Journal of Languages, Texts, and Society

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Issue 2 *Spring 2018*

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ZHUN GU on nostalgia in urban cinema

KATRINA M. WILKINS translating the Old English Esther

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Acknowledgements

As ever, the editors would like to thank the Research Priority Area 'Languages, Texts, and Society' at the University of Nottingham, as well as all those who have contributed to, produced, edited, and supported this issue, including our excellent peer reviewers. In particular, we express our gratitude to Bromley House Library for their kind permission to publish an image of their beautiful and historic library on the front cover (photograph by Melanie Fitton-Hayward).

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The JLTS team are always looking to recruit new volunteer peer reviewers for future issues.

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Foreword

Melanie Fitton-Hayward, Katie Harrison, and Katrina M. Wilkins
University of Nottingham

In the twelve months since the publication of Issue One of *The Journal of Languages, Texts and Society* in Spring 2017, the journal has grown considerably. A primary concern over the course of the past twelve months has been to raise awareness of the journal, as well as to highlight the variety of ways in which members of the postgraduate community can become involved with the journal and develop their professional and editorial skills. As a result of such efforts, the journal now has an ever-growing database of peer-reviews, a team of shadow editors, book review and translation editors, a social media and marketing specialist, and a peer review editor.

The majority of the articles in Issue 2 have been adapted from papers given at the University of Nottingham's School of Cultures, Languages and Area Studies Postgraduate Symposium, which took place in May 2017. In *Debating the Revolution: The Evolving Role of the Visual Arts in Cuba*, Isabel Story tracks the development and evolution of the visual arts in Cuba, and the role they play in Cuban civil society. Zhun Gu, in *Nostalgia in Urban Cinema: A Comparative Analysis of Zhang Yan's* Shower *(1999) and Jia Zhangke's* 24 City *(2008)*, argues that since the

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1990s, Chinese urban generation filmmakers have adopted the theme of nostalgia in urban cinema to represent images of the city and reconstruct their identities. In *The Baba and the Bolshevichka – Learning to Read Soviet*, Kathryn Martin explores the relationship between the female literacy movement in the early Soviet period and its artistic representation in cultural items – propaganda posters, cinema, and literature – from this period. Louis Cotgrove, in *The Importance of Linguistic Markers of Identity and Authenticity in German Gangsta Rap*, explores the linguistic features adopted by six German Gangsta rappers, and how their use of specific linguistic features constructs and maintains their identity. In *The Role of Shame in Language Learning*, Dominique Galmiche uses data collected from qualitative interviews with students of English as a foreign language in France to explore the impact that shame has on students' language-learning experiences.

Alongside these articles, this issue also contains a translated text and two book reviews. Katrina M. Wilkins has provided the translated text: a translation into modern English of the Old English version of the biblical story of Esther, composed at the turn of the eleventh century AD by Anglo-Saxon monk and scholar Ælfric of Eynsham. The first of the two book reviews comes from Gianlluca Simi, who reviews Thomas Nail's *Theory of the Border*, a text which thoroughly probes the history of the concept of the border, and the functions of this phenomenon. Finally, William Pidzamecky reviews *Viking Nottinghamshire*, written by Rebecca Gregory, who examines the influence of the Vikings on the history of Nottinghamshire.

We hope you enjoy this issue of the *Journal of Languages, Texts and Society*, and the broad range of themes and disciplines that it spans. If you would like to become involved in any aspect of future issues of the journal, please contact the editors at pg-lts@nottingham.ac.uk.

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- Innovative methods to produce, collect, and study texts
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Abstracts of 250 words should be submitted before September 2018, if you would like to check that your topic fits into our issue before working on the full article. Alternatively, contact our editors to discuss your topic: pg-lts@nottingham.ac.uk.

The deadline for full articles will be in October 2018; exact deadlines will be announced via our social media channels or can be ascertained by emailing our editors.

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Debating the Revolution: The Evolving Role of the Visual Arts in Cuba

Isabel Story
University of Nottingham

Culture, and the evolving cultural policy, in Cuba has frequently acted as a frontier across which different interpretations of socialism and national identity have been tested. It has operated, and continues to operate, as a space in which the revolutionary government and cultural practitioners have been able to define their differences and articulate their own definitions of revolution, socialism and politically engaged art. Moreover, culture has occupied a central role from the very beginning of the Revolution and has always remained a central tenet of all developmental, political and societal goals within the Revolution's overarching goals of social transformation and nation-building. As such, culture is at the heart of the unique nature of the Cuban Revolution and fundamental in the government's approach towards nation-building, including in providing spaces for critique of the revolutionary project. These spaces often blur the boundaries between the official and the informal, which, in turn, means that they often allow for a greater degree of discussion and suggestion of solutions to perceived problems than allowed by the more formal institutional spaces (Gray and Kapcia 11). Their creation is possibly linked to the daily reality of life in Cuba and the 'process of negotiation in which all Cubans have to engage daily and in which the whole Revolution has been engaged from the outset, as

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developments have come as much empirically as by (often flawed) design (Gray and Kapcia 11).

The visual arts are the arena in which the Revolution's discursive and reflexive qualities are most clearly visible. They were prized for their educational capacity and inherent mobility, but were also highly valued as revolutionary vehicles with which to combat colonialism, imperialism, and defend an emergent national identity. Precisely because of their inherent discursive nature, the visual arts were able to constantly push the limits of interpretations of cultural policy, thereby acting as a sounding board for the country's cultural policy. These characteristics meant that the visual arts, and their new forms that emerged, occupied a special position inside the Revolution in the process of cultural democratisation and in fighting internal and external colonialism. This was because the form of artistic expression proved particularly adept at generating mobility in Cuban society, both within the confines of the expressly political, but also in the everyday realities (Weiss, *To and From Utopia* xiv). This particular set of characteristics and the development of these 'positive spaces' of fusion and overlap (Gray and Kapcia 11) have also allowed the visual arts to develop a further integral function to the Revolution, that of forums and spaces for civil society. This article will chart the development of the visual arts in Cuba and the gradual evolution of their function in civil society before discussing some of the most recent examples of this new role.

Cultural Ajiaco

The international nature of the visual arts in Cuba is one of the most persistent reasons that it has become a valued and protected space for debate and the public discussion of problems of the Cuban nation. Due to its long history as a subject of colonial rule and imperialism, Cuba has been the cultural meeting point of Europe and the Americas. The merging of the distinct elements of Cuba's rich and diverse cultural influx is central to the idea of Cuban national identity, eventually giving rise to what the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz would call transculturation. Ortiz used the concept of the popular creole dish ajiaco to describe the numerous currents and cultural transmogrifications that characterise Cuba's history, and that he considered fundamental to the

understanding of the nation (Ortiz 86). The ajiaco is a stew that is made up of different indigenous root vegetables, and a dish used by Ortiz as an example of Cuba's distinctive ethnic diversity. The ajiaco brings together the indigenous, Spanish, African, and Chinese elements of Cuban society. The stew keeps the individual flavours of each ingredient, which enriches the overall flavour. Some ingredients remain more obvious than others, which dissolve but are still present and give the stew its distinctive flavour. The meat that goes into the stew is the cheaper cuts, accessible to the everyday individual, and finally, as a stew, the dish's state is fluid.

Cuba's cultural ajiaco is most enduringly visible in the country's visual arts which, since the beginnings of the development of a Cuban movement, have been predicated around taking art outside of its traditional confines and making it accessible in some way to the wider population. Such commitment to the creation of a Cuban culture meant that 'modern art formed part of the fabric of a liberal tradition' from the mid-nineteenth century onwards (Mosquera 24). The focus on the exploration and merging of many of the different elements of the country's identity from artists were integral elements of the enduring quest for independence from leader of the Cuban independence movement and important cultural figure in Latin America, José Martí (1853–95) and continue today. These ideas of exploration and integration evolved alongside the country's insurrectional struggles and independence movements as the emphasis on national liberation engendered the need for a liberated national culture. Thus, from an early stage, the visual arts were imbued with a strong sense of moral duty and a belief in their transformative abilities. The form's commitment to, and engagement with, politics and the various trends that have left their imprint on the cultural imaginary contributed to a wide range of aesthetic styles and personal understandings of the 'common good'. These characteristics have remained constant throughout the Revolution and see the visual arts in Cuba fulfil the role of forums and spaces for public dialogue, debate and negotiation of the concept of the common good in a changing geopolitical landscape.

Vanguard Tradition

Three distinct artistic vanguards existed prior to 1959, those of 1927, 1938, and 1953.[1] The original vanguard came of age artistically in the post-independence era of Cuba's history. They definitively 'mapped the terms of Cuba's modernism around contemporary nationalist discourses' (McEwen 37). The majority of the leading artists of this generation studied abroad, particularly in Paris (Amelia Peláez, Antonio Gattorno, Víctor Manuel García, Carlos Enríquez, Marcelo Pogolotti, and later Wilfredo Lam who came via Spain). When they returned to Cuba, their exposure to the trends and movements developing in Europe informed the ways in which they engaged with the reality of everyday life in the country. They were acutely aware of the need to construct a new cultural framework for the 'hybrid island nation' (Clavijo Colom 8). These artists took their time abroad as a period of experimentation and 'established meaningful references that, back at home, helped them circumscribe their own modernity' (Pogolotti 122). They appropriated the achievements of European art and, when they returned, their ongoing dialogue with Europe, and Paris in particular, meant that the European vocabulary of modernism was translated into a regional dialect (Pogolotti 2008: 122). In doing so, they 'came up with a symbolic picture of the possible nation' (Pogolotti 122) that helped to reinforce the emerging nationalist sentiment reflected in the rise in public engagement in the life of the nation and the collective desire to claim a Cuban national identity (Cobas Amante 124). Among artists, there was increasing awareness of problems that intersected with the artists' works and impacted the world in which they lived, such as Gerado Machado's prolongation of his presidency (extending his 1925–28 term to 1933) and the ensuing increasing brutality and restriction of previously enjoyed freedoms.

[1] The first of these two vanguards is commonly referred to as the Generation of 27, the second is often referred to by the publication it was associated with, Origines. The final group is simply referred to as Los Once.

The following generation, coming of age in the 1930s, continued the search for national values but did so in a more private manner, in part due to the political circumstances of the time, which were characterised by intense social and political instability (de Juan 134). This instability included the overthrow of Machado in 1933, the frenetic reforms of the provisional government, the overthrow of the provisional government (which lasted five days), and a prolonged period of time when Fulgencio Batista ran Cuba, first as president (1940–44) and then via a series of puppet presidents (1945–51), before becoming a US-backed dictator (1952–59).2 So, in short, a period of intense political and social instability as power moved back and forth the Authentic Cuban Revolutionary Party (Auténticos), Independent candidates, the National Union, Democratic Socialist Coalition (Coalición Socialista Democrática) and the Progressive Action Party (Partido de Acción Progresista). The second vanguard generation emerged in the 1940s and was more introspective in their focus. However, they did not abandon the focus on the idea of a genuinely independent Cuban national and, actually, a more strident nationalist rhetoric developed. The lack of constitutional trust meant that the idea of what it meant to be Cuban became inextricably linked to the artistic vanguard's ideas of modernism and developed into a political project to overturn the cultural controls exerted by the Batista administration (McEwen 12). The group staked out an innovative and discursive place within Havana's cultural field. It equated the art form it was searching for with the possibility of a new, future Cuba (McEwen 13).

The generation that followed the generation of Orígenes differed in its attitude towards being actors in the public sphere. The emerging

[2] The fifteen Presidents of the Republic of Cuba between 1925 and 1959 ran as follows: Gerardo Machado (1925–33), Alberto Herrera ya Franchi (1933), Carlos Manuel de Céspedes y Quesada (1933–33), Provisional Government (1933), Ramón Grau (1933–34), Carlos Hevia (1934), Manuel Marquez Sterling (1934–34), Carlos Mendieta (1934–35), José Agripino Barnet (1935–36), Miguel Mariano Gomez (1936–36), Federico Laredo Brú (1936–40), Fulgencio Batista (1940–44), Ramón Grau (1944–48), Carlos Prío Soccarás (1948–52), Fulgencio Batista (1955–59).

generation actively engaged with contemporary politics and increasingly saw their artistic practices as a type of activism. This attitude linked them very firmly with the generation of 1927 which had actively agitated against the Machado administration. By the 1950s the emerging generation had inherited two different legacies from the earlier vanguard movements. From the Generation of 1927 (and the Revista de Avance), they inherited a working model of commitment to political freedom – one that argued for the application of Avant-garde teaching and aesthetics into state initiatives. From the Orígenes group, they inherited a vision of universalism drawn from mostly americanista roots (McEwen 14). Throughout the decade, the visual arts continued to be sites of resistance and dissidence. In 1954, Los Once, the self-declared third vanguard, organised an Anti-Bienal in protest against the promotion of the delayed 1953 Second Franco-sponsored Spanish-American Art Bienal. This event was a contemporary art competition supported by the Franco regime under the title of The Politics of the Hispanic world. It was to be held in the National Museum of Fine Arts (MNBA) to project art as an activity that the Batista administration promoted and fostered. It also marked the end of a year of celebrating the centenary of José Martí's birth. This last fact became a point of protest as the cooperation between the Franco and Batista administrations to promote an official culture that emphasised the country's historical links with Spain was seen as an insult to the republican legacy of José Martí (McEwen 69).

Sculptors, painters, and ceramicists participated in the Anti-Bienal, actively boycotting the official Bienal and organising an activity to run in parallel (de Juan 135). The Anti-Bienal – known formally as the Homenaje a José Martí: Exposición de plástica cubana contemporánea [Homage to José Martí: Exhibition of contemporary Cuban visual art] – was held in January 1954 in the cities of Havana, Santiago de Cuba, and Camagüey, also serving to take art out of the confines of the capital. It ended in the Primer Festival de Arte Cubano Contemporáneo [First Festival of Contemporary Cuban Art], which had been organised by the Federación Estudiantil Universitaria de La Habana [The Federation of University Students of Havana]; a group which were active in the protest against Batista. De Juan notes that the aesthetic rebelliousness of the event was limited to new ways of seeing rather than the incorporation of

themes that directly addressed the national crisis (de Juan 136–37). The official Bienal Hispanoamericana was held in May 1954 with over 2,000 works from eighteen countries. However, after the Anti-Bienal, the official event was an anti-climax and had limited success (McEwen 79).

Los Once then boycotted an event showcasing Cuban contemporary art held in Venezuela under the authoritarian Pérez Jiménez regime, and jointly organised with the Pan American Union. This was another bold step that cemented the growing politicisation of the visual arts as it was one of the few opportunities officially provided to Cuban artists to exhibit their work abroad. Los Once finally dissolved in 1955, hoping to avoid retaliation from the Batista administration. In 1957, they resurrected the group and protested against Batista and his planned 'Salón Nacional'.

Revolutionising the Arts

By 1959, the visual arts in Cuba had a well-established range of surrealist, expressionist, abstract and figurative styles (de Juan 94–95). They also had a clear tradition of political engagement and activism, coupled with national and international aspirations. After the rebellion that gave rise to the Revolution in 1959, the relationship between artists and public fundamentally changed. Traditional elitist concepts of art and artists were dismantled, and artists who did not wish to remain in revolutionary Cuba left the country, although a great many remained. Many of whom had different interpretations of culture and its role which resulted in a decade of intense public debates regarding culture and Revolution. Culture occupied a central role in the rebuilding of the nation and this was reflected in the magnitude of the change in provisions made for artists and access and participation in culture implemented by the government. It became a priority for each Cuban to be able to explore their inherent creativity and the duty of the government to provide the training necessary to discover and begin to realise these latent talents. Consequently, large swathes of the population who had previously been excluded from both cultural participation and creation were given access to the cultural arena. In particular, the visual arts, and its new forms of expression that emerged within the Revolution, would prove consistently

able to respond to and grow with the difficulties faced by revolutionary Cuba.

During this early revolutionary period, the wider population became increasingly aware of and involved in culture. This was achieved through the establishment of initiatives geared towards amateurs and people with little previous involvement in or exposure to culture. Initiatives included the aficionado [amateur] movement, the instructores de arte [art instructors] movement, along with movements related to specific artistic forms, such as the mobile cinema initiative or the escuela de brigadistas de artes plásticas [school for visual arts brigades]. The first two of these movements were interlinked and were concerned with helping the population discover their inherent creative talents and with equipping educators with the skills to help the population discover these skills. From the mid-1960s onwards, there was a radicalised atmosphere and an ongoing, mounting sense that Cuba was under attack. The cultural arena's response to this was twofold. First, the focus turned increasingly inwards to the rediscovery of national forms and traditions. Second, existing cultural tropes and poles began to be questioned in the search for new centres of non-alignment. The remaining structures that reflected the systems of artistic production under capitalism were abolished and it was decided by the government that the Revolution should provide for artists rather than leave them to live off the proceeds of their work. Royalties for authors were abolished in 1967, ensuring that authors had to be employed by, and thus dependent upon, the state (Casal 457). Cultural practitioners were paid to work within the existing cultural apparatus, educational systems, media and the diplomatic services and often the more 'problematic' cultural figures found themselves posted abroad (Kumaraswami and Kapcia 26).

The visual arts were at the forefront of the shift in cultural orientation, and its international projection. Already by 1965, a clear revolutionary art form, graphic design, had begun to emerge within the Revolution. Its vehicle of choice was the poster and this art form was particularly supported due to its rapid ability to respond to events (de Juan 99–100). The rise of Cuban graphic design and specifically poster art demonstrated another trait that had begun to develop in the first pre-revolutionary vanguard: assimilation and re-elaboration. Cuban artists

assimilated international trends from Art Nouveau through to Czech film posters and pop art and re-elaborated it into a distinctly Cuban setting (Sontag xv).

Through the 1960s the visual arts continued to play a key role in the visual articulation of the distinct nature of the Cuban Revolution and its commitment to inclusion and sovereignty. Such priorities are visible in the active involvement of the visual arts at events such as the 1965 Tricontinental, the 1967 Salon de Mayo, and the 1968 Havana Cultural Congress. The latter of these events marked somewhat of a break with the political and theoretical ideas expounded by the European Left as well as the politics and ideas about socialism expounded by the Soviet Union and saw the use of culture as the principal sphere in which Cuba's specificity was able to be asserted.

As Cuba moved closer to the Soviet Union and the economic relationship gaining full membership to the Council for Mutual Economic Aid (COMECON), initially in 1972, there was a renewed drive for the country to gain economic independence. Part of this drive directly affected the cultural world and saw a reassessment of Cuba's resources, one of which was the inherent creative capacity in the people, which had been demonstrated by the ongoing successes of the instructores de arte and aficionado programmes. 1970 was also the beginning of a period of significant international recognition for the emergent generation of Cuban artists. During this time, they were a point of confluence for a number of different ideas about national identity, cultural history, the relationship between art and economy, and the role of art in socialism. Moreover, throughout the 1970s, the visual arts remained a firmly established site of collectivity and internationalism, demonstrating considerable progress in the development of an authentically Cuban art from which, it was hoped, would reflect the realities of the Revolution and the essence of the nation.

The drive to include more and more Cubans in culture and the internalising of these ideas helped to create movements and programmes that, along with the commitment to internationalism, began to lay the foundations for the development of 'safe' areas for public debate within culture and particularly the visual arts. This first began with the theatre collective Teatro Escambray which eschewed the metropolis for the

countryside and talked with local inhabitants to find out what the problems facing the community were and then converted the findings into theatrical performances for those who had been the subject of the initial research. A complementary project, Cuadrodebate [painting debate], developed in 1973, encouraged rural audiences to debate and hold political discussions through responding to the display of a number of paintings (Camnitzer 156). Each community visited was then left with a painting with which to do as they saw fit (Carol 28). The continuation of such unambiguous and enduring commitment to the aims of the Revolution from the visual arts helped to imbue the arts with an ongoing level of independence that allowed for the later development of discursive spaces and an ability to push boundaries.

A new aesthetic began to emerge at the end of the 1970s, when artists of the 1970s 'adopted the new concepts and visuality of the Cuban renaissance that would [come to] mark the 1980s' (Montero Méndez 259). Parody, popular culture, symbols, the Americas and their constituent civilisations, Afro-Cuban religions, European cultures, and the transcultural nature of Caribbean heritage were all factors of influence for artists that were active in the 1980s. Many of them also embraced multimedia and interdisciplinary practices in their art (Montero Méndez 259). The visual arts and internationalism fused in another way with the Bienal de La Habana, which began in 1984. The Bienal acted as a platform that reasserted Cuba's place in the international arena and attempted to establish a new order (Wiess et al. 17). The event was organised by the Centro Wilfredo Lam (now the Centro de Arte Contemporáneo Wilfredo Lam), which was also inaugurated in 1984, two years after the artist's death. The Centro had the aim of investigating and promoting the contemporary visual arts from the areas of Africa, Asia, Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean. It also encouraged the study and promotion of the works of Lam ('Quiénes somos' 2016). The Bienal was the institution's signature event, a fundamental initiative in MINCULT's (Ministry of Culture) new political strategy and a 'banner under which Cuba would broadcast the diversity of its cultural landscape to the world and, in that, its re-conquest of its own identity' (Weiss et al. 17).

The event was notable for its ambition and brought a forum that was taken for granted in Europe and North America into the Latin American and Caribbean domain, providing a collective space for countries that did not traditionally have such forums. In creating this space, the Bienal 'aimed at nothing less than creating, for the art and artists of the entire Third World, a space of respect and stature equal to that granted artists in the developed West' (Weiss et al. 17). The Bienal has stalwartly advocated the need for a forum outside the mainstream in which local discourses and aesthetics can grow. It has told a story that differs from the stories told by international exhibitions elsewhere in the world. The ambition and scope of the Bienal was a reflection of the Revolution's resolute internationalism and anti-imperialism: cultural dependency would be replaced by a new international cultural order. In this way, the Bienal 'raised important questions not only about the nature of art made outside the Western market system, but also about its relationship with that system —these are, inevitably, questions about culture and power' (Weiss et al. 18).

Thus, culture was seen as an important means by which the Cuban Revolution was able to assert its sovereignty on a national level, to project the legitimacy of the Revolution on an international level and to provide as much of the population as possible with ownership of the revolutionary process. Because of the visual arts' privileged position, thanks to their supporting institutions, international prestige, and variety of potential interpretations and responsiveness, they were able to constantly push, and traverse, the boundaries of applications of cultural policy and, to some extent, were able to forge their own path, explore alternative ideas of socialism. These characteristics allowed for the tactical export of culture through participation at Bienals, exhibitions, or tours that showcased the most 'Cuban' elements of national culture. This 'connectivity' contributed to the artistic mode's global promotion by the revolutionary cultural authorities.

Revolutionary Society

However, enduring practice of engagement with everyday reality of the Revolution means that the visual arts in Cuba also fulfil an important developmental function. This developmental function is made possible

precisely because of their prized space within the Revolution. They continue to have opportunities for debate and commentary that other artistic forms of expression do not have. This is visible in the additional role that it performs – that of civil society, considered as a community of citizens linked by common interests and collective activity. It is that part of society where people, as rights bearing citizens, meet to discuss and engage in dialogue about the polity. The United Nations Development Programme defines civil society as:

> an arena of voluntary collective actions around shared interests, purposes and values distinct from families, state and profit-seeking institutions. A key feature of this definition is the concept of civil society as an 'arena', a term used to describe the space where people come together to debate, associate and seek to influence broader society [...] The term civil society includes the full range of formal and informal organisations that are outside the state and the market – including social movements, volunteer involving organisations, mass-based membership organisations, faith-based groups, NGOs and community-based organisations, as well as communities and citizens acting individually and collectively. (6)

This role of the visual arts as a forum for civil society in Cuba developed significantly in the 1980s with the emergence of the New Art of Cuba. From the late 1980s onwards, and particularly so after 1991, when the country was submerged into a profound and prolonged crisis, discussions concerning the social and political situation in Cuba have often occurred under the aegis of 'culture'.

The exhibition Volumen Uno, which opened in the Centro de Arte Internacional in Havana on 14 January 1981, marks this emergence of the visual arts as a forum for civil society. The exhibition included the work of eleven artists and received 8,000 visitors in two weeks (Camnitzer 1). The new Cuban art was broad-based, appealed to a wide sector of the population and marked both the resurgence of old trends and the beginning of new ones. The exhibition was a reaction to the 'anathematising of culture and especially of its critical vocation by the Cuban leadership' (Weiss, *To and from Utopia* xiii). It also marked a foray into the public sphere of a cohort of artists who had been raised entirely within the Revolution and its contradictions.

As such, whilst it marked a rupture in some ways, it was, in others, the continuation of Cuban cultural traditions and their contradictions. This art, like that of the 1960s and of the Cuban vanguard in the 1920s and 1930s, was both politically committed and critical of contemporary politics. It also reflected its generation's belief in the Revolution's utopian project in independence as well as in the far-reaching possibilities of art (Weiss, *To and from Utopia* xiv–xv). Artists of the new Cuban art put forth work that expressed the complex and interrelated cultural heritages of the nation and that was in contact with global contemporary art practices (Weiss et al. 25). They also viewed art's revolutionary capacity in a different light, arguing that art was revolutionary in its independence of thought and its ethical foundation. Throughout the 1980s, their work became a space of struggle that firmly believed in the power of art but was aggressive and caustic at times (Weiss et al. 25). Parody was an important element of much of the reflexive work produced, which often alluded to political and social problems (Pogolotti 169). In this new art, there was also a focus on 'immediate effects, in creative forms that reflected the contingency of the moment and therefore showed a predilection for the ephemeral over the durable' (Pogolotti 170). This was a further departure from earlier art, which had focussed on producing long-term results. Artists tackled subjects such as widespread poverty, housing shortages, shortages of other resources, social immobility and collectivisation.

Cuban art critic Gerardo Mosquera (26) argues that, in addition to demonstrating work of a conceptual nature (1980–c. 1985) and then festive (1985–90), in the 1980s, the visual arts also 'took on the role of assemblies as well as the totally controlled mass media as they converted themselves into a space for expressing the problems of ordinary people' (Mosquera 27). In the second half of the 1980s, he argues, 'the visual arts became the most daring platform, and some street performances in the eighties were true demonstrations' (27). The criticisms and political commentary continued to grow stronger, until a series of events surrounding the exhibition of creative pieces that made particularly strong allusions to the disparity between the official representation of Cuba and the unavoidable reality in 1989–90 dispersed the groups (Mosquera 27).

However, this role played by the Cuban visual arts and artists persists in many ways, continuing the socially committed role of art in Cuba first seen in the 19th century. The visual arts have taken, and continue to take, 'advantage of the symbolic powers of art to carry on a problematic discourse that interweaves the multiple complexities of art and Cuban life' (Mosquera 28). At a time when Cuba and its international relationships currently undergo a profound period of reassessment in the light of anticipated political change, 'artists, battered by contradictions, have maintained in all cases the visual arts and a site for social discussion in a country where such sites do not otherwise exist' (Mosquera 29). The arts 'have become an important forum in which ordinary Cubans evaluate competing political alternatives, rethink the basis values of the Revolution, and reformulate visions for the future's (Fernandes 2).

As this article has established, this seemingly new role in the visual arts in Cuba has its roots in the enduring political engagement of the art form and their history of being provided with the discursive space that have not always been accorded to other art forms. Because of their advantaged status, the visual arts have created what Sujatha Fernandes dubs 'artistic public spheres' (2), which, in the absence of formal political activity are the centres of critical debate. These spaces bring together the achievements of the Revolution and the, at times very different, realities of everyday life in revolutionary Cuba. The term adapts the concept of the 'public sphere' to a socialist society which is frequently excluded from debates about civil society. This is largely due to the focus on the separation of the 'public sphere' from the apparatus of economy and society. Instead, Sujatha argues that artistic public spheres are 'spaces of interaction that are both critical of and shaped by state institutions, local relations of production, and global market forces' (Fernandes 3). The Bienal is exactly one of these spaces.

The Havana Bienal, as an event that brings together the national and the international, provides a prominent platform, intentionally or otherwise, to this relatively recent iteration of the enduring role of the visual arts as a discursive space. While 'the jewel in the visual-arts necklace of Cuban cultural policy and, thus, a site at which it has been important that all constituencies (organizers, artists, overseers) master,

with careful practice, the art of looking "Cuban" in the proper way' (Weiss, 'Visions, Valves, and Vestiges' 25), it has also 'encapsulated the logics, progressions, reversals, and perversities of the Cuban reality as it has unfolded' in the last thirty-three years (Weiss, 'Visions, Valves, and Vestiges' 11), which includes the Rectification of Past Errors and Negative Tendencies campaign, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the collapse of the Soviet Union and subsequent Special Period in times of Peace, the Battle of Ideas, and the restoration of diplomatic relations with the USA. The changing aims and ideologies of the Havana Bienal, its shifting relationship with artists, curators and the state, and the rise of the expectation of the enactment of an element of critique and/or dissent in contemporary Cuban art is not the topic of this article but are addressed expertly and in detail by Rachael Weiss and Gerardo Mosquera, among others. However, the Bienal is a good example of the kind of space developed by several processes which have created an experimental structure with unclear boundaries (Gray and Kapcia 10). As a result, it devolves autonomy to Cuban citizens while enjoying state support as a fully Revolutionary project (Gray and Kapcia 8).

As such, the Bienal, and projects that feed into or grow from the event, provides a forum for the identification of problems facing contemporary Cuba, the open discussion of these challenges, and the search for possible solutions. Many of these discussions centre around internet access and knowledge of modern technologies in Cuba, breaking down perceived barriers between events for foreigners and events for Cubans in Cuba, and honest discussions about the limitations placed on production in Cuba due to a lack of resources. WiFi is a relatively new service in Cuba, and was introduced in a limited number of public spaces across the country in June of 2015. It has since been rolled out to more public spaces with reports of trials of fibre-optic broadband in some houses in Old Havana in 2016 and the potential for extending the trial in 2017. However, despite the state-controlled prices being lowered in 2017 to $1.5 CUC/hr, it remains inaccessible to many Cubans.

