Forum for Contemporary Issues in Language and Literature

No. 1/2020 • ISSN: 2391-9426

the journal postal address:
Siedlce University of Natural Sciences and Humanities
Institute of Linguistics and Literary Studies
Żytnia 39, Siedlce 08-110, Poland

publishing house:
Wydawnictwo Naukowe UPH w Siedlcach
www.wydawnictwo-naukowe.uph.edu.pl

CONTENTS

Forum for Contemporary Issues
in Language and Literature
No. 1/2020

ISSN: 2391-9426
doi.org/10.34739/fci.2020.01.01

IMAGES OF MIGRANTS IN ALICE MUNRO'S SHORT STORIES: DIALOGUE BETWEEN CULTURES

Kristina Vorontsova
ORCID: 0000-0001-9230-1043

Siedlce University of Natural Sciences and Humanities
Faculty of Humanities

Abstract
This paper focuses on the issues of the mediating role of English language and specific accents in the process of communication between Canadians and migrants from Europe. The author uses methods of close reading to reveal a variety of specific social patterns illustrating different levels of interpersonal attitudes in dialogues with migrants on the material of short stories from the collection "Runaway" (2004) by Alice Munro. While depicting Aliens, the writer utilises speech characterization as one of the most important artistic tools. Furthermore, in the short stories by Alice Munro, an attitude to people who speak differently becomes a "litmus paper" to portray the decaying intellectual life of the New World.

Key words
Alice Munro; geopoetics; migrants; accents; imagology; hate speech

Introduction

Alice Munro (1931–) is a crucial figure of contemporary English Canadian literature. She is well-known for her psychological short stories, vivid regional pictures of Canada, and critiques of conservative gender and social hierarchies. Her works have provoked great interest abroad, especially after 2013, when she was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. In fact, it was the very first Nobel Prize in the whole history of Canadian literature.

The Nobel Committee's motivation was rather laconic and specific: "master of the contemporary short story" (The Nobel Prize 2013). It was fair enough because Alice Munro is a rare example of a writer focused on this genre exclusively, so that she has been called "our Chekhov" (Merkin 2004) by colleagues and critics as a sign of recognition. Munro gave up writing in 2012 because of her age; her published body of works consists of 14 original short-story collections. In a telephone interview following the announcement of the winner of the 2013 Nobel Prize for Literature,

Alice Munro declared that this award was very meaningful "not just for me but for the short story in general. Because it's often sort of brushed off, you know, as something that people do before they write their first novel. And I would like it to come to the fore, without any strings attached, so that there doesn't have to be a novel" (Interview with Alice Munro 2019).

Munro's characters, who are generally residents of small provincial towns in her native Huron County, usually represent rather universal problems, such as: women vs. men, discrimination, domestic violence, economic inequality, emotions and rationality, the inability to change anything in their life (the so-called existential "paralysis" in Joyce's understanding of this phenomenon), etc. Thus, the author always protests when she is defined as a regional writer in the style of William Faulkner: "And I use the region where I grew up a lot. But I don't have any idea of writing to show the kind of things that happen in a certain place. These things happen and the place is part of it. But in a way it's incidental" (Munro in Hancock 1987, 200).

Despite being a Canadian writer, Alice Munro never mentions either French-speaking Canadians or political problems connected to the natural division of the country and its diverse culture. Writing about the 60s and the 70s of the 20th century, she avoids any mention of the separatist moods and conflicts inside Canadian society (especially those taking place in Quebec), whereas migrants from the Old World seem to be a compelling source of images, cultural intertexts, and the main reason to question the decaying intellectual life of the New World.

In her speeches and interviews, Alice Munro highlighted many times that she had never been a political person but rather a cultural one (Asberg 2014, 330). Taking that and her strong intention to be a universal writer into the account, it is possible to speculate why the author focuses on those who embody different cultures outside Canada, aliens and strangers, and not on her French-speaking compatriots. Moreover, Culture broadly understood, is a key element of the postmodern epoch. Munro is interested in cultures, but really remote and diverse ones only: Russia, Greece, Montenegro, Scandinavia. So that even the US is not a frequent part of her geopoetics: it seems to be too close and too similar.

In contrast, Europe as a part of the Old World with its sophisticated art, ancient traditions in philosophy and literature, as well as its peculiar cuisine, in Munro's short stories becomes a "litmus paper" (Vorontsova 2019) in order to test commonplace Canadians: who is able to perceive the treasures of world's geoculture, and who is not because of intellectual limitations?

Furthermore, quite often Europeans express real emotions and true love, while Canadians are guided by reason and pragmatism. Only outsiders, people who do not belong entirely to the traditional "normal" society, understand European culture and are possessed with it. Interestingly, the majority of them are educated women whose intelligence is treated as "a limp or an extra thumb" (Munro 2004, 53) and who do not

fit the pattern of social expectations: Munro's favourite heroines are primarily unmarried and have an independent feministic point of view. So, it is they who are on the same level as the migrants from Europe despised by the middle-class majority, and who are able to overcome the big cultural gap between Europeans and Canadians. Munro regularly creates images of strangers from the Old World and pays special attention to such an important artistic device as a speech characterization.

The main goal of this investigation is to analyze different examples of images of Europeans from the short-story collection "Runaway" (2004) in order to point out the mediating role of language in the process of communication with a special emphasis on accents in the intercultural dialogue.

1. Cultural and Social Background of "Runaway"

According to the 2016 census conducted by Statistics Canada, every fifth Canadian was born abroad (Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity 2017). Moreover, relevant sociological studies claim that Canada now is believed to be one of the most "receptive to immigration among western nations" (Markus 2014, 10). Such is the long-term impact of five waves of immigration that took place from the 18th century till now and the current economic needs of the country caused by an aging demographic.

"Runaway's" short stories are set mostly in Ontario during the 50s and 60s, so it is possible to link events in Munro's fiction to the so-called fourth wave of immigration which was a result of the Second World War and the totalitarian regimes of the 20th century.

Most migrants came to Canada from Eastern and Sothern Europe, but it must be emphasized that oriental exclusion (especially anti-Chinese sentiment) and the strong support given to white immigration were key elements of official policy during the entire 20th century. Consequently, in Munro's short stories the white male European migrant seems typical and credible (in "Runaway" only one of them is female but she too has vivid masculine features). On the one hand, there is no place for racism in such conditions, but, on the other hand, discrimination here takes a cultural form. Everything that cannot be understood is tagged as bizarre, stupid, eccentric, and deviant: from Chagall's modernistic paintings to strong European coffee.

2. Negative Perception of Accents and Images of the Alien in "Trespasses"

In "Runaway", the author highlights that commonplace provincial Canadians, even educated and sophisticated in their own point of view, have a number of stereotypes and preconceptions towards people belonging to different cultures.

Their pejorative designations make intercultural dialogues almost impossible. It is no longer a process of communication on the same level. For example, Mr. Palagian

from a short story "Trespasses", who is the hotel and bar owner and who might be an Armenian judging by his surname, "had a thick—and, it seemed, disdainful accent" (Munro 2004, 198). Of course, this characteristic—"disdainful"—belongs not to the author but to the characters Harry and Eileen, a married couple, representatives of the white middle-class English-speaking majority, who are supposed to be modern people but demonstrate obsolete stereotypes and negative attitudes to those who are not similar to them. They evaluate the behavior and terseness of Mr. Palagian sarcastically—behind his back, of course (once again, there is no room for an intercultural dialogue, literally and figuratively):

> "Friendly", Eileen said.
> "European", said Harry. "It's cultural. They don't feel obliged to smile all the time". He pointed out things in the dining room that were just the same—the high ceiling, the slowly rotating fan, even a murky oil painting showing a hunting dog with a rusty-feathered bird in its mouth (Munro 2004, 198).

Harry would like to seem an expert in the topic of different ethos and a more than insightful psychologist, but his generalization about Europeans demonstrates his inability and even reluctance to distinguish nations of the Old World and learn their culture. Not only does language in "Trespasses" not play the role of a mediator, it is also a specific and powerful tool of belittling.

Although the narrative is in the third person, the reader understands that Mr. Palagian is depicted through Eileen and Harry's pejorative perception:

> He wore a shirt and tie, a cardigan, and trousers that looked as if they had grown together—all soft, rumpled, fuzzy, like an outer skin that was flaky and graying as his real skin must be underneath (Munro 2004, 199).

According to Harry and Eileen, everything around Mr. Palagian is miserable, bleak and gloomy, including his clothes and furniture. The narrator states that he really never smiles and says only necessary words, avoiding the small talk, which is a part of western culture, but he really fits the behavioral pattern of Caucasian nations and their conceptions of masculinity: less words, more actions.

Ironically, Harry "was hoping that one day Mr. Palagian would thaw out and tell the story of his life" (Munro 2004, 201), but the main purpose was not a sense of community or canadianization of the migrant. Harry's interest was strictly self-interested: "Someone like Mr. Palagian—or even that fat tough-talking waitress, he said—could be harboring a contemporary tragedy or adventure which would make

a best seller" (Munro 2004, 201). The formula "someone like Mr. Palagian" is evidence of great disrespect and it can be characterized as an example of "hate speech". Harry, despite his creative ambitions, is not able to hide his disgust and repulsion. It is also worth mentioning that in his hierarchy non-attractive women are even worse than immigrants. Thus, Munro follows Edgar Allan Poe and Ernest Hemingway's thoughts that in a piece of writing every word must contribute. In her short stories, literally every word is meaningful and illustrates the inner world of the characters and their hidden (sometimes hidden from themselves) intentions.

3. Accents as Triggers for Intercultural Dialogues in "Tricks"

In Alice Munro's artistic world, only losers who are not able to gain success in their social life (e.g. smart unmarried women) are on the same page as migrants. It is they who perceive accents and foreign languages as a sign of different possibilities and exotic countries, so-called "parageographical images" (Zamyatin 2003, 48). According to Dmitry Zamiatin, any cultural, historiographic, economic, or political notion has a strong space genic component and drives geographical concepts and associations connected with one or another territory. In the case of Munro's heroines, who feel alienation at home, in Canada, for many of them accents become a cultural code to recognize outsiders alienated for different reasons but with the same result.

A vivid example of such an outsider is Robin from the short story "Tricks": a twenty-six-year-old young woman and a nurse, she is the only one from her whole neighborhood who is able to understand and, moreover, really likes Shakespeare, and because of it she is treated as an eccentric and almost crazy person by her own family. In their philistine opinion, she is different and abnormal going to the theatre alone. After the annual performance of Shakespeare in Stratford Robin loses her purse and by chance becomes acquainted with a total stranger, Danilo Adzic from Bjelojevici, Montenegro (former a part of Yugoslavia). As if in evidence of her reputation as an adventuress, Robin accepts his invitation to the dinner.

A young woman and Danilo have a lot of things in common that nobody else could understand, for instance, both love Shakespeare and going anywhere by train. In contrast to Harry and Eileen from "Trespasses", it is precisely Danilo's accent that makes him reliable and credible for Robin:

> She was not worried. Afterwards she wondered about that. Without a moment's hesitation she had accepted his offer of help, allowed him to rescue her, found it entirely natural that he should not carry money with him on his walks but could get it from the till in his shop.
> A reason for this might have been his accent. Some of the nurses mocked the accents of the Dutch farmers and their wives—behind their backs, of course. So, Robin had got

> into the habit of treating such people with special consideration, as if they had speech impediments, or even some mental slowness, though she knew that this was nonsense. An accent, therefore, roused in her a certain benevolence and politeness (Munro 2004, 243).

Pathographic comparisons make Robin as an intelligent woman, who according to Canadian society has "an extra thumb", feel herself related to this foreigner: they are both Aliens, Others not in a cultural but ontological sense. As a nurse she "diagnoses" herself and the immigrant.

Unlike Harry, Robin is actually interested in who Danilo is and which culture he belongs to. She even tries to figure it out from her experience with accents. The narrator shows that her character does not do it because she is falling in love with a stranger: she always was curious and attentive towards migrants:

> What was it? It was not French or Dutch—the two accents that she thought she could recognize, French from school and Dutch from the immigrants who were sometimes patients in the hospital (Munro 2004, 243).

While being a sensitive person obsessed with the theatre, Robin pays much attention also to the manner of speaking: "Foreigners talked differently, leaving a bit of space around the words, the way actors do" (Munro 2004, 245). Theatrical symbolism prevails and is evaluated positively. For Robin being an actor means to be different, to be sophisticated, not to be artificial or unnatural.

At the same time, if it comes to the male character of this short story, his main intention is to adapt to the new for him cultural space of Canada: he speaks perfect English, listens to jazz, reads classical plays, and even changes his name to a more Canadian variant. He introduces himself to Robin: "Danilo. But Daniel here" (Munro 2004, 249). According to mythology and magical thinking, the name defines the inner nature, so that in some archaic cultures it is hidden and may be shared only with very close relatives. The same conception lies in the basis of the fantasy world from the cult novel "A Wizard of Earthsea" (1968) by Ursula K. Le Guin: magic there is possible because wizards know the true names of things or people and for this reason have some power over them. It is remarkable that Alice Munro's Danilo shares his Serbian "true name" with Robin, who is also a total stranger, only after telling her the whole story of his life; something which could be interpreted as an act of trust.

Besides that, Robin finds out that he might have moved to Canada because of the political situation in Yugoslavia. So, the male character in this context could be defined in terms of exile. According to the theorist of postcolonialism Edward Said, "in a very acute sense exile is a solitude experienced outside the group: the deprivation

felt at not being with others in the communal habitation [...] Exiles are cut off from their roots, their land, their past" (Said 2000, 140). Feeling as an alienated, "displaced person", despite his attempts to adapt to Canada, Danilo tries to recreate his motherland partly inside his clock shop in Stratford. Edward Said claims: "Most people are principally aware of one culture, one setting, one home; exiles are aware of at least two, and this plurality of vision gives rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions" (Said 2000, 148). Interestingly, language plays an extremely important role in this process of overlapping realities and crossing borders. Robin at Danilo's place sees the magazines printed "in a language she could neither read nor identify" (Munro 2004, 246) and it is they that pique her attention the most. The Serb explains that his mother tongue is Serbian, or Serbo-Croatian, and the alphabet is "like Greek" (Munro 2004, 246). It is remarkable that in the imaginative structure of "Runaway" Greece is always associated with true love, blind passion and irrationality. Moreover, the Cyrillic alphabet implicitly appears in the collection again and again with mentions of "Anna Karenina" by Leo Tolstoy, the classical Russian novel read and discussed by different heroines and which is supposed to be one more symbol of animal passion and feelings prevailing over reason.

Robin perceives cultural combinations through the language: "A small piece of a foreign world on Downie Street in Stratford. Montenegro. Cyrillic alphabet" (Munro 2004, 246). It is she who lives in an almost homogenic neighbourhood and encounters a different culture not with disdain, like Harry and Eileen or her own sister Joanne, but with admiration and sincere concern. She falls in love with Danilo and his native culture and language at the same time. For her the one means the other. Later, when Danilo has left Canada in order to assist his sick brother, Robin explores everything she is able to find at the library about Montenegro, paying special attention to the geographical "names", toponyms: "She hardly retained a word of what she read. Except the name, the real name of Montenegro, which she did not know how to pronounce. Crna Gora" (Munro 2004, 254).

As with the "true name" of a man, Robin can be seen as a person who is worthy enough to investigate the soul of the whole nation. Danilo embodies Montenegrins as evidenced in another of Said's statements: "We take home and language for granted; they become nature, and their underlying assumptions recede into dogma and orthodoxy" (Said 2000, 147). So, it seems logical that Robin attempts to get to know her beloved through geographical maps, Montenegrin history and the difficult Serbian language. Montenegro is *terra incognita* for a Canadian nurse at the very beginning, like Danilo himself, and she investigates territories like his soul through "true names":

> She looked at maps, where it was hard enough to find the country itself, but possible finally, with a magnifying glass, to become familiar with the names of various towns

> (none of them Belojevici) and with the rivers Moraca and Tara, and the shaded mountain ranges, which seemed to be everywhere but in the Zeta Valley (Munro 2004, 254).

Thus, explorations of the map and toponyms become an analogy to some very intimate physiological acts between the separated characters:

> What she must have been trying to do—and what she at least half succeeded in doing—was to settle Danilo into some real place and a real past, to think that these names she was learning must have been known to him, this history must have been what he learned in school, some of this places must have been visited by him as a child or as a young man. And were being visited, perhaps, by him now. When she touched a printed name with her finger, she might have touched the very place he was in. (Munro 2004, 254).

Geography here is conveyed through poetry of true names and toponyms. And for Robin it is a challenging task to understand her beloved man while he is absent. In this context the cultural dialogue is blurred and distracted.

But it also could be treated as a hint for what Alice Munro's characters are going to experience in a year. Ironically, Robin, who struggles with the Serbian language and cannot read "Crna Gora" properly will not be happily in love with Danilo because of misunderstandings: she does not know that a man, who closes the door in front of her face and who does not want to communicate, is not her lover but his sick twin-brother. Language here in general is a great metaphor of a soul, of a nation and a love story.

Conclusion

To sum up, in "Runaway" intercultural dialogues are reconstructed as a part of commonplace Canadian life and language as a mediator is able to play different roles in these interactions between migrants and ordinary Canadians. Accents seem to be a distinguishing sign tagging *the Other, the Alien* in the ontological or cultural sense. Migrants, who are perceived *a priori* as losers and even marginals, have a lot of things in common with women who dare to stand out of the crowd in a patriarchal society and who would not like to fit in. It is no wonder they could find a common language, and accents here are key elements of future communication. Thus, it could be said that migration issues in these stories are related to gender issues closely.

Generally speaking, in short stories by Alice Munro, they play two main roles. On the one hand, sometimes they could be a recognizable cultural code in communication between the Canadian outsiders and strangers from Europe while,

on the other hand, accents may also be a trigger for the emergence of ethnic and social stereotypes and even "hate speech".

In this paper, two short stories ("Tricks" and "Trespasses") from the collection "Runaway" were analyzed in the context of social and Geocultural processes in Canada of the 50s and 60s. Migration is still considered as a crucial part of Canadian international policy as well as inner separatist moods among French-speaking and Native-American population. It is said that cultural gaps between Quebec and the rest of regions are relevant even nowadays, but migrants are perceived with tolerance as a normal part of everyday life in the global world. However, in the middle of the 20th century, Canada was an almost homogenic country with a white English-speaking majority of Irish descent, which caused a lot of problems and prejudices towards foreigners. Consequently, the short stories by Alice Munro, an author who witnessed all these social changes herself, can be read as a testimony.

Certainly, this topic demands further investigation with other short story collections by the author in order to reveal global tendencies and build up the typology of images of migrants as different invariants representing cultural dialogues.

References

"Alice Munro: In Her Own Words". 2014. Interview by Stefan Asberg. In *The Nobel Prizes*, 323–337. Sagamore Beach: Watson Publishing International LLC.

Hancock, Geoff. 1987. "Alice Munro". In *Canadian Writers at Work: Interviews with Geoff Hancock*, 187–224. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

"Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity: Key Results from the 2016 Census". 2017. *Statistics Canada.Government of Canada.* https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/daily-quotidien/171025/dq171025b-eng.pdf?st=RyvXwMf-.

"Interview with Alice Munro". 2019. Interview by Adam Smith. *NobelPrize.org. Nobel Media AB 2019*. (19 July). https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/2013/munro/25382-interview-with-alice-munro/.

Markus, Andrew. 2014. "Attitudes to Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Australia". *Journal of Sociology* 50, no. 1, 10–22.

Merkin, Daphne. 2004. "Northern Exposure." *The New York Times* (24 October). https://www.nytimes.com/2004/10/24/magazine/northern-exposures.html.

Munro, Alice. 2004. *Runaway*. New York: Vintage International.

Said, Edward. 2000. *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

"The Nobel Prize in Literature 2013". 2019. *NobelPrize.org. Nobel Media AB 2019*. (19 July). https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/2013/summary/.

Vorontsova, Kristina. 2019. "Staryj svet glazami Novogo sveta: kompleks lokal'nyh tekstov v sbornike rasskazov Elis Manro 'Beglyanka' ". [Old World through the Eyes of the New World: a complex of local texts in Alice Munro's "Runaway" in literature and folklore]. In *Vostok–Zapad: prostranstvo lokal'nogo teksta v literature i fol'klore* [East–West: Local Text Space in Literature and Folklore], edited by Nadezhda Tropkina, 398–404. Volgograd: Peremena.

Zamyatin, Dmitry. 2003. *Gumanitarnaya geografiya: prostranstvo i yazyk geograficheskih obrazov* [Humanitarian Geography: Space and Language of Geographical Images]. Sankt--Peterburg: Alejteja.

Forum for Contemporary Issues
in Language and Literature
No. 1/2020

ISSN: 2391-9426
doi.org/10.34739/fci.2020.01.02

SHAMBHALA AS A SACRED PLACE: THE CENTRAL POINT OF THE "NOTHING SACRED" SERIES UNIVERSE

Marek Jastrzębski
ORCID: 0000-0002-0707-8818

Siedlce University of Natural Sciences and Humanities
Faculty of Humanities

Abstract
This article examines the duology of Elizabeth Ann Scarborough, consisting of the novels "Nothing Sacred" and "Last Refuge". The paper aims to present the function of the literary Shambhala in the context of the space-time model of the world presented by the books under study. Based on Mircea Eliade's comparative religion theory, the author puts forward and attempts to prove the hypothesis of a far-reaching similarity between the function of Scarborough's Shambhala in the narrative universe and the meaning of a sacred place in the archaic, religious model of reality.

Key words
Shambhala, science fiction, fantasy, sacred place, Elizabeth Ann Scarborough

Introduction*

"Nothing Sacred" (1991) and "Last Refuge" (1992) – two novels by Elizabeth Ann Scarborough[1], a popular American writer of fantasy and science fiction – are the subject of this paper. The books can be treated as a unified subject of study because

* This article has been written on the basis of chapter 3.1 of the author's monograph to be published under the title "The Idea of Sacred Time and Space in Elizabeth Ann Scarborough's *Nothing Sacred* and *Last Refuge*". The paper also includes some other short fragments of the monograph.

[1] Scarborough is a respected and experienced writer who deliberately experiments with many styles. She has published about 40 novels (including those in collaboration with Anne McCaffrey). She is also the author of poems, short fictions and essays. In addition, Scarborough worked as an editor, co-editor of anthologies, and a contributor to magazines and newspapers. Some of her novels are aimed mainly at younger readers, as in the case of her humorous, adventure fantasy from the 1980s. Scarborough has also written books on serious social problems, intended mainly for adults. The American author usually sets the storylines of her works in a fantastic alternate universe or in a magical version of the empirical world. Scarborough is probably the best-known for her "The Healer's War" (1988), a fantastic tale based on the author's experiences from the Vietnam War. For this novel in 1989, Scarborough received the Nebula Award from Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America (Kumar, 2007; Kies, 1996).

they constitute a duology, and their plot takes place in the same narrative universe invented by the author[2]. As with many non-mimetic texts, in Elizabeth Ann Scarborough's series of novels, the laws of time and space are specifically modified, and their proper understanding seems to be an important factor in the interpretation of this American author's works. In this article, we aim to present the function of the literary Shambhala – a hidden holy land – in the context of the space-time model of the world of the books under study.

Analysing the world presented in the "Nothing Sacred" series in terms of Mircea Eliade's religious studies, one can put forward a hypothesis about a far-reaching similarity between the function of Shambhala in this narrative universe and the meaning of a sacred place in the archaic, religious model of reality[3]. According to the famous Romanian scholar, a sacred place was an element binding the spatial and temporal aspect of the structure of the archaic *homo religiosus'* universe into a whole (Jastrzębski 2002, 25-30). Therefore, a confirmation of the hypothesis will allow Scarborough's Shambhala to be treated as a sacred place *par excellence* – the central point organising the space-time of the narrative world created by the author. It will also prove that modifications of the rules of time and space of the world presented in the "Nothing Sacred" series can be explained by referring to the analogy with the model of reality typical of archaic religious beliefs. Hence, confirmation of the above hypothesis will also allow us to establish the ontological basis for a possible subsequent analysis of the model of the world presented by Scarborough's "Tibetan duology".

It should be noted that Scarborough's novels give us relatively little information about Shambhala, or at least too little to deduce the function of this hidden holy land in the cosmological model of space-time on that basis. However, we can take advantage of the fact that Shambhala, as a mystical land hidden somewhere in the mountains of Tibet, is described quite accurately in the myths surrounding it, to which Scarborough refers many times in the "Nothing Sacred" series. Therefore, if the story told by the American author can be regarded as a continuation of the religious myth of Shambhala, then the missing information about this hidden holy land could be supplemented with what is known of its myth.

