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Editor's Preface

Mustafa Kırca
Editor-in-Chief
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We are honored to present the 16/2 issue of the *Çankaya University Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. As in our earlier volumes, we have received valuable submissions at the intersection of literary studies, comparative literature, language, linguistics, translation and cultural studies for the current issue which covers a wide range of research on animal studies and medieval English mystery plays, expressionism and Gottfried Benn's poetry, Monica Ali's *Brick Lane* and trauma narratives, Golding's *The Inheritors* and affect theory, *Goblin Market* by Christina Rossetti and *Death in Venice* by Thomas Mann, advice articles in locally-produced English language women's magazines, translation and post-editing training, and the significance of word-frequency analysis in foreign language teaching. We are certain that this issue will stimulate further research in these fields, too. We would like to thank all the authors wholeheartedly for their scholarly contributions and for their collaboration throughout. We would like to extend our sincere gratitude to our referees who have volunteered to help with the process of blind reviewing and devoted their valuable time to evaluating submissions, for their insightful comments and efforts towards improving our manuscripts.

Çankaya University is celebrating its 25th anniversary this year with a range of academic events and successes. *Times Higher Education* (*THE*), which creates university rankings to assess university performance on the global stage depending on the three main missions of university activity, namely, research, teaching, and impact, features Çankaya University among the top universities for the fourth consecutive year. We are proud to be among the distinguished institutions located in the band of 401-500 of the THE World University Rankings 2023. The success of Çankaya University in the THE World University Rankings for the fourth consecutive year is the very proof of the university's increasing investment in research, which the *Çankaya University Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* also enjoys fully. We, as the Editorial Board of the *Çankaya University Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, would like to thank the Board of Trustees and the Presidency of Çankaya University, and the Dean's Office of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences for their continuous support.

Does a Formal Post-Editing Training Affect the Performance of Novice Post-Editors? An Experimental Study

Post-Editing Eğitimi, Acemi Post-Editörlerin Performansını Etkiliyor mu? Deneysel Bir Çalışma

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Abstract
Machine translation systems led to the creation of a new role for translators: the post-editor. With the birth of neural machine translation systems, the demand for post-editing has been increasing in the recent years, and it has now become a common service given by language service providers and professional translators. Such a change in the landscape of the translation industry might evolve the translation training programs worldwide. It is still heavily discussed whether post-editing and translation skills overlap, and post-editing courses are now included into the curriculum by several translation departments. We set out to investigate whether post-editing training influences the performance of student post-editors in order to explore the necessary background and skills in post-editing tasks. We measured productivity parameters and quality of the final outputs produced by two groups of participants, one of which was previously trained on post-editing. Our results show that, the experimental and control groups did not differ significantly from each other in terms of productivity. There was also little to no difference when we evaluated the post-edited outputs produced by both groups against a reference text using automatic machine translation evaluation metrics. However, we detected a statistical significance between the groups when we analyzed the number of errors in the final output. The post-editors in the experimental group were more aware of the typical errors of machine translation engines.
Keywords: machine translation, post-editing, translator training, translation curriculum

Öz
Makine çevirisi sistemleri, çevirmenler için yeni bir rolün oluşumuna yol açmıştır: post-editör. Nöral makine çevirisi sistemlerinin doğuşuyla post-editing hizmeti için talep son yıllarda artmaktadır ve artık dil hizmeti sağlayıcıları ile profesyonel çevirmenler tarafından sağlanan yaygın bir hizmet haline gelmiştir. Çeviri endüstrisindeki bu değişim, dünya genelindeki çeviri eğitimi programlarında köklü bir değişime yol açabilir. Post-editing ve çeviri becerilerinin birbiriyle ne ölçüde benzeştiği hâlâ tartışmalıdır ve bazı çeviri departmanlarının müfredatına post-editing dersleri eklenmiştir. Bu çalışmada, post-editing projelerinde gerekli arka planı ve becerileri incelemek için post-editing eğitiminin öğrenci post-editörlerin performansını etkileyip etkilemediği araştırılmıştır. Biri post-editing konusunda eğitilen iki katılımcı grubunun

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sunduğu nihai çıktıların kalitesi ve üretkenlik parametreleri ölçülmüştür. Sonuçlar, deney ve control gruplarının üretkenlik bakımından birbirinden anlamlı şekilde farklı olmadığını göstermiştir. Post-editing uygulanan çıktılar, otomatik makine çevirisi değerlendirme yöntemleri kullanılarak referans metinle karşılaştırıldığında da neredeyse hiç fark gözlenmemiştir. Fakat nihai çevirideki hata sayısı analiz edildiğinde gruplar arasında istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir fark görülmüştür. Deney grubundaki post-editörler, makine çevirisi motorlarının tipik hatalarını daha kolay fark etmiştir.
Anahtar kelimeler: makine çevirisi, post-editing, çevirmen eğitimi, çeviri müfredatı

Introduction and Literature Review

Machine translation refers to the use of computers instead of humans for translation and has been around since the Cold War era, when first studies into automatic or mechanical translation between English and Russian were made. Since the development of the first machine translation engine that was able to translate 60 Russian sentences into English (Hutchins), several types of engines have emerged: rule-based, phrase-based, statistical, and more recently, neural machine translation.

While rule-based machine translation engines were based on language-specific grammar and syntax rules that were manually fed into the machine, statistical engines were trained on preexisting corpora of bilingual texts with hopes to produce outputs that sounded more human. This human-like fluency, however, was not fully achieved until the introduction of neural machine translation in 2016, first announced by Google (Le and Schuster), owing to the fact that the technology behind neural engines was able to mimic the human brain (Thames).

With the birth of neural machine translation, machine translation has become a reality in the translator's workspace. Machine translation and post-editing are being increasingly integrated into the workflows of translation agencies, and most agencies have begun to promote their post-editing services. Although earlier surveys by several institutions such as the Translation Automation User Society (TAUS) and American Translators Association (ATA) reported the uncommon use of machine translation post-editing services in the translation market (Six; *TAUS Research-Postediting in Practice*), a more recent survey conducted in 2015 by Common Sense Advisory reported that post-editing moved from eight position to seventh position among the services grown (as cited in Aranberri). There are more recent surveys about language service providers providing machine translation services or translators providing post-editing services but these reports are privately available to the members of organizations such as the ones cited above. However, it's no doubt that the birth of neural machine translation has evolved the perception of translation in a layperson's mind and the translation industry. In a popular online blog on language industry, *Slator*, Diño reported that research into machine translation systems was at the highest amount in 2018, which suggests a willingness of the industry towards improving machine translation systems and making them a conventional part of the translation workflow.

Post-editing is the act of editing/improving the machine translation output. It is not a new term as it was even mentioned in the infamous ALPAC report of 1966 (Şahin), which caused the studies on machine translation systems to halt in the United States because the report indicated that machine translation systems were unsuccessful and developing one would be more expensive than using human translators. Post-editing is only now becoming a common task for a translator, and research into various aspects of post-editing such as cognitive effort, editing time, or whether it is similar to translation or not, has skyrocketed. Although many researchers have demonstrated that post-editing differs from translation in many ways (O'Brien; Rico and Torrejón), others have suggested that the features of a post-editing task depend on many factors: the text type, the machine translation system used, the language pair, and the competence of the translator/post-editor (Aranberri).

The translator/post-editor is thought by the industry to be natural post-editors when it's not always the case. A study by Aranberri exploring first-time post-editors reported that translators who post-edit for the first time tend to over-edit the machine translation output and make preferential changes. However, many industrial guidelines for post-editing (Massardo et al.; *Post-Editing Machine Translation Training*) strongly recommend that a post-editor should use as much of the raw machine translation output as possible, or else it would be easier to translate it from scratch. TAUS's (Massardo et al.) much-referenced basic guidelines for post-editing are as follows:

> Guidelines for achieving quality similar or equal to human translation:
> - Aim for grammatically, syntactically and semantically correct translation.
> - Ensure that key terminology is correctly translated and that untranslated terms be- long to the client's list of "Do Not Translate" terms.
> - Ensure that no information has been accidentally added or omitted.
> - Edit any offensive, inappropriate or culturally unacceptable content.
> - Use as much of the raw MT output as possible.
> - Basic rules regarding spelling, punctuation and hyphenation apply.
> - Ensure that formatting is correct. (Massardo et al. 17)

However, these guidelines can be regarded as too vague (Aranberri) or in some cases, they can be too detailed (Allen). Such guidelines are commonly used with specific "task descriptions" for each project, analyzing the quality of the machine translation output and skimming it for general errors that repeat through the text – so that the translator is able to pay their attention to these errors. These task descriptions also include the client requirements such as client-specific style or terminology. Furthermore, it's advised to train the post-editors because a regular translator unaware of what a typical post-editing process entails would be unsuccessful during such a task (as shown in Aranberri). An analysis by Rico and Torrejón proposes three main categories of competences required for a successful post-editor:

Linguistic skills:
Communicative and textual competence in at least two languages and cultures
Cultural and intercultural competence
Subject area competence
Instrumental competence:
MT knowledge
Term management
MT dictionary maintenance
Basic programming skills
Core competences:
Attitudinal or psycho-physiological competence
Strategic competence (Rico and Torrejón 169)

Such a categorization can be taken as a basis in training translators and/or translators-to-be for machine translation post-editing processes. Thus, it's clear that machine translation and post-editing competences should be added to the curricula of translation departments as it's becoming a reality and a new role for the contemporary translator today.

O'Brien was the first one to suggest a course content for post-editing teaching. The paper, published in 2002, outlines the main competences a post-editor should have, much like the one above, and suggests an outline for a syllabus of such a module. O'Brien maintains that a good post-editor would double or triple their daily translation output by post-editing machine translation. It's also put forward in the paper that teaching post-editing would make the translators give up their negative attitudes towards machine translation and embrace it. O'Brien's paper further indicates that post-editing differs fundamentally from traditional translation and it may even be possible for non-translators to become post-editors. Post-editing does not only differ from translation itself but also from editing or revision as the errors made by a machine and a human will differ considerably. It can also depend on the type of machine translation system used, and at the time of the aforementioned paper, neural machine translation systems were not a reality. It's repeatedly indicated that errors of neural machine translation are much more ambiguous, hidden, and slier than that of the other systems, statistical and rule-based machine translation. The skills proposed by O'Brien for a successful post-editor adds to the above ones the following: pre-editing/controlled language skills (to make the text suitable for the machine translation system in order to get a much more accurate raw machine translation output). O'Brien's suggestions for a module on post-editing consists of theoretical and practical ones, the former including introduction classes to post-editing, machine translation technology, controlled language, terminology management, linguistics, and programming skills while the latter includes practical post-editing courses using different text types and machine translation systems. It's also proposed to include this module "in the last part of an undergraduate translator training programme, or, even more ideally, in a post-graduate programme" (O'Brien 105) as post-editing would require advanced translation skills.

O'Brien's unique research has been followed by few papers so far. Post-editing training is unfortunately not a topic of interest among the researchers. It's only in the recent years that researchers have begun to focus on how to teach post-editing to students and professional translators. Until then, the teaching of post-editing had been included into translation technology and machine translation classes (Kenny and Doherty; Gaspari et al.; Austermuehl; Balkul).

Depraetere's 2010 paper titled "What counts as useful advice in a university post-editing training context? Report on a case study," aimed to identify the post-editing guidelines that need to be highlighted in a teaching context. The researcher, using the aforementioned post-editor skills proposed by O'Brien, identifies the basic competences a post-editor must have and asks trainee translators to post-edit a text for analysis. The researcher emphasizes that the post-edited text is more similar to the source text compared to a human translation, which is in contrary to studies demonstrating the higher quality of post-edited texts against human translations. In Depraetere's context, the students abided by the post-editing guidelines and did not attempt to over-edit the text, yet some students failed to notice some significant errors in the raw machine translation output. This paper differs from other similar ones as the students enrolled in this study were able to strictly follow the guidelines and use as much of the raw output as possible despite the fact that it resulted in less-than-perfect target texts. The author attributed this to the lack of experience on the students' part. In the conclusion part, the author addressed the aspects of machine translation that needed to be taught to students such as the typical errors made by a given machine translation system (as stated above) and she warned against the possibility of students trusting the machine translation engine too much.

Another similar study conducted later by Koponen reported on the experiences gained by a teacher and students from a machine translation and post-editing course offered at the University of Helsinki. Emphasizing that some of the post-editing skills are shared with "traditional human translation, such as source and target language proficiency, subject area knowledge, text linguistic skills, cultural and intercultural competence, as well as general documentation and research skills," (Koponen) the author once more added that the task of post-editing differed from traditional translation and revision processes and suggested that there were skills that were specific for post-editing tasks. In this paper, there are also new additions to the aforementioned post-editing skills: the skill to "learn to learn" as suggested by Pym (as cited in Koponen) or "learn how to pick up any new software quickly," which means that it's necessary for a post-editor to evaluate the machine translation software offered. The ideal post-editor should also be able to quickly evaluate the usability of machine translation outputs as it will greatly affect their productivity. Koponen's course on post-editing focuses on the history and theory of machine translation systems and post-editing, controlled language and pre-editing, post-editing guidelines, machine translation quality evaluation, and post-editing skills. An interesting addition in this course is the use of post-editing without a source text, which can be regarded as unlikely in a regular translation workflow as post-

editing inherently requires the presence of a source text, or it's basically editing. Based on the reflective essays evaluating the course written by the students, Koponen concludes that students tended to have negative attitudes towards machine translation, but the course turned their perception of machine translation into a positive one. With this paper, the above-mentioned notion by O'Brien (2002) that a course on machine translation and post-editing would make translators embrace machine translation seems to be proven.

In the context of Turkey, there have only been two researchers studying the use of post-editing in Turkish at the time of writing this paper: Temizoz and Şahin. In his paper, Şahin reports on a quantitative study exploring the use of machine translation post-editing for a subject-specific translation course. Şahin's is the first paper investigating post-editing teaching in a Turkish translator training context. This study included 15 senior (fourth year) translation students, who did not have much post-editing experience before the class, from a private university in Turkey. The author used the basic guidelines proposed by TAUS as the guidelines to be used by the trainees. Şahin's work on post-editing is unique in that it also explores how background research before the post-editing task could affect the understanding of the text to be post-edited. The background research would allow the post-editor to easily detect the mistakes and thus, can be an essential part of a machine translation post-editing course. According to the survey results, the students in this study were frustrated by the post-editing task at first but through practice, they became accustomed to it, which again proves that the negative perceptions towards machine translation could be eliminated by integrating these concepts into translator training. The final conclusion of this study was that the quality of the post-edited and translated texts were no different from each other, which is similar to what has been reported by similar studies (Depraetere et al.; Daems et al.) demonstrating that the difference in quality tends to be minimal.

Although not explicitly focusing on the training of post-editing skills, Temizoz's article is also worth mentioning for it may be the only article exploring the productivity and quality of post-editing in the Turkish context. The author investigates whether professional translators and subject-matter experts who carry out translation tasks perform differently for the post-editing of a technical text. The findings of this study indicate that post-editing quality is similar between translators and subject-matter experts. It is also demonstrated that the engineer-translators enrolled in the study performed better with regard to terminological choices. The author concludes that although a degree in translation studies does not necessarily mean a higher quality post-edited text, expertise in the subject matter is a critical factor for post-editing quality. Temizoz's article adds to the above-mentioned ones which report insignificant results with regard to post-editing quality.

Although the articles in the literature, particularly in Turkey, are all unique in that post-editing is a particularly under-researched area, nearly all of them were conducted before the birth of neural machine translation, which fundamentally changed the translation industry and the translation/post-editing practice itself,

and thus should be studied separately. As mentioned before, these papers report contradictory results in terms of post-editing effort and the behaviors of post-editors, which could be attributed to the use of non-neural machine translation systems in particular language pairs, especially in the case of English-Turkish.

The aim of this experimental study is to determine whether a formal training on post-editing is enough at the undergraduate level by way of examining the post-editing effort and time as productivity parameters and quality of first-time post-editor students selected from a translation department in Turkey. This study also produces valuable results for a particularly under-researched language, Turkish, in terms of machine translation and post-editing, despite the advances of popular machine translation systems in this relatively free-structured language.

Hypotheses

Three different hypotheses were tested in the present study:

1. There would be significant differences between the treatment and control groups with the treatment subjects performing better in terms of productivity.
2. The treatment group would be more successful at identifying and correction errors while the control group would tend to trust the machine translation output more as judged by the total number of errors left in the final translation.
3. The quality of the post-edited texts by the treatment group would obtain better results in traditional automatic machine translation evaluation scores than the control group.

Methodology

Either to validate or reject the above-stated hypotheses we performed an experiment where two groups of undergraduate students post-edited a technical text with the treatment group getting a brief training on machine translation systems and post-editing.

Participants

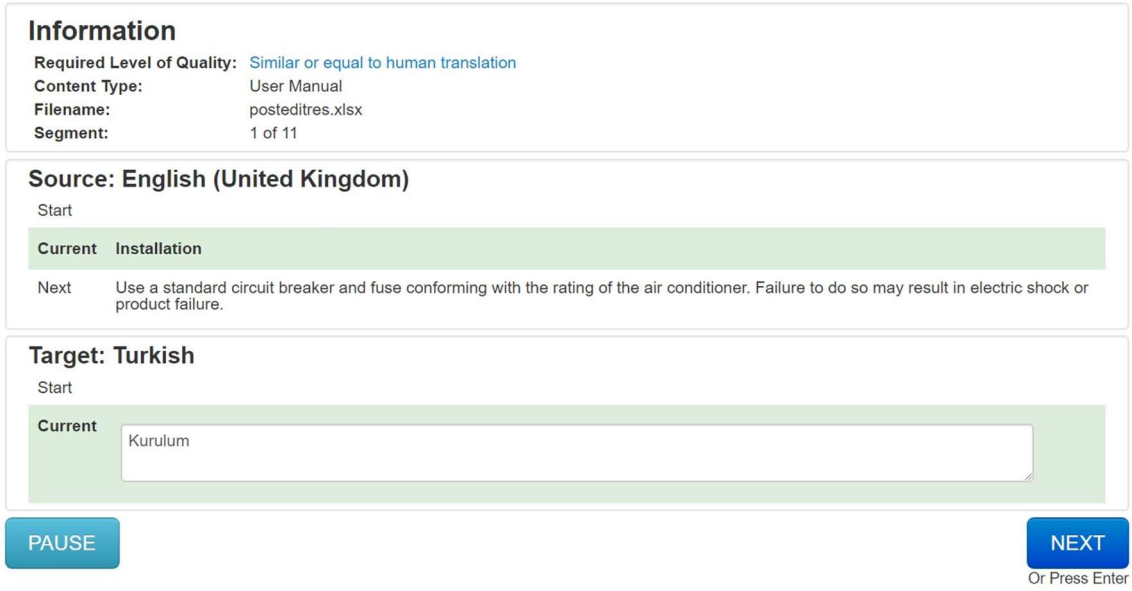
The participants of the present study were chosen from the students taking the Editing and Proofreading on Translation course offered at the Department of English Translation and Interpretation of Hacettepe University. A total of 23 students were present at the time of the first part of the study, which consisted of a survey exploring the background of the students with regard to their academic success, professional translation and post-editing experience, knowledge of and attitude towards machine translation. The survey detailed the purposes of the study and featured a consent part where the students agreed to take part in both parts of the study (the questionnaire and the post-editing task). In the end, there were a total of 20 students who gave consent to participating in both parts and who eventually comprised the sample of the present study.

Following the completion of the questionnaire, the students were instructed on how to use the online system where the experiment would be conducted. Then, half of the students (10/20) were randomly assigned to the control group. The remaining students, comprising an experimental group, listened to a brief course on machine translation systems and post-editing, which provided a general overview of machine translation systems, post-editing and related guidelines, and a step-by-step approach on how to perform post-editing. The students were instructed to post-edit according to the TAUS guidelines for "achieving quality similar or equal to human translation," (Massardo et al.) which has been cited above.

Online system

The Dynamic Quality Framework platform provided by TAUS[1] was used as the online tool where the post-editing task would be carried out (Figure 1). The participants were instructed beforehand on how to use the tool and what they should or should not do. For instance, if they had to leave their computer in the middle of the task, they were told to use the pause feature and resume the task at a later time. Use of online tools such as dictionaries was permitted.

Figure 1. Screenshot of the post-editing task performed on the TAUS DQF system.



This publicly available tool was chosen for its easiness of use and its statistical features. The tool has three main task types, which are productivity, quality evaluation, and ranking engines. The productivity feature was used to test the productivity hypothesis for which the post-editing time and effort of all students participating in the second part of the study were recorded in real time. The productivity feature demonstrates these two parameters in seconds (time) and percentage (effort). The percentage expresses how much effort was required to edit the machine translation output with 0% representing that no effort (no change) was needed.

[1] For more information about the DQF tool please visit: http://dqf.taus.net

The quality analysis feature was utilized for the first part of the quality analysis, which is detailed below.

Machine translation engine

The text that was used for the post-editing task was translated using Google's public translation engine, Google Translate. As this engine is one of the most popular machine translation engines in Turkey, no particular analysis was deemed necessary. Furthermore, Temizoz's study chose to use Google Translate after conducting a quality analysis. Other tools supporting the language pair of English-Turkish tend to provide poorer results compared to the outputs produced by Google Translate. Google Translate was also the most commonly used translation engine by the participants according to the survey results.

Technical text

A publicly available manual for air-conditioners was chosen to be translated and post-edited. The source text was in English and contained 239 words divided into 11 segments. Special attention was paid to the fact that the sentences selected from the user manual contained minimal amount of terminology and would lead to undesirable machine translation outputs. When a given segment led to a high-quality translation, the source text was slightly manipulated. There was also a typo in one of the original sentences which was not edited to see its effect on the translation and the post-editing performance of the students.

Quality analysis

Machine translation outputs are usually evaluated by human evaluators or automatic machine translation evaluation metrics. We used both methods in our study for different purposes.

Firstly, the total number of errors in the source text and the target texts produced by the participants was assessed. The DQF tool was utilized for its quality evaluation feature. This feature allows the researchers to identify the number of errors in a given text and classify it according to TAUS's own error typology called MQM (*Harmonized DQF-MQM Error Typology*). The main types of error include accuracy, fluency, style, and terminology. The rest (e.g. design or formatting errors) were deemed unrelated to the type of errors that could be observed in the present study and therefore excluded.

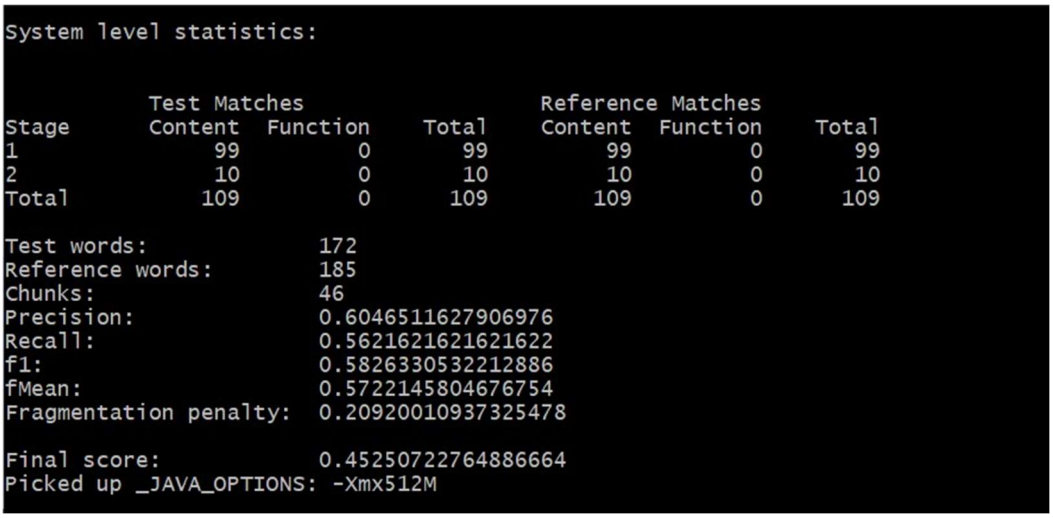
For the automatic evaluation part, we used several different Java or Python-based software. It is important to note that Turkish outputs compared using these tools tend to get lower scores due to the nature of the Turkish language. The main logic behind these metrics is that they calculate the number of matches between a machine translation output (also called hypothesis or candidate) and a reference translation of the same source text. All work different from each other with regard to how they calculate these matches and express the scores. For example, BLEU (Papineni et al.) is the metric that is widely used in the industry. It calculates each n-gram match and sequence of n-gram matches. Thus, for a higher score to be obtained, the machine translation output would have to follow the same sequence of words as in the reference text.

The other scores used for analysis in the present study were TER (Translation Edit Rate) (Snover et al.), METEOR (Denkowski and Lavie), and CharCut (Lardilleux et al.). TER measures the number of edits (deletions, insertions, and substitutions) that have to be made in the machine translation output to reach the reference text. METEOR, on the other hand, works in a similar way to BLEU but it can take into account exact matches as well as stem words, function words, synonyms, and paraphrases. METEOR supports several languages, including Turkish with limited capacity (i.e., it supports only stem words). We assumed that METEOR would provide better results compared to BLEU and TER thanks to its additional capabilities and its suitability for languages like Turkish. Finally, CharCut, a machine translation metric measuring character-based matches that has strong correlations with human evaluator judgements, was also employed to evaluate the quality of the machine translation output and final translations in the present study.

For two of these four metrics, a higher score/percentage means a higher quality text (BLEU and METEOR) whereas for TER and CharCut a higher score/percentage indicates a higher amount of difference between the candidate and reference, and hence, lower quality.

To calculate these scores, we utilized the Java-based software, multeval[2] (Clark et al.) for BLEU and TER and the original repositories for CharCut[3] and METEOR[4] (Figure 2). All entries were tokenized and lowercased, and punctuation was disregarded and/or manually removed during the analysis.

Figure 2. Screenshot of a METEOR analysis.



Statistical analysis

Two-sample t-test was employed to see if there were any statistical differences between the experimental and control groups in terms of time spent during post-editing and edit effort. Statistical significance threshold was set as $p < 0.05$. All statistical analyses were conducted in R (R Core Team).

[2] https://github.com/jhclark/multeval
[3] https://github.com/alardill/CharCut
[4] https://github.com/cmu-mtlab/meteor

Results and discussion

Findings of the questionnaire

A total of 20 students completed the survey, the first part of the study. 45% of the participants were female and 55% were male. With the exception of 1 student (fourth-year), the remaining students were studying their 3rd year at the department. 63.2% of the students had a GPA in the range of 3.00-3.50 while the rest had a GPA below 3.00 out of 4.00, which suggested that the majority of the students were academically successful. As the editing class was an elective course, it could feature students from different years with different experiences and training, therefore, it was necessary to investigate if they had taken the technical translation course offered during the sixth semester (third-year) but we found that only 2 students had taken the course. Except for 1 student, none of the students were providing professional translation services or had previously conducted post-editing. When asked if they heard the term "post-editing" before, the majority of the participants (57.9%) answered yes while a considerable number of students hadn't heard of post-editing (42.1%). Despite their unfamiliarity with post-editing practices, a staggering 75% of the participants reported using a machine translation engine. However, four of the students entered online dictionary names (e.g. Tureng, Zargan) when they were asked to name the machine translation engines they commonly used, which suggested that there was some confusion among the students with regard to the concept of machine translation. It is also important to note that there are currently no technology courses offered, focusing on machine translation technologies, at the department at the time of writing this paper. Still, 14 students reported the use of Google Translate with one student also indicating the use of MateCat, an open-source web-based computer assisted translation tool supported with Google's technologies (including Translate).[5] To determine the attitude of the students towards machine translation technologies, we explored if they thought that machine translation had the potential of replacing human translators in the future. While 30% of the students reported that they did not think machine translation would ever replace human translators, 40% highlighted the importance of translators catching up with the new advances in the industry or machine translation technologies could pose a threat for them. The remaining 25% indicated that machine translation would replace them in some areas but not all while one student indicated that translators should not use machine translation technologies at all. The final question revealed that 85% of the students were not satisfied with the current curriculum offered at the department – specifically, they did not think that the bachelor's programme was consistent with the current developments in the translation industry.

Comparison of post-editing time and effort

For the post-editing task, we first had to evaluate the technical text we were going to use for the post-editing practice. We used the aforementioned automatic quality analysis procedures using the publicly available Turkish

[5] For more information on MateCat please refer to https://www.matecat.com.

translation of the source text as the reference. In the end, the machine translation evaluation metrics reported similar results with a BLEU score of 25.3 (Table 1), consistent with the only study on post-editing in the Turkish language providing such a score (Temizöz). The scores in Table 1 indicates that the machine translation output was of poor to moderate quality with little similarity to the reference text. However, the scores should not be interpreted literally as they are dependent on many factors, including the language of the target text. As we assumed, METEOR provided a better result for the machine translation output, indicating moderate quality.

Table 1. Quality of the machine translation output as assessed by common machine translation evaluation metrics.

Metric	Score for the machine translation output
BLEU	25.3
METEOR	45.25
TER	58.9
CharCut	35%

A total of 11 students finished the second task in the study despite the initial number of 20 students who completed the survey: 6 in the experimental group and 5 in the control group. We used the measurements provided by the TAUS DQF tool for the statistical analysis of any differences between the two groups.

We expected intragroup consistency with regard to post-editing time and effort. Although the majority of the subjects included in the test seemed to have performed consistently with the rest within each group, there were outlier subjects who finished the task too quickly or too slowly (Table 2). For the time parameter, the t-test showed no statistical significance with a p-value of 0.46 ($t = 0.78$; $df = 5.69$).

Table 2. Time spent on post-editing.

Participant	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5
PE time (sec)	674	748	688	1541	2316	712	1165	1184	674	1147	3985

(E: Experimental; C: Control)

Despite the insignificance, the results reveal that students with prior post-editing tend to take less time with the post-editing task, which indicates higher productivity. However, we expected the contrary with the control group taking much less time as they would trust the machine translation engine more. Still, if we were to judge these results with regard to a traditional understanding of productivity, the experimental group would be considered more productive and the post-editing training would prove to be effective. We attributed this

difference to the fact that treated students' familiarity with the task and knowledge of machine translation may have given them confidence in performing the task. Due to the lack of any post-test communication, we cannot make definitive suggestions related to the background of the performance. We cannot directly compare our results with the literature as no such experimental study has been conducted but other studies (Garcia) have reported insignificant results with regard to post-editing time when compared with translation from scratch.

We also assumed that there would be significant differences between the groups with regard to edit effort (average number of changes made). We collected the mean effort per segment for each participant, a higher percentage indicating more effort, then calculated the mean effort of both groups per segment (Table 3).

Table 3. Average edit effort per segment (%).

Segment	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**Mean**
Experiment	32.33	10.16	30.83	31.33	29.33	63.16	24.83	39	14.66	19.66	21	28.75
Control	0	14.8	13.2	15.8	53.4	64.2	14.8	38.2	10.2	22.2	24.8	24.69

Overall, we observed a higher amount of effort in the experimental group with more instances of zero effort in the control group. However, the difference was not statistically significant ($p = 0.58$; $t = 0.55$; $df = 18.27$). Still, the small difference in means in favour of the experimental group might indicate that the trained group post-edited the text more thanks to their prior knowledge of the typical errors of a neural machine translation system. On the other hand, the control group may have trusted the machine translation result more.

The inconsistent results and the insignificant differences may have stemmed from a sampling error, where more students with a GPA below 3.00 were randomized to the control group (n=3) while there was only one (n=1) such participant in the treatment group. Overall, we could not determine a correlation between any of the variables (machine translation usage, having taken the technical translation course, or academic year) and the outlier results in each group.

Our analysis indicates that post-editing training did not significantly affect the performance of first-time post-editors with regard to edit effort and speed. Both groups perform with little difference, which could suggest that traditional translation and editing (the students in our sample received an editing class) skills are sufficient for post-editing tasks. Nevertheless, our small sample constitutes limitations against making any conclusive suggestions. Our results still imply that there is a small difference between groups for each task with a higher productivity indicated for the treatment group who received post-editing training.

Quality analysis

As previously mentioned, we applied two separate quality analysis methods to determine the quality of the final outputs. First, we calculated the number of errors in the machine translation output and the final translations produced by the participants and compared them. Then, we investigated if there was any difference between the outputs of the two groups according to the scores obtained from the automatic machine translation evaluation metrics.

Number of errors

In the original source text, there were a total of 21 errors in four categories: accuracy (10) [mistranslation, addition or omission, etc.], fluency (2) [spelling, punctuation, etc.], terminology (3) [wrong terminology or terminology inconsistent with the company guidelines, the latter not considered in the present study], and style (6) [awkward style, localization errors etc.]. We then used the same quality analysis tool to determine the number of errors left or added in the post-edited outputs (Table 4).

Table 4. Total number of errors in the final output per participant.

Participant	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5
Total errors (n)	4	8	9	9	10	10	15	15	17	9	18

The results indicate that the outputs produced by the control group are high in number, confirming our second hypothesis that the control outputs would be lower in quality compared to the experimental group as judged by the number of errors identified in the final text. The t-test also returned significant results, indicating that the difference was not due to mere coincidence with a p-value of 0.01 ($t = 3.56$; $df = 6.61$), consistent with similar studies (Garcia).

It seems that the experimental group identifies more errors and post-edits the text more to the human quality compared to the control group, consistent with the higher edit effort mentioned above. Therefore, we can argue that it is important to teach students the typical errors produced by machine translation engines and the common guidelines on post-editing, which instruct the post-editor on how to proceed in a typical post-editing task. The experimental group appears to have complied with the TAUS guidelines on post-editing for human quality while the control group left more errors unedited. During the manual analysis, we observed some instances of introducing errors that were not in the original text, which may be attributed to the unadvanced translation skills. Similarly, there is still a large number of errors left in the outputs produced by the experimental group, so the final translation is not perfect or close to human quality. It was unfortunate to see simple spelling or punctuation errors introduced into the target text. Awkwardness in terminology or style was not post-edited as much as we expected. For instance, "conflict" between neighbors was translated as "*çatışma*," which is much more aggressive than the desired term "*anlaşmazlık*," but most students left the original translation as it is. However, more obvious awkward translations (e.g. one word was translated as a swear word) were edited.

Quality according to evaluation metrics

We wanted to use the evaluation metrics typically used for the evaluation of machine translation outputs to compare the results of the two groups. As previously mentioned, these metrics do not provide definitive outcomes but rather illustrate the general quality of a target text compared to a reference text. We used the publicly available reference text to compare the post-edited outputs. The tool used for BLEU and TER scores (multeval) had the capacity to compare multiple outputs. Therefore, in comparing the BLEU and TER scores of the outputs, we used the mean calculated by the multeval software (Table 5). However, for METEOR and CharCut, we had to individually run the software for each subject (Table 6).

Table 5. Average BLEU and TER scores for the final translations.

Group	BLEU	TER
Original output	25.3	58.9
Experiment	25.7	60.4
Control	27.0	60.2

Table 6. Average CharCut and METEOR scores for the final translations.

Participant	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5
CharCut	33%	34%	35%	35%	42%	43%	33%	34%	34%	37%	39%
METEOR	0.42	0.38	0.48	0.44	0.48	0.45	0.52	0.45	0.44	0.40	0.50

Note: Original CharCut and METEOR scores were 35% and 0.45, respectively.

Despite the statistical significance with regard to the number of errors in the final outputs described above, the automatic evaluation metrics did not detect any considerable difference between the outputs of experiment and control groups. Surprisingly, BLEU scores indicated a better-quality text for the control group, and for both groups, TER scores revealed that the text actually worsened compared to the reference text. The human evaluation did not detect any particular deterioration in the quality of the texts despite some additional errors introduced by the post-editors.

We expected METEOR and CharCut scores to be more accurate with regard to the actual quality of the text, particularly for the Turkish language. The mean scores for the experiment and control groups were 37.0% and 35.4% for CharCut and 0.44 and 0.46 and for METEOR. When compared with the original score, the CharCut average indicates a worse final output for both groups while the METEOR score has improved for the experiment group but deteriorated for the control group. However, we could not detect any statistical significance for any of the metrics ($p = 0.46$ for METEOR and $p = 0.46$ for CharCut).