Alexis Levya, better known as Kcho has used his studio to create a space that makes the problem of internet access visible and also problematizes the issue of Cubans being left behind by technological developments. Kcho is a contemporary Cuban artist working in sculpture

and mixed-media and has received national and international acclaim. Kcho started a project in 2015 in his studio that provided Cubans with free access to WiFi. His studio also acted as an exhibition space at the twelfth Havana Bienal in 2015, putting into practice the goal of his subsequent project. In March 2016, the artist opened up his workshop, in the Romerillo neighbourhood of the Playa municipality in Havana, once more to the public in collaboration with Etecsa (the Cuban state telecoms company) and technology giant Google. This centre is called Google + Kcho.Mor (Museo Orgánico Romerillo). It is a technology centre supported by Google products which aims to allow Cubans to get to know the latest technological items so that they are not left behind by technological developments. Google's virtual reality platform, cardboard, features heavily, allowing Cubans to see the world and explore places that are otherwise inaccessible to them. The centre simultaneously immerses the user in art as they have to share their physical space with installations, sculptures and paintings, promoting a greater understanding of, and coexistence, with art. At Kcho's cultural centre, anyone can use the WiFi by entering the password 'abajoelbloqueo' [down with the blockade], a phrase plastered on billboards across the island protesting the illegal embargo placed on Cuba by the USA. The password for the earlier iteration of the project was 'AQUINOSERINDENADIE' [no one surrenders here], the phrase reportedly made famous by Juan Almeida Bosque, a member of the guerrilla movement that eventually overthrew Fulgenio Batista's government.

Kcho's project aims to break down the new barriers imposed upon the Cuban people by the archaic embargo. Another recent and ongoing project, Detrás del Muro [Behind The Wall], breaks down the different barriers that sometimes surround visual art - so often seen as an elite pastime. In doing so, it actively involves the Cuban people in the creation and appreciation of national and international art. Detrás del Muro began in 2012, at the eleventh Havana Bienal, an event that prizes its role not only as a space for the exhibition of art but also as a meeting place for artists and the everyday inhabitants of the city. The project is a collective one which brings together Cuban and international artists in a gigantic intervention on the Havana Malecón (sea wall), and began with twenty-one participating artists ('Artistas participantes'). The curatorial

team explain their choice of the Malecón as an exhibition point in the democratising nature of the location:

The Malecón is the most democratic stage of the Cuban capital: it is there that lust and contemplation, commotion and retreat, dissidence and affirmation, flight and refuge, death and civic resurrection are accepted within view of the local, tourist and police. Everything openly and crudely, without an infrastructure to favour those escapes of utopian violence (Castro).

The intervention is predicated around exchange between the art world and the public, emphasising art as a 'channel of communication, exchange and reflection' (Pimentel). In its second iteration, the project has more than doubled in size with 50 participating artists and their pieces ('Inauguración'). As with the interest generated by Kcho's studio/cultural centre, Detrás del Muro also enforces public debate and makes visible some of the issues facing daily life in Cuba, or simply causes reflection on the everyday realities of life on the island. One such piece is Colombian artist Lina Lear's work Secreter [Writing Desk] for the 2015 project which piled various household furniture items painted white on top of one another and which were slowly removed by Cubans for their houses. Alexander Guerra's Sweet Emotion, a sculpture of the outline of a large Facebook 'like', comments on the rise of internet use on the island. With Resaca (Hangover), Arles Del Río turned part of the Malecón into a tropical beach, complete with the type of recliners normally found at the nearby beach of Santa María where they are rentable in CUC (and therefore frequently inaccessible to many Cubans). Gabriel Kuri's Aire [Air] formed part of an exhibition Montañas con una Esquina Rota [Mountains with a Broken Corner], and reflected on poverty. It featured a man crushing empty cans of the beers and soft drinks produced in Cuba, mimicking the unofficial work done by some Cubans who collect the cans, crush them and sell them on in order to survive.

This seemingly new role of the visual arts in Cuba has its roots in the power accorded debate and the privileging of culture as a valued space for that debate. It also reflects the ever-evolving definition of the concept of Revolution which, throughout all its iterations, holds independence and inclusion at its heart (Kapcia 31). In the 1960s, the concept of

Revolution was equated with change and collective struggle. In the 1970s and 1980s, this morphed into the idea of something more distant, centred around the idea of a system and institutional structures. In the 1990s, the term moved towards an idea implying a sense of community and solidarity (Kapcia 31). The ongoing redefinition of Revolution has continued well into the 21st century with the Battle of Ideas which began c. 2000 and the Revolution's leadership and population sought to save the essence of the Revolution 'which meant first of all discovering, defining, and then redefining what that "soul" actually was' (Kapcia 29). The political culture in Cuba, since the beginning of the Revolution, has been 'an essentially, and often surprisingly, inclusive culture; this inclusivity has been fundamental to its definition, survival, and legitimacy' (Kapcia 35).

The rebellion that began the Cuban Revolution was popularly supported, broadly nationalistic, and sought to redress societal inequalities as well as achieve economic independence and national sovereignty. In pre-Revolutionary Cuba, artists looked to the traditional cultural poles of New York and Paris, whose artistic movements were more influential than the desire to develop an authentic national culture. By contrast, culture in post-rebellion Cuba played an active role in the construction of the nation and was considered to be central to the Revolution. The conception of socialism eventually adopted by the Cuban revolutionaries placed a high value on the role of culture in society. As a result, artists were presented with the opportunity to occupy a central role in the construction of a new revolutionary society and the fight against imperialism, thereby re-prioritising the links and interrogating the boundaries between politics and culture. As this article has demonstrated, debate and reconfiguration, and the pushing of perceived borders, are at the soul of the Revolution. These tendencies were particularly pronounced in the sphere of culture, which the government wished to democratise to the fullest extent in order to give as many Cubans as possible ownership of the new national imaginary.

As one of Cuba's most discursive forums and one that has been constantly mobilised in various campaigns and efforts to include the wider citizenship, the visual arts are particularly demonstrative of this complex process of negotiation of space and the fusion of the formal and

unofficial. The artistic form also particularly values the international and is valued precisely for its connection to the global artistic community, which contributes with another layer of overlap and fusion, giving them an added ambiguously owned space for experimentation and dialogue whilst remaining within the Revolution. This lasting connection to the global is increasingly relevant as Cuba and its international relationships are currently being re-evaluated with the expectation of a shift in politics. Because the visual arts are particularly adept at generating mobility in Cuban society, both within the confines of the expressly political, but also in the everyday realities (Weiss, *To and from Utopia* xiv), they are able to constantly push, and traverse, the boundaries of applications of cultural policy and, to some extent, are able to forge their own path. In doing so, they are able to provide the inclusive, frequently informal, spaces for Cuban citizens to explore alternative ideas of socialism.

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Nostalgia in Urban Cinema: A Comparative Analysis of Zhang Yang's *Shower* (1999) and Jia Zhangke's *24 City* (2008)

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Since the late 1990s, the acceleration of modernization in many cities in China has resulted in the demolition (*chaiqian*) of old buildings. In this context, many cinematic works produced by China's urban filmmakers have reflected this social transformation. Such works not only show a desire to focus on the grand tides of the transformation of post-socialist China, but more importantly, also shed light on the marginalised subcultures and self-marginalizing countercultures that are frequently overlooked by society. Drawing on interdisciplinary studies in film studies and urban culture, I situate "urban cinema" within a nexus of local and global economic, historical, and ideological contexts. Analysing two films from the aspects of the trope of demolition which happened in Beijing and Chengdu, documentary aesthetics, and restorative/reflective nostalgia for the socialist lifestyle, this article argues that the two filmmakers adopt the theme of nostalgia in urban films to represent city

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images and reconstruct their identities. It is found that nostalgia is not only represented as the basis of filmmaking in their works; it also constructs the film language and identity of the urban filmmakers.

Historical Background and Urban Cinema

Seen as a result of post-Mao reform programs since the 1980s, urban demolition has brought about a visible impact on urban development. The changes can be identified from four aspects: first, many Chinese cities, both large and small, have undergone an intense process of changing in infrastructural and social dimensions. Many traditional buildings and communities, such as *hutong* in Beijing and *longtang* in Shanghai, have been torn down to make room for modern skyscrapers. This type of demolition which happens in Beijing and Chengdu are reflected in both films this article focuses on. Second, some coastal cities, such as Shenzhen and Shanghai, are made Special Economic Zones in the early 1990s, and shoulder the mission to lead the economic reform programs. The political slogan underlying these reforms is "socialism can also practise market economy", and these Special Economic Zones attract many people to look for their capital dreams (Goodman 41). Third, the reform of large-scale state-owned companies further promotes urban demolition. Many companies, such as 420 factory in film *24 City,* move to new places, and the old workshop buildings are demolished. Fourth, two events – China joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 and hosting the Beijing 2008 Olympics – have also stimulated China's urban development. Overall, tremendous capital investment has boosted the development of Chinese real estate and urban transformation.

These social phenomena have attracted the attention of many filmmakers, especially the so-called Sixth Generation urban filmmakers. Urban cinema, as the name indicates, is the kind of film that pays more attention to urban developments in China. Most of the Sixth Generation directors are the 70s generation who grew up in the cities and studied in the elite departments of directing or cinematography such as Beijing Film Academy (Zhang 16). For example, Jia Zhangke has the experience of living in a small city in Shanxi province and studying at Beijing Film Academy. Compared to the Fifth Generation filmmakers, who have predominantly rural aesthetics of searching rural values and national

allegories, urban generations make the city a subject in their works. As Yomi Braester argues, "Many works address mostly young people's sense of alienation from the material conditions in the quickly developing metropolises to present the city as the battle-ground between an oppressive collectivity and rebellious individuals. These films often focus on marginalised subcultures and self-marginalizing countercultures" (242). Such works explore the tides of urban circumstance and their effects on the lives of individual people, often those excluded from the mainstream of society, such as the physically disabled or mentally disturbed, or artistic communities. Ning Ying, one of the Sixth Generation filmmakers, also says, "We need to return to our roots" (Qiu 250).[1] Root-seeking is the main theme in the works of writers and artists in the 1980s and the representation of the imagined countryside is a central narrative; rather, this new transformation to the consumer culture relocates Ning Ying's root in Beijing and some other big cities of China. Yomi Braester and Ning Ying's descriptions suggest that urban cinema focuses on particular changes that have affected urban residents, seeking to capture the life of ordinary people, and paying more attention to the impact of post-socialist modernity. At the same time, compared to some commercial films, the urban filmmakers stay away from state-sponsored "leitmotif" (*zhuxuanlü*) films of socialist ideals and nationalism. Urban films signal their positions as a minority, but also keep communication with the mainstream. Thus, to some extent, urban films are deployed as tools for social reflection and critique, and negotiate with reality to construct a form of the image of the city.

A long list of films that urban generation filmmakers shoot focus on the social changes and urban circumstance in the process of urban transformation, including Zhang Nuanxin's *Morning, Beijing* (1990), Zhou Xiaowen's *No Regrets about Youth* (1991), Wang Xiaoshuai's *Winter Days Beijing Bicycle* (2001), Shi Runjiu's *Beautiful New World* (1998), Lou Ye's *Suzhou River* (2000), Jia Zhangke's *24 City* (2008), and Zhang Yang's *Shower* (1998), *Quitting* (2001), *and Sunflower* (2005). In this

[1] Translated from Chinese-language source by the article author.

article, I explore the motif of nostalgia by probing into two films: *Shower* and *24 City*. Fred Davis characterizes nostalgia as a discontinuity between past and present. It is often less about the past than it is about the present, and about potential discontinuities feeling between present and past (Davis 50). Davis's discussion of the relationship between past, present and future in nostalgia provides a reflective tool for an assessment about the past and present. It becomes an emotional longing for lost moments, which is triggered by the situation of present and becomes a critical reflection of historical periods. Nostalgia has been investigated by many other scholars. In this article, I will apply Svetlana Boym's concepts of "reflective nostalgia" and "restorative nostalgia" (45). Boym's definition of nostalgia combines personal and historical memories to explore the spaces of collective nostalgia. She investigates the ruins and construction sites of post-communist cities in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Berlin, and Prague. Boym unravels the threads of the global epidemic of longing and its antidotes. This cycle of demolition and reconstruction is mirrored in the cities of post-socialist China, such as Beijing and Chengdu. Two kinds of nostalgia will be adopted in the third part of this article to depict a comprehensive structure about the missing of the past and yearning for the future: urban generation filmmakers' memories about past socialist community life and their dilemma between the loss of old lifestyle and post-socialism modernity in the historical context of the social transformation since the 1990s.

Three reasons underpin the choice of films for analysis: first, both films sketch the contours of Chinese urbanisation in Beijing and Chengdu respectively. The 1990s can be perceived as a time of rapid development of the Chinese economy, especially with regards to real estate that has been referred to as above. Demolition in both films can be considered as a cultural metaphor that reflects the collapse of old buildings and transformation of a family and a city. Second, both films, though fictional, use documentary aesthetics to engage with social reality in order to reflect, record and construct the liveness in the process of urban demolition. Documentary aesthetics creates an aesthetic of presence, which emphasizes the physical co-presence of the camera, and provides a chance to contact with the material world closely. Third, both films are typical examples of urban cinema, with which the generation of

the post-1970s explore the genre's cinematic representation of nostalgia in the spheres of the cityscape, family, and social ethics. They address the post-1970s' anxieties relating to their dislocation in the cities and deconstruct the present with a conspicuous nostalgia.

From the aforementioned descriptions, I will analyse cinematic presentation of nostalgia in the films of *Shower* and *24 City* from three aspects: demolition, documentary aesthetics, and restorative/reflective nostalgia about the lifestyle in the post-socialist China. I attempt to explore how two urban generation filmmakers adopt a symbolic and cultural metaphor of demolition to record the development of the urban environment and how they represent their nostalgia and construct their identities.

Demolition: Tradition and Post-Socialist Modernity

With the rapid development of urbanisation and housing reform since the 1990s, the topic of urban demolition, an important theme of contemporary Chinese film, has become increasingly appealing to Chinese filmmakers. Many visual works of urban cinema investigate the theme of urban demolition to represent this culture. This section explores the cinematic representations of urban demolition with a focus on the question: how do two filmmakers represent the themes of destruction and reconstruction in relation to the cityscape, family, and social ethics? Three dimensions will be discussed: the demolition of a building, the removal of a family, and the transformation of a city.

Zhang Yang's *Shower* begins with the narrative of a Shenzhen businessman, Da Ming, who returns home to Beijing where his father owns an old and traditional bathhouse. Da Ming stays for a couple of days and observes his father working as a social director, marriage counsellor, and dispute mediator for his customers. Da Ming is perplexed in two worlds: the decaying district that contains his memories of his childhood and community lifestyle in the past; the modern urban life in booming southern China where he now lives with his wife who does not want to meet with his family. After Da Ming reconciles with his ageing father, the father unexpectedly dies, leaving Da Ming to take care of his mentally disabled younger brother Er Ming. Da Ming gradually learns to accept responsibility and to recognize his affection for his father and

brother. At last, Da Ming takes stock of family while the bathhouse and much of the neighbourhood are torn down for Beijing Olympics in 2008.

The old bathhouse operated by Da Ming's father represents an old socialist lifestyle and its disappearing mirrors the tearing down of this 'traditional' lifestyle. In this bathhouse, the opera, Chinese chess, massage, and pedicure reflect traditional Chinese bathhouse cultures. At the same time, around the bathhouse, old buildings (*hutong*), early morning callisthenics, and talkative and humorous Beijing residents, to some extent, are the representatives of Beijing. The bathhouse is not only a business place but also a community which contains a particular form of social organisation based on small groups. As Zhang Zhen says, "community is seen as something that has been lost with modernity and as something that must be recovered. As a process dominated by state formation, modernity has allegedly destroyed the community" (4). In this quiet and peaceful atmosphere, the relationship among the people shows a harmonious state. Gerard Delanty argues that community is understood quite frequently as a form of nostalgia (111). In the film, Beijing's socialist collective communities provide a shared lifestyle and undertake a social duty to develop collective action. For example, the public bathhouse provides social organisational networks of kinship, friends, recreation, and a place to communicate. The film transposes Beijing culture into a bathhouse culture and many scenes of old and special architecture, streets, and public playgrounds are shown as representatives of community culture. Hence, this kind of lifestyle in the shower may be understood as a kind of community culture, and the relationship between community and metropolis can be perceived as the relationship between the local and global relations. To some extent, community culture in *Shower* is the yearning for the city's harmony and order and can be perceived as part of China's "plebeian public sphere", which is described by Wang Di when he investigates the function of the teahouse in Chengdu. Wang argues that "each street or neighbourhood had a teahouse that served as a kind of community centre where people got to know each other very well, sharing information about their work, families, happy and sad events. Someone who needed help might first ask his teahouse buddies for information or advice" (261). In *Shower*, the public bathhouse also has a similar social function: it is also used to

mediate the relationship between husband and wife, and becomes a sanctuary when someone avoids a creditor. Further, Wang indicates the social group of the teahouse was loosely formed, but still functioned as a social force which resisted the wave of modernity and uniformity along with the growing role of the state in public space and public life during the first half of the twentieth century (252). In other words, the teahouse was a self-community which maintained a small inner world when modernity and political ideology gradually imposed their influences. The public bathhouse exerts its social functions as a site of the sanctuary, relationship mediation, and information exchange. However, it cannot avoid a similar destiny to that of the teahouse in Chengdu, which faces large-scale urban demolition since the end of the 1990s.

The bathhouse culture has a distinct regional feature and local characteristic and presents a nonindustrial image of the past with intimate relationships. In contrast, the urban social movement not only focuses on the themes of demonstrations but also provides an opportunity to survey the expressions of community. David Bray regards the emergence of the "community" as a site of government in urban China since the mid-1990s, and it was the party-state that introduced the notion of using community (*shequ*) to distinguish the lowest notion of the "street offices" (*jiedao banshichu*) and "resident committees" (*juweihui*) (91). However, the community is also seen as a place where citizens share a common interest (Sigley 106), rather than an administrative entity. The reason why the local community is paid more and more attention is, to some extent, that some local communities are threatened to disappear as a result of globalisation. Therefore, it is an urgent task to represent such kinds of community for a common interest to recover and express personal and social identities in the historical context of the flexible economy and fragmented society. In other words, community and (post-socialist) modernity have an opposite relationship, which causes the discontinuity between the past and present. The filmmaker draws on the social situation of the bathhouse and constructs a nostalgic public place to narrate a story of primitive community life being converted into "modern" and industrial city life. This modernity is also stimulated by China join some international events, which facilitates the Chinese leadership and helps the city reconfirm its position as a universal force

for modernization (Haugen 158). However, far from disappearing, the community has a contemporary resonance in the current urban social situation while globalisation is gradually accepted by the public. The community appears to be a kind of resistant culture that has produced a worldwide search for roots, identity and aspirations of belonging. The public bathhouse then becomes fetishized for the sake of nostalgia, through which the old community lifestyle is presented.

In the film *Shower*, the feeling of nostalgia is invoked by the demolition of old urban buildings. The demolition becomes an urban cultural metaphor that yearns for the traditional relationship between father and son. More specifically, Shenzhen, compared to Beijing, is a young city that has developed at a fast speed. The character Da Ming is full of creative spirit like Shenzhen. At the beginning, the father (*Lao Liu*) cannot understand Da Ming's lifestyle; while Da Ming cannot accept the bathhouse culture either. The misunderstanding between them is a symbol of a generation gap in the context of post-socialist modernity since the 1990s. The relationship between father and son is an important theme in Zhang Yang's films such as *Spicy Love Soup* (1994), *Shower* (1998), *Quitting* (2001), and *Sunflower* (2005). In these films, the similar psychological structure of "resistance-compromise-understanding" from treachery to acceptance of the status of the father can be noticed. This psychological structure has its historical background that the period of the 1990s saw the tremendous changing social-cultural environment in China. As Li Yinghui argues, China's social structure and value develop into a period of diversification, which leads to mental confusion, loss, and anxiety to some extent (15). Some people attempt eagerly to regain the ideal traditional beliefs. So, Li Yinghui contends that looking for the father's social and cultural ideological existence conforms to the expectations of order in the popular cultural market (ibid.). This returning also can be understood from Dai Jinhua's suggestion that Chinese mainstream culture in the 1990s was influenced by Western cultures, and contemporary Chinese seems to be confused about their own culture (Dai 407). This confusion is depicted by Dai as "sights in the fog". Therefore, there is a feeling of loss and anxiety for some people in the trend of increasing urbanisation. Then, they start to yearn for a relatively stable value that is different from modern urban industrial

alienation in the aspects of emotion and culture. Through this yearning, the filmmaker wants to get into the consolation of home. This returning can be read as a metaphor of farewell to global commercialization and returning to socialist community life that pays more attention to the family bonds and values the relationship of the neighbourhood.

The demolition in the film *24 City* mainly depicts the transformation of factory 420 from 1958 to 2008. 420 is a military factory which manufactured aeroplanes for the state in Chengdu, Sichuan province. Factory 420 is pulled down to make way for multi-story buildings with luxury flats (also called 24 City). 420 tries to manufacture the appliances of television and fridge in the 1980s and 1990s to adapt to the reforms of Chinese politics and economy. Eventually, it fails and the original factory is purchased by a real estate company. 24 City refers to a commercial housing area which is built by a real estate company, China Resources (*Hua Run*). Accompanying the construction of 24 City, the demolition and transformation of 420, the state-owned enterprise, expresses the end of a period from 1958 to 2008. As a real military industrial enterprise that is mainly responsible for manufacturing aircraft for the state, 420 was relocated from Shenyang, a city in northern China, because of the policy that the important military enterprises should be relocated to the inner cities to support their economic development in 1958, given the background of the Cold War. In the film, most workers feel honoured to be part of 420 even though they were abandoned by the state and sacrificed a lot. For example, Da Li's child is lost on the way from Shenyang to Chengdu in 1958; although she expresses her regret and sadness, there is no resentment towards the state. Hou Lijun's experiences of being laid off and re-employed shape the background of the 420 structural reform. At the same time, she has only managed to see her parents three times over fifty years. However, she does not regret her choice and still feels optimistic about her life. Through their individual and incomplete narratives, the trajectory of 420 from thriving and being prosperous to fading is presented in the film.

The transformation of individuals also refers to some historical and collective events. For example, the state prepared for war in the period of the 1950s; the class struggle that happened in the Cultural Revolution; the battle of the Sino-Vietnamese War that happened in the late of the

1970s; the reforms of state-owned enterprises and the housing system that began from the 1980s. From these events, the transformation from the planned economy to the market economy is presented distinctly. Therefore, the transformation of 420 is not only the moving from an old place to a new one but also an expression of the economic and political transformation in the context of the post-socialist modernity.

Behind the transformation of 420 factory, the nine stories narrated in the feature film *24 City* are like stamps that record, reflect, and construct the whole life situation of the workers at 420 factory. Through these narratives, filmmaker Jia wants to express that the great time is imprinted in everyone's heart and what the society needs to do is listening to these people's missing, faith, and yearning that are based on the period of the post-socialism. Jia Zhangke argues that the nine narratives together in this film form a group, which brings a completed feeling about the 420 and depicts an epitome of privatization in the process of state-owned enterprise reform (2). Additionally, in "traditional" Chinese culture, the number nine means the whole. For example, nine states (*jiuzhou*) is a poetic name for China. From Jia's argument, this article claims that individual nostalgia is a form used to retain the collective memories. Jia's earlier films such as *Xiaowu* (1998), *Platform* (2000), and *Still Life* (2006) also have this characteristic. Jia attempts to resolve social issues through the tender feeling of nostalgia. Many scenes such as the demolition of the old factory and the construction of new residential buildings represent a kind of historical transformation, which contains the historical and realistic values. As Maurice Halbwachs puts, "there exists a collective memory and social frameworks for memory; it is to the extent that our individual thought places itself in these frameworks that it is capable of the action of recollection" (38). Furthermore, personal history, collective history, and social history are integrated closely. Personal history has a slight but intense symbolism, which presents a grand collective and society. The transformation of 420 means the end of one period and its substitute 24 City represents a new beginning. However, this beginning is full of uncertainty for some people who are experiencing the intense social transformation. The vanishing of the old socialist structures has left the protagonists in *24 City* with no access to their past. Jia grasps some

workers' anxiety about the future and represents the process of these people who are trying to get rid of the anxiety and find the meaning of existence.

The process of demolition has implications for time and history, and in this context, the urban films serve as a repository of space through personal and collective memories. Both films attempt to engage with the cities' memory and ascertain the trauma in the process of urban development. As a film trope, demolition does not simply reflect the contemporary urban social situation but plays a more important function in recording urban changes. At the end of the film *Shower*, Da Ming seems to recognise the importance of old community life, and reconciles the relationship with his father. However, it does not mean that Da Ming accepts the idea of his father and old community completely. His spiritual returning to the tradition that his father embraces is full of confusion. He is a generation of the post-1970s, most of whom were influenced by Mao's socialist ideology. However, the post-socialist society ruptures the traditional lifestyle. Returning to the past stubbornly seems not to be a good way to solve the issues of rupture between the past and post-socialist modernity. Hence, Da Ming, a modern people within active spirits, represents a sense of self-transformation in the context of the fractured and critical society.

Demolition in both films is not only an infrastructure construction and reconstruction but as a metaphor largely reflects the choice between socialist lifestyle and the post-socialist modernity for some post-1970s individuals. From this perspective, nostalgia is a characteristic of modernity which is a reaction to the cultural rupture of tradition and post-socialist modernity. Both films offer the socialist lifestyle as a self-reaffirming panacea to relieve the anxiety that the economic and social transformation brought about in post-socialist China.

Documentary Aesthetics: History and Authenticity

Nostalgia is not only represented as a central theme in urban films, it also brings about the changes of the film language. In this part, I suggest that both filmmakers use documentary aesthetics in feature films to construct their individual group identities. There are two reasons for both films to adopt this aesthetic form. First, as new filmmakers, many

urban generation filmmakers are independent and do not have the budget of large production studios. For example, Jia Zhangke's first film *Xiaowu* (1998) was made with a budget of just 300,000 RMB (around $36,000) ("Jia Zhangke"), which was difficult to produce a feature film. Adopting formal features of the documentary genre can achieve their desire of filmmaking on a small budget. Therefore, Jia adopted a lot of full-length shots and documentary aesthetics. Second, the new generation filmmakers primarily intend to record what happened around themselves and shot the ordinary lives of individuals. So, documentary aesthetics meets their criteria for the production of art. This aesthetic pursuit also creates a new film movement, the new documentary movement:

> This cinema attempts to record and interpret the collective relationship to the ordinary people around their friends, family members, neighbours, colleagues, as well as strangers, who inhabit or come to inhabit the ever-expanding social and material space of the cities, be they large or small, metropolitan centres or provincial capitals [...] the documentary form is inspiring to find the shape and meaning of a multifaceted social experience in the era of transformation. The documentary method is instrumental in laying bare the oscillation between representation and actuality and in foregrounding the subject-object relation between the filmmaker and his or her subject matter so as to create a more intersubjective or democratic cinema. (Zhang 18)

Therefore, both fictional films use documentary techniques to record what is happening in the city. In *Shower*, in the last attempt to keep a memento of their neighbourhood, nostalgia sets at the moment of the city disappearing, and it encourages urban residents to take a camcorder to chronicle the process of demolition. As Luke Robinson suggests, "the sense of being on the scene" (*xianchang*) is an aesthetic of presence, which emphasises the physical compresence of camera and subject during these very moments of collapse. Robinson further says, "liveness brings us into direct contact with the material world, rather than being a product of representation's inevitable distance from the extradiegetic" (138). Both visual media are feature films and use the documentary form to focus on neglected spots and isolated individuals in the modernising cities. The aesthetics of the sense of liveness provides the films with a

perspective to construct a sense of reality and to make sense of what is happening in some Chinese cities.

Shower, as a commercial film, takes up the task of home videos, distributes the images of urban change and shows the loss entailed in demolition. It eagerly preserves images of the city at the background of the rapid urbanisation of the post-Maoist era. Documentary aesthetics, a planning practice and a cinematic strategy, preserves pictures of the disappearing socialist city. The filmmakers have exhibited a documentary impulse for preserving the city. To some extent, the film becomes an extension of the camcorder's homemade, intimate footage of the old Beijing neighbourhood at the moment of its disappearance. It demonstrates the importance of some urban cinemas as records and evidence of a disappearing social environment.

The urban film chronicles urban transformation and the metamorphosis of twentieth-century cities. Further, in *24 City*, Jia Zhangke extends the understanding of documentary aesthetics what is happening in the city to a deeper interpretation, that is, how to investigate fiction and reality. *24 City* is a feature film which records the privatization reform of a state-owned factory from 1958 to 2008 through documenting nine workers: five of these are real members of the factory's workforce, while four are fictional characters played by actors. The film's narrative is a blend of fictive and documentary story-telling. For history, people do not always form a consensus. In this case, the real people's narratives and records represent the real existence. Jia says frankly that he has an intense critical consciousness about old factory system because many people pay a heavy price for the 420 factory. Primarily, as Jia says, he wants to shoot a film about the painful memories of 420 factory and that special era (6). Hence, he chooses interviewees who have the commonsense moment, such as heartrending memories about that period. With the deepening of the investigation, however, Jia realizes that the original intention of filmmaking is not "real" (Jia 20). This is because many workers do not complain about the factory and the old system; rather, they express a desire to maintain the original system (ibid.). Based on Jia's investigation, it is reasonable to suggest that the interviewees as representatives of many other workers of 420 factory still adhere to the original faith of their youth and the choices they made in

the context of socialist China. Rather than reading their narratives in *24 City* as kinds of complaint about socialism, it is better to understand their feeling as harbouring for socialism. Hence, the story of 420 factory has gradually become a metaphor that expresses workers' missing of a special period.

