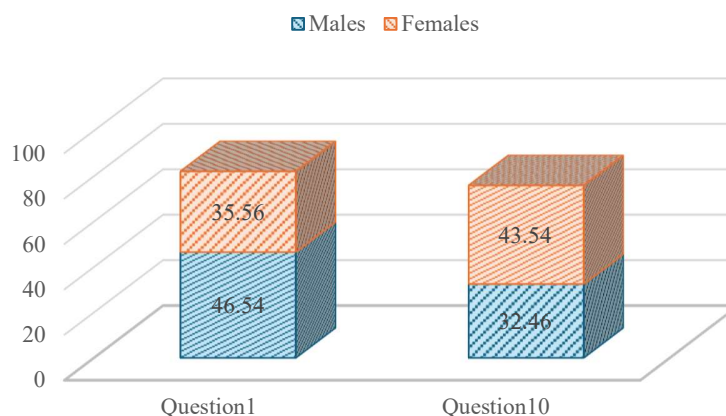

Figure 2: *Mean Ranks of Males and Females for Item 1 and 10*

From the bar chart above, it can be argued that for Question 1, stating that "Standard English is British English or American English.", males scored higher with a mean rank of 46.54, while the mean rank for females was 35.56. In Question 10, however, females scored higher with a mean rank of 43.54, while the mean rank was 32.46 for males.

Discussion and Conclusion

The research questions of this study were: first, what are students' overall perceptions towards World Englishes, and second if there is a statistically significant difference between the mean scores of male and female students. There were two significant findings of this study. First, it can be argued that participants were not inclined to accept the idea that English solely belongs to native-speaker countries, as their mean scores for Part A of the survey were below 3 out of 5, suggesting that they disagreed. This result implies that participants might have embraced a global ownership of the English language. Moreover, the participants disagreed with the idea that they were ashamed of having a Turkish accent when speaking English, which suggests that they are not obsessed with having a native-like pronunciation. Surprisingly, students were highly positive towards their own variety even though they did not receive any formal instruction regarding World Englishes, and they disagreed with the 6th item, stating that they had heard the term World Englishes before. Besides, the students disagreed with items 11 and 13: "I don't want a Turkish Teacher to teach me English" and "Native speaker teachers provide more reliable linguistic knowledge." This result suggests that this study's participants can acknowledge that a native-speaker teacher does not always indicate a "good" or proficient teacher. Similarly, they agreed to the 17th item regarding learning much more with Turkish-L1-speaking English Language teachers as they sometimes make explanations in students' mother tongue (Turkish). This indicates that although the language proficiency level of the participants is relatively high (C1), and they are language-medium students studying at a 100% English medium instruction department, the value and helpfulness of their first language are still acknowledged, and its use is preferred in scaffolding. This approach serves as a counterargument to monolingual classroom policies, which often argue that the target language should be the sole medium of communication, as banning the mother tongue would maximize the effectiveness of the language teaching and learning process (Afzal, 2013). In this regard, Littlewood and Yu (2011) argue that although some methods, such as the Direct Method or the Structural–Situational Approach, found various more straightforward techniques of using only the target language in ELT classrooms, even with modern techniques today, like task-based teaching, role-plays, and information exchange tasks, task comprehension might still be difficult if the instruction is not explicit enough (p. 74). In such cases, the value of the mother tongue cannot be underestimated. However, further research is needed to investigate whether participants give different answers to these survey items in the presence of a native and non-Turkish-originated English Language Teacher.

Another valuable finding of this study was that participants showed statistically significant differences in their scores for the first and tenth items. For the first item, including "Standard English is British English or American English.", males scored higher than females. This can be due to several reasons, one of which is cultural and social norms. In Holmes and Stubbe's (2004) study, it was seen that Maori men living in New Zealand preferred sticking to a particular variety to preserve their "manhood." Similarly, males in this study might have tended to score higher in sticking to native varieties with a such reason behind. This idea aligns with what has been discussed by Valentine (2019) who states that women are the initiators of the language change in multilingual societies, whereas men prefer sticking to the norms to protect their power and social image (p. 582). On the other hand, for the 10th item, "Turkish English (My local variety of English) is used differently from British or American English. It should be learned by foreigners, especially the native speakers of English who want to communicate with Turkish (my local) people in English." Females had a higher mean compared to males. Once again, this is in similar vein with Valentine's argument of women's being the "caretaker" of the local varieties and Chan's (2018) argument of females' having a greater awareness of the local varieties.

Pedagogical Implications

The findings of this study have important implications for English language teaching (ELT), especially in places where World Englishes (WE) is gaining recognition. Since students in this study valued intelligibility over sounding like native speakers; teachers, and curriculum designers should consider making ELT more inclusive by incorporating different English varieties into the classroom.