During the manual evaluation in the first part, we observed some relatively free translations, particularly in the experimental group; however, it's not likely that a few free translations could lead to such inconsistent results. It is, however, worth mentioning that the reference text available online was probably translated by a professional translator, and we cannot reasonably expect 3rd-year translation students with limited skills to produce translations similar to that of a professional translator. As all of these metrics calculate the number of matches between two texts, it is likely that a more literal but correct translation might have been scored lower compared to the more client-specific and suitable reference text.

All in all, the findings obtained from the automatic evaluation software mostly indicated poorer results for both groups. Still, we found statistical significance with regard to the number of errors in the final translations.

Conclusion and Future Work

In this paper we set out to evaluate the effect of post-editing training on the post-editing performance of students in an experimental setting. Two of the three hypotheses were rejected: the experimental and control groups did not differ significantly from each other in terms of productivity when one of the groups was trained on post-editing and the typical errors of neural machine translation systems. There was also little to no difference when we evaluated the post-edited outputs produced by both groups against a reference text using automatic machine translation evaluation metrics. However, we detected a statistical significance between the groups when we analyzed the number of errors in the final output. The post-editors in the experimental group were aware of the typical errors of machine translation engines and were also instructed to post-edit according to TAUS guidelines. The control group, however, had a number of errors that was closer to the number in the original source text. This significant finding highlights the importance of post-editing training and is consistent with previous research in the field emphasizing the difference between post-editing and translation/editing. The main limitation of the present study includes the limited sample size. Future studies may include a larger sample size to validate our findings. We also need studies on the correlation of automatic metrics with human judgements in order to reliably compare the results we obtain. There is also little research on post-editing in the Turkish language; thus, studies exploring any aspect of post-editing in the Turkish context are very much welcome.

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Gottfried Benn's Poetry and Loosening the Expressionist Image

Gottfried Benn Şiiri ve Dışavurumcu İmgenin Çözülme Süreci

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Abstract
After studying the prevailing expressionistic attitude in Benn's early poems such as "Nachtcafé," the paper traces the loosening of imagery in Benn's more psychoanalytic and mythological poems. The paper then offers a close reading of "Das sind doch Menschen," a poem from Benn's latest period, which exemplifies a distinct break in his poetics and the emergence of a markedly performative and personal voice. The backdrop of expressionism, his early fascination with mythology and mid-career attempts to achieve a perfect lyric structure continued to have obvious influences on Benn's later writing but this personal and anecdotal period occasions a new balance between poetic image, lyric self, and abstract statement. In addition, the paper also traces Benn's attempts to recover a more agentic lyric self within the larger poetic context of the post-war era, turning to poetic theories advanced by contemporaneous poets such as Ingeborg Bachmann and in Benn's own momentous lecture on poetics, *Probleme der Lyrik.*
Keywords: Gottfried Benn, Expressionism, Poetry, Lyric, Imagery

Öz
Bu makale, Benn'in "Nachtcafe" gibi erken dönem şiirlerindeki dışavurumcu tutumu inceledikten sonra, Benn'in daha psikanalitik ve mitolojik şiirlerinde imgenin gevşemesinin izini sürmektedir. Ardından, Benn'in poetikasında belirgin bir kopuşun ve performatif bir sesin ortaya çıkışının örneğini veren geç dönem şiirlerinden "Das sind doch Menschen"i incelenmektedir. Dışavurumculuk ve mitolojiye olan ilgi Benn'in geç dönem şiirleri üzerinde bariz bir etkiye sahip olmaya devam eder. Fakat daha kişisel olan ve anekdot tarzına yaklaşan bu geç dönem, şiirsel imge, şiir kişisi ve soyut ifade arasında yeni bir denge yakalar. Ayrıca, makale boyunca, şiir dünyasındaki gelişmeler, 2. Dünya Savaşı sonrası dönemin bağlamında ele alınmış ve bu dönemde daha etken bir şiir kişisi yaratma girişimleri değerlendirilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda, Ingeborg Bachmann gibi şairler tarafından ortaya atılan şiir teorileri ve Benn'in *Probleme der Lyrik* başlıklı önemli konuşmasında öne sürülen poetika tartışmaları ele alınmıştır.
Anahtar Kelimeler: Gottfried Benn, Dışavurumculuk, Şiir, Lirik, İmge

This paper studies Gottfried Benn's poetry with particular emphasis on Benn's changing use of imagery in the different phases of his career. In his expressionist period, Benn's images are highly crafted, syntactically dense, and reminiscent of the imagist movement in American poetry. This urge for autonomous imagery is

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continuous with the aesthetic ambitions of various other modernist and avant-garde movements such as expressionism, suprematism, and surrealism. In contrast, poetic images in Benn's later career appear as more organic components of personal or anecdotal narratives. This anecdotal turn in the aftermath of the WWII does not quite abandon the expressionist urge, but rather melts it into more readily subjective spaces of a plainer, personal, autobiographical, and confessional poetic style. In turning towards an increasingly plainer poetic mode, Benn discovers new dialectical possibilities for the expressionist image, rooted in more dynamic interplays between objective and subjective stances.

Lyn Hejinian suggests that "both subjectivity and objectivity are outdated filling stations" (1987: 99). To associate the image-laden, medical, concrete and constructivist aspects of Benn's earlier expressionist style with objectivity and the later plainer and more confessional style with subjectivity might raise eyebrows. Where does one draw the line? The construction and assembly of images - no matter how concrete, scientific, or material – always necessarily rely on subjective intuition. Likewise, the plain and spontaneous articulation of private sentiments is occasioned by certain contextual and structural patterns navigated by the self. So perhaps, rather than committing to a critical vocabulary which aims to trace the objective and subjective aspects of poetic rhetoric, it might be necessary to work with more layered and contextual categories while describing the relationship between poetic utterance and the self, as well as the kinds of rhetorical effect aimed at by poetic utterance which purports to be plain, epigrammatic, and confessional.

For example, while judging the poetic consequences of an abstract assertion, we might focus more on its truthfulness, rather than on its truth. We might focus less on the assertion and more on the conditions of assertability generated by the rest of the poem: its speaking voice, image structure, and dramatic qualities. This kind of transition away from criteria like objectivity and subjectivity would also allow us to trace the journey of expressionist imagery from its earlier to its later phases. While in its early phases, expressionist poets like Benn rely on the montage of highly crafted imagery without the support of abstraction assertion - which would more explicitly delineate ideational synthesis and the ideational extensions of the imagery in the speaker's thought process - they gradually master the art of extending these crafted images, as well as the affective responses prompted by them, into abstract and ideational structures.

As Norman Kemp Smith asserts in his defense of abstraction, "[t]hought is here creative in precisely the same general manner as in the making of physical experiments – the mind waiting upon reality, alert to take notice of its reactions" (1967: 335). Though, in the early twentieth century modernist moment of his career, Benn tasks integrative artistic techniques such as montage to evoke processes of abstraction and mental synthesis, in his later work, he begins to foreground the processes of abstraction and synthesis in plainer vocabulary. Complaining about the "the invasion of Literature by description" and concrete

imagery, Paul Valéry, in 1936, argued that such methods would ultimately reduce poetic expression "to nothing the slightest necessity for concentration on the reader's part, in order *to win him over* with *immediate effects*, rhetorical shock tactics" (1960: 76). While persistent invitations to spontaneity and sensuous attention provide strong descriptive mechanisms for poetry, in the absence of language displaying their endurance and alterations in the act of thinking, the images ironically end up losing precisely that particularity which the speaker might have tried to award to it in the first place.

In Benn's early poetry, three features supplement the dominance of the visual mode and suggest a latent propensity to break out of the conventions of early expressionism: a dramatic poetic self, musicality, and the erotic. These forces continuously disturb the seemingly objective and concrete surfaces of Benn's early poems and in the later stages of his career, they become more central to his poetry. The supplementation of the visual is not a complete surprise given the highly moralistic or critical attitude which characterizes most of Benn's as well as the expressionist artists' output. Typically, in expressionist works, visual cues dominating a certain atmosphere are foregrounded to demonstrate the moral or psychological dynamics undergirding a social setting or formation. In that sense, expressionist works often inhabit this uncomfortable duality between a commitment to visuality and an expressive urge which depicts the affects and sensations that emerge from such visual stimuli.

In *Expressionism,* Hermann Bahr famously tells the story of Western art by emphasizing the increased function of visuality and the impressionist servitude to instances: "He becomes more and more eye; and the eye becomes always more passive, always less active. The eye no longer possesses a will of its own, it abandons itself to the stimulus until it becomes at last completely passive, a mere echo of nature" (1925: 45). Benn was aware of this problem of the observing self turning into a passive recorder of its impressions and of materialistic attitudes, and how these might divest the self of moral agency. As Mark Roche argues, "Benn was a consistent critic of materialism" and increasingly, he felt that "quantitative calculations will not bring orientation" (2002: 34). One central challenge for Benn's career, then, was to find a way of utilizing the accomplishment of impressionist aesthetics to give rise to a more agentic poetic self which characterizes the second, and more favorable outcome, in Hermann Bahr's account, of an aesthetic which privileges visuality. That is to say, rather than "[t]he stimulus becoming sensation; the sensation becomes conscious and inserts itself into our thought" (1925: 38). In this paper, I will be interested in tracing how this second mode – the visual stimuli becoming part of enacting themselves in thought – gradually becomes the more dominant impulse in Benn's poetry.

Before close-reading poems from different stages of Benn's career to demonstrate this process, let me address some of the central issues concerning Benn's understanding of the lyric and his dramatization of the poetic self. Benn's early

medical poems in the *Morgue* sequence, often relying on the montage of scientistic and atmospheric description, push the modernist urge for concrete imagery to its limits. Arne Höcker argues that in these poems, or in Benn's "laboratory of words," "next to the microscope and under the condition of the typewriter, Benn observes how context is formed out of single elements" (2013: 469). Likewise, Edgar Lohner describes "the violent, sordid constrictions of Benn's earlier poetry" involving a "hypnotic bondage to medical detail" (1953: 52), and Andreas Anglet characterizes Benn's earlier portrayals of the sordid urban conditions in Berlin as a kind of "x-ray view of the Berlin night café society" (2007: 221).

However, in Benn's early work and the critical accounts that try to characterize his objective and medical descriptive language, there is an excess which indicates a surplus to the objective vocabulary. For example, in Lohner's account, though in these early poems "made out of words," Benn creates a sense of "objective reality," there is also clearly the shadow of a spiritual world, "*la condition humaine.*" (1953: 52) Anglet is more explicit: He divides the poem "Nachtcafé I" into two sections, first involving the "presentation of the coffeehouse scene" and the second "more personal coda" which is obviated by the "strong satirical strain" behind the poetic voice, the sense of an observer, not only observing, but judging and "measuring" the manifestations of the "ideological tradition" of the present historical moment" (2007: 218, 221).

In *The Poetry of Gottfried Benn,* Martin Travers also offers a powerful account of this flexible duality in Benn's early work: Travers singles out "Nachtcafé" as a poem which especially announces a suggestive relaxation in Benn's commitment to a medical and scientific vision. Though he describes it as "a social study in miniature, carried out with clinical exactitude," he also senses in this poem the movement of the "individual towards a recognizably public sphere, here to engage directly, in an openly satirical way, with the metropolitan culture of late Wilhelmine Germany. And with that movement there comes both the projection of a new lyrical subject, who works both within and against the erotically acerbic idiom of Berlin life" (2007: 42-43). In this paper, I am especially interested in how this "projection" intensifies throughout Benn's poetic career, as the poetic self assumes a more visible and direct presence in the poem and the constructivist image structure becomes a more organic part of an affectively responsive voice, speaking, judging, measuring, and being moved by the contents of its surrounding atmosphere.

The problem of recovering the poetic "I" and using a linguistic medium to convey an authentic self was an enabling challenge for many mid-twentieth-century poetic movements across the world, most prominently demonstrated by the confessional attitudes which come to dominate English/American poetry in the postwar era. In German poetry, too, the postwar moment makes it more urgent to recover an agent who can take up moral, social, existential questions in the space of a poem. In her 1959-60 lectures at Goethe University in Frankfurt, for instance, Ingeborg Bachmann describes the sensation of "[w]enn wir aber eines Tages wieder in einer

ungewöhnlichen Situation Ich sagen, kommt uns, mehr als in dem frühen Zustand, an: Beklommenheit, Staunen, Grauen, Zweifel, Unsicherheit" [But when one fine day we again find ourselves saying *I* in an unusual situation, we are more powerfully seized by trepidation, astonishment, horror, doubt, and insecurity than in the earlier setting] (1993: 219).[1] To demonstrate the power of reclaiming the "I" with such affective range, Bachmann uses as an example, an exchange between a mother and a child. The mother catches the child doing something wrong and urges him to own up to his mistake. After multiple rounds of rejecting the charges and maintaining a calm distance to the described event, the child finally explodes:

> 'Ich habe es getan,' und dann gleich wieder und ganz vergnügt über den Satz oder vielmehr [das] entscheidende Wort: 'Ich habe es getan, ich, ich ich!' Es wollte gar nicht mehr aufhören und schrie und kreischte immerzu, bis es sich vor Lachen in den Armen der Frau wand wie ein Epileptiker. (1993: 218)
>
> ["I did it," and immediately thereafter positively reveled in the sentence or rather its decisive word, "I did it, I, I, I!" He simply didn't want to stop saying it and screamed it and shrieked it over and over again until, overcome with laughter, he reeled into the woman's arms like an epileptic.]

For Bachmann, in this scene, the word which tends to become so automatic ("wenn das Wort längst eine Selbstverständlichkeit ist") in everyday communication – "I" - suddenly reclaims its significance and unlocks an entire range of affective responses (1993: 218).

Bachmann was not alone in making the case for a postwar return to the poetry of the "I" where the self is now available – in a challenging way- with an even more pronounced intensity. Benn also, in *Probleme der Lyrik,* his famous 1951 lecture at the University of Marburg, offers a staunch defense of a poetry that is founded upon the unmistakable presence of an enduring self. At the beginning of his lecture, he sets out the problem for modern poetry as involving two poles, or "zwei Objekte": "unbelebte Natur," the inanimate nature, and the Author: "Also ein Gedicht mit Trennung und Gegenüberstellung von angedichtetem Gegenstand und dichtendem Ich, von äußerer Staffage und innerem Bezug" ["That is, a poem with the separation and juxtaposition of the imputed object and the poetic I, of external accessories and internal reference"] (1954: 15). Later, Benn contends with certain modern and modernist conceptions of poetic speech which emphasize the linguistic construction as its main actor. For example, he refers to Eliot's theories of impersonality or to Mallarmé's famous declaration about how poetry is written with words rather than with feelings. Though a champion of autonomous poetic form, Benn disagrees with this constructivist emphasis and emphasizes instead the centrality of the self in providing the necessary endurance and resilience to poetic voice.

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[1] The translations provided here of Ingeborg Bachmann's lecture are by Douglas Robertson. See Works Cited for full citation.

> Ich würde sagen, daß hinter jedem Gedicht, ja immer wieder unübersehbar der Autor steht, sein Wesen, sein Sein, seine innere Lage, auch die Gegenstände treten ja nur im Gedicht hervor, weil sie vorher *seine* Gegenstände waren… Im Grunde also meine ich, es gibt keinen anderen Gegenstand für die Lyrik als den Lyriker selbst. (1954: 23-24)
>
> [I would say that behind every poem stands the author, unmistakably and always: His being, his existence, his inner situation. The objects only emerge in the poem because they were his objects before. Basically, then, there is no other subject for lyric poetry but the lyric poet himself.]

A systematic study of the different stages of Benn's career demonstrates the formation of this powerful lyric self, first latent in his early work as a set of attitudes which undergird the method behind his noticing and montaging of certain stimuli, and later, as a more active agent able to integrate these stimuli into thought, abstract statement, and plain response.

As a result, Benn's later poetry foregrounds a traditional impulse which has nourished the dramatic aspects of the lyric voice for ages. This impulse emphasizes – to use Ludwig Wittgenstein's useful distinctions - the 'truthfulness' rather than the 'truth' of a statement. In other words, in a poem, we judge an epigrammatic or plain statement, or a moment of abstraction, by testing their truthfulness in relation to the self which remains continuously emergent in its images and descriptions. If Benn's earlier poetry prompts us to ask how the poet looks or sees, in his later work, we find ourselves asking whether what he sees or enlists into observation is commensurate with the speaker's more moral or abstract assertions. According to Saul Kripke, "Wittgenstein proposes a picture of language based, not on *truth conditions*, but on *assertability conditions* or *justification conditions*: under what circumstances are we allowed to make a given assertion?" (1982: 74). In fact, this question more generally encapsulates the fate and function of the epigrammatic statement in modern poetry. While the event of modernism – in its emphasis on objectivity, concrete arrangement, and montage - makes it difficult for the modern poetic taste to accommodate abstract assertions or poems built entirely of moralizing abstractions, it also awakens modern poetry to the necessity of reclaiming a poetic self which can dramatically supplement its sensuous existence with a living voice.

The enactment of a living voice often requires the use of plainer and more spontaneous rhetoric. Across Benn's career, we can observe the gradual relaxation of the poetic voice to allow more colloquial and quotidian instances of language, such as in the very title of "Das sind doch Menschen" [But They Are Human]. But even then, the composition of the rhetoric remains hybrid, presenting dynamic exchanges between plain assertion and intricate visual sensuous stimuli, obvious remnants of his early expressionist phase. This hybrid rhetoric is also foreshadowed in Benn's earliest works, as I will show in my close-readings, not only in his oscillation between traditional forms and free verse, but also in his use and

absorption of disparate linguistic registers: Benn remains a champion of poetic autonomy and ritualistic musicality while he also challenges prosody and the musical autonomy of his works by including phrases, words of varying lengths, and public discourse. For example, Martin Travers argues that the number "824" in "Nachtcafe" "is easily appropriated by the eye but not by the reading voice, which is forced to choose between two modes of articulation. From the very first word of the poem, it is clear that the details of this world will resist integration into any familiar pattern of meaning." (2007: 44). In other cases, however, the musical impulse takes over and we become aware that the poet's selections of certain visual cues are motivated by a desire to "flee from the clearly-contoured image into a musicality" (Hannum, 1963: 277).

From the outset, then, Benn's poetry tries to maintain two impulses at a balance: First, a desire for formal lyric patterning, rhythmic insularity, or what Gerhard Loose calls his "passionate, indeed obsessive, devotion to form" (1962: 349). This devotion often leads Benn, as Hans Egon Holthusen asserts, to the management of the "artfully fashioned stanza with alternating rhymes and gentle iambic cadences in which the solitary lyrical 'I' carries on its melancholy soliloquies" (1956: 264). Second, it is the more public and spontaneous voice which allows itself colloquialisms, offhand remarks, and utterances, and these often threaten the musical or rhythmic insularity of the lyric poem. It is important to recognize these two impulses because they set the stage for Benn's gradual easing out of the constructivist modes of expressionist rhetoric, and into the more confessional registers of his later works. As Benn will reveal in his lecture, *Probleme der Lyrik,* this tension holds a central stage in his poetic philosophy. He talks about the everyday disenchantment of language: in business meetings, material transactions:

> "Gespräche, Diskussionen – es ist alles nur Sesselgemurmel, nichtswürdiges Vorwölben privater Reizzustände, in der Tiefe, ist ruhelos das Andere, das uns machte, das wir aber nicht sehen. Die ganze Menschheit zehrt von einigen Selbstbegegnungen, aber wer begegnet sich selbst? Nur wenige and dann allein. (1954: 44)
>
> [Conversations, discussions… it's all just armchair-mumbling, worthless exchanging of private irritations, and in the depths lies that restless other which has made us, but which we don't see. All of humanity thrives on some self-encounters, but who truly encounters themselves? Just a few and then alone.]

Benn associates the realization of poetic aspects of language with the act of withdrawing into one's solitude. Yet, his account is also very clear in performing this withdrawal from out of the public sphere, from out of everyday rhetoric. In his poetry, too, the extension of the self into public realms and away from them, into solitude, is very much a part of the poetic act. From the very beginning of his career, poetry for Benn is not simply the realization of solitary intensity or of language refined in solitude. The full realization of poetic assertion, the achievement of

enchantment through language in the modern era, might still demand internal speech and solitude, but it surely also demands the representation of this withdrawal into solitude, those public occasions or demands which prompt a need for withdrawal. As Travers describes, there is a part of Benn which is committed to "self-positioning within a broader and more critically focused socio-cultural context" (2007: 41), and yet another part of him which seeks aesthetic transcendence through lyric poetry and maintains "the conviction that art alone can act as a vehicle of worldly transcendence" (2007: 44).

Benn's Expressionist Imagery

One of Gottfried Benn's early, expressionist poems, "Nachtcafé" was published in 1912 after a number of medical/dissection poems. In this poem, the speaker attempts to assemble a social scene, while the demand for sociability produces an exceedingly relational language and individual perceptions blend into flexible syntactical relationships. In other words, the "heightened sensuality" (Travers, 2007: 44) in this assembled scene ushers a certain presence, of atmospheric involvement in the setting of the café, while the paratactic assortment of its images emphasizes the linguistic operation behind the poem, as words and referents struggle to find attachments that will ascribe them sensual or contextual significance. This leads Martin Travers to describe the poem as being simultaneously "both of this culture and yet apart from it" (2007: 44).

> 824: Der Frauen Liebe und Leben.
> Das Cello trinkt rasch mal. Die Flöte
> rülpst tief drei Takte lang: das schöne Abendbrot.
> Die Trommel liest den Kriminalroman zu Ende.
> Grüne Zähne, Pickel im Gesicht
> winkt einer Lidrandentzündung (Benn 1966: 18)
>
> [824: The Love and Life of Women.
> The cello has a quick drink. The flute
> belches throughout three beats: his tasty evening snack.
> The drum reads on to the end of the thriller.
>
> Green teeth, pimples on his face,
> waves to conjunctivitis.][2]

The very first figure in the poem, a number, announces one of the poem's primary ambitions: To unsettle the relationship between function and articulation. The number 824 does not look threatening as a numerical figure, but once it is uttered, it destabilizes the form by making the syllable count ambiguous. How to say it?

[2] The translations of Nachtcafé provided here are by Michael Hamburger. Hamburger's full translation of the poem is included in *Primal Vision: Selected Writings*, ed. E.B. Ashton, New Directions, 1971, pp. 219.

Acht, zwei, vier, or simply achthundertvierundzwanzig? And what is this number anyway? Is it the street number of the café? Is the speaker a habitué who refers to the 'usual' place by its number? Or it might simply be the name of the café. The problem of articulation is already coupled with the absence of an apparent function. The poet reproduces the chance nature of encounters at the café through his language so that the reader can hope for some elucidation through testing possible connections between various perceptions.

Travers explains that the number "refers to a legal clause defining the status of women in extramarital relationships, whose imputed promiscuity the lyrical subject juxtaposes to the idealized love described in Schumann's song-cycle "*Frauenliebe und -Leben*" (2007: 43). In the context of this expressionistic assemblage, however, the number itself reinforces a hermeneutic promiscuity, provoking questions about the nature of poetic language: Is poetry motivated by reference, what a number(s) refers to? Is it motivated by the struggle of different linguistic units to attain a certain visual or musical coherence? Is it motivated by alienation – by the degree to which public utterance or social functions of language become defamiliarized and unlock new possibilities for language?

The rest of the first stanza follows a surrealistic bent, a fluidity in sense perception and bewildering sets of associations between disparate observations. The atmosphere denies the gaze an extended contemplation; the eyeball travels swiftly from one entity to another. Yet, despite the ceaseless quickening of attention, the poet manages to create a sense of intimacy and atmosphere filled with erotic tension between the men and the women in the café. As Andreas Anglet argues, "[t]he night café is the modern manifestation of the primeval horde's cave. Like in Freud's psychoanalytical archeology, in Benn's poems under the day's surface of the urban social life, there reigns an anarchic realm of sexual appetites and bodily decay" (2007: 22).

The most striking aspects of "Nachtcafe" are the superficial anatomical details that create a powerful sense of presence. The use of anatomical and bodily details is very typical of Benn's early poems. Here, however the descriptions are not, as in other cases, about the metaphorical permeability of the human body. That is, the poet is not dissecting in order to find even in the most grotesque anatomical features, a metaphorical depth. Instead, the 'symptoms' of particular diseases are tested for their potential to reveal something more than just the 'individual' condition. How possible is it for individual maladies to capture the dynamics of sociability among the patrons of the café? To test this, Benn points at things and names them. Naming has always been one of the most prized tasks for a lyric poet because nouns insist on maintaining a connection with the actual world, while other figures of speech elaborate the manner of subjective separation or in Adorno's vocabulary, individuation.

For the lyric, the nature of this connection and/or separation is often the most important question. Richard Wilbur talks about the "two impulses of poetry": "the

impulse to name the world, and the impulse to clarify and embody the self" (2000: 133). In his early verse, Benn turns towards the former impulse, so much so that his paratactic assortments turn into a mode of separation from the world. Benn's paratactic cataloguing of the symptoms of reality calls attention to the material aspects of language, to language itself as a medium. Benn alerts us to how the very structure of language - its sounds and everyday combinations - is always already mediated.

Benn conveys this sense of mediation, more specifically, through self-conscious transitions between shorter and longer words and by fixating perception on compound nouns. In the second stanza, the first line only offers a catalogue of symptoms. The subsequent line, however, adds a theatrical element. All the symptoms are "waving" — to what? To another symptom, to *Lidrandentzündung*. The people in the first line (patrons?) are waving to a person with conjunctivitis (the waiter?). Yet the poem hijacks our attention and moves it away from the action, towards the overt sensuality of its description. An illusion of physicality is awarded to the protracted word *Lidrandentzündung* which clearly stands out and imposes a certain primacy on perception. It controls the scene. It is hard not to visualize blood and the color red while articulating this word and coming to terms with its indifference to prosody. As Travers also explains, this word, along with other "drawn-out medical terms… frustrate[s] attempts at scansion" (2007: 43). Blood-shot eyes, bloody veins, exhaustion, dryness. The structure of attention imbues the word with the feeling of necessity, the red spills out into the poem and the motif of Lidrandentzündung keeps returning: "Zwei Augen brüllen auf: / Spritzt nicht das Blut von Chopin in den Saal" [A pair of eyes roars out: / Don't splash the blood of Chopin round the place] (Benn 1966: 18). All this investment in sensuous imagery explains the sense of suppression, of uncomfortable restraint that informs the social relations at the café. As we read, we experience the associative threads of imagery, we find ourselves – not following a central narrative – but measuring and validating the sensuous achievements of language.

Benn continued experiments with this expressionist and associative modes. There are some outstanding examples where his images offer a kind of psychoanalytic map of subjectivity. The poem "Mutter" [Mother] from 1913, for example, reads like a roadmap or riddle in that it allows the poet to collect his recurrent images - forehead, wound, blood - and to hint at an underlying psychoanalytical structure for his other poems. Here thinking does not gravitate towards images; rather, images gravitate towards thinking while simultaneously refusing to assimilate into the realm of detached or abstract ideation.

Ich trage dich wie eine Wunde
auf meiner Stirn, die sich nicht schließt.
Sie schmerzt nicht immer. Und es fließt
das Herz sich nicht draus tot.
Nur manchmal plötzlich bin ich blind und spüre

Blut im Munde. (Benn 1966: 24)

[I bear you like a wound
upon my brow that will not close.
The pain sometimes abates, and
my heart flows from it still alive.
Only now and then I suddenly become blind,
and feel blood in my mouth.][3]

The first line introduces the main metaphor. The speaker carries the mother *like* a wound on his forehead, yet the relative clause in the second line immediately reverses the equation: The rhetorical weight falls on the wound and not on the lyric I. The "I" disappears in the middle section, where the image of the wound necessitates further inflections. It is tempting, therefore, to liken the speaker's language to the wound because the speaker cannot seem to close it altogether. The scab keeps cracking and bleeding. The same happens to the speaker's language: by the fourth line, we realize that he has been dressing it with false assurance. "Und es fließt / das Herz sich nicht draus tot." On the surface, this line reads like a consolation: Nevertheless, life goes on, my heart keeps beating, I'll survive. I'll make it. Yet, this statement also reveals a hidden anxiety. The fact that a wound can entertain such an irrational fear - that his blood might run out - is telling. It provides insight into the processes of deflection that the speaker practices to ward off threatening thoughts. The loss of his mother creates such a fathomless absence that the concept of life gets continuously unsettled by the presence of death. Death is omnipresent, Benn seems to be saying, for someone who has lost a mother.

The continuous suppression of death anxiety, of the fear that life will not cohere together and be sucked up into a totalizing absence is what initiates the metaphorical drive in the first place. Metaphors are tragic because their very conception is marked by an awareness of separation, of connecting two otherwise unrelated phenomena. The only way for the speaker to overcome this tragedy is to grant a degree of autonomy to his images so that they can organize our attention without continuously pointing towards their rhetorical function. In *Aesthetic Theory,* Adorno argues that "… symbols or metaphors in modern art make themselves progressively independent of their symbolic function and thereby contribute to the constitution of a realm that is antithetical to the empirical world and its meanings. Art absorbs symbols in such a fashion that they are no longer symbolic" (2002: 95). The search for autonomy thus requires that the poet cut the umbilical cord between his metaphor and its metaphoricity, its rhetorical purchase. This may explain the spillage in the penultimate line which is marked by a spontaneity, a *Plötzlichkeit* that differs from the piecemeal temporality in the rest

[3] This translation of "Mutter" is from Martin Travers, *The Hour That Breaks: Gottfried Benn: A Biography.* Peter Lang, 2015, pp. 24-25.

of the poem, a suddenness which announces an insight but also disrupts the operative mechanism of the earlier metaphor How do we explain the movement from the forehead to the eyes and then the mouth? Are we to imagine blood flowing down his face? Or is the speaker referring to the bloody, metallic taste in the mouth that brings death almost so close that it cannot be suppressed anymore, as in the previous lines? But there is an apparent discrepancy between the ephemerality of suddenness (by which the lyric I resurfaces) and the extraordinary nearness of tragedy in the final lines. My aim so far has been to outline the achievements of an expressionist aesthetic in the early phases of Gottfried Benn's poetry.

In "Mutter," then, two levels of detachment are required: First is the overt turning away from reality by way of metaphor and second is the metaphor's liberation from rhetoricity which demands that the reader dwell on the relationality between the images which constitute the metaphor, to treat them as things of perception rather than simply of ideation. The project of granting images autonomy and tasking readerly judgement with discovering their associative relationality gives rise to a degree of interpretive looseness. While it grants readers an interpretive freedom to determine the prevailing modes of visual relationality in the poem without any hierarchy of perception, it also risks depleting the "Ich" – the opening word of the poem – from a meaningful agency.

This issue relates more generally to the privileging of visual imagery as part both of expressionist and modernist aesthetics. In his mid-century lectures, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric,* I. A. Richards describes this issue by referring to the privileging of visual vocabulary in aesthetic assessment.

> The blunder with the word *see* may seem too crude to be likely. But the patient toil of scores of teachers is going every day, in courses about the appreciation of poetry, into the effort to make children (and adults) visualize where visualization is a mere distraction and of no service… Words are the meeting points at which regions of experience which can never combine in sensation or intuition, come together. They are the occasion and the means of that growth which is the mind's endless endeavour to order itself. That is why we have language. It is no mere signaling system. (1946: 131)

According to Richards, the excessive emphasis on visuality – in both modern art and aesthetic criticism – eclipses the ordering and intellectualizing capabilities of language. The illusion of autonomy granted to each sensuous image obscures the work of plain and abstract ideation that language also undertakes to process of visual information. As Richards argues, "[b]ut if we say 'a realizing sense,' we must remember that this is not any 'sense' necessarily, such as sense-perception gives, but may be a feeling or a thought" (1946: 130). In a similar vein, Lionel Trilling raises questions about how indirection and symbolism are being adopted as the modus operandi for a modern poetics, "I do not doubt that the language of poetry is very largely that of indirection and symbolism. But it is not only that. Poetry is closer to rhetoric than we today are willing to admit; syntax plays a greater part in

it than our current theory grants, and syntax connects poetry with rational thought" (1953: 281). Both Richards and Trilling suggest a conception of poetic language as made up of a more balanced combination of sensuous and ideational components.

In short, Benn's early expressionist poems were able to develop sensuous intensities through a largely impersonal and autonomous language. A poetic language held together by the sensuous association of its images demands that the reader work through its parts to decipher possible relations between competing claims for autonomy. But in the absence of a mediating lyric voice, which performs cycles of relaxed and watchful attention, the images lose their purposiveness. By striving towards differentiation and authenticity, every image comes already imbued with a purpose. This is the most important reason why language in modernist poetry is often studied as an event in itself. When instances of language, which are trying to achieve distinct forms of sensuality, are networked into relationships, a deliberate obscurity develops. Beryl F. Schlossman argues that "language as 'event' transfixes what it is supposed to be saying: the intrusion of opacity into the domain ascribed to transparence or translucence produces new patterns of revelation" (1991: 238). The promise of such revelations and the resultant hermeneutic struggle produces an illusion of knowledge. Alain Badiou argues that "the event reveals the void of the situation. This is because it shows that what there is now was previously devoid of truth" (2005: 54). When language purports to be an event, it mystifies even its most mundane daily functions and turns content into an illusory site for the excavation of truth. Content appears authentic, as if it were able to escape mediation, and the form becomes secondary, thereby failing to unsettle constructivist ambitions of objectivity.

Benn's Later Style

Benn's later style holds readerly validations to second-order investigations by placing them into more clearly articulated subjective positions and performative contexts. It dramatizes the image-oriented modernist poetics. In so doing, it achieves two very important things: First, it counterbalances the intensity of the modernist mode of perception with something more random, true-to-life, and spontaneous, literally performing the artworks' "urge, as if in need of a breath of fresh air, to step outside of" itself (Adorno 2002: 63). Second, it holds readerly validations to second-order investigations by placing them into more clearly articulated subjective positions. A dense and stylized image exists *for* the reader but within a clearly demarcated subjective experience. This way, the false sense of freedom that seemingly autonomous images might award to the reader is unsettled from its very conception because those images now exist in a dialectic of (in)dependency. This poetics would not have been possible without the modernist insistence on autonomy. Without it, we could still be asking whether it is possible for images to resist (symbolic) commodification and assimilation into the larger meaning. Modernism managed to make this line of inquiry redundant by preempting our ability to cognize images and by ascribing a decisive tentativeness

to the clarity of poetic perception at any given time. Benn's later style reinserts these dense images into performative structure. It carries images *within* personal and anecdotal structures, inviting an assessment of both their individual intensities and their ability to elucidate the affective mechanisms which empower subjective agency (i.e., how specific states of being, modes of perception, spatial and temporal affinities heighten the awareness of an individual consciousness and bring about various actions and commitments).

Gottfried Benn's turn to mythological motifs after his early expressionist period (1912-1915) can be seen as an attempt to make up for the lack of the sense of a whole. In such poems as "Ikarus" (1915) mythology becomes a unifying device that creates a field of interactivity for his otherwise reluctant imagery. Mythology continues to play a central role for Benn's poetics up until 1927. It never truly disappears from his poems but in the mid-30s, he becomes a lyric poet in the more traditional sense of the word. Questions of form and formlessness begin to occupy him more, he develops an impeccable prosody, and makes the desire for naming and representing the world one of his primary subjects. "Astern," considered by many as Benn's towering achievement (1936), was composed during this high-lyric period. Each of these periods reward individual attention but for the purposes of this paper, I shall turn to "Das sind doch Menschen", a poem from Benn's latest period, in which we can observe a distinct break in his poetics, a liberation of sorts that makes space for a distinctly personal and psychologized poetic voice.