Although *24 City* adopts the documentary aesthetics to narrate the structure, the fictional parts still remind audiences that *24 City* is a docudrama rather a documentary. For example, Joan Chen, the actress, plays a woman called Gu Minhua in this film. Gu Minhua tells audiences that her experiences are similar to the eponymous female protagonist of the film *Xiao Hua* (1979), a role also played by Joan Chen. Robinson claims that "in *24 City*, the actor is ordinary people, and history itself appears almost as a form of performance. Off-camera interjections are thus one of a panoply of techniques used to blur the boundaries between reality and fiction, with the consequence that only a contextual understanding can help even an engaged viewer distinguish between the two" (154). Therefore, as Sebastian Veg suggests, though Jia's 'reality' in this sense is different from the material reality which documentary presents, that fictional narrative also bridges to reality (58–64). In other words, these blurred relations between fiction and reality create a kind of augmented reality which enables his film to present the universality through some fictional individual cases.

The film narrates the history of 420 factory and the destiny of ordinary people from 1958 to 2008 to present the individual's life and the collective history. It does not try to provide historical facts, but rather provides a possible historical experience that includes the elements of reality and, at the same time, constructs the reality. As Jia suggests, "history in film is comprised by truth and image, and *24 City* is a story about loss which cannot be seen again in reality" (249).[2] Therefore, this aesthetic pursuit reveals that some new documentary films do not simply reflect reality, but are rather a form of questioning the 'truth' that is manifested in these films. In *24 City*, the fictional parts that are

[2] Translated from Chinese-language source by the article author.

represented through documentary aesthetics are beneficial to make sense of the complex historical experience and to present an innermost truth of characters about the social transformation from 1958 to 2008. Hence, *24 City* provides an experiment that fiction and constructed reality can cooperate in creating lived space and imagined historical time.

Overall, *24 City* doubtlessly awakens many Chinese people's collective memory and the fictional aspects may inspire some people to judge their life again. Through professional and non-actor's performance, the film wants to convey the message that everyone should confront their lives straight. *Shower* and *24 City* use urban themes for focusing on the past and the present. This aesthetics of filmmaking demonstrates that video technology can be mobilised to express the individual and collective memory. The discussion in this section maps out the cities' spaces as indexes of memory, which gives visual form to expose individuals' feelings about urban development. By chronicling the process leading to the construction of the worker's demise and the death of the old city, Zhang Yang and Jia Zhangke's films, to some extent, resist the forgetting of the urban past and becomes a kind of carrier through which memory can survive.

Reflective/Restorative Nostalgia

In the third part, this article analyses nostalgia itself from the perspectives of reflective and restorative nostalgia, which will not only connect and summarise the former parts but also suggests that this structure of feeling belongs to the generation of the 1970s, especially for many urban generation filmmakers.

Svetlana Boym investigates Russian culture after the fall of the Soviet Union and distinguishes two types of nostalgia. She defines restorative nostalgia as "reconstructive" and "utopian", in contrast to reflective nostalgia, which she defines as "inconclusive" and "ironic" (42). In other words, restorative nostalgia is more linked to the concept of home, which dreams of fully rebuilding a mythical authentic home and bridges a perceived gap between the past and the present. Meanwhile, reflective nostalgia pays more attention to the concept of displacement, which is interested in bringing the displacement without trying to

rebuild it. Both definitions as contemporary cultural styles cannot be separated completely and often mediate between the poles of the yearning for home and the displacement.

Nostalgia in Zhang Yang's *Shower* can be understood as a kind of reflective nostalgia. The difference between Da Ming and his father Lao Liu can be perceived as two kinds of lifestyles: socialist and post-socialist. Lao Liu owns an old and traditional bathhouse and works as a social director, marriage counsellor, and dispute mediator for his customers; Da Ming presents the modern urban life that is situated in booming southern China. However, he is perplexed in two worlds when he communicates with Lao Liu and Er Ming. Da Ming gradually relieves his puzzle and accepts Lao Liu's lifestyle when he lives together with Lao Liu for several days. After Lao Liu unexpectedly dies, he undertakes his father's responsibility to look after the bathhouse and Er Ming. To some extent, Da Ming's puzzle can be interpreted as a kind of discontinuity between the socialist past and the present commercial urban life, which is envisioned as a radical break, a shift from party-centred public life to individual-centred consumerism. Thus, the rupture between a remembered collective past and an individual present seems entirely unbridgeable. The process of mediating the relationship between Lao Liu and Da Ming is a spiritual negotiation. Essentially, it is about how to deal with the controversial lifestyle between socialist and post-socialist. This historical and political displacement may be a permanent fracture. Hence, this discontinuity makes the film *Shower* become a reflective rather than restorative nostalgia film.

Compared to *Shower,* nostalgia in *24 City* can be seen as a restorative nostalgia, which invokes the past in order to forge continuity across fifty years of discontinuity. The story depicts the transformation of factory '420' from 1958 to 2008. As a military factory which manufactures aeroplane for the state, factory 420 is pulled down to make way for buildings of luxury flats: 24 City. The period of 420 can be divided into two eras: socialism (1958–78) and post-socialism (1979–2008). This film tries to eliminate the gap between two eras and builds a sense of a continuity rather than a jarring disjuncture between the more recent communist past and the consumerist present (Castells 190). More specifically, Jia mainly depicts restorative nostalgia from three aspects.

First, the memory of each interviewee is a representative of one period, which abstractly records a special history. For example, a middle-aged man visits his mentor, who is now elderly. This scene expresses the feeling of respect and gratitude for the first-generation workers who fought for the country. Many first-generation workers bring their family to Chengdu with the relocation of the factory. They have once benefited but now are dropped from the factory protection. In another scene, a female worker Gu Minghua, who is proud of her beauty when she was young, is now near 45 years old and feels regret and contradictory emotions about the past times. In the end, Su Na who is 26 years old speaks about her business as a purchasing agent. She expresses her optimistic life attitude and feels sad for her parents' generation as employees of 420. The film follows three generations' memories in Chengdu (in the 1950s, the 1970s and the present) to express the changing process of the individuals, factory, and the whole country. Particularly, Hou Lijun lost her work and just had 200RMB every month in the context of state-owned factory reform. Da Li lost her child in 1958 when 420 moved to Chengdu and she had to give up looking for her child because 420 was a military factory and she must perform her job as a soldier. In these interviews, Gu Minghua, Hou Lijun, and Da Li speak out their bitterness, which not only shows the sufferings about the past but also reflects the social transformations such as the wave of redundancies happened in the 1990s, which were ignored by the authorities and the mainstream society. Therefore, it is also a euphemistic criticism of the national and political indifference and even oppression.

Second, the filmmaker adopts one poem at the end of every interview, which is another form to structure its restorative nostalgia. For example, when Song Weidong stands at the playground with his basketball and watches the camera silently after finishing the interview, William Butler Yeats's *The Coming of Wisdom with Time* emerges on the screen: "though leaves are many, the root is one. Through all the lying days of my youth, I swayed my leaves and flowers in the sun; now I may wither into the truth" (43). At another interview, when Gu Minghua narrates her experience as the most beautiful woman of the factory at her period, Cao Xueqin's poem expresses her sadness and nostalgia: "I feel quite nerve-

racking for I like spring and feel sad when it is leaving."[3] This poem explains the contradiction about the time when a once beautiful girl feels the time is flowing quickly and is worried about her future. At the same time, the regret expressed in this poem goes beyond nostalgia and may be read as a further euphemistic criticism of post-socialist China. The world that the poem presents is sentimental and imaginary. However, as Ouyang Jianghe explains, Jia is a poet, who uses the film to present an accurate representation of the world (Lv 2). Indeed, the poems in the film cooperate with other film languages to create a flexible world in which Jia is able to explore individual and collective yearning, desire, regret and criticism.

Third, the music, sometimes, is more sentimental and intense to express the theme of the film. The music in *24 City* is an expression and conclusion about every interviewer. In general, the music is linked to each narrative. For example, when interviewing a reporter of Chengdu television station who grows up at the factory 420 in the early 1980s, the music *outside world* (1987) is sung by famous Taiwanese singer Qi Qin, and it sings "in a long time ago, you own me and I own you. Then, someday, you leave me for your dream" (Qi). The lyric echoes with the story to depict the generation of 70s fighting for their dream and their hesitation for the future. As Philip Drake suggests, the work of the soundtrack connects with the memorialised knowledge to establish the retro feelings of the period. This takes on a symbolic function in establishing the relationships between characters and their nostalgia (Drake 193). Thus, the soundtrack may stimulate people to recall their past that is situated at the period of the 1970s and 1980s. This constructed feeling in *24 City* may help people make sense of their characters and present situation.

At the same time, the two types of nostalgia are also overlapped in both films. It means that focusing on the discontinuity between two eras

[3] Cao Xueqing is a poet of Qing Dynasty. This poem comes from his novel *A Dream in Red Mansions* and is translated by the article author from Chinese-language sources: *guai nong di shi bei shangshen, ban wei lianchun ban naochun*.

might also be a restorative nostalgia approach. For example, in the film *Shower*, the father Lao Liu is a representative of traditional Beijing community. Da Ming tries to understand his father and community life, which is a kind of return. Additionally, there are two scenes to depict water in *Shower*. The two inserted sequences take the audience first to the ancient yellow land and then to a Tibetan holy lake. The water is metaphorically referred to as a cultural soul, which baptises and purifies human relations. The interpretation of two allegories can be perceived as a return to the Fifth Generation's "national allegory" (Fredric 65). At the same time, father's voiceover and cinematic flashback depict a bathing sequence, the mise-en-scène of the yellow plateau shares a cultural code with Chen Kaige's *Yellow Earth* (1984). This presentation reveals an active connection with prior film directors and their film aesthetics. *24 City* also has a similar connection. For instance, some younger workers express their helplessness and disappointment when they are facing the transformation of the 420 factory. When a woman of the third-generation of the factory talks about her memories about the 420 factory, her fancy and yearning about the future will not be interpreted as restorative nostalgia for socialism. Although she understands her parents' faith about 420 and socialism, she expresses more yearning for her future. Besides, the presentation of the skyscrapers repeatedly in *24 City* also provides a shorthand visual and narrative symbol to imply individual commercial identity in a cosmopolitan inner city. Therefore, the concepts do provide a useful schematic for identifying two distinct nostalgic tendencies in the Chinese cinema since the 1990s.

Through analysing nostalgia, the intrusive social change and the intense rebuilding of the post-socialist cities are investigated. A linkage with a communist past and a community lifestyle is represented. Two films present the city as the battleground between oppressive collectivity and rebellious individuals and give voice to the urban generation filmmakers who grow up in the cities and are familiar with the characters such as small business owners and entertainers that appear in their films. For these urban generation filmmakers, they represent nostalgia and construct their individual group identities. They engage with the society and use film as a means to express their complicated feeling. Therefore, these filmmakers are agents who not only work with

their subjects but also help to produce more agents, films, to identify themselves. At this point, as Luke Robinson suggests, "the act of filming has become a co-production, one in which the process of documenting reality merges with the process of creating and performing a situation into being" (Robinson 147). Therefore, nostalgia may become a part of a collective imagination through shared media representation. The feeling of nostalgia in *Shower* and *24 City* is related to the emotion of desire and fantasy about hometown, love, history, identity and future. The discontinuity between the tough and desired past, the commercial city of the present, and a separated future generated a radical break, which all happen against the historical background of booming modernity. As Robin Visser argues, the built environment is not an autonomous realm, but rather an economic and social field with important political implications (4). The films map out the cities' memory, expose the material wounds, and negotiate with the authority of urban development.

Conclusion

This article has investigated how two urban generation filmmakers represent their nostalgia in Chinese urban film in the context of post-socialist Chinese cities. It highlights that some cultural ruptures have presented a kind of controversial feeling for urban residents in the process of Chinese post-socialist modernity. This article argues that the filmmakers focus on the cultural memory in the urban film to not simply reflect contemporary social issues, but also foreground the role of filmmaking in constructing the urban image and their identities as urban filmmakers.

As two representatives of the urban filmmakers, Zhang Yang and Jia Zhangke actively express their expectation, desire, and anxiety about the circumstance that they live. Their perspectives are consciously more than the didactic tradition of Chinese cinema to moral judgment but use critical realism aesthetics to investigate society. If restorative nostalgia means to search for home, which is evident when the workers are compelled to leave their native towns, thus, factory 420 becomes the promise of a new home for them under socialism. As Wu Shu-chin puts it, individuals are to participate in the common destiny, in all-embracing

structures of community inside of the factory 420. However, it voices the anguish and despair of ordinary people as an effect of politics (17). A more profound interpretation is that *24 City* "signals an awareness of both the failures of the Maoist era and the rise of 'desperate individualisms' in post-socialist China" (Deppman 260). Today, the home has disappeared with the coming of post-socialist modernity. This historical process has been adopted by urban filmmakers to express complex feelings about the socialist collective community and urban life that have disappeared in urban demolition. The film language of urban cinema provides filmmakers with a flexible platform on which to engage with the shared historical moment, and produces a thoughtful approach to investigate reality and history.

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The Baba and the Bolshevichka – Learning to Read Soviet

Representations of Women's Literacy in Early Soviet Culture

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The importance of the female role in the Sovietisation process in post-Revolutionary Russia and beyond was not lost on many of the key figures of the Bolshevik party, not least Vladimir Lenin, who wrote many articles prior to the seismic social shifts of 1917 extolling the need to emancipate women from their current social positions, and emphasising the key role that the female figure had to play in bringing communism to the nation. Clara Zetkin, the German Marxist theorist and female activist recalled that in 1920, Lenin told her that: "We can rightly be Proud of the fact that in the Party, in the Communist International, we have the flower of revolutionary womankind. But that is not enough. We must win over to our side the millions of toiling women in the towns and villages. […] There can be no real mass movement without women" (1929: 69). However, one of the greatest barriers to this process were the overwhelmingly low levels of literacy among the adult female population

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after the Revolution, which according to some estimates, were as low as 17% (St George 25). This paper draws on Soviet linguistic theory and language policy in order to explore the relationship between the female literacy movement in the early Soviet period and its artistic representation in three different cultural items from this period: state produced propaganda posters, Olga Preobrazhenskaia's 1927 film *Baby Riazanskie* (The Peasant Women of Riazan), and Andrei Platonov's 1929 novel *Kotlovan* (The Foundation Pit). These sources have been carefully selected to provide contrasting representations of the subject, encompassing an official state approach, a female led depiction, and the hyper-realistic approach to the Socialist Realist construction novel taken by Platonov. Through these analyses, it will demonstrate the role of two contrasting figures of Soviet femininity - the baba and the bolshevichka - and argue that their images reflect an acknowledgement of the vital role of the female figure in the development of the Russian language in the early Soviet period, and the subsequent Sovietisation of the Russian nation.

In *The ABC of Communism,* written in 1922, Bukharin and Preobrazhenskii lament that: "In tsarist Russia, the method by which the masses of the people were kept in subjugation to the aristocratic State was not, on the whole, that of a bourgeois-priestly-tsarist enlightenment, but simply that of withholding enlightenment of any sort" (Bukharin and Preobrazhenskii 280). That is to say, they argued that for many, it was not the content of the education that was provided which was used as the main mechanism for maintaining the dogma of the Church and State, but rather the total deprivation of access to education in general. On the surface, statistics regarding literacy at the time certainly appear to corroborate this lamentation, since at the outset of the Revolutions of 1917, levels of literacy in Imperial Russia were overwhelmingly low. Some estimates of the literacy rates for the general adult population were as low as 28.2% in 1897 (Elkof). However, this Soviet analysis fails to consider the work that had been started as far back as 1861, when Aleksandr II's social reforms which eradicated serfdom in the country began to tackle some of the educational inequality in the nation. One such measure included a law passed in 1864 which tasked the local

zemstva[1] with ensuring that adequate schooling facilities were provided in their area, as well as passing a law which asserted that there must be a school house within three versts, or 3.2km, of each dwelling in the area (Elkof 127). However, the speed at which these measures were implemented was painfully slow. As late as 1914, although 91% of *zemstva* had signed agreements to work towards the fulfillment of this aim, only 3% of 441 regions had actually managed to do so. Of the remainder, 65% of authorities thought that it would take them five years to achieve the goal; 30% stated they were ten years away, and a further 8% were more than ten years away from providing adequate local education facilities in their region (Elkof 127).

Equally problematic was the lack of provision for adult education in the Imperial system, which had the most severe impact on adult women. Indeed, among women, the crisis of literacy was considerably worsened in the wake of October 1917. At the time of the last census to be undertaken before the revolution in 1913, 83% of the female population was illiterate; and here more than in any other strata of Russian society, the division of literacy in the late Imperial and early post-Revolution eras was the most strikingly demarcated along lines of class. While there was a reasonably good infrastructure for teaching at least a basic degree of literacy to the rank and file members of the army, which was continued and developed post-Revolution by the Red Army, literacy among women was almost exclusively the preserve of the aristocracy.[2] The situation, and the crisis that the Revolution unleashed on women's literacy, is summed up most succinctly by George St. George, when he states that: "In 1913 […] 83% of all women were found to be illiterate. The vast majority of the remaining 17% were women of the higher classes; among peasant women illiteracy was almost universal. After the Revolution had swept away the higher classes, either physically destroying them or driving them into exile, the percentage of illiterate women remaining was

[1] *Zemstva*, plural of *zemstvo*, was an administrative unit of local government in Imperial Russia

[2] For an excellent psychological analysis into teaching, learning and language usage practice among the Red Army, see Shpil'rein (1928).

much higher – at least 90%, and some estimates go as high as 95%" (St George 25).

Although both of these factors were interpreted and skillfully manipulated in the public debate surrounding literacy and its relationship with the social position of the proletariat in the pre- and early post-Revolutionary era, and the results of the Tsarist era literacy schemes largely downplayed in order to further the social cause of the Bolsheviks, many literacy historians now consider the role of the pre-revolutionary literacy schemes as vital to the later success of the Soviet schemes. Indeed, some consider that the astonishing rate of literacy improvements in the 1920s is buoyed by the results of those who received childhood education under the previous system.

The Bolsheviks centered the problem of women's rights and emancipation in their calls for social action long before the Revolutions of 1917, and their attention to the issue spread further than mere academic interest of higher-level revolutionary thinkers. As early as 1912, *Pravda* published a series of exposé style reports on conditions for women in the workplace and established a regular column which denounced factories for their treatment of women, including in them graphic accounts of physical and sexual abuse in the workplace. One such incident is detailed in a column about the Treugol'nik factory, where a factory manager attempted to rape a female worker in a storage cupboard. The reporter laments the fact that the cupboard was close to three male workers, but they had become so accustomed to hearing women's screams that they did not investigate (Pravda). In another exposé in the same column, the reporter likens conditions in the weaving factories, which as he points out, were usually staffed solely by female workers, to those in the *katorga,* the Imperial prison camp system which formed the basis for the developing *gulag* system under the Soviets.

After the October Revolution, political focus on the status of women in the Soviet Union was solidified by the first constitution of the RSFSR signed in June 1918, which enshrined men's and women's political and citizen's rights as equal. This was further enhanced in December 1918 by the creation of the Commissary of Propaganda and Agitation Among Women, which was headed by Inessa Armand, before being restructured in 1919 to become the *zhenotdel* – or Women's Department – which

operated in an official capacity until its liquidation in January 1930, and among whose ranks were included many of the leading female revolutionary figures. The department was involved in many projects and took an active role in the literacy campaign. It sent staff on the *agitparokohdy* – propaganda boats, which were sent to the remote areas of the republic which were far from the reaches of the cosmopolitan centers, in order to bring the Soviet message, and literacy to the people in the more isolated regions. Furthermore, they were involved with the setting up of literacy circles, and in the creation of a series of posters that formed part of the *Likbez* – Liquidation of Illiteracy campaign.

Furthermore, the *zhenotdel* took responsibility for the writing, publication and distribution of a variety of women's magazines, including *Rabotnitsa* – Female Worker, *Krest'ianka* – Female Peasant, *Bolshevika* and *Kommunistka.* These magazines attracted many of the leading female Revolutionary figures, including Konkordiia Samoilova, who died whilst leading a mission on the *agitparokhod, Krasnaia Zvezda* – Red Star, after contracting cholera in 1921. Lenin's sisters Anna Il'ichna Elizarova and Mariia Il'ichna Ulianova were both involved in the drive for female representation in the press. In the pre-revolutionary era Anna was involved in fundraising, establishing a print mechanism, and maintaining communication with the émigré community, as well as sitting on the editorial board of *Rabotnitsa*, while Mariia was a strong advocate for a female presence in the *rabkory* – people's correspondent (*or zhenkory*) movement.[3] Women themselves were encouraged to write letters to the magazines, and many of these extol the benefits of literacy to the readership, and emphasise that it was crucial not only for both their personal and political emancipation, but also as a key factor in their ability to participate in the spread of communism. In 1933, 12.7% of contributors to 3850 different newspapers in the USSR, were women (Serebrennikov 198). Women's voices were also heard in the form of published *Letters to Stalin,* and these equally emphasised the importance of literacy, for example one such letter states, "Fekla Golovchenko, one

[3] For more on the roles of Lenin's sisters in the Revolution see Katy Turton, *Forgotten Lives*.

of our active workers, almost fifty, gladly took to study. 'If I'm not properly educated,' she says, 'I can't handle my brigade'. They all say the same, young and old. Now that we are called upon to take part in the administration of public life and economy, education is no longer a luxury, it is an absolute necessity, like water for a thirsty man" (Serebrennikov 194–95).

However, the *zhenotdel* was beset by problems throughout its tenure, and was viewed with suspicion by both male and female critics alike throughout its operation. Its activities, such as the organisation of communal crèches, launderettes and canteens, were designed to free women from the burden of what Lenin himself termed "domestic slavery". However, they were also costly to a state that was in the grip of a civil war, and which was later faced with the task of jump-starting a floundering economy after the end of the War Communism period. Never far from the *zhenotdel* was the spectre of feminism, which was deeply mistrusted, and regularly denounced as anti-Soviet; the Marxist doctrine, aimed at the emancipation of the proletariat en-masse, had no room for gender specific policy. Even Aleksandra Kollontai, one of the department's most radical leaders, whose views on marriage, free love and the place of women in society were viewed as far too radical by many, and whose novel *Love of Worker Bees* was described as pornographic by conservative party members, was "in no sense a political feminist" (Brodsky Farnsworth 294). Equally, the department struggled with sexism, and an entrenched sense of patriarchy, even among the communist revolutionaries. This resulted in the department gaining the derogatory moniker of *tsentrobaba,* or "Grandmother Central", and as a result of this lack of respect, it struggled with chronic underfunding, both in terms of financial resources and manpower. As Sofia Smidovich, leader of the *zhenotdel* between 1922 and 1924 lamented: "If Zhenotdel was not regarded as necessary, the party must say so; if it was needed, then qualified workers had to be provided" (Smidovich, quoted in Boxer 190).

The epithet of *tsentrobaba* gives an insight into a feminine duality which was unfolding throughout the entirety of Soviet discourse in the post-Revolutionary era, and which continued well into the 1920s and 1930s in the Soviet Union. In Soviet Russia, two distinct female characters had emerged: the 'backwards' baba, and her more enlightened

Soviet sister, the bolshevichka. While on the surface the bolshevichka appeared to be far more emancipated than the baba, the more politically powerful group was in fact that of the baba, for she acted as a symbol of the gatekeeper to the uneducated, rural masses who made up a significant percentage of the Russian population. Her participation in the Soviet project was the key to its success in the village, away from the urban heartlands in the towns and cities.

The Soviets moved quickly to set up an ambitious programme of adult literacy, which can be divided and broken down further into several different constituent literacy campaigns. According to literacy scholar H. S. Bhola (1982), a literacy campaign is characterised as having the aim of promoting literacy for all men and women within a given period of time, with the aim of increasing literacy across the population. He notes that a campaign sees literacy as "a means to a comprehensive set of ends, economic, social–structural and political"; furthermore, he alludes to the combative and urgent nature of literacy campaigns (Bhola 211). The ambitious aim was to eradicate adult illiteracy entirely by the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution in 1927. However, the reality of the situation and the scale of the resources needed to deliver on such a lofty ambition meant that the deadline was pushed further and further back, and literacy campaigns were still active throughout the early post-Revolution and NEP eras, as well as being a feature of both the first five-year plan and, and were finally considered to have been achieved during the second of Stalin's five-year plans, in 1934. Although this is a relatively long time period to still be considered as a campaign, rather than a literacy programme, the overtly ideological nature of the Soviet literacy schemes and their close relationship with the transformation and development of the socio-political structure in the fledgling Soviet state means that they can be categorised as falling within Bhola's parameters of a literacy campaign.

These campaigns fell under the jurisdiction of the *Cheka Likbez*, the Extraordinary All-Russia Commission for the Liquidation of Illiteracy, more commonly known as *Likbez,* which operated under the umbrella of Glavpolitprosvet (The Main Political and Educational Committee), which in turn was responsible to Narkompros (The People's Commissariat for Education). The commission also set up its own literacy points known as

likpunkty, and at the height of the campaign, there were around 40,000 of them in operation across the Soviet Union. Although progress was slow, and levels of literacy varied across the nation, it was being made and in 1926, even in the regions of the Far East of Russia – in which the liquidation of illiteracy was generally considered a difficult task – overall 58.4% of women were literate, and some 86.7% of 18–25 year old women in the region could read (Kulinich 132).

Learning to Read and Speak Soviet: The Role of Propaganda in the Literacy Campaign

One of the most effective methods of reaching illiterate members of society was the propaganda poster, and in the early Soviet era it was a crucial tool in encouraging both the uptake and participation in literacy classes and the development and propagating of the figures of the baba and the bolshevichka in Soviet society. The prime target of such posters was the baba, as she was less likely to have been reached by other methods in the past. The emphasis on visual arts, as opposed to written calls to action, was also highly effective. The Soviets categorised their target students, and the corresponding literacy programmes, into two distinct categories: *negramotnye* (illiterate) and *malogramotnye* (semi-literate). What the Soviets defined as literacy went far beyond the conventional western definition, and included having a working knowledge of the various areas of production most pertinent to the Soviet Union, including but not limited to the textile, metallurgy and mining industries. Thus, many of those who could already read and write were classified as being only semi-literate. However, due to the Imperial education system's primary focus on male education, women usually fell into the former category. Posters, which relied heavily on visual cues, were particularly effective in reaching such illiterate women.

The propaganda poster campaign served as a tangible, visible display of the baba and the bolshevichka. In these posters, women often occupied central positions, and the roles of the baba and the bolshevichka were tacitly implied. The two characters can often be differentiated merely by their style of dress: the baba is usually depicted wearing traditional dress such as a *platok*, a large, ornately decorative scarf which was used as a head covering, with the knot tied at the front of the head under the chin,

in the traditional style. Conversely, the bolshevichka is usually shown to be wearing a much more utilitarian style of dress, her headscarf was often plain (and red) and tied at the back of the head. Equally, while the baba was almost always pictured wearing conservative, modest attire, the bolshevichka was often shown wearing more socially liberal clothing, and images of her often feature fitted blouses and even trousers, which would have been unthinkable in the staunchly Orthodox Christian Imperial society. Far beyond the appearance of the characters, however, was the emphasis on the role that the two women played in society. The bringer of education, or enlightenment (*prosveschenie)* as it was referred to in the Soviet Union, was often the bolshevichka herself. This was a direct reflection of the fact that it was often the *zhenotdel* staff who were in charge of running literacy schemes in local areas.

What is equally clear from the propaganda posters, is that what the two female characters had in common with one another was the insoluble connection between the woman and her role as mother. In the eyes of the state, all Soviet citizens owed a debt to the state itself, for the freedom that they were afforded by the October Revolution. According to a sign-up sheet from a 1920s literacy scheme, the method by which they were to repay this debt was in taking responsibility for their education; after the Revolution, "Every worker can study and must learn the national economy."[4] However, for women, even in the socially more enlightened society of the USSR, there was a responsibility to learn not only because of their debt to the state, but also in order to fulfil their role as a good Soviet mother; propaganda posters declared that illiterate children were a mother's shame. The baba was more strongly targeted by posters inciting the shame of her illiteracy.

[4] Tsentralnaia Gosudarstvennaia Arkhiv Moskovskoi Oblasti (TsGaMO) f.966, o.4. d.945, l.7.

Illustration 1 Woman! Learn to Read and Write!

The poster above states at the top "Woman! Learn to read and write!", while her child at the bottom implores "Hey, mama! If only you were literate, you could help me." The message is blunt, and abundantly clear: the ultimate responsibility for the child's success was the mother's. This poster targets the baba directly, as the woman in the poster can be clearly understood to be the a peasant woman, and not her Soviet sister due to the variety of traditional items in the picture, such as the traditional dress, and *bast* shoes which mark her status as a peasant.