For the above reasons, we will begin our reflections on Scarborough's Shambhala by introducing the Eastern religious myth of a mysterious supernatural

[2] "Nothing Sacred" and "Last Refuge" are a series without an official designation. There are two conventions for naming this duology. The first calls it the "Nothing Sacred" series (The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction, 2018; ISDB, n.d.), using the title of the first book. The second convention, instead, refers to the place where the action of the novels is located. According to this tradition, the two following terms are used: the *Tibet* series (Fantastic Fiction, n.d.) and the "Tibetan books" (Scarborough own webpage, n.d.; FictionDB, n.d.). Below we will use all these terms interchangeably as well as utilising the name "Tibetan duology" that corresponds with the second convention mentioned.

[3] A comprehensive description of the Eliadean model of archaic religious worldview can be found in "Patterns in Comparative Religion" (Eliade, 1958).

land, hidden somewhere in the Tibetan Mountains. Then, we will present the theosophical modifications of this myth. Afterwards, we will consider in what sense fantastic novels referring to the Shambhala theme can be regarded as a continuation of its religious myth. In the next research phase, we will present how the Shambhala theme is applied in fantastic literature based on the example of Eliade's "The Secret of Dr. Honigberger"[4] and Hilton's "Lost Horizon" (1962). All of the above will be consolidated to provide a detailed and coherent picture of Shambhala in the "Nothing Sacred" series. After all the above research steps have been completed, we will consider the appropriateness of treating Shambhala as a sacred place *par excellence* – the central point of the universe of the "Tibetan duology" by Scarborough.

1. Shambhala in the myths of Eastern religion

The term Shambhala derives from Sanskrit and refers to the myth of the land of universal happiness. The mythical story of the kingdom of Shambhala begins with the tale of its King Sucandra, who came to Dhanyakataka in search of wisdom[5]. After the Buddha had passed on to him the teachings of Kalachakra (Sanskr. Circle of Time), Sucandra returned to Shambhala and wrote a sermon that became the basic text of the Tantra of the Wheel of Time (Bernbaum 1980, 233). Each of the King's successors ruled the land for a hundred years, and all the rulers descended from the Buddha's clan and were Bodhisattvas incarnations. Using the wisdom and the writings bequeathed by Sucandra, they taught and initiated their people in the mysteries of the Kalacakra, and under their enlightened authority the kingdom developed until it eventually became one of the most important centres of mystical teachings (Bernaubaum 1980, 234).

According to early Buddhist texts, Shambhala is located north of Bodh Gaya, a Buddhist temple in northern India, but since the kingdom is hidden, it is difficult to determine exactly where. The land is surrounded by mountains in such a way that nobody can see it from the outside, not to mention to gain access there. The journey to Shambhala is possible only through initiation and the use of special spiritual powers. One can say, therefore, that only those whom Shambhala "invites", so to speak, or those brought there by destiny may enter (Bernaubaum 1980, 6).

Rivers and minor mountain ranges divide the Shambhala area into eight regions in the shape of an octagonal lotus flower surrounded by a rosary of snowy

[4] "The Secret of Dr. Honigberger" was published in English with "Nights at Serampore" in the volume "Two tales of the occult" (Eliade, 1970).

[5] The presentation of the mythical story of Shambhala is based mainly on "The Way to Shambhala" by Bernbaum (1980), who synthesises various versions of the myth, supporting them by oral explanations and comments from Tibetan lamas. His version of transcribing Tibetan and Sanskrit terms is also used in the present considerations. A detailed analysis of the Kalacakra Tantra, including the problem of Shambhala and its history, can be found in the "Studies in the Kalacakra Tantra" by Hammar (2005).

mountains. Each of these eight regions contains twelve principalities. They are ruled by minor kings who owe their loyalty to the King of Shambhala. Their small kingdoms abound in cities with golden roofs on their buildings and parks filled with lush vegetation that never freeze over. Around the centre of the kingdom there is another (symmetric) circle of even higher mountains that shine with the crystalline glow of reflected sunlight. There, at the centre of the kingdom, lies Kalapa, the capital of Shambhala. To the east and west of the city are two beautiful lakes in the shape of a half-moon and a crescent moon, glittering with the precious stones and gems that fill them (Barnbaum 1980, 6-8).

Located in the centre of Kalapa, the King's palace is filled with radiant jewels that make the night almost as bright as day. Various types of crystals embedded in floors and ceilings regulate the temperature of the rooms, emitting cold or heat respectively. When the King sits on his golden throne (located in the centre of the palace), he has a magical jewel at his disposal that fulfils all of his wishes. The Monarch of Shambhala is surrounded by ministers, generals and numerous servants – all ready to carry out his orders. The King also has at his disposal horses, a stone made aircraft, elephants, and other means of transport (Bernbaum 1980, 8). In addition, his palace's warehouses contain countless treasures (including gold and jewels). It can be said that the King of Shambhala possesses enough power and wealth to be the king of the entire world (8).

The residents of the kingdom live in peace, harmony and prosperity. Their harvest is always abundant and their food tasty and nutritious. In Shambhala, all people are healthy and innately beautiful. Every inhabitant has great wealth (gold, jewels), but never has to use it. The laws of Shambhala are just and kind. There is no physical violence or imprisonment there. The inhabitants of this hidden sacred land do not even know the words "war" and "enmity". Many Tibetans consider Shambhala to be the heaven of the gods, while most lamas think of it a "Pure Land", a special kind of paradise designed only for those heading towards Nirvana (Bernbaum 1980, 9). The kingdom provides the conditions for rapid progress on the path to spiritual enlightenment. Whoever reaches Shambhala in life or is reborn in this sacred land will never return to a lower state of existence and either reach Nirvana in this life or immediately afterwards (8-10).

It seems like evil has no access to Shambhala at all. The happiness and joy of living there can compete with the happiness of the gods. Hence the name of this land, which simply means "the source of happiness" (Barnbaum 1980, 9). However, despite the qualities of Shambhala that bring it closer to the celestial world of divinity, it is also part of the empirical cosmos and, as such, is connected to the outer world (10). This can be seen especially in the context of Kalacakra's eschatological prophecy, which presents the cosmological function of the hidden kingdom, inextricably linked to its history and destiny.

According to the prophecy, for three thousand and two hundred years of virtual paradise in the Shambhala kingdom, the conditions in the outside world will gradually deteriorate. People will lose interest in religion and spirituality. Instead, they will turn to egocentrism, war and the desire to dominate others. Dishonesty, greed and unrestrained lust for power will eventually take over the outside world. After crushing the resistance of the remnants of Buddhism, the barbarians who follow the ideology of aggressive materialism will start fighting among themselves for global domination. All sacredness will then disappear from the entire world except for Shambhala. At some point, destruction and chaos will threaten even this sacred kingdom. Then the thirty-second Shambhala King, Rudra Cakrin, will rise from the throne and lead a powerful army of Shambhala warriors against the barbarians. Thus, in the last great battle, the evil king of the barbarians and his army will be destroyed (Barnbaum 1980, 22).

When the battle is over, Shambhala's rule will expand to the whole world, and thus there will be a "golden age" – greater than anything known from the history of humankind. Food will be available to everyone without any effort. There will be no disease or poverty, and all people will receive the gift of longevity. The great saints and wise men of the past will return to life to teach true wisdom, and many people will achieve enlightenment through Kalacakra practice. All living beings will make significant progress in spiritual development because the whole Earth in its "golden age" will become an extension of the kingdom of Shambhala (Barnbaum 1980, 23).

Apart from the Buddhist Shambhala myth presented above, there were similar stories in the East, including the Chinese story of the Hsi Wang Mu Palace, the Indian prophecy of Kalki[6] and the myth of Olmolungring known from Bon, the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet. According to Barnbaum, all these stories can be treated as variations of the same myth, but the Kalacakra version seems to be the most complete[7]. In his opinion, the core of the Shambhala myth is the story of a journey to a hidden sanctuary where the seeker can experience spiritual liberation. Reaching Shambhala results in a spiritual transformation and rebirth of the traveller, but ultimately also of the outside world (Barnbaum 1980, 103).

[6] Kalki is the final incarnation of the god Vishnu.

[7] Barnbaum argues that the myth of Olmolungring puts relatively little emphasis on the journey and the "apocalyptic war to come" that play such a great role in the Buddhist myth. According to the Bon prophecy, in about twelve thousand years, when religion is extinct in the outside world, the great King and Bon teacher will again come out of Olmolungring. However, unlike Rudra Cakrin, he will not fight in the final battle against the forces of evil; he will simply enlighten humankind with a new and revitalised form of old spiritual teachings (Bernbaum, 1980: 80). The Chinese myth about the Hsi Wang Mu Palace does not mention the golden age that will come, and the Indian prophecy of Kalki has little to say about Shambhala, its history, and the way to it (103). Because the myth of Shambhala in the version known from Kalachakra is its most complete version, we treat it here as the exemplary model.

2. The myth of Shambhala in the West

In the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, the myth of Shambhala became popular in Western culture. This phenomenon coincides with the renaissance of occultism and the associated obsession with the issue of secret powers that Tibetan lamas were supposed to possess. Western commentators have transformed the myth and adapted it to their intentions and expectations. Some saw in Shambhala, above all, an esoteric source of power that could be used politically and militarily (Berzin n.d.: under "Haushofer, the Thule Society, and Nazi Germany"). Others meanwhile, with the help of the Shambhala myth, wanted to add gravitas to their mystical and occult movements. In the latter trend, for example, the circle associated with the Theosophical Society founded by Helena Blavatsky should be included. In the theosophical interpretation, the myth of Shambhala was combined with stories of other legendary lands known to Europeans, such as Hyperborea, Lemuria, Atlantis and Thule (Berzin n.d.).

Another form of modification of Shambhala's myth was to link it with the story of the underground kingdom of Agharti, which was mainly thanks to the work "Beasts, Men and Gods" by Ferdinand Ossendowski (1922). It is an account of his journey through Outer Mongolia. Ossendowski wrote that he met several lamas there, who told him about Agharti, an underground kingdom located under Mongolia and ruled by the King of the World. According to their reports, when materialism destroys the world, a horrifying war will break out. At that time, the inhabitants of Agharti will appear at the surface of the Earth and help end the violence (Berzin n.d.: under "Ossendowski and Agharti"; Maclellan 1983, 61-72).

3. The myth of Shambhala in fantastic literature ("The Secret of Dr. Honigberger", and the "Lost Horizon")

In all the above-mentioned variants of the myth, Shambhala is perceived as a holy land that is difficult to reach but actually exists in the material world[8]. However, another issue is the application of the Shambhala theme in fantastic literature. In this case, the myth is used not to continue the story on a religious plane, but to create an imaginary universe of a novel. This raises the question of whether literary works using the Shambhala theme can be treated as a continuation of its religious myth.

Fantastic novels often use the myth-based discourse about the portrayed reality, which brings this type of literature close to true mythology. Nevertheless, literary references to religious mythologies do not serve the purpose of initiating the adept into the sacred reality. They are used only to stimulate imagination, to make it easier for the reader to immerse in the reality of the alternative world of a novel, to

[8] Many times expeditions have been organised to find the kingdom of Shambhala (see Berzin n.d.).

gain the belief that magical phenomena are really true there. This is a function analogous to that which mythology performs in relation to religious beliefs in the real world. We can, therefore, perceive the use of Shambhala's theme in fantastic literature as a continuation of its religious myth, but no longer referring to the real world, but only to the narrative universe of a novel. In other words, one cannot treat a contemporary novel's version of the Shambhala myth in religious categories, but only in literary ones. Nevertheless, we can find interesting variations of this myth in fantastic literature, and when studying the function of Shambhala in the narrative world of a novel, it is worth applying religious studies tools[9].

In "The Secret of Dr. Honigberger", Eliade presented Shambhala by referring to his religious studies knowledge of the myth known from Kalacakra, and its occult-theosophical variations. The story focuses on the search for Shambhala by Western occult practitioners. In the narrative, Shambhala and Agharta are treated as one land (Eliade 1970, 90, 111), which is located in the north of India and remains utterly invisible to the uninitiated (110). It can only be accessed by using supernatural powers achieved through advanced yoga practices (111).

In Eliade's story, Shambhala is the "green wonder amid the snow-covered mountains" (1970, 119). Its inhabitants have mastered the occult powers of yoga to such an extent that they more often use telepathy than their voices to exchange thoughts. They live in "quaint houses", and their bodies look as if they were "ageless" (119). If it had not been for the magical-mystical effort of the Shambhala people, the entire European continent would have been devastated by the demonic powers that the modern world had released since the Renaissance. Europe would share the fate of Atlantis by dying in the depths of the waters (119).

An interesting take on the Shambhala myth can be found in Hilton's "Lost Horizon". In comparison to the version known from the Kalacakra Tantra, here we are dealing with a whole series of transformations. In Hilton's novel, the term Shambhala does not appear even once. It is a story about Shangri-La, the Tibetan monastery hidden in an idyllic, magical valley, whose inhabitants live apart from the mess of civilisation, wars and struggle for domination. People living in Shangri-La have the gift of longevity. The land is hidden behind a snowy peak called Karakal (invented by Hilton), and only a few chosen ones have access to the path leading to it.

The land is ruled by the High Lama. As he explains to the protagonist of the novel, the purpose of Shangri-La's existence is to preserve the best of Eastern and Western culture for a period when people are possessed by a struggle for power,

[9] It is not surprising that writers use Shambhala as a literary theme, a synonym for paradise, or land of fantasy in general. For us, Shambhala is a symbol of the "lost world" – the result of the modern disenchantment of the world. Shambhala is one of the last magical places in which people of the Western secularised culture were inclined to believe to be true. Thus, the myth of Shambhala effectively stimulates the imagination of the reader, facilitates the creation of "faith" in the magic of the narrative world of the novel.

wealth and domination. When wars are over, and world powers destroy each other, the treasures saved in Shangri-La's hidden sanctuary will allow humanity to emerge from the ruins and build a new, better world (Hilton 1962, 191–193). In short, despite many transformations, the basic structure of the Shambhala myth is preserved in Hilton's novel.

4. "Nothing Sacred" series as a literary continuation of the religious myth of Shambhala

The religious vision of the ancient kingdom of Shambhala and its mythological history, reconstructed above, can be treated as the foundation on which Scarborough creates her own fictional Shambhala. In the Nothing Sacred series, this hidden sacred land is described as completely destroyed due to the ongoing global war. Nevertheless, Scarborough signals links between the Shambala of the "Tibetan duology" and its religious, ancient prototype. The reader discovers glimpses of Shambhala's ancient heritage in the memories of a few survivors of the former hidden kingdom, in extraordinary vivid dreams of the main heroine of the "Nothing Sacred", as well as in "historic finds". The mentioned facts allow us to present the mythological basis of the geography of the "Tibetan duology".

Scarborough creatively uses the religious myth of Shambhala, often rationalising some of its elements. For example, we learn that the golden roofs mentioned in the myth known from the Kalacakra Tantra only looked as if they were made of gold. In the "Tibetan duology", there is only one, and not two sacred lakes in Kalapa. However, despite some changes, the fictional version of ancient Shambhala was described by the American writer following the spirit of the source myth, i.e. as a land filled with beauty, richness of culture, and treasures.

Just as in the case of the mythological description of Shambhala's capital, in its fictional version, the most magnificent building of the entire mystical kingdom is located at its very centre. However, in the "Tibetan duology", this is not the King's palace, but a monastery. In the "Nothing Sacred" series, Kalapa is also not surrounded by a symmetric circle of higher mountains (the source myth), but is situated at the foothill of its guardian mountain, Karakal. These are elements taken from Hilton's "Lost Horizon". Just like the source myth, in Scarborough's novels, Shambhala is isolated from the outside world, protected by powerful magic and accessible only to the initiated. However, it is only in the "Tibetan duology" that this magic is reflected in the physically perceivable "force shield" marking the boundary of this hidden sacred land (Scarborough 1991, 324–325). The "Nothing Sacred" series uses the motif of Shambhala's connection to the outside world through a network of underground tunnels through which its power can be transmitted to some extent (Scarborough

1992, 19). It resembles the equation between Shambhala and Agharti in Ossendowski's book (1922).

It is also worth noting that the American author significantly changes the social system of Shambhala in comparison to its mythical prototype. The King of Shambhala, who was to lead the mystical army to victory over the barbaric materialism of the outside world, does not exist in the world created by Scarborough. The Shambhala of the "Tibetan duology", both in its ancient version and in its reborn form (i.e. as the "new" Shambhala community), does not feature the control of one over the other and is a kind of anarchistic utopia. However, this change is not fundamental in the light of the basic structure of the myth[10].

In short, Scarborough creates her own Shambhala based on the religious myth known from Kalachakra Tantra, but at the same time makes several modifications. For this purpose, she uses theosophical versions of the myth, Hilton's story of Shangri-La, as well as her own ideas. All the modifications to the source myth introduced in the "Nothing Sacred" series, however, do not violate the character of the religious theme of Shambhala; on the contrary, they are very skilfully inscribed in its mythological history.

5. In the context of the Shambhala prophecy: Scarborough's "Tibetan duology" as a story of death and the rebirth of the world

In her duology, Scarborough focuses on the second part of the religious story of the hidden kingdom, the times which in the source myth are described as the triumph of the forces of chaos and destruction, and the coming of Shambhala to help the outside world. The universe described in the "Nothing Sacred" series is influenced by the power of barbaric materialism and, as in the source myth, is heading towards a global war. Compared to the version known from Kalacakra's teachings in the "Tibetan duology", this war is even more severe. The world is almost completely destroyed by nuclear weapons. In a way, the war also destroys Shambhala, killing almost all of its inhabitants.

In the "Nothing Sacred" series, the prophecy known from Kalacakra is fulfilled, although differently than the one described in the source myth. The outside world dies as it sinks into apocalyptic chaos. From this chaos, a new beginning will be born for the world and humanity, unspoiled by the diseases of modern civilisation. People chosen by the spiritual guardian of Shambhala are sheltered within its borders. They rebuild Shambhala and its community, and then the people of the "new" Shambhala

[10] The "Nothing Sacred" series contains all the structural elements that Bernbaum treats as the core of the source myth of the hidden, holy land. It tells the story of people chosen by the guardian of Shambhala. After the horrors of war, they find a better life there, and their children (Mike and Chime) set off to help the outside world, which is dying as a result of the war caused by the people's dedication to barbaric materialism.

community will probably set out to populate the world again (Scarborough 1991, 333). In other words, the history of the world depicted in the "Nothing Sacred" series leads to the "new golden age" described by the source Shambhala myth[11].

6. Shambhala as a sacred place and the central point of the "Nothing Sacred" series narrative universe

In the light of the above considerations, we may conclude that the myth of Shambhala, in its source version, in its later modifications (occult and fictional) and finally in the variant of the "Nothing Sacred" series differ in some respects. However, these variations are only secondary, and beyond them, a coherent image of Shambhala emerges. Looking from a religious studies perspective, we can say that the function of Scarborough's literary Shambhala, as well as of its mythological prototype, can be understood in the context of the meaning of the category of sacred place in the archaic, religious model of the universe (postulated by Eliade).

In this paradigm, the world space is imagined as built concentrically around a place considered to be sacred *par excellence*, i.e. somewhere with a real connection with the supernatural power of the divine sphere of existence (Jastrzębski 2014, 45–46). Therefore, one can say that from the centre of the microcosm of archaic man, the power of the sacred emanates over the entire space inhabited by him. The closer to this centre, the greater the "power of influence" of the sanctity and so space then manifests more features of the sacred sphere of existence. Accordingly, the greater the distance from the centre, the weaker the influence of the sacred, and so the space gradually turns into chaos (Jastrzębski 2002, 26). This description is an excellent reflection of the spatial structure of the Shambhala in Scarborough's "Tibetan duology". The Karakal peak, Kalapa and its lake are located in the centre of the sacred magical land, and it is this place that manifests the most qualities of the sacred sphere of existence in the narrative world. This is why when Shambhala began to deteriorate (along with the growing forces of the chaos in the outside world), Kalapa remained its last inhabited place (Scarborough 1991, 287). Only in Kalapa was the power of Shambhala strong enough to keep plants growing continuously throughout the year.

In Eliade's theory, the border of archaic man's microcosm was the point perceived as the place where the forces of chaos begin to dominate over the sacred (Jastrzębski 2002, 26). Similarly, in the "Nothing Sacred" series, Shambhala's borderline is determined by the reach of its power. The demarcation point between the hidden holy land and the world outside is the "energy shield" protecting this region and its people from the destructive power of the chaos of the external, profane

[11] But we should remember that Scarborough only suggests the possibility of the "golden age" somewhere in the future, while the myth known from the Kalacakra Tantra presents it in categories of its historical necessity.

reality (Scarborough 1991, 331). For the people of Shambhala, crossing this border meant the end of the preservation from the destructive power of time (i.e. the loss of the gift of longevity). The "force field" also shielded the inhabitants of Shambhala from the war destroying the outside world. The land remained hidden, and when the entire external reality plunged into a nuclear Armageddon, the "energy shield" protected Shambhala from both the direct effects of nuclear explosions and the deadly consequences of radioactive radiation.

In the Eliadean model of the archaic religious worldview, the sacred place *par excellence*, as the centre of the world, is perceived as the point which connects all spheres of the cosmic existence and thus constitutes the pillar of the world (Jastrzębski 2002, 28). This concept can also be found in the structure of the narrative universe of the "Tibetan duology". In other words, in the reality portrayed in the "Nothing Sacred" series, the symbolism of Shambhala as the centre of the world also has its vertical counterpart. We can observe this in the "Last Refuge" when Scarborough describes the initiation ritual for children born in Shambhala. During the ceremony, the following statement is uttered:

> Know, O best beloved, that you are privileged to be the children of Shambala, which connects heaven and earth and which is located at the precise joining of the two (Scarborough 1992, 5).

Using Eliade's terminology, we would say that in the centre of Shambhala, there is a cosmic pillar, embodied as Karakal, a symbolic cosmic mountain. It connects the earthly sphere of existence with the realm of the sacred. Where these two connect, the power of the dimension of divinity emanates into the realm of mortals. In the world presented in Scarborough's "Tibetan duology", this power manifests itself particularly in Shambhala, ensuring, among other things, the gift of longevity to its inhabitants. As in the model postulated in Eliade's religious studies, so in the fictional world of the "Nothing Sacred" series, to the *axis mundi* region also belong the surroundings of the cosmic mountain, i.e. Kalapa, its sacred lake located at the base of Karakal, and – in the end – the whole Shambhala land.

Conclusion

Shambhala in the "Nothing Sacred" series universe functions as the central spot and the cosmic pillar that connects the sphere of celestial divinity with the terrestrial domain of mortals and with the chthonic land of posthumous life (underground regions). From this "middle point" the existence of the cosmos begins, and the power of the sacredness emanates to the whole space of the universe. As in the mythical

in illo tempore, in the holy place, the power of the sacred descends to the Earth to order chaos, so also in the apocalyptic times announced by the prophecy, in Shambhala, the divine power is supposed to come down to the world, to order chaos, and overcome the evil and materialism of the barbarian civilisation. As demonstrated above, in the "Nothing Sacred" series, this mythological pattern of world history has been preserved. Therefore, considering the matter both in terms of spatial and temporal structure, Scarborough's Shambala is a place of world-forming significance, analogous to the category of a sacred place in the archaic, religious model of reality. Thus, we can state that the hypothesis previously suggested is confirmed. Scarborough's Shambhala is a sacred place *par excellence* and, as such, is the central point organising the space-time of the entire world presented in the "Tibetan duology".

As a result, the specificity of the spatiotemporal rules of the world depicted in the "Nothing Sacred" series should not be interpreted just as a minor addition of magicality to the natural laws of the empirical reality, but as a reference to a different model of the universe, characteristic of archaic religiosity. Ontologically, space-time is organised here around Shambhala and its history, the sacred place *par excellence*, the centre of the universe, the point of connection of the sacred and the profane spheres of existence. This connection creates the possibility of miracles in Shambhala – phenomena exceeding the space-time limitations of the world of the profane. The above-mentioned finding can serve as the metaphysical foundation for any attempt to present a comprehensive model of the world depicted in Scarborough's "Tibetan duology".

References

Bernbaum, Edwin. 1980. *The Way to Shambhala: A Search for the Mythical Kingdom Beyond the Himalayas*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books.

Berzin, Alexander. n.d. "Mistaken Foreign Myths about Shambhala". – Study Buddhism. Berzin Archives e.V. Accessed October 9, 2018. https://studybuddhism.com/en/advanced-studies/history-culture/shambhala/mistaken-foreign-myths-about-shambhala.

Eliade, Mircea. 1958. *Patterns in Comparative Religion*. Translated by Rosemary Sheed. London and New York: Sheed & Ward.

Eliade, Mircea. 1970. *Two Tales of the Occult*. Translated by William Ames Coates. New York: Herder and Herder.

Fantastic Fiction. n.d. "Nothing Sacred". Accessed August 27, 2018. https://www.fantastic-fiction.com/s/elizabeth-ann-scarborough/nothing-sacred.htm.

FictionDB. n.d. "Elizabeth Ann Scarborough Series List". Accessed August 29, 2018. https://www.fictiondb.com/author/elizabeth-ann-scarborough~series-list~23282.htm.