The backdrop of expressionism continues to have an obvious influence on Benn's writing but this personal and confessional period occasions a new balance between poetic image, lyric self, and the abstract statement. The poem chronicles the gradual deepening of an individual's concentration in what sounds like an intimate, neighborhood pub, a Kneipe. The first line, "Das sind doch Menschen, denkt man" [But they are human, one thinks], immediately locates the speaker at an ill-humored remove from the rest of the crowd (Benn 1966: 336).[4] Throughout the poem, the speaker seems to be making a conscious effort to sustain a forced optimism in his ability to relate to other individuals. This requires that the speaker see beyond the surface, which, for him, is the economic relations that seem to mediate even the most personal gestures. The challenge is not merely to go beyond the surface but to stay there, to give the imaginary depth a compelling structure so that the speaker can socialize what otherwise feels ego-driven and inward. When the speaker observes the waiter walking to a table to take an order, he is tempted to distance himself from the "invisible" customers due to their hedonisms and possibly tactless consumerism ("das sind doch Zartfühlende, Genüßlinge"; "brennend, verzehrt, wüstendurstig / nach einem Gaumenpfirsichsaft") [but they are sensitive, hedonists in their own way"; "burning, consumed, desert-thirsty / for

[4] The translations provided here of the poem "Das sind doch Menschen" are by Michael Hamburger. Hamburger's full translation of the poem is included in *Gottfried Benn: Prose, Essays, Poems,* ed. Volkmar Sander, Continuum, 1987, pp. 265-266.

a palate peach-juice]. Yet, his thought drags on and the speaker identifies a possible mode of engagement with the crowd while averting his habitual antipathy: "sicher auch mit Empfindungen und Leid" [surely with feelings, too, and sufferings] (1966: 336). The stanza, comprised of one long sentence, allows us to see how the speaker's attention is compartmentalized and what it takes for the speaker to find his way *in* to the scene. The way *out* of his habits of perception and *into* the deeper resonances held in store for him requires that the speaker stop seeing the scene as a singular phenomenon. The sameness he assumes to be driving other people's motivations is in fact the singularity of his perspective. How to break from this hardened perspective is the challenge.

Already in the first stanza, we can see that the speaker is creating a situation. There is no discernible event and the relationships between individuals are only theoretical. What if? What if I were to talk with these people? The openness of the situation allows the speaker to elucidate the affective mechanisms which make distinct emotions and moods discernible. These emotions are not contained in a dense image. Rather, they are socialized. In other words, the speaker does not provide sufficient material for objective engagement (images, observations) to hold either the speaker's or the readers' attention. The table itself remains "unsichtbar" (invisible) and the speaker's engagement with the scene is clearly motivated by his expectations rather than his actual experiences (1966: 336). Hence, the speaker's response to the stimuli around him is not descriptive, or vitalizing. The only adjective in the first stanza is "unsichtbar" and the rest are unambitious, hollow nouns which, despite their intentions, fail to grant the scene an intentionality. This is the most important distinction between an aesthetics based on sensuous imagery and Benn's later poetic style: While the former struggles to vitalize every image with intentionality, the latter examines the *conditions* under which a set of images or observations can rise to the level of intentionality. The former tasks each linguistic utterance with overdue significance, turning the hermeneutic act at times into a self-satisfying endeavor to 'unlock' potentials stored in linguistic acts; whereas, the latter, recognizing the impossibility of such continuous perceptive investment, relaxes the hermeneutic act and allows the reader to trace how attention comes to 'lock' in certain observations and finds in them an aestheticizing compulsion.

The second stanza acts as a transition between a concrete/expressionistic and abstract/confessional modes of attention. The speaker is still committed to a noun-heavy language which catalogues various emotions without finding their objective correlative and denies the listener sensuous engagement. Despite the speaker's assertion of a kinship in the spectrum of his emotions, they are no more than a projection of his inner state. The speaker wants to believe that his disquiet is shared by others and the certainty in his tone (*auch da, wenn auch, zwar*, *auch dort!*) obviates his need to identify with others in an attempt to calm his despair. Yet, despite the continuation of the noun-heavy language, the stanza is also markedly

different in tone. In the first line, the speaker includes a direct address: "So allein bist du nicht" ["You're not all that alone"] (1966: 336). Moving from the more general "denkt man" ("one thinks") in the first stanza to the more specific and concentrated "du" in here introduces a tension between the general and the particular. This tension is consolidated in the speaker's attempt to individuate states of being by inflecting them with other correlated emotions.

> in deinem Wirrwarr, Unruhe, Zittern,
> auch da wird Zweifel sein, Zaudern, Unsicherheit (1966: 336)
>
> [in your tangles, disquiet, trembling,
> in them too there is doubt, hesitation, uncertainty]

The stanza begins by asserting a kinship in *Alleinsein* [solitude], which prompts specification – it is a specific experience of solitude, one that is defined by confusion, disquiet and trembling. These nouns - these chunks of emotions – do not prove sufficient and the speaker continues in his attempt to identify *degrees* in them. "Auch da wird…" ["in them too"]. These states, too, demand further specifications. In them too, there will be doubt, wavering and uncertainty. The speaker's compulsive search for *shades* of emotions here diverts his attention from developing kinship with other people and turns him instead to developing kinship between various states of being. This second stanza stays in the abstract mode, never developing sensuous affiliations. Still, it manages to thicken the tension between the general and the particular, as well as to intensify the anticipation for sensuous images.

In the third stanza, the eventual manifestation of a sensuous image, grants the poem a confessional quality. The image is not at the speaker's disposal. It refuses to come readily and demands a tightening of attention. Only after the speaker manages to turn to the actual source of his unease does the image finally emerge. The stanza begins by disqualifying the exercise performed in the second stanza to specify states of being. "Unendlich ist der Gram der Herzen / und all gemein" [Endless the heart's grief is / and general] (1966: 336). Elaborate descriptions of the degrees of one's disquiet cannot award the speaker the ability to grant purposiveness to his images. In the next line, the speaker finally turns away from the language of despair in favor of the more pressing subject: Desire. What might allow the speaker to identify with other people is not dwelling on negative emotion, but a desire *for* another which get its richness from existential disquietude.

At last, the speaker's wandering and contemplative attention yields an image which is also the poem's most articulate moment. This image not only discloses the speaker's most private yearnings but also reveals the incompatibility of these yearnings with the larger public. This is in stark contrast to Benn's early expressionist style where the city is often eager to accept and be morphed by projections of erotic desire. Here, erotic image is much more contained and cannot initiate a wholesale phenomenological revolution. In fact, the speaker returns to

the scene, to the 'situation' at hand after crafting his image. In some ways, then, this sensuous image is 'bracketed', calling attention to the subjective states which bring the world to this temporary, lyrical order:

> brennend, verzehrt, wüstendurstig
> nach einem Gaumenpfirsichsaft
> aus fernem Mund,
> untergehend, ertrinkend
> in Unvereinbarkeit der Seelen – (1966: 336)
>
> [burning, consumed, desert-thirsty
> for a palate peach-juice
> from a distant mouth,
> going down, drowning
> in the separateness of souls –]

The most important grammatical shift here is marked by the insistent use of present participles, turning action verbs into adverbial qualifiers of a psychological state. Have these people ever loved, desired in this way, the poem wants to know. However, the description is painfully conscious of its inability to mobilize the very desire it's trying to describe. The image is also separated from any pronoun. Whereas the speaker initiates this image by wondering "aber ob sie je geliebt haben…" [but whether they've ever loved], at the end of the stanza, he abstains from using the possessive pronoun, saying instead, "in Unvereinbarkeit der Seelen" [in the separateness of souls]. The tone which was already depersonalized (sie) is further abstracted from the specific context, stressing the clear difference between the mode of attention necessary to traverse a situation and to construct an expressionist image.

In line with this depersonalization, the speaker retrieves "man," the indefinite pronoun with which he had started the poem. But there is an important difference here. The question in the third stanza (whether these people have loved…) is not completely abandoned. It is taken up by the next stanza through the demonstrative pronoun "das" ("das weiß man nicht") which in turn initiates a labyrinthine description of the waiter – refusing to mark a grammatical separation from the image, and dragging its phenomenological range all the way until the end of the poem.

> das weiß man nicht, kann auch
> den Kellner nicht fragen,
> der an der Registrierkasse
> das neue Helle eindrückt,
> des Bons begierig,
> um einen Durst zu löschen anderer Art,
> doch auch von tiefer. (1966: 337)
>
> [that one cannot know, can't

> ask the waiter either
> who at the till marks up
> the price of a new pale ale,
> greedy for his tip
> so as to quench a thirst of a different
> but also deeper kind.]

The continuous introduction of relative clauses calls attention to the constructedness of the speaker's sympathies. It is hard to tell whether the speaker really sympathizes with the waiter and sees his desire for money as stemming from a similarly intense existential necessity. But what is remarkable about this stanza is that despite the wide range of doubts and suspicions, it manages to employ an impressive variety of grammatical functions which furnish the observation with an aspectual awareness, almost like an expressionist painting which foregrounds its multiple layers and dimensions. Notice also how far we have come from the second stanza, where the speaker was failing to find specific attachments and was resorting instead to a mere cataloging of various emotions: Wirrwarr, Unruhe, Zweifel, Zaudern, Unsicherheit…

Most importantly, this poem highlights the ways in which romantic or sexual desire becomes entangled in economic concerns. If this reader feels a sense of melancholy in the final words of the poem, it is because the final stanza forsakes the sensuous precision of the third in order to emphasize a lack of conviction, a sense of despair in response to the increasing alignment between desire and economic concern. Emblematic of this uncertainty is the pun on the word "löschen," which is, of course, primarily idiomatic: "den Durst löschen", to quench one's thirst. Yet, it also means to extinguish, to erase. Whether the desire articulated in the poem's primary image genuinely carries on and sustains the speaker's attention all the way to the end is questionable. Whereas the dense, synesthetic expressionist imagery immediately suggests a dynamic state of responsiveness, the more narrative and anecdotal sections of the poem loosen this urgency of attention. In doing so, the poem also offers a more truthful account of human perception. Rather than viewing the world in dense image compositions, the eyeball travels around the pub with a changeable rhythm.

At the end of the poem, we judge the poem's truth-telling maneuvers ("das sind doch Menschen") less on their truth but more on their sincerity and truthfulness. Hence, Benn's later poetry, like many other departures from the image-oriented traditions of modernism, foregrounds the *struggle* to formulate a truth and the sincerity of the speaking voice behind that struggle. This assessment is akin to Adorno's emphasis on the truth-content of artworks:

> the 'What is it all about?' – becomes 'Is it true?' – the question of the absolute, to which every artwork responds by wrestling itself free from the discursive form of an answer. (2002: 127)

Expressionist imagery, by design, increases our desire for visuality and concreteness, offering a narrative of poetic attention which comes to depend on imagery that is already charged with meaning. However, it is only in his later periods that we begin to observe what Adorno describes as the artwork "wrestling itself free" from this desire. Benn's later poems repurpose expressionist legacy by absorbing sensuous descriptions into ideational and performative accounts, rather than presenting them as autonomous or concrete presentations of consciousness. Charles Altieri offers a similar assessment of these transformations in artistic expression from a Wittgensteinian perspective:

> This desire aims not at truth, which involves reference, but at truthfulness, by which the person states an identity on clarifying how he or she is modified by the experience and redirected toward other features that might be internally related to this new way of seeing. Then confession is the ultimate clarifying of intentions by a commitment to displaying what in life has mattered most for the self. (Altieri 2016: 70)

Likewise, in his later poems, Benn narrativizes images as part of a thinking consciousness which variously struggles in its pursuit to integrate moments of sensuality into its search for meaning. While some images open channels for a deepening of subjectivity, some images resist this dialectical traffic. In this way, the measuring of the poem's sensuous investments and intensities is not privileged as a solely hermeneutic effort. The poem provides its own models for the activation and failure of sensory participation with a speaker who actively weighs and measures the virtue of its descriptive investments.

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Traumatized Immigrant: Monica Ali's *Brick Lane*

Travma Geçirmiş Göçmen: Monica Ali'nin *Brick Lane*'i

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Abstract
Postcolonial fiction and trauma are almost coalesced into one another as a result of the nature of postcolonial cultural condition. Trauma emerges as one of the most important and inevitable themes in postcolonial novels written, in particular, by the British authors of colonial origin. In *Brick Lane*, Monica Ali portrays the tragic destiny of Nazneen, a young Bangladeshi woman, forced into an arranged marriage, when she is eighteen, to a Bangladeshi man in his forties living in London. It is a story of trauma, migration and adultery. After her mother's suicide, Nazneen's father arranges her marriage to Chanu and sends her away from home to the Imperial centre. As a postcolonial Bangladeshi immigrant, Nazneen not only suffers from the trauma of her deceased mother but also from the trauma of her arranged marriage that results in the birth of a son who dies when he is only a few months old. In addition to her personal breakdown after a series of tragic events, she inevitably undergoes cultural clashes. This study discusses Nazneen's traumatic background and her postcolonial identity and questions whether or not her tragic situation stems from the postcolonial cultural condition.
Keywords: trauma, migration, postcolonial condition, Monica Ali, culture

Öz
Sömürgecilik sonrası edebiyat ve travma, sömürgecilik sonrası kültürel durumun kaçınılmaz bir sonucu olarak, neredeyse birbiriyle iç içe girmiş durumdadır. Travma, özellikle sömürge kökenli Britanyalı yazarlar tarafından yazılan sömürgecilik sonrası romanların en önemli tematik ögelerinden biri olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. *Brick Lane* romanında Monica Ali, daha on sekiz yaşındayken, Londra'da yaşayan, kırklı yaşlarındaki Chanu ile görücü usulü ile evliliğe zorlanan Nazneen'in trajik öyküsünü anlatır. Bu bir travma, göç ve evlilik dışı ilişki öyküsüdür. Annesinin intiharından sonra Nazneen'in babası Chanu'yla görücü usulü ile evlenmesini ister ve onu Londra'ya, imparatorluğun merkezine gönderir. Sömürgecilik sonrası bir Bangladeşli göçmen olarak Nezneen sadece ölen annesinin travmasını değil, zorla evlendirilmesinin ve bu evlilikten doğan ve daha iki aylıkken ölen bebeğinin travmasını da yaşamaktadır. Art arda gelen trajik olayların yarattığı ruhsal çöküşün yanı sıra, kaçınılmaz kültürel çatışmaların da içine düşer. Bu çalışma Nazneen'in travmatik geçmişiyle birlikte onun sömürgecilik sonrası kültürel kimliğini analiz etmekte, trajik olayların ve travmaların sömürgecilik sonrası kültürel durumun bir sonucu olup olmadığını sorgulamaktadır.
Anahtar Kelimeler: travma, göç, sömürgecilik sonrası durum, Monica Ali, kültür

Introduction

Postcolonial novels written by the second generation of postcolonial writers including Zadie Smith, Monica Ali, Bernardine Evaristo and several others at the

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end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century include stories of traumatic experiences. This generation of novels particularly written by female authors display the problems of migrant women who find themselves not only in problematic situations caused by their postcolonial condition, but also in troubles caused by traumatic results of patriarchal cultural practices. These traditional and cultural practices of arranged marriages, enforced dowries, and performing traditional wifely functions such as slaving in the household and giving birth to children by readily adopting a feminine lifestyle like being housewife become causes of traumas in the migrant women's new lives in which they expect a life of welfare in Britain, their new dwelling place. This so-called dream-come-true life turns out to be yet another confinement in the household as in the case of Monica Ali's Nazneen in *Brick Lane*, instead of bringing welfare. In addition to that, the life they are forced to migrate into is soon filled with the dreams of going back home to have a fresh start.

This kind of traditional postcolonial reading of these novels still acknowledge the colonial past and tend to ignore the individual migrant experience. Instead, I would argue that there is more to say about the personal trauma caused by migration than to comment on the imperialist practices. Although cultural reading and analyses, interpretation of the postcolonial cultural condition still invite the discussions of post-independence cultural outcomes, the migrants ' cultural situations are commonly shared by all immigrants whether or not they are postcolonial. Therefore, I read *Brick Lane* as not necessarily a novel of postcolonial migration but as a novel of economic migration that focuses on Nazneen's individual dilemma and trauma, as she would not have been enforced to migrate and marry a man older than herself had she not come from an economically disadvantaged background in Bangladesh.

Purpose and Method

Whether the migration we discuss about is postcolonial migration or economic migration, all types of refugee movements may have traumatic results. Since postcolonial fiction and trauma are almost coalesced into one another as a result of the nature of postcolonial cultural condition, trauma emerges as one of the most important and inevitable themes in postcolonial novels written, in particular, by the British authors of colonial origin. Since postcolonial experience involves "a process of othering" in Elleke Boehmer's words, "the writing of trauma" has always been in the centre of the aesthetics of postcolonial writing which reflects "a particular collective experience of crisis, pain, distress, or shock" (87). The same dilemmatic categorization may also be applied to the condition of all sorts of migrant whether or not they experience postcolonial migration.

In *Brick Lane*, Monica Ali portrays the tragic destiny of Nazneen, a young Bangladeshi woman in distress and shock. As a postcolonial Bangladeshi immigrant, Nazneen not only suffers from the trauma of her deceased mother, who killed herself which was a shock for Nazneen, but also from the trauma of her arranged marriage that results in the birth of a son who dies when he is only

a few months old. Ali puts, in the centre of her story, what Nadia Alman labels as "the myth of immigrant ascendancy" which is "replicated and contested" in postcolonial novels set in London (3). Ali ironizes this myth and reflects Nazneen's breakdown and her husband's failure. In addition to Nazneen's personal breakdown after a series of tragic events, the novel heightens, as asserted by Michael Perfect, "sensitivities towards its representations of cultural difference" (110) and centres around how she plunges into cultural conflicts inevitably. The purpose of this study, then, is to analyse Nazneen's traumatic background and her postcolonial identity and question whether or not her tragic situation stems from the postcolonial cultural condition that involves cultural differences pointed out by Perfect.

Findings

Sara Upstone argues that Monica Ali's novel, in a very similar way to Zadie Smith's *White Teeth*, reflects "the increased trauma" which, in the first place, comes from home despite "having no clear geography of belonging" (244). Upstone's idea of increased trauma refers to the trauma of migration on top of all her traumatic experiences such as the untimely death of her mother, her enforced marriage at a young age to a man she does not know. In the novel's prelude, Monica Ali, confirming Upstone's argument of lacking the geographical belonging for traumas, quotes from Heraclitus: "A man's character is his fate." (Ali 10). Thus she declares the fact that Nazneen's life is predestined at her birth. Her mother Rupban gives a premature birth to Nazneen and everyone thinks that she is stillborn. At the outset of the novel, then, it is indicated that her traumatic life is not only a result of her arranged marriage and postcolonial identity, but also a result of her mother's traumatic labour which predestines Nazneen's life:

> Banesa picked up Nazneen by an ankle and blew disparagingly through her gums over the tiny blue body. "She will not take even one breath. Some people, who think too much about how to save a few takas, do not call a midwife." She shook her hairless, wrinkled head. (Ali 12)

Her birth in the colonial conditions marks the cultural environment which she was born into. Banesa, the midwife, represents the subaltern colonial identity; and, as the compensation of her service, asks for the chicken that Nazneen's mother was plucking just before her labour pains began: "Of course I offer my service free. Maybe just that chicken there for my trouble. I see it is old and stringy." (Ali 13) The fact that Banesa asks for the chicken stands out as an example of non-monetary financial system based on exchange of goods and services. Nazneen's life, therefore, is almost about to be exchanged for a chicken when she suddenly begins to cry:

> Mumtaz took hold of Nazneen, who was still dangling by the ankle, and felt the small, slick torso slide through her fingers to plop with a yowl onto the bloodstained mattress. A yowl! A cry! Rupban scooped her up and named her before she could die nameless again. (Ali 13)

It is only by a twist in her destiny as a baby that she acquires an identity. Thus, her name that would remain with her for the rest of her life is given to enable her to die with a name. Her traumatic colonial background is marked by her name which gives her a stereotypical postcolonial immigrant identity when she moves to Britain, despite the fact that her migration involves a marriage instead of colonial reasons. Hence, she is destined to live with an identity which was actually attached to her for her death, by which Nazneen is left to her destiny:

> As Nazneen grew she heard many times this story of How You Were Left To Your Fate. It was because of her mother's wise decision that Nazneen lived to become the wide-faced, watchful girl that she was. Fighting against one's Fate can weaken the blood. (Ali 15)

Nazneen's first trauma occurs when her mother commits suicide. Her mother's untimely death leaves her helpless against her destiny. She can neither be a part of her traditional female identity, nor develop her own independent role as a young woman. François Kral considers the situation of postcolonial immigrants as represented by Ali as "trapped between two worlds, with one foot on each continent" and as individuals who "develop a double identity" and gain access to "two different systems and to two radically opposed pictures" through, in most cases, traumatic experiences. (73) As in the common practice of postcolonial immigrants in London, an immigrant man from their village living in London wishes to marry her and take her to London:

> Soon after when her father asked her if she would like to see a photograph of the man she would marry the following month, Nazneen shook her head and replied, "Abba, it is good that you have chosen my husband. I hope I can be a good wife, like Amma." But as she turned to go she noticed, without meaning to, where her father put the photograph. (Ali 16-7)

At first she does not consider this as an unacceptable situation. She notices the age difference between herself and her future husband, but the economic situation of her family and her loneliness as a result of her mother's death leave her obliged to accept this marriage without questioning. The outcome of this marriage is adopting a new culture imposed upon her, a situation that Nadia Valman calls "cultural transplantation" (3). On the other hand, she does not live in a cultural environment in which she can voice her preferences about the person she intends to marry which naturally results in a second trauma in her life after her mother's death:

> The man she would marry was old. At least forty years old. He had a face like a frog. They would marry and he would take her back to England with him. She looked across the fields, glittering green and gold in the evening light. (Ali 17)

Upstone reads the novel in connection with the earlier postcolonial texts and argues that Ali also generates characters with "going home syndrome" and a sense of belonging "to a larger strategy of connecting to the past in order to secure emotional survival." (337) However, although the one that is in this "going home syndrome" is Chanu, her future husband, it is Chanu who takes him to Britain. Thus, in a typical destiny of the member of a formerly colonized post-

imperial society, her fate leads her to marry a man in his forties and she is forced to live in London leaving all her life, land, home, family and her dreams behind. As soon as she gets married, she sees herself in her husband's eyes, when Chanu speaks to someone on the phone and tells about Nazneen:

> "Not tall. Not short. Around five foot two. Hips are a bit narrow but wide enough, I think, to carry children. All things considered, I am satisfied. Perhaps when she gets older she'll grow a beard on her chin but now she's only eighteen. And a blind uncle is better than no uncle. I waited too long to get a wife." (Ali 23)

Her new life, her enforced marriage, her loneliness in her new dwelling place and her husband's categorisation of her as his potential child-giver make her realise the truth about her situation and leaves her helpless: "A blind uncle is better than no uncle. Her husband had a proverb for everything. Any wife is better than no wife" (Ali 23). Upon hearing these, it occurs painfully to her that she is wrong to assume her husband wishes to marry Nazneen because he loves her. After realising that she only functions as a wife and a child bearer, she begins to get acquainted with her cultural surrounding and notices the differences between her enforced lifestyle and the liberal culture in her new country. Perfect argues that the English that Nazneen "develops over the course of the novel" takes place at the same time as "her move towards independence and liberation" (112). Yet, her struggle to reach an independent identity and grasp of the new culture that surrounds her is limited by how much her husband introduces her and how well she can pronounce the words. As they watch ice-skating on television one night, she asks her husband, who looks indifferently, about it:

> "What is this called?" said Nazneen.
> Chanu glanced at the screen. "Ice skating," he said, in English.
> "Ice e-skating," said Nazneen.
> "Ice skating," said Chanu.
> "Ice e-skating."
> "No, no. No *e*. Ice skating. Try it again."
> Nazneen hesitated.
> "Go on!"
> "Ice es-kating," she said with deliberation. (Ali 36–7)

Her husband tries to correct her mispronunciation due to her Bangladeshi phonetics. However, he claims that she would be "unlikely to need these words in any case" (Ali, 37). Chanu's reaction to her interest in ice-skating shows, in the hindsight, his unwillingness to let Nazneen enjoy what a liberal society suggests and his prediction about her future life in which she will not have any opportunity and need to do ice-skating, and thus, she will not need vocabulary regarding that sport. On the other hand, ice-skating symbolically turns into a leitmotif functioning as an important and idyllic recall of liberty in the novel and Nazneen searches the TV channels at nights to watch ice-skating after her husband goes to sleep. Nevertheless, her wifely functions that include cutting her husband's corns on his feet are far from giving her such liberty:

> "Ish," said Chanu, breathing sharply. "Did you draw blood?" He looked closely at his little toe. He wore only his pyjama bottoms and sat on the bed. Nazneen knelt to the side with a razor blade in her hand. It was time to cut her husband's corns again. (Ali 39)

Chanu, on the other hand, is an immigrant who has an office job that makes him feel unsuccessful since he thinks he deserves a better position in the office as a reward of his English literature degree from Dhaka University. So he always reads at home in the evenings putting a distance between his intellectuality and his wife's ignorance. When Nazneen tells him that she wants to go to college to learn English, Chanu gives a reaction very typically of a patriarchal man who wishes to keep his wife's intellectual level below himself:

> "Razia is going to college to study English."
> "Ah, good."
> "Perhaps I could go with her." …
> "Where?" He rolled onto his back to look at her. His belly showed.
> "To the college. With Razia."
> "What for?"
> "For the English lessons."
> "You're going to be a mother." (Ali 76-7)

Being a mother will keep her busy in Chanu's view and if the only reason for Nazneen to go to college is to keep herself busy, she will have enough to do with the babies whom she cannot take to the college. Chanu's stereotypically masculinised reaction to a woman's dreams of having education by pointing out her duty of having babies as an alternative is not only a typical, ordinary immigrant family's problem, but also the problem of masculine worldview of which Chanu is no exception.

On the other hand, Chanu attempts to improve himself and his family's life conditions by being in touch with more experienced and successful Bangladeshi immigrants in England to take them as role models. His most admired fellow country man is Dr Azad who visits them for dinner in their home from time to time. Dr Azad is the symbol of immigrant success in Chanu's point of view. He represents everything what Chanu wishes to achieve in England: welfare, respect, life in a well-off neighbourhood and a permanent job. One thing Chanu does not understand about Dr Azad is that the doctor never invites them to his home, whereas Chanu expects such an invitation in return for doctor's visits to Chanu's household for dinner. One day they just go and knock on the doctor's door without being invited. In doctor's house where they feel unwelcomed by his wife, Chanu talks about his dreams of success in England: "behind every story of immigrant success there lies a deeper tragedy" (Ali 113). When Dr Azad asks him to "kindly explain (that) tragedy" (Ali 113), he states that he is

> "talking about the clash between Western values and our own. I'm talking about the struggle to assimilate and the need to preserve one's identity and heritage. I'm talking about children who don't know what their identity is. I'm talking about the feelings of alienation engendered by a society where racism is prevalent." (Ali 113)

Dr Azad's wife is a fully Westernised woman. She represents an élite, well-off, educated and cultured Bangladeshi immigrant who would isolate herself from the rest of the immigrants from her own country of origin. She is in no way one of the other immigrants whom Chanu describes as peasant types and is certain that she has more social acceptance than people like Chanu and Nazneen. She displays by her attitude that she is not very happy with their visit and implicitly notes that they do not necessarily need to be paid a return visit as if they were still living in Bangladesh. She thinks that immigrants cannot succeed unless they adapt themselves to the host culture and she reacts against Chanu's theories about the immigrant success:

> "They go around covered from head to toe, in their little walking prisons, and when someone calls to them in the street they are upset. The society is racist. The society is all wrong. Everything should change for them. They don't have to change one thing. That," she said, stabbing in the air, "is the tragedy." (Ali 114)

Mrs Azad's exclamations about the immigrants go beyond criticism and she openly accuses them of not putting any effort to change themselves, but instead they expect their host society to change their behaviour for the sake of immigrants. Her additional criticism is from a secular point of view as opposed to religious immigrants' expression of themselves: the immigrants go around covered from head to toe referring to the hijab worn by Muslim women as an expression of their religious identity to which they feel more attached after migration as a form of self-protection. Mrs Azad's secularised Western vision is, in a self-orientalist way, contemptuous, which forces the young Muslim immigrant men to take a radical stance against the Western dominant ideology. On the other hand, this causes a psychical trauma, according to Ania Loomba, who claims, in a reference to Frantz Fanon, that traumatic experiences occur as soon as "the colonial subject" is aware of the fact that they "can never attain the whiteness" that they have been instructed (310). Chanu's disappointment, then, is not only a disappointment caused by an unwelcoming attitude in a fellow countryman's home, but also caused by realization that he and his wife may never have Mr. and Mrs. Azad's social acceptance in a white society.

Nejat Töngür argues that while Monica Ali gives a "detailed picture of devout Muslim youth" mostly "agitated and infuriated by racist gangs" she also "portrays young Bangladeshis" born and raised in London who are therefore "adapted to British culture" as they express "their distaste with Bangladeshi culture, language and life style" (562). In connection to what Töngür states, Mrs Azad's assertions have alternative functions too. Nazneen, as a shy and silenced immigrant wife, watches and listens to the doctor's confident and Westernised wife, she begins to acquire a consciousness that makes her realise the differences between the relaxed, liberal Western values and her restrictive traditional culture. Therefore, her husband's patriarchal attitude becomes more visible to her.

In the meantime, she gives birth to a son named Raqib, who would limit her searches for an independent identity. Despite the limitations of having a baby,

she loves being a mother, but her happiness is interrupted by the trauma of her son's death when he is only a few months old:

> "They said they will release the body quickly. They said they know we are Muslim. They know, they said they know, about how quickly we like to bury our dead."
> How quickly we like to bury our dead. She began folding clothes. She picked a stray thread from a vest, pulled fluff off a jumper. Chanu came to her and held her arms. He prised her fingers from Raqib's jacket. To get her to sit he had to push her onto the bed. She let him take her hand in his. (Ali 144-5)

The first part of the book ends with Raqib's death and the second part begins when they have two daughters thirteen years after this trauma. Chanu has given up his dreams of getting promotion that would suit his education and become a taxi driver, which puts an end to his dreams of overcoming the hegemonic Western culture and being an integrated part of the society both culturally and economically instead of admitting a stereotypical immigrant lifestyle. Nazneen has started sewing business at home on a sewing machine bought by her husband, stitching buttons and zips on clothes brought to their flat from the producers by a middle man called Karim.

Her interaction with Karim, which is a totally business relation in the beginning, turns into a secret love affair. When Karim comes home to collect the clothes, they make love during Chanu's work hours in the taxi. Pin-chia Feng, who reads the novel as "a quintessential *Bildungsroman*" focusing on "a female immigrant", suggests that this is a novel that represents "the ways in which South Asian women cope with the problems" of selfhood, subjectivity and South Asian British identity (16). At the same time, it challenges "the traditional definition of South Asian Muslim womanhood and provides a way out of the brick lane of an ethnic ghetto" (Feng 16). Nazneen, as in Feng's suggestion, challenges the ordinary identity of female immigrants, by simply overthrowing the confining patriarchal understanding of her cultural origins.

Karim is a young man who represents the freshness, youthfulness and freedom. He is also involved in a political group struggling for immigrant Muslim rights against racism. Nazneen finds this very exciting and from time to time she goes to the meetings run by Karim and listens to the talks that give her courage and excitement. Although their secret love affair gives her remorse, she cannot refrain herself from this relationship and they make love on the bed she also sleeps with her husband. Nazneen begins to live a double-sided life that makes her really happy. Yet, at the same time, she feels sinful and regretful and as Arıkan asserts, "feels the pain of committing a crime" which does not comply with her religious identity (502). This dilemmatic situation arising from her pleasure and feeling of guilt "causes a traumatic situation" for her (Arıkan 502). On one hand she continues to produce and earns money to look after her daughters complying with the traditional roles of a mother as expected in her cultural origins, and on the other, she sets herself free to enjoy a youthful love. During their happy times, Chanu, who always pursues the hope of making a glorious return to his homeland like all immigrants, appears to have given up

the hopes of return. One day he decides to get out of their immigrant populated neighbourhood and explore London, which he has never done in years. His conversation with the bus conductor shows his dilemma of belonging and not belonging:

> "Where've you come from mate?"
> "Oh, just two blocks behind," said Chanu. "But this is the first holiday for twenty of thirty years."
> The Conductor swayed. (Ali 291)

Chanu represents an immigrant identity that arrives in London only to make a living without even trying to explore the city. This type of immigrant identity is actually a type that Chanu defines as peasant types. However, he finds himself in that situation while he tries to prove his intellectual level by asking the conductor whether "the British Museum rate[s] more highly than the National Gallery" (Ali 290–1), to which he answers: "In my rating system," explained Chanu, "they are neck and neck." (Ali 291) By doing so, he attempts to localise himself and tries to adjust his psychology to settling down in the city by exploring its attractions. This makes Nazneen hopeful. However, one day Nazneen gets ill and stays in bed for weeks:

> Chanu woke in the night and, he told her later, missed her heartbeat. He found her on the kitchen floor, vomit dried on the corners of her mouth, eyes open and unseeing. He had turned on the light, but she did not blink. He carried her to the bedroom and laid her on the bed. It was the only time he had carried her, and she wished that she remembered it. (Ali 324)

She cannot continue her sewing business during her illness which keeps her away from seeing Karim. The illness generates a temporary period of discontinuation in their secret relationship during which they reconsider the nature of their intense feelings. Nazneen finds it difficult to resume, because when she sees Karim after a long time, she finds that he has changed into a radical, an identity that Nazneen wishes to stay away due to the fact that he is transformed into yet another Islamist of her own cultural background:

> Karim had a new style. The gold necklace vanished; the jeans, shirts and trainers went as well. Some of the parents were telling their daughters to leave their headscarves at home. Karim put on Panjabi-pyjama and a skullcap. He wore a sleeveless fleece and big boots with the laces left undone at the top. (Ali 376)

He turns into a man who asks Nazneen to marry him to continue the relationship, while Nazneen wishes to be an independent woman who decides to stay in England. She, too, has a transformed identity. Her transformation into a free-spirited woman is not an escape from and rejection of her national and cultural identity, but it is a choice, a quest, a new form of liberty that she embraces. Nazneen is no more an ignorant migrant wife, but an independent woman who makes her own decisions about her life and fate. On the other hand, the identity that Karim has adopted during the period of Nazneen's illness is a narrow-minded worldview that confines the type of female identity that Nazneen wishes to possess. Karim adopts this new life style not only to express

his cultural and traditional background but also to have a reactionary standpoint against the Western cultural values.