The role of mother does not however, belong to the baba alone. In the picture below, both the figure of the baba and the bolshevichka are depicted working together for a new life:

Illustration 2: Knowledge and Work Will Give us a New Life. In the Villages, in the towns, at the machines and in the fields we are building happiness for children

Again, the bolshevichka is in the position of providing education to the baba, which is evidenced in the act of her passing over the books, emphasising once again the importance of the role that Soviet women played in bringing education to her fellow women in the union. The baba's willingness to participate is shown, not only in the way her hand is extended towards the bolshevichka, but in the papers she is shown grasping in her hand. That knowledge is placed before work in the hierarchy of what will bring the new life to women in the Soviet Union, again speaks to the importance of the literacy campaigns, and the emphasis that was placed on literacy and education. However, despite the fact that there is clearly a duality in the feminine role in Soviet propaganda, their status as mother is an overarching feature of her femininity, and one which unites the two figures; the importance of this mother role is displayed in the second part of the caption, which highlights that a woman's emancipation and education is not truly her own, but rather for the benefit of the future children of the USSR.

Beyond the poster campaign, the image of the baba and the bolshevichka is also reflected in cultural materials that were produced in this era. One significant example of this is the 1927 film *Baby Riazanskie – The Peasant Women of Riazan'*, directed by the renowned female Soviet

director Ol'ga Preobrazhenskaia.[5] Although the film was criticised at the time for not containing a strong enough pro-Soviet message, the two characters which had been created by the state propaganda can be clearly seen to be represented in the silent film, which depicts life in a small village in the Riazan' region, some 200km from Moscow. Beginning in spring 1914, the film follows the fate of two girls in the village: Anna, the peasant orphan who marries Ivan, the son of a *kulak* (kulaks were landowning peasants, who were the target of a sustained campaign of 'liquidation' during the collectivisation period in the late 1920s), shortly before he is sent to the front line of WWI; and Vasilisa, Ivan's sister, a wilful character who defies her father's demands, and leaves the family home to live with her lover, Nikolai. The two characters, Anna and Vasilisa, portray the baba and the bolshevichka, respectively. Though literacy is not expressly referred to in the film, it is shown that Vasilisa is one of the only people in the village who is literate; letters from the front are taken to her for reading, and it is she who corresponds with the local Soviet to procure funding for a children's home in the village. The fate of the baba and the bolshevichka are darkly juxtaposed against one another in the film. Anna is raped by her father in law, Vasilii, and is left pregnant as a result of the attack. This leads to her being shunned by the community, including Ivan when he returns from the front. Without questioning the identity of the baby's father, he rejects his wife, leading to her committing suicide by drowning in the river during a village festival. On the other hand, Vasilisa is shown to be a strong, new Soviet woman type character. She defies her father's demands that she should stop seeing Nikolai, the local blacksmith, and instead enters into a common law marriage with him, a socially radical feature of the early Soviet era. She endures the shaming of the local village women, and when Nikolai is also sent to the front she remains at home and learns to man the smithy herself. Upon seeing the aftermath of Anna's suicide, it is Vasilisa who reveals the identity of the baby's father to Ivan, before

[5] The film and a short review can be found online at: http://www.calvertjournal.com/articles/show/2140/the-film-club-the-peasant-women-of-ryazan.

taking the child and leaving the village behind. The film ends on Vasilisa's exit, with the image of the new children's home superimposed on the screen ahead of her, a striking juxtaposition against the relative poverty of the rural village she has left behind.

In Preobrazhenskaia's film, the need for female emancipation that was brought about by the embracing of new, Soviet ideals, is shown to be a matter of life and death. The difference between the fates of the baba and the bolshevichka cannot be more different. However, once again the two characters are brought together in their role as mother, although Anna is the biological mother of the child, Vasilisa takes the baby with her when she leaves; thus, her emancipation from the yoke of peasant life is not entirely her own, she will share it with the child.

The focus on motherhood and the importance of women becoming literate for the sake of her children becomes even more significant if it is examined from within the parameters of the language planning programme and linguistic theories that were being developed by Soviet linguists during the 1920s and early 1930s. What becomes clear from the vantage point of the modern researcher, is that there is often a clear disconnect between Soviet academia and the practicalities of engineering such studies and replicating their effects in real terms. However, one theory which has proven to be an effective gateway between Soviet theory and Soviet practice, is Boris Larin's *mnogoiazychnost'*. Born in Poltava (then Ukraine) in 1899, Larin had worked on studies of language use in Moscow in the Rus' era. After the revolution, when scientists across the board began to scramble to align themselves with the correct factions, much work was begun which looked to find "Marxist" solutions to traditional scientific questions, and to create "Marxist" scientific theories. This phenomenon can be observed in early Soviet linguistics. Larin developed *mnogoiazychnost'* to allow him to work within the school of Japhetidology, the dominant theory of Nikolai Marr, which was accepted as the true Marxist linguistics theory, until it was denounced as anti-Marxist by Stalin himself in the early 1950s. Although his work does not align precisely with Marr's paleolinguistic theory, he was able to continue working as a student of Marr's, and in 1928 he published two significant papers, which called for a greater study into the language used by the proletariat in the cities (Larin). His study called for a change

in the focus of Russian linguistics, which had previously been preoccupied with the study of the various languages and dialects of rural Russia, and instead called for a study into the language of the city. Although the direct translation of the term *mnogoiazychnost'* into English is multilingualism, it is important to note here that Larin's idea of multilingualism is very different to the modern understanding of the term. The focus of Larin's theory is not on the ability to speak several different languages, but rather looks at the different sociolects, that is to say the varieties of a given language that different social groups use to communicate. Larin's work was focussed on the urban sociolects of the Russian language in major Russian cities.

Indeed, the fact that the term sociolect is now the most appropriate translation of *mnogoiazychnost'* in the contemporary context shows the extent to which linguistics has developed in the direction that Larin himself argued that it must, and predicted that it would. In *K lingvisticheskoi kharakteristike goroda*, he lamented that there was "Very little material, and practically no research into any of the dialects of the city, apart from literary [standard] language" and states that "It is impossible to start a sociological study of literary [standard] language without studying the everyday linguistic environment, that is to say, the other types of written language, and all of the varieties of language spoken by the linguistic collective" (Larin 189).[6] Indeed, Larin advocates for a more sociologically based approach to linguistics, which today is known as sociolinguistics, a tradition to which the study of sociolects now firmly belongs. Larin identifies three sociolects as having significance in the urban language collective in Soviet cities: that of the family, which can include diminutive use among family members, the workplace, and political language. Although the latter two were regarded as the most significant because of the position of work and political ideology at the centre of Soviet society, the familial sociolect is equally significant in terms of the development of language, and the spread and assimilation of political terminology and ideology between sociolects. Perhaps more so

[6] Translation my own.

than in other sociolinguistic contexts, the three sociolects are uniquely interlinked in the USSR, via the mechanism of the literacy campaign. Because of the nature of the campaigns, their reliance on state controlled media as a method of teaching literacy, and even the very definition of literacy, the literacy campaign was able to be used as a mechanism for state influence over the familial and work sociolects, by bringing citizens into contact with a broader variety of terminology. Furthermore, because terms were introduced by the state, the aim was to control the way that the terminology was received and subsequently used.

Another key depiction of women's literacy in literature, and a prime example of the use of sociolects is Andrei Platonov's 1929 novel *Kotlovan - The Foundation Pit*. Despite the fact that the novel has gained a widespread notoriety for its reputation as a work of anti-utopian, anti-Soviet fiction, there is a growing academic shift away from this interpretation of the text and towards a different approach which sees it placed in the realm of the socialist realist construction novel. His inclusion as a figure in Socialist Realism, is in itself divisive, as Marina Zavarkina notes, "Even now, researchers opinions vary: some believe that Platonov has written a "hymn to socialist construction", others, not a very good work according to all the canons of the production genre, still others consider it to be a parody of the industrial novel" (Zavarkina 571). Further still, there are those who categorise the novel as both meriting its conclusion within the canon of socialist realism as a production novel as well as a acknowledging its capacity for interpretation as an antiutopian novel, including Rolf Hellebust, who states that "We are left face to face with this world, without ironic distance, but the colossal subversive potential is already palpable […]. *The Foundation Pit* realizes the collectivist allegory of the building of communism as the creation of a single, monumental 'all-proletarian home'" (Hellebust 124–25).

However, by incorporating not only the historical context of the novel and the author's ideological values, but also elements of Larin's sociolectological linguistic theory, I argue that Platonov's representation of women's literacy is a further facet of the hyper-realism which not only characterises the text, but justifies its inclusion in the category of Socialist Realism.

There are very few female characters throughout the novel, and the ones which exist are mired in misery – the peasant women must endure the horrors of collectivisation, Nastia's mother dies early in the novel, and Nastia herself, is an orphaned child who comes to be a symbol to the workers of their end goal – to build a socialist future for the children, which in Platonov's novel is a responsibility for all the workers, and not merely the female characters - who starves to death in the wake of the collectivisation of the local farmland. Indeed, one of the only positive engagements with women in the entire novel is one in which peasant women are learning to read. In it, a student called Makarovna recites the words she has learned which begin with the letter A: "Avantgarde, activist, advance, archleftist, antifascist! All of them to be spelled with a hard sign, except for archleftist!"

Platonov's depiction of the depth and scope of literacy, reduced to the parroting of propaganda terms, seems a far cry from the ideals of teaching each student about the importance and the workings of the state economy. However, there are also kernels of truth in his depiction, which make it difficult to dismiss his representation as the bitter reflections of a man disillusioned with a cause he had once fought so passionately for. In the scene, he describes the students writing on the floorboards with chalk in the reading huts. This is a strikingly accurate portrait of the reality of literacy in the provinces. Although the Soviets moved quickly to mobilise their literacy campaigns through the printing of books, pamphlets, newspapers and magazines, they also suffered from a chronic lack of paper, caused by the disruption resulting from the chaos of the civil war, and the reading huts, especially in small towns and villages, were often in dire need of reading and writing supplies.

The discussion of the use of the hard sign, and its ideological value also points to Platonov's awareness of the linguistic revolution of the time, a parody of the orthographic reforms that took place throughout the early post-revolutionary period. Platonov shows his awareness of and contempt for the discussion surrounding the ideologisation of the language, and its minutiae in the early Soviet period by having the activist teacher support the losing side of the soft sign debate.

There is also a parodic reflection of Lenin's own language, which can be seen in the use of the word archleftist – or *arkhilevyi*. Although the

prefix arkhi had existed in Russian for hundreds of years before the Revolution, it came to be a hallmark of Lenin's language that can be seen throughout his speeches and writing. Whilst still sticking closely to the original etymological meaning, he modified the emphasis upon application to mean 'extremely' or 'very', and the words which he applied this prefix to became very ideologically loaded. The term began to be picked up by the newspapers after Lenin's death, and although it was a somewhat short-lived trend in Russian prefix use, Platonov's use of the term – which incidentally is itself a hapax legomenon – is thus a further parody of the Soviet habit of creating terminology for their own ideological ends, and demonstrates his adept command of, and ability to manipulate the political sociolect.

If Lenin had identified the flower of women revolutionaries in the Communist International, this article has thus shown that there were several species of Soviet feminine florae and that their depiction in various areas of Soviet cultural production provides a vital insight into their role not only in their own personal emancipation, but in the spreading of communism in the Soviet Union. By means of diachronic study of the history of the zhenotdel and their work in the early Soviet period in liquidising illiteracy alongside the analysis of cultural items of the period, this article has demonstrated the rapidly developing position of women, from that of powerlessness under the oppression of the patriarchy in the Imperial system, to a vital participant in one of the most socially radical political revolutions in history. Although each figure, both the baba and the bolshevichka, still faced difficulties, and neither was truly emancipated in the early Soviet period, it is difficult to deny that they both played key roles in the Sovietisation of Russia. The bolshevichka was the driving force behind many of the mechanisms that brought literacy to women and men alike through the literacy campaigns, while the baba herself was the gatekeeper to changing social attitudes, and the language changes that were brought along with them. Through them, Soviet messages were enforced in the home, and Soviet vocabulary found its way into the familial sociolect; and their role as mother ensured the continuing dissemination of these ideas and nurtured the future Soviets who were necessary for the continuation of the Soviet project.

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The Importance of Linguistic Markers of Identity and Authenticity in German Gangsta Rap

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1 Introduction

This study investigates the language used by six German Gangsta rappers to establish and maintain their identity and authenticity as rappers, in songs released between 2015 and 2016. Gangsta rap is a subgenre of Hip-Hop that emphasises 'the rappers' street credibility in texts describing tough [urban] neighbourhoods, violence, misogyny, and the achievement of material wealth' (Bower 379). The culture of Gangsta rap attracts overwhelmingly negative mainstream media coverage (Muggs; Roper) and is often accused of corrupting 'standard' language (Krummheuer). The lyrical content of the songs is indeed controversial and has been previously covered by many academics (Byrd; Littlejohn and Putnam; Bower; Rollefson), as has the emergence of Hip-Hop in Germany (Elflein; Pennay; Nitzsche and Grünzweig). Other previous research in a German context examines how members of minority ethnic groups use the genre to express identity in a wider European context

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(Bennett; Kautny; Kumpf). More recently, there has been nascent sociocultural research on the development of German Gangsta Rap (GGR) (Littlejohn and Putnam; Bower) but this article does not focus on these themes. Instead, the study examines the lyrics of GGR songs from a sociolinguistic perspective, analysing the lexical and morphosyntactical features, and speech functions[1] that are used by German Gangsta rappers to signify their GGR identity.

The study approaches the language of GGR primarily through the lens of social identity (Tajfel and Turner), examining how the language of GGR is constructed from both the identification with a set of characteristics (both social and linguistic) that overlap to create an ingroup, and the rejection of characteristics that are constructed as belonging to the outgroup(s). For example, the rejection of the establishment and authority is a key theme to the language of Hip-Hop and GGR. Potter (57–58) describes this language as a 'resistance vernacular'; a source of new linguistic forms and functions that deliberately reject and subvert cultural norms and allow the creation of new identities for its often minority ethnic practitioners which, in GGR, is demonstrated by displaying 'non-German-ness' (Byrd 72). For example, many rappers use language originating from a rapper's ethnic background, such as Turkey or Eastern Europe.

Furthermore, there has been a tendency in popular media to conflate GGR language with the language variety spoken by ethnically Turkish residents (Brown 144–45), referred to as '*Türkendeutsch*' (Androutsopoulos; Tekin and Colliander) or '*Kanak Sprak*' ('*Kanake*-speech')[2] (Zaimoglu), which negatively portrays both rappers and migrants as '*asozial*' ('anti-social'), 'monolingual speakers of "incorrect" German' (Byrd 75–76). This approach is problematic, however. There are overlaps between GGR and German-Turkish migrant cultures and this

[1] Speech functions are 'genre-typical verbal actions' (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 5), i.e., sentences or phrases that convey particular aims or express social relationships (in this case, for German Gangsta rappers).

[2] *Kanake* is a pejorative term referring to Turkish/Middle Eastern migrants to German-speaking countries.

is reflected in some aspects of the language, such as the use of '*Kiezdeutsch*' ("Hood German") (Wiese). *Kiezdeutsch* is a multi-ethnolect[3] comprising many non-German influences that has developed from the changing multicultural environment in urban areas and is spoken by many young people in German cities, regardless of ethnic background (Wiese 115). Androutsopoulos (39–40) calls the parallel use of German and non-German linguistic features 'double monolingualism' and other academics have defined it as 'codeswitching' or 'nonce borrowing' (Auer; Wiese; Tekin and Colliander). These terms, however, do not sufficiently encapsulate the frequency, density and fluidity of language interchange in GGR. Instead, I argue that the more recent term of 'translanguaging', as popularised by García (*Bilingual Education*), is most appropriate (further explained in section 3.2.2). It is also important to distinguish GGR from minority ethnic culture(s), as to do so would imply that all inhabitants in Germany with a migration background live a Gangsta lifestyle. GGR remains an area of music and culture that has not been extensively linguistically analysed due to its relatively recent emergence[4] and this study aims to address some of the existing gaps in the research.

The study is comprised of three parts: Section 2 is an outline of the social contexts for the development of GGR. Section 3 presents an explanation of the theoretical underpinning and methodology of the investigation, and a justification of particular terminology, such as translanguaging. This section also contains the investigation of the corpus, comprised of lyrics and music of six GGR songs released in 2015 and 2016, and explores the linguistic features that are used in GGR to establish identity and authenticity in three areas: lexis, morphosyntax, and speech functions. The study concludes in section 4 with an explanation of how such linguistic features demonstrate the importance of identity and authenticity for practitioners and followers of GGR, reflecting its unique sociocultural situation.

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[3] I.e., a language variety comprised of vocabulary from several ethnic sources.

[4] Androutsopoulos and Scholz (14) claimed that Gangsta rap was 'virtually absent' from the German music scene.

2 Hip-Hop in German-Speaking Countries

2.1 The Origins of Hip-Hop

Hip-Hop has been a source of linguistic creativity, as well as a music genre, from its creation in the Bronx in the 1970s. This linguistic creativity was used as an outlet for 'politicised blackness' (Gilroy xiii) 'to try and escape poverty and oppression while commenting on it' (Kelly in Basu and Lemelle xiii). A good example of these conditions is detailed in KRS-One's 1995 track, *Out for Fame*:[5]

> I'm livin' in the city, inner city not a farm
> Steady bombin' 'til I get fatigue in my arm
>
> Watchin' for the beast cause many artists, they shot 'em
> And beat 'em in the yards, while doin' a top to bottom

The song repurposes words to uniquely pertain to Hip-Hop. The use of this alternative lexis is very common in Hip-Hop, and Alim ('Hip Hop Nation Language') even claims that such language forms a 'Hip-Hop Nation Language' (HHNL).[6] In the above excerpt, 'Bombin' (spraying graffiti) is important to spread recognition of the rapper as an artist but he must contest with 'The Beast' (the police), who assault and kill Hip-Hoppers [read African-Americans] in the '[rail]yards' as they attempt to paint the sides of trains (a 'top to bottom'). Using such language was an identifier of the artist as an 'authentic' Hip-Hopper, for other Hip Hoppers to understand, whilst simultaneously appearing indecipherable to outsiders – an 'act of identity' (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 178–82). Potter goes one step further and claims that repurposing language imbues 'power' to the Hip-Hoppers, 'the power to make oppressors tremble' which also acts as a 'message of solidarity with other African-

[5] The impact of this song is far-reaching; even a German Hip-Hop festival is named after it, out4fame.de/.

[6] HHNL does not fit the traditional academic definitions of a separate language (Bühler; Chomsky), as it is mostly a collection of lexical terms and speech acts originating from African-American English (AAE). For more on HHNL in different contexts outside the USA, see Alim, Ibrahim, and Pennycook.

American communities' (Potter 14). The attempts to rebalance power and demonstrate 'solidarity' have disseminated, along with the musical structure of Hip-Hop, throughout the world; Hip-Hop no longer just applies to African-Americans in the USA, it has now become a 'transnational, global artform, capable of mobilising diverse, disenfranchised groups' (Potter 10), regardless of ethnicity or country of origin.

2.2 German Gangsta Rap (GGR)

German Gangsta Rap (GGR), a Hip-Hop subgenre valorising the use of drugs, violence, and aggression, emerged in the late 1990s partly as a reaction to frustration at the commercial success of white, privileged rap groups, such as Die Fantastischen Vier, who were favoured by mainstream broadcasters for their uncontroversial, non-political songs (Elflein 258–59), and the increasing marginalisation and stigmatisation of ethnic minorities in Germany (Donaldson 193). For example, there was a rise in right-wing extremism (Kautny 411–12), such as the *Česka* murders, where a group of Neo-Nazis killed 10 people, mainly of Turkish background from 2000 to 2007. Furthermore, Rollefson (230–32) claims the introduction of neo-liberal welfare reforms in the early 2000s (popularly called Hartz IV) was the main factor that created a receptive environment for GGR, as they demonstrated a fundamental 'misunderstanding [of the] issues of poverty [and] racism'. They led to a worsening socioeconomic situation for many ethnic minorities in German, which in turn created impoverished 'ethnic enclaves' or 'ghettos'. However, some German academics, such as Berns & Schlobinski (215), did not acknowledge this social shift and argued that a 'ghetto situation […] does not exist in Germany', which they claimed precluded the authenticity of a native Gangsta Rap scene. The lyrics of many GGR songs at the time disagree and explicitly reference Hartz IV and the unwillingness of authorities to accept the realities of their situation, such as in Eko Fresh's 2006 track with Bushido called 'Gheddo',

> Warum guckt sich Peter Hartz nicht meine Strasse an?
> 15 Jahre Deutscher Rap aber keiner machts wie Eko
> Ihr habt alle reiche Eltern und sagt Deutschland hat kein Ghetto

> 'Why doesn't Peter Hartz take a look at my street
> 15 years of German rap but no-one does it like Eko
> You've all got rich parents and say Germany's got no Ghetto'

In the title of this track, we see that 'ghetto' is phonetically spelled 'gheddo', which is an example of consonant lenition, common to Turkish-German pronunciation (Byrd 73). This is a good example of an identity marker from Eko for his Turkish-German neighbours from similar underprivileged areas, as displaying solidarity with the others in your 'Viertel' or 'Hood' (urban neighbourhood) became an important message in GGR,[7] especially amongst ethnic minorities (Brown 143–44). Gangsta rappers began to intertwine German with the languages of their local communities within the same speech act in a rap track, instead of the previous German Hip-Hop practice of ethnic minority rappers releasing whole tracks or rapping the chorus of a track in Turkish (Androutsopoulos 39–40). For instance, in one of the tracks that will be explored more fully in the analysis section, Miami Yacine raps the lyrics '*Drei Jahre Knast für den Akhi, denn er tickte damals im Range Rover Dope*' ('Three years in jail for the brother cos he sold dope in his Range Rover'). By using Turkish ('*Akhi*', meaning 'brother/bro'), he authenticates his upbringing in the multi-ethnic milieu of the Ruhr with its large Turkish migrant population and his status as a rapper by using HHNL ('Dope'). Byrd (73) states that this frequent switching between lects in GGR goes 'beyond' what would be defined as 'typical codeswitching' that might be observed amongst bilingual music or conversation, rather it would be more appropriate to describe this complex use of language as translanguaging, which this article will explore after describing the methodology of the linguistic analysis.

[7] Often whole tracks are devoted to this subject, as we see in Sido's 2004 track 'Mein Block' (My Block), in which he describes the high-rise building where he lives as his world.

3 German Gangsta Rap 2016 Linguistic Analysis

3.1 Selection of the Lyrics for Analysis

This article has assembled six GGR songs that can be classified into two categories of three each, called 'Mainstream' and 'Niche', based on the relative popularity of the music and exposure of the artist, to ensure that the German Gangsta Rap scene is adequately represented for the purposes of initial linguistic analysis. The parameters for selecting the songs for analysis are shown in Table 1:

Song Selection Parameters	
1	Uploaded to YouTube by an official source responsible for the creation of the video, for example, a YouTube verified account
2	Video must have either:
a	over 10m views (Mainstream)
b	fewer than 2.5m views & 10,000 likes per day average, indicating a more underground scene (Niche)
3	Video uploaded between April 2015 and September 2016
4	German must be the main language of the song
5	Each song must have a different main artist
6	The main artist must be signed to a record label
7	The track has an entry on www.genius.com, an online lyrics database to provide the lyrics of the songs for analysis
8	The 3 songs with the most comments on their YouTube page from each section were selected for analysis

Notes:

1. For future research, a comparison between unsigned and professional rappers would be interesting, to see if there is greater importance of linguistic identity markers based on the differing target audiences.

Table 1 Song Selection Parameters

Mainstream Tracks

Artist	Song Title	Artist(s) Locale
Ali Bumaye ft. Shindy	Sex ohne Grund	Berlin
Bonez MC & RAF Camora	Palmen aus Plastik	Hamburg/Berlin
Miami Yacine	Kokaina	Ruhr Area

Niche Tracks

Artist	Song Title	Artist(s) Locale
AK Ausserkontrolle	Immer wenn es Nacht wird	Berlin
Capital Bra ft. King Khalil	Fluchtwagen glänzen	Berlin
SXTN	Wir sind friedlich	Berlin

Table 2 Songs for Analysis

3.2 Linguistic Features of GGR

This section provides a short overview of social identity and language before describing the linguistic features and theoretical frameworks that are demonstrated in the construction and authentication of identity in GGR under the following categories: lexis, morphosyntax, and speech functions. The section finishes with an in-depth examination of one of the selected tracks, *Fluchtwagen glänzen* by Capital Bra ft. King Khalil, exploring all linguistic features, especially regarding the use of more than one language in the same speech act.

3.2.1 Language, Social Identity, and Authenticity

The proponents of social identity theory, Tajfel and Turner (34–35), proposed that a person's identity is created through affiliations to various ingroups and disaffiliations to outgroups, and Bucholtz and Hall (382) stated 'language is a fundamental resource for identity production'. Therefore, it stands to reason that language may be used to construct ingroups and outgroups, and this study attempts to identify the linguistic features of the GGR ingroup – and also what linguistic features they use to designate others as members of an outgroup. The relationship between language and identity in GGR is also theoretically underpinned by the concepts of gender performance and performativity (Butler), and "ethnifying" (García, 'Languaging and Ethnifying"), which serve as a

framework for how German Gangsta rappers 'perform' their identities (e.g., their ideas of masculinity/femininity or [non-]'German-ness'), and how they use language that signifies 'what it is they want to be' (García, 'Languaging and Ethnifying' 519). This language is also used to demonstrate authenticity, which Bucholtz (408) defines as 'the assertion of one's own or another's identity as genuine or credible'. This is especially important in GGR due to the rejection of mainstream German culture, the strong affiliation to the 'discourses of marginalisation and racial identification' (Pennycook 102), and the rejection of previously established binaries, such as that of the German/Foreigner. This creates a 'third space' (cf. Bhabha) for followers of GGR culture, as many of its members are German citizens yet identity strongly with migrant (e.g., Turkish) culture(s). This hybridity is addressed in many German rap songs (cf. Bennett), such as in the 1992 song, *Fremd im eigenen Land* ('Foreign in your own nation) by Advanced Chemistry, who rap the line '*Ich habe einen grünen Pass mit einem goldenen Adler drauf* ('I have a green passport with a golden eagle on'), referring to the design of the German passport, whilst criticising those who question their nationality, '*"Gehst du mal später zurück in deine Heimat?" "Wohin? Nach Heidelberg?"* ("'Are you going to go back to where you are from?" "To where? To Heidelberg?"').

3.2.2 Lexical Features

An important phenomenon in the lexis of GGR is the use of both German and non-German words in the same speech act. For example, in the line '*Bratan, du siehst, hier wird Para verdient*' ('Bro, see, here we earn dollar') from *Fluchtwagen glänzen* by Capital Bra, the rapper uses Russian/Ukrainian ('*Bratan*' = 'Bro/Brother') and Turkish ('*Para*' = 'Money') lexical items alongside German in the same utterance. This feature is referred to in this study as 'translanguaging' (García *Bilingual Education*; 'Education, Multilingualism and Translanguaging'), although there are several competing academic concepts such as 'codeswitching' (Heller and McClure; Onysko; Gardner-Chloros) and 'borrowing' (Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller) that, it has been argued, also

describe this linguistic phenomenon.[8] However, translanguaging is the most appropriate term to describe the lexical feature of GGR for a number of reasons.

García (*Bilingual Education*, 45) states that translanguaging encompasses and 'goes beyond what has been termed code-switching […] although it includes it, as well as other kinds of bilingual language use and bilingual contact' (i.e.,borrowing). Lewis et al. ('Translanguaging: Origins'), Creese et al. (2016), and Simpson (2016) all agree with Garcia, stating that there are important sociological and sociolinguistic distinctions between the concepts (Lewis et al., 'Translanguaging: Developing' 657–59). I have compiled the differences between the three in the following list:

- Translanguaging rejects the traditional view of bilingualism, which rests on the idea of two languages with two separate linguistic systems (an L1 and an L2) (Simpson 15). It 'celebrates and approves flexibility in language use' (Lewis et al., 'Translanguaging: Developing' 659) and the Derridean permeability of languages, which, according to Creese et al. reveals 'the complexity of the human repertoire in contexts of multilingualism […] as people use their semiotic resources to index, voice and comment on social phenomena' (25).
- Codeswitching and borrowing, on the other hand 'focus too narrowly on codes which are still too easily interpreted as bounded languages' (Creese et al. 25) and evince quite a Western-centric view of language as a collection of autonomous monoliths, separated and bound by what Hua et al. call 'imagined boundaries' under the concept of the nation-state (9).

[8] The concept of using two or more languages and/or language varieties in the same speech act has also been given other names, including codemeshing, heteroglossia, metrolingualism, and polylanguaging (Lewis et al., 'Translanguaging: Origins' 650), but are generally only used by the academic who coined them (Hua et al. 59–60).

- Translanguaging semantically enshrines the equal status of all languages (García, 'Education' 141) and 'normalises bilingualism' (García, in Makoni and Pennycook xiii), which removes the prejudices and hierarchy that accompany a traditional diglossic linguistic relationship. This, she argues, is far more characteristic of language encounters between multilingual interlocutors (García, *Bilingual Education* 78–79).
- Translanguaging goes beyond the use of language. It allows us to explore more sociological notions of 'translanguaging space' and transnationalism (Creese et al. 5), whereby translanguaging serves as one aspect of cultural hybridity, a linguistic identifying marker for inhabitants of diverse multi-ethnic spaces, especially in diverse, densely populated areas (Creese et al.), thus highlighting the complex nature of the concept of identity.