Hammar, Urban. 2005. *Studies in the Kalacakra Tantra: A History of the Kalacakra Tantra in Tibet and a Study of the Concept of Adibuddha, the Fourth Body of the Buddha and the Supreme Unchanging*. Stockholm: Stockholms Universitet.

Hilton, James. 1962. *Lost Horizon*. London: Macmillan.

ISDB [The Internet Speculative Fiction Database]. n.d. "Summary Bibliography: Elizabeth Ann Scarborough". Accessed August 26, 2018. http://www.isfdb.org/cgi-bin/ea.cgi?1460.

Jastrzębski, Marek. 2002. "Symbolika archaicznego doświadczenia sacrum w ujęciu Mircei Eliadego". In Antoni Czyż, Jacek Kowzan (eds.), *Pogranicza i konteksty literatury*, 15–38. Siedlce: Wydawnictwo Akademii Podlaskiej.

Jastrzębski, Marek. 2014. *Wczesna filozofia grecka jako archeiczna droga do nieśmiertelności. Próba rekonstrukcji*. Białystok: Niepaństwowa Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Białymstoku.

Kies, Cosette. 1996. "Scarborough, Elizabeth Ann". In David Pringle (ed.), *St. James Guide to Fantasy Writers*, New York: St. James Press.

Kumar, Lisa. [ed.]. 2007. "Scarborough, Elizabeth Ann". In *Something About the Author. Facts and Pictures About Authors and Illustrators of Books for Young People*. Vol. 171, 153–171. Detroit: Thomson Gale.

Maclellan, Alec. 1983. *The Lost World of Agharti: the Mystery of Vril Power*. London: Corgi Books.

Ossendowski, Ferdinand. 1922. *Beasts, Men and Gods*. New York: E.P. Dutton and Company.

Scarborough, Elizabeth Ann. 1988. *The Healer's War: A Fantasy Novel of Vietnam*. New York: Doubleday.

Scarborough, Elizabeth Ann. 1991. *Nothing Sacred*. New York: Bantam Spectra Book.

Scarborough, Elizabeth Ann. 1992. *Last Refuge*. New York: Bantam Spectra Book.

Scarborough, Elizabeth Ann. n.d. "The Tibetan Books". Accessed August 31, 2018. http://scarbor9.wixsite.com /beadtime-stories/tibetan-books.

The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction. 2018. "Scarborough, Elizabeth Ann". Last modified August 31, 2018. http://www.sf-encyclopedia.com/entry/scarborough_elizabeth_ann.

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN'S CONFLICTING PERSPECTIVES ON ECOFEMINIST PRINCIPLES

Forum for Contemporary Issues in Language and Literature
No. 1/2020

ISSN: 2391-9426
doi.org/10.34739/fci.2020.01.03

Monika Holder
ORCID: 0000-0002-0599-8848

University of Warsaw
Institute of English Studies

Abstract

Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860–1935) was one of the most productive American writers of the turn of the century. She was an author of novels, short stories, non-fiction essays and poems, well known as an activist fighting for women's rights and a precursor of feminism. Gilman proposed a redefinition of the roles in domestic life and society, with women taking more prominence. The writer rejected the male dominant role prevailing in patriarchal society and supported other emancipation movements. Using the affinity of man and animals, Gilman initiated an ecofeminist discourse by presenting a different vision, and proposing new views on the assumptions that underpin her contemporary culture. In her feminist work on the equality of women, Gilman has repeatedly drawn attention to the overt display of cruelty against animals. While addressing their rights and freedoms, the writer emphasized the similarities between women and animals in the patriarchal system, both being treated in subhuman disregard against the privileged position of men. However, her attitude towards animals is not precise and the writer repeatedly formulates conclusions that are surprisingly contradictory to her own views. In her utopian novels, the writer emphasized the potential threat from animals to humans and even questioned the animals' overall significance. Gilman's views often clash with veiled anthropocentrism, and her ambivalent attitude to the issue of human-animal dependencies makes it impossible to reduce her views to one particular attitude. Her radical feminist views, focused primarily on women's empowerment and the fight against patriarchy, aimed for the overall transformation of society. However, the lack of consistency in Gilman's views is also manifested in her ambivalent attitude to the overall issue of equality. As she focused on improving the situation of women, Gilman simultaneously ignored the problems of other marginalized social groups, with an undercurrent of racism, class prejudice and xenophobia showing through her writings.

Key words

ecofeminism, feminism, animal rights, anthropocentrism, women's rights, racism, eugenics

Introduction

Ecofeminism is a broad and diverse contemporary social movement which examines both the relationship between women's oppression in patriarchal society, and the exploitation of the environment, asserting that a comprehension of one is supported by an understanding of the other (Davion 1994, 8). Ecofeminists contend that the

domination of nature by humans emanates from patriarchal societal structures, the same doctrine that validates the domination of women. Regardless of the differences between the many variants of ecofeminism, their common feature is the opposition to patriarchy as a mutual source of oppression, and a conviction in the interconnectedness between women and nature. Ecofeminists believe that all forms of oppression are linked, as Greta Gaard points out,

> ecofeminism's basic premise is that the ideology which authorizes oppressions as those based on race, class, gender, sexuality, physical abilities, and species is the same ideology which sanctions the oppression of nature. Ecofeminists call for an end to all oppressions, arguing that no attempt to liberate women (or any other group) will be successful without an equal attempt to liberate nature (Gaard 1993, 1).

The aim of ecofeminist philosophy is to reject hierarchy in nature and society, as well as to repudiate speciesism, which allows an elevated existence of human beings over animals. In this paper I will analyze selected works of Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935), whose ideas served as precursors to the ecofeminist movement. Gilman's revolutionary views concentrated principally on the equality of women and the fight against patriarchy, integrated with her endorsement of animal rights. In her writing she used an affinity between humans and animals, and she presented a new approach to the presumptions of her contemporary culture.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman was an influential turn of the century American feminist writer, lecturer, and social reformer and became one of the most prominent feminist theorists; through her novels, short stories, poems, non-fictional works and lectures promoting her arguments for social and economic equality of gender. In my article I will focus on some of the conflicting messages found in her writings regarding ecofeminism, specifically on gender equality and social structure. Gilman was ambitious with her convictions and quite purposeful with the intention behind her work, as she demonstrates on several occassion in her writing. For instance, she mentions in her autobiography that from her early years she was "already scheming to improve the world" (Gilman 1990, 21), and

> from sixteen I had not wavered from that desire to help humanity which underlay my studies. Here was the world, visibly unhappy and as visibly unnecessarily so; surely it called for the best efforts of all who could in the least understand what was the matter, and had any rational improvements to propose (Gilman 1990, 70).

Gilman's critical writings supporting the emancipation of women were one of the first late nineteenth century feminist texts that also touched upon animal rights (Donovan 1993, 173). In her works Gilman frequently used animal analogies primarily to promote her feminist ideas but also to speak out regarding the injustices and mistreatment of animals, viewed in society as inferior subjects compared to the privileged positions of man. Her work, particularly on the issues of feminism, animal rights, and criticism of patriarchy forms what many refer to as the preliminary arguments that eventually formed the concept of ecofeminism (Deegan and Podeschi 2001, 19).

However, from a conceptual perspective there are numerous contradictions in Gilman's thinking, making it impossible to classify her views into a clear-cut ideology. Although she strongly promoted gender equality, she focused her attention solely on the experiences of white, middle- and upper-class women, to whom she was a peer, disregarding other female demographic groups. Likewise, despite her support for a progressive view on animals, Gilman's approach towards animal rights was also marked by ambivalence. For example, while she harshly condemned the cruel treatment of animals in the fashion industry; concurrently she emphasized and endorsed anthropocentric dominance over animals. Lastly, regardless of her progressive positions fostering feminist ideology, her works were not free of racism and class prejudice that are rejected by contemporary social norms, much less from an ecofeminist perspective. Gilman was masterful at describing how women's lives were impacted by social and economic bias; however, her own biases came through in her writings; she challenged patriarchal dichotomies but at the same time she constructed hierarchies and voiced her support for anthropocentrism, and racial eugenics. The conflicting opinions and ambiguities created in Gilman's writings raise the question of their intentionality. Were they a byproduct of the times and the result of the unintentional blindness and as such mirrored a similar struggle waged by other progressive feminist critics such as Mary Sanger? Or were they a manifestation of a deep conflict within the authoress herself, who wavered between support for a new progressive society and allegiance to the older power structures? This article will not clear Gilman's contradictions but will confront them head on. It will focus on Gilman's utopian novels "Herland" (1915) and "Moving the Mountain" (1911), as well as review some of her non-fictional writing.

1. Oppression across species

In her contemporary ecofeminist analyses of the joint oppression of women and animals, Lori Gruen argues that both categories,

> 'woman' and 'animal' serve the same symbolic function in patriarchal society. Their construction as dominated, submissive 'other' in theoretical discourse, (whether explicitly stated or only implied) has sustained human male dominance (Gruen 1993, 61).

Gilman's perspectives on this linked oppression are concurrent with today's ecofeminist philosophy as she saw a clear connection between the cruelties faced by exploited animals and the oppression of women, and viewed these oppressions as highly interconnected rather than separate phenomenon.

Gilman formulated a compelling connection between the way in which women and animals were treated in the male dominated patriarchy. In her non-fictional writing, she describes nonhuman animals as "creatures" similar to women in suffering, locked in the same patriarchal framework that justifies the subjection of women and endorses exploitation of nonhuman animals and nature. Arguing that patriarchal structure constrained the personal growth and financial independence of women in "Women and Economics" (1898), Gilman often refers to animals to illustrate that women and animals hold analogous positions in their socio-cultural status in relation to the advantaged station of men. To illustrate the subordination and exploitation of animals and women, Gilman invokes domesticated animals and compares them with other free animals, outside of human control. For example, in "Women and Economics" she presents the massive exploitation of the dairy milk cow, created through selective breeding by humans, for the service of humans, and then compares it to a wild cow:

> The wild cow is a female. She has healthy calves, and milk enough for them; and that is all the femininity she needs. Otherwise than that she is bovine rather than feminine. She is a light, strong, swift, sinewy creature, able to run, jump, and fight, if necessary. We, for economic uses, have artificially developed the cow's capacity for producing milk. She has become a walking milk machine, bred and tended to that express end, her value measured in quarts (Gilman 1998, 23).

Gilman recognizes the similar experience of *femaleness* between the different species, both as subjects to exploitation and violence. Distant from anthropocentric associations, Gilman's comparison of women and cows clearly coincides with freeing women from their patriarchal dependencies, establishing women's rights to control their own sexuality and reproductive system, as well to bear and raise children. The cow, dragged out from her natural environment is kept in captivity and violently controlled, and her reproductive system manipulated against her nature and instincts. The reproductive freedom of women and animals are subjected to a similar form of oppression. Gilman's critique anticipates that of ecofeminists. In a manner

evoking that of Gilman, twenty-first century author and animal rights advocate Joan Dunayer notes:

> the dairy cow is exploited as female body. Since the cow's exploitation focuses on her uniquely female capacities to produce milk and 'replacement' offspring, it readily evokes thoughts of femaleness more generally. Bearing with it a context of exploitation, the cow's image easily translates to women (Dunayer 1995, 13).

The issue of the abuse of animals by the dairy industry is addressed further by Gilman in her utopian novel "Herland". The novel features a society consisting exclusively of women, who abstain from using animal products. Herlanders are unable to understand "the process which robs the cow of her calf, and the calf of its true food" (Gilman 1998, 40) and perceive it as a horrific violation of both motherhood and animal ethics, as well as outright violence.

Gilman clearly viewed the oppression of animals in patriarchal society in the same light she saw inequalities faced by women; men abused the power to control both to suit their purposes. She consequently advocated fundamental reforms to stop injustices, and dismantle the patriarchal system of domination. In her poem "Why Nature Laughs" (1890), she uses a figure of a personified "ancient woman", "Grandma Nature", to intentionally assault society, especially mankind, for inflicting injuries upon nature. "Grandma Nature" identifies with women and points out the negative aspects of the male dominated world. During her conversation with a male narrator she expresses her deep emotions; laughs, and then explodes with anger when she talks about the misfortunes she considers that humans have brought upon themselves:

> She was laughing there more wildly
> Than I had ever dreamed.
> At first she only sat and shook,
> And then she rolled and screamed (Gilman 1996, 95-96).

Nature has a dominating voice; she is all-knowing of mankind's rights and wrongs. Nature elucidates that the imprudence of men and women led them to find doomed solutions instead of fixing the underlying problems to improve their lives. Rather than concentrate on natural joys, humans are responsible for the pitiful condition of society that Grandma Nature feels could be easily remedied.

Building on this comparative perspective, Gilman viewed the world of wild animals as equal between male and female, with both genders having their independence and crucial roles for propagation of the species. She juxtaposed the

animal world with human civilization built on male dominance. Since the animal world does not have the same social structure as the human world, Gilman drew patterns from the animal kingdom to imitate in human culture. The rules that applied in the animal world did not impose shackles on females to restrict their freedom. In "Women and Economics" one of her most often cited quotations states that as humans we are "the only animal species in which the female depends on the male for food, the only animal species in which sex-relation is also economic relation" (Gilman 1998, 3). She points out that unlike animals, humans are dependent on social conditions, and the male-dominated social environment shapes human life enormously. Similarly, in her poem "Females", Gilman compares women to independent female animals and her argument is that women could be as independent as their animal counterparts; however, that is not the reality. Animals in her poem represent a range of species, (fox, hen, whale, eagle) and what they have in common across all the species is that females are free and equal to males; while only the human woman is dependent and subservient.

2. Animal Rights and Ethics

Gilman often employed animal symbolism to allude to female oppression and exploitation, as well as directly show empathy for nonhuman animals, also discriminated upon by the patriarchal system. In her utopian novel "Moving the Mountain", Gilman goes to great lengths to speak against cruel and abusive practices such as the imprisonment of animals in menageries, hunting (depicted as a violent form of male recreation), animal slaughter for the food and fashion industries, as well as illnesses and defects arising from the inbreeding of animals. As the story's protagonist, Nellie, explains to her brother, John, visiting the female utopia, "people do not think it is a pleasure now to watch animals in pain" (Gilman 2015, 146). In a new female-run country, exploitative practices that led to inflicting suffering on animals have been abolished. However, Gilman's overall views towards animals is somewhat ambiguous, with conflicting messages found among her numerous writings; most notable is Gilman's more or less explicit anthropocentrism. Lori Gruen lists two types of anthropocentrism: "inevitable anthropocentrism" and "arrogant anthropocentrism", both of which are applicable to Gilman's views towards animals. Inevitable anthropocentrism relates to the situation when humans retain their superior perspectives but still acknowledge and appreciate the perspective of other species, showing a certain level of empathy. Arrogant anthropocentrism is the chauvinistic perspective featuring a sense of human superiority, closed to any concern for the interests or rights of others. Some of Gilman's statements indicate a chauvinist attitude towards animals, which "elevates the human perspective above all others" (Gruen 2015, 24) and placed humans at the peak of superiority.

Even if the protagonists in "Moving the Mountain" seek to avoid the suffering of animals, there is still clear evidence of mistreatment as well as many ambiguities regarding the role and status of animals in Gilman's utopia. The protagonists explain, for example, that women keep a certain number of animals in laboratories for use in scientific testing when it would place humans at risk. The diet of the citizens of the utopian country features animal protein with every village operating their own pastures and dairies. Still the level of meat consumption has been greatly reduced compared to the standards of Gilman's time. At this point it is worth emphasizing that Gilman's position on meat consumption changed within a decade and evolved from the acceptance of a low level of animal protein to that of complete vegetarianism. In "Herland", another utopian novel published four years after "Moving the Mountain", the society follows a diet completely free of any animal products and resembling today's vegan diet, supported by the ecofeminist movement. Veganism constitutes one of the principle frontiers of the ecofeminist movement. One of the main champions of ecofeminism, Josephine Donovan stresses that "feminism must take a stand against animal suffering and exploitation, including the consumption of meat by humans" (Donovan 1995, 228), whereas ecofeminist author Carol J. Adams proclaims that the "eating of animals is the most pervasive form of animal oppression in the Western world, representing as well the most frequent way in which most Westerners interact with animals" (Adams 1993, 196).

In "Moving the Mountain", the presence of animals in cities is very limited as their domestication is forbidden. As such, the practice of breeding specific races of dogs no longer exists and cats are seen as a general nuisance because they kill birds which are viewed as essential to farming operations. The population of both species is greatly reduced compared to reality and they are relegated to life only in rural areas. The inhabitants of the novel's utopian society only keep animals that are deemed to be useful for humans; reflecting Gilman's anthropocentrism as she essentially acknowledged human superiority over animal life. Her utopia values some forms of nature over others, with tight control over animals and the extermination of certain species viewed as an outright danger to humans, such as tigers and wolves. Regarding such species, the protagonist, Nellie, is not concerned about their fate but rather shows a sense of relief when speaking about exterminated tigers: "As a matter of fact, I don't think there are any left by this time; I hope not" (Gilman 2015, 147). Asked by her brother if they exterminated whole species she responds positively: "Why not? Would England be pleasant if the gray wolf still ran at large? We are now trying, as rapidly as possible, to make this world safe and habitable everywhere", for human needs (Gilman 2015, 147). These examples show a clear departure from Gilman's activist messages conveyed in other writings and condemning animal cruelty and hunting, described as a "relic of barbarism" (Gilman

2015, 148). The utopia depicted in "Moving the Mountain" turns a blind eye to human ruthlessness in the wake of a wide spread policy of controlling the animal species.

A similarly disturbing form of anthropocentrism is depicted in the pages of "Herland" as the inhabitants of this utopia modify nature to meet their needs. There are no domesticated animals, except for cats, not because of any specific concern for animal rights but rather that animals were eliminated because they took space away from agricultural development needed for humans. Likewise, in "Moving the Mountain", there is a lack of detail or description in how the unwanted species were eradicated. What the reader encounters are only euphemisms such as: "I don't think there are any left by this time" (tigers) (Gilman 2015, 147), "exterminated" (Gilman 2015, 147), "we are now trying, as rapidly as possible, to make this world safe and habitable everywhere" (gray wolves) (Gilman 2015, 147), "there are no animals kept in cities anymore" (Gilman 2015, 68), "we keep very few" (cats) (Gilman 2015, 151). Gilman seems to purposefully avoid discussion of the actual extermination methods, the details of which, most likely, would have evoked the slaughter of animals and the hunting and trapping practices she detested and vehemently opposed.

Gilman's ambivalence extends not only to the control of animals but also to the practice of the animal selective breeding. In her short story "When I Was a Witch" (1910), Gilman criticized the selective breeding practices for lapdogs as it represents an extreme example of men's manipulation of nature, creating living beings wholly dependent upon their creators for their existence. However, the "Herland" protagonists use the same practice of selective breeding for the cats that they have chosen to remain as their only domesticated urban animal. Despite their diet based on no animal products and overall disregard for livestock, Herlanders have a systematic program for the selective breeding of cats exclusively for human advantage. Gilman's anthropocentric tendencies show again as she writes that cats are bred to promote the most desired traits for new offspring; they kill mice and moles, but not birds. Additionally, the cats are affectionate and devotedly attached to their human owners and they are quiet so as to not disturb children.

Yet another set of mixed messages lies in "When I Was a Witch". The protagonist discovers that she possesses supernatural abilities and powers to make her wishes become reality when she encounters circumstances she feels are unjust. When she sees a horse being beaten, she wishes that the horse feels no pain, but that the pain should be felt by the abuser. The wish becomes true, and the horse owner starts to beat himself with his own whip. However, when she sees the suffering she perceives in lapdogs and urban housecats, she does not wish ill upon the owners and breeders, but rather wishes for the speedy death of the animals, displaying an extreme way of improving the situation of animals in the mind of the narrator, and Gilman's alter ego.

Despite her many writings speaking out against the cruelty and oppression of animals, Gilman has a conflicting undercurrent of anthropocentrism across her body of work. She condemns the cruelty and suffering that animals may experience at the hands of humans, at the same time continuing to place humans in a greatly superior position of species hierarchy. This anthropocentrism tarnishes a neat picture of Gilman as protofeminist, and renders a smooth reception of Gilman's ecological messages difficult.

3. Animals in Fashion

Another aspect of Gilman's ambivalence is her attitude towards exploitation of animals in the fashion industry, demonstrating that she is both progressive, but also locked in the patriarchy she fights against. Gilman viewed fashion as a product of patriarchal society, reinforcing gender stereotypes and dramatically restricting women. Lori Gruen points out that cultural patterns of female attractiveness are useful tools of manipulation by the fashion industry and strengthen destructive stereotypes since

> wearing the skin of dead animals empowers women, we are told. But, again, all it does is reduce women to objects who inadvertently serve the profit and pleasure interests of men. In order to obtain their skins, animals are either trapped in the wild or raised on ranches (Gruen 1993, 71).

While accusing the fashion industry for exploitive practices towards animals - it treats women and animals as "manipulative objects" (Gruen 1993, 71) in the same patriarchal framework fostering the subordination of women and exploitation of nonhuman animals.

Gilman' views against the animal abuse in fashion are detailed in her essays collection "The Dress of the Women. A Critical Introduction to the Symbolism of Clothing" (1915). The theme of animal suffering is persistent there, making suffering not only the quality of human beings but also nonhuman animals as well. In her essays, Gilman clearly points out that while men are guilty of cruelty towards animals, fashion-conscious women are simultaneously responsible for being "ignorant of true beauty; ignorant of the suffering caused by their demands; ignorant of the waste involved in supplying them; and indifferent to all these considerations" (Gilman 2002, 88). Further, she opines that women are consequently disregarding the fact that millions of animals are killed in the service of producing furs and other luxury animal-based products. Gilman treated fashion as a means to manifest who we are and how we want to be treated. She pointed out that decorations and clothes have a symbolic meaning and convey symbolic status and construct social appeal.

Simultaneously, Gilman was a propagator of the utilitarian use of clothes. In analyzing women's fashion, Gilman constantly called for a change in women's clothing, which she thought should be above all "useful, beautiful, economical, allowing to full personal expression" (Gilman 2002, 101) arguing that Victorian fashion constrained women's health. She asserted that most of women's clothes such as tightly laced corsets, shoes with high heels, or long and heavy dresses can provoke physical injuries and have no reasonable values, they are worn for only one reason, which is sex distinction. She contrasted this type of fashion to the animal world, in which males are more colorful and attractive and their external qualities help to draw the attention of the opposite sex (Gilman 2002, 68). In the matter of fashion, Gilman accused women of exorbitant replication of sexual stereotyping and gender bias.

However, Gilman's dialogue on animal rights and freedoms includes contradictions in the basic arguments behind the acceptance of animals as sentient beings. For example, in "Herland" Gilman's female protagonists show their detachment from animal suffering while speaking with their male visitors about animals used in fashion, and they even show a degree of curiosity to learn more about these customs. In "The Dress of the Women", Gilman accuses women of ignorance in their choices to wear animal-based fashion: "Have they no imagination? Do they deliberately refuse to visualize even once the tragedy that takes place to provide one garment to feed their vanity? Tragedy!" (Gilman 2002, 85). Meanwhile in the same work, she displays a complete indifference for animals being shot by firearms,

> For an animal to be killed, promptly, by a well-aimed shot, is no great evil. He has no period of terror or of pain. But an animal caught in a steel trap suffers the extremity of physical agony and of blind, limitless terror, for as long as his life can hold out. That this should be done at all can only be defended when human life is at stake, and there is no other way to save it. It is done, for the most part to provide women with furs (Gilman 2002, 85-86).

She prioritizes the method of killing animals, negating one method and accepting another. She therefore places animals outside the category of sentient objects, drawing conclusions that the death of the animal is not the primary concern, but rather the way in which it is deprived of life is what matters most. Here is where Gilman departs from contemporary nature-conscious feminism. Ecofeminism holds that an entity ending the life of another entity performs a morally reprehensible act; rejecting one method of killing the animal as cruel, and accepting the other is an assumption contrary to this principle of ethics. Gilman's statement has become a measure of the moral assessment of the act of killing, justifying the act when it takes into account the consequences upon humans. Her vocal concern for animal rights lies

in contrast with her indifference about animal fate. Gilman's anthropocentrism indicated in placing humankind in a privileged position, making one species superior to another, replicates the hierarchies of the patriarchal system that was created on such dualism. By reinforcing the hierarchy between nature and humanity, Gilman displays Gruen's "arrogant anthropocentrism".

4. Race and Eugenics

While her criticisms of patriarchal society were ground-breaking, there were clear boundaries to her progressive ideals that must be addressed. For all the progressive views Charlotte Perkins Gilman had on the equality of women, gender roles and animal rights, her strong views supporting eugenics and racism are correspondingly controversial and repugnant; creating an air of confusion due to the contradictory view of the explicitly anti-racist and anti-ethnocentric ecofeminist ideals.