On the contrary, Chanu does not have any tendency to have a political stance to resist the Western cultural values. Instead, he wishes to turn his back on the West to cover his failures to fit in and gloriously return to homeland to make a fresh start with his wife and daughters. While Chanu prepares to return home and buys plane tickets, Nazneen begins another journey within herself to find her independent female identity that would take her out of her boundaries. By going back home, she does not want to multiply her traumatic experiences that she has suffered since her childhood. She wants to pursue a dream of becoming a self-reliant woman with her daughters. The morning before their journey, Chanu, who has long understood his wife's decision, asks her once more:

> "You're coming with me, then? You'll come?"
> "No," she breathed. She lifted his head and looked into his face. It was dented and swollen, almost out of recognition. "I can't go with you," she said.
> "I can't stay," said Chanu, and they clung to each other inside a sadness that went beyond words and tears … (Ali 478)

Upon this, Chanu respects her decision. He is aware of the fact that Nazneen was not in love with him and she was enforced into accepting a marriage that turned her into an ignorant housewife, instead of transforming her life into a more prosperous one. He accepts it and considers it as something very obvious from the very beginning. Contradictorily, Chanu returns to where Nazneen came from and Nazneen stays in the city where Chanu came from to take her with him. In other words, Nazneen chooses to establish a more liberal, prosperous lifestyle which she has been denied, while Chanu wishes to return to a more confined, conservative and conventional life in which he could feel safer, as he has never been able to fulfill the dreams of an immigrant to become a rich Westerner. There is also a shift in their roles. Chanu acquires the traditional identity that once belonged to Nazneen, while Nazneen turns into an ambitious immigrant in London to seek for success and welfare: "Chanu had called his daughters. 'There's been a change in the plan.' He rubbed his face with his palms, getting the blood to flow again. 'I have suggested, and your mother has agreed, that the three of you come later'" (Ali 479). When Chanu goes back to Bangladesh on his own, Nazneen starts a new life. She continues her sewing business with other companies, sends her daughters to school, and regularly has phone calls from her husband who asks her about the girls but never asks them when they would return. As a result, they all have a mutual pact not to talk about it. This unwritten treaty between them changes the gender roles after migration. While Nazneen turns out to be the more powerful character, Chanu loses his patriarchal power and finds himself having to go back home. The contradiction that arises here is that although Chanu has hoped to prove and re-establish his patriarchal identity by going back to the homeland, he loses his control and authority over his family. Nazneen, despite being a delicate, weak and vulnerable woman in the beginning of the novel, turns into a powerful woman who can establish her female identity

on firm grounds. On the other hand, she is given a chance by her daughters and her friend Razia to realise a dream she has been wishing to come real. She goes ice-skating

> "Here are your boots, Amma."
> Nazneen turned round. To get on the ice physically – it hardly seemed to matter. In her mind she was already there.
> She said, "But you can't skate in a sari."
> Razia was already lacing her boots. "This is England," she said. "You can do whatever you like." (Ali 492)

Conclusion

As a result, the liberal Western values symbolised by the ice-skating boots are combined with traditionalism. This traditionalism here is ironically emphasized in order to reflect the hybridization of not only the immigrant identity, but also the hybridization of the host culture by combining western ice-skating outfit with Bangladeshi traditional garments. England is depicted as a place where you can even ice-skate while wearing a sari. The statement "you can do whatever you like" can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, the surface meaning suggests that England provides you with the liberty of doing whatever you wish, which includes building up one's independent identity and independent lifestyle. Secondly, the deep meaning suggests that you can also preserve your own cultural identity while you are integrated into the English lifestyle and Western values. In Angels Poon's words, *Brick Lane* claims to homogenize "the immigrant experience" by pointing out the hybridity of all migrant characters who turn into "apolitical" cosmopolitans (428), and thus homogenizing them into uniform, liberal western cultural representations. On the other hand, Poon also argues that Nazneen's story is also a success story of postcolonial women who "struggle for autonomy" (428). Yet, this autonomy does not only reflect itself as self realization of Nazneen's identity as a woman, but also stands out as her integration into western culture. My contention here is that the novel contains stories of both failure and success. As Chanu decides to go back home without any wealth and without his wife despite his dreams of making a glorious return, Nazneen contends to stay in Britain and struggle for her own identity to build up her own future.

On another scale, to return to the major argument of this study, all of the above mentioned cultural clashes, identity problems, attitudes, dilemmas and hybridity problems in the examples quoted from the novel are also a part of the immigrant experience in general, without necessarily being a part of postcolonial experience. The total outcome is not only a cultural issue, but an economic issue as well, which forces economically disadvantaged individuals to migrate, even in the case of postcolonial immigrations. Immigrant experience is a homogeneous experience that creates inevitable situations of cultural hybridity.

To conclude briefly, the novel's conclusion presents England as a place of freedom and compromising cultural values. The novel also suggests that Nazneen's traumatic life is not only a result of postcolonial and post-imperial cultural condition, but also the result of her gender based problems which are also multiplied by her cultural origins. Having been forced into an arranged marriage and lost a child, her life is intermingled with cultural trauma. Monica Ali's text therefore is not to be interpreted as a consequence of postcolonial trauma only, but also as a result of the oppression of female identity in a gender-based reading. Her problems of belonging and unbelonging also stand out as one of the initiators of her search for identity. In this case, Nazneen turns into a culturally oppressed Asian woman. In short, *Brick Lane* traces the story of a trauma that has migrated to Britain. Thus it is not only the story of a traumatized immigrant but the story of a migrated trauma.

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The Animal In-Habitant Made an Out-Sider: Representation of Animals in Medieval Mystery Plays

Dünya Sakini Hayvanın Dünyadan Dışlanması:
Orta Çağ Mister Oyunlarında Hayvanların Temsili

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Abstract
According to the Western metaphysical philosophy, human species is supposed to be superior to the nonhuman animals with respect to the former's physical space, bodily form, possessing mind, being able to reason, having a distinctive and complicated language as well as being susceptible to pain and death. Such kind of an approach encourages humans to deny animals some basic intrinsic rights, such as living. However, as far as the recent research and philosophical/ethical discussions point out, human superciliousness is out of question. This study will dwell upon certain research made in the field of animal studies that refute the assumptions of Western metaphysical thought. It will refer, among others, particularly to the research conducted by Stacy Alaimo, Karen Barad, Jacques Derrida, Michael Allen Fox & Lesley McLean, Peter Singer and Cary Wolfe. Then, within this context, it will denote the anthropocentric representations of animals in the mystery plays, which were created and performed in medieval Britain out of the stories in the Old Testament. But at the same time, it will draw attention to a number of rational, talking, living, respected animal portraits in these plays and assert that medieval English mystery plays, though produced under the influence of the Old Testament in which God announces human beings' ascendance, call forth a harmonious life with our animal companions.
Keywords: Western Metaphysical Philosophy, Animal Studies, Mystery Plays, Medieval Britain, Old Testament

Öz
Batı metafizik felsefesine göre, insan türünün hayvanlardan, ikamet ettiği alan, vücut yapısı, bir zihne sahip olması, düşünebilmesi, kendine özgü komplike bir dilinin olması, acı çekip ölebilmesi bakımlarından üstün olduğu kabul edilmiştir. Böyle bir yaklaşım, insanların hayvanları temel, doğuştan getirdikleri, yaşamak gibi belli haklardan yoksun bırakmalarına yol açmıştır. Fakat, güncel araştırmalara ve felsefi/etik tartışmalara bakıldığında, bir insan üstünlüğünden bahsetmek söz konusu değildir. Bu çalışma, hayvan çalışmaları alanında yapılan ve Batı'nın metafizik düşüncesini çürüten belli araştırmalar üzerinde duracaktır. Söz konusu hayvan araştırmalarından özellikle Stacy Alaimo, Karen Barad, Jacques Derrida, Michael Allen Fox & Lesley McLean, Peter Singer ve Cary Wolfe tarafından yapılan çalışmalara göndermede bulunacaktır. Bu çerçevede, orta çağ Britanyası'nda, Eski Ahit'teki hikayelerden esinlenerek yaratılan ve sahnelenen

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mister oyunlarındaki antroposantrik hayvan betimlemelerini inceleyecektir. Fakat aynı zamanda, bu oyunlardaki akleden, konuşan, yaşayan ve saygı duyulan hayvan portrelerine dikkat çekerek, içerisinde Tanrı'nın insana hakimiyet bahşettiği Eski Ahit etkisinde üretilmiş olsa da orta çağ İngiliz mister oyunlarının hayvan dostlarımızla barışçıl bir hayat çağrısında bulunduğunu gösterecektir.
Anahtar Kelimeler: Batı Metafizik Felsefesi, Hayvan Çalışmaları, Mister Oyunları, Orta Çağ Britanyası, Eski Ahit

Introduction

Animal Studies have recently become the focus of interest in the academic world, where there are many supporters of animal rights along with a number of opponents. The most notable arguments in this field of study revolve around whether animals are to be given rights, what kind of criteria should be taken into account while giving them rights, and whether they can ever reason about gaining these rights. This study discusses the different statements made about the intrinsic rights of the animals specifically by Stacy Alaimo, Karen Barad, Jacques Derrida, Michael Allen Fox & Lesley McLean, Peter Singer and Cary Wolfe. Within the theoretical frame provided by their debates, the present study targets to redefine the nonhuman subject in some certain medieval English mystery plays[1]. Medieval mystery plays were performed to teach Christianity to the common people in the Middle Ages and they were composed of the stories in the Old Testament. This study focuses on how animals are represented in these plays without discussing the doctrinal statements they make. For this aim, it closely analyses *The Creation, Adam and Eve*; *Balaam, Balak and the Prophets*; *Abraham and Isaac*; and *Noah*. While critically handling the animal representations in these particular plays, it principally argues that animals should not be expected to meet certain criteria in order to be treated as respectfully as their human companions.

Although it is not the primary concern of this study to discuss the place of animals in Christian ecclesiastical tradition, it is a requirement to mention the ground on which animal representations are based upon in medieval mystery plays. It is in *The Book of Genesis* that God is acclaimed to have declared human superior to animals and to the environment. He says that "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth" (*Genesis* 1:26). Since human was created in the image of God, it was assumed by Western metaphysical thought that only human beings, not the other species, could possess "both earthly dominion and an immortal soul as unique entitlements from God" and that "there is a radical

[1] All mystery plays referred to in this study are cited from *English Mystery Plays: A Selection*, edited by Peter Happé.

difference in kind between humans and the other animals" (Shannon 138). However, when those divine lines are approached by putting aside the anthropocentric assumptions, they are observed to be implying a call to respect animals and their rights. An instant of such an approach is provided by Ryan Patrick McLaughlin, who suggests "an animal-friendly hermeneutic" to reread the *Genesis* (144). The fact that God bestows "dominion" upon humans in *Genesis* 1:26 over animals does not suggest any slaughter of animals and it has all to do with the translation of the word "radah" (151). As disclosed by McLaughlin, that word can be translated not as a "dominion" but as "a human rule that God intends to establish – a nonviolent Earth community" (149), which is an implication of "a peaceful respect for the lives of other animals" (151). Relying upon this interpretation, it can be stated that it is not the flesh of animals but a harmonious earthly life together with animals that God proposes in *Genesis*.

Yet still, the way humans interpreted the statement of God as well as their own presumption that they were superior creatures in terms of space, appearance, reason, and language helped humans to deny animals basic rights as well as to justify humans' exploitation of animals. Hence, in medieval mystery plays, which were mainly inspired by the Old Testament, it is highly possible to observe anthropocentric representations of nonhuman animals. However, these plays also, in an allusive manner, call forth respect to and harmonious relationship with our nonhuman companions, which problematises the anthropocentric reading not only of mystery plays but also of the Old Testament. In order to make this argument much clearer, the nonhuman characters, thinking Serpens, talking Asina, sacrificed lamb/ram, and the sacrificed animals for meat will be analysed respectively in the mystery plays *The Creation, Adam and Eve*; *Balaam, Balak and the Prophets*; *Abraham and Isaac*; and *Noah*. The doubtful and presumed distinction of humans from the animals will be laid bare as represented in these plays with respect to the space they occupy, the material of their bodies, their capabilities to reason, to think, to talk and to die. By referring to the ground-breaking research in the animal studies as well as to the implications in those mystery plays, this study will raise to assert that animals have certain intrinsic rights to live and to be respected irrespective of any human precedence.

Space and Body of Humans and Nonhumans

Humans together with nonhumans share the same "dynamic and everchanging topology" (Barad 177); in other words, the same "physical space" (Fox and McLean 147). This very topological space is believed to be free of "absolute exteriority or absolute interiority" (Barad 176), which allows the same intrinsic rights to be taken up by all species. That is why, Karen Barad, who asks human beings in her agential realist account to be responsible towards the rights of the animals, does not accept humans' assumption of the role of "agency" (172). In the huge "topology" humans and animals inhabit, they "intra-act iteratively" with each other (177), but they do not have such a mutual communication tool as language

and they are represented through their own distinctive appearances and abilities. It is due to the fact that while these intra-actions are taking place, surely, there will be cuts through which boundaries and properties will be determined between nonhumans and humans. However, we will be still intra-acting in the mutual topology outside of which we cannot find any anthropocentric place for ourselves. As Stacy Alaimo indicates, the worlds of humans and nonhuman animals "continuously and effortlessly extend into" each other (256). Even if these two beings are defined as "different organisms," there appears a kind of "synergy" between them because, for Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "[t]heir landscapes interweave, their actions and their passions fit together exactly" (qtd. in Westling 165). Accordingly, it can be stated that humans experience physically and biologically being in the world along with all the other species, not on their own.

Therefore, it is no wonder that "[a]nimals share the sixth day of creation with humans" as implied in *Genesis* 1:24-31 and "animals, as well as the Earth itself, are included in the Noahic covenant" as given in *Genesis* 9:8-11 (McLaughlin 145). Similarly, the heavenly world represented in the mystery play *The Creation, Adam and Eve* houses humans and animals equally. The spaces in "Paradice" are determined not according to the kinds of the species but depending on the characteristics of evil and goodness. Demon is banished from God's presence and dreams about the day when "into Paradice will [he] gone/As fast as ever [he] may" (70.207-208). The evil Demon, as is laid down in the play as well as in the creation myth, cannot inhabit the same space together with the other creatures. However, it is in "Paradice," where Adam, Eve, and Serpens – humans and an animal – go around together. This is what McLaughlin also observes while interpreting the *Genesis* 2:18-19, according to which "animals are not created as resources for Adam, but rather companions with Adam" (145). Even after Adam and Eve commit sin by approaching the forbidden tree, it is not only Serpens, who is punished but also the human species. In this mystery play, beyond the boundaries of this physical world, a kind of mutual "topology" (Barad 177) is illustrated, where humans and animals "intra-act" (177) and two seemingly different worlds "extend" into each other (Alaimo 256). As far as this physical world is concerned where we are situated at present, it is highly problematic for humans to attribute a different moral space to animals and to keep them completely outside the moral sphere of the humanity.

Apart from their environment, human and animal species are "comprised of the same material" (Alaimo 257). The mis/correlation between the material out of which man is created and the superiority he assumes is an unavailing argument. It can be likened to Demon's statements in Christian theology about his being a superior creature only because of his material. In the play, *The Creation, Adam and Eve*, to illustrate, Demon asserts that he is different from the newly created human species since the latter is "made of claye" (69.177), as a result of which he rejects the bliss and the authority bestowed upon this new creature. In fact, it is not the

material that entitles man to a superior state; if it were so, Demon would have a better status. Although man assumes, just like Demon, that he has a distinctive material in creation which makes him the authoritative figure in the world, humans and animals are made of the same substance, regardless of which animals do possess the same bliss and privileges as humans.

Capability to Reason is Only a Human Attribute?

European metaphysical thought has long striven to differentiate the space and the body of the human from those of animals as a means to justify humans' having deprived animals of basic rights. The principal ground for the human supremacy over nonhuman animals is rooted in European renaissance, which idealised the Western man as "the measure of all things" and as the "Man of Reason" (Lloyd qtd. in Braidotti 18). The kind of man centralised is the man who is best described "visually by Leonardo in the famous sketch of the Vertruvian body as the perfectly proportioned healthy, male and white model" (Braidotti 18). This model, as Rosi Braidotti underlines, excludes nonhuman animals along with a number of other human and nonhuman others in sexual, racial and natural terms (19). Since animals do not fit in that perfect image, they are not to be evaluated in terms of rational men's moral spectrum. As is postulated by the Western man, animals tend to experience a lack of reasoning capacity and they are in "mental retardation," which denies them being conscious of their own actions (Coetzee 62). Nevertheless, possessing reason and perception, even if they are considered to be human attributes, cannot be accepted as justification of human condescension in any matter. Barad clearly asserts that "man isn't merely the measure of all things" (143). She proposes an alternative approach to the division between the rational man and the so-called retarded, imperfect counterpart of the Vertruvian model. She asserts that "'able-bodiedness' is not a natural state of being but a specific form of embodiment that is co-constituted through the boundary-making practices that distinguish 'able-bodied' from 'disabled'" (158). Therefore, both forms are the parts of the same phenomenon but their division is defined only by an agential cut and through practice, so the less advantaged side cannot be considered to be the other in any way.

In order to deconstruct the anthropocentric approach to the concepts of reasoning and being consciousness as well as the ability to think and to perceive, it is also required to deal with them from the perspective of cognitive science and phenomenology. In accordance with the enactive approach to cognitive science, it is not acceptable to ground how we comprehend the world purely on certain processes that take place in human brain. In order to make sense of the world, we need to act since "we *enact* our perceptual experience; we act it out" (Noë 1). According to Alva Noë, we possess "certain kinds of bodily skills," with the help of which we develop an understanding of how to perceive the world by moving certain parts of our body and by employing certain sensory abilities (2). Only the ones can perceive who have the grasp of their sensory and motor capabilities,

which is an integral part of their competence to know the world. Hence, it can be claimed that knowing or perceiving is not an intellectual concept since knowing includes, in addition to mind, bodily movements and experiences. Merleau-Ponty, the forerunning philosopher in phenomenology, is one of the figures who paved, to a certain extent, the way for the enactive approach to cognition. For Merleau-Ponty, thinking cannot be reduced to the activities of human mind and "rather than a mind *and* a body, man is a mind *with* a body" (56). It is again Merleau-Ponty who reversed the Cartesian saying, "I think therefore I am" as "I can therefore I am" (qtd. in Bleeker, lecture). As is clear from Noë's and Merleau-Ponty's arguments, body takes part actively in the process of perceiving the world before us, which makes perception embodied and enactive. In other words, it can be said that body and mind operate in an intra-active manner and extend into each other with no separate space reserved for each. While animals, for instance, are building their houses, arranging their environment in accordance with the requirements of their bodies and in conformity with the other beings in that territory, it is hard to determine "where behavior begins and where mind ends" (Merleau-Ponty qtd. in Westling 170). Hence, as far as animals are concerned, it can be argued that they are conscious of their activities and they are able to reason, a fact which is deduced not from their possession of a brain but from their acting capabilities. As Louise Westling clearly indicates, "mind or consciousness has evolved or emerged from tacit beginnings over millions of years, into more and more reflexive abilities in animals" (170). It is animals' as well as humans' ability to act bodily and in harmony with their environment that proves their competence to reason.

Even if possession of a brain is taken as the basic requirement for beings to have their rights, how it is applicable to life in ethical terms is still ambivalent. In relation to this discussion, Peter Singer indicates that "the claim to equality does not depend on intelligence, moral capacity, physical strength, or similar matters of fact," because it is an undeniable fact that "[e]quality is a moral idea, not an assertion of fact" (*Animal Liberation* 4). Despite these ethical concerns, even if certain facts are considered essential for moral rights or moral equality, there will be animals that will overtake humans in reasoning or in similar kinds of competences. As a matter of fact, Serpens in *The Creation, Adam and Eve* appears to be surpassing the human characters, Adam and Eve, by its wit. It knows very well how to tempt a lady into committing sin:

> Woman, I say, leeve not this!
> For yt shall not lose yow blisse,
> Ne no ioy that is his,
> But be as wise as he.
> God is coynt and wyse og wytt,
> And wottes well, when yow eate hit,
> Then your eyes shalbe unknit;
> Like goddes yow shall be

> And knowe both good and evill also.
> Therefore he counselled yow therfro,
> Yow may well wyt he was your foe,
> Therfore dose after me. (71.221-32)

Serpens promises Eva the crown in Paradice stating that she would be the "goddess" after eating the forbidden fruit. Moreover, as far as he claims, that fruit would provide wisdom for Eva by untying her blindfold. Obviously, Serpens's wisdom outshines that of the human species who is assumed to have superior capacity to reason. Hence, within the context of this play, it can be stated that human beings` assumption of superiority is hard to be grounded on the "fact[s]" (Singer, *Animal Liberation* 4) related to their intelligence in order to justify their casting animals aside.

Only Humans Have a Complicated Form of Language?

Serpens and its wit can be understood only when it can speak, when the wit is represented by means of human language. Humans, while separating human consciousness and human space, seem to be concerned, among others, with using a complex system of language peculiar to humans. This assumption is what Singer calls "speciesism" (*Animal Liberation* 6) and what Cary Wolfe critically grounds on the "representationalist" idea adopted in Western metaphysical philosophy, which is also known as Cartesian philosophy (131). According to the philosophers of Western metaphysics, understanding, knowing, pretending and thinking are to be differentiated from being conscious of these actions. As far as they are concerned, animals may do the former but not the latter owing to their lacking human language. In other words, animals can "'react,'" which is thought to be an intrinsic competence, but cannot "'respond,'" which is peculiar to humans and which can be actualised only using linguistic tools (133). Wolfe criticises the fact that language is the basic measurement in metaphysical Western philosophy, according to which thinking ability is evaluated, and that "'talking' is central to a representationalist notion of 'thinking'" (132). In addition to the Western metaphysics, behaviourism has a similar anthropocentric approach to the use of language by the species to have conversation with the outside world. The behaviourist thinkers believe that "similar behaviour of animals with similar nervous systems is to be explained in the same way" (Singer, *Animal Liberation* 12). To put it bluntly, they presume that if animals had the same consciousness and mental abilities as humans, the former would speak just like the latter. As surmised by these anthropocentric approaches, so long as animals are not able to express themselves in the same way as human beings or to respond to their environment using human language, they are not to be treated like humans or given equal rights. Moreover, depending on the inference that animals cannot reason or speak about their affliction, humans can kill animals, make them suffer, and deny them crucial rights.

However, language is not an outcome only of a mental process taking place in human mind. Nonhuman animals, too, have their own systems of communication which human beings are unable to perceive. Humans, who are "restricted to the resources of [their] own mind" (Nagel 169) and their own experience cannot fully comprehend what kind of an experience is to be an animal for an animal. Thomas Nagel, who explores "what it is like for a *bat* to be a bat," firmly asserts that "there are facts which could not ever be represented or comprehended by human beings, even if the species lasted for ever - simply because our structure does not permit us to operate with concepts of the requisite type" (171). The fact that the linguistic experiences of animals are not conceivable through the linguistic representation of the humans does not necessarily mean that animals have no language. Moreover, as Louise Westling draws attention, relying on Merleau-Ponty's account of embodiment, "language is embodied, an organic and physical part of the natural world" (174) and it both encompasses and transcends the semantic world of the humans. Accordingly, it is essential to redefine what language is in a broader way that incorporates the "complex communication systems of animals whose linguistic activities we are only beginning to understand" rather than reducing it only to a speech system owned by humans (175). Furthermore, even if human language, along with its complex syntactical forms, is considered to be a signifier of intellect, there are many studies that show the animals' ability in using human language. One of these studies, the "ape-human participatory action research (PAR)" was conducted at the Great Ape Trust, Iowa (Bradshaw 15). The apes in the study employed human language meaningfully to get into contact with the humans by "exchanging ideas, thoughts, feelings, and wishes" (17), which, for G. A. Bradshaw, "dispels the myth that language and science are the unique property and privilege of Homo sapiens" (15). The research underlines the fact that animals join the human species in meaning making process while in conversation with the cultural and physical environment, contrary to Cartesian assumptions.

The mystery play, *Balaam, Balak and the Prophets*, illustrates the anthropocentric approach to the ability of using human language as a signification of reason and superiority. While a story is narrated in the play about how Balaam is appointed by God in order to lead the king Balak to the right path, Balaam's ass, Asina, starts to talk unexpectedly. It is only when Asina expresses its pains, thanks to a miracle by God, and when an angel appears in order to help it that Balaam gets wise to the pains he causes on Asina's body. Even though Balaam is on a journey as a servant to God's commands, he needs warning in human language against his mistreatment of animals. Since he is a human being, he is ignorant of animals' being vulnerable to pain as much as humans. Asina, first, confronts him by referring to its previous services: "Maister, thou dost evell witterly,/So good an ass as met o nye" (196.211). Then, it questions its master's behaviours: "Now hast thou beaten me thry,/That beare the thus aboute." (196.211-12) Lastly, it defends its rights by saying that

To smyte me now yt is shame.
Thou wottest well, master, pardy,
Thou haddest never ass like to me,
Ne never yet thus served I thee;
Now I am not to blame. (196-97.220-24)

Angelus also warns Balaam about the rights of the ass in a threatening way:

Why has thou beaten thy ass thry?
Now am I comen thee ton ye,
That changes thy purpose falcelye,
And woldest be my foe.
And the ass had not downe gone,
I wold have slayne the here anone. (197.229-34)

Only told in human language, human species can take notice of the animals and their rights. In this context, are humans to be staved off inflicting pain on animals always through a kind of divine intervention? Do animals have to speak human language to prove their intelligence and to make their rights recognised? Are all human beings able to express how much they feel pain? One of the academicians defending the rights of animals in John Maxwell Coetzee's stories on animals is Elizabeth Costello. Elizabeth's example about an Indian mathematician shows that a human being can also fail to express his intelligence through the expected medium. Srinivasa Ramanujan is regarded to be "the greatest *intuitive* mathematician of our time" (my emphasis) but when he was taken to Cambridge, he failed to adapt not only to the climate or food but also to the academic requirement of "mathematical proof or demonstration" (Coetzee 24). Can we say that he is not intelligent or not a good mathematician only because his knowledge is only "intuitive"? Is it justifiable to consider him lower in terms of reasoning capacity since he could not show his knowledge in terms of certain academic criteria? Does anybody have the right to expel him from the circle of intelligent mathematicians or to get rid of him completely by killing him? Here, in fact, Srinivasa Ramanujan appears as one of "the negative opposites of the dominant human norm" (Braidotti 18). Since "[t]he 'Man' of classical humanism was positioned at the pinnacle of an evolutionary scale," the ones who are "'other than' or 'different from' [that] 'Man', is actually perceived as 'worth less than' 'Man'" (18-19). In this respect, Ramanujan is an instance of the "racialized other" of Man while Asina is a "naturalized other" of the same dominating Man (19). Hence, in the story, the case of Ramanujan is not different from that of the ass, Asina, in *Balaam, Balak and the Prophets* in that the intelligence of both is measured by some methods foreign to their nature. However, Asina remains in life as it is successful in human language with the help of a divine intervention but Ramanujan dies because of his failure in adapting to alien conditions, so do most animals which cannot show their perception of death through a human medium, language.

Animals Have No Idea of Suffering?

In addition to lacking language to express suffering, it is claimed that animals cannot reason about suffering or death; thus, there is no point in stopping to inflict pain on animals or to slaughter them. However, Coetzee's Elizabeth rejects the requirement of "intellectual horror," that is, reasoning about horror (65). She believes that animals' very "being is in the living flesh" and that the capability to have pain or to suffer cannot be grounded upon possession of mental faculties (65). Michael Allen Fox and Lesley McLean also argue that humans cannot achieve a moral space including both humans and nonhumans if they remain at the level of "'intellectual grasp'" rather than "affective perception" (159). According to their claims, to understand the intrinsic rights of animals as beings is through understanding their condition in terms of "affective perception" (159). This specific perception comes to mean not observing things from a distance but apprehending them "in a 'highly lucid and richly responsive way'" (159). In Fox and McLean's article, to illustrate, a girl faces the reality of an animal death and feels the bitterness of its suffering only after she has emotively perceived it before her eyes. The kind of perception adopted by this girl is also an attempt to view the nonhuman animals and their suffering from their points of view just as Nagel does to understand what it means to be a bat from the perspective of a bat. For Nagel, the basic question is "what would be left of what it was like to be a bat if one removed the viewpoint of the bat?" (173). Human beings need to be aware of the "subjective" (170) character of the experiences of all human and nonhuman others in order to develop a respectful understanding towards them. Man's limited perception of his others does not give him the right to exploit them.

In the mystery play, *Abraham and Isaac*, both the character Isaac and the audience are able to understand the death of an animal as they do that of a human being only after the lamb/ram is brought as a sacrifice in place of a human, Isaac. While in the Brome version of the play, the animal to be sacrificed is "[a] fayer ram" (165.323), it is "[a] lambe that is both good and gaie" in the Chester cycle (149.434). First, in dramatic terms, the tension that rises to the highest level with Isaac's voluntarily yielding to death is released with the coming of the ram/lamb but, at the same time, the suffering of a dying animal is experienced in an empathetic way. Second, in religious terms, the aim of using "lamb" not "ram" in the Chester cycle is to give a message related to the Christian doctrine: Christ, who is represented by lamb, sacrificed himself for the sake of humanity. Hence, it can be asserted that "Isaac is not a sacrificial victim but a type fulfilled by the sacrificial Christ" (Frantzen 445). In this respect, lamb gains a kind of symbolic function and divine attribution; so, the Christian audience is sorrowful as much for the lamb in the play as they are for Christ. Though in metaphorical terms, humans and animals are given a certain kind of space and opportunity in the play to express their suffering equally and it is through the suffering of a human,

human species are able to develop "affective perception" (Fox and McLean 159) towards that of the animals.

The question of animals' death and suffering is what Jacques Derrida also concentrates on in his work *The Animal That Therefore I Am*. While discussing the question of "Can they suffer?" Derrida puts much emphasis on the actuality of death and states that animals do suffer no matter how much or to what extent they experience it (28). Singer, likewise, indicates that any attempt to measure the degree of animals' suffering is not helpful due to two kinds of likelihood. On one hand, the same amount of violence may cause more pain on a human baby than a thick skinned horse; but, on the other hand, "[s]ometimes animals may suffer more because of their [so-called] more-limited understanding" (*Animal Liberation* 16). Derrida, however, avoids from such kind of levelling and his initial concern is beyond whether animals are able to suffer since he believes that "being able to suffer is no longer a power; it is a possibility without power, a possibility of the impossible" (28). He sheds light on the fact that we share with animals living as well as dying, in other words, "the mortality that belongs to the very finitude of life," "the experience of compassion," "the possibility of sharing the possibility of this nonpower" as well as the "anguish of this vulnerability, and the vulnerability of this anguish" (28). Animals can die like humans and what causes human compassion with animals is animals' inability, just like humans, to avoid the reality of death.

Not only the ram/lamb does pass away as a sacrifice to God in *Abraham and Isaac* but some other animals are also killed to please God and to sustain human life in *Noah*. Both instances have to do with religious rituals. Noah in the Chester version of the play, in order to thank God for ending the Flood, promises to sacrifice some of the animals saved:

> Noe: . . .
> Ah, Lord, honoured most thou be,
> All earthed ryes now I see,
> But yet tyll thou comaunde me,
> Hence will I not hye.
> All this water is awaye
> Therefore as sone as I maye
> Sacrifice I shall doe in faye
> To thee devoutlye. (129.285-292)

Although the fact that they die is a piece of irreversible reality, some people "who are opposed to cruelty to animals" believe that at least these animals die in a respectful manner and they are put upon a pedestal as sacrifices to God (Singer, "Becoming a Vegetarian" 172). On one hand, thanks to the ritualistic implications, these animals are treated respectfully and they do not become the victims of the capitalist world that aspires merely for economic gain by slaughtering animals. On the other hand, as Carol J. Adams proposes, those rituals do not rely on a religious

background but originate from a cultural heritage that underlines the slaughter of animals as a representation of "patricide" (241). Adams, who is concerned with the sexual politics and who considers meat consumption a kind of patriarchal act, suggests that

> What is consumed is the father. The men are said to resolve their hostility toward their father through the killing of animals. The dead animal represents the father whose power has been usurped by the sons, yet, who, as ancestor forgives them. In this typology, the worst fears of a patriarchy—fathers being deposed by sons—are displaced through ritual and the killing of animals. Meat becomes a metaphor for the resolution of the tension between father and son for power; meat is viewed as male. The questions arises: do we ritually enact primal patricide whenever we sit down to a meal of meat. (241)

Evidently, eating meat is not only a matter related to animals but also a feminist issue for Adams. Through the lenses of this approach, the sacrifices of the animals in *Abraham and Isaac* and *Noah* appear to be the instances of a patriarchal relation between God and his representatives, humans.

In order to challenge the indoctrination of this cultural tendency, Singer's suggestion can be put forward, which is "[b]ecoming a [v]egeterian" or at least seeking for the ways of "how to produce less suffering and more food at a reduced cost to the environment" ("Becoming a Vegetarian" 172). The proposal that promotes becoming a vegetarian can be opposed with the claim that animal flesh is indispensable in human beings' dietary. However, according to some recent archaeological findings, there is so much testimony that points out human beings' "early plant-based dietary" (Adams 194). That is why the vegetarians uphold the idea "that we are the meat eaters who never evolved a body equipped to digest meat" (194). It is not only archaeology who says that humans are originally plant eaters but also the Old Testament, according to some interpretations. McLaughlin claims that vegetarianism can be promoted as the "*ideal* or divinely" dietary for humans (152), by referring to God's words in *Genesis* 1:29, "See, I have given you every plant yielding seed that is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree with seed in its fruit; you shall have them for food" (qtd. in 148). This fact is also referred to in the Chester version of *Noah* in Deus's address to Noah after the Flood: "you have eaten before / Grasse and rootes, sith you were bore" (131.333-34). As is clear, God created the plants for the purpose of food for humans and for animals; thus, it can be argued that He did not offer, in the first place, animal flesh for human consumption. Both the Chester *Noah* and McLaughlin's article point out the fact that it is with the Flood that humanity is allowed to make use of animal flesh as food. Deus in *Noah* tells Noe that although you have been nourished by plants so far, now "Of cleane beastes now, less and more,/I geve you leave to eate/Safe bloode abd flesh bothe in feare (131.335-37). For McLaughlin,

nevertheless, this permission to eat animal meat is accompanied by "fear and dread" (150). God tells Noah and his sons in *Genesis* 9:1-3:

> Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth. The fear and dread of you shall rest on every animal of the earth, and on every bird of the air, on everything that creeps on the ground, and on all the fish of the sea; into your hand they are delivered. Every moving thing that lives shall be food for you; and just as I gave you the green plants, I give you everything. (qtd. in 150)

On one hand, apparently, it is God who licensed the humans to subjugate the earth and to make use of it as their warehouse, which is one of the building blocks that paved the way for the anthropocentric approach in Western philosophy. On the other hand, this kind of domination by humans is characterised as "fear[ful] and dread[ful]" (150). McLaughlin, in his effort to explicate those lines above, regards God's words here only "as a concession of God to a violent world, not as a benevolent design for the wellbeing of the human creature" (151). That is why Noe in Towneley version of *Noah* mourns for the death of the animals rather than exalt the consumption of his nonhuman companions' meat:

> Behald on this greyn! Nowder cart ne plogh
> Is left, as I weyn, nowder ter then bogh,
> No other thing,
> Bot all is away;
> Many castles, I say,
> Grete twnes of array
> Flitt has this flowing. (117.534-40)

Noe, in this scene, grieves over the animals that died during the Flood as much as he is sorry for his children. The sacrifice in Chester version contradicts with the sorrow in the Towneley version, which supports the idea that the permission to eat animal flesh may have been accompanied by "fear and dread" (*Genesis* 9:1-3 qtd. in McLaughlin 150). Since humans, before the Flood, could not eat the flesh of their animal companions, it became a painful and dreadful activity for them to eat their friends' meat after the Flood.

Conclusion

As is clear in the arguments by Alaimo, Barad, Fox and McLean, and Merleau-Ponty, human and nonhuman beings live in a common topological space, their worlds are not disconnected from each other, and they continuously intra-act with one another. This fact is illustrated in this study through the Paradice which is shared by humans together with their nonhuman companions in *The Creation, Adam and Eve*. Moreover, as asserted by Alaimo, human and nonhuman animals are made of the same material, a fact which debars humans from the claims of first-rateness in terms of creation. Yet still, human being, specifically the European white man, excludes the other beings who do not have the reason and

perfection illustrated by the Vertruvian model. Braidotti and Barad oppose the idea that being a rational European man is the first and foremost criteria of being worthy. In addition, the recent studies in cognitive science and phenomenology propose that rational capacity cannot be reduced to human brain since reasoning also includes the acts of body. Moreover, the requirement to possess a human brain is unacceptable in ethical terms as suggested by Singer. Even if human brain was assumed to be the rigid criterion to have superior rights, nonhuman animals could get ahead of humans as exemplified by the witty Serpens in *The Creation*.