The use of non-German linguistic resources as equal and normal in GGR is itself an act of linguistic resistance against the monolingual standard in Germany, accepting and promoting the multilingual and multicultural space that GGR occupies. Therefore, the language of GGR should be viewed using 'translanguaging' as a linguistic framework over codeswitching and borrowing, although it includes these concepts, given the inherently transnational, multimodal and sociocultural phenomenon of Hip-Hop and the use of languages and language varieties in GGR as an important 'act of identity' (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 178–82).

One important language variety in GGR is the use of Hip-Hop Nation Language (HHNL) to validate the artist's identity as a rapper, as it authenticates their link to the wider music genre (Cutler 80) and often relates to music-specific terminology or sociocultural phenomena. If the rapper does not fulfil other criteria associated with Hip-Hop, then their use of HHNL may seem absurd or 'appropriating' (Eberhardt and Freeman 307–08). In GGR, this can be seen in the music of Money Boy, an Austrian Gangsta rapper, who despite the congruity of his lyrics and demeanour with the tropes of the Gangsta lifestyle, actually comes from a middle-class background and has a master's degree from the University

of Vienna (Funk). Examples of HHNL in the song collection include the lines from SXTN's *Wir sind friedlich*:

> Du bist kein **Gangsta**, nein, weil du **dealst** mit **Dough**[9]
> Du bist nicht **real**, du bist nur *Show*[10]
>
> 'You're no **gangster**, cos you **deal** with **dough**
> You're not real, you're only show'

The use of 'standard' English (indicated by italics) emphasises the 'coolness' of the rapper and forms an acrolect vernacular (a prestige variety of language).[11] It is also present in Shindy's verse in *Sex ohne Grund*, although he is careful to also use HHNL to reinforce his GGR identity:

> Alle meine **Bitches** nennen mich *Daddy*
> *Chille* mit der *Family*
> **Hoes** schicken mir Emojis
> *Pretty* **Mo'fucker** mit der Roli[12]
>
> 'All my **bitches** call me *daddy*
> *Chill* with the *family*
> **Hoes** send me emoji
> *Pretty* **motherfucker** with the Rolex'

Thirdly, the use of migrant languages such as Turkish or Arabic associate the rapper with his/her local area, which indexes their identity as 'from the street' (Androutsopoulos 281–82), creating their own unique version of the 'resistance vernacular' (Potter 57–58).[13] This difference to

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[9] 'Dough' has been used as a synonym for 'money' for over two centuries (Kohl), but saw a resurgence in early Hip-Hop.

[10] HHNL words in bold, English italicised.

[11] This also shows why it is important to categorise English and HHNL as separate language sources, despite their lexifier/substrate (i.e., Hip-Hop uses English as the basis for most of its vocabulary) relationship, as they serve different linguistic functions for the rapper. To distinguish between the two, I use the online resource therightrhymes.com, an HHNL dictionary built using a corpus of rap songs from 1979 to present.

[12] HHNL words in bold, English italicised.

[13] Cf. North-African Arabic in French Hip-Hop (Hassa 50–52).

the USA Gangsta Rap scene is explicitly referenced in RAF Camora's verse in *Palmen aus Plastik*, where he raps '*Statt mit Vatos Locos häng' ich ab mit Arabern*' ('Instead of *Vatos Locos* [US-based Latino Gang] I hang out with Arabs').

Mainstream Tracks

Artist	Artist(s) Ethnicity	Linguistic Sources	Example
Ali Bumaye ft. Shindy	Turkish Greek-German	English, HHNL, Italian, Spanish	Alle meine Bitches nennen mich Daddy
Bonez MC & RAF Camora	German Austrian-Italian	Arabic, English, HHNL, Spanish	Statt mit Vatos Locos häng' ich ab mit Arabern
Miami Yacine	Maghrebi	Arabic, English, French, Italian, HHNL, Spanish, Turkish	Ya Haboub mach das Çarşaf ready

Niche Tracks

Artist	Artist(s) Ethnicity	Linguistic Sources	Example
AK Ausserkontrolle	Kurdish Turkish/German	Arabic, English, HHNL, Italian, Turkish	Wir bringen Daule das Fürchten bei
Capital Bra ft. King Khalil	Russian-Ukrainian Lebanese	Arabic, English, HHNL, Russian/Ukrainian, Serbo-Croat, Turkish	Mit Gang-Tattoos, Habibi, und machen eine Menge Flous
SXTN	German Afro-German	English, HHNL	Ihr seid Twopack anstatt Tupac, ihr seid whack

Table 3 Translanguaging Sources in GGR

As we see in Table 3, every song chosen for analysis uses English and HHNL alongside German, with Arabic next most common, followed by Turkish and Spanish, which roughly follows how frequently they appear in the tracks. However, more interesting is the fact that the rappers use languages that do not expectedly correlate with their ethnicity. Even if the rapper in Germany is not of Turkish or Arabic ethnicity, they will still use words from these languages, which provide sociocultural context by replicating the local sounds of the 'street' and confirm the rapper as authentic, as in the Capital Bra example[14] where he uses Turkish despite his Ukrainian heritage. Unlike Money Boy, Capital Bra maintains his credibility as a Gangsta rapper due to his upbringing in Wedding, a disadvantaged area of Berlin, despite not having any minority ethnic

[14] '***Bratan**, du siehst, hier wird **Para** verdient*'.

heritage, which would indicate that one of the key linguistic markers in GGR is socioeconomic status, rather than purely ethnicity.

3.2.3 Morphosyntactical Features

The morphosyntactical features of GGR closely match colloquial speech that even non-Hip-Hop speakers practice, for example word clipping and the use of *weil* as a coordinating conjunction (amongst other phonological and grammatical features) (Fagan 245–52). Features that occur in similar frequencies will not be investigated due to space constraints, instead the article will focus on two high-frequency areas: subject-dropping and sentential syntactic simplicity.

Subject-dropping in German music, regardless of genre, is not uncommon as it allows fewer syllables to be used to convey the desired meaning in a line and helps the song fit the metre, for example in the 2016 pop hit *Musik sein* by Wincent Weiss.

> Was für eine Nacht
> __ Bin mit 'nem Schädel aufgewacht
> __ Gieß' den Kaffee wie in Zeitlupe ins Glas[15]
>
> 'What a night
> __ Woke up with a thick head
> __ Pour the coffee, like in slow motion, in the glass'

[15] Missing subject indicated by '__'.

Mainstream Tracks

Song	Ø	S Used	Total	Ø%
Sex ohne Grund	7	35	42	17%
Palmen aus Plastik	20	23	43	47%
Kokaina	6	16	22	27%
Total	**33**	**74**	**107**	**31%**

Niche Tracks

Song	Ø	S Used	Total	Ø%
Immer wenn es Nacht wird	7	18	25	28%
Fluchtwagen glänzen	3	40	43	7%
Wir sind friedlich	6	50	56	11%
Total	**16**	**108**	**124**	**13%**
Grand Total	**49**	**182**	**231**	**21%**

Total Word Count: 2,694

Table 4 Subject-dropping in GGR

German Chart Hits (01.12.2016)

Song	Genre	Ø	S Used	Total	Ø%
Wenn sie tanzt	Pop	16	37	53	30%
Holz	Hip-Hop (Spaßrap)	0	37	37	0%
Musik sein	Pop	6	40	46	13%
Masafaka	Hip-Hop (Conscious Rap)	6	108	114	5%
Stoff und Schnaps	Hip-Hop (Spaßrap)	7	70	77	9%
Keine Maschine	Pop	5	32	37	14%
Total		**40**	**324**	**364**	**11%**

Total Word Count: 2,412

Table 5 Subject-dropping in German Chart Music (non-GGR)

However, in GGR, as displayed in Table 4, we can see that of the 231 possible subject-verb (or verb-subject) contexts for a subject in the song collection, the subject was dropped 21% of the time,[16] which is roughly

[16] Six songs comprising 2,694 words.

double the amount in non-GGR German-language songs featuring in the charts at the same time (Table 5).[17] Furthermore, the tables also illustrate the sentential syntactic simplicity of GGR as there are far fewer occasions of verb use in GGR songs (231 vs 364), instead comprising of more stand-alone adjectival and noun phrases, rather than major sentences. This is demonstrated in *Immer wenn es nacht wird* by AK Ausserkontrolle, who uses a continued stream of short semantic bursts; each line starting a new speech act (i.e., a separate, contained utterance) as well as containing several within the same line:

> Blitzbrecher, die alles Mitnehmen, Babas
> Gas geben, AMG, Wildleder Nappa
> CLS Benz, Chiptuning, drückt Brudi
> 500 PS, gib Gummi
> Hektik, Stress, im Fokus, bremms' nich'
> Bestes Flex, hochprozentig
>
> 'Lightning-fast burglars, who take everything, mafia bosses
> Open the throttle, engine tuning, bro pushes [drugs]
> 500 Horsepower, burn rubber
> Hectic, stress, in focus, never brake
> Best high-grade coke, high-proof'

The expediency afforded by the combination of pronoun-dropping and sentential syntactic simplicity in GGR allow a rapper creative opportunity to impress others with his/her 'flow' (Smitherman, in Alim, *Roc the Mic* viii) and create linguistic patterns that are very different to both mainstream Hip-Hop and vernacular language, despite being comprised of elements from both. This unique linguistic framework allows a Gangsta rapper to densely populate a track with many speech functions, which establish and maintain their authenticity as an artist.

[17] Six songs comprising 2,412 words.

3.2.4. Speech Functions

In this section, the article will first discuss the methodological framework for categorising the speech functions in GGR, adapting research from Androutsopoulos and Scholz. The article will then present quantitative analysis of the GGR track collection.

3.2.4.1 Speech Function Framework

Androutsopoulos and Scholz, drawing on earlier work by Bolte, provide a framework for the analysis of speech functions in European Hip-Hop music, which, although appropriate for the wider genre of German Hip-Hop, must be tailored for German Gangsta Rap. They are as follows:

Speech Functions of European Hip-Hop

Category	Description	Example (translated version from Androutsopoulos & Scholz)
1. Self-referential Speech	Rappers describe their own verbal performance, ranging from literal to metaphoric expressions	'When I appear on the stage | I unite my mind with the base | to give me volume while I rhyme'
2. Listener-directed Speech	Rap's desired effect on the listeners is presented e.g. to dance or react in a certain way	'So get down on it because what you are about to hear will cut you like a knife'
3. Boasting	Rappers praise and glorify themselves and their crews	'With more stories to tell than the Grimm brothers | that's my own Dream Team | even more "The Boss" than Springsteen'
4. Dissing	Verbal attack and symbolic humiliation of an opponent	'You're soft like a pillow I'm hard like Thyssen [steel]'
5. Place/time references	Reference to the place/time where/when rapper lives, sometimes naming her/himself	'Now we're in 98 brother | my house number hasn't changed'
6. Identification (Naming)	Self-naming of the rapper or the rest of the crew	'They call me Lou X and I'm here to stay'
7. Representing	This is the explicit declaration of self as a local representant of hip-hop culture	'Dortmund represent'

Table 6 Androutsopoulos & Scholz (15) Speech Functions of European Hip-Hop

In the GGR song collection, every example of self-referential speech was a boast, referring to topics such as criminality, drug dealing, violence, sexual prowess, so these categories can be merged. Furthermore, there

is no listener-directed speech, as use of the second person in GGR would be classified in the dissing category, as demonstrated in the opening stanza of *Wir sind friedlich* by SXTN:

> **Ihr** seid Bonzenkids, **ihr** wart noch niemals broke
> Jeder von **euch** denkt, er hätte mieses Coke
> **Du** bist kein Gangster, nein, weil **du** dealst mit Dough
> **Du** bist nicht real, **du** bist nur Show[18]

'Place/time references' and 'representing' are conflated, as GGR artists present their physical locations as proof of their Hip-Hop authenticity rather than explicitly stating whom they represent, as seen in this comparison between AK Ausserkontrolle, rapping in 2016, and Fünf Sterne Deluxe in 1998, taken from Androutsopoulos & Scholz:

> AK Ausserkontrolle
> AK is' Mafia, Westberlin – Kapstadt [...]
> Sechs fünf, jeder scheiß Bulle kennt uns!
>
> 'AK is mafia, West Berlin – Cape Town [...]
> 65,[19] every fucking cop knows us!'
>
> Fünf Sterne Deluxe
> Dynamite Deluxe, Doppelkopf, Fünf Sterne, ABees und Eins Zwo
> Sind im Norden verantwortlich für ein hohes Niveau!
>
> 'Dynamite Deluxe, Doppelkopf, Fünf Sterne, ABees and Eins Zwo
> are responsible in the North for a high standard!'

Furthermore, GGR frequently refers not just to the proper name of their locale but to general urban features that represent it, such as '*Hochhausblocks*' (High-rise flats) or '*mein Kiez'* ('my hood'), which will be included under the 'Place/Time References' category. One final difference between Androutsopoulos & Scholz's matrix and GGR is in the 'Identification (Naming)' category. In GGR, not only do they find it

[18] Second-person pronouns in bold.
[19] The old post code for Berlin-Wedding.

important to refer to their crew, they often refer to their community, using familial names such as '*Brudi*', '*Akhi*' or '*Bratan*' (Bro/Brother in colloquial German, Turkish and Russian, respectively) or '*Jungs*' ('boys'). In doing so, German Gangsta rappers create and 'appeal to a "symbolic ethnicity" or "defensive ethnicity"' as Bower (384) states, that serves as an 'identifying mark' in opposition to the 'out-group' (Tekin and Colliander 56). Therefore, a new GGR-specific matrix has been created:

Speech Functions of German Gangsta Rap

Category	Description	Example
1. Boasting	Rappers praise and glorify themselves and their crews	'Ich bin kein Player, doch ich ficke oft' ('I'm no player, but I fuck often')
2. Dissing	Verbal attack and symbolic humiliation of an opponent	'Fick auf dein' Trainingsplan, Hundesohn' ('Fuck your fitness programm, you son of a bitch')
3. Place/Time References	Reference to the place/time where/when rapper lives, also to features of neighbourhood	'Immer wenn es Nacht wird, heulen im Block die Sirenen' ('Every time when it gets dark the sirens wail in the block')
4. Identification (Naming)	Self-naming of the rapper, the crew, or other 'in groups'	'Meine Jungs schmuggeln Dope in den Mopeds' ('My boys smuggle dope in the mopeds')

Table 7 Updated Speech Function Categories for GGR

3.2.4.2 Quantitative Analysis of Speech Functions in GGR

Table 8 displays the analysis of the song collection for these categories and reveals that the most frequent speech function was 'Boasting', making up 46% of all speech functions, followed by 'Dissing', whereas the 'Identification (Naming) category was least frequent with 12%. However, there is a stark contrast between Mainstream and Niche tracks, with the latter using speech functions more than twice as often, and 'Dissing' almost six times more frequently. In the Niche collection, the frequent boasts concern success through criminality '*Batzen vom Ott-Ticken unterm Kopfkissen*' (Wads of money from dealing weed under the pillow) from *Fluchtwagen Glänzen*, rather than the finer trappings of wealth, such as '*Google-Earth-Blick aus meiner Suite'* (Google Earth view from my suite) from *Sex ohne Grund*. For less well-known (and less well-off)

Gangsta rappers, they must prove their authenticity by besting their opponents as they encounter Potter's (94–95) Hip-Hop dialectic: the problems of accruing money to escape the ghetto, make the 'big break' and live a luxurious 'white' lifestyle, whilst continuing to promote a ghetto lifestyle and appeal 'directly [to] the hood'. An example of a rapper who did not make this transition was Sido, who formerly rapped in a gold skull mask about the hard ghetto life of his 'Block' in 2004,[20] but then departed the world of Gangsta Rap after commercial success, ditching the mask, and singing about the problems of late-stage capitalism on a pop-collaboration album.[21]

Mainstream Tracks

Song	Boasting	Dissing	Place/Time Ref.	Identification	Total
Sex ohne Grund	17	3	1	1	22
Palmen aus Plastik	8	1	10	3	22
Kokaina	32	7	2	5	46
Total	**57**	**11**	**13**	**9**	**90**

Niche Tracks

Song	Boasting	Dissing	Place/Time Ref.	Identification	Total
Immer wenn es Nacht wird	33	3	7	9	52
Fluchtwagen glänzen	25	13	25	17	80
Wir sind friedlich	19	46	4	0	69
Total	**77**	**62**	**36**	**26**	**201**

Table 8 Frequency of Speech Functions in GGR

3.2.5 Linguistic Analysis of Fluchtwagen glänzen

The importance of identity and authenticity and the frequency of related linguistic markers in GGR is particularly well encapsulated in the first verse and hook of *Fluchtwagen glänzen* by Capital Bra, demonstrating the translanguaging, morphosyntactical features and speech functions explored earlier, seen in the annotated lyrics in Figure 1 (Annotation key is Table 9).

[20] *Mein Block*, Sido (2004).

[21] *Astronaut*, Sido ft. Andreas Bourani (2015).

Category	Highlight
Boasting	**Bold**
Dissing	Underline
Place/Time References	CAPITALISED
Identification (Naming)	Italics
Translanguaging	Highlighted

Table 9 Annotation Key to Figure 1

	Fluchtwagen glänzen, Capital Bra & King Khalil	Getaway Cars Shine, English Translation
	[Verse]	[Verse]
1	*Bratans* auf Zelle, wollten Batzen auf Schnelle	*Brothers* in the cells, wanted wads of money too quickly,
2	Wegen Tektek mit sham sham und Banküberfälle	Due to small-time dealing of cocaine and bank robberies
3	Kriminelle Banden, **Flucht vor den Beamten**	Criminal gangs, **escape from the officials**
4	**Hier in meiner Stadt gräbt man Tunnel unter Banken**	**Here in my city, we dig tunnels under banks**
5	**Bratan, du siehst, hier wird para verdient**	**Bro, you can see, here we earn dollar**
6	Wir flüchten vom Tatort ins HOCHHAUSGEBIET	We flee from the crime scene into our HIGH-RISE ESTATE
7	*Bra*, es geht um Profit, du Nutte bist nicht meine Liga	*Bro*, it's about profit, you whore, not my league
8	*Der Ukrainer* lässt dich rennen wie Di María	*The Ukranian* leaves you running like Di María
9	*Ich komm' mit 'nem Baba-Clan, mit Kurdis und Arabern*	*I come with Turkish mafiosi, with Kurds and Arabs*
10	*Russen, Tschetschenern und Bratans aus Kasachstan*	*Russians, Chechnyans and brothers from Kazakhstan*

11	*Igor und Hakan, was los, Bratan?*	*Igor and Hakan, what's up, brother?*
12	**Meine Jungs lassen zehn Mädchen ackern**	**My boys pimp out ten girls**
13	**Nein, ich hab' kein Abitur, trotzdem trag' ich Jordans-Schuhe**	**No, I've got no *Abitur*, despite this I wear Jordans shoes**
14	**Bra, ich rauche Johnnys pur mit Khalil auf meiner Tour**	**Bro, I smoke pure joints with Khalil on my tour**
15	Wen willst du hier dissen Picco? Heb mal deine Texte auf	Who do you want to dis here Picco? Throw your texts away
16	**O Kolleg du weißt Bescheid, ich rede nicht, ich fresse auf**	**O colleague you know the score, I don't talk, I devour**
	[Hook]	[Hook]
17	ZWISCHEN HOCHHAUSBLOCKS **jagen uns Cops**	**Cops hunt us** between HIGH-RISE FLATS
18	**Wir hau'n Batzen auf Kopf für Spielo und Ott**	**We haul in wads of money for gambling and weed**
19	*Bra*, ich mach' dich bankrott, **geklaut schmeckt am besten**	*Bro*, I'll bankrupt you, **stolen tastes best**
20	WIR SIND BERLINER, **uns're Fluchtwagen glänzen**	WE ARE BERLINERS, **our getaway cars shine**

Figure 1 Fluchtwagen glänzen first verse and hook with English translation

The main artist, Capital Bra, grew up in Ukraine as the child of Russian parents, before moving to eastern Berlin, which immediately provides him with authenticity for his Gangsta Rap as a migrant to a disadvantaged area. As one might expect, his language contains Russian/Ukrainian words such as the use of *bratan* ('bro/brother' but with criminal connotations vis-à-vis 'partner in crime') and *Tektek* ('small-time drug-dealing'). Yet he uses other instances of non-standard German, for example *sham sham* ('snort snort' = cocaine) and *para* ('money', again with criminal connotations), which come from Arabic and

Turkish, respectively, reflecting the ethnic diversity of Berlin[22] that is Capital's milieu, which he confirms in his own words in an interview:

> Ich bin eher Multi-Kulti. Ich bin unterwegs mit Arabern, Albanern, Türken und Kurden. Wir reden miteinander. (Gutmann)
>
> 'I'm more multicultural, really. I hang out with Arabs, Albanians, Turks and Kurds. We talk to each other.'

This is especially apparent in Capital's use of '*bratan'*, which combines the use of non-German with an 'Identification' speech function, doubly reinforcing the notion of his identity and background. He further corroborates this identity by explicitly naming the ethnicities of his associates, which presents a united front of marginalised groups against the German establishment.[23] In the hook, he raps '*Zwischen Hochhausblocks jagen uns Cops*', which uses HHNL to demonstrate how German Gangsta rappers validate their authenticity by solidifying connections with the transnational, worldwide Gangsta Rap community. '*Cops'* invokes the connotation of the struggle by Pennycook's (102) 'marginalised' against the oppressive establishment throughout Hip-Hop history, especially in conjunction with '*Hochhausblocks'*, which is categorised under 'Place/Time References' and therefore contextualises the rapper in the authentic Gangsta Rap environment of the city (Baldwin 187).

If we refer back to the speech functions illustrated in Figure 1, we see that Capital's boasts all correspond with GGR motifs. For example in the line '*Nein, ich hab' kein Abitur, trotzdem trag' ich Jordans-Schuhe*', he celebrates the accumulation of wealth, here signified by wearing expensive trainers, despite no official education. This is also present in USA Gangsta Rap, but such braggadocio is distinctly aimed at Germany, as it is in stark contrast to the German values of academic and vocational

[22] According to official statistics roughly 28% of inhabitants in Berlin identify as having a migrant background from a range of over 190 countries (Statistisches Bundesamt).
[23] Even if some rappers hold German citizenship, German-ness is still a quality to be rallied against (Bennett 83–84), despite attempts by ethnic Germans, such as Fler, to try and combine German nationality and urban identity as a valid GGR background (Bower 380–81).

qualification (Pilz). The sheer frequency of these linguistic features combine to form a unique language variety that, although recognisable as German, proves difficult to fully comprehend for any speech community outside GGR.

4 Conclusion

From being 'virtually absent' (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 14), GGR has now become a staple of the German music charts, with German Gangsta rappers achieving number one albums, such as Bonez MC and RAF Camora, although there have been no number one GGR singles.[24] GGR establishes a strong sense of linguistic identity both among members of the rappers' geographical community and to the transnational, global phenomenon of Hip-Hop, which Alim and Pennycook call Hip-Hop's 'glocal linguistics'.

To outsiders, the language of GGR looks limited and basic but upon closer inspection, it is clear that it contains multifaceted linguistic creativity through non-standard language to signify identity and authenticity. Hip-Hop and later Gangsta Rap provides an outlet for dissent and an opportunity for its practitioners, a collection of migrants growing up in a liminal and marginalised 'hybrid transnational culture' (Nitzsche and Grünzweig 8), to adapt the 'resistance' identity paradigm and apply it to their own sociocultural narratives, creating new identities and methods of authenticating them (and attacking imposters). We see these reflected in the language and linguistic features of GGR: the importance of shared experience "ghetto" or "street" life, the exposure to or the promotion of non-dominant cultures and practices to undermine German hegemony, such as different lexis and phonology, and the desire and willingness to exploit the system for personal (and financial) gain. However, if a rapper is seen to be inauthentic or not 'real' (Bower 380), due to a conformist background for instance, they are liable to lyrical attack or 'dissing', such as in *Wir sind friedlich* by SXTN, who accuse

[24] According to www.offiziellecharts.de.

their silent interlocutor, '*Du bist nicht real, du bist nur Show*' ('You're not real, you're just show').

This article examines only one small aspect of how concepts of ethnicity and language interact in the modern world and suggests further research on German Hip-Hop, comparing subgenres through diachronic exploration of the frequency of non-standard language markers such as translanguaging, gendered language and vulgarities, as they have changed alongside the roles and perceptions of ethnicity and identity.

5 Appendix: List of Abbreviations Used in This Article

AAE – African-American English
HHNL – Hip-Hop Nation language
HHN – Hip-Hop Nation
GGR – German Gangsta Rap

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Offizielle Deutsche Charts, https://www.offiziellecharts.de/

The Right Rhymes: A Hip-Hop Dictionary, https://www.therightrhymes.com/

6.2 Songs and Links to Lyrics

Artist	Song	Link to Lyrics[25]
AK Ausserkontrolle	Immer wenn es Nacht wird	Ak-ausserkontrolle-immer-wenn-es-nacht-wird-lyrics
Ali Bumaye ft. Shindy	Sex ohne Grund	Ali-bumaye-sex-ohne-grund-lyrics
Bonez MC & RAF Camora	Palmen aus Plastik	Bonez-mc-and-raf-camora-palmen-aus-plastik-lyrics

[25] Paste the link after http://genius.com/

Capital Bra	Fluchtwagen glänzen	Capital-bra-fluchtwagen-glanzen-lyrics
Miami Yacine	Kokaina	Miami-yacine-kokaina-lyrics
SXTN	Wir sind friedlich	Sxtn-wir-sind-friedlich-lyrics

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The Role of Shame in Language Learning

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> We live in an atmosphere of shame. We are ashamed of everything that is real about us, ashamed of ourselves, of our relatives, of our incomes, of our accents, of our opinions, of our experience, just as we are ashamed of our naked skins.
>
> —George Bernard Shaw, *Man and Superman*

I have been teaching foreign languages for over three decades and have always been observant of my students' emotional states and moods and endeavoured to make them feel comfortable with their learning, but over the years, I have grown dissatisfied with the reticence to take part in communicative activities of most of my students of English as a foreign language (EFL). My professional experience as well as a lifetime of excruciatingly painful shyness which makes it extremely difficult for me to speak in public, led me to hypothesize that shame/fear of experiencing

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shame could be at the origin of this reticence/unwillingness to use the target language (TL) in instructional settings, and this intuition was the catalyst which stimulated the present project.

The initial findings of the study confirmed my hypothesis as they show evidence of French students' propensity/disposition towards experiencing/feeling language shame when speaking the TL in the context of the classroom. However, it may seem surprising that, to my knowledge, since Cook's Doctoral Dissertation in 2006, shame issues in relation with foreign language learning and use have received so little attention from applied linguists, and has so far been an un-researched area in the French FLL context. This dearth of research into this phenomenon could be explained by the fact that this commonly experienced emotion is also the least discussed and individuals seem to go to great lengths to avoid it, preferring to conceal this weakness from others and even from themselves, and to deny experiencing this emotion.

The present work aims at contributing towards a more complete picture of the psychology of the language learner by filling this gap and it is hoped that it will inspire teachers and help them identify shame-prone learners. The paper discusses some possible options for dealing with it in the language classroom.

Literature Review of Emotions in FLL

Teaching and learning a foreign language can trigger an amazingly diverse array of emotions that may be either facilitative or destructive. Among the emotions experienced in the language classroom, anxiety has received considerable attention in SLA research and has been investigated in a variety of instructional contexts and from a diversity of perspectives. It was found to be responsible for potential differential success at FLL (Horwitz et al.), to impair the learning process at different stages, and was even regarded as the "linchpin of the entire affective reaction to language learning" (MacIntyre, "Language Anxiety" 24).

A significant number of studies sought to clarify its development and maintenance, and to envision the possible remedies that could be used. However, the earlier studies yielded confusing and often contradictory results due to the myriad of definitions of the term 'anxiety' and to the inconsistencies in anxiety measurements.

Recently, in the wake of Positive Psychology (Fredrickson), SLA research has laid particular emphasis on the role of positive emotions in language learning (e.g., enjoyment), and, unsurprisingly, these were found to be facilitative of the learning process (Dewaele and MacIntyre), to encourage risk-taking, to broaden the learner mind-set over time and make students thrive.

However, despite significant advances in the understanding of the language learner's complex and multifaceted psychology and of the differences in language learning achievement, research into the role of other emotions like shame, although vibrant in mainstream Psychology, seems to be scant in the FLL domain. Cook's Doctoral study on the role of shame and anxiety in FLL was the first to establish links between the two constructs and FLL. In 2006, the author interestingly remarked that "the mention of shame has been curiously absent in the literature about second language learning. This may simply be because no one was looking for it. So, no one asked the question" (74).

Since then, this elusive emotion has not benefited from the attention it merits until recently, when some researchers (Galmiche; Teimouri) started scrutinizing its impact on FLL. The initial findings of their studies showed that this debilitative emotion could cause long-term disengagement from FLL, impact working memory, and limit the potential language input, thus sowing seeds for further investigation into this intriguing phenomenon.

Review of Shame in Psychology

Overshadowed by the study of guilt, the emotion of shame escaped thorough scientific investigation for long, but it has recently been the subject of growing attention from psychologists and psychoanalysts. This paucity of research may have been due to the very nature of shame, termed "the Cinderella of the unpleasant emotions" by Rycroft (152), and to it being unspeakable. Additionally, investigation into the nature of shame has often been hampered by the intrinsic complexity and elusiveness of the construct, issues of overlapping and interrelated terminology and confusion with other concepts. Moreover, scholars embrace different views on how to define this phenomenon, referring to feeling states, personality traits, and cultural standards.