Gilman was born into a wealthy upper-class family and her aunt was Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1852). Despite the overriding anti-slavery message of "Uncle Tom's Cabin", the story features many derogatory racial stereotypes and does very little to argue against racial bias. Gilman looked up to her aunt and was influenced by her aunt's interest in abolishing slavery as well as the racial themes in her aunt's writings and family discussions. As such, race became a recurrent theme in Gilman's work; it entered both fiction and non-fiction, as both the primary subject in some writings, or as a subordinate topic in others (Knight 2000, 159-160). Additionally, Gilman's racial biases were aggravated by what she saw as a flawed immigration policy in the United States. Her repulsion revealed itself as she described, in an essay published in 1923 "Is America Too Hospitable?", the "swarming immigrants" that lack the "progressiveness, ingenuity [and] kindliness of disposition which form a distinct national character" (qtd. in Knight 2000, 162). Likewise, in her poem "The Melting Pot", Gilman asserts that the uncontrolled addition of so many immigrants to the multicultural society of the United States can result in the destruction of the nation (Knight 2000, 162).

In "Moving the Mountain", Gilman designs her own utopian solution to the "immigration problem" whereby no immigrant is refused entry to the country, but rather all must go through a compulsory socialization program, where immigrants must show adherence to a set of social and educational standards before they can enter a community for residence. As described by Łuczak,

> What Gilman envisions as an immigrant-friendly state topples into a totalitarian regime. Gilman's new American immigration policy violates the newcomer's civil rights, dehumanizes them and denies them the right to rebellion. The immigrants

> join the ranks of 'the others' whose humanity is not a given but has to be achieved and depends on the pronouncement of those who know better (Łuczak 2015, 135).

Gilman's nativist ideas presented in her utopian novel spilled over into her opinion essays addressing the immigration policy of the United States and her suggestions for change to the policies. Gilman used her utopian fiction as a proxy for her growing distinction between Americans of Anglo descent and immigrants recently arrived from Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe. Gilman's utopia catered to the races she favored as her protagonists, while disregarding and condescending the issues faced by others she labelled as "strangers" and "savages" (Łuczak 2015, 128).

Gilman's strong racial bias was founded not only on her family upbringing and the popular social discourse prevalent in turn of the century America; but also furthered through her belief in eugenics, supported by the ever-increasing study of Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory and other turn of the century social scientists. Gilman strongly believed in Darwin's theories on evolution, considering that development on an individual basis can contribute to the future improvement of the species and race. Gilman's appreciation for evolutionary theory guided her to embrace eugenics, which was gaining popularity during this time. In the early 1900s, the United States went through a period of great enthusiasm for the resolution of social problems through development of scientific solutions, and eugenics was viewed as a popular instrument for this purpose. At the same time, early concepts around feminism were developing and Gilman used the concepts of eugenics in combination with feminism to redefine the roles of women in reproduction and motherhood, for the advancement of humankind. Additionally, Gilman was a strong proponent of the ideas from social scientist Lester Ward, whose evolutionary ideas incorporated a view of the female as primary to introduction of evolutionary changes. Ward felt the female was the key catalyst in driving species advancement. His opinion was that as civilization developed, patriarchy had come to replace the matriarchy that was prevalent in nature. Ward felt that a return to matriarchy would result in a more healthy society (Łuczak 2015, 104). Gilman latched on to this gynocentric chain of reasoning to support her own social commentary regarding race, eugenics and gender roles.

Gilman also felt strongly that the advances she sought in race advancement were strongly founded in the roles and responsibilities held by mothers in society. In "Women and Economics", Gilman introduces her concept of Social Motherhood, whereby she argues that child bearing and rearing are not simple functions of nature, but should be treated as important social responsibilities to further and improve humankind. Increasingly, Gilman's prose focused even more narrowly on race, stating that women have a key role to "improve the race by improving the individual" (Gilman 1998, 88). She furthered this concept in "Herland", where the role of mothers is

described as "Conscious Makers of People" (Gilman 2013, 55), and she supported the notion of women using their best capabilities to specialize among the roles typically associated with motherhood, from child bearing to feeding, rearing and education. Trained female experts use their specialized skills to nurture, raise, and educate the children in a collective approach, for the betterment of the race.

Gilman's eugenic ideal is the key feature of her female population. She proudly boasts of the obvious Aryan bloodlines in her characters, and the clear superiority they hold over the "savage" (Gilman 1998, 6) inhabitants of neighboring territories. The advanced social progress shown by Herlanders is possible through their willing efforts to "make" the best offspring through the practice of eugenics. But the very concept of racial distinction and class hierarchy is anathema to the ecofeminist struggle against all power structures who use such distinctions to promote their own ideologies built on the subjugation of others.

Conclusions

Charlotte Perkins Gilman was indisputably outspoken in many of the topics she addressed. Her legacy in the development of the feminist movement and contributions toward ecofeminism are extremely influential. Gilman was undeniably forthright in her criticism and condemnation of the patriarchal structure and oppressive male dominance. She proposed a radical revision of traditional gender roles and called for broader social reforms to improve women's lives and their rights to independence. While advocating women rights, she opposed the mistreatment of animals and endorsed dialogue on animal rights. Gilman highlighted the moral obligations that humans have towards animals, very often presenting women and animals as similarly oppressed.

At the same time, we can find many conflicting messages among Gilman's works that create a sense of ambiguity and confusion as to the true nature of her opinions. Despite being a strong advocate for women's rights, Gilman neglected issues of class, race and ethnicity. She rejected the male dominant role in patriarchal society and supported other emancipatory movements, nevertheless she held many xenophobic and bigoted beliefs. Her calls for equality are at odds with her criticism based on race and class. She was a strong advocate for animal rights, but on the other hand her views endorsed human dominance over animals and nature and was an advocate of traditional anthropocentrism.

From the perspective of ecofeminism, Gilman's views tend to be very human-centric, and she places a higher priority on issues regarding gender compared to nature. Despite her focus on connections between animals and women (interconnected by the same oppression), gender was her central interest. She looked at animals through sexist ideologies, reflecting the dualism of binary oppositions that

she fought so hard to deconstruct through her feminist theories. Her concentration on the improvement of the socio-economic situation for women, while ignoring or criticizing other social and ethnic groups, and maintaining an anthropocentric view towards animals make Gilman a problematic foremother of progressive ecological and feminist thought and evidence a difficult origin of the American ecofeminist movement.

References

Adams, Carol J. 1993. "The Feminist Traffic in Animals". In *Ecofeminism. Women, Animals, Nature*, edited by Greta Gaard, 195-218. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Davion, Victoria. 1994. "Is Ecofeminist Feminist?". In *Ecological Feminism*, edited by Karen J. Warren, 8-28. London: Routledge.

Deegan, Mary Jo, and Christopher W. Podeschi. 2001. "The Ecofeminist Pragmatism of Charlotte Perkins Gilman". In *Signs,* Vol. 23, No. ++1, (Spring 2001): 19-36. http://jstor.org.

Donovan, Josephine. 1995. "Comments on George's 'Should Feminists Be Vegetarians?'". In *Signs*, Vol. 21, No. 1, (Autumn, 1995): 226-229. http://jstor.org.

Dunayer, Joan. 1995. "Sexist Words, Speciesist Roots". In *Animals & Women. Feminist Theoretical Explorations*, edited by Carol J. Adams and Josephine Donovan, 11-31. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Gaard, Greta. 1993. "Living Interconnections with Animals and Nature". In *Ecofeminism. Women, Animals, Nature*, edited by Greta Gaard, 1-12. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. 2013. *Herland*. London: Aziloth Books.

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. 1991. "Is America Too Hospitable?". In *Charlotte Perkins Gilman: A Nonfiction Reader*, edited by Larry Ceplair. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. 2015. *Moving the Mountain*. London: FB&c Ltd.

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. 2002. *The Dress of Women. A Critical Introduction to the Symbolism and Sociology of Clothing*, edited by M.R.Hill and M.J.Deegan. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. 1990. *The Living of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. 1996. "The Melting Pot". In *The Later Poetry of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, edited by Denise D. Knight. London: Associated University Presses, Inc.

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. 1980. "When I Was a Witch". In *The Charlotte Perkins Reader*, edited by Ann J. Lane, 21–31. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. 1996. "Why Nature Laughs". In *The Later Poetry of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, edited by Denise D. Knight. London: Associated University Presses, Inc.

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. 1998. *Women and Economics. A Study of the Economic Relation Between Men and Women as a Factor in Social Evolution*. Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc.

Gruen, Lori. 1993. "Dismantling Oppression: An Analysis of the Connection Between Woman and Animals". In *Ecofeminism. Women, Animals, Nature*, edited by Greta Gaard, 60-90. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Gruen, Lori. 2015. *Entangled Empathy: An Alternative Ethic for Our Relationship with Animals*. New York: Lantern Books.

Knight, Denise D. 2000. "Charlotte Perkins Gilman and the Shadow of Racism". In Vol. 32, No. 2 of American Literary Realism, (Winter, 2000): 159–169. http://jstor.org.

Łuczak, Ewa B. 2015. *Breeding and Eugenics in the American Literary Imagination. Heredity Rules in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stetson, Charlotte Perkins. 1895. "Females". In *This Our World, And Other Poems*. San Fransisco: James H. Barry and John H. Marble, Publishers.

Warren, Karen. 1994. "Introduction". In *Ecological Feminism*, edited by Karen Warren, 1–7. London: Routledge.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AS A FAMILY IN W. SOMERSET MAUGHAM'S "THE FORCE OF CIRCUMSTANCE"

Forum for Contemporary Issues in Language and Literature
No. 1/2020

ISSN: 2391-9426
doi.org/10.34739/fci.2020.01.04

Krzysztof Kosecki
ORCID: 0000-0002-6163-3720

University of Łódź
Institute of English

Abstract

Set in the context of early 20th century Malaya, W. Somerset Maugham's (1874–1965) short story "The Force of Circumstance" (1926) concisely represents the conflicting attitudes to sex and family life among the British colonial employees. The narrative, which develops around the main hero Guy's relationships with his English wife Doris and an unnamed Malay concubine, reflects a contrast between the attitudes to sex dominant in the official imperial ideology of that time and the practice in the colonies. The frameworks of narratology and Cognitive Poetics make it possible to read the complicated situation of the main hero as an extended metaphor of the British Empire, in which formal and informal family relations map onto the relations between Great Britain and the dependent states. Though the British imperial ideology used the concept of family to strengthen the relations between the metropole and the colonies, Maugham's story represents the Empire as a not-so-happy family – a result of circumstances rather than of mutual bond and consent.

Key words

British Empire, concubinage, family, ideology, marriage, metaphor, narrative, prototype, sexuality

Introduction

W. Somerset Maugham (1874–1965) never worked in the medical profession for which he was trained. Instead, he served as an agent for the British Intelligence during the First World War. After the War, he travelled extensively to the South Seas and Asia, visiting British colonies in the region and getting first-hand experience of their life (Drabble and Stringer 1987, 361). Maugham became a successful and popular author of plays, novels, and short stories. As a writer, he combined "an economical and exact means of fixing the sense of place, often exotic places; and an equally economical skill in realizing the crisis of the story" (Ross 1917, 356) with "permanent sense of the nature and ends of human existence" (Muir 1926, 30).

Focusing on "The Force of Circumstance", one of the stories that deal with the complex issues of sexuality, race, and family in the British Empire, the present paper has two principal aims. First, it reads the story as a matter-of-fact image of sexuality

and family life in British Malaya and shows the contrast between the official imperial directives and the practice of the colonial employees. Secondly, basing on the frameworks of narratology and Cognitive Poetics, it attempts to uncover the meanings that go beyond the sequence of events constituting the simple and economic narrative. Cognitive metaphor, which is not "merely a matter of words", but also "a matter of [...] all kinds of thought" and a tool "indispensable not only to our imagination but also to our reason" (Lakoff and Turner 1989, xi), facilitates an interpretation of the story as a questioning of the idea of the imperial family of nations, which was present in the official discourse of the time.

1. The Background: Sexuality and Family in the British Empire

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the attitudes to sex had a profound impact on the lives of the British colonial elites and the subjects of the Empire. Sexual relations in the colonies took various forms. There were white families living together, which had regular conjugal sex. Less stable patterns were related to migration. Enslavement of the colonial subjects, as well as temporary sexual relations with local women, were also common (Stoler and Cooper 1997a, 5). The attitudes thus ranged between the exercise of sexual restraint linked to the Puritan morality at home and easy access to various sexual opportunities (Hyam 2010, 1). The situation began to change with the case of sexual abuse committed by Hubert Silberrad (1879–1952), a colonial employee in Kenya. After a long and detailed investigation, a sexual directive to the members of the Colonial Service was issued in 1909 by Lord Crewe (1858–1945), the Secretary of State for the Colonies, which condemned concubinage (Hyam 1986; 1990, 418–419; 2010, 157). Known as Crewe's Circular, it was an offshoot of the morality of sexual restraint and the Purity Campaign launched in Victorian England in 1869, exported overseas, and continued into the Edwardian times (Hyam 2010, 149).

Apart from morality and psychological dispositions, sexual contacts with local women were believed to contribute to racial, cultural, and moral contamination. It was thought that concubinage and prostitution could strengthen or undermine the authority of the imperial elites (Cooper and Stoler 1997b, 25–26). Though the British were susceptible to frequent boundary crossings, in many cases there was fear of "going native" and of miscegenation, which was likely to produce "fabricated Europeans" (Stoler and Cooper 1997a, 5; 1997b, 26). Going native, though assumed by some colonial employees, became unacceptable within the official imperial ideology:

> To the extent that European officials, settlers, and traders interacted sexually with colonized women, they threatened "racial purity" and opened up questions about the clarity of the cultural conventions that secured male white supremacy through distinctions of class, race and gender (Stoler and Cooper 1997a, 1).

In India, for example, sexual relations led to marriages with indigenous women, which gave rise to a new racial group called the Anglo-Indians. Their "ambiguous identity caused considerable worry to officials concerned with the social markers of British power" (Stoler and Cooper 1997a, 5). By contrast, in Sudan sexual restraint was a consistent practice. This was because, with few exceptions, the colonial elites took their civilising mission in Africa[1] more seriously than in other parts of the Empire (Hyam 2010, 159).

2. "The Force of Circumstance": A matter-of-fact interpretation

In Malaya the situation was different. Both James Brooke (1803–1868) and Charles Brooke (1829–1917) – the rulers of Sarawak – encouraged concubinage and frowned on white wives. James's private secretary openly wanted to amalgamate races and had a son by a Sarawak woman when he became a raja in 1873. Even though permanent marriages were discouraged for fear of conferring status on native women, intermarriage continued well into the 1950s (Hyam 2010, 158; Reece 1985 cit. in Hyam 2010, 179). Sir Hugh Clifford (1866–1941), a colonial administrator in Malaya, also supported concubinage and even wrote novels about it (Hyam 2010, 158).

In the Preface to the third volume of his short stories, Maugham writes:

> In the old days Sarawak, say, or Selangor were where they [colonial employees] were expected to spend their lives till it was time for them to retire on a pension; England was very far away and when at long intervals they went back was increasingly strange to them; their real home, their intimate friends, were in the land in which the better part of their lives was spent (1976, vii).

The emergence of aviation, which made frequent visits to England possible, turned the reality upside down (Maugham 1976, viii). As a result, the colonies became less homely and more peripheral.

"The Force of Circumstance" neatly illustrates the situation in Malaya prior to the change. Guy – the main hero – is a colonial employee who

> was born in Sembulu, where his father had served for thirty years under the second Sultan, and on leaving school he had entered the same service. He was devoted to the country (Maugham 1966, 198).

[1] By contrast, the French colonial attitudes in Africa were more tolerant, possibly because they were motivated by religion to a much lesser extent. Intermarriage was believed to strengthen the French influence in the region (Paxman 2007, 98–99).

He has a native-like command of the language, profits from the good reputation of his father, and the locals do not look upon him "quite as a stranger" (Maugham 1966, 210). He rarely visits England and lives on an outstation. When he travels to the home country on leave and first meets Doris, he tells her: "After all, England's a foreign land to me [...] My home's Sembulu" (Maugham 1966, 198). They fall in love and get married in England.

Guy and Doris then decide to return to Sembulu. Though it is a new place for her, she assumes the role of a prototypical wife responsible for home-making:

> It was a dreary, comfortless life that Guy had led there [...] She had deft hands and she soon made the room habitable [...] friendly and comfortable. [...] She felt an inordinate pride because it was her house [...] and she had made it charming for him (Maugham 1966, 203).

The life they soon begin to live becomes similar to the life in England of that time: the man works, the wife takes care of the home, they enjoy afternoon games of tennis and evening meals and drinks. Doris is also studying Malay industriously to fit into the local conditions.

Soon an unnamed Malay woman begins to intrude on them. She comes close to the house, at first stares only at Doris, then at both of them. The intrusion makes Guy and Doris's life uncomfortable, so Guy decides to admit that she is his concubine and the mother of three half-caste children. The children are well provided for and likely to go to school and work as clerks in some colonial office. Guy tries to justify his behaviour by sketching his lonely and boring life on an outstation:

> It's awfully lonely on an outstation. Why, often one doesn't see another white man for six months on end. A fellow comes out here when he's only a boy [...] I'd never been alone before. [...] I seemed always to live in a crowd. I like people. I'm a noisy blighter. I like to have a good time. [...] But it was different here (Maugham 1966, 201, 209–210).

Taking a local concubine was thus an expedient solution:

> I wasn't in love with her, not even at the beginning. I only took her so as to have somebody about the bungalow. [...] I sent her back to the village before I left here. I told her it was all over. I gave her what I'd promised. She always knew it was only a temporary arrangement. I was fed up with it. I told her I was going to marry a white woman (Maugham 1996, 210).

He further justifies the situation by explaining the broader context of life in Malaya:

> I couldn't expect you to understand. The circumstances out here are peculiar. It's the regular thing. Five men out of six do it. [...] But she was never in love with me any more than I was in love with her. Native women never do really care for white men, you know (Maugham 1966, 211–213).

Guy even argues that the old Sultan encouraged mixed contacts to keep the country quiet.

Guy's attitude to the half-caste children is not that of a prototypical father, who – irrespective of the social model of family (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 313–316) – is emotionally attached to his offspring. He tells Doris:

> I want to be quite frank with you. I should be sorry if anything happened to them. When the first one was expected I thought I'd be much fonder of it than of its mother. I suppose I should have been if it had been white. [...] but I had no particular feeling that it was mine. I think that's what it is; you see, I have no sense of their belonging to me. I've reproached myself sometimes, because it seemed rather unnatural, but the honest truth is that they're no more to me than if they were somebody else's children (Maugham 1966, 213).

Guy thinks that the children – much like his relationship with their mother – are just an offshoot of the circumstances. To Doris, however, they are his family: " 'She'll be there always. You belong to them, you don't belong to me' " (Maugham 1966, 219). She cannot come to terms with the new situation and, after six months, decides to return home. Soon after Guy lets the Malay woman in and she is ready to satisfy his needs. He also puts on a local jacket and a sarong, and walks barefoot, which additionally makes him a part of the local community and its particular circumstances.

The story thus represents all aspects of permissive attitudes to sexuality common in the British Malaya: the social isolation and boredom of the employees, as well as the sexual contacts with the local women that help them to live relatively regular lives and adjust to the local situation. Those relations, however, do not create prototypical families – they give the white men some emotional and sexual benefits; the local women – because they are the weaker side – benefit from them mainly financially.

3. The metaphor of family in political discourse

The concept of "family" frequently underlies conventional conceptualizations of various forms of political organizations, such as governments, nations, countries,

and empires (Lakoff 1996, 5–8; Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 319–320; Nünning 2004). The metaphor A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IS A FAMILY functions on the linguistic and discursive levels, as well as in visual representations of various countries and states. For example, Poland is usually represented as a mother. So is Russia, which – apart from conventional discourse and literature – is evident in the statue of Mother Russia in Volgograd (formerly Stalingrad). Germany and some of its parts are also represented as female figures: the examples include the Germania statue in Rüdesheim am Rhein and the Bavaria statue in Munich. Marianne, the half-naked woman holding the French flag, represents France on Eugène Delacroix's (1798–1863) painting "Liberty Leading the People" (1830–1831) – one of the best-known pictorial representations of the family metaphor. Though the American government is commonly represented as Uncle Sam, the metaphor of mother is common in political discourse related to the local government (Lakoff 1996, 5–8). The Statue of Liberty, donated to the United States by the French government, represents the country as a woman and as a mother. The poem engraved at the entrance to the monument refers to America as "Mother of Exiles" (Kövecses 2002, 59–60).

In the mid-19th century the idea of the British imperial "family" described a group of states constitutionally connected to the United Kingdom (Johnstone 2016, 17). Like a typical family, the British national community was to be "bound by shared norms, values, and purpose" (Bell 2007, 113 cit. in Johnstone 2016, 17). The metaphor was employed not only "to blur the lines between home and abroad while Britain attempted to shore up the idea of a wider British national racial identity geographically across the Empire", but also to counter strong racist overtones rooted in Darwin's legacy (Johnstone 2016, 17). Because it was also used to emphasize the political superiority of the British (Johnstone 2016, 10), it is evident in the Victoria Memorial in London, erected to commemorate the Queen during whose reign the British Empire reached its peak. The statue facing Buckingham Palace represents the Maternity and the Queen's love for her people both at home and in the colonies.

Such discourse persisted well into the 20th century. Following the abdication of King Edward VIII (1894–1972) in 1936, the British Royal Family used the metaphor to draw a new picture of itself and its values around the new king (Johnstone 2016, 16). The metaphor was still used after World War II, when in 1948–1949 the Empire gradually transformed into the British Commonwealth of Nations. The 1949 speech by the Labour Prime Minister Clement Attlee (1883–1967) is a well-known example of its discursive force:

> At the head of the Commonwealth is a family. The family does in a very real sense symbolize the family nature of the Commonwealth [...] It is not altogether fanciful to compare this conception with that of the Holy Family in the Christian world (The Commonwealth Secretariat 2016 cit. in Johnstone 2016, 8).

The metaphor is also present in Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II's (b. 1926) first Christmas Broadcast delivered in 1952:

> At Christmas our thoughts are always full of our homes and our families. [...] But we belong, you and I, to a far larger family. We belong, all of us, to the British Commonwealth and Empire, that immense union of nations, with their homes set in all the four corners of the earth. Like our own families, it can be a great power for good – a force which I believe can be of immeasurable benefit to all humanity (The Royal Family 2018).

It was consistently repeated on many other occasions, especially in the Queen's Christmas Broadcast delivered in 1970:

> I am thinking of a rather special family – a family of nations – as I recall fascinating journeys to opposite ends of the world [...] Yet in all this diversity they [the people] had one thing in common: they were all members of the Commonwealth family (The Royal Family 2015 cit. in Johnstone 2016, 8).

The Queen's view of the family of nations as 'special' possibly reflected a new form of power relations between the members: Britain's influence decreased as the states gradually became independent.

Irrespective of its version, the metaphor of the British Empire as a family had numerous entailments. Britain was viewed as the "mother country"; the parts of the Empire were the "children". Such discourse created a homely image based on order, succession, lineage, limited independence, and fellowship (Nünning 2004, 74–75)[2]. It also implied the presence of mutual support, loyalty, and commitment between the members of such a family.

4. "The Force of Circumstance": A metaphorical interpretation

A narrative is not only a major element of many literary works, but also "the fundamental instrument" on which our capacity for rational thinking depends (Turner 1996, 4–5). It can be read as a fictional account of a segment of life, but it often follows recurrent patterns which represent culture-specific or cross-cultural understandings of heroes, emotions, ideas, institutions, etc. (Booth 1961; Campbell 1949; Hogan 2003, 2011; Propp 1958; Todorov 1968, 1977). Such concepts are frequently perceived in terms of prototype-based categories built around their salient or best

[2] Nünning (2004, 68–73) mentions other metaphors that highlight the strong connections between the main element and the related parts: empire as a tree, a fleet, or a body politic. The first one is closest to the family metaphor because it emphasizes natural links between the members.

examples (Lakoff 1987, 58–90; Rosch 1977; Rosch and Mervis 1975; Kövecses 2006, 21–30; Wittgenstein 1953). Narratives, even if they reflect unfamiliar actions or emotions, often do so by means of reference to prototype-based categories simply because much of conventional and literary thinking takes place in terms of some salient or best examples of various phenomena.

The recurrent structures of narratives function as prototype-based and idealized cognitive scenarios or "frames" (Fillmore 1985; Turner 1991) that can be projected onto more abstract concepts. Such projections or mappings constitute the essence of metaphors, which extend, elaborate, and even question various ideas current in conventional discourse. Metaphor-based narratives thus serve as an efficient cognitive device for constructing complex literary meanings (Crisp 2003, 99–113; Deane 1995, 628–630; Steen 2003,67–82; Lakoff 1993, 229–235, 237–238; Lakoff and Turner 1989, 67–72; Steen and Gavins 2002, 1; Stockwell 2002, 105–119).

Maugham's short story can be read as a complex metaphor of the British Empire based on the cognitive frame of family. Unlike some of the representations of the metaphor mentioned above, its narrative shows the motivation for the creation of family, the stages of the process, as well as its outcome.