It is not only the human brain but also the human language that represents his rational capacity and "natural" superiority. This notion is repelled by the critics like Singer and Wolfe and by many other recent studies conducted in this field. Nonhuman animals have their own linguistic systems and, also, they are observed to be able to use human language if they are educated. The supposition that they cannot reason or talk about their suffering does not mean that they can be killed or harmed. In this context, we can give ear to an ass, Asina in *Balaam, Balak and the Prophets*. Its voice is coming from the Middle Ages and it talks, with the support of divine forces, in the name of all the animals at all times. As for in today's world, the sufferings of the animals can be perceived through affection as proposed by Fox and McLean or through adopting their points of view as suggested by Nagel. It is also through his own self, man can develop an understanding about the fact that animals do suffer and die just as humans do, as Derrida and Singer put forward. For instance, the audience attending *Abraham and Isaac* experience the suffering of a dying animal in an empathetic and affective manner only through the suffering of a human being, Isaac. Moreover, if a kind of religious reading is employed, using a lamb instead of a ram in the Chester version of the play exalts the animal as it represents Jesus. The notion of the sacrificed and, in a way, exalted animal is present not only in *Abraham and Isaac* but also in *Noah*. While the Chester Noe sacrifices the animals to please God and as a source of food for humans, the Towneley Noe mourns for the animals that died during the flood. Depending upon the evidence in the Towneley version of the play as well as upon McLaughlin's interpretations of the related parts in *Genesis*, it can be stated that neither the medieval mystery plays nor the Old Testament approve of or recommend slaughtering animals.

Animals have a physical world to lead their lives with us, animals can reason, animals can talk in their own way, animals can suffer, animals can reason about their reasoning, animals can die… In fact, animals do not have to own these abilities in order to get their intrinsic rights, rights whose possession is not to be determined according to humans' consent or will. Even if religion and religious teachings are blamed to have caused people to deny animals certain rights, even if Deus in mystery plays bestows upon humans the right to govern animals; those plays have a number of representations of rational, talking, living, respected animals and animals mournfully commemorated when killed or lost. The proposal

of vegetarianism and the requirement of respect to animals has not started with the modern academic discipline of animal studies but it goes back to the medieval mystery plays and even to the *Genesis*. Hence, animal representations on medieval stage will inspire the modern readers to realise that humans share a common world with animals and that it is of vital importance to accede to animals' maintaining their lives without suffering, which is the very intrinsic right they own since the birth.

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Problematizing the Problem: Cross-Cultural Analysis of Problems in Advice Articles of Women's Magazines

Kadın Dergilerinde Tavsiye Yazıları

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Abstract
In this study, the sex and relationship advice articles in locally-produced English language women's magazines from three different contexts, which are, Malaysia, the US, and two Middle Eastern countries, Egypt and the UAE, were examined to explore the kinds of problems that appear in each context. According to Machin and Van Leeuwen (2003), the problem-solution discourse schema used by several international editions of *Cosmopolitan* is essentially a global one. We aim to investigate if this schema can be applied to home-grown women's magazines as well. Sex and relationship advice articles from six home-grown English language women's magazines (two magazines from each context) were analysed. The findings reveal variations in the definitions and contextualisation of each problem category in the three contexts. However, the overall *aim* of these articles is rather similar. That is, the problems that appear in these magazines are chosen to help women find answers to achieve certain life goals such as independence and confidence in all three contexts.
Keywords: Relationship Advice, Women's Magazines, Cross-cultural Analysis, Empowerment, Machin and Van Leeuwen

Introduction

Women's magazines are distinguished from other media mainly because they are directed specifically towards women and are read primarily by women (Ceulemans and Fauconnier, 1979, 39). They generally feature articles on fashion, beauty, lifestyle and relationships. Caldas-Coulthard (1996, 252) states that their focus is on *"about being female and the problems of being female"*. This statement suggests that being female is automatically considered as problematic and that women's interests are limited to the areas stated above. Yet, Berns (1999, 86-87) states that they have an important role in seeking to capture women's changing roles and responsibilities and providing an interesting perspective on different issues related to women in greater detail than do other types of mass media.

In the literature of studies on women's magazines, the vast majority of research has been conducted on either advertisements (Brown and Knight 2015; Zhao and Zhu 2015) or on front covers (Conlin and Bissell 2014; Crusmac 2013), in order to investigate the representation of women or their gender roles. Fewer

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studies are found on advice articles, in particular relationship and sex advice columns. These refer to articles found in many women's magazines in sections with headings such as 'Sex and Relationships' or 'Love and Sex'. Morris (2007, 308) states that these columns are often trivialized and treated as insignificant by society in general because they describe something considered to be merely 'girl-talk'; designed for amusement and entertainment, and the problems they represent are often viewed as *"just as much a commodity as the magazines themselves".* However, she believes that they are very important since they include the very serious treatment of issues that focus on the socio-political discourse of the day and on an understanding of the relationship between private and public worlds. She states that in society in general, some problems are unfit for public discussion, thus advice articles regularly deal with 'private' problems in a very public sphere, and, they provide unmediated access to the opinions and intimate lives of ordinary people. As they are dismissed as unimportant and target only women readers, greater freedom is thus, given to their writers to broach awkward subjects (2007, 326).

Among the few studies on this genre are those by Farvid and Braun (2006) and Erjavec (2006) who examine how various magazines construct and uphold commonly-held views of female sexuality in their advice articles. Other scholars investigate the linguistic constructions of advice articles (Lorenset 2012; Conradie 2011) while others explore the dominant themes of advice articles (Gill 2010; Machin and Thornborrow, 2003). All the studies on advice articles cited here are located in a Western context only. There are even fewer studies that offer a cross-cultural comparison of advice columns in women's magazines. We believe that investigating this particular genre in depth in women's magazines can provide valuable insights on the value systems of particular cultures, as constructed by the writers of this genre. In addition, the comparison of this genre in two different Muslim societies (Malaysia and Middle East) can, perhaps, generate a better understanding of the status of women in general and how female sexuality in particular are viewed in these societies.

One of the few cross-cultural studies of this genre is Machin and Van Leeuwen's (2003) study. They investigate feature and advice articles on a number of topics including work, relationships, and sexuality in several international editions of *Cosmopolitan.* They find that a 'problem-solution' discourse schema used for all the articles analysed, regardless of the topic. Using this schema, they investigate the kinds of problems and solutions that appear in the magazines. With regard to problems, they find five problem categories that they claim are present in all the editions but are formulated in different ways across cultures. Thus, they state that despite the existence of '*local accents'*, the problem-solution discourse schema used by these magazines is a global one shared by all the editions of *Cosmopolitan*. As discourse schemas in general are "*interpretive frameworks… for understanding social practises*", the schema they developed is described as *"a global model for the representation of social practices"* and is viewed as the dominant mode used by women's magazines for constructing reality. Furthermore, Lulu and Alkaff (2019) explore the solutions that advice articles promote to their readers in locally-produced English language women's

magazines in the US, the Middle East, and Malaysia. They find that the socio-cultural and religious beliefs of the three parts of the world studied reflect the types of solutions appearing in the articles.

In this present study, relationship advice articles in six home-grown English language women's magazines from three different countries which are Malaysia, the US, and the Middle East (Egypt and UAE), are examined to explore the kinds of relationship problems that appear in each context. We chose to focus on the problems that appear in these articles as the choice of what is presented as a 'problem' indicates a certain stance by these magazines on what ails women generally. As the articles are written by the magazines' writers rather than solicited from the readers as in a Q&A format, the conception and selection of so-called problems are of interest to us. According to Fullager, Gattuso and Young (2005), women's magazines are extremely influential in the lives of women as they produce collective visuals for women to understand their personal experiences in relation to the stories about other women. Thus, the magazines' choice of issues that are constructed as problems to women need to be examined in greater detail as they have the power to encourage women to reflect more deeply on issues that are deemed as important to these publications. It is noted that problems in these publications are almost always defined as challenges that women may face with the men in their lives in which they have a sexual or emotional connection. Previous studies for example, Gauntlett (2008) and Lulu and Alkaff (2018) have revealed that sex and relationship issues presented in women's magazines are almost exclusively heterosexual in nature, even in societies in which homosexuality is legally and socially sanctioned.

In addition, we aim to investigate if the problem-solution discourse schema of such articles is a global one, as claimed by Machin and Van Leeuwen (2003) or if there are differences which can be attributed to the fact that we are investigating home-grown magazines rather than local editions of international magazines as in the afore-mentioned study. 'Home-grown' magazines are defined as publications that are founded and published by publishing companies in the respective countries with the local staff having total control of editorial policy. Very few studies are conducted on home-grown English language women's magazines in non-Western contexts in particular, thus there is a gap in the literature in this particular area. The gap is even more pronounced when it comes to women's magazines in mainly Muslim societies as current research on Muslim women in general is mainly focused on '*veiling scholarship*' (Hochel 2013).

We believe that analysing home-grown magazines would provide better insights and understanding on the values that they seek to promote in relation to the predominant values or norms of the society they are set is set in rather than analysing local editions of international magazines. The latter probably reflects the ethos of the international publishing companies more than that of the local society. Thus, the following research questions are proposed:

1. What kind of problems are found in the relationship advice articles of home-grown English language women's magazines in the US, the Middle East and Malaysia?
2. Do the findings in Machin and van Leeuwen's (2003) problem-solution discourse schema apply to the context of home-grown magazines in each respective society?

Background of the magazines

The data for this study were drawn from two home-grown English-language women's magazines from each of the three contexts. Thus, a total of six locally-produced magazines were analysed. We chose to analyse these magazines as we wanted to investigate if the values of these publications reflect local norms (for example, women as nurturers) or if they have adopted a more global outlook on issues facing women, such as gender inequality. As we aim to investigate socio-cultural values and norms and if these are reflected in the texts pertaining to women's problems, we selected the three contexts, that is the US, Malaysia and the Middle East based on our view that these three societies represent varying degrees in terms of attitudes towards gender equality, ranging from mainly liberal (US), fairly conservative (Malaysia) and mainly conservative (Middle East). However, we wish to caution that terms such as 'liberal' and 'conservative' used in this paper do not mean that we believe that one set of values is superior or more enlightened to the other. It is simply a way of expressing differences in values and attitudes towards gender equality, an inevitable fact, perhaps, based on their very different histories and social-cultural milieus.

Hearst magazines, one of the world's largest publishers of magazines, is the publisher for *Cosmopolitan* and *Marie Claire*, the two US magazines analysed for this study. The US women's magazines industry is widely seen as the biggest and most influential in the world. They are widely seen as serving as a benchmark in which women's magazines in other societies are assessed, which explains their inclusion in our study. Although the two US magazines selected are transnational magazines with a global readership, we chose to analyse the US editions of these magazines which are produced in the US. Thus, in that sense, they can also be considered as home-grown magazines.

Blu Inc Media, Malaysia's biggest publisher of magazines, is the publisher of *Female* and *Her World*, the two Malaysian women's magazines selected for this study. The target readers for both magazines are urban women who are well-versed in the English language. Magazines in Malaysia are published in the main languages of the country, that is, Malay, English and Mandarin, each targeting a different segment of the multicultural and multilingual society. Wang (2006), in her study that compares Malay and English language women's magazines in Malaysia finds that the content of Malay magazines is generally more conservative as they are targeted towards a mainly Malay-Muslim readership. The readership of the English language magazines, on the other hand, are mainly non-Malays and non-Muslims.

Regarding the third context, we selected *What Women Want* and *Ahlan,* two popular English language women's magazines in Egypt and UAE respectively. The UAE is a centre of publishing and cultural influence in the Middle East due to its political and economic stability. The women's magazines in this region target not only local women in the UAE but also other Middle Eastern and non-Arab women due to the large number of expatriates living there. Egypt, on the other hand, has a long history of women's magazines since the first women's magazine in the Arab World appeared in Egypt in 1892. It also has a strong cultural influence on other countries in the region (Ibrahim 1996). As in Malaysia, most readers of English language women's magazines in the Middle East are expected to be well-educated urban women with a more liberal outlook than the general population. Despite the fact that English language magazines in both contexts are targeting a niche audience that comprise of liberal English-educated women, we believe that these publications can still be seen as reflecting local norms and values to a certain extent mainly due to the fact that they are subjected to various laws and regulations pertaining to publications in both contexts. For example, the Printing Presses and Publications Act 1984 in Malaysia requires all publications to apply for a license that has to be renewed annually. Although online publications are not subjected to this Act, there is, nevertheless, a strong incentive for publications to adhere to the regulations imposed by the authorities.

As not many locally produced English language women's magazines are found in the Middle East, it was necessary to draw upon two countries for our data collection. However, this is justified as we believe most Middle Eastern countries share similar traits in terms of linguistic and cultural elements, as stated by Nydell (2012). She states that despite varying degrees of social control over women in the Arab World, the region, in general, can be described as one in which patriarchal roles, attitudes and values hold supreme.

Methodology

Sixty articles, ten from each magazine, were retrieved from the sex and relationship advice sections of the magazines. Only articles which were at least one page long were selected. Articles on sexual health issues and personal narratives were excluded because the main focus of this study is relationship advice produced by the magazines. The articles were sourced online from the websites of the respective magazines within a two-year span (2015-16). As they are not news articles, we believe that it is not necessary to have exactly the same time frame for each magazine. The articles were written by writers employed by the magazines. None appears to come from the readers themselves. In the US and Middle Eastern magazines, the writers are all female writers except for *Marie Claire* in which a number of articles were written by a male, Lodro Rinzler, who is a well-known relationship coach. The Malaysian articles, on the other hand, were mostly written by female writers but a few articles did not include the names of the writers, thus, the gender of the writers is unknown. From the names stated, it is reasonable to assume that the writers are from the respective

societies or at least are familiar with the socio-cultural milieu of their respective societies.

The articles generally adopt a three-part text structure comprising of the headline, the sub-headline and the body of the text except for the Malaysian articles which mostly have a two-part text structure only with no sub-headline present as they are generally short texts, often with bullet points for brevity. The magazines are published monthly, except *Ahlan* which is published weekly. The names of the magazines are represented in the findings section of this paper through the use of initials for brevity.

In investigating the types of problems that appear in these magazines in their sex and relationship advice articles, we referred to the problem categories found in Machin and Van Leeuwen's (2003) study as some of the articles they analysed were similar to those this research examines. However, our study focuses only on the problem categories that appear in the sex and relationship articles of these magazines unlike their study which investigates problems in articles on a number of topics, as mentioned earlier. The analysis of data was conducted using content analysis to identify the problem categories as defined by Machin and van Leeuwen as well as to identify new categories based on our examination of the texts.

With regard to the inter-coder reliability of the data, the data was first analyzed by the researchers separately. After the initial coding, the data was then analyzed again by both researchers and a colleague together. The coding scheme was then further refined and agreed upon by all three coders. Although we did not use statistics to determine inter-coder agreement, we believe that sufficient measures and steps have been undertaken by the researchers to ensure reliability and validity of the coding schema. According to Tinsley and Weiss (2000, 98), inter-rater (or inter-coder) agreement is important because it measures 'the extent to which the different judges tend to assign exactly the same rating to each object'. This fact helped to reaffirm the belief that the frameworks that were conceived with the consensus of the coders was a sound one.

Machin and Van Leeuwen's (2003) problem categories are summarised as follows:

Problem categories

1. *Unreliable Partners*: unreliable and selfish friends, lovers and colleagues who take advantage of women, betray them or plot against them behind their backs.

2. *Risky Encounters*: encountering or meeting with new people such as men making advances or new colleagues at work leads to problems which are always full of risks and require a wary attitude.

3. *Institutional Obstacles*: as a result of being in a male-dominated world, women face many difficulties such as obstacles in getting promotions in work, gaining access to some places or activities and achieving different forms of success.

4. *Lack of Confidence*: the problems faced by women as a result of their own inner feelings of insecurity and lack of confidence rather than external factors. These feelings could be attributed to their work environment or related to their bodies or sexual competence.

5. *Sexual Dissatisfaction*: not achieving sexual satisfaction for some reasons such as their insecurity is always problematic for women.

Findings and discussion

Our findings reveal that four of Machin and Van Leeuwen's (2003) problem categories are found among the 60 articles analysed while three problem categories that were not found in their study are present in our study. These new problem categories are, 'Institutionalised Bias', 'Lack of Skills', and 'Lack of Knowledge'. As the articles we analysed are exclusively on sex and relationship advice articles unlike Machin and Van Leeuwen's study, it is perhaps expected that new problem categories would emerge from our data. In a few articles, more than one problem category is identified. A main problem is sometimes presented with another minor problem ensconced within it. This occurs in only a few articles and they are included in the analysis. Table 1 below shows the problem categories and the frequency they appear in each of the three contexts:

Table 1: Findings of problem categories and frequency in each context

Problem Category	**U.S**	**Malaysia**	**Middle East**
*Unreliable Partners	0	1	4
*Risky Encounters	7	4	6
*Sexual Dissatisfaction	4	4	0
*Lack of Confidence	0	0	1
**Institutionalised Bias	2	2	4
**Lack of Skills	6	7	4
**Lack of Knowledge	3	4	2

*Machin and Van Leeuwen's categories

**New categories

The problem categories are discussed in more detail in the following sub-sections:

Unreliable Partners

In Machin and Van Leeuwen's (2003, 502) definition, this problem category occurs when *"Our fellow human beings are essentially unreliable, especially those closest to us…As a result of their essential unreliability and selfishness, colleagues-at-work and partners-in-love constantly pose problems. They plot against you behind your back, they take advantage of you, they double cross you".* In our analysis this problem category results from the suffering or pain women may feel due to the discoveries of their partners' betrayals or when they perceive their partners are taking advantage of them. These discoveries happen during the course of a relationship, especially when a woman and man are in a serious

relationship. Machin and Van Leeuwen's definition of 'unreliable partners' include not just sexual/love partners but other people women may encounter, e.g. colleagues and friends as they investigate a wide-range of advice articles while our study focuses on relationship and sex advice articles.

This problem category is found in one article in the Malaysian data and in four articles in the Middle Eastern data, but not in the US data. It also appears to be framed in different ways in the magazines from different contexts. For example, in the Malaysian magazines, 'unreliable' husbands or boyfriends are often caught cheating through electronic gadgets and social media. This fact is reflected by a number of articles in the Malaysian media that seemed to associate a link between the wide-spread availability of social media and the increasing rate of divorce among Malaysian couples including a much-publicized media interview by a leading psychologist in the country (Equivocal 2016). In the Middle Eastern context, on the other hand, the unreliability of a partner can sometimes be framed through the lens of violating cultural norms, for example, a husband who is caught by the wife watching porn. From the Islamic perspective, watching pornography is considered as sinful and unlawful as Islam expressly forbids looking at nudity or watching others have sex (Al-Kawthari 2008, 71) because this will encourage immoral actions. Therefore, women may feel distressed when they discover that their husbands are watching porn as they may consider this act as something that is deviant and against the society's norms. By committing such acts, their husbands are perceived as unreliable partners who have violated marital and societal norms. The US data, however, shows an absence of this problem category presumably because the magazines there focus on issues which relate to sexual pleasure and exploring life rather than commitment as in the Malaysian and the Middle Eastern data.

Risky Encounters

In Machin and Van Leeuwen's (2003, 502) definition, this problem category is described as: *"encounters with new people, whether new colleagues at work, or men making advances, are always problematic, always fraught with risk. A wary attitude is called for."* However, in our analysis, this category can also include encounters with people who are not exactly new in a woman's life, but still pose problems for her. Moreover, unlike the previous problem category 'Unreliable Partners', the problem category 'Risky Encounters' in our study occurs when women *suspect* their partners of cheating without necessarily getting a confirmation of their guilt. As a result, these relationships can be 'risky' and call for a wary attitude. In addition, men making advances and casual relationships, for example, are also included as 'Risky Encounters' in our study since there is no commitment from the beginning, and hence, a woman needs to have a wary attitude. This wary attitude helps women to minimize any risks the relationships or encounters may pose.

This problem category appears to be the most prominent problem category for the US magazines, since it is found in several articles. These 'Risky Encounters' with people appear in the form of 'boyfriends', 'friends with benefits' (FWB), and 'a man making advances.' For example, in the article "Breaking the Trust:

Snooping on Your Guy" (MC) women are seen as feeling insecure about their relationships with their boyfriends, which makes them resort to snooping in order to find out hidden truths their partners may hide. For instance, *"One woman I know is sleeping with this guy regularly, but is unsure if they are exclusive… She counts the condoms in his nightstand. If more are missing than what the two of them have used she will know it right away"*. This example clearly demonstrates the inner feeling of insecurities and distrust for her man. Thus, this relationship can be perceived as a risky one as *"they sense there is something that the other person is hiding"* which can hurt them.

This problem category is found in four articles in the Malaysian data in the form of 'boyfriends', 'casual daters', 'a close male friend', and 'casual partners. For example, in the article 'Juicy Read: "It's Just Casual Sex..." (F), the risky encounters appear as casual daters women may meet. It is assumed that women may face risks in such encounters because they may develop feelings after having sex like attachment, jealousy and awkwardness. That is, such encounters can be perceived as risky ones as women may struggle with their feelings as they continue with the relationship. For example, in this article, a girl called Kim says *"When you're totally into a guy, emotions and feelings get in the way, resulting in you feeling used after the deed is done".* This problem is not categorised under the problem category 'Unreliable Partners' since there is no serious relationship from the beginning between the men and women involved as both only seek satisfaction for their sexual desires. The encounters with casual partners, however, can be fraught with different types of risks, including emotional ones, as shown in this example. It should be noted in this example that 'Risky Encounter' appears in the form of casual daters despite the fact that promiscuity is severely frowned upon in Malaysian society and the government regularly censors publications over sexual content. Perhaps, this article was allowed to be published due to the fact that this issue is discussed in an advice article rather than other types of articles and it also appears as a problematic issue which requires specific solutions in order for the problem to be solved. Most importantly, the writers use non-Muslim names ('Kim' and 'Pamela') for the two girls that were named in the article. Thus, it appears that despite the fact that Malaysia is a generally conservative society, 'racy' and overtly sexual issues can still be allowed to be published but certain considerations have to be met as explained above.

In the Middle Eastern data, this problem category appears in 6 articles in the form of 'boyfriends', 'a man making advances', 'ex-boyfriends', 'a female friend', and 'a man making advances. For example, in the article "How to Avoid Getting Clooney-ed" (AH) a woman may encounter a man making advances who is not really serious about commitment or marriage. This problem falls under the problem category 'Risky Encounters' because there is no agreement for marriage from the beginning as expressed by the phrase *"He's told you from the early days of your relationship that he's just "not into that stuff, not a commitment kinda guy."* The relationship can be perceived as a risky one as women *have already got a dilemma* on their hands, as the men in their lives have clearly

informed them about their stance regarding the relationship, yet these women still harbour hopes that the relationship will develop to the next level.

In the three contexts studied, it is found that the encounters which pose problems for women almost always involved men. Furthermore, it is found that this category does not only include people that women have to deal with in real life, but also those that they encounter on social media. This finding appears in all three contexts studied. Although social media is important for communication and for obtaining information, it can also pose risks to women. For example, in the article "Why Sexting Is Good for You" (CP), some risky encounters are identified due to the presence of some men who are *bad sexters*: *"You probably don't want to engage in this kind of erotica with a guy who shortly after exchanging numbers requests a picture of your tits or any idiot who sends you a Snapchat of his penis after only a few brief exchanges"*. In general, it can be argued that social media is engaged in all of the contexts studied as social media and the issues that can arise from this medium are an inherent part of life now in societies all over the world. It is noted that the majority of social media problems women may face is found under the problem category 'Risky Encounters'.

Sexual Dissatisfaction

The problem of not achieving sexual satisfaction is found in four articles in the US magazines. For example, the problem of sexual dissatisfaction is illustrated very clearly in the article "How to Destroy Your 6 Biggest Orgasm Obstacles" (CP). Matters such as the size of their men's penises or their problems with premature ejaculation can lead to sexual dissatisfaction for women as they are not able to achieve orgasm during sexual intercourse. This problem category can also emerge not just from actual sexual encounters but also from *perceived* feelings of sexual dissatisfaction. For example, in the article "Do You Have Sex FOMO?" (CP), some women are perceived as being afraid of not achieving sexual satisfaction before they settle down. This fear is expressed by the following statement *"Sufferers tend to be women in their 20s and 30s, afraid of settling down without an adequate number of sordid sexual experiences under their belts…".*

This problem category is also found in four articles in the Malaysian magazines. For example, in the article "5 Tricks to Spice up Your Sex Life" (HW), the problem of 'Sexual Dissatisfaction' can result from the responsibilities of marriage such as *dropping the kids off at school* and *preparing dinner at home*, as expressed by the phrase *'marriage can take a toll on your relationship'*, since these responsibilities may affect sex life which becomes less interesting. This urges women to look for ways to bring the spark back to their relationships, as demonstrated by the phrase *'spice up your sex life'*. It is noted that in the Malaysian data, this problem is only implied from euphemistic phrases, such as *'Sizzle Things Up in Bed'*, *'spice up'*, and *'Bring the Spark Back'*, unlike the US data which employs more explicit details.

This problem category does not appear at all in the Middle Eastern women's magazines due to the restrictions imposed on society as overt discussions of

sexuality continue to be a taboo subject across the Arab world. Discussions on sexual and relationship issues can only be permitted within a religious frame (Mahadeen 2012, 47).

Lack of Confidence

In this problem category, women are seen as being unstable, unconfident, confused, and immature in their choices. Machin and Van Leeuwen's (2003, 503) state that this problem category is seen as a personal one which *stem(s) from women's own insecurity and lack of confidence*. For example, in the article "How to Let Go of Past Relationships" (AH) this category appears in the narrative of a girl called Veronica who has a confidence problem resulting from her inability to move on with her life after a series of personal setbacks. Veronica's 'Lack of Confidence' is expressed in the phrases *'she lost her sense of self'* and she almost suffered a complete '*break down'.* Due to her lack of confidence caused by her unstable state of mind, *"she realized her work had suffered and her friends had actually started avoiding her"*.

The article above is the only one found in the Middle Eastern data for this problem category. It is totally absent in the US and the Malaysian data. This problem category is less prevalent in our study compared to Machin and Van Leeuwen's findings which were based on articles written in 2001. It appears that there is a gradual shift in the portrayal of women and the problems that they are perceived to be suffering from compared to a decade ago.

Institutionalised Bias

This is a new problem category found in our data. We define it as the bias or double standards imposed on women by society due to its socio-cultural beliefs towards gender roles in general. This new problem category is quite similar to Machin and Van Leeuwen's 'Institutional Obstacles' problem category which is described as: *"…women face many institutional obstacles in a male-dominated world. They may have difficulty in gaining access to certain places or activities, or in getting promotions… Although this is in principle an issue of social and cultural gender inequality, it is usually formulated as a personal problem, and the social and political issues behind it are rarely dealt with explicitly"* (2003, 502). However, based on our findings, we believe that a new category is needed to describe the problems found in our analysis, as the emphasis of this new category is on the biased *perceptions* faced by women imposed by society rather than on *actual* obstacles they face. In other words, we are referring to *psychological discriminations* faced by women such as the stigma of being unmarried rather than *physical discriminations* as in being denied access to an organisation due to their gender, as in Machin and Van Leeuwen's example.

This problem is found in the three contexts studied and it relates to difficulties women may face due to the way society *perceives* them. However, these problems vary across the three societies as a result of socio-cultural differences. For example, in the US and the Middle Eastern data, this category mainly relates to the issue of being single as society shames single women and the stigma associated with being single still exists. As a result of society's judgment, women

may also have personal problems through their feelings of being an outcast and isolated from social gatherings. Just as in Machin and Van Leeuwen's (2003) findings for their 'Institutional Obstacles' problem category, this new problem category is also *usually formulated as a personal problem*. In addition, the problem of being single can also be seen as an external one caused by society's perception toward women's relationship status. In *Cosmopolitan*, this category appears in two articles, which are, **"**Why Are Twentysomething Relationship Virgins on the Rise?" and "Six Lies People Tell You About Being Single". For example, in the latter article, readers were provided with six main reasons why they are still single, such as *"You're Too Picky"* and *"You Don't Know How to Play the Game"*. Therefore, the state of being single which appears to be a problem for some women is linked to society's judgments and comments on their single status. Thus, this problem is seen both as an internal and external one; it is internal because of the feelings of loneliness that are, perhaps, experienced by single women and it is external because of society's judgments regarding the reasons why they remain single. For instance, *"So you admit that being single can be lonely…and are informed that you reek of desperation!".* The phrase *'you admit'* asserts that this problem is a personal problem due to the inner feeling of being *'lonely'*. It is also an external problem which results from the society's perceptions as expressed by the passive verb *'are informed'*. This problem is also portrayed through the metaphor phrase *'that you reek of desperation'* which depicts how society views these women as pitiful for being single.

This problem of being single is found in two articles in the Middle Eastern magazines. For example, in the article "Are You the Last Single Girl at the Party?" (AH) this category problem appears in the narrative of a girl called Karen who has experienced two kinds of problems due to her single status. Her first problem, which is personal, results from Karen's feeling of loneliness and desperation, as she says *"When all your girlfriends are married off, it can feel like the end of a party that you're last to leave"*. This statement clearly demonstrates her feelings of loneliness, as expressed by the phrases *'the end of a party'* and *'you're last to leave'*. Karen has this feeling because women of her age are supposed to have a husband in terms of society's expectations, as she says *"the rest of the girls have settled down, got married and a few of them have had kids, while I'm still looking for The One".* The other problem, which is an external one, is caused by society's judgment for Karen where her friends treat her differently when it comes to social events and gatherings which makes her feel insecure, and isolated among others. The social stigma of being single causes a serious problem for her as demonstrated by the phrase *'I feel like the odd one out'*. It is noted that in the US magazines, the 'problem' of being single is associated with not having a man in the lives of women while in the Middle Eastern data, it is clearly marked through the lens of not being married and having children.

Another problem relating to this category is the notion of being a virgin which appears in the US and the Middle Eastern data. Yet, this issue appears differently in these two contexts. In the Middle East, women have restrictions on having sex before marriage as it is very important for girls to maintain their virginity till marriage, because *"society will judge them and, because having sex will minimize*

their chances of finding the right man…": "Sex and Other Drugs" (WW). The reason is that family dignity and honour rest on the reputation of the woman, and hence, there is even a restriction on interactions between men and women (Sabbagh 2005: 56). Although some Middle Eastern women are granted a considerable amount of freedom, they are, on the whole, often subjected to strong sanctions for unauthorised behaviours, mostly sexual (Keddie 2007, 167-168). On the other hand, being in a relationship virgin in the US is a personal choice which seems problematic for some women due to socio-cultural beliefs of the US society since *"there is a cultural (and sometimes personal) expectation of shared, baseline sexual experience, and not having it can feel embarrassing"*: "Why Are Twentysomething Relationship Virgins on the Rise?" (CP). An example from this article appears in the confession of a girl called Katie who admits that *"I remember the anguish of having to tell my first boyfriend I was a virgin"*. Katie's anguish is explained by her society's cultural expectation that being a virgin means she is missing out on important life experiences, especially sexual experience.

With regard to the Malaysian magazines, this problem category appears in two articles. For example, in the article, "Can a Woman and Man JUST Be Close Friends?", this problem category is linked to society's judgments or *people second-guessing* the close friendships between men and women as they predict unreciprocated sexual or romantic attraction for one of them, *'a friendzone case'*. For instance, *"The community judging you negatively; implying there must be something going on between us…"—Oma"*. It is observed that in this article the problem is directed towards women only and the views obtained in the article are from women only unlike in some articles where there are quotes from men too, pertaining to an issue related to both men and women. This suggests that society's judgment with regard to this issue is mainly reserved for women due again to the gender inequality that exists in the society. In most societies, including in Malaysian society, women are expected to be more restrained as far as sexual relationships are concerned. This supports Machin and Van Leeuwen's (2003) finding for their 'Institutional Obstacle' problem category in the sense that this problem *in principle is an issue of social and cultural gender inequality*.

Lack of Skills

This new problem category, which we found, refers to women who are depicted as lacking some skills which are mainly related to their relationships with men. They need to acquire these relationship and sexual skills in order to develop or maintain their relationships with men. This problem category differs from other problem categories of Machin and Van Leeuwen (2003) since in this category women are seen as inexperienced with men, dating, sex and relationships, and hence, the purpose of these articles is to help them explore new ways or alternatives of doing things beyond the routine and conventional ways which can open a new world of possibilities for them. With regard to lacking sex skills, this new category 'Lack of Skills' does not mean that women are sexually dissatisfied with their relationships as in the category 'Sexual Dissatisfaction', but it means they may lack new sexual techniques that can further enhance their

sexual satisfaction. The problem category 'Lack of Skills' also differs from Machin and Van Leeuwen's problem category 'Lack of Confidence', since the former describes the problem(s) stemming from a woman's lack of skills in some areas of life. This lack of skills may result or be a cause of lack of confidence but these two categories are different as the problem category 'Lack of Skills' is not always linked to *women's own insecurity and lack of confidence.* This new category appears to be more positive than 'Lack of Confidence' as it suggests that problems stemming from lack of social, personal or sexual skills can be overcome quite easily by acquiring those skills. Thus, this can be considered as a new problem category as it is inherently different from the other problem categories in Machin and Van Leeuwen's (2003) discourse schema. This problem category appears in six articles in the US magazines and in four articles in the Middle Eastern magazines. It is found in seven articles in the Malaysian data; thus, it appears to be the most prominent problem category in the Malaysian magazines.

In the context of sex skills, the reason for lacking such skills is women's *worries* and *anxiety* about *having sex for the first time*, as featured in the Middle Eastern data, specifically in the article "Tips for a Pleasant First Time…" (WW). Hence, women's inexperience is the main reason for this problem, which results from the religious and socio-cultural norms as there is an expectation in the society that a girl must be a virgin before marriage. On the other hand, the reason for lacking sex skills in the US data is explained by women's needs to find new exciting sex skills that can turn them into the best lover a man may have, as implied from the headline "6 Ways You Will Be the Best Sex He's Ever Had" (MC). Similar to the US data, the Malaysian data presents the problem of lacking sexual skills within the frame of finding new exciting sex skills that can enhance a couple's sex life, as implied from the headline "10 Things You Must Try for Mind-Blowing Sex" (HW). Hence, unlike the Middle Eastern data where women need sex techniques due to their sexual inexperience, women in the US and the Malaysian data need sex skills for enhancing their sexual experience.

In addition, the articles in the Malaysian data involve the lack of personal and social skills under the domain of *a happier marriage* or *successful marriage*, the domain of work as women may lack skills which are needed to *strike up a conversation* for an interview, as featured in the article "How to Impress Anyone in 60 Seconds" (F), and the domain of personal life such as lacking the skills needed to enrich their lives, as featured in the article "15 Things You Can Do to Enrich Your Life" (F). In the Middle Eastern articles, the lack of personal and social skills is framed under the domain of *a happy relationship*, which seems similar to the Malaysian ones, the domain of developing *new relationships online*, and the domain of financial issues, as featured in the article "How to Marry a Millionaire" (AH), where women are provided with personal and social skills which are needed to *procuring a prince or just a rich man*. On the other hand, in the US data the lack of personal and social skills is framed under the domains of *a long distance relationship*, *dating, a break up,* and *being friends with your ex*. For example, in the article "This Is How You Should Break Up with Him" (MC), women are told that they may lack social skills which relate to suitable ways *to*

manage a breakup, including *'What to say, where to say it and when to say it'*. Therefore, this problem category is found in different domains across the three contexts studied.

Lack of Knowledge

In this new problem category, women are told that they may lack knowledge or information about social matters which mainly relates to men's thoughts. Therefore, they should be informed and provided with such information. The difference between our other new problem category 'Lack of Skills' and this new category, 'Lack of Knowledge', is that the latter one relates to facts or information that women may not know or are unaware about, thus, they are concerned with mainly theoretical ideas rather than practical ones. That is, this problem category deals with abstract facts that are not known to women, or are known only imprecisely. The category 'Lack of Skills', on the other hand, relates to mainly practical skills, as shown in our examples in the previous section above.