However, there is broad consensus about the fact that shame is a self-conscious emotion, that is, one that requires cognitive abilities for its elicitation and involves self-reflection and self-evaluation. The implication of shame on motivation and interpersonal behaviours has been amply investigated in the domain of psychology (Gilbert, "What is Shame?") and relationships between shame, social anxiety and depression were established (Gilbert, "Relationship of Shame").

The experience of shame is characterized by a sense of the entire self being diminished, inadequate or defective. This emotion is generally accompanied with a sense of shrinking, worthlessness, and exposure to the others' gaze, and a preoccupation that the self will be revealed and exposed as being flawed (Tangney and Fischer), and is conducive to autonomous reactions like blushing, sweating, increased heart rate, heightened bodily awareness, downcast eyes, freezing, stammering voice, neurophysiological nonverbal and behavioural markers.

An important distinction must be made between shame as an emotional state, and shame-proneness, which is a natural disposition to experience shame in a diversity of situations (Tangney et al., "Distinct Emotions?"). In the latter case, shame becomes problematic and detrimental to the individual's well-being, as it may be conducive to social anxiety, phobic fearfulness, lack of self-confidence, excessive shyness, self-deprecating tendencies, chronically negative self-appraisals, rumination, and avoidance of risk-taking activities and possible shame-inducing situations.

On the psychoanalytical level, shame-proneness is a pathogenic belief over one's unworthiness and inadequacy. This prototypical shame-proneness or trait shame must be addressed in earnest since studies conducted with diverse age groups and populations have consistently established close relationships between proneness to shame and a wide range of psychological symptoms, personality problems and psychiatric disorders. These include anxiety, eating disorder symptoms (e.g., bulimia, anorexia), depression, pessimism, introversion, low self-esteem, and internalization of shame, which is a pathology in which the individual experiences shameful situations as trauma that activates past traumatic experiences (Kaufman).

Chronic or internalized shame is wired into the brain and is excruciatingly painful, as individuals who suffer from it attribute negative outcomes, failures or lack of success to characterological faults or personality characteristics that they regard as being fixed. Another distinction was made by Gilbert in 1998 between internal shame (i.e., when individuals are focused on negative evaluation of the self) and external shame (i.e., when individuals are focused on the others' evaluation). Following experiences of shame, individuals often feel frozen and want to escape at all cost.

The devastating and toxic nature of shame is illustrated in Michael Lewis' contention that "Shame is like a subatomic particle. One's knowledge of shame is often limited to the trace it leaves" (34). It is also noteworthy that shame is often confused with a number of other sibling constructs, like guilt and embarrassment. While shame focuses on the defectiveness of the self, guilt is centred on the badness of behaviour. In terms of behavioural consequences, shame is conducive to concealment of the perceived or real deficiencies, whereas guilt encourages apologies and mending of the situation (Tangney et al., "Moral Emotions").

Finally, shame is also often confused with embarrassment, which does not have such negative and lasting consequences on the sense of self, and represents a distinct affective experience. Shame is linked to perceived deficiencies of one's core self, while embarrassment arises from perceived deficiencies in one's presented self (Klass).

Relationship between Shame and Anxiety in Psychology

In order to further understand the sense in which the term 'shame' is used in this article and to give value to the claims that are made, it is important to understand the nature of the relationship between shame and its cognate, anxiety, and see in what ways they are similar or different. The American Psychological Association defines anxiety as follows: "Anxiety is an emotion characterized by feelings of tension, worried thoughts and physical changes like increased blood pressure. People with anxiety disorders have recurring intrusive thoughts or concerns. They may avoid certain situations out of worry. They may also have physical symptoms such as sweating, trembling, dizziness or a rapid heartbeat."

This definition is interesting as it shows the closeness of the two emotions as far as their cognitive and physical reactions are concerned. However, the fields of psychology and psychoanalysis were traditionally interested in 'anxiety' to a far greater extent than in 'shame'. Shame was long regarded as the 'sleeper' emotion, the 'villain' in the psychotherapy room (H. B. Lewis, "Shame and Guilt"), an ignored or neglected affect, while anxiety was seen as an essential emotion in the psychological apparatus, and at the origin of a number of psychological and emotional diseases and disturbances.

Freud, for instance, saw anxiety as 'the master emotion' and contended that shame and guilt derived from it. Likewise, Mead, an American anthropologist, characterized it as a form of anxiety. In the seventies, shame was rehabilitated as one of the most significant constructs in psychotherapy, seen as the "quintessential human emotion" (M. Lewis), or the "master emotion" (Scheff), and Helen Block Lewis ("Shame and Guilt") demonstrated that patients' therapy stagnated when shame was unacknowledged. In 1987, Harder and S. J Lewis, using the Personal Feelings Questionnaire, a self-report measure, found that shame was associated with depression, anxiety, hostility and low self-esteem.

What is to be retained is that there exist close relationships between the two phenomena, and Wurmser (17) interestingly, yet rather enigmatically, illustrates the intertwining of shame and anxiety: "[…] it is clear that anxiety is a cardinal part of it. Yet evidently shame is more than anxiety, and anxiety is more than shame." He further suggests that 'shame anxiety', a particular form of anxiety, arises from the "imminent danger of unexpected exposure, humiliation, and rejection" (49).

In the same vein, British clinical psychologist Gilbert (1998) holds the view that anxiety arising from the evaluation by others is a key factor in the experience of shame. He notes that a particular kind of anxiety, social anxiety, which is the fear of being scrutinized by others, has features that are closely related to the concept of shame, and he highlights the similarity between descriptions in the psychological literature of social anxiety, shyness and shame.

Methodology

The main goals of this exploratory study were to verify the hypothesis that shame is one of the sources of language learners' unwillingness to communicate in the FL, and to answer the three overarching questions, (1) What are the sources of foreign language classroom shame (FLCS)? (2) What are the consequences of FLCS? and (3) Are there means of overcoming FLCS?

This study therefore takes an essentially participant-relevant perspective as attention was focused on the interviewees' retrospective accounts of their experiences, beliefs and feelings about foreign language learning, with an aim to identifying the factors that may contribute to FLCS and those that may reduce it. The reason for the choice of a qualitative approach through the use of in-depth, face-to-face interviews as a first step to collecting my data was that such an approach can provide depths of insights into this complex and multifaceted phenomenon, since shame is not easily observable for obvious ethical reasons. This qualitative approach allows for a deep analysis of shame to be carried out at the level of the individual and considers learners as "real persons rather than […] theoretical abstractions," and views them as "thinking, feeling human being[s]" (Ushioda 220).

The Settings

The interviews took place in two different settings: first, at an Apprentice Training Centre (*CFA*) situated in the North East of France. The population is composed of apprentices – aged 16 and over – who combine on-the-job training and off-the-job acquisition of skills and knowledge. The Centre works in partnership with local companies and apprentices obtain recognised qualifications. They are bakers, chocolatiers, butchers, pastry chefs, hairdressers, beauticians, and dental technicians. According to the Common European Framework of Reference for languages (CEFR), the students' level of proficiency ranged from A1 (Breakthrough, i.e., basic user) to C2 (Complete mastery, i.e., proficient user).

The second setting was a Training Centre for adults (*Greta*) situated in the north-east of France. The population is mainly composed of pensioners, unemployed people and job seekers – aged 20 to 49 – of

diverse educational and social backgrounds. It is to be noted that a few of them come from foreign countries and have another language than French as their mother tongue. The students' level of English is between B1 and B2.

There were 30 participants in the study, 19 females, and 11 males, aged 13 to 49 – one of the interviewees being under sixteen, her parents' consent was asked. They had been studying English for 4 to 10 years at the time of the interviews. According to the CEFR, their level of competence ranged from A1 to C2.

Most of the participants had French as their first language and some of them also spoke an additional mother tongue (e.g., Arabic, Turkish, German, Italian or Spanish) and had gone through the French educational system. Some of them had the *Baccalauréat* (i.e., the French national school-leaving certificate, usually taken at age 18), some others had lower rank certificates than the *Baccalauréat*, and a few of them had higher rank certificates (e.g., Bachelor's, Master's, or Doctorate degrees).

The sample that was interviewed in the present study was composed of miscellaneous participants, most of whom were apprentices in a vocational school from various stages of their studies, but also college, university students, a school principal, working mothers, unemployed people, and a football player. Out of the 30 participants, 27 were my students. This population was selected as it was anticipated that, given their age (sixteen and over) these students would have had a variety of L2-related experiences to report upon. The last point which is worth mentioning is the question of the relation between the researcher and the researched, which is based on inherent power imbalance between the parties (and even more so when the researcher is the teacher, like in the present case). It was my constant preoccupation and concern that the relation between me and my researched/interviewees should be a non-authoritarian one, and that an atmosphere of mutual understanding should be created during the interview encounters.

The Focal Research Participants

In this article, I deal mainly with the data coming from six of the thirty participants I interviewed. More details about their background are given in table 1. Although the thirty participants provided rich and

detailed data, the six focal participants yielded particularly interesting insights not only into L2-related shame, but also into the role of vision and interviews in developing resilience to shame. What is particularly noteworthy in the choice of these participants is that they not only were willing to participate in the study, but they confided their stories about their FLL journey, including their most intimate vulnerabilities, in a way that enabled me to gain a holistic picture of them as 'whole persons'. However, useful data were also generated from the non-focal participants. The article therefore includes interview excerpts which complement and extend the insights gained from the six focal participants. For the sake of anonymity, pseudonyms were used throughout the paper.

Table 1: The six focal interviewees' characteristics

Focal participant pseudonym	Age	Gender	Background	Shame-related episodes
Linda	15	F	A college girl. L2 English, L3 German, L4 Spanish. Her first years of life spent in the US.	Strong L2 self. One single acute episode of shame in L2 classroom which she overcame through visualisation of her past and future successful L2 self.
Lucie	42	F	A working mum who has been dreaming of going to Australia since her childhood, and is actively planning to go to Australia on a family trip soon. Committed to re-learning English to go to Australia. L2 English.	Used to be humiliated and to feel shame at school/college. Powerful vision of her future successful English-using self abroad.
Maria	20	F	A dental technician trainee. L2 German, L3 English.	An unsuccessful female learner, who shows lack of self-confidence

				and a general feeling of worthlessness. A history full of humiliation and repeated shame episodes. Shame-based personality.
Fernando	49	M	A French football player of Spanish origins. L2 Spanish, L3 English.	Reports no feeling of shame in English but in Spanish, his grandmother's tongue. Introduced the concept of 'complex' in my data. Very enlightening account of his FLL journey. Strong self-efficacy beliefs.
Ferenç	29	M	A pastry chef and chocolatier who left Hungary to study pastry in France. An exceptionally gifted student in the pastry domain, shows a very high level of motivation to learn French and English. Native tongue Hungarian, L2 German, L3 French, L4 English.	No episode of shame in either language. Exceptional trajectory of learning French with very active self-regulatory mechanisms. Strong vision of his future L3 self.
Annelise	23	F	A pastry chef and chocolatier. Very desirous to progress. L2 German, L3 English.	Many instances of shame in her narrative.

Ethical Considerations, Procedures, and Data Collection

After obtaining permission from the school principals to conduct my study in their schools, and receiving ethical approval from my University, possible informants were asked to participate on a voluntary basis in the research project. Consent forms in English and French were distributed in order for the possible participants to understand what was involved in the research. The consent forms provided information about (a) the study's general purpose, (b) the right to confidentiality and anonymity, (c) the right to ask any question relating to the aim of the study, (d) the right not to participate in the study without any negative outcome, (e) the right to withdraw from the study at any time without repercussion or penalty (Kvale and Brinkmann), and (f) that there was no 'correct' answer and nothing of what they said would get them into trouble.

It is to be noted that, shame being a particularly sensitive topic that individuals generally tend to conceal from others and from themselves, the participants were blind to the exact topic of my research. They were informed that the aim of the study was to help them lead happier and more fulfilled lives as language learners. Whenever possible, the participants were interviewed three times, that is, once at the start of the academic year, another time in the middle of the academic year, and finally, at the end of the academic year, in order to round out the data collected earlier during the year. The interviews followed a semi-structured format to allow focus to be directed to the most significant issues that had arisen.

The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed entirely by myself with the participants' permission, and selected segments were translated into English for the discussion and analysis for this paper. The questions that were asked in the interviews included: what were learners' current and past experiences with FLL? How had their first approach to FLs been? How did they see themselves in the future, as individuals as well as language users?

In most cases, the interviews were complemented with observations of the participants in their academic settings. Immediately after each interview, I noted in a research journal my own impressions and all the non-verbal cues I noticed during the course of the interviews, such as gaze avoidance, head down, redness of the face, voice quality, facial

expressions, and body movements, which I thought to be as revealing as the verbal discourse itself. I also took into consideration silences, hesitations, laughter, and giggles, and considered what the interviewee did not say. Silences, for instance, were regarded as very revealing of the fact that they had found it painful to recall shameful experiences. Finally, the data obtained were analysed through latent content analysis (Braun and Clarke; Kvale and Brinkmann) to elicit themes and patterns regarding the symptoms, sources, and the situations that might engender shame experiences.

First, the relevant extracts in the transcripts were assigned codes. Then, the codes were examined and broader themes based on the research objectives and questions were established (e.g., shame-eliciting situations, behaviours and feelings when experiencing shame, language versus general shame). Each broad theme was then analysed deeper, which enabled to identify more specific categories under each theme (e.g., fear of negative evaluation, fear of failure, change of identity).

General Findings

The present study was motivated by the gap in the research literature regarding baseline data on L2-related shame. Out of the 21 participants who claimed having great difficulties in FL, 12 spoke about L2-related shame, to a high or minor degree (see Figure 1). It appears thus that, given the tentative results of this exploratory study, shame is a widespread feature of the French language classroom. Experiences of shame were reported by learners at all levels of proficiency, from low to high, and at beginning as well as more advanced stages.

Out of the 12 participants experiencing L2-related shame, 8 were females. The fact that the participants tackled the issue of shame themselves without me having to steer the conversation towards my research focus indicates that this emotion is an integral part of their FLL journey, as well as their linguistic self-image. Further analyses revealed that motivation to learn a L2 may be influenced by past history of shame and humiliation and that the role of the teacher is crucial in triggering the feeling of shame in learners: emotionally-supportive and caring teachers foster positive motivational outcomes and risk-taking, while intolerant and shaming teachers sap students' self-esteem, confidence

and perception of ability, leading to reluctance, unwillingness to communicate in the target language, lack of enjoyment and disinvestment.

Surprisingly enough, it was found that, in some cases, the perception of themselves as incompetent language learners and users, and the shame feeling were 'contagious' to other school subjects and may have repercussions on their whole self (i.e., feeling depreciated and worthless in everyday life). Shame-prone language learners reported having developed negative attitudes toward L2 learning due to recurrent shame and humiliation episodes in the classroom. The data suggest that this phenomenon can be critical to students' learning developmental trajectories as well as their psychological and physical well-being, and might also impact classroom atmosphere and relationships among individuals. Most participants stated having developed pervasive and debilitative feelings of anxiety and apprehension when approaching certain activities like speaking, because of the likelihood of showing an incompetent self.

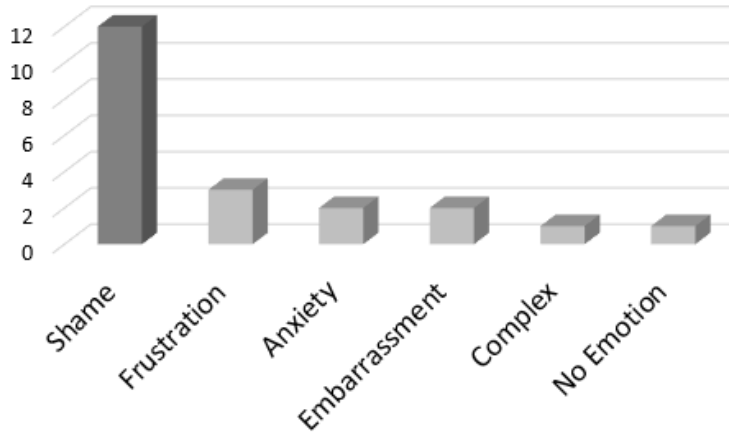

Fig. 1. Interviewees' emotions distribution

No participant reported shame as being appropriate and useful (i.e., it does not foster desire to move on or make progress). It is generally felt as a paralysing force as it is conducive to global attributions like "I am stupid," or "FLL is not for me, the situation is hopeless, I am a failure," and to feelings of hopelessness and helplessness. A good illustration is the following: "When I felt ashamed, it was like I was struck on the

ground, unable to move or react, or think, I was stuck." The data allowed answering the following questions:

What Are the Sources of Language Shame?

FLCS is linked to a range of learner-internal variables and teacher/classroom-specific variables.

Learner-Internal Factors

Personality Characteristics: The Shame-Prone Self. When asked whether she remembered a particularly painful episode in the language classroom, Lucie, (her pseudonym) answered unhesitatingly: "I can't think of any in particular, actually, because, you see, it was a general atmosphere of downgrading and judging in the classroom. And I was kind of used to being ridiculed and criticized every time I opened my mouth, I am a very anxious type of person, always on the lookout for mistakes, always afraid of being *ashamed*. So, it made things even worse!"

The above quote shows a strong personality-related characteristic of shame that can be defined as a trait. Shame is obviously linked to personality traits. Personality or dispositional traits and learner-internal variables like shyness, introversion, inferiority complex, lack of self-confidence, social phobia, or embarrassment, which are generally regarded as being cognate to shame (Nathanson). Moreover, two constituents of foreign language anxiety, fear of negative evaluation and communication apprehension, were regularly cited by the participants as being related to FLCS.

Finally, the overwhelming majority of the respondents expressed the idea that they lacked language aptitude. Maria's quote is representative of the link between FLL and students' beliefs about their capabilities: "The problem was that I used to think that I had no natural gift for FLL, while my friends had this gift. Sometimes I thought I was really stupid, and it made me feel even more *ashamed* of this innate inability."

Some participants' remarks revolved around the idea that shame had developed from an early period of their life, and consequently, had become a "second nature" (Maria), or "something I can't fight, a kind of natural tendency to *fear shame* in a diversity of situations" (Annelise), which suggests that these individuals will experience shame in all kinds

of situations and in several walks of their life. These shame-prone individuals will anticipate potentially shame-inducing situations, which is detrimental to their sense of self, and generates enduring low sense of self-worth and self-esteem, rumination and prolonged anxious states.

Pronunciation and Accent-Related Issues. Another powerful source/elicitor of language shame which was associated with painful and vivid memories was reported to be the accent and pronunciation (see Figure 2), and the participants reported feeling judged on the *accentedness*, *intelligibility* and *comprehensibility* of their utterances. The question of accent − defined by Munro and Derwing as "the degree to which the listener believes an utterance differs phonetically from native-speaker utterances" (454), or perceived when one pronounces differently from the accepted standard (Gluszek and Dovidio) − is a particularly sensitive issue and a major concern in the participants' accounts. In fact, it was reported that accent is felt as a key component of L2 learners' identity, and an inadequate or too strong accent was claimed to be perceived as a visible testimony to their incompetency/low proficiency, and a tangible proof of their "intellectual limitations" (Jacques).

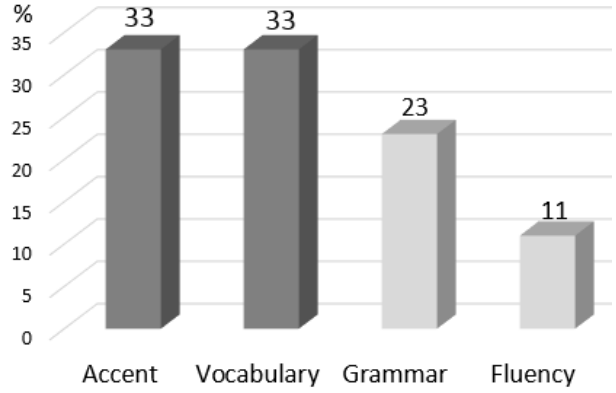

Fig. 2. Sources of shame when speaking

Although not all participants use the term 'shame' proper when referring to their struggles with accent and pronunciation, the taxing and shame-provoking experience of being targeted because of a strong/inadequate accent is obvious in the data. The overwhelming majority of the respondents remembered being laughed at, the butt of

criticism or jokes, and having felt "downgraded" (Maria), or "diminished" (Annelise) when they were stigmatised for the strength of their accent. Speaking with a French accent was recurrently claimed to be a "socially highly traumatic experience" (Maria, Lucie), as it involved the idea of being exposed as less proficient, less intelligible, or even less talented. Lucie's interview excerpt illustrates this point well:

> While in class, I would dread being called upon to speak up because I was afraid of making a fool of myself, with this accent, you see, I was always nervous, afraid that they would shame me, and I felt like I was [hesitating] … freezing, was kind of paralyzed. And when I spoke up, I was always on the alert not to make mistakes, being forced to go out of my comfort zone made me feel extremely tense and stressed. All this was traumatizing! So, I never volunteered answers, I preferred to stay in my shell. Sometimes I would pretend to be sick.

Accent-related stigma was claimed to have psychological and behavioural consequences on the way learners approach interactions in the TL, thus impairing their willingness to communicate (see below, "Consequences of Shame on Learners' Behaviours and Attitudes").

Some participants in the sample see inadequate or strong accent as an important factor that separates them from the TL and its culture but some others see it as a major marker of identity, as explained by Annelise: "The accent you have says a lot about you. It reveals who you are at the core, and I feel somehow that having a bad accent is tantamount to being stupid. Speaking badly displays a deficient and poor image of yourself, it betrays that you are lacking in something. You really feel bad and inferior, kind of isolated. Such a shame!"

The results corroborate the findings of a study by Baran-Łucarz, which showed links between pronunciation anxiety, perceived pronunciation skills, and willingness to communicate in the foreign language, and that concern over pronunciation mistakes causes embarrassment and anxiety. The findings of her study are in line with those of Price, which revealed that the cause of learners' foreign language anxiety is "great embarrassment", derived from their belief that they have a "terrible accent" (105). Although this goes beyond the scope of this paper, it may be interesting to note that the focal interviewees insisted that accent/pronunciation-related shame occurred *in the instructional*

setting, and was absent during stays abroad or when they were exchanging with natives.

Poor Vocabulary and Grammatical Inaccuracy. Likewise, poor vocabulary or grammar inaccuracy elicited shame in learners (see Figure 2), as illustrated by Annelise: "Not finding the right word, or putting words in the incorrect order, that would make me feel uncomfortable. It's so embarrassing you see, you feel ashamed of your inability, you are just a child struggling to find the words."

Failure to Produce a Positive Image of Oneself in Others' Minds. The data show that learners may experience shame following a failure to create a positive impression in the mind of others (peers, teacher, parents). This very failure generates a vicious circle of feelings of insecurity and a sense of oneself being unlovable, unworthy or de-valued in the eyes of others, which eventually may lead to rumination, self-derogation and self-devaluing. This is all the more true in the case of adolescents, whose main preoccupation is to seek social acceptance by their peers. How one exists in the eye of others is of major significance at this stage of life, and everybody strives to be viewed as competent, talented, desirable and loved/admired, and failing to do so necessarily triggers feelings that one is unworthy of others' attention.

Maria's quote highlights that the impossibility to produce positive impressions in the eyes of others can be detrimental to the sense of self: "I felt null and bad at the core. I thought to myself 'what is she going to think about me?' I displayed such a negative image of myself, I was unable to speak intelligibly, like a baby you see, it wasn't my true self actually, but that's what the others thought of me, that I was incompetent. I felt different you see, kind of isolated."

Fear of Failure. Another prominent feature in the participants' reports was fear of failure. Pierre's following statement shows that shame is at the core of fear of failure: "I was always afraid of failing, of making mistakes, especially in front of my classmates, like stumbling over the words, it was so shaming to show a negative image of yourself. So, I preferred not to try."

However, although shame is at the core of fear of failure, it seems that it does not increase achievement strivings by stimulating learners to avoid shame in the future, as expressed by Maria: "I was afraid of failing, of getting bad results, but the fear of failing was just…paralysing me, it didn't motivate me to do better in the future."

Learner-External Factors

Inappropriate classroom management techniques (e.g., isolating or humiliating students with difficulties, showing indifference), peer teasing and even bullying, were reported as important elicitors of shame. Teacher-induced shame was reported to be a prominent feature in the classroom. It was found that when learners' frailties/failures are exposed before those in whose presence they do not feel safe or respected, the feeling of inadequacy can turn into the deepest forms of self-deprecation, self-contempt, shame and mortification.

Corrective Feedback, Assessment and Treatment of Errors. A significant trigger of shame was the way teachers deal with students' errors. Teachers' oral corrective feedback can cause potential affective damage among learners. A representative example is Pierre's statement: "What I dreaded most was when the teacher interrupted me when I was trying hard to express myself. He would correct every word I said, and this was so shameful! I felt like a babbling child!" This participant's remark is reflective of the general feeling that corrective feedback – a controversial issue – and assessment can disempower students, and conduce to lasting shame feelings.

Reflected Appraisals and Teacher Beliefs. Non-verbal messages that are sent to students by teachers and the way they interact with them were also found to be a non-negligible source of shame. Teachers' expectations and beliefs about their learners can elicit long-lasting feelings of shame, and in some cases, be conducive to self-fulfilling prophecies, which consist in voluntarily performing at levels consistent with these expectations.

Maria intriguingly reports: "The teacher always said that I was not gifted for languages, he said I was null, worthless and useless, he even

said I was a good-to-nothing, so I believed he was right, and I eventually did my best to show him he was right." The findings confirm Stevick's statement that "Success [in language learning] depends less on materials, techniques and linguistic analyses and more on what goes on inside and between the people in the classroom" (4).

What Are the Consequences of Shame?

The findings allowed to identify the following consequences of shame.

A Vicious Circle of Shame-Anxiety

Another prominent variable that was found in the data and has received considerable research attention is foreign language anxiety. Associated with shame and the fear of being/feeling ashamed, anxiety, nervousness and apprehension of being placed again in potentially shame-inducing situations were reported by an overwhelming number of participants. Lucie's quote is illustrative of the links between shame and anxiety: "I was always anticipating being ashamed in front of the others, this would make me feel extremely nervous and apprehensive, so I never volunteered to speak up in class, only if I was forced to, for fear that I would be ridiculed and ashamed. It made me feel anxious all the time." These findings hint at the idea that shame is difficult to distinguish from anxiety (Galmiche).

The participants' testimonies stressed the similarity of the two constructs in terms of the cognitive and physical reactions they engender and highlighted the "complete interconnectedness" (de Bot et al.) of shame, anxiety and the self, thus suggesting that the fear of displaying a shamed version of one's self is conducive to ingrained and lasting anxious states, avoidance behaviour and self-saving strategies.

Maria's quote stresses the links between psychological discomfort, rumination, and shame, and illustrates her fear of future possible shame-inducing situations and how she builds a system of defence against potential shame experiences:

> When I made mistakes and the teacher shouted at me in front of the others, I would feel so bad, so ashamed of myself, and I would think over it all the time until the next course. Sometimes I dreamt of what had happened during the course, I was afraid that the same things would

> happen again, and this made me feel very nervous and anxious. So, I did everything not to experience this again, like pretending being sick.

Finally, the findings revealed that shame impairs cognitive functioning, since learners who are afraid of experiencing shame may learn less and not retain what they have learnt as easily as their more self-confident counterparts. They may have difficulties *using* the FL in particular. They therefore experience more failure, which in turn leads to shame, anxiety and may eventually hamper proficiency in the FL.

Internalization of Shame

Another major finding was the internalization of shame. When shame experiences are repeated over and over again, shame becomes internalized and therefore turns into a debilitating and destructive force or a trauma that is re-activated and relived every time one experiences failure or humiliation. In this case, it leads to long-term feelings of worthlessness and incompetency (Morrison) which can be generalised to other domains of students' life. "I was traumatized by the repeated shame experiences in the language classroom, to the point I dreaded going to *all* my classes." (Maria, her emphasis).

Figure 3: Shame-shame cycle diagram

For fear that they might fail and of the negative consequences of shame (i.e., loss of a positive self-image, loss of self-esteem, loss of admiration/love by significant others), learners behave in particular ways; for instance, by refusing to volunteer answers or engage in communicative tasks

unless they are certain that their answer is right, procrastinating, skipping classes, refusing to take risks, or withdrawing from language learning. The following diagram illustrates the interconnectedness of shame and anxiety and the vicious circle of FL shame and the potentially noxious effect of this emotion on learners' behaviours (see Figure 3).

Consequences of Shame on Learners' Behaviours and Attitudes

The results of the present study confirmed the findings of studies in mainstream psychology that claimed that shame carries out no adaptive functions. It was reported to be felt as a profoundly inhibitory and debilitating emotion, sometimes referred to as *a traumatic experience* (Annelise, Maria, Pierre) which can impact individuals' learning potential and also their psychological well-being in a lasting manner.

In some cases, the respondents complained about psycho-physiological symptoms like "feeling my face blushing" (Maria), or "feeling my heartbeats" (Lucie), and even more serious psychosomatic disorders such as stomach aches, heart or lung-related issues, as in the case of Pierre:

> I was so stressed and was so affected by this shame episode in the English classroom, when the teacher yelled at me that I got a one out of twenty at a written assignment, and that I was such a jerk, putting me down in front of my peers, that for a few days, I was unable to breathe properly, I felt I was stifling, and I had terrible nightmares. So, my parents had to take me to the doc's and he said that I had a problem with my lungs due to too much anxiety and stress.

Another negative impact of shame was also the lowering of the affective filter, and the data seems to suggest that shame restricts the range of potential language input, and impacts working memory. Maria explains: "In the moment I was speaking, I was so afraid of shame that my mind was going blank and I couldn't proceed anything, couldn't understand a word of what was being said, like it was Chinese."