First, curriculum design should expose students to multiple English varieties. Traditional ELT programs focus heavily on British or American English, but this does not reflect how English is used worldwide (Matsuda & Matsuda, 2010). Lessons should include different accents, cultural contexts, and discussions on language diversity. Listening exercises using speakers from various backgrounds and critical thinking activities about language attitudes can help students become more open to different forms of English (Bayyurt & Altınmakas, 2012). Second, teacher training programs should help instructors understand and teach English as a global language. Many students in this study had positive attitudes toward Turkish-origin teachers, which suggests that non-native English-speaking teachers (NNESTs) play a crucial role in ELT (Kirkpatrick, 2007). Teacher education should encourage the use of diverse teaching materials and prepare instructors to discuss linguistic diversity in class (Jenkins, 2009). This can help students appreciate different English varieties without seeing them as inferior. Third, gender differences in language perception should be addressed. This study showed that female students were more open to local English varieties, while male students preferred native-speaker models. Research suggests that men are often more resistant to language change, while women are more open to linguistic variation (McKenzie et al., 2016; Valentine, 2019). To bridge this gap, instructors can introduce classroom debates and group activities that encourage students to question their biases about different English varieties. Fourth, using students' first language (L1) as support can be beneficial. Participants in this study valued Turkish-speaking English teachers because they could explain difficult concepts in Turkish. Studies show that allowing some use of L1 in ELT classrooms, especially at lower levels, can improve comprehension and confidence (Littlewood & Yu, 2011). While English should remain the primary medium of instruction, occasional use of L1 for explanations and scaffolding can help students grasp complex ideas more easily (Afzal, 2013). Finally, assessment and feedback practices should reflect the realities of World Englishes. Traditional exams often prioritize native-like pronunciation and grammar, but research suggests that intelligibility and communication skills should be the main focus (Jenkins, 2006). Teachers can use assessment rubrics that reward clarity, coherence, and adaptability in communication rather than penalizing students for using non-standard but understandable forms of English (Sadeghpour & Sharifian, 2019).

In conclusion, this study highlights the need for a more flexible approach to ELT that acknowledges English as a global language. By updating curricula, training teachers on the WE concept, addressing gender-based differences, using L1 strategically, and redefining assessment practices, language educators can create a more inclusive learning environment. These steps will better prepare students to use English in diverse international settings.

Limitations

The most important shortcoming of this study is that it is only quantitative and the number of participants is low. Also, the study was conducted in a setting where students from a single cultural background existed. Conducting the same research with participants from various backgrounds would yield more fruitful results. In addition, the study was conducted within a limited period of time. Thus, further longitudinal studies addressing different factors like exposure to English Language, time spent abroad, and educational backgrounds are needed.

Ethics Committee Approval

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors

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Appendix A: Questionnaire

Section A

Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1) Standard English is British English or American English.					
2) English belongs to the UK or the USA.					
3) It is British or American English speakers who have the right to decide how English should be.					
4) I am ashamed of my Korean (local) accent and try to get rid of it when I speak English.					
5) If English is used differently from British or American English, it must be wrong.					

Section B

Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
6) I have heard of World Englishes.					
7) Korea English (my local variety of English) should be recognized and stand alongside British or American English.					
8) More lectures should be given on World Englishes and Korea English.					
9) I am proud of my Korean (local) accent when I speak English.					
10) Korea English (my local variety of English) is used differently from British or American English. It should be learned by foreigners, especially native speakers of English who want to communicate with Korean (my local) people in English.					

Section C

Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
11) I do not want a Korean (Malaysian, Chinese,					

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
etc.) teacher to teach me English.					
12) I want a native English speaker teacher to teach me English since his/her English is Standard English.					
13) Native speaker teachers provide more reliable linguistic knowledge.					
14) Native speaker teachers correct me better when I make mistakes.					
15) Eventually, I will speak native-like English if I study with a native speaker teacher.					

Section D

Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
16) I learn more with Korean (Malaysian, Chinese, etc.) teachers of English since they explain grammar better than native speaker teachers.					
17) I learn more with Korean (Malaysian, Chinese, etc.) teachers of English since they can sometimes explain in the Korean (my) language, and that helps me understand English better.					
18) Korean (Malaysian, Chinese, etc.) teachers help me better with difficulties in learning English since they have experienced similar difficulties.					
19) Korean (Malaysian, Chinese, etc.) teachers of English set a good example of successful English learners. That motivates me to study hard.					
20) I want to have a Korean (Malaysian, Chinese, etc.) teacher as my English teacher since his/her English is more realistic for me to achieve as a learning target.					

The Art of Rest: How to Find Respite in the Modern Age
by Claudia Hammond. Edinburgh, Canongate, 2019, pp. 304

Sevket Akyildiz ⓘD 0000-0001-9545-4432
Independent Scholar

ABSTRACT
Socrates reportedly said we should be "aware of the barrenness of a busy life" (p. 2). In light of this, how many of us appreciate and make enough time for rest and respite? Faced with the stresses and demands of our fast-paced lives, is increased rest the prescription we need? Today, many people claim they have a rest deficit. But what is rest—and how complicated is it to understand? Are we too busy today to appreciate the need for rest? What are the benefits of rest? Can we shift our mindset to make time for rest and enjoy that rest? What are the most common ways we find rest? Claudia Hammond's *The Art of Rest: How to Find Respite in the Modern Age* (2019) seeks to answer these questions, offering hope for the present and future. Indeed, her central argument is that the restorative state is good.