This category is found in three articles in the US magazines. This category is also found in four articles in the Malaysian magazines and in two articles in the Middle Eastern data. In the US data, women may lack knowledge which relates to men's thoughts mainly regarding dating, such as knowledge on dating by the time they are 30, as featured in the article "6 Things You Should Know About Dating by the Time You're 30" (MC), as expressed by the phrase *'should know'* in the headline. However, in the Middle Eastern data women may lack knowledge which mainly relates to men's personality, such as ways to know if a man is ambitious as featured in the article "10 Ways to Know If Your Guy is Really Ambitious", or signs to watch out for to detect a man's *lack of a (sic) personal hygiene*, as featured in the article "7 Signs He'll Always Stink!". The reason for not tackling the knowledge of dating in the Middle Eastern data is that there is no culture of dating in this conservative society. On the other hand, in the Malaysian data, it seems that this problem category is more diverse than in the Middle Eastern and the US data since knowledge women may lack relates to sex as well as men's personality as featured in the article "4 Things You Never Knew about Men and Sex" (HW) and the article "Do Short Men Make Better Husbands?" (HW), for example.

Conclusion

All of Machin and Van Leeuwen's (2003) problem categories are found in our data except 'Institutional Obstacles'. However, not all of these categories are found in all of the contexts studied. For example, the problem category 'Lack of Confidence' is only found in the Middle Eastern magazines while 'Sexual Dissatisfaction' is not present at all in this particular context. The problems arising from 'Unreliable Partners', on the other hand, do not occur in the US magazines, as discussed earlier in our findings. This suggests that Machin and Van Leeuwen's (2003) claims that their problem-solution discourse schema found in women's magazines across cultures is "*a global socio-cognitive schema for interpreting the problems and vicissitudes that can arise in women's lives*", may

not necessarily be true as far as locally-produced women's magazines are concerned. Although they state that their schema "*does allow for cultural difference*" and their findings do show differences in the distribution of problem categories and variations in how these problems are constructed across cultures, our findings suggest that these differences are more pronounced if the magazines analysed are local, home-grown publications rather than local editions of international magazines. Local publications are likely to have more control over their content and the problems that they choose to highlight are those that they think women in their society need answers to. Thus, this factor along with the focus on just relationship and sex advice rather than on advice articles in general may account for the differences found in this study in the problem-solution discourse schema identified by Machin and Van Leeuwen. Although we agree in general with Machin and Van Leeuwen that their problem-solution discourse schema is a global model for the representation of social practices, we argue that based on our findings, there are greater variations in how these problems are formulated in home-grown women's magazines than those found by them.

The three new problem categories identified in this study ('Institutionalised Bias', 'Lack of Skills', and 'Lack of Knowledge') also suggest that the problem categories identified by Machin and Van Leeuwen earlier may have evolved over the last two decades. As discussed earlier, their problem category 'Lack of Confidence' appears to be less relevant now as only one example is found in our data. On the other hand, based on our findings, 'Lack of Knowledge' and 'Lack of Skills' appear to be among the most prominent problem categories in all three contexts. Perhaps this reflects the current obsession on the 'self-improvement culture' as described by McGee (2005), an obsession fuelled by publications such as the magazines analysed in this study. Women in all three contexts are constantly bombarded with self-improvement advice by the writers of these articles, at least one of whom is identified as a male, as stated earlier. As these so-called 'problems' are produced by the magazines and what they perceive to be issues and concerns faced by women in their society, our findings suggest that the writers of home-grown magazines, who we believe are from their respective societies or at least familiar with the cultural set-up of their societies, perceive their community of readers as global citizens of the world who face problems women all over the world face but at the same time, their so-called problems are coloured and shaped by socio-cultural factors surrounding their respective societies. As the writers of these articles are believed to be from the respective societies, we also argue that perhaps, the problem categories found in this research are more 'authentic' than in Machin and Van Leeuwen's study, even if the problems are not from the readers themselves.

On the whole, we observe that even though there are variations in the definitions and contextualisation of each problem category in the three contexts, as discussed above, the overall *aim* of these articles is rather similar. This is noted by Machin and Van Leeuwen too in their study. The very nature of the 'problems' constructed by the writers of the magazines such as 'Lack of Skills' or 'Lack of Knowledge' (among the most common 'problems' in all three contexts), suggests

that the possible solutions offered to the readers are to help women equip themselves with the necessary skills or knowledge to achieve a more successful life. The problems that are selected by these magazines seemed to be those in which ready answers are possible, solutions that can guide and inspire women to achieve their life goals of freedom and independence. Thus, empowerment of women appears to be emphasised in all three contexts but with variations in how this concept is expressed in the respective societies, as discussed in our previous section.

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The Process of Individuation in William Golding's *The Inheritors*: Affect and the Encounter with "the Other"

William Golding'in *The Inheritors* Romanında Bireyleşme Süreci: Duygulanım ve "Öteki"yle Karşılaşma

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Abstract
This article traces the transmission of affect between the Neanderthals and Homo sapiens in William Golding's *The Inheritors* which begins the process of individuation in the Neanderthal characters. Focusing in particular on the encounter with "the other," it suggests that these groups diffuse terror and fear to each other, which leads first to a fragmentation among the Neanderthals. I demonstrate the role of the affect in understanding the distinction between self and the other and argue how it helps in the formation of a self-contained individual, and elucidate how mediation of affect between these groups turns the crisis of encounter into a debate about the innocence and fall of human beings, and about how historical continuities are transmitted through silences, gaps, and omissions of some people or some thoughts.
Keywords: Affect theory, *The Inheritors*, Neanderthals, Homo Sapiens, "The Other"

Öz
Bu makale, William Golding'in *The Inheritors* adlı romanındaki Neandertaller ve Homo Sapiensler arasındaki duygulanım aktarılışını ele alarak Neandertal karakterlerin bireyleşme sürecini inceler. Bilhassa "öteki" ile karşılaşmaya odaklanarak, iki grup arasında yayılan korku ve terör duygularının Neandertallerin dağılmasına yol açtığı öne sürülerek kendileri ve ötekiler arasında ayrım yapmalarında duygulanımın rolü irdelenecektir. Ardından duygulanımın bireyleşme sürecindeki etkisine dair bir tartışma yürütüp, bu karşılaşmanın ortaya çıkardığı krizin duygulanım aracılığıyla insanlığın masumiyetini yitirişine dair bir söyleme dönüşmesi üzerinde durulacaktır. Böylece Golding'in, boşluklar, dışarıda bırakılanlar ve sessizlikler aracılığıyla tarihsel sürekliliğin miras bırakılma biçimleri üzerine düşünceleri de tartışılmış olur.
Anahtar Kelimeler: Duygulanım Teorisi, *The Inheritors*, Neandertaller, Homo Sapiensler, "Öteki"

In his remarks to Frank Kermode in a broadcast, William Golding explains that if it is the way everybody else sees a set of circumstances, then there is no point in writing a book.[1] This certainly promises an uncommon reading experience for

[1] Although *The Inheritors* was published in England in 1955, one year after *Lord of the Flies*, it could only be published in America seven years after its publication in England, after his first novel gained him enough reputation. His third novel, *Pincher Martin* came out in America five years before *The Inheritors*, though.

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The Inheritors (1955) perceived through some strange eyes in which Golding asks fundamental questions about humanity and the trauma generated by the encounter with the "other." The novel might be an outcome of a wartime disillusionment, a reflection on the evil in the humanity and a response to the changing world—a response enhanced and enlarged by a liberating linguistic intensity and an astounding level of articulation, and with a narrative in which different modes of being exist, and feet can "see."

Isolated in time and space, *The Inheritors* is set in prehistory, as the Neanderthals, encounter *Homo sapiens*, the "modern" human beings. This is a world in transition, where *Homo sapiens*, "the new comers," are going to exterminate "the people," the Neanderthals, and inherit the earth. In that respect, the novel, according to Howard S. Babb, replicates *Lord of the Flies* (1954), in which Ralph's society gradually and remorselessly destroys Jack's society (Babb 38). Initially, *Homo sapiens* indirectly cause the death of the chief Neanderthals', Mal, by removing the log bridge, as a result of which Mal falls into the water. They kill Ha, with whom they come across during a hunt, after which they raid the people's cave, murder Nil and the old woman, capture and eat the young girl Liku, and kidnap the baby. Attempting to recapture the baby, Fa dies falling over a waterfall; finally, Lok is left, who is destined to die alone. The Neanderthals fail to make sense of these incidents and killings. This failure and their innocence motivate the structure of the novel, built on the ironic contradiction between the Neanderthals with human capacities and *Homo sapiens* with inhuman savagery. Golding manipulates point of view and language by narrating from the limited perspective of Lok, a Neanderthal, an approach for which *The Inheritors* has been acclaimed as a tour de force by critics.[2]

Criticisms of Golding's work initially studied it through the lenses of fable and allegory. This approach, according to John Peter, was not much liked by the author, who corrected the terminology and suggested the word 'myth' to describe his intentions. Another school of critics asserted that in his early novels Golding rebuffed particular targets. Baker maintains that Golding himself acknowledged the influence of Poe and of Greek tragedy (Baker 4), but he is also said to have been influenced by R. M. Ballantyne's 1857 novel *The Coral Island*, and to have reacted against it in the *Lord of the Flies*. Bernard S. Oldsey and Stanley Weintraub have noted that, with *The Inheritors*, the connection was with the novel by Joseph Conrad and Ford Madox Hueffer (Ford)'s novel, published in 1901 with exactly the same title (Oldsey and Weintraub 44), and H. G. Wells' "The Grisly Folk," *The Outline of History* (1920), and a cluster of connected works. Though Golding rejected the claim that his novels came out of novels, and, as Baker points out, he stated that his novels owed much more to theatre and Greek drama much more than novel writing that his novels owe (Baker 5), the prefixed epigraph from *The Outline of History* to *The Inheritors* in which H. G. Wells describes Neanderthal man as strange, short, ugly, and inferior to man,

[2] See James R. Baker, *William Golding: A Critical Study*, p. 23; Samuel Hynes, *William Golding*, p. 16; Paul Elmen, *William Golding*, p. 25; S. J. Boyd, *The Novels of William Golding*, p. 28.

can be considered as a point of departure for Golding's novel, and clearly served both as a springboard and source of information for Golding:

> We know very little of the appearance of the Neanderthal man, but this … seems to suggest an extreme hairiness, an ugliness, or a repulsive strangeness in his appearance over and above his low forehead, his beetle brows, his ape neck, and his inferior stature … says Sir Harry Johnston, in a survey of the rise of modern man in his Views and Reviews: "The dim racial remembrance of such gorilla-like monsters, with cunning brains, shambling gait, hairy bodies, strong teeth, and possibly cannibalistic tendencies, may be the germ of the ogre in folklore." (Wells 70)

In his *Outline*, Wells traced the development of man, characterized Neanderthals by their "ugliness," "repulsive strangeness," and "inferior stature," and was influenced by the Darwinian theory, which placed man at the top of the evolutionary process, for which he claimed a linear direction for evolution. Gindin, however, asserts that this is a simplification of Wells's point of view in that in the *Outline* Wells is not quite as certain of the superiority of the human being as the quotation might suggest (Gindin 31), but optimistically proclaims that "the appearance of *Homo sapiens* was certainly an enormous leap forward in the history of mankind" (69). Tiger, on the other hand, emphasizes that recent evidence indicates that, contrary to Wells's hypothesis, Neanderthal man might have been gentle (Tiger 71), which, according to Biles, suggests that Golding was not content with Wells's "furtive optimism" (Biles 105) according to which evolution presumed an ethical evolution in man: "*The Outline* seemed to me to be too neat and slick. When I re-read it as an adult I came across his picture of Neanderthal man, our immediate predecessors, as being the gross brutal creatures who were possibly the basis of the mythological bad man, whatever he may be, the ogre. I thought myself that this is absurd. What we're doing is externalising our own inside" (in Dickson 29). *Homo sapiens* in *The Inheritors* is clearly one such externalization of "our own inside": it reverses what Wells's epigraph implies and describes *Homo sapiens*, the evolutionary subsequent, as the "monster" with "cannibalistic tendencies" and the Neanderthals as amiable and warm with communal values and no sense of private ownership. The novel's title, in that sense, communicates this irony by recalling the words of the Beatitude, "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth" (Fuller 19); in the novel, the meek one does not inherit the earth.

The Inheritors, in that regard, poses a problematic idea based on the incomprehensibility of the other and the dilemma of existing in a world with different human beings. The present article will argue that the Neanderthals and *Homo sapiens* lack the experience of encountering "the other", and fail to convert the effect of the confrontation into an understanding. Despite not having the faculty of judgement and rationalization, the distance between the Neanderthals and *Homo sapiens* does not impede the transmission of affect between these two groups, even when they are not aware of each other's existence. On the contrary, I will suggest that, without any verbal interaction, these two groups diffuse terror and fear to each other, which leads first to a fragmentation of the self

among the Neanderthals, especially Lok and Fa, and then to their extermination. Demarcation between self and the other, which did not exist for the Neanderthals until that moment, becomes something real, only to be obliterated at the end of the novel by the kidnap of the Neanderthal baby. I hope to demonstrate the role of the affect in understanding the distinction between self and the other and argue how it helps in the formation of a self-contained individual which, according to Brennan, is based on the idea that containment is constructed rather than given (Brennan 12). Viewing "affect", from Seigworth and Gregg's perspective, as "integral to body's perceptual becoming (always becoming otherwise, however subtly, than what already is), pulled beyond its seeming surface-boundedness by way of its relation to, indeed its composition through, the forces of encounter; [and a process in which] a body is as much outside itself as in itself—webbed in its relations—until ultimately such firm distinctions cease to matter" (3), I do not consider bodies as stable things, but as part of a process immersed in the world. Such an argument can be helpful in elucidating how mediation of affect between these groups turns the crisis of encounter into a debate about innocence and the fall of human beings, and about how we, as the descendants of *Homo sapiens*, also spring from such an encounter, which reveals that, as Deleuze and Guattari note, affects go beyond the strength of those who undergo them (164).

Within the context of affective transmission, the bridge features as an important symbol. The primacy of the bridge emerges as the Neanderthals, on their annual migration from their winter quarters by the sea to their summer quarters at the edge of a river and a waterfall, realize that the log that serves as a bridge on the river has been removed. Thinking they are the only people on the earth, they cannot make sense of the reason for this change, and try to find a way to cross the river. This foreshadowing introductory scene implies that the displacement of the bridge and the impediment to the normal course of the people's migration signify the gap between people's present knowledge and future events, and the suffering they will endure throughout the novel while trying to rebuild the log bridges. It communicates a polarity between the people and the newcomers, whose arrival the people are not yet aware of. This polarity between the rationally understandable and the mysterious in human experience, as James Gindin points out, is a recurrent theme in Golding's works, as Golding indicates in his interviews that "we live constantly in two worlds, one physical and the other spiritual" (Gindin 12-13). Withdrawal of the bridge right at the beginning of the novel, in that sense, indicates that the arrival of the newcomers denotes a rupture in the harmonious life of the Neanderthals. This polarity and the sense of rupture dominate the novel until the Neanderthals are extinguished by *Homo sapiens*.

Withdrawal of the bridge also signifies the inability of the reader to share the perspective of the Neanderthal characters. The people and Lok, from whose perspective the novel is narrated, lack the linguistic skills and the ability to reason that the reader of the book possesses, and the removal of the bridge implies the absence of such a link between the reader and the Neanderthal characters, thus naturally causing an impediment in comprehending the novel

and making Lok's incomprehension our incomprehension. This gulf created by the use of point of view leads critics like Ted E. Boyle and Gabriel Josipovici to conclude that it is difficult to sympathize with the Neanderthals as their pictures are irrelevant to us and they communicate through their senses (in Redpath 32). Yet the novel presents us with the sensuous language of the Neanderthals wherein they communicate through pictures, senses, and emotions instead of rationalized language. The sensuous communication in the novel invites us into Lok's world which is unknown to us. As Wittgenstein explains in *Tractatus*, "The world is my world: this is manifest in the fact that the limits of language (of that language which alone I understand) means the limits of my world" (57). Lok's limited perspective limits our perception, yet through the senses and emotions transferred to us, Golding opens a window onto a language which is unknown but not completely irrelevant to our understanding.

In the remote time of *The Inheritors*, removal of the log bridge is the first encounter of "the people" with "the other," since the log has been displaced by the "newcomers". Most importantly, with this first rupture and fall, the narrative gradually proceeds with events which enable "the people" to realize that there is a power or a force outside their group, although they cannot identify or define it. When Lok inexplicably smells fire on the island, the presence of the newcomers is hinted at for the second time. Each realization and feeling exceeds and feeds the previous ones. These scenes are the seeds of the unknown disentangled in the course of the narration and add to what they are as human beings, which transforms them and eventually leads to their extinction. The fear generated after "the beginning of a nightmare age for the children of the human tribe" as a result of the confrontation of the "true men" with the grisly folk who snatch a child in Wells's short story is transformed in Golding's narrative. In his version, the grisly folk are doomed and their encounter with the newcomers goes heavily against them, bringing growing fear and desperation. As the Neanderthals lack the necessary cognitive skills to identify a cause-and-effect relation and to think analytically, they are unable to foresee the approaching threat. Yet they "feel the atmosphere" as they proceed, and it literally gets into them, especially when Mal falls into the water as he tries to get across the river. Physically and psychologically, something is present that was not there before. Something which did not originate *sui generis* and comes via an unknown interaction with the other. These affective points require the reader to enter the realm of causality—but with a complex view of causality, since, as Hardt explains, these affects belong simultaneously to both sides of the causal relationship which illuminates our power to affect the world around us and be affected by it (Hardt ix).

Lack of reason and limited linguistic abilities force the Neanderthals to rely mostly on their sensory abilities. Their sense of smell and hearing is very developed, even animalistic, and they communicate partly by sharing mental

pictures,[3] which means that they have the faculty of telepathy. This "tight little group" (Golding 21), obedient to the authority of Mal and affectionate, kind, and considerate of one another, are a "knot" (21), and they are bound to one another with "a thousand invisible strings" (104) which "were not ornaments of life but its substance. If they broke, a man would die" (78). These invisible strings connect their minds, and they are able to share their experiences and feelings with these mental images although their linguistic abilities are not as developed as those of the new people. This suggests a more profound affect. Sharing the understandings gathered from sensory experiences enable the people to benefit from that accumulation, and creates a tight connection. Actions of mind are connected to the actions of bodies, and their bodies' power to act corresponds to its sensitivity to other bodies. As Spinoza puts it, every increase of power to act and think corresponds to an increased power to be affected (in Hardt x).

Stephen Ahern notes that "no embodied being is independent, but rather is affected by and affects other bodies as a condition of being in the world" (Ahern 13). This identifies an inter-informing aspect which adds power to the relational ontology of affect theory and which positions the human "as embedded in, subject to, even constituted by networks of relation larger than the individual" (Ahern 13). The faculty of telepathy—described as "thousand strings" connecting the people—reveals the people's interdependency. The inter-informing ability adds to their power to survival as a group, and each time a group member is lost, their chances of survival dwindle. These invisible ties also signify the transmission of affect, which means, as Teressa Brennan proposes, that these affects do not only arise within a particular person but also come via an interaction with other people and environment. They are social in origin but biological and physical in effect (Brennan 3). Through this transmission, mental images of one group member are brought into alignment with those of the others. Considering killing as wickedness also manifests the alignment with nature and their deep connections with their environment. Lawrence S. Friedman associates this non-violence with the communal life. While the new man is alone with himself and bereft of the fellowship that assuages fear, Neanderthals are at ease among themselves and in nature. New men are fuelled by the will to dominate rather than to cooperate, and are distrustful and wary of their fellows. For Friedman, this alienation and self-consciousness chiefly accounts for their violence (Friedman 43). In addition to the interdependency of the Neanderthals, Walker points out that, their keen senses allow them to know the trees and animals and grasses as they know their own bodies – it is as if the boundaries between themselves and the objects around them give way (Walker 300):

> There built up in Lok's head a picture of the man, not by reasoned deduction but because in every place the scent told him – do this! As the smell of the cat would evoke in him a cat-stealth of avoidance and cat-

[3] According to John Carey, Golding took the idea of pictorial thinking from H. G. Wells who wrote "Primitive man probably thought very much as a child thinks, that is to say, in a series of imaginative pictures" in *A Short History of the World* (quoted in Carey, 179).

> snarl; as the sight of Mal tottering up the slope had made the people parody him, so now the scent turned Lok into the thing that had gone before him. (Golding 77)

The sensory abilities of the people enable them to have an immanent relationship with nature: they resemble a bridge between humanity and nature, which furnishes them with an in-between position and renders them capable of acting and being acted upon. Sense perception is so crucial for their identities that, by just sniffing the scent of the new people, Lok is able to absorb their point of view: "with the scent of the other [he] becomes the other." This is another indication that their mental operations do not deal with abstract concepts; instead, they rely on sensory input and reference to their immediate surroundings. And smell helps them feel the atmosphere with no conversation or any visual signal. In addition, sexual intercourse creates strict ties within the group, as sex provides access to each other's bodies. This communal life, however, hinders the development of individuality until the moment *Homo sapiens* appear and take away their group members.

Any thought process requires a somatic action and in relaying the past events they repeat their body movements. Golding makes the interdependence between humans and their surroundings a crucial aspect of the human condition. According to Kinkead-Weekes and Gregor, the sensuous texture of the narrative is a direct result of Golding's challenge to himself to imagine what it is like to live through sense and instinct, not through the mind, breaking the barrier of "modern" consciousness. This generates a stylistic problem for the novel, though: while it intensifies the sensuous imagination, it deprives the novel of all analysis, by the author or his characters, and of most of the possibilities of dialogue through the consciousness of people who neither think nor communicate as we do (Kinkead-Weekes 52). This explains the intensive use of metaphors which convey their experience with visual aids (not through conceptualization, but through modern resources of expression, such as explaining the root ornament of Oa as "the likeness of a great-bellied woman" (Golding 33). But it also suggests the controversial position that affect operates outside of language, discourse, and ideology, which is a perspective Massumi subscribes to: "affect must be viewed as independent of, and in an important sense prior to ideology that is, prior to intentions, meanings, reasons, and beliefs" (Massumi 27). While Lok feels the atmosphere through smell, for instance, he is not even aware of the existence of human beings, yet he still senses the uncanny change at the level of the body.

The affect one creates continues to linger on even after the existence of that person ends. After Nil announces Ha's disappearance, they cannot comprehend the fact because they continue feeling the memories of his existence:

> … they stood still and mediated formlessly the picture of no Ha. He was with them. They knew his every inch and expression, his individual scent, his wise and silent face. His thorn bush lay against the rock, part of the shaft water-smooth from his hot grip. The accustomed rock waited for him, there before them was the worn mark of his body on the earth. All

> these things came together in Lok. They made his heart swell, gave him strength as if he might will Ha to them out of the air.
> Suddenly Nil spoke.
> "Ha is gone." (Golding 68)

Ha's expressions, his scent, and his spiritual existence continue to affect the group until they are finally sure of his death. The people project their awareness on each other, and this projection creates strong ties among them. The important thing is that these affects are not unwanted; they feed on these affects, build on them, and contribute from themselves without strict boundaries. At this point, they are not self-contained individuals. They have a more permeable way of being, and do not repress each other's energy.

The disappearance of Ha accentuates the imminence of danger, but this time people start to develop a conviction of what the other might be capable of. Lok's sense of smell enables him to untangle the mystery behind Ha's disappearance, allowing him to realize that "the other" exists. However, he cannot define the other at this point, and wishes to understand what it is and how to treat it. Ha's death creates the fear, and gives a perspective. This is followed by the acceptance of the existence of "the other," experiencing self-consciousness and embarking on a process of individuation or a pre-individual milieu.

Lok's discovery of the scent of something "other" and "[turning] … into the thing that had gone before him" (Golding 77) empowers him to identify with the other through what lingers from the behaviour at the end of which he finds himself spying on the cave where his group is. According to Babb, this temporary identification with the other changes Lok and alienates him from the other members of his group (Babb 49): "He was cut off and no longer one of the people; as though his communion with the other had changed him, he was different from them and they could not see him … he felt his difference and invisibility as a cold wind that blew on his skin" (Golding 78). This identification rendered Lok susceptible to the negative affects of the other, and the process of "othering" accelerated. Yet this reveals that the unfolding of the affective dynamic and the way one individual affects and is being affected requires an interplay, which demands both active and receptive participants, which generates the process of individuation.

Having undergone these affective experiences, and by identifying and defining the other, the Neanderthals start to develop self-awareness which fragments Lok between "Lok-outside" and "Lok-inside." By first hearing and then seeing the other, Lok is now able to use the word "like", which means that, in contrast to his situation in his tight group bonded with invisible strings, his self is dislocated and he can differentiate himself as an individual being. This transmission of affect connected to power, however, is a relation in which these two groups take opposite positions, and the newcomers project outside of themselves emotions such as terror, fear, and desperation. Their reference to Neanderthals as "devils" is a projection which reveals that they project what they disown in themselves, which is being the "devil" and reflect it to the Neanderthals. The terror and aggression created by the outlaw position of *Homo*

sapiens and the disorder in their group are directed at Neanderthals, causing hopelessness and anxiety about extinction and hopelessness in the other, and are seen as the origin of the negative affects. The fear of being taken over is in the air, and although the people do not realize the transmission of affect for what it is, they are aware of the negativity which leads to the breach of boundaries, crossing the dreaded river dividing the groups, and generating some self-definition and cognitive changes in the people.

What starts as a distant observation of the newcomers who are bent on destroying the Neanderthals continues with the direct impact of the latter on the future of the group, who are particularly affected by the loss of the "new one" who represents the future. That future is under threat because the Neanderthals are the last survivors of a Great Fire, and Fa and Lok cannot reproduce because there is the probability of Fa being barren. The abduction of the children, specifically the baby, is a catalyser which forces Fa and Lok to cross the dreaded river and to rescue the children. This episode is another step towards self-consciousness, because as they watch the newcomers, they begin, in a limited way, to reflect on their differences.

Through their secret observations they realize that this new group of people are more developed in practical terms even though the Neanderthals cannot perceive the connection between things, such as the existence of poisonous weapons or the reasons for the newcomers' rituals. Different forms of encounter with "the other" stands as the crux of the novel's character construction, as well as constructing the binary narrative form. Such encounters also gradually reveal the loss of innocence and the fall of the human beings, the newcomers.

Though Lok and Fa plan to rescue Liku and the young one, and bide their time in choosing when to do so, they fail twice, and while watching the newcomers, they begin to realize how different they are. This understanding accentuates the development of self-consciousness. Fa, for instance, seeing the newcomers eat Liku, realizes that these people do not come from the belly of Oa. After witnessing the cannibalism of the newcomers, Fa says: "They have gone over us like a hollow log. They are like winter." This suggests that the newcomers alienated the people, and Fa alienates them in return. Much as they wish to rescue the young one, it also suggests that the hope of Lok and Fa to rescue the baby is only a virtual one, as they are physically incapable of doing it; the baby is always out of reach or around the next bend. Fa and Lok are not able to escape that complicated situation, as mentally and physically they are not at that level. What matters here is the fact they are able to affect the other group despite their lack of capability. The obscurity and sense of fear they create is something that connects them.

As a result of the fear generated by the people, the newcomers decide to migrate elsewhere, and to protect themselves by giving Tanakil as a sacrifice. Knowing that this is the last time they have the chance to save the children, Fa and Lok decide to confront them. The Neanderthals transmit terror and chaos to the other group, and the mutual feeling of terror and chaos results in the death of many newcomers and of Fa. This encounter is a moment in which these two

groups represent two sides: the self and the sensory world, the conscious and the unconscious self, the self and the other. For Massumi, with intensified affect and saturation of the space with fear comes a stronger sense of embeddedness in life and a heightened sense of belonging (Massumi 6). The more the level of intensification rises, the more the sense of belonging increases among *Homo sapiens;* Tuami abandons the thought of killing Marlan and feels an increased sense of belonging.

Lok's attempts to rescue Liku until he realizes that she has been eaten by the newcomers, instantiates the strong attachment among the people and their sense of belonging. Until the point where he sees Liku's ornament of Oa in the ashes, he still hopes to rescue her. Following Lok's perspective, the reader is also ignorant of Liku's death—that is, although there are some clues in "death in Fa's eyes," the reader realizes the fact at the same time as Lok does. This is the culmination of the Neanderthals' tragedy and a moment of epiphany that makes Lok weep. But this also reveals that his self is haunted by the other, and all these affective relations introduce subjectivity and individuation.

Janet Burroway notes that understanding the fact that Liku was eaten by the newcomers does not make Lok say that they do not come from the belly of the Oa; he just weeps. For Burroway, the fact that Lok does not consider the others as subhuman because of what they did to the Neanderthals, instead seeing them as complex and complicated beings, represents refusal of a simplistic judgement (Burroway 67). The newcomers, possessing the baby, in the end connect both groups, and represent the future of humanity. Apart from the transmission of affect between the two groups, the only physical exchange they have is the baby. "The other" no longer means hostility, danger and foreignness. The baby represents the fragment of "the other" in the *Homo sapiens*, so, as Blackman notes, they are "one yet many" (Blackman xxiii).

In a talk called "Belief and Creativity" he gave in 1980, Golding explains that all his novels deal with "the man at an extremity, man tested like a building material, taken into laboratory and used to destruction; man isolated, man obsessed, man drowning in a literal sea or in the sea of his ignorance" (Golding "Belief and Creativity" 198-99). In an attempt to deal with the human condition and reflecting on the evil residing in man, *homo sapiens* is regarded in *The Inheritors* is regarded as the source of the loss of innocence, the fall of the humankind from a harmonious relationship with nature, their environment, and other members of their groups. While the borders and boundaries between bodies, human and non-human, were porous and permeable before, the entrance of *Homo sapiens* breaks this union. This evinces Golding's view on the agency of *Homo sapiens* in the existence of evil in the world. As John Carey emphasizes, however, most of Golding's notes for the rewrite of the novel refer to the idea that the new people are not impelled by mere wickedness or cruelty but by some irresistible force—progress or destiny or natural selection (Carey 182). He does not isolate evil in any one character, not even Tuami, because he realizes that progress always occurs at another's expense ("What else could we have done?"). In William Blake's words: "The tree which moves some to tears of

joy is in the eyes of others only a green thing that stands in the way" (Blake 793). The people are no more than a "thing in the way" that must be destroyed. The fact that Tuami rationalizes what happened in the group and with the "monsters" indicates that he is ready to move forward and forget the past. As Nietzsche puts it, "one who cannot leave himself behind on the threshold of the moment and forget the past […] would be condemned to see 'becoming' everywhere. Such a man no longer believes in himself or his own existence; he sees everything fly past in an eternal succession and loses himself in the stream of becoming" (Nietzsche 6). People should have the strength to compensate for what has been lost, rebuilding shattered forms out of one's self. When Tuami abandons the thought of killing Marlan and focuses on Vivani and the baby, he is healing his wounds and growing out of himself. As the artist of the group, he is able to abstract those experiences and is learning to desire the future more keenly. This also explains the contradiction between what Golding told the critic Virginia Tiger—that he wrote the first draft as a rebuttal of the nineteenth-century doctrine of progress (Tiger 91)—and his stress, in the rewrite, on the evolutionary life force which drives the new people upwards, symbolized also by the ability of *Homo sapiens* to travel up the river against the current. In a work defying a line of demarcation between poetry and artistic prose with its image patterns, the contradiction extends to the central symbol of the waterfall where the final extermination of the people takes place, and the river, which emphasizes the inevitable stream of time, the fall, and the loss of innocence.

It is hard, however, to assert a completely pessimistic point of view for the novel. As the point of view shifts from the Neanderthals to the *Homo sapiens*, we look to the future, though not a utopian dream of a better life. There is a sort of vagueness surrounding the situation, and an uncertainty about where the human beings are going to end up. This vagueness and uncertainty provide room for manoeuvrability and a sense of potential to the situation. Walker, for instance, suggests that the novel insists on the idea that the Neanderthal group and their way of life, based on senses and communality, had to perish. By creating a dialectic between these two systems of exchange, however, Golding suggests the need for a third kind of communal system. The union of both sides, for Walker, is symbolized by the ivory knife handle being carved by Tuami in the shape of Vivani holding the Neanderthal baby, as a representation of the union of the strengths of the people and those of the new men (Walker 300). The potential resides in the baby, who holds the capacity for affecting and being affected. By taking the baby, *Homo sapiens'* has stepped over a threshold. For Massumi, who quotes Spinoza, every transition is accompanied by a feeling of the change in capacity (Massumi 4). The terror provoked by the Neanderthals ends for the newcomers and while the last oppressed Neanderthal, Lok, metamorphoses into a monster at the end, the baby holds the potential to become the ordinary among *Homo sapiens*. The existence of the Neanderthal baby manifests how deep the roots of men go and how they take the past of the Neanderthals into themselves. Or how the past will continue haunting.

The narrative, following a prehistoric temporal index, shows that in the end we empathize with the victor. As Walter Benjamin notes, "whoever has emerged

victorious participates to this day in the triumphal procession in which the present rulers step over those who are lying prostrate" (Benjamin 256). What Golding narrates in this book is a document of the barbarism of civilization; it reflects what cannot be contemplated without horror and what cannot be directed against the grain. Golding's historical reconsideration of the succession of events between the Neanderthals and *Homo sapiens,* which accede to the present and which provides a fictional narration of the early forms of othering and oppression, manifests the modern need to deconstruct the past: as Nietzsche points out, "though we condemn the errors and think we have escaped them, we cannot escape the fact that we spring from them" (Nietzsche 21). It points out how certain things, ideas, or people are marginalized, excluded, or repressed, and how historical continuities are transmitted through silences, gaps, and omissions. Like Lok's Sisyphean pursuit of saving the baby and Liku, which leads to his destruction, we might be navigating an ongoing round of disappointment and optimism while trying to stay afloat—which might be read as a form of cruel optimism.

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Word Frequencies in the Written Texts of Learners of Turkish as a Foreign Language at CEFR Level A

AOBM A Düzeyinde Yabancı Dil Olarak Türkçe Öğrenen Öğrencilerin Yazılı Metinlerindeki Sözcük Sıklıkları

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Abstract
This study aims to list the vocabulary items used by learners of Turkish as a foreign language at CEFR level A and their frequency values, and reveal the factors affecting the differences in the word frequency lists created based on certain demographic criteria. It also aims to compare the lists with the frequency lists of the course book used by the learners and the list of words frequently used by native speakers of Turkish. For these purposes, written texts of 123 students at Ankara University TÖMER were collected and digitized, and using all the words in those texts, a lemma list was created for this learner corpus. Then, separate lists were created to show how certain variables might affect the frequency of words used by learners. The results show that the most significant factor leading to differences in the lists is the level the students were studying at.
Keywords: Turkish as a Foreign Language, corpus linguistics, learner corpus, word frequency list

Öz
Bu çalışma Avrupa Ortak Başvuru Metni (AOBM) A düzeyinde Yabancı Dil Olarak Türkçe öğrenen öğrencilerin yazılı metinlerinde kullandıkları sözcükleri ve sözcük sıklıklarını listeleyerek demografik değişkenlere göre oluşturulan gruplar arasındaki farkların sebeplerini ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca, bu sıklık listelerini öğrencilerin kullandıkları ders kitabının sıklık listesiyle ve anadili Türkçe olan konuşucuların kullandıkları sözcüklerin sıklık listesiyle de karşılaştırmayı hedeflemektedir. Bunun için Ankara Üniversitesi TÖMER'de öğrenim gören 123 öğrencinin yazılı metinleri toplanmış, bilgisayar ortamına aktarılmış ve öğrenci derlemini oluşturan bu metinlerdeki tüm sözcükler ile bir başsözcük listesi oluşturulmuştur. Daha sonra, belli değişkenlerin öğrencilerin sözcük sıklıklarını nasıl etkilediğini incelemek üzere ayrı listeler oluşturulmuştur. Sonuçlar farklı gruplardaki öğrencilerin listeleri arasındaki farklara sebep olan en önemli etmenin öğrencilerin dil düzeyi olduğunu göstermektedir.
Anahtar Kelimeler: Yabancı Dil Olarak Türkçe, derlem dilbilim, öğrenci derlemi, sözcük sıklık listesi

Introduction

Corpus can be defined as the gathering of written texts and spoken language data that can represent a language based on certain criteria (Burkhanov qtd. in Karaoğlu

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181), and the characteristics of a corpus can be listed as follows: Electronic/ Computer readability, representativeness, balance and including language used in natural communication contexts (Gries and Berez 380; O'Donnell). As for different types of corpora, they can be classified into different groups such as balanced and non-balanced, synchronic and diachronic, written and spoken, or L1 and learner corpora. This study focuses on one of these types of corpora, namely *learner corpus*, which is the systematic gathering of written or spoken language of second language learners and storing the data electronically (Callies and Paquot 1). These corpora are of crucial importance in second language acquisition and foreign language teaching as they can provide the necessary learner output that can be analyzed by language software tools (Granger 4). Callies and Paquot (1) stated more specifically that learner corpora can be used for a number of purposes such as describing learner language, designing new teaching methods and tools that target learners' needs, creating new dictionaries, and in assessment and evaluation.