Some participants also reported the following interesting reactions: "I felt an urge to disappear from the others' view," or "Suddenly I had the feeling that the ground opened under my feet and I would be swallowed." It is to be noted that some of the symptoms characteristic of shame could be observed during the interview sessions themselves (e.g., fidgeting,

gaze avoidance, crying, throat clearing), revealing the pervasiveness and severity of this emotion, and confirming research that found that remembering past shame could be conducive to trauma, and that the mere remembering of past shame experiences in the FL classroom sometimes triggered feelings of psychological discomfort. In such cases, the participants were offered to interrupt, postpone or cancel the interview session.

Corroborating studies on the consequences of shame in terms of behaviour, the present study shows no movement towards 'repairing' the situation. The shamed participants reported a passive attitude following repeated shame experiences and some of them acknowledged having withdrawn − consciously or not − from L2 learning, for a more or less prolonged period of time.

Another prominent and detrimental consequence of language shame was learners' unwillingness to communicate in the target language. The concept of willingness to communicate (WTC) − the decision to speak a foreign language as a volitional act (MacIntyre, "Willingness to Communicate") − has received considerable attention in SLA research, and is to be taken seriously, as language attainment depends on the use of the TL.

The following statement by Maria, which mirrors a number of other participants' comments, is enlightening of the role of the entwining/combination of language shame and anxiety in impacting willingness to speak: "I refused to speak English in the classroom because I was afraid of making a fool of myself, of being ridiculed and ashamed. I was afraid that the teacher would humiliate me, belittle me in front of the others. Speaking in public is so embarrassing, it made me very nervous and anxious. I was panic-stricken when the teacher asked me to speak. It even affected my whole life."

Are there means of Overcoming Shame?

Verbalising shame and self-exploration

During the journey with these participants, it became clear to me that some of them actively engaged in a process of meaning making, and the stories they told during the interviews allowed them to create narrative

coherence in their narrating of their development as language learners, and as some of them argued, this very process enabled them to move on and develop resilience to shame. As Lucie expresses: "Putting words on all this, my past negative experiences in the language classroom, has done me a lot of good!"

Pavlenko and Blackledge also emphasise the importance of narratives in individuals' lives and in their negotiation of L2 identities (Pavlenko and Norton). It is, indeed, through narratives that we can resolve tension and impose coherence between the past, the present and the future (Pavlenko and Blackledge). What emerged from the data as a point particularly worthy of further investigation is the self-explorative and transformative potential of interviews/narratives. Maria expresses this point clearly:

> Being interviewed did me a lot of good, talking about the way this teacher humiliated me. Thank you so much for that! It's like I was talking to a Psy, I feel good now. It's great to be listened to, to be allowed to confide. I feel different today, I feel boosted, my self-esteem is much higher. I never talked about that, all this shame, to anybody before. I feel I am a new person! [smiles]

Her words are echoed by Annelise: "I think we should generalize this kind of experience, being interviewed and allowed to open up to talk about our past negative experiences in the FL classroom is a way of making us feel better and put at a distance all the bad things. I feel like I am a new person now, this helps me change my vision of FLL."

These testimonies corroborate research which showed that shame is so painful that it is usually hidden (Dearing and Tangney), and highlight the role of researcher/interviewer as a facilitator of change in interviewees. Another point which must be emphasised here is that these students had never been given the opportunity to voice their concerns about FLL, and most of them felt an urgent need to express themselves. This very process of telling their stories through interviews – which some of them said were like psychotherapeutic sessions – led to a change in their vision of themselves not only as language learners/users but also in their everyday life identity. Thus illustrates the potential transformative - and I may say healing power - of interviews/narratives, which can be seen as privileged places for making sense of one's experiences and for

reinvesting one's identity. All this is in line with Helen Block Lewis' findings in 1987 that bypassed shame is damaging for the self and at the root of a number of psychological disorders. So, it can be said that being allowed to disclose and verbalise their struggles with this emotion may have opened up the way to healing.

This is clearly illustrated by Nunan and Choi's statement that "the opportunity for learners to tell their own stories, and the control that they have over those stories, is empowering" (228). In this sense, they become active participants in the study as they are "no longer individuals who have research *done* to them. They are *collaborators* in an ongoing, interpretive process" (228, my emphasis).

These findings corroborate Şimşek and Dörnyei's contention that, through interviews, students gain a "narrative identity" (57): "People regularly produce narratives to create cohesion in their experiences and perceptions so that the unified narrative can become a kind of guide."

Developing and Nurturing a Successful Vision as a Successful TL User

Although this goes beyond the scope of this paper, it is noteworthy that what was claimed to be an efficient means of counterbalancing the negative consequences of shame was to develop a powerful vision of oneself as a successful TL user in a community of practice through the implementation of self-regulatory strategies and the development of self-efficacy beliefs that direct learners' mental processes towards the achievement of their personal goals.

Interestingly, it seems not unreasonable to assume that the learners who become resilient to language shame are those who exercise their personal agency and engage in actively promoting and substantiating a plausible, elaborate and vivid vision of themselves (Dörnyei and Kubanyiova) as successful users of the target language in a community of practice (Lave and Wenger).

Conclusion

To offer possible guidance for future research, it is hypothesized here that shame-reducing techniques would involve training students to become aware of their shame and "capitalize on the positive-broadening power of facilitative emotions" (Gregersen and MacIntyre xiv). By sustaining their

hope that the shamed self is not immutable and fixed once and for all, there is all likelihood that learners will be able to reach unexpected achievements. Since shame is conducive to global and stable/fixed dispositional attributions where learners feel that their entire self is flawed and incompetent, recovery solutions would involve a movement towards specific and unstable attributions of failure and helping students develop a sense of power and control over their future actions (Pekrun et al.) as well as promote their sense of self-efficacy (Bandura). All this would contribute to making them feel that they can change their unwanted identity and make progress.

The data emphasise the need to establish a supportive and emotionally-friendly teaching environment, to adopt a humanistic approach to FLL that is conducive to an atmosphere of interpersonal safety, and to consider learners holistically, that is, on the cognitive, emotional, and physical levels. It is suggested here that shame should be addressed with, and counterbalanced by, the use of a range of Positive Psychology constructs such as hope, optimism, emotional intelligence, and with the eliciting of positive emotions like joy, pleasure, and satisfaction. Certainly, having an unconditional positive regard (Rogers), that is, seeing students in a caring and non-judgmental manner, and considering them as individuals of flesh and bones who live lives and experience emotions beyond the classroom, is also part of the solution, as it will contribute to making them feel more comfortable and to generating a positive classroom atmosphere.

It is to be noted that, through the process of interviewing, I gained a better understanding of my students' struggles with shame. This project has contributed to empowering my students, but it also served as an impetus towards a questioning of my professional and moral/spiritual role as a teacher. I am deeply convinced that the acknowledging of shame can help us on the path towards a better understanding of our learners as complex emotional human beings.

I am grateful to all the participants who were not too ashamed of confiding their most intimate wounds and vulnerabilities to me. Although the interplay among shame, cognition, and motivation needs to be further investigated, a point particularly worth mentioning is that, following the interviews, positive changes in some learners' perception of

their FLL classes and in their engagement occurred. It is interesting to note that a number of participants reported feeling "more positive about FLL," "more optimistic," and "more apt to resist failure and setback in the future and to engage with their learning."

However, the present study being a small-scale exploratory research, one should avoid making sweeping generalisations about the shame-proneness of French learners of FLs. It is therefore suggested to build upon the tentative findings through the means of questionnaires in order to complement the picture obtained through interviews and to confirm the patterns uncovered.

Certainly, one of the most encouraging findings for the future was that reflecting on their past FLL experiences – positive and negative – and on the role of shame in particular, was claimed to be an efficient means of implementing positive motivational and ontological changes in these learners, in the language classroom but also in their everyday life. It is hoped that the current study will inspire further research along these lines and help teachers recognize shame-indicating cues in their learners, so that "their eyes may shine" (Kubanyiova) in the language classroom.

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On Esther

Ælfric of Eynsham

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Introduction

Around the turn of the eleventh century AD,[1] the Anglo-Saxon monk and scholar Ælfric of Eynsham composed a summary version of the biblical story of Esther in Old English. Like its biblical counterpart, Ælfric's version is filled with both textual and historical complexity. It is extant in only one manuscript,[2] a transcription made in the seventeenth century by William L'Isle (who, like Ælfric, was both a cleric and a scholar), but the original Old English source material is now lost. It is thus shrouded in mystery, with little indication of Ælfric's reasons for composing it, nor of his intended audience. A great deal of confusion persists concerning

[1] Between 998 and 1005 AD.

[2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 381, fols. 140v–148r.

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his source material as well, for while he certainly based his text on the biblical book of Esther, it is unclear whether he was working from the Vulgate or the Old Latin translations,[3] whether the Carolingian commentators influenced him, or whether he was working from a specific exemplar (or exemplars) or merely from his own memory.

What is certain, though, is that Ælfric had a deep and thorough understanding of the book of Esther—its textual structure, literary themes, and religious messages—and that he carefully composed his version so as to guide his audience's perceptions. Always a meticulous scholar, Ælfric manages to summarize the story of Esther in a way that both adheres closely to his source(s)[4] and re-works it into a story that reflects the Anglo-Saxon society of which he was part.

In the modern era, Ælfric's *Esther* was first published by Bruno Assmann in 1889; this edition was later re-published with a supplementary introduction by Peter Clemoes. In the late twentieth century, Stuart Lee published a new edition of the text online, with updated punctuation and layout, as well as notes and an editorial apparatus reflecting the intervening century's-worth of research in Anglo-Saxon studies. Despite these publications, the text has received very little attention from Anglo-Saxon scholars, with only a handful of studies focusing on it since Assmann's nineteenth-century publication. These include an unpublished doctoral thesis by Timothy Gustafson, who approaches the text from the perspective of cultural translation; articles by Mary Clayton and Stacy S. Klein, who both take a literary-historical view; and a study of sources by Stewart Brookes.

What follows is the text of Ælfric's *Esther* in Old English (OE) and in Present-Day English (PDE). The OE, based on Lee's edition, provides

[3] For the Vulgate, see Weber. For the Old Latin, see Haelewyck; this edition represents an exciting development for Esther scholars, who until recently had to rely on the eighteenth-century edition by Petrus Sabatier for the Old Latin text.

[4] Although some have argued that Ælfric's text differs significantly from his source, these arguments usually assume that he was working from a Vulgate text; however, textual evidence suggests he may have used the Old Latin translation(s), at least in part. For further discussion on this point, see Wilkins, especially pp. 31–34; also see Brookes.

what is essentially a diplomatic edition of L'Isle's seventeenth-century transcription. In Lee's edition, abbreviations are expanded using italics; modern word and paragraph divisions are used; and modern punctuation has been supplied (including inverted commas for direct speech). The OE letterforms thorn (þ) and eth (ð) are retained, but wynn (ƿ) is changed to modern 'w'. In opposition to Assmann, who formatted the text in half-line verse form, Lee produces the text with continual lineation, 'akin to modern prose'.[5] However, the line numbers of Assmann's 1889 edition are given every ten lines in the right-hand margin, and the footnotes offer critical comparison with Assmann's edition, particularly where the latter contains errors and/or emendations. Finally, Lee provides his own line numbering in the left-hand margin, and also notes the foliation of L'Isle's manuscript in the right-hand margin. A detailed description of the dimensions and physical properties of the manuscript can be found in Lee (2000). The reader interested in these details should refer to Lee's edition and article. In the version reproduced here, I have changed the Tironian *et* (⁊) to ampersand (&), which is more readily available in modern typefaces.

For the translation that follows, I have provided Lee's edition of the text on the left and my own translation into PDE on the right, with a 'sentence' number in the left-hand margin.[6] To aid reference to Assmann's and Lee's editions, every five sentences the corresponding line number for these editions has been provided in the right-hand margin: Assmann's line numbers are set in Roman type, Lee's in italics. The folio numbers of Laud Misc. 381 are given within the running text of the OE in square brackets.[7] I have included light annotation, in footnotes, for linguistic structures (both syntactic and semantic) that are particularly difficult or that have interesting connotations. The translation attempts to make the text intelligible for speakers of modern English while still

5 Lee, *Ælfric's Homilies*, 'Editorial Symbols and Procedures'.

6 Though I have called them 'sentences', for lack of a better term, these do not always correspond to sentences (whether in OE or PDE).

7 The folio numbers are all versos, since the rectos contain L'Isle's translation into Early Modern English.

retaining, as far as possible, the stylistic and syntactic elements of the original.

Translation

0	[fol. 140v] Be Hester	On Esther	0, *1*
1	Iu on ealdum dagum wæs sum rice cyning, namcuð on woruld, Asuerus gehaten, & se hæfde cynerice east fram Indian oð Eþiopian lande (þæt is fram eastweardan þissere worulde & suþweardan oð to þam Silhearwum[8]).	In olden days there was a certain powerful king, well-known throughout the world, called Ahasuerus, and he held authority in the east from India unto the Ethiopians' land (that is, from eastward of this world and southward as far as the Ethiopians[8]).	1, *2*
2	Hundtwelftig scira he soðlice hæfde & seofon scira, swa swa us secgað bec, on his anwealde, ealle him gewylde.	He had indeed 127 provinces, as the books tell us, in his kingdom, all subject to him.	
3	On þam þriddan geare his cynerices he het gewyrcan wundorlice feorme hundteonig daga on an & hundeahtig daga[9] eallum his ealdormannum, & his eþelborenum þegnum, & eallum his folce, þe þa feorme gesohton—wolde him	In the third year of his reign, he commanded a wonderful feast to be made, for 180[9] days continuously, for all his princes and noble-born followers, and all his people who desired the feast—he wanted to show off his wealth and glory to them.	

8 = *Sigel-warum* = 'Ethiopians'; according to Clark-Hall's *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, this spelling is mainly used by Ælfric.

9 Literally: '100 days continuously and 80 days'. Certain tens numbers, including 80 and 100, are formed with *hund* + [number] + *ig*. Thus, *hundeahtig* = 80, and *hundeteonig* = 100. This seems to have been standardized as part of Æthelwold's language reformations at Winchester; for more on this subject, see Gneuss (1972).

	æteowian his welan & his mærða.		
4	Us is eardoðe to secgenne þa seldcuðan[10] mærða on gyldenum beddum & agrafenum fatum, gyldene & sylferne, selcuþ æfre on pellum, & purpuran, & ælces cunnes gymmum, on menigfealdre þenunge þe man þær forðbear.	It is difficult for us to tell the rare[10] glory of the golden couches and the engraved vessels, both golden and silver, always varied in silks and purples and every kind of gems, in the multiple courses that were brought forth.	
5	Se cyning bebead þam gebeorum eallum þæt hi bliþe wæron æt his gebeorscipe[11] & þæt ælc mann drunce þæs deorwurðan wines be þam þe he sylf wolde & him softost wære, & nan man ne moste neadian oðerne to maran drænce þonne his mod wold; ac þa byrlas scencton be þæs cyninges gesetnysse, ælcum men genoh, name þæt he wolde.	The king commanded all the guests to be merry at his party[11] and that each man should drink of the expensive wine according to his wishes, and no man should compel another to more drink than his heart desired; but the cup-bearers poured out, according to the king's decree, enough that each man should receive what he wanted.	20, *17*
6	His cwen hatte Vashti, seo wæs swiðe wlitig. Heo worhte eac feorme mid fulre mærðe eallum þam wifmannum þe heo wolde habban to hire mærþe, on þam mæran palente þær þær se cyning wæs oftost wunigende.	His queen was called Vashti, she was very beautiful. She also made a feast with great glory for all the women whom she wanted to have, to her glory, in the great palace where the king was most often dwelling.	

10 *seld* 'seldom' + *cuþ* 'known' = 'unusual, strange, novel'; also 'various'.
11 The word implies that alcoholic beverages are being consumed (*beor* = 'beer').

7	Se cyning þa het on þam seofoðan ðæge, þa þa he bliþe wæs betwux his gebeorum, his seofon burðenas þæt hi sceoldon gefeccan þa cwene Vashti, þæt heo come to him mid hire cynehelme (swa swa heora seode wæs þæt seo cwen werode cynehelm [fol. 141v] on heafode); & he wolde æteowian hire wlite his þegnum, forþan þe heo wæs swiþe wlitig on hiwe.	Then the king commanded—on the seventh day, when he was merry among his guests—his seven chamberlains that they should fetch the queen Vashti, that she should come to him with her crown (as their custom was that the queen wore a crown on her head); and he wanted to show off her beauty to his followers, because she was very beautiful in form.	
8	Þa eodon þa burðenas & abudon þære cwene þæs cyninges hæse, ac heo hit forsoc & nolde gehersumian him to his willan.	Then the chamberlains went and announced to the queen the king's command, but she rejected it and did not want to obey his will.	
9	Se cyning þa sona swiðe wearð geyrsod þæt heo hine forseah on swylcere gegaderunge, & befran his witan (þe wæron æfre mid him on ælcum his ræde þe he rædan wolde, & he ealle þing dyde æfre be heora ræde), hwæt him þuhte be þam be his forsewennysse.[12]	The king then immediately became very angry that she spurned him in such a gathering, and asked his counselors (who were always with him in his every plan that he wanted to plan, and he did all things according to their advice), what they thought should be done about his being spurned.[12]	
10	Þa andwyrdon sona sume his ealdormen, of Medan & of Persan, þe him mid druncon: 'Seo cwen witodlice, þe þin	Then immediately answered certain of his princes, of Media and of Persia, who were drinking with him:	50, *42*

12 *forsewennysse* = 'spurned-ness, the state of being spurned'.

	word forseah, leof, ne unwurðode na þe ænne mid þan, ac ealle þine ealdormenn & eac þine þegnas!	"Certainly the queen, who spurned your word, sire, disrespected not only you with this thing, but all your princes and also your retainers!
11	Ðonne ure wif geaxiað be þisum wordum æt ham, hu seo cwen forseah hire cynehlaford, þonne willað hi eac us eallswa forseon! Þonne beoð ealle Medas micclum forsewene & þa Pærsican leoda swa us na ne licað.	When our women ask about this story at home, how the queen spurned her liege-lord, then they will also spurn us likewise! Then will all the Medes be much spurned, nor will the Persian people, likewise, be pleased with us.
12	Ac, gif þe swa geþincð, leof, gesette þisne dom þæt ealle Medas cweðað anmodum geþeahte, & eac þa Pærsican, to þisre dæde: þæt seo cwen Vasthi ne cume næfre heononforð into þinum pallente betwux þinum gebeorum, ac hæbbe sum oðer wimman ealne[13] hire wurðmynt, hire ungelica seo ðe þe ungelicige.'	But, if such seems good to you, sire, set down this judgment, that all Medes proclaim the unanimous thought, and also the Persians, to this deed: that the queen Vashti should never henceforth come into your palace amid your guests, but some other woman should have all her honor from now on,[13] unlike to her who displeases you."
13	& se cyning Asuerus þisne ræd underfeng, & man cydde þa geond eall þæs cyninges willan, & Vasthi geseah þa þæt heo forsewen wæs.	And the king Ahasuerus received this counsel, and the king's will was then proclaimed abroad, and Vashti then saw that she was spurned.

13 = *ealnig* = 'always, perpetually'; I have translated this with the phrase 'from now on'.

14	Hit wearþ þa gecweden, þurh þæs cyninges witan, þæt man ofaxode on eallum his rice, gif ænig mæden ahwær mihte beon afunden, swa wlitiges hiwes þe him wurðe wære, & swilcere gebyrde þe his gebedda wære, & seo þænne fenge to Vasthies wurðmynte; & se cyning þa het embe þæt beon swiðe.	Then it was proclaimed, through the king's counselors, that one should inquire in all his kingdom, if any maiden might be found of such beautiful form as was worthy of him, and of such birth as to be his bed-companion, and she should then succeed to Vashti's honor; and the king then urgently commanded that this should be.	
15	On þam dagum wæs an Iudeisc þegen on þære byrig Susa, Mardocheus gehaten, se gelyfde soðlice on þone lifigendan God, æfter Moyses æ; & he mid him hæfde his [fol. 142v] broðor dohtor.	In those days there was a Jewish retainer in the town of Susa, called Mordecai, who truly believed in the living God, according to Moses' law; and he kept with him his brother's daughter.	77, *65*
16	Seo hatte Ester, wlitig mædenmann on wundorlicre fægernysse, & he hi geforðode on fægerum þeawum,[14] æfter Godes æ & his ege[15] symle, & hæfde hi for dohtor, forðan þe hire dead wæs ge fæder ge	She was called Esther, a beautiful girl of marvelous loveliness, and he raised her in virtuous habits,[14] according to the law and awe[15] of God, and had her as a daughter, because both her father and mother were	

14 *fægerum þeawum*: Both words have a fairly broad semantic range. Taken together, they mean that Esther was well behaved: 'virtuous habits,' 'lovely conduct,' 'pleasing manners,' and so on.

15 *Godes … ege*: This phrase, which occurs again in sentence 60, is analogous to the Latin *timor Dei*, frequently translated as 'fear of God', particularly in the King James Version (though it does not occur in the Latin versions of Esther). I have translated it as 'awe of God' in both instances.

	moder, þa þa heo unmaga wæs.	dead, from which time she was an orphan.	
17	Seo wæs ardlice þa gebroht & besæd þam cyninge, & he hi sceawode, & him sona gelicode hire fægra nebwlite, & lufode hi swiðe ofer ealle þa oðre þe he ær gesceawode.	She was then soon brought and introduced to the king, and he examined her, and her lovely face immediately pleased him, and loved her greatly, above all the others whom he had previously examined.	
18	Ac heo ne moste na for Mardocheo nateshwon hire cynn ameldian ne þam cyninge secgan hwilcere mægþe hire magas wæron.	But, according to Mordecai, she was by no means allowed to reveal her kin, nor tell the king of what race her relatives were.	
19	Mardocheus þa folgode þam mædene to hirede,[16] & hire gymæne[17] hæfde holdlice symle, wolde gewitan hu hire gelumpe.[18]	Mordecai then followed the maiden as a member of her household,[16] and always had a kindly regard[17] for her, wanted to know how it went with her.[18]	
20	Heo wæs swiðe wlitig on wundorlicre gefægernysse & swiþe lufigendlic eallum onlociendum, & wislice geþeawod, & on wæstme cyrten; & se cyning hi genam to cwene þa, & gesette þone	She was very beautiful in marvelous loveliness and very lovable to all who saw her, and truly well-mannered, and comely in figure; and the king then took her as his queen, and	97, *80*

16 *to hirede*: 'into the retinue, company, court, body of domestic retainers'. OE *hirede* also means 'house, family, members of a religious house, band of associates'. Gustafson has 'to the household'. I have taken some slight liberty in using the phrase 'as a member of the household'.

17 *gymæn* = *gieman* = 'to take care of, observe, give heed to; correct, reprove'.

18 *hu hire gelumpe* = 'how it happened to her' (subjunctive past tense). Gustafson has 'how it suited her'.

	cynehelm on hire heafod sona þe Vasthi ær hæfde.	immediately set the crown upon her head, which Vashti had previously had.
21	He het þa gearcian to heora gyftum swiðe mænigfealde mærða swa him mihte gerisan; & æfter heora gewunan he gewifode þa swa be his witena ræde on heora gewitnysse, & his folc gegladode & liþegode him on mislicum geswincum for ðære mærðe.	He then commanded for their marriage very many honors to be prepared, such as might be suitable for them; and according to their custom he married then according to his counselors' advice, in their witness, and gratified his people and relieved them from various labors for that glorious event.
22	Hit gelamp þa siððan æfter litlum firste, þæt twegen his burðena, mid bealuwe afyllede, woldon berædan swiðe unrihtlice heora cynehlaford, & hine acwellan, & embe þæt wæron.	It happened then, after a short time, that two of his chamberlains, filled with malice, wanted very unjustly to betray their liege-lord, and kill him, and were about that.
23	Þa wearð hit sona cuþ þam Mardocheo, þære cwene fæderan, & he hit þa cydde ardlice hire, & heo þam cyninge forð[19]; & man afunde mid him swutele tacna þæt hi swa woldon don (& hi sylfe sædon þæt hi swa woldon), & man aheng hi begen on healicum gealgan, & Mardocheus þa wearð þurh þa	Then it immediately became known to Mordecai, the queen's uncle, and he quickly made it known to her, and she passed it on[19] to the king; and there were found among them clear signs that they wanted to do so (and they themselves said that they wanted to do so), and they were both hanged

19 "she passed it on": the word *forð* (which is connected grammatically with *cydde* < *forðcyðan* = 'to make known, announce') implies some kind of forward or onward motion.

	micclan hlyde[20] cuð þam cyninge for ðære gecyþnysse.	on a high gallows, and Mordecai then became known to the king through that great commotion[20] because of that disclosure.	
24	Hit wæs þa gewunelic swiðe wislice þæt man gesette on cranice ælc þæra dæda þe gedon wæs mid him on þæs cyninges belimpum oððe his leode fær. Þa het he awritan hu hine gewarnode Mardocheus se þegen, þæt hit on geminde wære.	It was then customary, very wisely, to put in a chronicle each of those deeds that were done among them in the king's affairs and his people's proceedings. Then he commanded that it should be written how Mordecai the retainer warned him, that it might be remembered.	
25	Sum ealdorman wæs þa, Aman gehaten, þone geuferode se cyning ofer ealle his þegnas, & ofer [fol. 143v] his ealdormen. & het hi ealle sittan on cneowum to him swa swa to þam cyninge.	There was then a certain nobleman, called Haman, whom the king elevated above all his retainers, and above his princes. And commanded them all to kneel to him just as to the king.	127, *105*
26	& hine sylfne he asætte on heahsetle fyrmest & ealle his men siððan him anum abugon, buton Mardocheus for his micclum geþingþum nold him abugan ne gebigan his cneowa to þam Amane for his upahafennysse, þy læs þe he gegremode God mid þære	And he sat himself upon the foremost high-seat and all his men afterward bowed to him alone, except Mordecai because of his great condition did not want to bow to him nor bend his knees to that Haman because of his arrogance, lest he should anger God	

20 *hlyd* = 'sound, noise'.

dæde, gif he eorðlicne mann ofer his mæðe wurðode.

with that deed, if he should honor an earthly man above his measure.

27 Þa geseah Aman þæt he hine forseah, & he hæfde ofaxod æt oðrum mannum ær þæt he wæs Iudeisc, þe wurðodon symle þone heofonliccan God; & him þa þuhte to waclicre dæde þæt he fordyde hine ænne, ac wolde miccle swiðor eall þæt manncyn fordon Iudeisces cynnes, þæt he wræce his teonan.

When Haman saw that he spurned him—and he had discovered of other men before that he was Jewish, who continually worshipped the heavenly God; and then it seemed to him too paltry a deed that he should destroy him alone, but desired much more to destroy all the people of Jewish race, that he might avenge his injuries.

28 Aman þa smead swicollice embe þæt, hu he eall Iudeisc cynn fordyde ætgædere, þe Godes æ heoldon æfter Godes gesetnyssum, & began hi to wregenne wið þone cyning þuss:

Haman then deceitfully pondered about that, how he might destroy all the Jewish race together, who kept God's law according to God's decrees, and began to accuse them before the king thus:

29 'An mancynn wunað, leof, wide tostenced under þinum anwealde on gehwilcum scirum, þe næfð ure þeawa, ne ure laga ne hylt; & þu wel was, leof, þæt hit wile hearmian þinum cynerice heora receleasnysse, gif him man ne gestyrð heora stuntness. Læt hi ealle fordon, & ic gedo þæt þu hæfst tyn

"There is one race, sire, dwelling widely dispersed under your jurisdiction, in any number of provinces, who neither have our customs nor keep our laws; and you know well, sire, that their recklessness will harm your kingdom, if their foolishness is not restrained. Let them all be destroyed, and I will ensure that you have ten thousand pounds[21] in your money-chest."[22]

	þusend punda[21] to þinum mydercum.'[22]		
30	Se cyning þa sona slypte his beah of & forgeaf Amane, & be þam mancynne cwæþ: 'Hafa þe þæt seolfor to þines sylfes bricum, and gedo be þam folce swa þe best licie.'	The king then immediately slipped off his ring and gave it to Haman, and concerning that people said: "Keep that silver for your own use, and do about the people as it best pleases you."	157, *131*
31	Aman þa, sona swa he þis gehyrde, dihte gewritu be þam Iudeiscum to ælcere scire þe hi on wunodon, þæt man hi ofsloge sæmtinges ealle, ealde & iunge, eall on anum dæge; & him fultum gesænde to heora slege micelne[23] to þam ylcan andagan þe he him gewissode.	Then Haman, as soon as he heard this, dictated writings about the Jews, to every province in which they lived, that they should be slain all together, old and young, all on one day; and help should be sent to them for their great slaughter[23] on the appointed day that he had indicated to them.	
32	Mardocheus þa micclum wearð geangsumod, & for his agenum magum get micele swiðor þonne for him selfum, & gesæde hit þære cwene;	Mordecai then became greatly anxious, and cried out for his own kinsmen much more than for himself, and told it to the queen,	

[21] *tyn þusend punda*: The pound in use during the Anglo-Saxon period was a monetary unit equivalent to one pound, by weight, of silver; it is the direct predecessor to the modern-day British pound sterling (GBP). Ælfric uses this word to translate the Latin term *talent* 'talentum', a unit of money whose value varied greatly throughout the ancient world (see Esther 3.9, Vulgate).

22 The word *mydercum* is a *hapax legomenon*, appearing nowhere else in the extant OE corpus. The meaning is therefore uncertain, but based on the biblical source material, it appears to be 'money-chest, coffer'.