How to Find Respite in the Modern Age

Socrates reportedly said we should be "aware of the barrenness of a busy life" (p. 2). In light of this, how many of us appreciate and make enough time for rest and respite? Faced with the stresses and demands of our fast-paced lives, is increased rest the prescription we need? Today, many people claim they have a rest deficit. But what is rest—and how complicated is it to understand? Are we too busy today to appreciate the need for rest? What are the benefits of rest? Can we shift our mindset to make time for rest and enjoy that rest? What are the most common ways we find rest? Claudia Hammond's *The Art of Rest: How to Find Respite in the Modern Age* (2019) seeks to answer these questions, offering hope for the present and future. Indeed, her central argument is that the restorative state is good.

The *Art of Rest* borrows findings from The Rest Test survey (circa 2016) of 18,000 people in 135 countries; it found that we are experiencing a rest deficit: "... *many of us feel we are not getting enough rest. Two-thirds of respondents said this was true of them and that they would like more rest. Women reported getting an average of ten minutes less rest each day than men, and people with caring responsibilities also had less rest. But it was younger people,*" many of them working, who reported the least rest, comments Hammond (p. 2). Mentioned is the mobile phone which makes us contactable most of the time. The author partly managed this research project by focusing on the subjective experiences of "rest." Hammond is an academic lecturer, psychologist researcher, book author, and BBC radio and television presenter. In 2020, her book *The Art of Rest* was shortlisted for the British Psychological Society Book Award for Popular Science.

CONTACT Sevket Akyildiz, Dr., Independent Scholar, London, GB |sevket.akyildiz1@gmail.com; ORCID# 0000-0001-9545-4432; https://doi.org/10.47777/cankujhss

The book contains an Introduction ("A Call to Rest") and ten chapters, in reverse order according to the popularity reported by the Rest Test respondents. The book emphasises rest, not what brings about happiness, sleep, or fun. So, its chapters reflect the focus on respite. Hammond remarks on the positive and negative aspects of each form of relaxation in each of the ten methods. She highlights that much depends on the individual's personality and preferences; a combination of the following in moderation will probably provide results.

In the Introduction, an important point is made—echoing Socrates's comment above—that, paradoxically, human restlessness and our ever-active brain have generated productivity and human progress; however, many people have become obsessed with being busy to the point that we should always be doing something. To create balance and well-being in our lives, we require rest. Indeed, Hammond says the best self-care is rest; in the United Kingdom, approximately half a million people encounter work-related stress. Research into rest shows that we become more productive, clear-headed, and creative after it.

Chapter Ten explores mindfulness, a well-documented technique for paying attention to the present moment on purpose and nonjudgmentally. It can induce a resting and calm state. Chapter Nine discusses watching television. Its advantage is that it is an absorbing experience that involves no physical or mental effort (unlike walking or sports). In addition, while passive, it can be communal, and viewing can be beneficial after a busy day. Hammond asks the reader to think about how the extent of the restfulness of an activity is dependent upon an activity preceding it. However, too much television viewing is linked with health problems.

Chapter Eight addresses daydreaming (mind wandering). Hammond explains that the brain is always active, even when calm and resting. Neuroscientists say this is the mind's natural state. The key is to foster positive thoughts and memories over negative ones (mindfulness might help here). Bathing is discussed in Chapter Seven. The modern bath is warm, private, and in a room cut off from the rest of the home. Chapter Six reviews walking indoors and outdoors; walking can promote a restorative state; it is something one can do alone or with others, and because it is done at a slow pace, we can appreciate our environment up close.

Chapter Five's heading is "Doing Nothing in Particular." This chapter addresses the restful effects of inactivity, tea breaks, and holidays. However, doing nothing is "hard work," as we might feel bored. The key is to embrace inactivity combined with other resting techniques. Chapter Four investigates listening to music. Much research is available on the benefits of different musical genres and how they can be immersive and soothing.

Chapter Three, titled "I Want to Be Alone," discusses acting alone to undertake tasks (or not) and how this assists relaxation, creativity, and calmness. Loneliness is the negative side of solitude, as humans are generally social creatures. (Importantly, all the top five resting techniques are undertaken alone.) Chapter Two outlines spending time in nature (nature bathing), particularly in human-managed landscapes like parklands. The most popular form of rest was reading (Chapter One), with 58 per cent of respondents favouring it; reading is not passive; it might not be the most "enjoyable" pastime, but it is the one we turn to escape ourselves or learn. Finally, Hammond provides the reader with a twelve-point set of guidelines to help them achieve increased and more qualitative rest ("The Perfect Prescription for Rest").

News reports based on social science research inform us regularly that many young and older people feel exhausted due to their work, social and home demands. Hammond's book seeks to balance work and home life to facilitate rest and make our lives more enjoyable, with less exhaustion and giving us some control over how we live. For many people, the book's content might be common knowledge. However, the work encourages the reader to reflect on their conception of "rest"; for some, this is an opportunity to evaluate their relationship with quality time doing things—or nothing at all—that will help restore them mentally, emotionally, and physically. If this induces better productivity, creativity, or an improved sense of well-being in individuals, it will bring us closer to living the "good life."

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s)