The linguistics methodology that is based on gathering natural texts called corpora electronically is called *corpus linguistics* (Granger 1). The number of studies in corpus linguistics in Turkish is low; the number of ones related to a learner corpus in Turkish is even lower. Although there are numerous learner corpora in many languages such as English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Korean, Chinese, Arabic, and the like, there is not one in Turkish. This study aims to contribute to one being constructed.

One important part of corpus studies is word frequency lists. Aksan and Yaldır define *word frequency* as the numerical value that shows how many times a linguistic item is used in a corpus (378). Frequency lists are lists that show how frequently a word is used in a corpus. To be able to make comparisons between the list of one corpus with the list of another, normalized frequency values need to be calculated as the frequency values on their own will not be reliable (Hoffmann et al. qtd in Aksan and Demirhan 89). The reason for this is because the corpora to be compared could be different in size and the frequencies of the words could be different only because of that. Thus, the frequency values have to be normalized; that is the values should be calculated using the formula below to see what they would be if the corpus were to be of one million words.

Frequency of the word in the corpus/the total number of words in the corpus* 1.000.000

The number of word frequency or vocabulary studies in Turkish are low and they mostly focus on Turkish as a native language (Göz; Pilav; Ölker; Gündoğdu). The number of word frequency studies in Turkish as a foreign language is also rather low. Similar to others in the field, Ercan's (7) study shows that among the 118 theses written between the years 1995 and 2013 regarding teaching Turkish to foreigners, 16.94% was on grammar teaching, 13.56% on materials design and/or evaluation, 9.32% on teaching methods and techniques, 7.63% on vocabulary teaching, 6.77% on difficulties faced while teaching and only 4.24% (5 out of 118

theses) on word frequency/preparing dictionaries. In addition, the few studies focusing on the language as a foreign language were either ones evaluating the language in course books (Karadağ and Kurudayıoğlu; Sevinç; Uslu; Akman; Doğan; Karadağ), or oral language performances (Çelebi). One recent study about word frequencies, for example, focused on the word frequencies used in seven course books used to teach Turkish as a foreign language (Şimşek and Gün). Similarly, in a doctoral thesis study, Bulundu aimed to identify the vocabulary items used in the nine course book series used to teach Turkish as a foreign language.

When studies focusing on Turkish as a foreign language are analyzed, it can be seen that only 17 graduate theses were written between the years 2006-2022. As examples for studies on word frequency among these, Göçen's doctoral dissertation on word frequencies of learners of Turkish as a foreign language and Çetin's master's thesis on the factors affecting the word frequencies in texts written by young learners of Turkish as a second language can be given. Another study focusing on the vocabulary used in B1 level course books and 21 students' written essays is Şimşek's article.

In the light of all these, it can be concluded that this study will shed light on a field that has rarely been focused on. The aims of this study are: To determine the vocabulary of learners of Turkish as a foreign language at CEFR level A; to reveal the factors that might influence how frequently learners use these words; to portray the differences in frequency values between the lists of words used by learners and the list of words in the *Hitit Yabancılar İçin Türkçe* course book used by the learners, and the list of the most frequently used words by native speakers of Turkish; to understand the factors leading to the differences in these lists.

Materials and Methods

Data and Participants

Written texts of 123 learners learning Turkish as a foreign language at the CEFR levels A1 and A2 at TÖMER in Ankara, Turkey were collected and analyzed for this study. These learners were students in four sub-levels, which can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The number of students in each level

CEFR Level	**Number of students**
A.1.1	45
A.1.2	32
A.2.1	22
A.2.2	24
Total	**123**

The written texts collected from learners were mostly homework assignments, and in two of the levels, there were also texts they wrote in exams held in class. The numbers of each can be seen in Table 2 below.

Table 2. The number of different types of texts written by learners in each level

CEFR Level	Number of homework texts	Number of texts written in exams	Total number of texts
A1.1	93		93
A1.2	62	31	93
A2.1	69		69
A2.2	67	23	90
Total	**291**	**54**	**345**

Participants

All participants filled out a form with certain demographic information. A summary of this information has been given below.

Table 3. Percentage of learners based on gender

Gender	Percentage of learners
Female	47.4%
Male	52.6%

Table 4. Percentages of learners based on age intervals

Age interval	Percentage of learners
13-20	29.3%
21-30	50%
31-40	12.9%
41-50	4.3%
Not indicated	3.5%

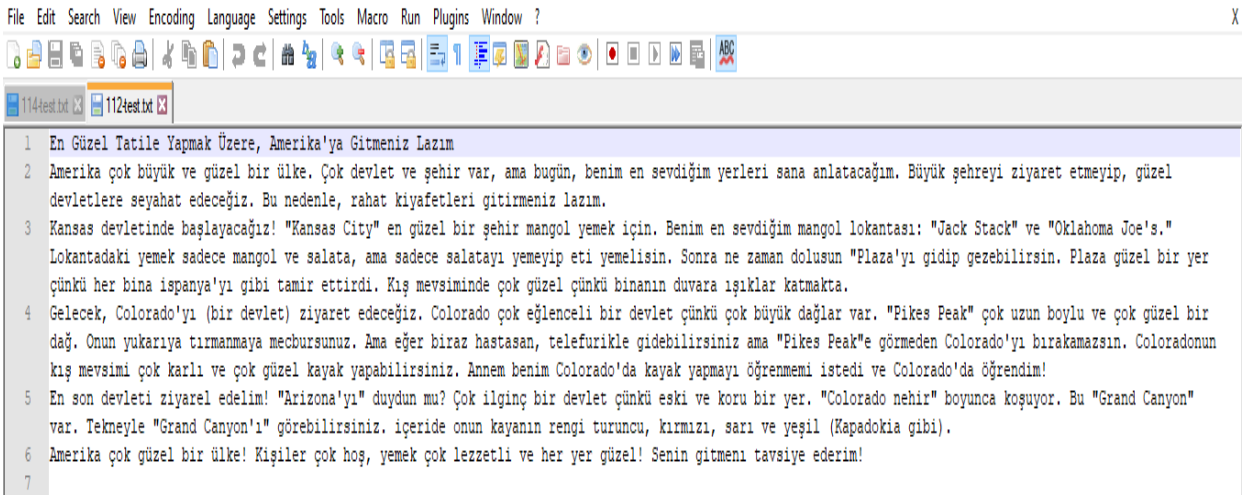
Other demographic information collected from the learners includes their nationalities and the native languages they speak. The participants came from 40 different countries; Palestine, Iraq, Russia and Turkmenistan being the ones from which the majority of learners came, 18.1%, 12%, 5.2% and 5.2% respectively. As for the native languages of the learners, 41.5% spoke Arabic, 9.8% Russian, 7.3% English, 4.9% Turkmen, 4.3% Persian, 4.3% French, and the remaining 27.9% 25 other languages.

Methods

In this study, a corpus-driven approach was adopted. This type of approach claims that corpora are the only resource for a researcher to form theses using corpus data (Tognini-Bonelli 84-85).

First of all, the demographic information collected from learners was transferred to an Excel file, during which learners' names were not used and each learner was given a number instead for anonymity. Each of the texts that were collected was also given a separate number such as 015-01, which means it is the first text written by Learner 15. Then, all the hand-written texts were transferred to a computer and were digitized using Notepad++. For character coding UTF-8 was chosen so that Turkish characters would be shown correctly. An example can be seen below.

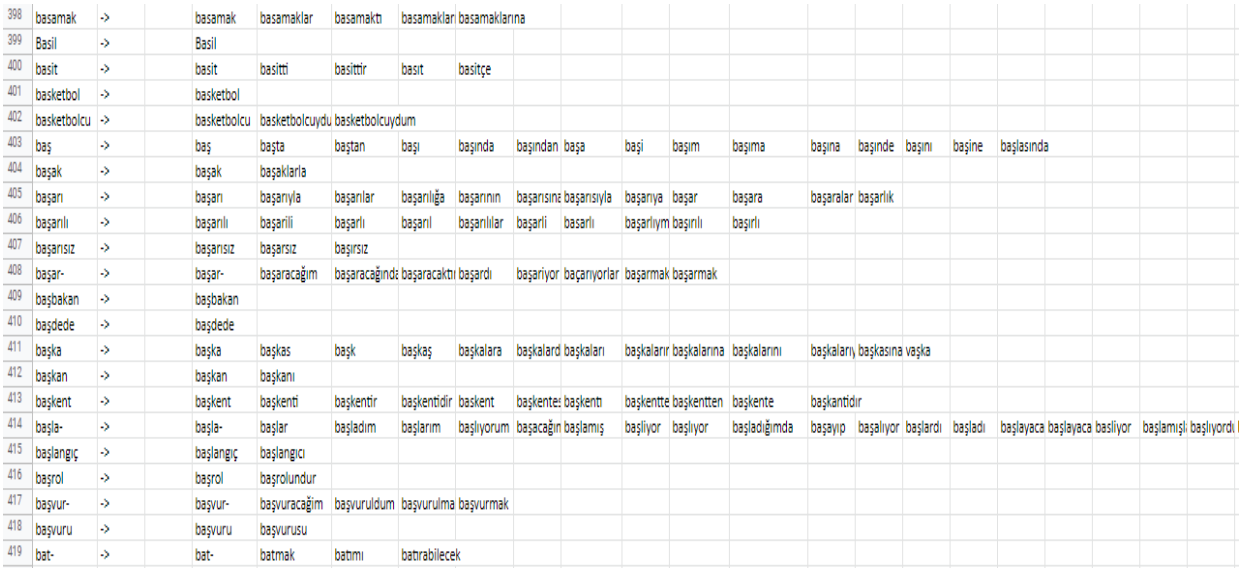
Figure 1. A sample learner text digitalized using Notepad++



The next step was categorizing each text based on demographic information. To illustrate, a folder was created for all the texts written by women, another one was created for all the texts written by learners between the ages 21-30, and another one for texts written by learners at A.1.1 level. After this, a word list for all the data was created using AntConc. The next step was "a necessary step for computing the lexical density of texts" (Granger and Lefer 27): Lemmatization.

Every linguistic item with a space or a punctuation mark on both sides is called a *token* (Aksan and Yaldır 378). *Type*, on the other hand, is every token that is repeated in a corpus or words that are different than each other and form the corpus (Aksan and Aksan 87). Each type is a different word form; however, some of them are derived from the same root. The words that are the basic forms of those derived ones; that is, words that can be headwords in a dictionary are called lemmas (Aksan and Aksan 87). For this study, a lemma list was created on Excel, which was then loaded to AntConc as the lemma list to be used for the searches. A small part of the list can be seen in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2. A part from the lemma list created for this study



398	basamak	->		basamak	basamaklar	basamaktı	basamakları	basamaklarına																	
399	Basil	->		Basil																					
400	basit	->		basit	basitti	basittir	basıt	basitçe																	
401	basketbol	->		basketbol																					
402	basketbolcu	->		basketbolcu	basketbolcuydu	basketbolcuydum																			
403	baş	->		baş	başta	baştan	başı	başında	başından	başa	başi	başım	başıma	başına	başında	başını	başine	başlasında							
404	başak	->		başak	başaklarla																				
405	başarı	->		başarı	başarıyla	başarılar	başarılığa	başarının	başarısına	başarısıyla	başarıya	başar	başara	başaralar	başarlık										
406	başarılı	->		başarılı	başarili	başarlı	başanl	başarılılar	başarli	basarlı	başarliym	başırılı	başırlı												
407	başarısız	->		başarısız	başarsız	başırsız																			
408	başar-	->		başar-	başaracağım	başaracağında	başaracaktı	başardı	başariyor	başarıyorlar	başarmak	başarmak													
409	başbakan	->		başbakan																					
410	başdede	->		başdede																					
411	başka	->		başka	başkas	başk	başkaş	başkalara	başkalard	başkaları	başkaların	başkalarına	başkalarını	başkaları	başkasına	vaşka									
412	başkan	->		başkan	başkanı																				
413	başkent	->		başkent	başkenti	başkentir	başkentidir	baskent	başkentes	başkenti	başkentte	başkentten	başkente	başkantidır											
414	başla-	->		başla-	başlar	başladım	başlarım	başlıyorum	başacağın	başlamış	başliyor	başliyor	başladığımda	başayıp	başalıyor	başlardı	başladı	başlayaca	başlayaca	basliyor	başlamışl	başliyordu			
415	başlangıç	->		başlangıç	başlangıcı																				
416	başrol	->		başrol	başrolundur																				
417	başvur-	->		başvur-	başvuracağim	başvuruldum	başvurulma	başvurmak																	
418	başvuru	->		başvuru	başvurusu																				
419	bat-	->		bat-	batmak	batımı	batırabilecek																		

As a result, the learner corpus that was constructed in this study included 2903 word types and 31897 word tokens in total. The type/token ratio is 0.091. This is the number that is found by dividing the number of types into the number of tokens in a corpus. This value which is represented in percentages is always smaller than 1 as the number of types is always lower than the number of tokens. The bigger the ratio, the higher the number of different words used in a corpus. However, as the size of the corpus gets larger, the ratio will get lower as function words will be repeatedly used and the number of content words will not get that much higher (Aksan and Yaldır 379).

After lemmatization and uploading the lemma list to AntConc, frequency lists were created for each category by uploading only the texts written by a certain group of learners to AntConc. That is, separate frequency lists were created for texts written by learners between the ages 21-30 and those written by the ones between 31-40, for example. Also, separate lists were created for male and female learners' texts, and the texts written by learners at the level A.1.1 and those of the ones at A.1.2, and the like. Then, to be able to make comparisons between these, the normalized frequency value of each word was also calculated. Then, different types of statistical tests were done to see if the differences are statistically significant or not.

Results

The list of the most frequently used fifty words and their equivalent(s) in English in parentheses next to each word together with the frequency and normalized frequency values can be seen in Table 5 below.

Table 5. The 50 words most frequently used in the corpus

	Freq.	**Word**	**Nor. Freq.**		**Freq.**	**Word**	**Nor. Freq.**
1	1353	ve (and)	42417.78	26	190	en (most)	5956.67
2	1157	ben (I)	36273.00	27	176	istemek (to want)	5517.76
3	999	çok (very/many)	31319.56	28	172	yaşamak (to live)	5392.36
4	670	bir (one/a/an)	21005.11	29	168	gelmek (to come)	5266.95
5	614	gitmek (to go)	19249.46	30	167	aile (family)	5235.60
6	508	sonra (then/later/after)	15926.26	31	165	ad (name)	5172.90
7	502	o (he/she/it/that)	15738.16	32	163	şehir (city)	5110.20
8	492	var (there is)	15424.65	33	159	biz (we)	4984.79
9	429	yapmak (to do/to make)	13449.54	34	157	şey (thing)	4922.09
10	395	her (every)	12383.61	35	148	insan (human/person)	4639.93
11	330	yemek (food/meal)	10345.80	36	147	iki (two)	4608.58
12	297	ev (house)	9311.22	37	146	yaş (age)	4577.23
13	290	bu (this)	9091.76	38	144	tatil (holiday)	4514.53
14	287	güzel (beautiful/nice)	8997.71	39	143	büyük (big)	4483.18
15	275	gün (day)	8621.50	40	141	iyi (good)	4420.48
16	270	ama (but)	8464.75	41	138	daha (more)	4326.43
17	270	saat (hour)	8464.75	42	133	almak (to take/to get)	4169.67
18	260	için (for)	8151.24	43	128	ora (there)	4012.92
19	251	arkadaş (friend)	7869.08	44	125	deniz (sea)	3918.86
20	245	etmek (to do/to make)	7680.97	45	124	anne (mother)	3887.51

21	237	olmak (to be/to become)	7430.17	46	121	çalışmak (to study/to work)	3793.46
22	231	çünkü (because)	7242.06	47	120	yer (place)	3762.11
23	212	zaman (time)	6646.39	48	109	hafta (week)	3417.25
24	211	yemek (to eat)	6615.04	49	103	kardeş (sibling)	3229.14
25	198	sevmek (to love)	6207.48	50	100	hayat (life)	3135.09

Most of the words in this list and the order in which they appear in this list are similar to the ones in the frequency list of *Hitit Yabancılar İçin Türkçe*, the course book used by the students, and the frequency list of Turkish as a native language. Below in Table 6 is a list of the most frequent fifty words in the learner corpus on the left and the course book on the right.

Table 6. The 50 words most frequently used in the corpus and *Hitit Yabancılar İçin Türkçe* (the course book used in classes)

Learner Corpus								**Course book***							
	Freq.	**Word**	**Nor.Freq.**		**Freq.**	**Word**	**Nor.Freq.**		**Freq.**	**Word**	**Nor.Freq.**		**Freq.**	**Word**	**Nor.Freq.**
1	1353	ve (and)	42417.78	26	190	en (most)	5956.67	1	826	bir (one/ a/an)	24606.04	26	158	iş (work/ job)	4706.72
2	1157	ben (I)	36273.00	27	176	istemek (to want)	5517.76	2	811	imek (to be)	24159.19	27	154	almak (to take/to get)	4587.57
3	999	çok (very/ many)	31319.56	28	172	yaşamak (to live)	5392.36	3	566	ve (and)	16860.79	28	151	insan (person/ human)	4498.20
4	670	bir (one/ a/an)	21005.11	29	168	gelmek (to come)	5266.95	4	519	çok (very/ many)	15460.69	29	150	gelmek (to come)	4468.41

4140.73	4021.57	3693.88	3515.15	3485.36	3455.57	3366.20	3336.41	3306.62	3247.04	3127.89
zaman (time)	değil (not)	tatil (holiday)	en (most)	güzel (beautiful /nice)	çocuk (child)	biz (we)	nere (where)	yemek (food/ meal)	çıkmak (to go out of)	arkadaş (friend)
139	135	124	118	117	116	113	112	111	109	105
30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
13971.22	13822.28	12958.38	11439.13	8609.13	8400.61	8192.08	7536.72	7209.03	7119.66	6404.72
ben (I)	bu (this)	mı (question particle)	da (too/also)	için (for)	var (existent)	o (she/ he/it)	yapmak (to do/to make)	olmak (to be/to become)	ne (what)	ama (but)
469	464	435	384	289	282	275	253	242	239	215
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
5235.60	5172.90	5110.20	4984.79	4922.09	4639.93	4608.58	4577.23	4514.53	4483.18	4420.48
aile (family)	ad (name)	şehir (city)	biz (we)	şey (thing)	insan (person/ human)	iki (two)	yaş (age)	tatil (holiday)	büyük (big)	iyi (good)
167	165	163	159	157	148	147	146	144	143	141
30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
19249.46	15926.26	15738.16	15424.65	13449.54	12383.61	10345.80	9311.22	9091.76	8997.71	8621.50
gitmek (to go)	sonra (then/later/ after)	o (he/she/it / that)	var (existent)	yapmak (to do/to make)	her (every)	yemek (food/meal)	ev (house)	bu (this)	güzel (beautiful / nice)	gün (day)
614	508	502	492	429	395	330	297	290	287	275
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

3127.89	3127.89	3127.89	3098.10	3038.52	3008.73	3008.73	2919.36	2919.36	2800.20
bura (here)	televizyon (TV)	yıl (year)	evet (yes)	nasıl (how)	çünkü (because)	yer (place)	tamamlamak (to complete)	yok (non-existent)	gibi (like)
105	105	105	104	102	101	101	98	98	94
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
6255.77	6106.82	5898.30	5719.56	5421.67	5123.77	5064.20	4915.25	4855.67	4736.51
ev (home)	gitmek (to go)	iyi (good)	sen (you)	sonra (then/later/after)	gün (day)	istemek (to want)	daha (more)	saat (hour)	siz (plural you)
210	205	198	192	182	172	170	165	163	159
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
4326.43	4169.67	4012.92	3918.86	3887.51	3793.46	3762.11	3417.25	3229.14	3135.09
daha (more)	almak (to take/to get)	ora (there)	deniz (sea)	anne (mother)	çalışmak (to study/to work)	yer (place)	hafta (week)	kardeş (sibling)	hayat (life)
138	133	128	125	124	121	120	109	103	100
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
8464.75	8464.75	8151.24	7869.08	7680.97	7430.17	7242.06	6646.39	6615.04	6207.48
ama (but)	saat (hour)	için (for)	arkadaş (friend)	etmek (to do/to make)	olmak (to be/to become)	çünkü (because)	zaman (time)	yemek (to eat)	sevmek (to love)
270	270	260	251	245	237	231	212	211	198
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25

* The list was created by adding the frequency values of words in the A1 and A2 level books listed in Göçen's doctoral dissertation (2149-2150).

It can be observed that 31 out of these 50 words are the same in the two lists. However, there are certain differences in the frequencies they were used at. Most of these differences between these two lists stem from the fact that the learner corpus includes texts written as answers to prompts related to basic topics such as family, daily activities, holidays, and the like. This is why the use of the pronouns "I" (nor.freq.: 36273) and "we" (nor.freq.: 4984) is more frequent in this list than in the course book (nor. freq.s: 13971 and 3366 respectively). Also, verbs such as to do, to make, to go, to eat, to want, to come, and to study are all used more frequently in the learner texts to explain what they do in a day, on holidays, and the like. In the course book, on the other hand, there are dialogues; thus, question words such as "ne", "nere", nasıl", the question particle "mı", the pronouns "sen" and "siz" (you), and responses such as "evet" (yes) are used numerous times in addition to verbs such as "tamamla" (to complete) that are used in instructions. None of these appears in the list of the most frequent fifty words used by the learners.

As mentioned before, the most frequently used words by the learners are mostly similar to the ones used by native speakers of Turkish too. Below in Table 7 are the two lists.

Table 7. The 50 words most frequently used in the corpus and TNC (Turkish National Corpus)**

	Learner Corpus				TNC**				
	Freq.	**Word**	**Nor.Freq.**		**Freq.**	**Word**	**Nor.Freq.**	**Freq.**	**Word**	**Nor.Freq.**
1	1353	ve (and)	42417.78	26	190	en (most)	5956.67	1	1402146	bir (a/an)	27494.67	26	182309	yer (place)	3574.90
2	1157	ben (I)	36273.00	27	176	istemek (to want)	5517.76	2	1312151	ol (to be/ become)	25729.96	27	179439	bul (to find)	3518.62
3	999	Çok (very /many)	31319.56	28	172	yaşamak (to live)	5392.36	3	1178818	ve (and)	23115.43	28	178382	iç (inside; to drink)	3497.89
4	670	bir (one/ a/an)	21005.11	29	168	gelmek (to come)	5266.95	4	989142	bu (this)	19396.08	29	176269	ama (but/ yet/still)	3456.46

3150.30	3152.56	3288.41	3037.06	2998.12	3077.30	2917.07	3035.73	2934.64	2945.94	2894.84
zaman (time)	her (each/ every)	şey (thing)	kadar (until; as much as)	ara(break /distance to search)	git (to go)	en (most; width)	yıl (year)	değil (be not)	çalış (to work)	iste (to want)
160656	160771	167699	154881	152895	156933	148762	154813	149658	150234	147628
30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
17288.64	10028.49	9648.86	7023.78	6121.91	6306.49	6207.62	5598.07	5533.81	5131.65	4633.57
da (too/ also)	et (to do/ to make; meat)	o (she/he/ it)	yap (to do/to make)	al (to take/get)	de (to say)	ben (I, me)	gel (to come)	için (for)	çok (very; much/many/a lot of)	ver (to give)
881669	511423	492063	358192	312199	321612	316570	285485	282208	261699	236298
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
5235.60	5172.90	5110.20	4984.79	4922.09	4639.93	4608.58	4577.23	4514.53	4483.18	4420.48
aile (family)	ad (name)	şehir (city)	biz (we)	şey (thing)	insan (person/ human)	iki (two)	yaş (age)	tatil (holiday)	büyük (big)	iyi (good)
167	165	163	159	157	148	147	146	144	143	141
30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
19249.46	15926.26	15738.16	15424.65	13449.54	12383.61	10345.80	9311.22	9091.76	8997.71	8621.50
gitmek (to go)	sonra (then/later/ after)	o (he/she/ it/ that)	var (existent)	yapmak (to do/to make)	her (every)	yemek (food/ meal)	ev (house)	bu (this)	güzel (beautiful/ nice)	gün (day)
614	508	502	492	429	395	330	297	290	287	275
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

2802.58	2862.99	2810.50	2682.04	2755.49	2629.04	2637.64	2439.53	2488.13	2389.04
geç (to pass; late)	bil (to know)	biz (we/us)	gün (day)	insan (human)	anla (to understand)	ya (either)	el (hand)	ki (who/ which-conjunction)	kal (to stay/remain)
142923	146004	143327	136776	140522	134073	134512	124409	126887	121834
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
4774.57	4463.16	4543.74	4236.89	4283.29	4413.02	4143.71	3887.03	3968.64	3750.20
ne (what)	daha (more)	gibi (like)	gör (to see)	kendi (self)	mı (question particle)	var (existent; to arrive at)	çık (to go out of)	ile (with/together)	sonra (after/later)
243489	227608	231717	216069	218435	225051	211317	198227	202389	191249
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
4326.43	4169.67	4012.92	3918.86	3887.51	3793.46	3762.11	3417.25	3229.14	3135.09
daha (more)	almak (to take/to get)	ora (there)	deniz (sea)	anne (mother)	çalışmak (to study/to	yer (place)	hafta (week)	kardeş (sibling)	hayat (life)
138	133	128	125	124	121	120	109	103	100
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
8464.75	8464.75	8151.24	7869.08	7680.97	7430.17	7242.06	6646.39	6615.04	6207.48
ama (but)	saat (hour)	için (for)	arkadaş (friend)	etmek (to do/to make)	olmak (to be/to become)	çünkü (because)	zaman (time)	yemek (to eat)	sevmek (to love)
270	270	260	251	245	237	231	212	211	198
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25

**The list was taken from Aksan et al.

To identify any statistical differences between the two corpora the Mann Whitney U test was used and the results were shown in Table 8 below.

Table 8. The results of the statistical analysis on the learner corpus and TNC

	Count	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Median	U value	Sig.
Group 1	27	7410,86	7383,06	2682,04	27494,67	4143,71	191,000	,003*
Group 2	27	12096,81	10214,19	3762,11	42417,78	8151,24		

*p<0.05

As there are 27 words common in the two lists, the comparison was done using the frequency values of these words only. The mean and median of the normalized frequency values in TNC were higher than the ones of the learner corpus. In addition, there is a statistically significant difference between the normalized frequency values belonging to the two corpora (p>0.05). This indicates that native speakers of Turkish use these words at significantly higher frequency values than the learners of Turkish as a foreign language at CEFR levels A1 and A2.

As mentioned before, among the 50 most frequently used words by the learners of Turkish and native speakers, 27 are the same. However, how frequently these 27 words were used differed. To illustrate, the conjunctions “ve” (and) and “ama” (but) seem to be used more frequently (nor.freq.: 42417, 8464 respectively) by the A1 level learners of Turkish compared to native speakers (nor.freq.: 23115, 3456 respectively). The reason for this could be that at this level of basic proficiency, the number of conjunctions learners learn and can use is limited and they prefer to use the first ones they learn more frequently than they are used by the native speakers of the language. Similarly, it can be seen in Corefl Learner Corpus, learner corpus of 530,392 words (Lozano, Díaz-Negrillo & Callies, 2020) that L2 learners of English at the CEFR levels A1 and A2 used the word “and” frequently (nor.freq.: 50361 at A1 and 44870 at A2). In the same corpus, it can be seen that the same groups of learners used the word “but” frequently as well (nor.freq.: 7309 at A1 and 9391 at A2). When these results are compared to the results from the BNC (British National Corpus), a corpus of texts in English written by native speakers of the language, it can be observed that the use of the conjunctions “and” and “but” by native speakers of English is less frequent than learners of English at low CEFR levels (nor.freq.: 23471 and 3996 respectively). All these results seem to be similar to the ones obtained from the learner corpus created for this study and TNC.

Another difference in frequency values related to the proficiency level of learners is the use of the pronouns “ben” (I) and “biz” (we). Learners used these more frequently (nor.freq.: 36273, 4984 respectively) than native speakers (nor.freq.: 6207, 2810 respectively) probably because they had limited vocabulary to be able to give information about themselves, and some of the questions they were supposed to answer in the texts they wrote asked them to do so. The normalized

frequency values of these pronouns in BNC (7860 and 3140 respectively) seem to be similar to that of TNC; however, they are much lower in Corefl (4225 at A1 and 5925 at A2, and 1014 at A1 and 984 in A2 respectively) than in the learner corpus in this study. One reason for this is probably the difference between the questions or topics the learners were asked to write about. Whereas they were asked to write about their own lives, and their friends and family in this study, the learners were asked to write about a famous person or a film in Corefl and thus, did not have to use these pronouns when writing about these. Another important reason for this difference is probably because lemmatization was not done in Corefl. Thus, the words "I" and "my" are considered as separate words whereas they are listed under the same lemma "ben" in this study.

In the lists above, it was detected that the learners also used some verbs more frequently than native speakers. For instance, the verbs "git" (to go), "yap" (to do/to make), "iste" (to want), "çalış" (to study/to work) were all used more frequently by the learners (nor.freq.s: 19249, 13449, 5517, 3793 respectively) than native speakers (nor.freq.s: 3077, 7023, 2894, 2945 respectively). Some other verbs such as "ol" (to be/to become), "et" (to do/to make), "bul" (to find), "geç" (to pass) and "bil" (to know), on the other hand, were used more frequently by the native speakers. There might be different reasons for these. The verb "ol" (to be/become) is one that is difficult to master in levels A1 and A2. The frequency value for the word "et", on the other hand, includes the use of the same word in its noun form "et" (meat) as well and this may be one of the reasons why the frequency is higher in TNC. As for the verbs "bul" (to find), "geç" (to pass) and "bil" (to know), these three do not appear in the list of the most frequently used fifty words by the learners at all. Similarly, they do not appear in the list of the most frequently used fifty words in the coursebook either. Thus, it might be concluded that the reason why the learners did not use these verbs as frequently as the native speakers could be because they were not exposed to these in classes as much as the ones listed in Table 4 above.

In addition to the comparisons between the frequency list constructed based on the learner corpus and the coursebook and TNC, the sub-corpora created were also compared. Below in Table 9 are the lists according to the age categories.

Table 9. Frequency lists based on the age groups of learners

	Below 20			21-30			31-40			Above 40		
	Freq.	Word	Nor. Freq.	Freq.	Word	Nor. Freq.	Freq.	Word	Nor. Freq.	Freq.	Word	Nor. Freq.

38461.54	34798.53	32051.28	21978.02	17399.27	17399.27	13736.26	13736.26	13278.39	12820.51	10531.14
Ve	Çok	Ben	Bir	Gitmek	Sonra	Güzel	Yapmak	Saat	Yemek	Ev
84	76	70	48	38	38	30	30	29	28	23
51300.19	37502.21	28657.35	20166.28	18397.31	16451.44	14682.47	12736.60	12382.81	12029.01	11852.11
ve	çok	ben	gitmek	bir	var	o	sonra	ama	güzel	her
290	212	162	114	104	93	83	72	70	68	67
40651.50	38699.69	32238.52	22142.95	19114.28	15277.96	15076.05	14604.93	13864.58	13797.28	10095.57
ben	ve	çok	bir	gitmek	sonra	var	her	yapmak	o	bu
604	575	479	329	284	227	224	217	206	205	150
44660.68	40169.66	23577.84	22579.84	21581.84	20209.58	20084.83	15593.81	13972.06	11601.80	10728.54
ve	ben	O	çok	bir	sonra	Gitmek	var	yapmak	saat	her
358	322	189	181	173	162	161	125	112	93	86
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

9157.51	9157.51	8241.76	8241.76	8241.76	7783.88	6868.13	6868.13	6868.13	6410.26	6410.26
Gün	Yaşamak	Arkadaş	etmek	var	çünkü	her	tatil	şehir	bu	gelmek
20	20	18	18	18	17	15	15	15	14	14
10967.63	9729.35	9552.45	9375.55	9198.66	9021.76	8844.86	8844.86	8491.07	8314.17	7783.48
yapmak	etmek	gün	daha	yemek	olmak	sevmek	çünkü	arkadaş	zaman	ev
62	55	54	53	52	51	50	50	48	47	44
9960.96	9893.66	9489.84	8614.89	8480.28	8076.46	7941.85	7874.55	7538.03	7268.81	7134.20
yemek	ev	gün	için	ama	saat	arkadaş	etmek	güzel	olmak	çünkü
148	147	141	128	126	120	118	117	112	108	106
10479.04	10104.79	8982.04	8358.28	8358.28	7984.03	7609.78	7485.03	7485.03	6487.03	6487.03
yemek	ev	yaş	ad	arkadaş	ye	güzel	bu	için	etmek	sevmek
84	81	72	67	67	64	61	60	60	52	52
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22

6410.26	6410.26	6410.26	5952.38	5952.38	5952.38	5952.38	5494.51	5494.51	5036.63	5036.63
kalmak (to stay)	mutlu	ye	ad	en	olmak	on	ama	biz	istemek	okumak (to read)
14	14	14	13	13	13	13	12	12	11	11
7429.68	7075.89	6722.09	6191.40	6014.51	6014.51	5660.71	5660.71	5130.02	4953.12	4599.33
istemek	için	bu	aile	en	gelmek	saat	şehir	biz	ye	almak
42	40	38	35	34	34	32	32	29	28	26
6730.38	6326.56	5653.52	5653.52	5586.22	5451.61	5317.00	5317.00	5249.70	5182.39	5047.79
zaman	ye	insan	sevmek	en	istemek	biz	şey	yaşamak	tatil	gelmek
100	94	84	84	83	81	79	79	78	77	75
6362.28	6237.52	6237.52	6237.52	6237.52	5988.02	5988.02	5364.27	5364.27	5239.52	5114.77
şey	ama	en	olmak	zaman	iki	kardeş	aile	almak	gün	yaşamak
51	50	50	50	50	48	48	43	43	42	41
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33

5036.63	5036.63	5036.63	5036.63	4578.75	4578.75	4578.75	4578.75	4578.75	4578.75	4578.75
Televizyon (TV)	uzun (long/ tall)	yaş	çocuk	büyük	ders	insan	için	o	sabah (morning)	zaman
11	11	11	11	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
4599.33	4422.43	4245.53	4245.53	4068.64	4068.64	4068.64	4068.64	4068.64	3891.74	3891.74
iki	önce	yer	çalışmak	bazen (sometimes)	insan	iyi	ora	çocuk (child)	yaz (summer)	yaşamak
26	25	24	24	23	23	23	23	23	22	22
4913.18	4845.87	4778.57	4576.66	4576.66	4576.66	4240.14	4105.53	4038.23	4038.23	4038.23
iyi	büyük	şehir	ad	aile	ora	yer	deniz	anne	iki	kahvaltı
73	72	71	68	68	68	63	61	60	60	60
5114.77	4865.27	4865.27	4615.77	4491.02	4491.02	4491.02	4366.27	4116.77	3992.02	3992.02
öğrenci	gelmek	çünkü	büyük	anne (mother)	biz	istemek	deniz	akşam	on (ten)	tatil
41	39	39	37	36	36	36	35	33	32	32
34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44

45	31	dönmek (to return)	3867.27	59	çalışmak	3970.92	21	hava (weather)	3714.84	10	çay (tea)	4578.75
46	31	iyi	3867.27	58	spor (sport)	3903.62	21	lazım (necessary)	3714.84	9	aile	4120.88
47	30	hafta	3742.51	56	almak	3769.01	21	mutlu (happy)	3714.84	9	gezmek (wander)	4120.88
48	30	şehir	3742.51	56	yıl (year)	3769.01	20	hafta	3537.94	9	sevmek	4120.88
49	29	çalışmak	3617.76	54	hafta (week)	3634.41	19	deniz	3361.05	9	çalışmak	4120.88
50	28	içmek (to drink)	3493.01	54	hayat (life)	3634.41	18	akşam	3184.15	8	almak	3663.00

The Kruskal Wallis test was applied to detect if there is a significant difference between the normalized frequency values of the words used by students in different age groups. The results of this analysis can be seen Table 10 below.