23 *him fultum gesænde to heora slege micelne*: Haman ensures that troops (*fultum* = 'help', but also 'military forces') are sent into all the provinces in order to carry out the slaughter of the Jews, since it is such an enormous undertaking.

	bæd þæt heo gehulpe hire mægðe & hire, þæt hi ealle ne wurdon to swilcere wæfersyne.	requested that she should help her relatives and herself, that they should not all come to such a spectacle.	
33	Þa bebead seo cwen þæt hire cynn eall sceolde fæstan þreo dagas on an & Godes fultum biddan, & heo sylf eallswa eac swylce fæste, biddende æt Gode þæt he geburge þam folce & eallum þam manncynne on swa micelre frecednesse.	Then the queen commanded that her people must all fast three days continuously and pray for God's help, and she herself should also fast likewise, asking God that he might protect the people and all the race in such great danger.	
34	Þa eode [fol. 144v] seo cwen æfter þam fæstene, swiðe fægeres hiwes, ætforan þam cyninge; & he swiðe bliðe bicnode hire to mid his cynegyrde & gecwæþ þas word:	Then the queen went, after the fasting, very lovely in appearance, before the king; and he very agreeably beckoned to her with his scepter and spoke this word:	
35	'Hwæs bytst þu, la Hester? & þeah þu biddan wille healfne þone anweald þe ic hæbbe under me, þu scealt beon tiþa untweolice þæs.'	"What do you request, o Esther? And though you should ask half the kingdom that I have under me, you shall undoubtedly be a receiver of it."	181, *151*
36	Seo cwen cwæð þa to him: 'Leof cynehlaford, ic wille þæt þu beo æt minum gebeorscipe, þu leof, & Aman, to þinum wurðscipe, þæt ic þe mage secgan minne willan.'	The queen then said to him: "Beloved liege-lord, I desire that you should be at my feast, you sire, and Haman, in your honor, that I may tell you my request."	
37	Þa het se cyning clypian Aman, & het þæt he wære gehersum þære cwene to hire willan to hire gereorde, &	Then the king commanded Haman to be summoned, and commanded that he should be obedient to the queen, to her desire for her	

	Aman þa gecyrde sona to his inne.	dinner-party, and Haman then immediately returned to his chambers.	
38	Mardocheus þa sæt þær ute, & nolde alutan ne lyffettan þam Amane. Þa wearð he swiþe gram[24] þam Godes þegene, & cwæþ to his cnihtum þæt him forcuþlic þuhte þæt se an Iudeisca hine forsawe.	Mordecai then was sitting outside there and would not bow or pay court to Haman. Then he became furious[24] with the servant of God, and said to his attendants that it seemed to him disgraceful that he, a Jew, should despise him.	
39	'Se cyning me wurðaþ, swa swa ge witaþ ealle, & seo cwen ne gelaþode nænne oðerne to hire butan me ænne to eacan þam cyninge. Nu þingþ me þæt ic næbbe nænne wurðscipe on life swa lange swa Mardocheus me nele abugan.'	"The king honors me, as you all know, and the queen invited none other to her but me alone, to join the king. Now it seems to me that I will have no dignity in life so long as Mordecai will not bow to me."	
40	Þa cwædon his magas þæt he macian sceolde ænne heagan gealgan, & habban hine gearwe, & biddan æt his hlaforde þæt he lete ahon þone Mardocheum þe his mihte forseah; & he þa swa dyde be heora dyslican ræde.	Then said his relatives that he ought to make a high gallows and have it ready and request of his lord that he should allow Mordecai to hang, who spurned his power; and he then did so, according to their foolish advice.	203, *168*
41	Hit gelamp þa on þære nihte þæt se cyning læg wæccende lange on forannihte, & he het	It happened then on that night, that the king lay awake long in the evening,	

24 *swiþe gram* = 'very angry'.

	þa forðberan þone cranic fram his yldrena dagum & rædan ætforan him, oððæt he fulge on slæpe.	and he then commanded that the chronicle should be brought forth from his earlier days and should be read before him, until he should fall asleep.	
42	Man[25] him rædde þa fela þæs þe gefyrn gelamp, oððæt hit becom þærto hu his burcnihtas woldon hine sylfne amyrran, & hu Mardocheus hit sæde þære cwene, & heo cydde þa him.	They[25] then read to him many of those things that had previously happened, until it came to the part about how his chamberlains wanted to destroy him and how Mordecai told it to the queen, and she then made it known to him.	
43	Þa befran se cyning his cnihtas & cwæþ: 'Hwilce mede hæfde Mardocheus for þam, þæt he swa holdlice hogode embe me?'	Then the king asked his attendants and said: "What reward did Mordecai have for that thing, that he was so loyally concerned about me?"	
44	His cnihtas him andwyrdon, & cwædon him þus to: 'Leof cynehlaford, ne com him nan þing to þance, þæt he swa getreowlice þæt þe geopenode.'	His attendants answered him and said to him thus: "Dear liege-lord, nothing came to him as thanks that he thus faithfully disclosed that to you."	
45	Hwæt, þa on ærne mergen com Aman to þam cyninge, wolde þæt he hete ahon Mardocheum.	Lo and behold, then in the early morning Haman came to the king, desiring that he should command Mordecai to be hanged.	222, *186*

25 The subject and verb are singular, employing the generic OE pronoun *man*, meaning 'one'. As this pronoun continues to decline in use in PDE, I have chosen the more commonly employed generic plural pronoun 'they'.

46	Ac se cyning axode hine sona & cwæð: 'Hwæt þingð þe, Aman, hwæt hit mage beon [fol. 145v] þæt ic gedon þam menn þe ic gemynte wurþscipes?'	But the king immediately asked him and said: "What does it seem to you, Haman, what may it be that I should do to that man whom I intend to honor?"
47	Þa wende Aman to gewissan þinge þæt se cyning wolde wurþian hine swiðor, & nænne oþerne, & he andwyrde þus: 'Done man þe se cyning wile wurðian mid his gife, man sceal embscrydan hraþe mid cynelican reafe, & settan on his heafod sumne cynehelm eac, & lætan hine ridan on þæs cyninges radhorse; & læde sum ealdormann hine geond þas burh, & secge þam burhmannum þæt þus beo gewurðod se man þe se cyning wile wurðscipe hæbbe.'	Then Haman thought it certain that the king wanted to honor him more greatly, and no other, and he answered thus: "That man whom the king would honor with his gift shall be clothed about immediately with a royal robe and a crown set upon his head also, and let him ride on the king's riding-horse; and some nobleman should lead him throughout the city and say to the citizens that thus is honored the man whom the king desires to have honor."
48	Þa cwæþ se cyning to Amane: 'Ic cweðe þæt ic wille þæt þu genime Mardocheum & þisne wurðmynt him gedo, & loca þu georne þæt þu ne forlæte nan þing.'	Then the king spoke to Haman: "I declare that I want you to take Mordecai and do this honor to him, and look you diligently that you neglect not one thing."
49	Aman þa dyde swa mid sorhfullum mode, & gelædde Mardocheum mærlice gescrydne, & mid helme, geond þa burh, swylce he his horscniht wære, and sæde eallum mannum þæt se cyning mihte on þa wisan mærsian þone man þe he	Haman then did so with a sorrowful spirit, and led Mordecai, splendidly clothed and with a crown, through the city, as though he were his groom, and said to all the people that the king might glorify in this manner that man whom he would;

	wolde; & eode him ham siððan sorhfull to his cnihtum.	and afterward went home sorrowfully to his attendants.	
50	Se cyning þa sende sona æfter Amane, & he unþances þa com to þære cwene feorme, & se cyning Asuerus swiþe bliðe wæs þæs dæges mid þære cwene Hester, & cwæð hire þus to: 'Hwæs bytst þu, la Hester, þæt ic þe forgife?'	The king then immediately sent for Haman, and he then came unwillingly to the queen's meal, and the king Ahasuerus was very happy that day with the queen Esther, and spoke to her thus: "What do you request, o Esther, that I should grant to you?"	246, *208*
51	Hester seo cwen þa cwæð to þam cyninge þus: 'Ic bidde þe la, leof, mines agenes lifes, & mines folces feores, & minra freonda eac. We synd ealle belewde to ure lifleaste, þæt we beon toheawene mid heardum swurdum, þæt ure gemynd beo mid ealle adilegod.'	Esther the queen then spoke to the king thus: "I request of you, o sire, my own life and the life of my people, and of my friends also. We are all betrayed unto our death, that we should be hewn with hard swords, that our memory and all that concerns us should be hidden."	
52	Se cyning þa befran þa cwene þus eft: 'Hwæt is se manna, swilcere mihte, þe þas dæda æfre dorste gefremman?'	The king then asked the queen again: "Who is the man, of such power, who ever dared to commit these deeds?"	
53	Heo cwæð to andsware: 'Us is se wyrsta feond,[26] witodlice[27] þes Aman, þe hæfð gecweden	She said in answer: "The worst enemy is against us,[26]	

[26] *Us is se wyrsta feond*: Literally, 'to us is the worst enemy'. I have taken some liberty in using the preposition 'against' to indicate the relationship between the Jews and their enemy, which is implicit in the syntax of the personal pronoun *us*.

	andagan þæt he sceall acwellan mine agene mægðe for Mardochees þingon—se þe is min fædera, se þe me afedde.'	even[27] this Haman, who has proclaimed that he shall kill on one day my own relatives for Mordecai's sake—he who is my uncle, he who nourished me."	
54	Þa ablicgde Aman unbliþum andwlitan, & ne mihte na acuman þæs cyninges [fol. 146v] graman, ne he ne dorste beseon to his ansyne; & se cyning aras hraþe gehathyrt, & eode him sona ut binnon his æppeltun, swilce for rædinge.[28]	Then Haman blanched with an unhappy face, and was not able to bear the king's rage, neither dared he look upon his face; and the king quickly arose, angry, and immediately went out into his apple orchard, as if for consideration.[28]	
55	Ac he hraþe sona eft eode him inn, & efne[29] Aman þa niþer afeallen to þære cwene fotum, þæt heo him gefultumode to his agenum feore.[30]	But he very soon went in again, and behold,[29] Haman had fallen down at the queen's feet, that she might help him to his own life.[30]	270, *227*
56	Þa oflicode þam cyninge, þæt he læg hire swa gehende, & þa cnihtas oncneowon þæs cyninges micclan graman, & gefengon þone Aman, & hine geblindfelledon, & hine fæste geheoldon to þam þe se cyning hete.	Then the king was displeased, that he lay so near to her, and the servants perceived the king's great rage and seized that Haman and blind-folded him and held him	

27 *witodlice* = 'truly, indeed'.

28 = 'reading, consultation'. Because the text makes no mention at this point of the king's otherwise ubiquitous counselors, I have chosen to translate this as 'consideration', which implies that the king is consulting with himself alone.

29 *efne*: In this context, the word seems to have the force of an interjection ('Lo and behold!'), though it can also be translated with a more sedate 'even', 'indeed', or 'likewise'.

30 = *feorh* 'life'.

		tightly as the king commanded.
57	Þa cwæð an þara burcnihta to þam cyninge þus: 'La leof cynehlaford, an lang gealga stænt æt Amanes inne, þe he gemynt hæfde Mardocheo, þinum þegene, þe þe hyldo[31] gedyde.'	Then one of the chamberlains spoke to the king thus: "O beloved liege-lord, a tall gallows stands by Haman's chambers, which he intended for Mordecai, your servant, who did a kindness[31] for you."
58	Þa cwæð se cyning to andsware: 'Ahoh hine þæron!' & hi sona swa dydon, mid swiðlicum ofste, ahengon þone Aman on þam healican gealgan þe he gemynt hæfde Mardochee on ær, & þæs cyninges yrre wearð þa geliþegod.	Then the king said in answer: "Hang him on it!" And they immediately did so, with great speed, they[32] hanged that Haman on the high gallows that he earlier had intended to have Mordecai on, and the king's anger was then appeased.
59	Þa cydde seo cwen eall be hire cynne hire cynehlaforde, hwanon heo cumen wæs, & be Mardocheo hu he hire mæg wæs; & he eode þa inn toforan þam cyninge, & se cyning him sealde sona þone beah (þe he genam of Amane) him to wurðscipe, & he underfeng þone anweald þe se oðer hæfde, & he his æhta betæhte þære cwene to hæbbenne.	Then the queen told her liege-lord all about her kin, whence she was come, and about Mordecai, how he was her relative; and he then went in before the king, and the king immediately gave him the ring (which he had taken from Haman) to give him honor, and he accepted the government that the other had, and he entrusted

31 = 'favor, grace, kindness, protection; allegiance, loyalty'.

32 The plural subject is implied in the syntax of the OE; for the sake of greater clarity and fluency, I have made it explicit in the PDE translation.

		his possessions to the queen to have.	
60	Seo cwen þa aleat to þæs cyninges fotum mid agotenum tearum, mid Godes ege onbryrd, & bæd hire cynehlaford þæt he lete awritan oðre gewritu to eallum þam scirum þe þa Iudeiscan on eardedon,[33] togeanes þam gewritum þe Aman ær awrat, þæt þa Iudeiscan moston for his micclan cynescipe beon ealle on friðe & unforhte to þam dæge þe Aman him gecwæþ to heora agenum slege.	The queen then knelt at the king's feet with streaming tears, inspired by awe of God, and asked her liege-lord that he might have other writings written to all the provinces where the Jews lived,[33] against the writings that Haman previously had had written, that the Jews might all, on account of his great majesty, be peaceful and unafraid of that day on which Haman had commanded their slaughter.	295, *248*
61	Se cyning þa andwyrde þære þus, & eac Mardocheo, swiðe mildelice: 'Aman ic aheng, [fol. 147v] & his æhta þe betæhte. Hwa dear nu gedyrstlæcan þæt he derige þam folce?	The king then answered her thus, and Mordecai also, very gently: "I hanged Haman and entrusted his possessions to you. Who dares now to presume that he should injure that people?	
62	Awritað nu gewrita be þam þe ge willaþ, þæt eall beo aidlod Amanes sirwung ongean þam Iudeiscum, & him ne derige nan man. Ac ic swiðor wille þæt man ofslea eac Amanes	Now write writings about this as you will, that Haman's plotting against the Jews might all be made useless, and no man might injure them. But I rather intend that Haman's	

33 *eardian* = 'to inhabit, dwell, abide, live'; the connection with *eard* = 'earth, home' implies a long-term residence; the Jews have put down roots, so to speak, in these provinces.

	magas for his micclan swicdome.'	relatives should be slain on account of his great treachery."	
63	Þis wearð þa geforþod, & hi on friþe wunedon þurh þære cwene þingunge þe him þa geheolp & fram deaþe ahredde, þurh hire drihtnes fultum þe heo on gelyfde on Abrahames wisan.	This then was done, and they lived in peace through the queen's intercession which helped them and rescued them from death, through her Lord's help, in whom she believed according to Abraham's manner.	
64	Þa Iudeiscan eac wundorlice blissodon, þæt hi swilcne forespræcan him afunden hæfdon, & heoldon þa Godes æ þæs þe glædlicor æfter Moyses wissunge þæs mæran heretogan.	The Jews also rejoiced wonderfully, that they had found such an advocate for them, and then kept God's law afterward the more gladly, according to the guidance of Moses, the great leader.	
65	Mardocheus eac miclum wæs gewurþod, & swiðe geuferod for his eadmodnysse, swa swa Aman wearð gehynd for his uppahefednysse; & se cyning wearð gerihtlæht þurh þære cwene geleafan Gode to wurðmynte þe ealle þing gewylt, & he herode God þe hine geuferode & to cyninge geceas ofer swilcne anweald.	Mordecai was also much honored and greatly elevated for his humility, even as Haman was humbled for his arrogance; and the king became converted through the queen's faith to the honor of God who controls all things, and he praised God who had elevated him and chosen him as king over such kingdom.	320, *270*
66	& he wæs rihtwis, & rædfæst on weorcum, & he hæfde oþerne naman: Artarxerses.	And he was righteous, and wise in works, and he had another name: Artaxerxes.	

67	Sy wuldor & lof þam welwillendan Gode se þe æfre rixað on ecnysse! Amen.	Glory and praise be to the benevolent God, he who reigns ever in eternity! Amen.

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Book Reviews

Theory of the Border. Thomas Nail. Oxford University Press, 2016. ISBN: 978-0-19061-864-3, 288 pp.

The *zeitgeist* around the fall of the Berlin Wall dictated that the world was unequivocally marching towards an era of limitlessness. We should thus expect a world with fewer borders, fewer impediments to movement, trade, and some sort of global conviviality. Thomas Nail's most recent book, nevertheless, reminds us, with the stroke of its very first line, that "we live in a world of borders" (1). Instead of fewer lines of division, borders have spread and colonised virtually all aspects of our lives. 'Theory of the Border' is a provocative contribution to border studies as it scrutinises the very concept of 'border', its functions, and historical development at its very core.

Nail's main argument is clearest in the conclusion when he writes that "societies and states are the products of (b)ordering, not the other way around" (222). This is an extremely important statement because it moves away from the commonplace ideas that, first, borders are only related to states and, second, that they are mere outcomes of pre-existing characteristics marking the reach of their unified claims for material

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recognition. In other words, borders are not markers of essential differences which require a clear-cut division in land and minds. Instead, he argues that borders, rather than the consequence, are in fact processes that "introduce a division or bifurcation of some sort" (2). That is, to some extent, borders create the very entity that they would, in principle, simply outline.

In doing so, one of the book's main contributions is the stripping of any primordiality of the border, i.e., any sense that it is a largely unquestionable phenomenon that, despite its errant strokes throughout history, was doomed to settle on whichever shape it possesses at the time of its defence. It is, in fact, on the ever-changing nature of these lines of division throughout history that the author draws his extensive and meticulous summary of different names and functions under which borders have been created and sustained, an endeavour which he entitles 'critical limology' – that is, the critical study of limits – or, as he puts it: "the theory of the real conditions for the production of social borders" (14).

The book is divided into three parts that could, when paired with both the Introduction and the Conclusion, be read separately as it is at times difficult to thread all three into a smooth narrative. That, however, does not detract either from the consistency of Nail's arguments or his monumental research into historical documents and data from different eras and regions.

In Part I, the author develops what he calls 'border kinopower', a kind of overarching title to accommodate his central point that "the history of the border is a history of social motion" (22) which rejects the existence of any naturally occurring borders by focusing on the active role of groups and powerful individuals in the creation of devices to arrange, distribute and control movement and displacement – hence the Greek word *κινώ* (kino), movement. The novelty here are the three core concepts of what he calls 'kinopolitics', that is, "the politics of movement" (24), namely: flow, junction, and circulation. The concept of flows is perhaps the most important idea presented in the book because, within it, lies its differential: if we imagined a world without borders, or even a world before borders, we would be left with flows, this "nonunity and nontotality [which] keeps moving along to infinity like a curved line" (26). In other words, motion is quite simply what there is, be it quantum leaps

at atomic level or the somewhat chaotic stream of data across the globe, and what lies behind any border is an attempt to organise and control these flows at various levels: the sacred and the profane, the sovereign and the subservient, the legal migrant and the *sans-papiers*. The flow, however, is hectic and nonlinear. The junction, on the other hand, is when any given flow folds back on itself, creating a filter that captures movement within. Finally, circulation is "the regulation of flows into an ordered network of junctions" (28): in other words, the arrangement of movement into a system that allows for certain mobility whilst creating instances of interiority and exteriority (in or out). At first, these might seem like overly abstract ideas, but that is precisely the intention of the book, to dissect borders and look for commonalities that overcome empiricism. What these three concepts do is parse out a crucial understanding that borders create divisions by trapping and regulating movement, which, consequently, leads to virtually infinite possibilities of bordering as flows operate in a continuum – by default, endless. Any study of borders, therefore, should address the conditions and mechanisms with which motion is organised and made sense of.

Given that the main function of any border is basically to manage motion, in Part II the author develops his four non-exhaustive "border regimes of circulation" (43): the fence, the wall, the cell, and the checkpoint, which are organised chronologically in terms of the period in which each was most prominent, chiefly from a Eurocentric perspective. The fence is, accordingly, the oldest border regime, representing "the movement to delimit an area of the earth as socially distinct" (48). That is, the fence creates the territory, a 'here' to serve as reference point. The wall, according to the author, is "a condition for the existence of political life itself" (65) for it creates a process of standardisation and assemblage of flows around a central power. It is important to note here that, in his quest to analyse concepts, the author overemphasises an excessively abstract approach to walls whilst somewhat failing to address what seems to be its most prominent aspect: defence from an external enemy, real or imagined. This does not invalidate Nail's points on the wall as a border regime, but it does make it rather difficult to accompany his progression from 'old territorial fences' to 'bricks' and 'social bricks' (66). In turn, the cell dominated in the Middle Ages as a mechanism that

"create[d] sites of enclosure, interiority, and linked coordination of individuals" (109) when jurisdictions were confusing and often overlapping, thus requiring that power be shifted from 'over one territory' to 'over individuals'. The final border regime is the checkpoint, whose function is "the redistribution of a surplus to whatever point it is needed" (112) – that is, it allows for a certain mobility, but it can reappear whenever the flow is deemed detrimental. In Nail's words, "the aim of the checkpoint is not to maintain static borders […] but to maintain a dynamic equilibrium" (111). We might add that a checkpoint grants the illusion of total freedom as it is only perceptible when one is not allowed through – it can be ubiquitous and imperceptible at the same time.

Throughout Part II, fittingly called 'Historical Limology', the author presents an incredible volume of data about the various types of borders throughout history. However, from that avalanche of data also comes the main limitation of the book. Part II can be read as a sort of taxonomic encyclopaedia in which the wealth of information, types and subtypes, functions and subfunctions of borders become a maze of neologisms and lexical reappraisals, which, although contributing to the main argument by providing concrete examples from different times and places, also undermines the general legibility of the book as a cohesive piece.

Part III is the least illuminating portion of the book. Again, no one can accuse Nail of failing to provide names, dates, and numbers, but Part III is composed of 'mirror chapters', where each focuses on analysing the US-Mexico border in relation to the four border regimes. The book would greatly benefit if those mirror chapters were synthesised and attached to their respective chapters in Part II, so the reader could promptly make the connection between each border regime and how it might relate to a contemporary example. More daringly, experienced readers of the border oeuvres could simply skim over Part III and spend more time on the first two parts, especially Part I, which is by far the best contribution of the book.

'Theory of the Border' is, in sum, an excellent read for anyone who is interested in learning about borders and the history of division at large, a topic that does not show any signs of leaving the research agenda soon. For those who are new to border studies, it is a deep, thought-provoking introduction. For more seasoned readers, it is a deep and thought-

provoking invitation to rethink many of the established axioms in border studies and border theory.

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Viking Nottinghamshire. Rebecca Gregory. Five Leaves, 2017. ISBN: 978-1-91017-047-2, 84 pp.

With the advent of intense interest in Viking Age history in popular culture, it is not surprising that a popular desire to learn about local history has also increased, with Nottinghamshire being no exception. The monograph by Dr Rebecca Gregory provides a comprehensive overview of Viking influence on Nottinghamshire during the Viking Age. This includes the first contacts between Anglo-Saxons and Vikings, the Great Army's movement through Nottinghamshire, Viking administration and rule, as well as changes in both religion and culture all based on a variety of archaeological, literary and place-name evidence. The monograph is very similar to a travel guide providing explanations of important sites and features which, for a book meant for public readership, is exceptionally executed.

Since it is written for the wider public rather than academics, the questions being asked are: What is the history of the local area, and how can we rediscover it? The answers to these questions are delivered by Dr Gregory's division of the book into chapters, which are thematic and also loosely chronological. The chapters give the reader a narrative of Vikings in Nottinghamshire – not just a report – which arguably is the original purpose of history writing.

Keeping the type of audience in mind, Gregory not only includes an accurate timeline of key events, but also when key terms, new sources or major concepts are introduced they are bolded and connected with an appended glossary that gives a further background explanation of each. In addition, there are illustrations which support the evidence given and help the reader to visualize the past. Similarly, the historical locations of the events that Gregory mentions are also described in relation to their

modern equivalents. This approach deepens the readers' understanding by moving from a general and impersonal understanding to a more complex and layered comprehension - one in which readers can closely relate to the inhabitants in the East Midlands during the Viking Age. Such comparisons and illustrations allow the reader to immerse themselves fully in the history of Nottinghamshire's Viking world.

However, in her drive to appeal to the non-academic reader Gregory, at times, tends to over-simplify more complex topics in an attempt to make them more accessible to the non-academic audience. For the most part this issue emerges from the over-representation of evidentiary material from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The problem is that the codex is presented as unified, when in reality it consists of multiple copies from different contexts and composed in different time periods. Hence, one cannot rely too heavily on the accuracy of its contents due to the variances between versions which can include conflicting interpolations by the authors. For example, the passages from the Chronicle combined with the consistent reference to the Danish identity of the members of the Great Heathen Army is likely to mislead readers into accepting the East Midlands' Danish identity as fact. Rather, what should be emphasized is the ongoing relationship between Scandinavians settlers of various origins and existing Anglo-Saxons. These are not fatal flaws but do operate on the assumption that Gregory's book will spur readers to investigate the history further.

Notwithstanding these issues, Gregory makes two points that are crucial in the quest to dispel common myths and misconceptions about Viking history. Firstly, Gregory's discussion regarding the composition of the Great Heathen Army shows that despite the popular myth that the Great Heathen Army consisted entirely of warrior men, there are in fact artefacts and evidence of the presence of women and children supporting the army's activities. In addressing this, Gregory gives a human face to the Vikings that is otherwise seldom acknowledged in popular culture. The second crucial argument - which provides credence for the idea that the influence of Viking history can still be felt today - is Gregory's insistence that the Vikings did not simply and rapidly assimilate into Anglo-Saxon society, and that they left behind many traces of their Scandinavian origins. The Great Heathen Army and those that came

after had a visible impact on Nottinghamshire such as Old Norse words in the modern English language, like take (*taka*) or get (*geta*), or forms of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, like the hogback memorial stones from Northern England and the East Midlands.

Overall the book is masterfully written, it is engaging and informative without overwhelming the reader with academic jargon and details. It is very accessible and key terms and concepts are explained in a concise and understandable manner with smooth transitions between wider events and local history. It is successful in attainting its goal of providing basic knowledge about local history to the average reader and evoking a desire to pursue this living history, but also doubles as a useful point of departure with a noteworthy bibliography for the amateur historian or budding academic.

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Open Call for Book Reviews

We are now inviting contributions to the Book Review section for Issue 3 of JLTS, to be published in Spring 2019.

Submissions are invited from postgraduates (Master's and PhD students) working in any field which engages with languages, texts, and society. Reviews on any book dealing with the subject matter are welcome. The book can be academic or fictional (prose, poetry, and drama accepted) and should have been published within the past 3 years. Book reviews should be no more than 1,200 words.

We have listed below several recently published books which may be of interest to our readers. If you would like to review one of these books, or another that meets the above-outlined criteria, please contact the editors of the journal at pg-lts@nottingham.ac.uk. Alternatively, if you let us know your research interests, we can suggest a review title to you.

Books for Review

Americanizing Britain: The Rise of Modernism in the Age of the Entertainment Empire. Genevieve Abravanel. Oxford University Press, 2016. ISBN: 978-0-19027-241-8, 224 pp.

A Multilingual Nation: Translation and Language Dynamic in India. Rita Kothari. Oxford University Press, 2018. ISBN: 978-0-19947-877-4, 352 pp.

British Romanticism, Climate Change, and the Anthropocene. David Higgins. Palgrave-Macmillan, 2017. ISBN: 978-3-319-67894-8, ix + 142 pp.

Greek Historical Inscriptions 478–404 BC. Robin Osborns and P. J. Rhodes. Oxford University Press, 2017. ISBN: 978-0199-575-473, 672 pp.

Languages after Brexit: How the UK Speaks to the World. Michael Kelly. Palgrave-Macmillan, 2018. ISBN: 978-3-319-65169-9, xxiii + 271 pp.

Multilingualism: A Very Short Introduction. John C. Maher. ISBN: 978-0-19872-499-5, 168 pp.

Nostalgia and the Post-War Labour Party: Prisoners of the Past. Richard Jobson. Manchester University Press, 2018. ISBN: 978-1-5261-1330-6, 232 pp.

Rethinking Right-Wing Women: Gender and the Conservative Party, 1880s to Present. Clarise Berthezène and Julie Gottlieb. Manchester University Press, 2017. ISBN: 978-1-7849-9438-9, 264 pp.

Subtitling African American English into French: Can We Do the Right Thing? Alex Mével. Peter Lang, 2017. ISBN: 978-1-78707-642-6, 246 pp.

Taking Offence on Social Media: Conviviality and Communication on Facebook. Caroline Tagg, Philip Seargeant, and Amy Aisha. Palgrave-Macmillan, 2017. ISBN: 978-3-319-56717-4, ix+ 139 pp.

The British Question. Arthur Aughey. Manchester University Press, 2017. ISBN: 978-1-5261-1700-1, 240 pp.

The Palgrave Handbook of Literature and the City. Jeremy Tambling. Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. ISBN: 978-1-137-54911-2, xvii+863 pp.

The Poetics of Late Latin Literature. Jaś Elsner and Jesús Harnández Lobato. Oxford University Press, 2017. ISBN: 978-0199-355-631, 544 pp.

The Urbanism of Exception. Martin J. Murray. Cambridge University Press, 2017. ISBN: 978-1-31662-052-6, 416 pp.

What Makes Civilization? The Ancient Near East and the Future of the West. David Wengrow. Oxford University Press, 2018. ISBN: 978-0199-699-421, 240 pp.

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