Apart from the play on some social stereotypes[3] of its heroes, the simple narrative of the story involves the prototypical scenario of romantic love. Hogan (2011, 90–91 cit. in Kövecses 2006, 91) describes such scenario in terms of the following conventional stages:

sexual attraction → romantic love → romantic union (marriage) → enduring happiness

The scenario culminates in marriage, which involves bond and attachment between the lovers (Hogan 2011, 77, 108), as well as "delight in the presence of the attachment object" (Kövecses 1986, 63). All of its stages but for the last one are present in Guy's relationship with his English wife Doris. Though only the first stage is to some extent present in Guy's affair with the Malay woman, it is this relationship that will ultimately last.

The simplicity and conventionality of the scenario of emotion belie the depth of the meaning of the story. At its heart is the complex metaphor THE BRITISH EMPIRE IS A FAMILY, which also involves some minor metaphors contributing to its overall effect. Via the metaphor A STATE OR A COUNTRY IS A PERSON (Kövecses 2002, 60), Guy, Doris, and their way of life represent the typical Britain of their time. The Malay woman, who comes from a poor local family, personifies the colonies. Because Sembulu is a dull place where one mainly works, Guy brings Doris there to make the

[3] A stereotype is a kind of prototype (Lakoff 1996, 10). Though Guy is not a prototypical father, Doris does her best to be a prototypical wife.

place feel like an English home[4]. He fails because his nameless Malay concubine and their three half-caste children begin to intrude on them. The Malay woman pesters them at home and on one occasion has to be brutally turned out by one of the boys. Her physical presence is thus a way to make her social importance felt. On other occasions she stares impassively at Doris or at Guy and Doris. Such actions represent the pressure of the local conditions on the English couple by means of the metaphors SOCIAL BEHAVIOURS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES[5] and SEEING IS TOUCHING[6] (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 54). Guy's attempt to get rid of his Malay family any time he wants represents Britain's wish to use her colonies in an instrumental way and only for her own good. His failure to do so corresponds to a permanent effect of the process of colonization on Britain. At the same time, the concubine's subservience to Guy represents the political and economic subservience of the countries forming the Empire to its metropole.

The complex metaphor underlying the plot of the story can be represented by means of the following diagram, in which the arrows indicate the direction of the mappings:

A FAMILY	→	THE BRITISH EMPIRE
Guy and Doris	→	Britain
Guy's nameless concubine	→	Britain's colonies lacking their own identity
Guy's bringing Doris to Sembulu	→	Britain's making the colonies home
Guy's three half-caste children	→	mixing of cultures and races in the Empire
Guy's attitude to his informal family	→	Britain's power and superiority
the Malay woman's subservience to Guy	→	the subservience of the colonies to Britain

Elements and stages of the frame of Guy's relationship with a Malay woman metaphorically represent the relations between Britain and her Empire as a non-prototypical family. It is not held by any strong emotional bond or by a legal bond that guarantees the same rights to both sides. Instead, it is a utilitarian response to local circumstances, which represents the relations between the metropole and the dependent states as far less ideal than claimed by the official imperial ideology prevalent at that time.

[4] The culture-specific English attitude to home is reflected here – no other nation pays more attention to the idea than the English (Paxman 2007, 168).

[5] Social behaviours are often understood as forces or barriers (Talmy 1988, 53–54) – people can thus *resist* certain actions or be *pushed* towards them by the accompanying conditions. See Albritton (1992 cit. in Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 83–85) for experimental confirmation of the conceptual impact of force as metaphor.

[6] Looking implies close physical contact and so causes discomfort The metaphor is motivated by "the correlation between the visual and tactile exploration of objects" (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 54).

Conclusions

Though married, Guy and Doris do not have children. Their relationship is close to a prototypical family, but it fails. Though children are born out of it, the relationship of Guy and the Malay woman is not a case of intermarriage. It resembles a marriage of convenience[7], but it is expected to provide social advantages which mainly benefit Guy. The relationship thus creates a family which – though non-prototypical – turns out to be lasting.

Maugham's simple narrative owes much of its effect to the blending of non-prototypical realizations of the cultural frames of romantic love and marriage with the conventional metaphor A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IS A FAMILY. In the clash of races and cultures, the relationship of Guy and his Malay concubine reflects the view of the British Empire as "rather a special family of nations", in which mainly the stronger member is expected to profit. In this way the story becomes an implicit comment on the use of the concept of *family* in the British imperial ideology.

Maugham's other works, for example "The Yellow Streak" (1926) and "Outstation" (1926), contain many images of the life of the British colonial employees. Because he refrains from taking a firm standpoint on the issues of the Empire and expresses implicit rather than straightforward comments, Maugham can be regarded as an emotionally detached complement to Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936) and Joseph Conrad (1857–1924) – two great writers that grappled with the theme of colonialism. He is far from the aggressive imperialism or even jingoism of such Kipling's poems as "A British-Roman Song" (1906), "Recessional" (1897), "The White Man's Burden" (1899), and his "art for Empire's sake" (Rodway 1983, 388); he is equally far from the crushing criticism of colonial ideology of Conrad's "Heart of Darkness" (1902).

References

Albritton, David. 1992. *The Use of Metaphor to Structure Text Representations: Evidence from Metaphor-Based Schemas.* PhD Diss., Yale University.

Bell, Duncan. 2007. *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860–1900*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Booth, Wayne. 1961. *The Rhetoric of Fiction*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Campbell, Joseph. 1949. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

[7] See Goldenson and Anderson (1994) on various cultural conceptions of marriage.

The Commonwealth Secretariat. 2010. "The Commonwealth Family". London: Commonwealth Secretariat. Accessed January 16, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CaXHtF0OdTU.

Conrad, Joseph. 1978 [1902]. *Heart of Darkness*. In *The Norton Anthology of Shorter Fiction: A Shorter Edition*, edited by Ronald V. Cassill, 120–191. New York: Norton.

Crisp, Peter. 2003. "Conceptual Metaphor and Its Expressions". In *Cognitive Poetics in Practice*, edited by Joanna Gavins and Gerard Steen, 99–113. London and New York: Routledge.

Deane, Paul D. 1995. "Metaphors of Centre and Periphery in Yeats's *Second Coming*". *Journal of Pragmatics* 24: 627–642.

Delacroix, Eugène. 1830–1831. "Liberty Leading the People". Louvre-Lens Museum, Lens, Pas-de-Calais, France.

Drabble, Margaret, and Jenny Stringer, eds. 1987. *The Concise Oxford Companion to English Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fillmore, Charles J. 1985. "Frames and the Semantics of Understanding". *Quaderni di Semantica* 6(2): 222–254.

Goldenson, Robert, and Kenneth Anderson. 1994. *The Wordsworth Dictionary of Sex*. Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions.

Hogan, Patrick Colm. 2003. *The Mind and Its Stories: Narrative Universals and Human Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hogan, Patrick Colm. 2011. *What Literature Teaches Us about Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hyam, Ronald. 1986. "Concubinage and Colonial Service: The Crewe Circular (1909)". *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 14: 170–186.

Hyam, Ronald. 1990. *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hyam, Ronald. 2010. *Understanding the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Johnstone, Lyn. 2016. "'Rather a Special Family of Nations': Ideas of the Family in the Commonwealth and Africa". PhD Diss., Royal Holloway University of London.

Kipling, Rudyard. 1980 [1897]. "Recessional". In *English Poetry of the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Wanda Krajewska, 245–246. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Kipling, Rudyard. 1980 [1899]. "The White Man's Burden". In *English Poetry of the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Wanda Krajewska, 246–248. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Kipling, Rudyard. 1999 [1906] "A British-Roman Song". In *Collected Poems of Rudyard Kipling*, 572. Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions.

Kövecses, Zoltán. 1986. *Metaphors of Anger, Pride, and Love: A Lexical Approach to the Structure of Concepts*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Kövecses, Zoltán. 2002. *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kövecses, Zoltán. 2006. *Language, Mind, and Culture: A Practical Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George. 1993. "The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor". In *Metaphor and Thought*, edited by Andrew Ortony, 202–251. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lakoff, George. 1996. *Moral Politics: What Conservatives Know That Liberals Don't*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1999. *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought*. New York: Basic Books.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Turner. 1989. *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Maugham, W. Somerset. 1961 [1926]. "Outstation". In *The Complete Short Stories*, Vol. 3, 1446–1474. London: Heinemann.

Maugham, W. Somerset. 1961 [1926]. "The Yellow Streak". In *The Complete Short Stories*, Vol. 1, 456–480. London: Heinemann.

Maugham, W. Somerset. 1966 [1926]. "The Force of Circumstance". In *A Maugham Twelve*, edited by Angus Wilson, 197–222. London: Heinemann.

Maugham, W. Somerset. 1976 [1951]. Preface. In *The Complete Short Stories*, Vol. 3, vii–viii. London: Heinemann.

Muir, Edwin. 1926. Review of *The Casuarina Tree* by W. Somerset Maugham. *The Nation and Athenaeum* XL (9): 30.

Nünning, Ansgar. 2004. "On the Discursive Construction of an Empire of the Mind: Metaphorical Remembering as a Means of Narrativizing and Naturalizing Cultural Transformations". In *REAL Yearbook of Research in English and American Literature*, Vol. 20: *Metamorphosis. Structures of Cultural Transformations*, edited by Jürgen Schläger, 59–98. Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag.

Paxman, Jeremy. 2007 [1998]. *Anglicy. Opis przypadku* [The English: *A Portrait of a People*], translated by Jarosław Mikos. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo W. A. B.

Propp, Valdimir. 1968 [1928]. T*he Morphology of the Folk Tale, translated by Lawrence Scott. Austin, TX:* The University of Texas Press.

Reece, Robert H.W. 1985. "A 'Suitable Population': Charles Brooke and Race-Mixing in Sarawak". *Itinerario* 9: 67–112.

Rodway, Allan. 1983. "The Last Phase". In *The New Pelican Guide to English Literature*, Vol. 6: *From Dickens to Hardy*, edited by Boris Ford, 385–403. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Rosch, Eleanor. 1977. "Human Categorization". In *Studies in Cross-Linguistic Psychology*, edited by Neil Warren, 1–49. London: The Academic Press.

Rosch, Eleanor, and Carolyn Mervis. 1975. "Family Resemblances: Studies in the Internal Structure of Categories." *Cognitive Psychology* 7: 573–605.

Ross, Angus. 1971. "Maugham, William Somerset (1874–1965)". In *The Penguin Companion to Literature: Britain and the Commonwealth*, edited by David Daiches, 355–356. London: Penguin Books.

The Royal Family. "Christmas Broadcast 1952." Accessed December 20, 2019. https://www.royal.uk/queens-first-christmas-broadcast-1952.

The Royal Family. "Christmas Broadcast 1970". Accessed December 20, 2019. https://www.royal.uk/christmas-broadcast-1970.

Steen, Gerard. 2003. " 'Love Stories': Cognitive Scenarios in Love Poetry". In *Cognitive Poetics in Practice*, edited by Joanna Gavins and Gerard Steen, 67–82. London and New York: Routledge.

Steen, Gerard, and Joanna Gavins. 2003. "Contextualising Cognitive Poetics". In *Cognitive Poetics in Practice*, edited by Joanna Gavins and Gerard Steen, 1–12. London and New York: Routledge.

Stockwell, Peter. 2002. *Cognitive Poetics: An Introduction*. London and New York: Routledge.

Stoler, Ann Laura, and Frederick Cooper. 1997a. "Introduction. Tensions of Empire: Colonial Control and Visions of Rule". In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, edited by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, i–xiii. Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press.

Stoler, Ann Laura, and Frederick Cooper. 1997b. "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda". In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, edited by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, 1–56. Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press.

Talmy, Leonard. 1988. "Force Dynamics in Language and Cognition". *Cognitive Science* 2: 49–100.

Todorov, Tzvetan. 1968. *Grammaire du Décaméron* [The Grammar of *Decameron*]. The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter.

Todorov, Tzvetan. 1977. *The Poetics of Prose*. Ithaca. NY and London: Cornell University Press.

Turner, Mark, 1991. *Reading Minds: The Study of English in the Age of Cognitive Science*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Turner, Mark. 1996. *The Literary Mind: The Origins of Thought and Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1953. *Philosophical Investigations*. New York: Macmillan.

A CASE STUDY OF THE P DEMOTION OPERATION

Forum for Contemporary Issues in Language and Literature
No. 1/2020

ISSN: 2391-9426
doi.org/10.34739/fci.2020.01.05

Katarzyna Janic
ORCID: 0000-0003-3812-3287

University of Leipzig
Faculty of Philology

Abstract

P demotion is an umbrella term which refers to an operation performed on verbal valency. This mechanism results in a range of different constructions sharing two characteristics: the P argument loses the properties of a core argument without affecting the semantic role of the A argument. This study examines a particular case of P demotion operation called antipassive. Until recently, the antipassive construction was regarded as the particularity of a morphologically ergative type of alignment, which, triggered by an explicit verbal marker, stands in a symmetrical relationship to the passive construction. These false beliefs blindly repeated for decades were, however, at the time well-justified. They resulted from the misinterpretation of the definition proposed by Silverstein (1972, 1976) and more importantly from the lack of adequate crosslinguistic data. However, a growing body of recent studies enables the questioning of the traditional view of the antipassive. It also provides new insights into the form and function of this construction as well as into language-specific and crosslinguistic variations. This contribution provides an overview of the most important issues involved in this particular type of the P demotion construction, with an attempt to explain the factors which could have biased its investigation.

Key words

P demotion operation, syntactic valency, incorporation, verbal marking, antipassive construction

Introduction

P demotion is a particular type of operation performed on verbal valency. It yields a number of grammatical constructions, including patient omission constructions, indefinite object constructions, antipassive, object incorporation, conative constructions, noun incorporation, differential object constructions, semitransitive and prepositional constructions (Heaton 2017, 12). They all share one common characteristic, namely the P argument, which is coded like a patient of a core transitive verb, loses the properties of a core argument. This loss modifies the coding properties of this argument (such as flags and indexes as well as the behavior of this argument in a construction), without however, affecting the semantic role assigned to the A[1]. The P argument can be

[1] A is the argument which is coded like an agent of a core transitive verb.

omitted, incorporated, or downgraded to an oblique position. In the literature there is no consensus on whether the aforementioned constructions illustrate distinct language phenomena or not. This question will not be pursued by the present study either. This work focuses specifically on the antipassive because of the considerable confusion which has arisen due to a complete misinterpretation of this notion.

The term 'antipassive' was first proposed by Silverstein (1972, 1976) and it refers to a specific type of grammatical construction that stands in a close relationship with the corresponding basic, transitive construction (Dixon 1994, 146; Polinsky 2005, 438; Heaton 2017, 6; Janic & Witzlack-Makarevich 2021, §1). It can be briefly defined as a construction which targets the P but not the A argument. The outcome of this operation is a syntactically intransitive construction in which the P argument loses the properties of a core argument, whilst the A argument functions as the S argument whose coding properties coincide with the coding properties of the core single argument of monovalent verbs. The common feature related to the antipassive construction is a verbal marker called the antipassive (Silverstein 1976, 140; Dixon 1994, 146; Palmer 1994, 178; Croft 2012, 333-334; Janic 2016, 50; Heaton 2017, 63). Traditionally, antipassive constructions are associated with languages with morphologically ergative alignment like Chukchi, in example (1).

(1) Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Kozinsky et al. 1988; Polinsky 2005, 438)

a. ʔaaček-a kimitʔ-ən ne-nlʔetet-ən.
youth-ERG load-ABS 3PL.SBJ-carry-AOR.3SG.OBJ
'The young men carried away the load.'

b. ʔaaček-ət ine-nlʔetet-gʔe-t kimitʔ-e.
youth-ABS ANTIP-carry-AOR.3SG.SBJ-PL load-INS
'The young men carried away a load'.

In Chukchi, the antipassive construction (1b) is derived from the transitive construction involving two core A and P arguments, (1a). The construction carries the antipassive prefix *ine-*. As a result, the A argument (*ʔaaček-ət* 'youth-ABS') is now encoded as the single core argument of the verb associated with the absolutive form. The P argument (*kimitʔ-e* 'load-INS') is demoted to an oblique position. Its peripheral status is marked by the instrumental case *-e*. Additionally, in Chukchi, the transition to the antipassive construction modifies indexation on the verb. While in the transitive construction, both core arguments are coded on the verb, in the antipassive it is only the A argument that is indexed on the predicate.

A survey of the literature shows that the investigation of the antipassive construction has been biased for a very long time. For decades, this phenomenon has

been associated only with morphologically predominantly ergative languages[2] (Bok-Bennema 1991, 248; Cooreman 1994, 50; Palmer 1994, 197, etc.) with little or no regard for accusative languages. Another skewed direction concerns the antipassive marker. Silverstein's (1976) definition somehow suggests that the antipassive construction must obligatorily involve an explicit verbal marker (see Dixon 1994, 146), which is additionally limited to the antipassive function. This opinion goes against the recent work of Masullo (1992), Herslund (1997), Polinsky (2005, 438), Say (2008), Creissels (2006, 89), Medová (2009), Janic (2016), Heaton (2017), Mroczyńska (2018), Vigus (2018) and Zúñiga & Kittilä (2019, §3.2.2), who all convincingly show that the antipassive construction also exists in predominantly accusative languages. Moreover, if one assumes that the antipassive marker should be an obligatory criterion in the identification of a construction as antipassive, Polinsky (2005, 438), Janic (2016, 267, 2021, §2.1) and Creissels (2021, §4.2) show that some morphologically accusative languages have also a dedicated antipassive marker.

Inspired by Silverstein (1972, 1976), some scholars finally insisted on the mirror-image relationship between passive and antipassive (Van Valin 1980; Polinsky 2005). That is, while in the standard passive it is the A argument that is demoted, in the antipassive it is the P that is demoted. Both operations may also involve a verbal marker. However, a more fine-grained analysis shows that the symmetrical relationship between passive and antipassive is less apparent and ultimately can be questioned (Lazard 1998, 229; Creissels 2006, 88).

Given that recent research has shed light on the new aspects of antipassive constructions, it is necessary to revise Silverstein's (1972, 1976) definition. Thus, one of the aims of this paper is to clarify in a metalanguage why the formulated concept of antipassive needs to be revisited. Since many recent studies identify the antipassive phenomenon based on structural criteria (but see Vigus 2018), another aim of this paper is to draw attention to the structural variation of the antipassive and to show how this construction displays it in languages.

This is an overview paper consisting of three parts. In the first part, I will provide a historical background of the notion of antipassive (Section 0). Then, I will approach three misleading trends resulting from Silverstein's definitions which have biased the investigation of antipassives. For this purpose, I will discuss the correlation of antipassives and alignment type (Section 0), the notion of the antipassive marker (Section 2.2) and the symmetrical relationship between antipassives and passives

[2] Following DeLancey (2004) and Creissels (2016), I also consider the term 'ergativity' to be heterogeneous and thus ambiguous, as it may refer to various aspects, including alignment, or the argument coding system e.g. case or agreement. In the present study, I will use the term 'ergative' with reference to an alignment pattern in case marking or indexation/agreement that treats S and P in the same way and A differently. Proceeding from this, I use the term 'ergative language' as a convenient shorthand for languages which exhibit ergative alignment in case marking and/or indexation. A similar logic applies to the terms 'accusative' and 'accusative languages'.

(Section 0). In the final, third, part, I will address structural aspects of antipassives, briefly sketching out their morphosyntactic patterns (Section 0), as well as underlying forces which motivate the different realization of the P argument (Section 0). Section 4 offers a summary and concluding remarks

1. The historical background of the antipassive notion

The term 'antipassive' was introduced in the literature by Silverstein in (1972) with reference to a Chinook Jargon, a pidgin trade language spoken in the Pacific Northwest region. He defined it as a language-specific phenomenon, positing a formal and functional resemblance of the antipassive to its syntactic equivalent from accusative languages, i.e. the passive:

> I have termed this *-ki-* form the ANTIPASSIVE construction, playing upon its inverse equivalence to a passive of accusative languages, because the sense is clearly equivalent to a transitive, though the form is intransitive, with the grammatical function of the remaining noun phrase reversed (ergator becomes non-ergator) (Silverstein 1972, 395).

Even though the term 'antipassive' was thus introduced for the first time in 1972, it was not until four years later that it started to be recognized widely. Hence, it is not infrequent to find in the literature two dates, 1972 and 1976, which inaugurate the introduction of the antipassive term on the linguistic arena. In 1976, Silverstein published in Dixon his seminal article on 'Hierarchy of features and ergativity' with a slightly modified definition of the antipassive, which ultimately gained worldwide recognition. He defined the properties necessary to recognize the antipassive construction in ergative languages, featuring coding properties and antipassive marking in particular. In addition, he predefined the distribution of the antipassive structure:

> Ergative systems have an analogous construction; here termed the antipassive (...). The 'unique' case here is the ergative, coding the unique function of direct transitive agent (A), and in antipassive forms the transitive agent is expressed by a surface absolutive (or nominative) case-marking, the verb has a change of voice, with a special mark, the transitive object (normally coded by surface absolutive case) appearing at most facultatively in some oblique, adverbial case-marking (Silverstein 1976, 140–142).

Starting from 1976, the antipassive construction is thus no longer viewed as a language-specific phenomenon of Chinook Jargon but as a crosslinguistic phenomenon, but limited to ergative languages.

Even though the term 'antipassive' appeared officially in the seventies, some authors argue that the phenomenon was already known earlier. According to de Rijk (2002), Russian researchers can be considered to be pioneers in the discovery of the antipassive construction. The author mentions that Russian scholars were aware of the presence of the antipassive already before the Second World War, while working on Avar, a Nakh-Daghestanian language spoken in the Caucasus and on some idioms from other Siberian languages. However, de Rijk (2002) does not provide details for his observation, limiting himself to this brief statement. If we consider the significant presence of antipassives in the Eskimo-Aleut family spoken *inter alia* in the territory of eastern Siberia and in other Nakh-Daghestanian languages (also called East Caucasian) (see Comrie et al. 2015 and Comrie et al. 2021), the speculations by de Rijk (2002) although intuitively based, are in fact highly justified.

A more documented support in favor of the claim that the antipassive was recognized much earlier than the official introduction of the term (i.e. Silverstein 1972) can be traced back to the Polish linguist, Jerzy Kuryłowicz. In his article "Ergativnost i stadialnost v jazyke" from 1946 that was translated into French three years later, the author already recognizes the antipassive, even though he does not employ any specific term to define it:

> Concerning the transitive verbs, there are in the ergative system, just as in the nominative system, [several] possibilities (...). There is the ergative construction and, moreover, the absolute construction, that is a construction without a patient, which is lacking either because it is unknown or because it has no interest (...). As for the agent (...), it is in the absolute case (...). [Finally], there is the ergative construction (...), and next to it a diametrically opposed construction, marked from the stylistic point of view: agent to the absolute case, subjective verb, patient in the oblique case[3] (Kuryłowicz 1949, 87).

The fact that the phenomenon of antipassive was recognized before Silverstein's (1972) publication is subsequently confirmed by Heath (1976). In his article 'Antipassivization, a functional typology', the author mentions very briefly that 'The term was suggested by Michael Silverstein, but the transformation has also been discussed under different names by Kuryłowicz, William Jacobsen, Dixon, and others' (Heath 1976, 202).

[3] My translation.

2. Misleading trends in the investigation of the antipassive

Silverstein's (1972, 1976) definitions coupled with the fact that the author insisted on the structural resemblance of this construction to the passive in accusative languages, significantly shaped the landscape of the antipassive investigation across and within languages with far-reaching consequences that I will outline in §0-§0 accordingly.

2.1. The correlation between alignment type and syntactic operations

The fact that the term 'antipassive' was coined for a language with the morphologically ergative type of alignment had important consequences for the description of this phenomenon in individual languages and crosslinguistically because many linguists, e.g. Bok-Bennema (1991, 248), Cooreman (1994, 50), Palmer (1994, 197), Aldridge (2012, 193), etc., continued to associate this construction primarily with ergativity. This position was additionally strengthened by the fact that Silverstein's (1972, 1976) definitions insist on the structural resemblance of the antipassive construction to the passive in accusative languages.

Even if there is nothing in Silverstein's definitions that would openly exclude antipassives in accusative languages, scholars started to posit the existence of an implicational correlation between language-particular alignment types and specific syntactic operations, which, in a short time, began to be considered categorical. From the beginning, the passive construction was regarded as a particularity of languages with primarily nominative-accusative flagging and indexing coding patterns, while the antipassive construction was viewed as a hallmark of languages with traits of ergative alignment. As a result, the antipassive was extensively discussed in individual ergative languages (i.e. Mam [England 1983], Nez Perce [Rude 1988], Chamorro [Cooreman 1988], Warrungu [Tsunoda 1988], Chukchi [Kozinsky et al. 1988] etc.), or in ergative language groups (e.g. Kiranti [Bickel 2011], Tsezic [Comrie et al. 2015]; Circassian [Arkadiev & Letuchiy 2021]), but not in accusative languages.