Table 10. The results of the statistical analysis done on the frequency lists of words used by learners of different age groups

Age	Count	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Median	Chi-Square	Sig.
Below 20	50	9413,67	8624,07	3493,01	44660,68	6237,52	,192	,979
21-30	50	9215,24	8319,32	3634,41	40651,50	5653,52		
31-40	50	9372,01	8899,10	3184,15	51300,19	6456,75		
Above 41	50	9029,30	7747,27	3663,00	38461,54	6181,32		

The mean of the normalized frequency values of words used by students under the age of 20 is higher than that of the other age groups. The median is the highest in the group of students between the ages 31-40. There is no significant difference between the normalized frequency values of the words used by different age groups (p>0.05).

When the lists are analyzed, it can be seen that the first five most frequent words are the same in all age categories except for one. The pronoun "o" (he/she/it/that) was used more frequently by the learners below 20. This can be explained not by the difference in age but the fact that most of these learners were in the A.1.1 level where most of the assignments required them to write about their family members, friends or neighbors and what they do in a day or in their free times, all of which necessitate the use of the pronoun. Another difference that can be explained by looking at the levels rather than ages is the use of "ama" (but) and "çünkü" (because) less frequently by the learners below 20 years of age. The word "ama" has a normalized frequency of 6237 in the texts written by students below 20 years of age compared to a normalized frequency of 8480 in the texts written by learners of ages 21-30 and 12382 in ones written by learners of ages 31-40. As for the word "çünkü", the normalized frequency values for the age groups are 4865, 7134, 8844 and 7783. These conjunctions are used more frequently by students at higher levels of language proficiency, who also happen to be students of greater ages in this study.

In addition to age groups, sub-corpora based on gender were also created. The lists below in Table 11 show the differences between the two genders.

Table 11. Frequency lists based on the gender of learners

Men								**Women**							
	Freq.	**Word**	**Nor. Freq.**		**Freq.**	**Word**	**Nor. Freq.**		**Freq.**	**Word**	**Nor. Freq.**		**Freq.**	**Word**	**Nor. Freq.**
1	678	ve	43500.58	26	90	şey	5774.41	1	675	ve	41383.12	26	100	aile	6130.83
2	604	ben	38752.73	27	86	sevmek	5517.77	2	553	ben	33903.50	27	98	en	6008.22
3	456	çok	29257.03	28	85	ad	5453.61	3	543	çok	33290.42	28	98	gelmek	6008.22
4	335	bir	21493.65	29	75	yaş	4812.01	4	335	bir	20538.29	29	97	yaşamak	5946.91

4812.01	4683.69	4491.21	4427.05	4427.05	4427.05	4427.05	4427.05	4362.89	4362.89	4298.73
yaşamak	almak	gelmek	biz	istemek	iyi	tatil	şehir	iki	çalışmak	aile
75	73	70	69	69	69	69	69	68	68	67
30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
20274.61	19633.00	16360.84	14179.39	13922.75	12575.39	11612.99	9816.50	9559.86	9239.06	8789.94
gitmek	sonra	o	yapmak	var	her	yemek	saat	ev	gün	bu
316	306	255	221	217	196	181	153	149	144	137
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
5762.98	5701.67	5517.75	5272.52	5272.52	4904.67	4843.36	4782.05	4720.74	4598.12	4414.20
şehir	ye	biz	daha	insan	ad	iki	büyük	anne	tatil	iyi
94	93	90	86	86	80	79	78	77	75	72
30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
18269.88	16859.79	15143.15	12752.13	12384.28	12200.36	9502.79	9380.17	9134.94	9073.63	8215.31
gitmek	var	o	yapmak	sonra	her	güzel	bu	yemek	ev	ama
298	275	247	208	202	199	155	153	149	148	134
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

4234.57	4170.41	4042.09	3977.93	3977.93	3977.93	3849.61	3785.45	3785.45	3336.33
yer	büyük	okumak	hafta	insan	ora	son	deniz	lazım	daha
66	65	63	62	62	62	60	59	59	52
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
8725.78	8469.14	8212.50	7699.22	7570.90	7442.58	7057.62	7057.62	6865.14	5902.73
ama	güzel	için	arkadaş	ye	etmek	olmak	zaman	çünkü	en
136	132	128	120	118	116	110	110	107	92
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
4352.89	4107.66	4046.35	4046.35	3678.50	3433.27	3310.65	3310.65	3310.65	3249.34
yaş	şey	deniz	ora	almak	mutlu	akşam	hayat	yer	kardeş
71	67	66	66	60	56	54	54	54	53
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
8092.70	8031.39	8031.39	7908.77	7786.16	7602.23	7173.07	6866.53	6559.99	6253.45
için	arkadaş	gün	etmek	olmak	çünkü	saat	sevmek	istemek	zaman
132	131	131	129	127	124	117	112	107	102
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25

The Mann Whitney U test was used to find if there is a significant difference between the normalized frequency values of the words used by students from each gender. The results are shown in Table 12 below.

Table 12. The results of the statistical analysis done on the frequency values of the words used by female and male learners

	Count	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Median	U value	Sig.
Female	50	9061,37	7997,65	3249,34	41383,12	6192,14	1207,000	,767
Male	50	9276,27	8537,03	3336,33	43500,58	5838,57		

The mean of the normalized frequency values of the words used by male students is higher and the median of the normalized frequency values of the words used by female students is higher. There is no significant difference between the normalized frequency values of the words used by the two groups (p>0.05).

When the lists are analyzed descriptively, it can be seen that in these two lists, the first five most frequently used words are the exact same words in the same order. The next five words are also the same words, only in a different order. However, in the rest of the list there are a few significant differences. To illustrate, the word "saat" (hour) is the twelfth most frequently used word (nor.freq.: 9816) in texts written by men whereas it is the twenty-second (nor.freq.: 7173) in texts written by women. Similarly, the word "yaş" (age) is the twenty-ninth (nor.freq.: 4812) most frequently used word in the texts written by men; however, it is the forty-first (nor.freq.: 4352) most frequent word in the texts written by women. Here again, rather than the gender, the level of the students seems to be an important factor. Both these words are required to be used to answer the questions assigned in the A.1.1 level, and among the forty-five A.1.1 students, twenty-seven were men. Another such example is the word "daha" (more) which is listed as the thirty-third (nor.freq.: 5272) most frequent word used by women and the fiftieth (nor.freq.: 3336) by men. The reason for this difference seems to lie in the fact that there were 19 women and 12 men in the A.1.2 level in which one of the prompts asked students to compare two cities, which requires the use of the comparative adverb.

Finally, the lists based on the 4 different levels learners were studying at can be seen below in Table 13.

Table 13. Frequency lists based on the level the learners were studying

	A.1.1			**A.1.2**			**A.2.1**			**A.2.2**		
	Freq.	**Word**	**Nor. Freq.**	**Freq.**	**Word**	**Nor. Freq.**	**Freq.**	**Word**	**Nor. Freq.**	**Freq.**	**Word**	**Nor. Freq.**
1	357	ben	60963.11	369	ve	47325.89	279	Ve	49652.96	492	ve	41961.62

35650.32	21577.83	20042.64	16801.71	14925.37	14925.37	14754.80	13816.63	13304.90	11343.28	10916.84
çok	bir	ben	var	her	için	bu	yapmak	yemek	en	çünkü
418	253	235	197	175	175	173	162	156	133	128
38796.94	33279.94	31322.30	28474.82	25271.40	21712.05	18330.66	15661.15	15305.21	14237.41	14059.44
Ben	sonra	Bir	Çok	gitmek	O	yapmak	Her	etmek	gün	arkadaş
218	187	176	160	142	122	103	88	86	80	79
44632.55	44504.30	28857.25	18981.66	16801.33	14364.50	14107.99	11799.41	10901.63	10388.61	10260.36
çok	ben	gitmek	var	bir	güzel	sonra	ev	ama	yemek	her
348	347	225	148	131	112	110	92	85	81	80
36372.95	29883.88	22711.75	21004.10	20491.80	18784.15	17418.03	17076.50	15198.09	15198.09	12978.14
ve	o	saat	gitmek	sonra	bir	ev	yaş	ad	yapmak	var
213	175	133	123	120	110	102	100	89	89	76
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

10660.98	10575.69	10149.25	9296.38	8443.50	8102.35	7846.48	7761.19	7590.62	7164.18	7164.18
o	gitmek	güzel	olmak	ama	şey	gün	sonra	lazım	etmek	insan
125	124	119	109	99	95	92	91	89	84	84
13169.60	12635.70	12279.77	10144.15	9610.25	9610.25	9432.28	9076.35	8364.48	8364.48	7830.57
olmak	var	ev	bu (this)	para (money)	zaman	ama	demek (to say)	istemek	yemek	almak
74	71	69	57	54	54	53	51	47	47	44
10260.36	10003.85	9619.08	8977.81	8977.81	8721.30	8336.54	7310.50	7182.25	7054.00	6797.49
o	gün	yapmak	biz	şehir	arkadaş	deniz	ora	saat	çünkü	aile
80	78	75	70	70	68	65	57	56	55	53
12465.85	9733.61	9221.31	8879.78	8538.25	8196.72	8025.96	7855.19	7855.19	7855.19	7172.13
çok	kardeş	arkadaş	her	ye	öğrenci (student)	iki	kahvaltı (breakfast)	yemek	çalışmak	anne
73	57	54	52	50	48	47	46	46	46	42
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23

7164.18	7078.89	6993.60	6823.03	6737.74	6737.74	6226.01	6140.72	6055.44	5884.86	5799.57
istemek	sevmek	yer	ye	zaman	şehir	tatil	iyi	yaşamak	daha	sağlıklı (healthy)
84	83	82	80	79	79	73	72	71	69	68
7830.57	7830.57	7652.61	7474.64	7296.67	6762.77	6762.77	6584.80	6406.83	6050.90	5872.93
saat	şey	gelmek	için	sevmek	vermek (to give)	yardımsever (helpful/ friendly)	güzel	hafta	çünkü	biz
44	44	43	42	41	38	38	37	36	34	33
6797.49	6412.72	6284.47	6284.47	6284.47	6156.21	6027.96	6027.96	5771.45	5643.20	5643.20
ye	tatil	anne	daha	gelmek	büyük	sevmek	zaman	yaşamak	bu	otel (hotel)
53	50	49	49	49	48	47	47	45	44	44
6830.60	6830.60	6830.60	6659.84	6318.31	6147.54	5976.78	5976.78	5635.25	5635.25	5464.48
kız (girl)	on	yaşamak	okumak	baba	öğrenmek (to learn)	ders	sabah	aile	ama	etmek
40	40	40	39	37	36	35	35	33	33	32
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34

5202.56	5117.27	4861.41	4776.12	4776.12	4434.97	4349.68	4264.39	4264.39	4179.10	4008.53
ülke (country)	hayat	gelmek	büyük	önemli (important)	ora	spor	aile	arkadaş	içmek	bayram (holiday)
61	60	57	56	56	52	51	50	50	49	47
5694.96	5517.00	5517.00	4983.09	4449.19	4271.22	4271.22	4271.22	4271.22	4271.22	4093.26
son	aile	dönmek	ye	yok (there isn’ t)	iki	insan	iyi	kahvaltı	kız	iş (job/work)
32	31	31	28	25	24	24	24	24	24	23
5514.94	5514.94	5386.69	5130.18	4488.91	4488.91	4488.91	4360.65	4360.65	4360.65	4360.65
etmek	olmak	kalmak (to stay)	hava	için	mutlu	yıl	iki	insan	yaz	önce
43	43	42	40	35	35	35	34	34	34	34
5464.48	4781.42	4781.42	4610.66	4439.89	4439.89	4439.89	4269.13	4269.13	4269.13	4269.13
zaman	dokuz (nine)	uyumak (to sleep)	sevmek	kalkmak (to get up)	oturmak (to sit)	ödev (homework)	almak	gün	uyanmak (to wake)	üniversite (university)
32	28	28	27	26	26	26	25	25	25	25
35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45

46	23	buçuk	3927.60	31	ad	3975.89	21	de	3737.32	46	yeni (new)	3923.24
47	23	hafta	3927.60	31	hafta	3975.89	20	da	3559.35	44	mevsim (season)	3752.67
48	23	Istemek	3927.60	30	okul (school)	3847.63	20	konuşmak (to speak)	3559.35	43	almak	3667.38
49	22	beş (five)	3756.83	30	yüzmek (to swim)	3847.63	20	söylemek	3559.35	42	deniz	3582.09
50	22	içmek	3756.83	30	üniversite	3847.63	20	yıl	3559.35	42	iki	3582.09

To compare the four groups, the Kruskal Wallis test was used. The results are shown in Table 14 below.

Table 14. The results of the statistical analysis done on the frequency lists of the words used by learners studying at different CEFR levels

Level	Count	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Median	Chi-Square	Sig.
A.1.1	50	10430,33	10135,23	3756,83	60963,11	6830,60	,616	,893
A.1.2	50	10109,02	10104,07	3847,63	47325,89	6348,60		
A.2.1	50	11254,67	9953,57	3559,35	49652,96	7741,59		
A.2.2	50	9303,20	7471,71	3582,09	41961,62	7036,25		

The highest mean of normalized frequency values is the mean of the frequency values of the words used by learners in the A.2.1 level. The highest median value belongs to the same group. There is no significant difference between the normalized frequency values of the words used by the four groups of students in different levels (p>0.05).

However, when the lists are analyzed, some differences in the order of the words in these lists can be spotted and these can be attributed to two reasons: Some of them seem to be based on the topics the students were asked to write about in each level. For instance, the word “saat” (hour) was used more frequently (nor.freq.: 22711) by the students in level A.1.1 because they were asked to write about what

they do at what time in a day. Similarly, the words "sağlıklı" (healthy), "hayat" (life), "önemli" (important), "bayram" (religious/national holiday) and "mevsim" (season) used by the students in A.2.2 were used this frequently (nor.freq.: 5799, 5117, 4776, 4008, 3752 respectively) because the assignments in this level asked them to write about these specifically. The other reason why there are more differences in the lists is basically the difference between level of proficiency. For example, the conjunctions "çünkü" (because) and "ama" (but) are acquired later and thus are used more frequently by students in the higher levels. Another important difference in the lists is the use of the word "şey" (thing). This word can only be seen among the most frequent fifty words in A.2.1 (nor.freq: 7830) and A.2.2 (nor.freq.: 8102) again because this is acquired later. Actually, it is one of the most frequently used words by native speakers, especially in spoken language (nor.freq.: 3288 in TNC).

Discussion

As confirmed by Şimşek (167), the vocabulary studies in the field of teaching Turkish as a foreign language mostly focus on the vocabulary used in printed materials. Nevertheless, the vocabulary used by the learners of the language should also be considered. For this reason, this study aims at listing the words used by learners with their frequency values and comparing the results with the vocabulary used in the course book the learners used and the TNC. In addition, the reasons for the differences in the frequency lists of learners in different categories were also tried to be accounted for. For these purposes, using the texts written by 123 A1 and A2 level learners of Turkish as a foreign language, a small-scale learner corpus of 2903 word types and 31897 word tokens in total was constructed. Based on this corpus, the list of the most frequently used words by learners was made. This list was then compared to the list of the most frequently used words in the course book the learners used to learn the language. Some of the differences in these two lists were attributed to one being the list of words learners used to answer certain prompts, and one being the list of words used in a coursebook designed to teach a language and thus included dialogues and instructions, which could not be seen in a written learner corpus.

In addition, the word frequency list of the learner corpus was also compared to the most frequently used fifty words by the native speakers of Turkish based on the lists provided in the TNC. The differences between these two lists were mainly attributed to the difference between the proficiency level of the participants; one group being learners at A1 and A2 levels, the other being native speakers of the language. As for the statistical analysis, only between these two lists was there a statistically significant difference that shows that native speakers of Turkish and learners of Turkish as a foreign language at CEFR levels A1 and A2 use these words at significantly different frequencies. Some of the differences in these two lists were also in accordance with the results from an L2 English learner corpus Corefl and BNC.

Also, separate lists based on certain criteria such as age, gender, and proficiency level were created. Statistical analysis revealed that there was no significant difference between the normalized frequency values of the most frequently used 50 words in the lists created for each group of learners: learners at different ages, female vs male learners and learners at different proficiency levels. When these lists were analyzed descriptively, it was concluded that the main factors leading to differences in the words used or the frequency values of those words observed between students in different categories were the proficiency level of the learners and the writing tasks that were assigned to them.

As stated by Karatay (256), "the vocabulary needs of learners are different from those whose native language is Turkish". Thus, studies such as this one will provide researchers, course book writers and teachers with the knowledge of which vocabulary items learners use at which level and how these differ from those used in the course books they use to learn the language, and from those used by native speakers. All these will indicate the needs of the learners; that is, what is lacking and on what more focus should be put in the curriculum. Using this information, curriculum designers could make changes in the curriculum, the syllabus, and the materials to meet those needs so that teachers could do so in the classroom when using those materials, and following those syllabi when teaching the language.

The limitations of this study were that the corpus was constructed using data collected at one single institution from students at the beginner levels only. It is believed that if this study is conducted at more institutions and with more students at higher proficiency levels, it will give a more thorough understanding of the vocabulary used by learners of Turkish as a foreign language, and how similar it is to that of native speakers. The results of such a study could also help to achieve the aims of constructing a Turkish learner corpus that will help learners as a resource during their studies. Utilizing such a corpus, teachers can adopt data-driven learning as a teaching methodology and design classroom activities using concordances that can be achieved through learner corpora and native speaker corpora. Through these, learners will have the opportunity to see sample uses of the target language by learners, and common mistakes made by learners, and to compare these to the language used by native speakers.

Such a learner corpus can also be a resource for a learner dictionary of Turkish, and for grade reader books in Turkish. Using such information as the active vocabulary and sentences used by learners at each different language level from the corpus, these resources could be divided into materials suitable for each CEFR level. To illustrate, a learner dictionary of Turkish at the CEFR level A and another one at the CEFR level B, or a grade reader book in Turkish for CEFR level B and another for CEFR level C could be prepared.

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Research Note

The Price of the Forbidden and the Value of Life

Yasak Olanın Bedeli ve Hayatın Değeri

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Abstract
Biblical stories serve as a foundation for European literature and artwork because of the mystical dimensions that address mankind and human qualities in general. Both the narrative of Adam and Eve and the fruit of knowledge have become well-known literary devices that have served as sources of inspiration for writers and poets throughout history. Both Christina Rossetti and Thomas Mann use the theme of forbidden fruit and its consequences as the subject matter that they handle in their literary works. They do this in order to demonstrate the consequences of giving in to the temptations of things that one should not want. In a postmodern way, both *Goblin Market* by Christina Rossetti and *Death in Venice* by Thomas Mann deal with the theme of surrendering to the temptation of an unlawful desire and the destructive effects of it through the depiction of the physical and psychological deterioration of the protagonists in each work.
Keywords: Fruit of knowledge, surrendering to temptation, forbidden desires, forbidden fruit, Christina Rossetti, Thomas Mann

Öz
İncil hikayeleri, insanlığa ve genel olarak insanın sahip olması gereken niteliklerine hitap eden mistik boyutları nedeniyle Avrupa'da oluşturulan edebiyat ve sanat eserleri için temel bir tema görevi görür. Hem Âdem ile Havva'nın hikayesi hem de bilginin meyvesi (yasak elma), tarih boyunca yazarlar ve şairler için ilham kaynağı olarak hizmet eden yaygın bir edebi konu haline gelmiştir. Yasak olanın cezbediciliği, edebi eserlerdeki kahramanlar için hem bir uyarı hem de bir sosyal yaşamı düzenleme kuralı olarak edebiyatçılar tarafından eserlerinde kullanılmıştır. Hem Christina Rossetti hem de Thomas Mann yasak meyve temasını ve sonuçlarını eserlerinde konu olarak kullanırlar. Bunu, kişinin istememesi gereken şeylerin cazibesine teslim olmanın sonuçlarını göstermek için yaparlar. Post-modern bir tarzda, hem Christina Rossetti'nin "Goblin Market" adlı şiiri, hem de Thomas Mann'ın "Death in Venice" adlı romanı, yasak bir arzunun cazibesine teslim olma temasını ve onun yıkıcı etkilerini, eserlerinde ki kahramanların yasak olanın tadına vardıktan sonraki psikolojik ve fiziksel olarak çöküşünü edebi bir dile dökmektedir.
Anahtar Kelimeler: Bilginin meyvesi, günaha teslimiyet, yasak arzular, yasak mevye, Christina Rossetti, Thomas Mann

Introduction

The consistent upheaval in the 20th century's social, political, and economic landscape led to a fragmented individual, both from the community and within the

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individual's inner peace. As a consequence, people started to lose their sense of individuality, their involvement in society, and their grasp on reality. The subjective and individual truth that people define regarding their viewpoints and beliefs of what constitutes the real and what does not is brought to light when individuals lose touch with reality and their uniqueness (Hutcheon 33). As shown in these literary works, *Goblin Market* and *Death in Venice*, succumbing to temptation results in the disintegration and degradation of the self. Individuals who are fragmented often tend to build their own versions of truth and reality. In addition, they are unable to maintain their engagement in the society, and as a consequence, they lose touch with reality. Both Laura and Aschenbach, the protagonists of *Goblin Market* and *Death in Venice*, find themselves in hopeless circumstances in their respective ways, and both lose contact with reality as a result. This is a similar subject that may be better understood by comparing and contrasting these two literary works in a postmodern way. Therefore, the use of postmodern literature makes it possible to comprehend a literary work not only by analysing the text on its own but also by considering the idea of intertextuality. Intertextuality is a literary study that examines the connection of a work of literature to other literary works. Its purpose is to create numerous truths by implying that there is no longer a single, overarching truth that is appropriate to the situation. Because of this, the focus of this paper will be on two separate works, *Goblin Market* and *Death in Venice*, and the similar topic of being tempted and the consequences of giving in to it.

Sources of Temptation and Warnings against It

Goblin Market by Christina Rossetti focuses on the concept of giving in to temptation. The poem is about two sisters, named Lizzie and Laura, who are in a forest where goblins are trying to get them to eat fruit that they are selling. Lizzie is a representation of self-determination because she chooses not to look at the goblins and does not consume the fruit of the goblins by shutting down her eyes and closing her ears. In contrast, Laura is a representation of the fallen woman of the Victorian Era because she chooses to look at the goblins and consume the fruits of the goblins, which destroys her both physically and psychologically. This poem may be understood as a monitory example of the Victorian Era, and it is an extreme example of Victorian repressed sexuality: it shows a great dread of female sexuality and the possible ramifications of that fear (Harrison 416). Lizzie is capable of resisting the seduction of the goblins' forbidden aspirations because she is a strong woman. On the other hand, Laura gives in to the allure of the world's illicit pleasures and wants, which ultimately leads to her downfall. The goblins leave her after they tempt her to consume the fruits. The goblins' abandoning of their role as her deceivers and her desire to ingest the fruits ultimately lead to her demise; Lizzie is the only one who can rescue her from this fate by putting her own life in danger to retrieve the fruits.

A threat of seduction of forbidden desires is posed in *Goblin Market* via the portrayal of an important personality, Laura, whom the creatures in the poem try to entice so as to enjoy their offerings representing the portrayal of man seducers, which was unacceptable during the Victorian period. This is accomplished via Laura's portrayal

in the story. The goblins in the forest try to entice her to taste their fruits. "She heard a voice like voice of doves / Cooing all together: / They sounded kind and full of loves" (Rossetti 76-79). Lizzie finds the temptation to indulge in the forbidden yearning to be seductive and alluring. Despite this, Lizzie demonstrates a healthy dose of self-assurance by refusing to look at the goblins, which allows her to avoid giving in to the temptation. Nevertheless, the temptingness of the goblins' voices and the display of the fruits serve as a depiction of the things she needs but is not permitted to have. By characterizing the fruits in the following way, the goblins want to throw Laura off her game and cause her confusion:

> Currants and gooseberries,
> Bright-fire-like barberries,
> Figs to fill your mouth,
> Citrons from the South,
> Sweet to tongue and sound to eye,
> Come buy, come buy. (Rossetti 29-31)

The goblins purposefully use sensual language while describing the strange fruits that Laura has never had before since they know she will not understand. However, the purpose of the goblins' use of eroticized language is to provoke Laura's imagination over the flavour of the fruits that the monsters are trying to sell.

Whereas the attractiveness of the fruits as well as the rhetoric used by goblins to depict the fruits establish the subject of forbidden desire enticement, the narrative of Jeanie conveys an exemplary final disaster that Laura is unwilling to consider. Lizzie tells Jeanie's story, the story of the girl tasting the goblins' fruits long before the sisters encountered the creatures. Jeanie dies at an early age as a result of consuming the fruit when Jeanie "…should have been a bride; / But who for joys brides hope to have / Fell sick and died" (Rossetti 513-515). Jeanie's tale is the precursor to the devastation awaiting Laura as a direct result of her consumption of the fruit that is strictly beyond limits. "In *Goblin Market* Lizzie reminds her sister of the tragedy which befell Jeanie who succumbed to the temptation of the goblin men" (Evans 163). Along with the harrowing tale that Jeanie has told, Lizzie has also cautioned her sister about staring at the goblins and consuming their fruit. Laura is so perplexed by the goblin men and their fruit that she is unable to resist giving in to the forbidden desire that they represent and hence gives in to temptation. In addition to this, Laura continues to insistently explain the motions of the goblin monsters and the splendour of the fruit in an effort to get Lizzie to take a look at the creatures. Lizzie tries to prepare Laura for the potential risks of this meeting by informing her that it is illegal to gaze at or make eye contact with goblins. Laura's fixation on the fruit originates from the joys of her forbidden desires; as a result, she is oblivious to the idea that the consequences of her action will be lethal. Because of this, Laura is the personification of giving in to the lure of forbidden wants and the portrayal of people who ignore warnings about the consequences of giving in to forbidden desires.

Similarly, in Thomas Mann's novel *Death in Venice*, the postmodernist portrayal of Gustav von Aschenbach deals with the issue of seduction of the forbidden passion in

the same way that the theme of giving in to temptation is dealt with in the poem *Goblin Market*. Aschenbach is an established and renowned writer who, in order to find inspiration for his work, goes to Venice. While there, he meets Tadzio, a Polish lad of fourteen years of age who has godlike beauty. Aschenbach is captivated with Tadzio. The very first thing that Aschenbach considers doing is to "follow beauty exclusively and you make a god of something in the physical world, outside yourself, something subject to decay and rotting and disease, which leads to decay in yourself" (Church 648). But the compassion which Aschenbach experiences towards this kid and his grace, in addition to the deadly disease in Venice brings about Aschenbach's obvious end as he sits on a chair on the seaside while staring at Tadzio (Mann 121-122), the beauty of whom, from the point of view of an aesthetic, conquers Aschenbach. The attractiveness of Tadzio acts as an enticement of an unfulfilled need which eventually results in the decadent that Aschenbach experiences both in his mind and his body. Aschenbach views Tadzio as having a godlike or statuesque beauty, which he first dismisses as naive but eventually develops feelings for. "Aschenbach's worship of the beautiful and good is but a calculation of what is profitable for him" when he first sees the boy (Church 650). Because of this, although he appreciates attractiveness from a point of aesthetics, Aschenbach is incapable of understanding that the elegance that the boy has will seduce him to his own downfall. This is despite the fact that he worships beauty as an aesthetic form. In a manner analogous to that of the fruits and vegetables in *Goblin Market*, the leading characters, Laura and Aschenbach, find it impossible to resist the allure of beauty and are oblivious to the impending doom despite having been forewarned about it. The fall of the leading character into temptation is brought about by beauty and its artistic charm.

Aschenbach is fooled by the brilliance that he observes in Tadzio, therefore he chooses to disregard the warnings that he has been given about the potentially fatal sickness that will infect the whole city. As he walks secretly behind his beloved Tadzio through the winding streets of Venice, he becomes aware of the odour of the germicide that permeates the whole city (Mann 86). When Aschenbach thinks about how much he loves Tadzio, he chooses to disregard the fact that Tadzio's hairdresser has told him about the terrible sickness that is plaguing Venice. "It is dangerous and horrible yet it keeps him near Tadzio and seems, moreover, to present his own hidden corruption" (McNamara 234). Enchanted by his prohibited want, he can understand the consequence of his forbidden longing to love a boy might be his own death. This is because he has allowed himself to fall under the spell of the prohibited desire. The weather acts as a second foreshadowing to Aschenbach, indicating that the gloomy and dismal weather might be a glimpse of his final end, providing it is acknowledged that in works of fiction, the presence of unfavourable weather often serves as a metaphor for the trials and tribulations that lie ahead for the main character. Aschenbach is so completely blinded by getting closer to his origin of temptation despite the fact that he is aware that the climate is not fine for his health and that "this same weather had afflicted him, and impaired his health so seriously that he had to abandon Venice like a fugitive" (Mann 44). Aschenbach is resolute in his decision to remain in Venice, despite the many warnings he has received about the impending

sickness and the weather forecast, and as a result, he is the one who brings about his own demise.

Physical and Psychological Deterioration of Tempted Ones

In addition to the recurring subject of being tempted by a forbidden passion, Christina Rossetti depicts the deterioration of the individual who is being tempted and the degradation that this person experiences both physically and mentally. The job of the tempted character is to serve as a source of warning for the community that breaking the social standards would ultimately end in the breakdown and degeneration of society. Laure is portrayed by Christina Rossetti in such a righteous manner that the fall she experiences as a result of being seduced by the food and the goblins offers a lesson that should be taken into account. The first sign of Laura's physical deterioration is when she is no longer capable of hearing the call of the goblins, something she had previously been able to hear. In a manner similar to how Jeanie's body deteriorated, Laura's hair began to turn grey and thin as a result of the unfulfilled desire to consume the forbidden fruit. The hair, which is both a component of her outward look and a representation of her wellbeing, stands for the abundance of wellness and health that she has. "Temptation in *Goblin Market* is symbolized by the fruit, the great traditional symbol of sin and temptation in the Bible" (Parker 376). The offerings in the form of fruit are another symbol of "the forbidden fruit" that Adam and Eve were tempted by in the Garden of Eden. And as a result, they were responsible for bringing about their own destruction in heaven. In a similar manner, Laura causes her final expulsion for the excellent health and the delight of her age by eating the fruit that is prohibited to her. A further factor contributing to Laura's mental degeneration is the anguish she feels as a result of her inability to fulfil her prohibited desire to consume goblin fruit. "The fruits are not the real object either, since they feed the appetite instead of satisfying it; once tasted, they have served their purpose and cannot be found again" (Mermin 108). She becomes so preoccupied in her mind with the flavour and appearance of the goblin offerings that Laura is unable to cultivate the farm or do effective housework such as taking care of the cattle, cleaning, or bringing water from the water well. Because Laura is unable to completely eliminate the flavour of the fruit, she is unable to consume enough food or think rationally. As a direct consequence of this, her health and her capacity for reason begin to deteriorate. The primary purpose of Laura's deterioration in both her physical and mental health is to indicate, in a more general sense, that once a person has given in to the temptation of an illicit desire, it is no longer feasible for them to live the kind of life to which they were formerly used.

Similar to Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market*, Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice* also employs the leitmotif as the eventual demise for seduced Aschenbach by displaying his psychological and physical downturn after getting seduced by the charm of Tadzio. Along the same lines as Laura, Aschenbach succumbs to the all-consuming temptation of a forbidden passion, which ultimately leads to his death from cholera at the end of the novel. Thomas Mann places the narrative in Venice, which serves as a metaphor for Aschenbach's deterioration during the course of the novel. Due to the

fact that Venice was built on a marshy foundation, the city continues to sink at a rate of one inch annually (Ammerman and McClennen 1301). Through the course of Thomas Mann's work, Aschenbach gradually caves in to the seduction of the grandeur, which leads to his steady decline physically, analogous to the way that Venice eventually sinks into her own base. Aschenbach, who develops a dislike for his own appearance, listens to the recommendation of a barber and begins to apply lipstick and makeup to his lips in order to improve his self-perception. "He is a crossing of the bourgeois and the bohemian, of male and female; his intermediacy seems to underlie the degeneration which manifests itself in the form of homosexuality" (Wilper 98). At the start of the book, Aschenbach is not bothered by his age or appearance in any way. However, by the time the novel comes to the end, because of Tadzio's attractiveness, Aschenbach has lost his zest for life, is experiencing physical illness, and has the perception that he is much elder than he actually seems. "Aschenbach's passion for another male consumes him in a way parallel to the cholera epidemic which spreads through the canals of Venice" (Wilper 92). Even the quick contamination in Venice does not convince him to flee from the place where Aschenbach's terrible temptation might be found. Aschenbach is unable to give up his desire for the forbidden temptation, so he consumes some overripe strawberries. These strawberries infect Aschenbach with cholera, which ultimately leads to his death as he is sitting on a chair on the beach.

In addition to the idea of the bodily devastation that comes from indulging in forbidden impulses, Thomas Mann shows the psychological collapse of Aschenbach once he gives in to temptation. In the beginning, Aschenbach is shown as a guy who maintains his dignity and practices self-discipline, in addition to being a highly well-known and productive author of a high moral character. Aschenbach contracts cholera and dies as a consequence of his servitude to an illicit desire, which ultimately leads to his downfall. Aschenbach is so captivated by the boy's good looks that, he chooses to ignore the consequences of his actions and ignores the reality of the disease in his mind. Instead, he continues to live in Venice and pursues his illicit crave (Bauer 23). Moreover, Aschenbach cannot accept the reality of the forbidden love that he attempts to hide from himself. The concealing of the prohibited crave leads Achenbach to chase the boy more with a hope that he and Tadzio may have a word. The quest for the boy's beauty prevents him from departing Venice; thus, brings him an eventual catastrophe in pursuit of this taboo lust. "As the city is increasingly consumed by plague, Aschenbach's desublimating homosexuality ever more rapidly consumes him; he takes pleasure in both" (Wilper 99). Aschenbach completely gives up to temptation when he has a meeting with the boy on an elevator where the eyes of Achenbach contact with a grin from Tadzio, and he confesses his love for the youngster that he has been keeping a secret (Mann 54). The indulgence of Aschenbach's forbidden yearning would not bring him redemption but rather accelerate his descent into moral degradation, which would ultimately lead to his death. Therefore, the allure of Aschenbach's forbidden longing contributes to his bodily and mental degeneration, which ultimately leads to his passing away in Venice, a place of beauty as well as arts.

Conclusion

As a conclusion, both Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice* and Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market* are constructed around the central topic of the temptations that come from indulging forbidden impulses and the consequences that follow for those who give in to those temptations. While Rossetti takes a kind method to depicting seduced Laura, who is reborn as a result of the sacrifice made by her sister Lizzie, Mann provides a scathing criticism of lured Aschenbach by bringing him to his death on the beach. Furthermore, the tale of Adam and Eve's fall really does seem to continue to appear as a theme in works of art in a variety of genres, such as in the poem written by Christina Rossetti and the novel written by Thomas Mann. This is due to the fact that the Bible account of the forbidden fruit has such a profound influence on both literature and art. Therefore, the literary texts contain myths originated from the stories in the Bible. In addition to analysing literary texts from the point of literary theories, the biblical references in the texts open up a new way for the readers to better understand literature. The aim of choosing two different writers of different gender and from different countries is to show the universality of the theme of temptation of the forbidden desires accounted in holy books.

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