By contrast, the recognition of the passive construction in ergative languages has been acknowledged from the very beginning. Descriptions of Nez Perce from the Plateau Penutian family (Rude 1988), or the work on Halkomelem from a Salishan family (Gerdts 1988) or that on Mayan languages (England 1988), or still yet the papers by (Johns 1999, 2006) on Eskimo confirm this observation. However, unlike passive constructions, antipassives have not found an immediate place in the syntactic description of accusative languages.

A survey of the literature additionally reveals that there was a strong resistance among linguists to employ the term 'antipassive' in the description of accusative languages. Instead, a number of alternative terms have been coined to describe in these languages the morphosyntactic phenomenon, which closely resembles the standard antipassive of ergative languages. In Table 1, I present an overview of these terms (Janic 2016, 64-65).

Table 1: Various terms defining the notion of antipassive in accusative languages

Author	Term	Language
Babby (1975, 322)	understood transitivity	Russian (Slavic group)
Babby (1975, 323)	specified direct object	Russian (Slavic group)
Schlie (1983, 25)	patient defocusing	Kara (Oceanic group)
Brecht & Levine (1985, 121)	agent attributives	Russian (Slavic group)
Brecht & Levine (1985, 122)	exclusive patient	Russian (Slavic group)
Brecht & Levine (1985, 123)	prioritized patient	Russian (Slavic group)
Kański (1986, 142-143)	left-oriented middles	Russian (Slavic group)
Geniušienė (1987, 94-97)	deaccusative subjective reflexive	Baltic group
Geniušienė (1987, 256)	deaccusative reflexive	Romance and Slavic groups
Geniušienė (1987, 318-319)	deaccusative reflexive	Turkic family
Geniušienė (1987, 83-86)	absolute reflexive	Baltic group
Geniušienė (1987, 249-251)	absolute reflexive	Slavic group
Geniušienė (1987, 314-315)	absolute reflexive	Turkic family
Lichtenberk (1991, 178-179)	Depatientive	Toqabaqita (Oceanic group)
Davis (2003, 137)	Depatientive	Hoava (Oceanic group)
Bril (2005, 33)	Depatientive	Xârâcùù, Drehu, Iaai (Oceanic group)
Noonan (1992, 125)	activity naming	Lango (Nilotic family)
Ruzicka (1992, 157)	generic reflexive	Russian (Slavic group)
Levin (1993, 39)	characteristic property of agent	English (Germanic group)
Legendre & Akimova (1994, 311)	excessive action	Russian (Slavic group)
Legendre & Akimova (1994, 311)	omitted object construction	Russian (Slavic group)
Israeli (1997, 112)	aggressive action	Russian (Slavic group)
Heath (1999, 166)	unspecified object	Koyraboro Senni (Songhay family)
Tuggy (2010, 314-315)	unspecified object	Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan)
Liakin & Ndayiragije (2000, 116-117)	inalienable possession	Russian (Slavic group)
Rivero (2000, 18-19)	null object impersonal *się*	Polish (Slavic group)
Rivero & Sheppard (2003, 95-97)	accusative indefinites	Polish, Slovenian (Slavic group)
Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey (2004,4)	Deaccusative	typological discussion (e.g. Hungarian)
Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey (2004, 3)	Deobjective	typological discussion (e.g. Ainu)
Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey (2004, 3)	potential deobjective	typological discussion (e.g. Lithuanian, Udmurt)
Nedjalkov (2006a, 18-19)	Absolutive	Turkic family
Kuular (2007, 1214)	Ditransitive	Tuvan (Turkic family)

Some scholars even refrained from expressing their opinions on the correlation of antipassive with accusativity. In the chapter "Passive constructions in the world's languages" by Keenan & Dryer (2007, 325-361), it remains unclear whether the authors consider this correlation to be exclusive: 'One further construction that resembles passive is antipassive generally found in ergative languages. While antipassives are typically associated with ergative languages, it is not uncommon for ergative languages to have passives'. Even if they do not reject the antipassive in accusative alignment, they do not admit its presence either.

However, an attenuation of the general attitude towards the rigid antipassive-ergative correlation has recently taken place. See Polinsky (2005, 2017), Creissels (2006), Ndayiragije (2006), Say (2008), Medová (2009), Janic, (2016), Heaton (2017), Mroczyńska (2018), Vigus (2018) or the forthcoming volume on antipassives by Janic & Witzlack-Makarevich (2021b). A common agreement has developed that the relationship between antipassive-ergativity, on the one hand, and passive-antipassive, on the other, is gradient rather than categorical, as mismatches between different types of alignment and (anti-)passive constructions are encountered. A good example illustrating this point is Lezgian, a Nakh-Daghestanian language with the morphologically ergative type of alignment in which the antipassive phenomenon is not attested (Haspelmath 1993, 560). On closer examination, such correlations appear to be statistical tendencies at best. Even though some authors argue for the marginal existence of antipassives in accusative languages due to their lexical constraints (see the note by Ndayiragije 2006, 272), Creissels (2021) convincingly proves that this is not necessarily true for Soninke (Mande). Farrell (2005, 73) even goes one step further, postulating that 'languages often have both passive and antipassive voice constructions'. Naturally, their frequency varies from language to language. At the current stage of research, it stands as an undeniable fact that both alignment types may attest passives and antipassives. Example (2) shows the antipassive in French, an accusative language.

(2) French (Indo-European; Janic 2016, 205)

a. Il confesse ses péchés.
3SG.M confess.3SG 3PL.M.POSS sin.PL.M
'He confesses his sins'.

b. Il se confesse de ses péchés.
3SG.M ANTIP confess.3SG PREP 3PL.M.POSS sin.PL.M
'He confesses his sins'.

Unlike in the transitive construction, (2a), the verb in the antipassive in (2b) carries the verbal marker *se* due to the presence of which P (*ses péchés* 'his sins') is demoted to an oblique argument. In French, the peripheral status of the latter is indicated by the preposition *de*. Similar to Chukchi in (1), in French, both transitive and antipassive

constructions have the same event structure, which is conventionally indicated by identical or similar translations.

At this point, it is worth noticing that it is not only Silverstein's (1972, 1976) definitions that skewed the investigation of antipassive constructions towards ergative languages. Another reason for this results from the morphosyntactic properties of ergative languages which make the antipassive construction more visible there than in accusative constructions. In the former, the antipassive valency-reducing mechanism affects various aspects of the coding properties of the core arguments, including both flags (as we can spot new case markers on the arguments) and indexes that match the arguments on verbs. Additionally, the verb contains an antipassivizer (or 'antipassive marker'). By contrast, in accusative languages like French, the visibility of the antipassive construction is less apparent as the transition from a transitive to antipassive construction does not affect the coding of the A argument. In most cases, the indexation pattern also remains unchanged.

Finally, the exclusive antipassive-ergative correlation may also have a functional explanation. Building on the functions performed by the antipassive (see Vigus 2018, 343-346), it is legitimate to claim that both so-called ergative and accusative languages have antipassives driven by underlying semantic and/or pragmatic factors. This motivation for the antipassive use is strongly related to the parameter-assignment of semantic transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980, 252), in particular to affectedness and individuation of the P argument along with aspectual properties of the verb. Regardless of the type of alignment, any language has a means to indicate that the P argument is less individuated or less affected by the agent. See Cooreman (1994, §2.1), Blight (2004, 113), Kulikov (2011, 396) on low individuation of the P argument, and Cooreman (1994, §2.3) and Polinsky (2017, 329) on lower affectedness of the P argument. Therefore, in discussing the distribution of antipassives, it is important to consider the possibility that the semantic/pragmatic antipassive is independent of any type of alignment. In contrast, in languages with deep ergativity[4] (cf. and only in this type of languages, the use of the antipassive construction can be motivated on a syntactic basis because only in this type of language is the absolutive the pivot for many grammatical operations, such as focalization, coordination, relativization (Dixon 2012, §23; Janic 2016, 281-284). It is therefore possible that in some ergative languages the antipassive assumes functions which have no equivalent in accusative languages, but this does not call into question the general claim that the antipassive-ergative and passive-accusative dichotomy is total.

[4] 'Deep ergativity' (e.g. Dyirbal, Pama-Nyungan, see Dixon 1972) refers to languages in which the A argument is not accessible to syntactic operations such as coordination, focalization, relativization, etc. The use of an antipassive construction in such languages enables the A argument to access these operations.

2.2. Overt antipassive marking

Another misleading line of research resulting from the Silverstein definition involves the nature of the antipassivizer. Silverstein's (1976, 140-142) formulation that 'the verb has a change of voice, with a special mark' is ambiguous. Consequently, it received different interpretations in the literature with far-reaching consequences. Some understood the term 'special' as 'specialized'. This can be observed in Polinsky (2005), who equates the term antipassivizer with the concept of dedicatedness:

> The variation observed with respect to the marking of antipassives has to do with whether or not the language has a dedicated antipassive marker. A dedicated marker can often be associated diachronically with other functions (...), so what matters is its nonsyncretic synchronic status' (Polinsky 2005, 438).

Polinsky's (2005) account allows us to conclude that regardless of the diachronic origin, the antipassivizer is a fully specialized marker being limited to the antipassive function alone. Janic (2021, §2.2) notes a similar situation in Jacques (2021, §4.2). The author, who works on Rawang (Sino-Tibetan), reacts to LaPolla's (2000, 287) comments '[t]here are a number of constructions for increasing or reducing the valency of verbs in Rawang (Sino-Tibetan), but there is no passive or antipassive construction' in the following way:

> Rawang shows a few examples of the use of the reflexive/middle -shì as an antipassive marker, when applied to transitive experiencer verbs (LaPolla 2000, 287 states that there are no antipassive constructions in Rawang, by which he probably means the absence of dedicated antipassive markers) (Jacques 2021, §4.2).

Yet some scholars approach the term 'special' in a broader sense, on a par with the term 'explicit'. This can be observed in Palmer (1994), who calls into question the existence of antipassives in accusative languages because of the lack of an explicit antipassivizer:

> If a basic requirement is that [the antipassive] is explicitly marked (usually in the verb), it seems unlikely that there are, in fact, any languages with accusative systems (...) that also have antipassives (Palmer 1994, 197).

The obscure formulation of 'special mark' influenced the line of research of scholars like Palmer (1994) and LaPolla (2000), who adopted the position that the antipassive obligatorily requires an explicit marker that by default must be a dedicated marker. Given that the term 'antipassive' was first introduced in so-called ergative languages, this presumably pushed many linguists to conclude that only such languages could

have specialized antipassivizers. Although this opinion has never been explicitly pronounced, it somehow became textbook knowledge that dedicated antipassivizers are totally absent in accusative languages. This may explain why now, when antipassive constructions in languages with the morphologically accusative type of alignment are commonly recognized (Say 2008; Medová 2009; Janic, 2016; Heaton 2017; Vigus 2018, etc.), a growing interest is observed with regard to the specialized aspect of the antipassivizer in the aforementioned languages. This is particularly observed in the discussion by Nouguier-Voisin (2005) on Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan), but also in Creissels (2021) on Soninke (Mande), in Renaudier (2012) on Sereer (Atlantic-Congo), and in Bostoen et al. (2015) on selected accusative languages from the Bantu group.

A good example of a predominantly accusative language with a dedicated antipassivizer comes from Soninke (Mande), where the functional motivation for the use of the antipassive construction is to be searched in the syntactic requirement to obligatorily express the P argument in transitive constructions. As reported by Creissels (2021), apart from a few exceptions, most transitive verbs in this language disallow their non-derived verbal forms to occur without an overtly expressed P. Such a restriction typically initiates a development of a new strategy that would enable bypassing this constraint. This is exactly what is observed in Soninke, which reserves the verbal suffix *-ndî ~ ndí* for antipassive constructions, (3c).

(3) Soninke (Mande; Creissels 2012, 7)

a. Sòró-n dà yìllê-n pátá.
people.PL-DEF TR millet-DEF cut
'The people harvested the millet'.

b. *Sòrô-n pátá.
people.PL-DEF cut
intended: 'The people harvested (the crops)'.

c. Sòrô-n pátá-ndì.
people.PL-DEF cut-ANTIP
'The people harvested (the crops)'.

Example (3a) shows a transitive construction whose underived verbal form *pátá* 'cut' occurs with two explicitly realized A and P arguments. The omission of the latter leads to ungrammaticality of the construction, as shown in (3b). The only possible way to bypass this constraint is to employ a dedicated antipassive marker *-ndì*, as shown in (3c).

Figure 1 shows the distribution of languages identified by Polinsky (2005) and Janic (2015) as having a dedicated antipassivizer. As shown, there is almost no difference in the number of accusative and ergative languages which attest the specialized antipassive marker. For an inventory of these languages and their genealogical affiliation see Tables 2–4.

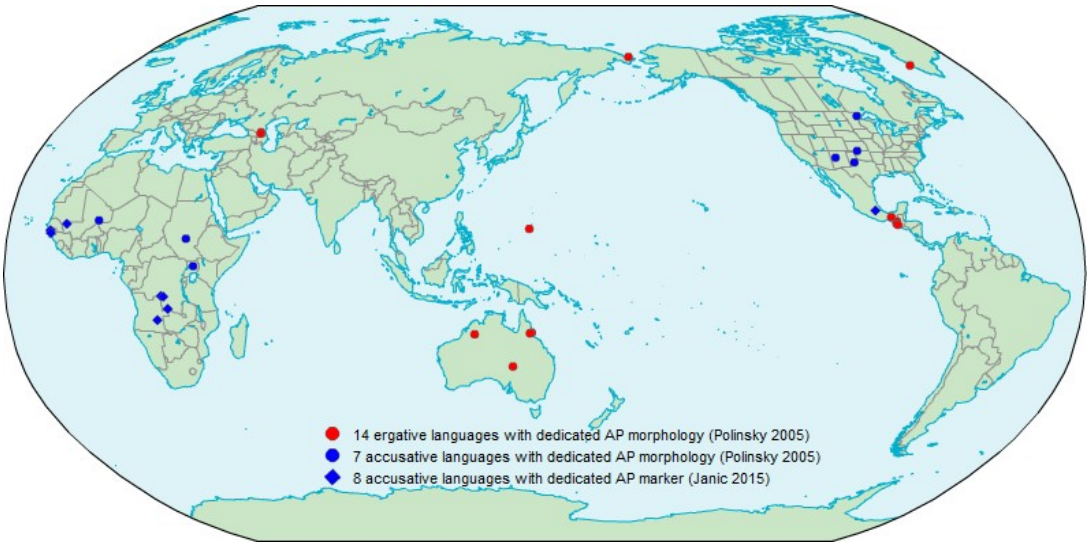


Fig. 1: Languages with dedicated antipassive morphology

Table 2: Ergative languages with dedicated antipassive morphology (Polinsky 2005)

Language	Family
Chamorro	Austronesian
Warrungu	Pama Nyungan
Diyari	Pama Nyungan
Dyirbal	Pama Nyungan
Gooniyandi	Bunaban
Hunzib	Nakh-Daghestanian
West Greenlandic	Eskimo-Aleut
Chukchi	Chukotko-Kamchatkan
Godoberi	Nakh-Daghestanian
Halkomelem	Salishan
Jakaltek	Mayan
Mam	Mayan
Tzutujil	Mayan

Table 3: Accusative languages with dedicated antipassive morphology (Polinsky 2005)

Language	Family
Acoma	Keresan
Comanche	Uto-Aztecan
Kiowa	Kiowa-Tanoan
Ojibwe	Algic
Koyraboro Senni [sic]	Songhay
Krongo	Kadu
Lango	Eastern Sudanic

Table 4: Accusative languages with dedicated antipassive morphology (Janic 2015)

Language	Genus	Family
Nahuatl	Aztecan	Uto-Aztecan
Soninke	Western Mande	Mande
Mandinka	Western Mande	Mande
Balanta	Northern Atlantic	Niger-Congo
Kete	Bantoid	Niger-Congo
Songe	Bantoid	Niger-Congo
Lucazi	Bantoid	Niger-Congo
Lunda	Bantoid	Niger-Congo

In her typological study on antipassive constructions, Heaton (2017, 2002) advances the investigation of dedicated antipassivizers. In contrast to Polinsky (2017, 14), the author argues that such markers are not crosslinguistically rare. Approximately 32% of the languages from Heaton's sample are recognized as having a dedicated antipassive marker.

The recent studies on the antipassive marker have revealed that some languages may have even more than one dedicated antipassivizer (Janic 2021, §2.2; (Janic & Witzlack-Makarevich 2021a, §4.2). Jacques (2014), Sansò (2017), Mithun (2021) and Say (2021) convincingly show that the existence of the multiple dedicated antipassivizers is driven by the animacy properties of the P. In some languages, the antipassive maker targets not only the P argument but also animacy features it displays. For instance, Comanche (Uto-Aztecan) has two antipassive prefixes, *mA* and *ti*, specialized for demotion of the human and non-human P argument respectively (Charney 1993, 128-129). Japhug (Sino-Tibetan; Jacques 2014, 10) also has two antipassive prefixes, *rɤ-* and *sɤ*, which are employed to eliminate a non-human and human P argument respectively. Launey (1994, 48) and Pustet & Rood (2008, 342-345) report a comparable situation in Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan) and in Lakota (Siouan) respectively.

2.3. The antipassive as a mirror image of the passive construction

Another misleading interpretation resulting from Silverstein's (1972, 1976) definitions concerns the allegedly symmetrical relationship between passive and antipassive. Polinsky (2005, 438) notes that '[t]he term antipassive (...) was coined to indicate that the construction is a mirror image of the passive.' At the coarse-grained level, this observation is justified because the standard passive demotes the A argument, whilst in the antipassive it is the P that undergoes syntactic degradation. However, such an approach is somewhat simplistic as it focusses only on one specific aspect of these two types of valency operations, i.e. demotion of the core argument. At a more fine-grained level, these two types of valency-reducing operations turn out to display formal and functional differences, which calls into question the purported symmetrical relationship between antipassive and passive constructions.

In the first place, the lack of symmetry manifests itself at the functional level and concerns the relationship holding between semantic and discursive roles of arguments (Creissels 2006, 89). If in a prototypical transitive construction at the discourse-pragmatic level, the agent (or A argument) is viewed as the most topical or as the most 'salient', whilst the patient (or P argument) is regarded as less topical, then the passive construction entirely modifies the initial linking between semantic and discourse roles associated with these arguments. This is because the promotion of the P to the subject function topicalizes this argument. Consequently, it receives the most salient interpretation. Nothing comparable happens to the antipassive. The latter does not affect the discourse-semantic relationship of the arguments. It only modifies their degree of topicality: while topicality of the agent is reinforced, one of the patient arguments is reduced because of the move to the peripheral status.

There are also formal differences between antipassives and passives. Creissels (2006, 88) mentions two such key differences. The first one involves promotion. Promotion can be defined as a syntactic mechanism that recognizes as core argument, an argument which otherwise could not carry this status. Promotion may also refer to a mechanism which treats as a subject an argument which otherwise would be viewed as an object (Creissels 2006, 8). Given the above, the formal contrast between standard passives and antipassives becomes visible. Unlike the canonical passive which entails both demotion (of A) and promotion (of P) mechanisms (Dixon 2012, 206), the standard antipassive does not involve any promotion (Dixon 2012, 208), because building on Creissels (2006, 8), the subject argument is not available to any syntactic promotion in the antipassive. Another variation concerns the syntactic transitivity of the verbs. In contrast to antipassives, passives are not constrained to transitive verbs, as they are also compatible with intransitive predicates. Many languages such as Dutch, Turkish, Slavic, Latin, etc. attest impersonal passives, derived from the intransitive verbs (see various literature on this topic, including Comrie 1977; Dixon & Aikhenvald 1997; Blevins 2003).

At this point, it is worth noting recent findings from Circassian languages (Arkadiev & Letuchiy 2021). The authors, who operate with the notion of extended intransitive clause type (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000, 3) show that in some of these languages, the antipassive can be derived from bivalent intransitive verbs with S and E (extended) arguments, as shown in (4).

(4) Kuban Kabardian (Circassian; Arkadiev & Letuchiy 2021, §3.1)

a. se ŝ̩ale-m s-je-ʔʷənŝ̩ə-ne.
1SG boy-OBL 1SG.ABS-DAT-push-FUT
'I will shove that boy'.

b. sabəj-xe-r me-ʔʷənŝ̩e
child-PL-ABS DYN-push.ANTIP
'The children are jostling'.

Example (4a) shows an intransitive active use of the bivalent verb 'push' which selects the absolutive pronominal argument *se* 'I' and the extended nominal argument *ŝ̩ale-m* 'boy'. The latter functions as a peripheral argument which is indicated by the oblique case *-m*. It is additionally indexed on the verb by the dative prefix *je-*. Example (4b) is the derived construction which is also syntactically intransitive. It meets the formal criteria for antipassives. The non-agent argument is eliminated from the surface structure and the predicate is overtly marked by the modification of the verbal stem from /ə/ into /e/. The obligatory omission of the extended argument is motivated at the discourse level. It is eliminated because it is considered to be irrelevant.

Data from Circassian are particularly interesting. On the one hand, (4b) should be excluded from the antipassive investigation as its input verb does not meet the definitional criteria. Recall that antipassives exist only in relationship to corresponding transitive constructions. On the other hand, the overall characteristics of the construction allow us to approach (4b) as an example of the antipassive both at the functional and formal level. A potential solution to this impasse is the reformulation of the antipassive definition, which in order to include the Circassian data, should operate in terms of verbal valency referring to the number of arguments the verb occurs with, rather than in terms of syntactic transitivity of the verb.

3. The formal and functional diversity of antipassive constructions

The antipassive has been mainly investigated from a structural perspective (Foley & Van Valin 1984, 168-181; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000, 7; Foley 2007, 429; Shibatani 2009, 326; Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019, 103). A quick survey of the literature reveals both that this construction displays a whole range of morphosyntactic variations, and that there are disagreements between scholars how to approach these variations. The aim of this

section is to signal and briefly describe in the metalanguage of comparative research the scope of these variations. Section 0 deals with various parameters of variations such as coding properties, different P realizations and variations related to antipassive marking, whilst section 0 discusses the motivation for different behavior of the P argument.

3.1. Parameters of variations

In languages with the morphologically ergative type of alignment, the transition from basic, transitive constructions to antipassives frequently entails a change in flagging of the A argument from ergative to absolutive (but see ex. (6)). Yet, in others, this shift may additionally modify indexes matching the arguments on the verb. Example (5b) from Baffin Island illustrates the antipassive construction in which the non-core status of the P argument is signalled by the oblique *-mik* case, in addition to the change of the indexation pattern.

(5) Baffin Island (Eskimo-Aleut, Inuktitut; Spreng 2005, 216)

a. Anguti-up arnaq kunik-taa.
man-ERG woman kiss-3SG.3SG
'The man kissed the woman'.

b. Anguti kunik-si-vuq arna-mik.
man.ABS kiss-ANTIP-3SG woman-OBL
'The man is kissing a woman'.

Even if in many ergative languages, a transition from ergative to antipassive constructions frequently involves a change in coding properties of the A argument from ergative to absolutive, as in (5), some languages deviate from this pattern. Polinsky (2017, 5) reports at least three languages in which the A argument preserves the ergative case in the antipassive construction: Warlpiri (Pama Nyungan; Hale 1973, 366) illustrated in (6), Jaru (Pama Nyungan; Tsunoda 1981, 149) and Gooniyandi (Bunaban; Tsunoda 1988, 627).

(6) Warlpiri (Pama Nyungan; Hale 1973, 366)

a. Njuntulu-lu npa-tju pantu-nu ŋatju.
3SG-ERG 2SG-1SG spear-PST 1SG.ABS
'You speared me'.

b. Njuntulu-lu npa-tju-la pantu-nu ŋatju-ku.
3SG-ERG 2SG-1SG-ANTIP spear-PST 1SG-DAT
'You speared at me'.

The realization of the P argument constitutes another parameter of variation (Vigus 2018, 358-368; Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019, §2.4.1; Polinsky 2017, 3; Janic & Witzlack--Makarevich 2021, §3, etc.). Linguists typically mention two types of behavior. While some languages can express the P argument explicitly as an oblique, as in (7b)-(8b), others impose a constraint on it, blocking this argument from overt expression, as in (9c).

(7) Kuku Yalanji (Pama Nyungan; Patz 2002, 152)

a. Nyulu dingkar-angka minya nuka-ny.
3SG.NOM man-ERG meat.ABS eat-PST
'The man ate meat'.

b. Nyulu dingkar minyA nga nuka-ji-ny.
3SG.NOM man.ABS meat-LOC eat-ANTIP-PST
'The man had a good feed of meat (he wasted nothing)'.

(8) Spanish (Indo-European; Mejias-Bikandi 1999, 174)

a. Pedro olvidó los libros.
Peter forgot DEF books
'Peter forgot the books.'

b. Pedro se olvidó de los libros.
Peter ANTIP forgot PREP DEF books
'Peter forgot the books'.

(9) Polish (Indo-European; Janic 2016, 148)

a. Wasz syn bije dzieci.
2PL.POSS son.NOM beat.3SG.PRS children.ACC
'Your son is beating up the children'.

b. Wasz syn bije się.
2PL.POSS son.NOM beat.3SG.PRS ANTIP
'Your son is beating up [children]'.

c. *Wasz syn bije się dzieci.
2PL.POSS son.NOM beat.3SG.PRS ANTIP children.ACC
'Your son is beating up the childre'.

While Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000, 9) underline the optionality of the oblique argument in the antipassive construction, Janic & Witzlack-Makarevich (2021a, §3) note the instances in which this argument must be obligatorily realized. Examples from French in (10) illustrate this point. This may result from the lexical properties of the verbal predicate.

(10) French (Indo-European; Janic 2016, 205)

a. Les étudiants attaquent les révisions dès
DEF.PL student.PL start.PRS.3PL DEF.PL revision.PL PREP
le mois de mars.
DEF.SG.M month PREP March
'The students start the revision from March'.

b. Les étudiants s' attaquent aux révisions
DEF.PL student.PL ANTIP start.PRS.3PL PREP.DEF.PL revision.PL
dès le mois de mars.
PREP DEF.SG.M month PREP March
'The students start the revision from March'.

c. *Les étudiants s' attaquent dès le mois de mars.
DEF.PL student.PL ANTIP start.PRS.3PL PREP DEF.SG.M month PREP March
'The students start the revision from March'.

Finally, Givón (2001, 36), Vigus (2018, 360) and Zúñiga & Kittilä (2019, 206) consider incorporation to be another type of variation of the P argument behavior in the antipassive, regardless of whether incorporation is triggered by an antipassive marker or not, as in (11b).

(11) Boumaa Fijian (Austronesian; Dixon 1988, 49)

a. E' ani-a a dalo.
3SG.SBJ eat-TR DEF taro
'He is eating the taro'.

b. E' ana.dalo.
3SG.SBJ eat.taro
'He is taro-eating'.

Yet for others, the inclusion of P incorporation in the antipassive is regulated by the presence of the antipassive marker. Foley & Van Valin (1984, 343) consider incorporation as a particular case of the antipassive because both types of construction can be derived by the same affix. Data from the Oceanic family support this observation. In Hoava, *vari-* can trigger both incorporation and antipassivization, as shown in (12a) and (12b) respectively.

(12) Hoava (Austronesian; Davis 2003, 137-138)

a. Na huke, ninami vari-nahu tia.
ART taro.leaf food DEP[5]-hurt stomach
'Taro leaves, food (which) can hurt stomachs'.

b. Kae vari-poni sa nikana.
NEG DEP-give ART.SG man
'The man is selfish.' lit. 'The man does not give to [anyone]'.

Incorporation shown in (11b) and (12a) is syntactic in nature, because the P argument is not morphologically bound to the verb but only juxtaposed to it. Mithun (1984), who analyses a similar case in Tongan (Oceanic) notes that although noun and verb remain separate at the phonological level, they form a compound in which the P is rigid in terms of mobility and incompatible with determiners. Mayan languages can also serve as another illustration of languages with the morphological overlap between antipassive and P incorporation. Yucatec (Bricker 1978), Mam (England 1983, 110) and Jakaltek (Grinevald-Craig 1979, 7–9) are some of them (see Heaton 2017 for a detailed discussion of this issue in Mayan languages).

However, in contrast to the oblique realization and the omission of the P, the submission of the incorporated P argument under the domain of antipassive construction has not achieved consensus among the scholars. This is observed by Foley (2007, 435), who argues that '[object incorporation does] not illustrate true antipassives, as there is no requisite derivational morphology for antipassivization in the verb or verbal complex' in languages with both antipassive and incorporation. To support his claim, the author builds on the language-specific analysis of Chukchi, in which it is only the antipassive construction, (1) repeated here as (13), but not incorporation, (14b), which takes the antipassivizer on the verb.

(13) Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Polinsky 2005, 438)

a. ʔaaček-a kimitʔ-ən ne-nlʔetet-ən.
youth-ERG load-ABS 3PL.SBJ-carry-AOR.3SG.OBJ
'(The) young men carried away the load'.

b. ʔaaček-ət ine-nlʔetet-gʔe-t kimitʔ-e.
youth-ABS.PL ANTIP-carry-AOR.3SG.SBJ-PL load-INS
'(The) young men carried away a load'.

[5] Davis (2003, 135) glosses the prefix *vari-* as depatientive. In Janic (2018, 166-167), this affix is analysed as performing the antipassive function.

(14) Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Comrie 1978; Foley 2007, 437)

a. Tumg-e n-antəwat-ən kupre-n.
friend-ERG 3PL.ERG-set-3SG.ABS.AOR net-ABS
'The friends set the net'.

b. Tumg-ət kupr-antəwat-gʔat.
friend-ABS.PL net-set-3PL.ABS.AOR
'The friends were net-setting'.

Apart from the lack of antipassive morphology, incorporation is structurally similar to the antipassive as both target the P argument. In (14b), the P 'net' no longer functions as a core argument of the verb 'set'. It is morphologically incorporated into the predicate and constrained in terms of mobility. In the antipassive, (13b), the P argument 'load' is demoted to an oblique. The peripheral status of this argument is indicated by the instrumental case *-e*. Incorporation and antipassive also modify in like manner flags of the A argument and indexes on the verb. The A argument is absolutive and this is the only core argument which is marked on the verb. Incorporation and antipassives also display functional similarities as in both instances the P argument displays a reduced degree of identifiability (Foley 2007, 437).

Since the borderline between incorporation and antipassives is not apparent (Malchukov 2015, 98) the question arises as to whether they should be taken as distinct phenomena or not. Linguists frequently do not provide a clear answer, limiting their investigation to pointing out similarities and differences displayed by incorporation and antipassives (e.g. (Creissels 2021, §6 and Moyse-Faurie 2021, §3). However some do adopt a clear position by providing arguments against treating both types of constructions as the same language phenomenon. For instance, Foley (2007) takes the antipassivizer as a formal indicator distinguishing these two types of construction. However, data from Hoava flatly contradict Foley's (2007) observation. A more convincing line of argumentation coming from Creissels (2006, 15) is related to the ability of a verb to assign a patient role to a noun phrase. According to the author, the nominal that is incorporated into a verb 'absorbs' the semantic role assigned to it by the verb. Consequently, the predicate is unable to take another NP to which it could assign the absorbed semantic role. By contrast, nothing similar can be argued for antipassives.

Another noticeable parameter of variation concerns the nature of the extra morphological material on the verb. Janic (2021, §2.1) signals that the antipassivizer may be dedicated (e.g. the antipassive marker *-ndì ~ -ndí* in Soninke, Creissels 2021, §4.2) or co-expressive. A text-book example is the *se* marker from Indo-European languages. For example, in Russian, the *-sja* suffix is involved in numerous valency-reducing operations such as anticausative (15a), reflexive (15b), reciprocal (15c), antipassive, (15d), passive (15e), and impersonal (15f).

(15) Russian (Indo-European; Malchukov 2017, 7-8; Geniušienė 1987, 285)

a. Palka slomala-sj.
stick.SG.NOM break.PST.3SG-SJA
'The stick broke.'

b. On moet-sja.
he wash.PRS.3SG-SJA
'He washes.'

c. Oni vstretili-sj.
they met.PST.3PL-SJA
'They met.'

d. Sobaka kusaet-sja.
dog.SG.NOM bite.PRS.3SG-SJA
'The dog bites.'

e. Dom stroit-sja rabochimi.
house.SG.NOM build.PRS.3SG-SJA worker.PL.INS
'The house is (being) built by the workers.'

f. Ob et-om soobs˘c˘ajet-sja v gaʒet-ax.
about this-PREP reports-SJA in newspaper-LOC.PL
'This is reported in newspapers.'

A final parameter of variation concerns the nature of antipassive marking. In a few languages, the change of valency is not signalled by an overt marker, but by the phonological change in the verbal stem. For instance, in Circassian languages, the antipassive verb is built from the verb whose stem ending in /ə/ is replaced by /*e*/ (Arkadiev & Letuchiy 2021, §3.1). Zúñiga & Kittilä (2019, 113) report a similar situation in Dinka (Nilotic). Example (16) shows a contrast in the verbal stem with the creaky vowel which is reserved for active, transitive verbs, (16a), and the verbal stem with the breathy vowel employed in the antipassive construction, (16b).

(16) Dinka (Nilotic; Schröder 2015, 55)

a. Petero a-pil bël.
Petero 3SG.INCOMPL-strip.ACT cane
'Peter is stripping the cane'.

b. Petero a-pïl.
Petero 3SG.INCOMPL-strip.ANTIP
'Peter is stripping'.

Unlike morphological variations of flagging and indexation along with various syntactic behaviour of the P argument, diversity resulting from antipassive marking is definitional rather than empirical in nature. There is disagreement between scholars of whether the antipassivizer should be viewed as an obligatory criterion in the recognition of the antipassive phenomenon (Mroczyńska 2019, 200; Janic 2021, §4, Seržant et al. 2021). The recent data from Circassian and Nilotic languages additionally show that antipassive marking may not necessarily involve extra morphological material on the verb. Among those who maintain the position that the antipassive should contain an antipassivizer, there are also scholars like Blight (2004) and Mroczyńska (2017, 2018) who find that this criterion may not be sufficient to correctly identify the antipassive. Both authors convincingly show that languages like English may have constructions that are functionally comparable to marked antipassives. Even if this is a perfectly legitimate approach based on a language-particular investigation, it is generally problematic in languages like English which display the morphologically accusative type of alignment and in which a decrease in valency is signalled neither by a change of the coding of the A argument nor by a change in indexation. In such languages, pairs like *He often reads the book* vs. *He often reads* or *Speed kills people* vs. *Speed kills* pose an empirical challenge because they do not have morphosyntactic indication showing whether they should be approached as a particular type of transitivity alternation or as null object constructions (known also in the literature as 'A preserving-lability' or 'ambitransitivity'). In contrast to the antipassive, a null object construction can be analysed as involving a transitive verb which admits a null object with an unspecific reading (Creissels 2015, 225). See Mroczyńska (2019, 197–199) on various types of null object in English.

3.2. Motivations for different realizations of the P argument

The motivation behind the different realization of the P argument in antipassive constructions varies crosslinguistically. It may be language specific related to external discourse properties of the P argument[6] or to the process of lexicalization. In what follows, I will briefly discuss the motivation for different behavior of the P argument in antipassive constructions.

In Mam (Mayan), the realization of the P can be motivated by discourse properties. Among various types of antipassive constructions (e.g. syntactic, incorporative, lexical), Mam has also absolutive antipassives in which the expression of the P is blocked. This happens when the P referent is not identifiable[7] in the discourse context because it was not mentioned previously or because it is unknown to the hearer (England 1983, 214), as shown in (17b).

[6] In languages with deep ergativity, antipassive constructions may also display syntactic functions. However, these functions are beyond of the scope of the present study.

[7] The term 'identifiability' is understood as 'a speaker's assessment of whether a discourse representation of a particular referent is already stored in the hearer's mind or not' (Lambrecht 1994, 76).

(17) Mam (Mayan; England 1983, 214; Cooreman 1994, 53)

a. Ma Ø-w-aq'na-7n-a.
ASP ABS.3SG-ERG.1SG-work-DS-1SG
'I worked it (something)'.

b. Ma chin aq'naa-n-a.
ASP ABS.1SG work-ANTIP-1SG
'I worked (no implication of what was worked)'.

Example (18) illustrates another case of the antipassive with the suppressed P argument.

(18) Russian (Indo-European; Babby 1975, 322)

a. Naša sobaka ne kusaet detej.
Our.SG.F.NOM dog.SG.F.NOM NEG bite.3SG.PRS child.PL.ACC
'Our dog does not bite children'.

b. Naša sobaka ne kusaet-sja.
Our.SG.F.NOM dog.SG.F.NOM NEG bite.3SG.PRS-ANTIP
'Our dog does not bite'.

The motivation to constrain the realization of the P in Russian in (18b) is different compared to Mam (17b). Only predicates which express antisocial or antagonistic actions such as 'bite', 'push', 'nickname', etc. can occur in Russian antipassives with the syntactically supressed P argument. This is because the antipassive in (18b) is triggered by the reflexive marker *-sja* and the syntactic structure of the resulting construction overlaps with the truly reflexive constructions also schematized as [NP_s + verb-*sja*]. Given that the primary function of a reflexive morpheme is to indicate that the agent, instead of acting on the patient, acts on him/herself, the implementation of antisocial or antagonistic verbs into a reflexive structure [NP_s + verb-*sja*] forces the hearer to reinterpret such a construction as the antipassive, where the verb denotes a semantically transitive action with the agent acting on a distinct participant. This reanalysis is pragmatically motivated, because it is more plausible and natural that the agent, who performs the antagonistic action with detrimental effects, will do it on a distinct participant rather than on him/herself. This pragmatic motivation cancels the co-referential function otherwise performed by a reflexive marker. So-called absolutive antipassives with antisocial or antagonistic verbs are typical of Slavic languages (Janic 2016, 154-155).

In some languages, low degree of identifiability of the P does not necessarily lead to the suppression of this argument. In this respect, Chamorro (Austronesian) shown in (19) differs from Mam, (17). In this language, the low individuated P with an indefinite or generic interpretation can be overtly expressed as an oblique. Example (19b) illustrates this point.

(19) Chamorro (Austronesian; Cooreman 1988, 571; Cooreman 1994, 54)

a. Ha-konne' i peskadot i guihan.
ERG.3SG-catch the fisherman the fish
'The fisherman caught the fish'.

b. Mangonne' (guihan) i peskadot.
ANTIP.catch (fish) the fisherman
'The fisherman caught fish /a fish (something)'.

A similar observation holds in Kuku Yalanji (Pama Nyungan). As reported by Vigus (2018, 367), this language uses the basic, transitive construction when the action denoted by a verb is performed on a highly specific P argument (Patz 2002, 152). When this criterion is not satisfied, Kuku Yalanji employs an antipassive in which a P argument that is obligatorily expressed as an oblique is conceived as less individuated. This contrast is shown in (20).

(20) Kuku Yalanji (Pama Nyungan; Patz 2002, 152)

a. nyulu dingkar-angka minya nuka-ny.
3SG.NOM man-ERG meat.ABS eat-PST
'The man ate meat'.

b. nyulu dingkar minyA nga nuka-ji-ny.
3SG.NOM man.ABS meat-LOC eat-ITR-PST
'The man had a good feed of meat (he wasted nothing)'.

The employment of the antipassive can also be related to the affectedness of the P argument. In some languages this construction is used when the P is not entirely affected. A text-book example comes from English, in which conative alternations such as *Margaret cut the bread.* vs. *Margaret cut at the bread* (Levin 1993, 6) have comparable interpretative effects as antipassives as shown in (21) and (22). See also Cooreman (1994, 58-62), Polinsky (2017, §13.7), Vigus (2018, 344), Zúñiga & Kittilä (2019, 112) and Janic & Witzlack-Makarevich (2021a, §5.1) on affectedness of the P argument in the antipassive construction.

(21) Chamorro (Austronesian; Cooreman 1994, 59)

a. Un-patek i ga'lago.
ERG.2SG-kick the dog
'You (sg) kicked the dog'.

b. Mamatek hao gi ga'lago.
ANTIP.kick 2SG.ABS LOC dog
'You (sg) kicked at the dog'.

(22) Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Kozinsky et al. 1988, 652)

a. ətləg-e keyŋ-ən penrə-nen.
father-ERG bear-ABS attack-3SG:3SG.AOR
'Father attacked the bear'.

b. ətləg-ən penrə-tko-gʔe kayŋ-etə.
father-ABS attack-ANTIP 3SG.AOR bear-DAT
'Father rushed at the bear'.

A particularly interesting example comes from East Uvean (Austronesian) in (23), in which the P argument expressed as an oblique does not signal that it is partially affected but that it is specifically and exclusively affected. This is rather cross-linguistically unexpected.

(23) East Uvean (Austronesian; Moyse-Faurie 2021, §4.1)

a. Vaka'i ia te pāsina faka'osí!
examine ABS SPC page last
'Examine the last page!'

b. Vaka'i ki te pāsina faka'osí!
examine OBL SPC page last
'Examine specifically the last page'.

The antipassive illustrated in (23b), does not contain an explicit verbal marker. However, the general characteristics of this construction meet the definition of the antipassive: the P argument is moved to a peripheral status, which is signalled by the oblique marker *ki*. Yet examples (2) and (10), repeated here for convenience as (24) and (25) respectively, illustrate another motivation for the different behaviour of the P argument in the antipassive.

(24) French (Indo-European; Janic 2016, 205)

a. Il confesse ses péchés.
3SG.M confess.3SG.PRS his sins
'He confesses his sins'.

b. Il se confesse (de ses péchés).
3SG.M ANTIP confess.3SG.PRS PREP his sins
'He confesses his sins'.

c. Il se confesse.
3SG.M ANTIP confess.3SG.PRS
'He confesses'.

In (24), the oblique phrase (*de ses péchés*) can be dropped from the surface structure. This is shown in (24b) with (24c) respectively and corresponds to Dixon & Aikhenvald's (1997, 74; 2000, 9) general observation on antipassives according to which 'the underlying O argument [= the P] goes into a peripheral function, being marked by a non-core case, adposition, etc.; this argument can be omitted, although there is always the option of including it.' One can speculate that the possibility to omit the oblique argument is favored by the fact that the lexical meaning of the verb 'confess' considerably restricts the range of possible arguments. Reserved to the religious context, the verb potentially implies one type of argument i.e. 'sin'. The omission of the oblique *de ses péchés* is related to detopicalization of this constituent. This consequently shifts a reader's attention to the agent and to the action he/she performs (on oblique omission see also Dom et al. 2015, 376 and (Janic 2021, §5.1.3). Example (25) shows the opposite situation, where the P must be obligatorily expressed in the antipassive.

(25) French (Indo-European; Janic 2016, 205)

a. Les étudiants attaquent les révisions dès
DEF.PL student.PL start.PRS.3PL DEF.PL revision.PL PREP
le mois de mars.
DEF.SG.M month PREP March
'The students start the revision from March'.

b. Les étudiants s' attaquent aux révisions
DEF.PL student.PL ANTIP start.PRS.3PL PREP.DEF.PL revision.PL
dès le mois de mars.
PREP DEF.SG.M month PREP March
'The students start the revision from March'.

c. *Les étudiants s' attaquent dès le mois de mars.
DEF.PL student.PL ANTIP start.PRS.3PL PREP DEF.SG.M month PREP March
'The students start the revision from March'.

When the verb *attaquer* 'start' is used intransitively with an oblique phrase, (25b), it lexically means 'to start something'. The omission of the peripherical argument in (25c) shifts the lexical meaning of this verb towards a literal reading 'attack oneself'. Even if such an interpretation is possible it is excluded for pragmatic reasons. In contrast, nothing comparable is observed for *confesser*: whether it occurs with an oblique phrase or not the meaning of the verb remains the same. This raises an important question of why the verb *confesser* allows the omission of an oblique phrase but not *attaquer.* A possible explanation is to be potentially searched for in the process of lexicalization. Janic (2016, 210-220, 2019, 79–81) reveals the extremely lexicalized nature of antipassive constructions in French, which makes it very difficult to find important

regularities. One can speculate like with the reference to the verb 'confess' (see the discussion above). However, in order to propose convincing generalizations a more advanced investigation would be in order. For instance, the consideration of all the verbs which allow for the omission of the oblique would allow us to verify if these verbs share a common characteristic which would oppose them to those verbs which do not admit the omission of the oblique argument in the antipassive construction.

4. Summary and conclusions

This study has provided a general overview of antipassives in languages of the world. In the light of new data related to the form of these constructions and to their functions, the first aim of this study was to show that the notion of antipassive should be revised. I drew attention to the fact that the investigation of antipassives has been biased for decades, and I aimed to demonstrate the consequences of this for the notion of antipassive. To this end, I discussed the misleading initial trends in the analysis of antipassives, which were subsequently followed in the literature. Three aspects were taken into account: the correlation between language alignment and syntactic operations, antipassive marking, and the symmetric relationship to passive derivations. Given that the formal and functional diversity of antipassives lie at the heart of the antipassive investigation, another aim of this paper was to capture some of the variation emerging from the crosslinguistic comparison, especially in the light of new data and analysis.

Firstly, I showed that contrary to what is, or has been, commonly argued, the antipassive is not limited to a morphologically ergative type of alignment. Even if the antipassive is less visible in accusative languages and may not perform all the functions encountered in languages with deep ergativity, this by no means contradicts the existence of antipassives in languages with morphologically accusative organization. The stronger visibility of these constructions in the ergative system signalled, for instance, by a change of coding of the A argument, is not directly related to the main characteristics of the antipassive construction and should be regarded as a side--effect resulting from language specific properties. In this respect, I mentioned that in ergative languages, a transition from basic to antipassive constructions may not always affect coding properties of the A argument. Three Australian languages, Warlpiri (Pama Nyungan), Jaru (Pama Nyungan) and Gooniyandi (Bunaban) are notable exceptions.

I also discussed the notion of the antipassive marker, drawing attention to the fact that it has received different treatments in the literature, which has consequently led to the false interpretation that antipassive constructions not only must contain an antipassive marker but also that it should be monosemous. This position has been adopted by Palmer (1994) and LaPolla (2000). Further, perhaps because the term 'antipassive' was first introduced in so-called ergative languages, I argued that this presumably pushed various scholars to conclude that only such languages have

specialized antipassivizers. To refute this opinion, I referred to studies by (Janic 2016; Polinsky 2005; Creissels 2021) who convincingly showed that accusative languages may also have dedicated antipassivizers. To this end, I mentioned the recent findings from Circassian languages and from Dinka (Nilotic), in which the antipassive construction is not derived by an explicit verbal marker as initially suggested by Silverstein (1976) but may also result from a phonological change in the verbal stem. At a more advanced level, these two particularly clear examples call into question a commonly accepted statement that the basic and antipassive constructions stand in a markedness relationship to each other, and encourage new questions about the marking of antipassive constructions.

Finally, even if at first sight it is reasonable to propose a mirror-image relationship between antipassive and passive, a more fine-grained analysis indicates important differences that call into question this proposition. In the first place, I argued that a lack of symmetry is pronounced at the functional level and concerns the relationship between semantic and discursive roles of verbal arguments. Unlike the antipassive, the passive predicate modifies the prototypical alignment between discourse and semantic roles. I also showed that there are formal differences. While passives involve promotion (Creissels 2006, 8), nothing comparable can be observed for antipassives. Finally, in contrast to antipassives, passives are not constrained to transitive verbs: I challenged this widespread observation by referring to recent data from Kuban Kabardian (Circassian) in which the antipassive can be derived from two-participant bivalent verbs which are syntactically intransitive. I suggested that in order to include data from Kuban Kabardian, the definition of antipassive should operate in terms of verbal valency referring to the number of arguments the verb occurs with, rather than in terms of syntactic transitivity of verbal predicates.

The second part of my study highlighted the formal and functional diversity of antipassives to give an idea of typological variations they display and to see how far these variations can go across languages. To this end, I discussed coding properties, different realizations of the P argument and antipassive marking. It was shown that there is a general agreement on coding properties of the antipassive construction such as flags and indexes. With regard to the different behavior of the P argument, beyond a mainstream view favoring omission and oblique expression, I also addressed the question of incorporation, which has not gained consensus among scholars. The main argument against the inclusion of P incorporation under the notion of antipassive was developed by Foley (2007), who argued that P incorporation cannot be included as true antipassives because, in contrast to antipassives, P incorporation does not involve derivational morphology. However, this observation was simplified as it was based on the language-specific analysis of Chukchi. I showed that data taken from Oceanic languages (e.g. Hoava) convincingly contradict Foley's (2007) line of argumentation. I suggested that instead of relying on a language-particular investigation, it is more convincing to consider empirical facts. The argument for treating both types of

constructions as different language phenomena may result from the observation that unlike antipassive verbs, complex predicates of incorporation are unable to assign a semantic role to the non-agent participant. The final parameter of variations concerned the nature of the antipassivizer. If one builds on the assumption that the antipassive marker should be a defining criterion of the antipassive, then the very nature of such a marker varies as it can be either dedicated or co-expressive.

The last point discussed in this study concerned the motivation for the different realization of the P argument in the antipassive construction. It was shown that while in some languages, a low degree of identifiability may lead to the suppression of this argument (e.g. Mam), in others such an argument may be realized as an oblique (e.g. Chamorro). Yet, in Kuku Yalanji, the oblique realization of the P argument received the interpretation of low degree of specificity. In addition to the discourse-pragmatic motivation, attention was also drawn to the semantic motivation of the antipassive. In languages like Chamorro, Chukchi or English, it was shown that the oblique expression of the P argument was interpreted as being partially affected. This commonly observed crosslinguistic pattern is challenged by recent findings from East Uvean (Austronesian), in which the oblique P argument of the antipassive is viewed as specifically and exclusively affected. Finally, in French, the different realization of the P argument in antipassive constructions seems to be driven by the process of lexicalization.

This contribution has given an overview of the relevant issues involved in antipassive constructions. Thanks to new data which have come available over the last few years, we could further the original definitions given in Silverstein 1972 and 1976 and get a better and more nuanced insight of the antipassive constructions.

Abbreviations

A agent, ABS absolutive, ACC accusative, ACT active, AOR aorist, ANTIP antipassive, ART article, ASP aspect, DAT dative, DEF definite, DEP depatientive, DS directional suffix, DYN dynamic, ERG ergative, F feminine, FUT future, INCOMPL incompletive, INS instrumental, ITR iterative, LOC locative, M masculine, MSD nominalization, NEG negation, NOM nominative, OBJ object, OBL oblique, PL plural, POSS possessive, PREP preposition, PRS present, PST past, REF reflexive, SBJ subject, SG singular, SPC specific article, TR transitive, 1 first person, 2 second person, 3 third person.

References

Aldridge, Edith. 2012. "Antipassive and Ergativity in Tagalog". *Lingua* 122(3): 192–203.

Arkadiev, Peter & Alexander Letuchiy. 2021. "Indirect antipassive in Circassian". In *Antipassive: Typology, Diachrony, and Related Constructions*, edited by Katarzyna Janic & Alena Witzlack-Makarevich, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company (forthcoming).

Babby, Leonard H. 1975. "A Transformational Analysis of Transitive-Sja Verbs in Russian". *Lingua* 35(3): 297–332.

Bickel, Balthasar. 2011. "Multivariate typology and field linguistics: a case study on detransitivization in Kiranti (Sino-Tibetan)". In *Proceedings of Conference on Language Documentation and Linguistic Theory 3*, vol. 3, edited by Peter Austin K., Oliver Bond, Lutz Marten & David Nathan, 1–11. SOAS University of London.

Blevins, James P. 2003. "Impersonals and Passive". *Linguistics* 39(3): 473–520.

Blight, Charles Blight. 2004. *Head Movement, Passive and Antipassive in English*. University of Texas. PhD Dissertation.

Bok-Bennema, Reineke. 1991. *Case and Agreement in Inuit*. Berlin: Foris Publications.

Bostoen, Koen, Sebastian Dom & Guillaume Segerer. 2015. "The antipassive in Bantu". *Linguistics* 53(4): 731–772.

Brecht, Richard D. & James, Levine S. 1985. "Conditions on Voice Marking in Russian". In *Issues in Russian morphosyntax* (UCLA Slavic Studies 10), edited by Michael S. Flier & Richard D. Brecht, 118–137. Columbus: Slavica Publishers.

Bricker, Victoria. 1978. "Wh-questions, relativization and clefting in Yucatec Maya". In *Papers in Mayan linguistics*, edited by Laura Martin, 109–139. Columbia: Lucas Brothers.

Bril, Isabelle. 2005. "Semantic and Functional Diversification of Reciprocal and Middle Prefixes in New Caledonian and Other Austronesian Languages". *Linguistic Typology* 9(1): 25–76.

Charney, Jean Ormsbee. 1993. *A grammar of Comanche*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 1977. "In defense of spontaneous demotion: the impersonal passive". In *Grammatical relations* (Syntax and Semantics 8) edited by Peter Cole & Jerrold M. Sadock, 47–58. New York: Academic Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 1978. "Ergativity". In *Syntactic typology: studies in the phenomenology of language*, edited by Winfred P. Lehmann, 329–394. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Comrie, Bernard, Diana Forker, Madzhid Khalilov, Zaira Khalilova & Helma Van den Berg. 2015. "Antipassives in Tsez and Beyond". Abstract presented at the Diversity Linguistics: Retrospect and Prospect, MPI-EVA, Leipzig.

Comrie, Bernard, Diana Forker, Zaira Khalilova & Helma Van den Berg. 2021. "Antipassives in Nakh-Daghestanian languages: Exploring the margins of a construction". In *Antipassive: Typology, Diachrony, and Related Constructions*, edited by Katarzyna Janic & Alena Witzlack-Makarevich, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company (forthcoming).

Comrie, Bernard, Madzhid Khalilov & Zaira Khalilova. 2015. "Valency and valency classes in Bezhta". In *Valency Classes in the World's Languages*, edited by Andrej L. Malchukov & Bernard Comrie, vol. 1, 541–540. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Cooreman, Ann. 1988. "The Antipassive in Chamorro: Variations on the Theme of Transitivity". In *Passive and Voice* edited by Masayoshi Shibatani, 561–593. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Cooreman, Ann. 1994. "A Functional Typology of Antipassives". In *Voice: Form and Function*, edited by Barbara A. Fox & Paul J. Hopper, 49–88. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Creissels, Denis. 2006. *Syntaxe générale : une introduction typologique. 2, La phrase*. Paris: Hermès Science.

Creissels, Denis. 2012. "The origin of antipassive markers in West Mande languages". Presented at the 45th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea, Stockholm.

Creissels, Denis. 2015. "Valency properties of Mandinka verbs". In *Valency Classes in the World's Languages*, edited by Andrej L. Malchukov & Bernard Comrie, 221–259. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Creissels, Denis. 2016. "Transitivity, valency and voice". Porquerolles: European Summer School in Linguistic Typology, ms.

Creissels, Denis. 2021." Antipassive derivation in Soninke (West Mande)". In *Antipassive: Typology, Diachrony, and Related Constructions*, edited by Katarzyna Janic & Alena Witzlack-Makarevich. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company (forthcoming).

Croft, William. 2012. *Verbs: Aspect and Causal Structure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Davis, Karen. 2003. *A grammar of the Hoava language, Western Solomons*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

De Rijk, Rudolf P.G. 2002. "L'antipassif Basque et l'hypothèse de Levin". *Revue D'études Basques* 7: 295–312.

DeLancey, Scott. 2004. "The blue bird of ergativity". In *Ergativity in Amazonia* (3) edited by Francesc Queixalós, 1–37. Paris: Celia.

Dixon, R.M.W. (ed.). 1976. *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies; Humanities Press.

Dixon, R.M.W. 1988. *A grammar of Boumaa Fijian*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dixon, R.M.W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dixon, R.M.W. 2012. *Basic Linguistic Theory Volume 3: Further Grammatical Topics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dixon, R.M.W. & Aleksandra Y. Aikhenvald. 1997. "A Typology of Argument-Determined Constructions". In *Essays on language function and language type: dedicated to T. Givón*, edited by Joan L. Bybee, John Haiman & Sandra Thompson, 71–113. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Dixon, R.M.W. & Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (eds.). 2000. *Changing Valency: Case Study in Transitivity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dixon, Robert M.W. 1972. *The Dyirbal language of North Queensland*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Dom, Sebastian, Guillaume Segerer & Koen Bostoen. 2015. "Antipassive/associative polysemy in Cilubà (Bantu, L31a): A plurality of relations analysis". *Studies in Language* 39(2): 354–385.

England, Nora C. 1983. *A grammar of Mam, a Mayan language*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

England, Nora C. 1988. "Mam Voice". In *Passive and voice*, edited by Masayoshi Shibatani, 525–545. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Farrell, Patrick. 2005. *Grammatical relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Foley, William A. 2007. "A typology of information packaging in the clause". In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Clause Structure* edited by Timothy Shopen, vol. 1, 362––446. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Foley, William A. & Robert D. Van Valin. 1984. *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Geniušienė, Emma. 1987. *The typology of reflexives*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Gerdts, Donna B. 1988. *Object and absolutive in Halkomelem Salish*. New York: Garland Publishing.

Givón, Talmy. 2001. *Functional-Typological introduction*. Vol. 2. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Grinevald-Craig, Colette. 1979. "The antipassive and Jacaltec". (Ed.) Laura Martin. *Papers in Mayan Linguistics* , 139-165.

Hale, Ken. 1973a. "Person marking in Walbiri". In *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, edited by S.R. Anderson and P. Kiparky, 308–344. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Haspelmath, M. 1993. *A Grammar of Lezgian*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Haspelmath, Martin & Thomas Müller-Bardey. 2004. "Valence Change". In *Morphologie: ein internationales Handbuch zur Flexion und Wortbildung*, edited by G.E. Booij, Christian Lehmann & Joachim Mugdan, 1130–1145. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Heath, Jeffrey. 1976. "Antipassivization: A Functional Typology". In *Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of Berkeley Linguistics Society*, edited by Henry Thompson & Kenneth Whistler, 202–211. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society.

Heath, Jeffrey. 1999. *A Grammar of Koyraboro (koroboro) Senni: The Songhay of Gao, Mali*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Heaton, Raina. 2017. *A typology of antipassives, with speciation reference to Mayan*. Manoa: University of Hawaii. Unpublished PhD dissertation.

Herslund, Michael. 1997. "Passive and Antipassive in a Functional Description of French Reflexive Verbs". *Journal of Linguistics. Hermes* 19. 75–92.

Hopper, Paul J. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. "Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse". *Language* 56(2). 251–299.

Israeli, Alina. 1997. *Semantics and Pragmatics of the "Reflexive" Verbs in Russian*. München: Verlag Otto Sagner.

Jacques, Guillaume. 2014. "Denominal Affixes as Sources of Antipassive Markers in Japhug Rgyalrong". *Lingua* 138. 1–22.

Jacques, Guillaume. 2021. "Antipassive derivations in Sino-Tibetan/Trans-Himalayan and their sources". In *Antipassive: Typology, Diachrony, and Related Constructions*, edited by Katarzyna Janic & Alena Witzlack-Makarevich, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company (forthcoming).

Janic, Katarzyna. 2015. *The antipassive in accusative languages*. Plenary talk given at the 11th Conference of the Association for Linguistic Typology, August 1, Albuquerque (NM).

Janic, Katarzyna. 2016. *L'antipassif dans les langues accusatives*. Brussels: Peter Lang.

Janic, Katarzyna. 2018. "Synchronic and diachronic aspects of valency-reducing devices in Oceanic languages". In *Valency-changing operations within and across languages [Thematic issue]* edited by Katarzyna Janic & Nicole Nau. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 58(2): 151–188.

Janic, Katarzyna. 2019. "Analyse sémantique des formes ‹se -verbe› avec un argument oblique en français". *Languages.* 216(4): 71–85.

Janic, Katarzyna. 2021. "The structure of antipassive constructions from a cross-linguistic perspective". In *Antipassive: Typology, Diachrony, and Related Constructions*, edited by Katarzyna Janic & Alena Witzlack-Makarevich. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company (forthcoming).

Janic, Katarzyna & Alena Witzlack-Makarevich. 2021a. "The multifaceted nature of antipassive constructions". In *Antipassive: Typology, Diachrony, and Related Constructions*, edited by Katarzyna Janic & Alena Witzlack-Makarevich, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Janic, Katarzyna & Alena Witzlack-Makarevich (eds.). 2021b. *Antipassive: Typology, Diachrony, and Related Constructions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Johns, Alana. 1999. "The decline of ergativity in Labrador Inuttut". Edited by Leora Bar-El, Rose-Marie Déchaine & Charlotte Reinholtz. *Papers from the Workshop on Structure and Constituency in Native American Languages. MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 17: 73–90.

Johns, Alana. 2006. "Ergativity and change in Inuktitut". In *Ergativity: Emerging Issues*, edited by Alana Johns, Diane Massam & Juvénal Ndayiragije, 293–311. Dordrecht: Springer.

Kański, Zbigniew. 1986. *Arbitrary Reference and Reflexivity: A Generative Study of the Polish Pronoun się and its English Equivalents*. Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski.

Keenan, Edward L. & Matthew S. Dryer. 2007. "Passive in the World's Languages". In *Language typology and syntactic description: clause structure*, edited by Timothy Shopen, vol. 1, 325–361. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kozinsky, Isaac, Vladimir, P. Nedjalkov & Maria S. Polinskaja. 1988. "Antipassive in Chukchee: Oblique Object, Object Incorporation, Zero Object". In *Passive and Voice*, edited by Shibatani Masayoshi, 651–706. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Kulikov, Leonid. 2011. "Voice Typology". In *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Typology*, edited by Jae J. Song, 368–398. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kuryłowicz, Jerzy. 1949. "La Construction Ergative et le Développement Stadial du Langage". *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa. Classe di lettere e filosofia* 18: 84–92.

Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form: topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LaPolla, Randy J. 2000. "Valency-changing derivations in Dulong/Rawang". In Changing Valency: Case Study in Transitivity edited by R.M.W. Dixon & Alexandra Aikhenvald, 282––311. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Launey, Michel. 1994. *Une grammaire omniprédicative: essai sur la morphosyntaxe du nahuatl classique*. Paris: CNRS.

Lazard, Gilbert. 1998. *Actancy*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Legendre, Géraldine & Akimova, Tanya. 1994. "Inversion and Antipassive in Russian". In *Annual Workshop on Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics. The MIT meeting, 1993*, edited by Sergey Avrutin, Steven Franks & Ljiljana Progovac, 286–318. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications.

Levin, Beth. 1993. *English verb classes and alternations: a preliminary investigation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Liakin, Denis & Juvénal Ndayiragije. 2000. "Les Constructions Russes en -sja". *Revue québécoise de linguistique* 28(1): 111–122.

Lichtenberg, Frantisek. 2008. *A grammar of Toqabaqita*. Vol. 42. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Lichtenberk, František. 1991. "Reciprocals and depatientives in To'aba'ita". In *Currents in Pacific linguistics: papers on Austronesian languages and ethnolinguistics in honour of George W. Grace*, 171–183. Canberra: Dept. of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

Lichtenberk, František. 2000. "Reciprocals without reflexives". In *Reciprocals: Forms and Functions*, edited by Zygmunt Frajzyngier & Traci S. Curl, 31–62. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Lichtenberk, František. 2007. "Reciprocals and related meanings in To'aba'ita". In *Reciprocal Constructions* edited by Vladimir P. Nedjalkov, 1547–1574. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Malchukov, Andrej. 2017. "Markedness effects in applicative formation: Theoretical and typological perspectives". In *Verb valency changes: theoretical and typological perspectives*, edited by Albert Alvarez González & Ia Navarro, 1–29. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Malchukov, Andrej L. 2015. "Valency classes and alternations: parameters of variation". In *Valency Classes in the World's Languages* edited by Andrej L. Malchukov & Bernard Comrie, vol. 1, 73–130. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Masullo, Pascual Jose. 1992. "Antipassive constructions in Spanish". In *Romance languages and modern linguistic theory: papers from the 20th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL XX), Ottawa, 10-14 April 1990*, edited by Paul Hirschbühler & E.F.K. Koerner, 175–193. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Medová, Lucie. 2009. *Reflexive Clitics in the Slavic and Romance Languages. A Comparative View from an Antipassive Perspective*. Princeton University. PhD Dissertation.

Mejias-Bikandi, Errapel. 1999. "Unaccusative and Antipassive Constructions in Basque and Spanish". In *Grammatical analyses in Basque and Romance linguistics: papers in honor of Mario Saltarelli*, edited by Jon Franco, Alazne Landa, Juan Martín & Mario Saltarelli, 165–177. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Mithun, Marianne. 1984. "The evolution of noun incorporation." *Language* 60(4): 847–894.

Mithun, Marianne. 2021. "Antipassive Propensities and Alignment". In *Antipassive: Typology, Diachrony, and Related Constructions*, edited by Katarzyna Janic & Alena Witzlack--Makarevich. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company (forthcoming).

Moyse-Faurie, Claire. 2021. "Antipassive constructions in Oceanic languages". In *Antipassive: Typology, Diachrony, and Related Constructions*, edited by Katarzyna Janic & Alena Witzlack--Makarevich. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company (forthcoming).

Mroczyńska, Katarzyna. 2017. "Realizations of antipassive-like structures in English and Polish". In *Norm and anomaly in language, literature, and culture*, edited by Jarosław Wiliński & Joanna Stolarek, 61–73. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition.

Mroczyńska, Katarzyna. 2018. *Realizations of antipassive-like structures in Polish and English*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.

Mroczyńska, Katarzyna. 2019. "Antipassive-like features in English and Polish". In *Valency in verbs and verb-related structures*, edited by Anna Malicka-Kleparska & Maria Bloch--Trojnar, 195–211. Berlin: Peter Lang.

Ndayiragije, Juvénal. 2006. "The Ergativity Parameter: A View from Antipassive". In *Ergativity: Emerging Issues*, edited by Alana Johns, Diane Massam & Juvenal Ndayiragije, 271–292. Dordrecht: Springer.

Noonan, Michael. 1992. *A Grammar of Lango*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Nouguier Voisin, Sylvie. 2005. "Antipassif et Langues Accusatives". In *Linguistique typologique*, edited by Gilbert Lazard & Claire Moyse-Faurie, 193–206. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion.

Palmer, Frank R. 1994. *Grammatical Roles and Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Patz, Elizabeth. 2002. *A grammar of the Kuku Yulanji language of North Queensland*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Polinsky, Maria. 2005. "Antipassive Constructions". In *The World Atlas of Language Structures*, edited by Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil & Bernard Comrie, 438–439. New York: Oxford University Press.

Polinsky, Maria. 2017. "Antipassive". In *The Oxford handbook of ergativity*, edited by Jessica Coon, Diane Massam & Lisa deMena Travis, 308–331. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pustet, Regina & David S. Rood. 2008. "Argument dereferentialization in Lakota". In *The typology of semantic alignment*, edited by Mark Donohue & Søren Wichmann, 334–356. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Renaudier, Marie. 2012. *Dérivation et valence en sereer. Variété de Mar Lodj (Sénégal)*. Lyon: Université Lumière Lyon 2. Unpublished PhD dissertation.

Rivero, María Luisa. 2000. "Impersonal SIĘ in Polish: A Simplex Expression Anaphor". *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 8(2): 199–237.

Rivero, María Luisa & Milena Sheppard. 2003. "Indefinite Reflexive Clitics in Slavic: Polish and Slovenian". *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 21(1): 89–155.

Rude, Noel. 1988."Ergative, Passive, and Antipassive in Nez Perce: A Discourse Perspective". In *Passive and Voice*, edited by Masayoshi Shibatani, 547–560. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Ruzicka, Rudolf. 1992. "Slavic and Italian Impersonal Constructions with Reflexive Clitics". In *Fügungspotenzen: Zum 60. Geburtstag Von Manfred Bierwisch*. edited by Ilse Zimmermann, Anatoli Strigin & Manfred Bierwisch, 133-161. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Sansò, Andrea. 2017. "Where do antipassive constructions come from? A study in diachronic typology". *Diachronica* 34: 175–218.

Say, Sergey. 2008. *K tipologii antipassivnyx konstrukcij: Semantika, pragmatika, sintaksis [Towards a typology of anti-passive constructions: Semantics, pragmatics, syntax]*. St. Petersburg: Institute of Linguistic Studies Unpublished PhD dissertation.

Say, Sergey. 2021." Antipassive and the lexical meaning of verbs". In *Antipassive: Typology, Diachrony, and Related Constructions*, edited by Katarzyna Janic & Alena Witzlack-Makarevich, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company (forthcoming).

Schlie, Ginny. 1983. Individuation and Topicality as Indices of Transitivity: Degrees of Passive in Kara. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics, ms. http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/abstract.asp?id=928474560366.

Schröder, Helga. 2015. "Alignment systems and passive-antipassive distribution in Nilotic languages". *Journal of Language and Linguistics* 4: 42–81.

Seržant, Ilja A., Katarzyna Janic, Oneg Ben Dror & Darja Dermaku-Appelganz. 2021. Typology of coding patterns and frequency effects of antipassives. *Studies in Language* (forthcoming).

Shibatani, Masayoshi. 2009. "Case and Voice: Case in Derived Constructions". In *The Oxford Handbook of Case* (Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics) edited by Andrej L. Malchukov & Andrew Spencer, 323–338. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Silverstein, Michael. 1972. "Chinook Jargon: Language Contact and the Problem of Multilevel Generative Systems, part I". *Language* 48(2): 378–406.

Silverstein, Michael. 1976. "Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity". In *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages*, edited by R. M. W. Dixon, 112–171. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies; Humanities Press.

Spreng, Bettina. 2005. "Third person arguments in Inuktitut". In *Proceedings of the Workshop on the Structure and Constituency of the Languages of the Americas 10*, vol. 17, edited by Solveiga Armoskaite & James J. Thompson, 215–225. Vancouver, BC: UBC Working Papers in Linguistics.

Tsunoda, Tasaku. 1981. *The Djaru language of Kimberley, Western Australia*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Tsunoda, Tasaku. 1988. "Antipassive in Warrungu and other Australian Languages". In *Passive and voice*, edited by Masayoshi Shibatani, 595–649. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Tuggy, David. 2010. "Function Becomes Meaning: The Case of Nawatl "Tla-". In *A Mosaic of languages and cultures: studies celebrating the career of Karl J. Franklin* (19), edited by Kenneth A. McElhanon & Gerard P. Reesink, 310–326. SIL Electronic Publications.

Van Valin, Robert D. 1980. "On the Distribution of Passive and Antipassive Constructions in Universal Grammar". *Lingua* 50(4): 303–327.

Vigus, Meagan. 2018. "Antipassive constructions: Correlations of form and function across languages". *Linguistic Typology* 22(3): 339–384.

Zúñiga, Fernando & Seppo Kittilä. 2019. *Grammatical voice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

"WRITING IS FIFTY YEARS BEHIND PAINTING"[1] – WILLIAM S. BURROUGHS AND THE ARTS

Forum for Contemporary Issues in Language and Literature
No. 1/2020

ISSN: 2391-9426
doi.org/10.34739/fci.2020.01.06

Anna Białkowska
ORCID: 0000-0002-4840-7198

Jagiellonian University in Cracow
Faculty of Philology, Institute of English Studies

Abstract

William S. Burroughs (1914–1997), one of the most controversial American writers of the 20th century, is an example of a "total artist", who does not limit himself to one genre or medium. He is best known for being an experimental writer, the co-creator of the avant-garde "cut-up" technique – a variant of collage. His cut-ups, however, were not limited to literature, as he was also the author of musical recordings, experimental videos and various visual arts projects. These were collaborative undertakings that the artist carried out with his friends – mainly with Brion Gysin (painter), Ian Sommerville (electronics technician and computer programmer) and Anthony Balch (film director). This article discusses William Burroughs' lesser-known works like, "The Third Mind", "Ah Pook Is Here", and "The Book of Breeething", as they are multi-media, interdisciplinary projects, created with the help of popular painters or illustrators, e.g. Bob Gale or Malcolm McNeill, and best demonstrate Burroughs' unconventional approach towards collaboration and the crossing of boundaries between different forms of art. The article also briefly comments on Burroughs' final decision to turn to painting and his eccentric "Shotgun Art".

Key words

William S. Burroughs, Brion Gysin, cut-up, visual arts, multi-media projects, Shotgun Art

To most readers William S. Burroughs is best known as a controversial, experimental writer. Certainly, he started out as a writer and came to fame and notoriety because of his novels; it should be noted, however, that his massive creative output encompasses paintings, graphics, calligraphy, type, photography, film, audio-video recordings and collages, assemblage, poetry, spoken word, and music. That being said, it is evident that a non-interdisciplinary approach to Burroughs' oeuvre is very limiting, if not pointless altogether. Fortunately, nowadays, there are numerous studies devoted to Burroughs' non-literary projects which allow the critics, and fans, to see Burroughs as a "total artist," who does not confine himself to one medium or genre. In his works, Burroughs regularly blended different kinds of art, mixed so called "high" and "low" culture,

[1] Qtd. in Odier 1989, 28.

switched registers, changed styles and modes of expression. In addition, he often used technology – mainly tape recorders, cameras, video cameras and, perhaps surprisingly, firearms – when creating his artwork. The utilization and incorporation of so many tools and means of artistic expression made up for a highly original and extremely diverse oeuvre. What is more, for many years Burroughs clung to and also put into practice the romantic idea of an artist turning his life into art. In his case this concept was realized in the writing of autobiographical or semi-autobiographical prose, in playing the main role in video and tape recordings or other performances, and in creating a legend, an artistic persona that Jennie Skerl identifies as a continuation of the "poete maudit tradition" (1985, 3). Burroughs – like many other artists of the Beat Generation – had a myth-making tendency and delighted in blurring the lines between facts and fiction.

Burroughs' involvement in so many artistic fields facilitated cooperation with various artists. As a matter of fact, Burroughs had rarely carried out individual projects – instead, he worked with painters, illustrators, poets, film directors, computer engineers and musicians. The impressive list of his collaborators includes such artists as: Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, Gregory Corso, Ian Sommerville, Anthony Balch, John Giorno, Robert Rauschenberg, Jasper Johns, Andy Warhol, Jean-Michel Basquiat, Keith Haring, Les Levine, Robert Mapplethorpe, David Cronenberg, Tom Waits, and Kurt Cobain. Thus, Burroughs is not only a perfect example of an artist creating multimedia artworks with the use of "multidisciplinary praxis". His projects also confirm the thesis that "the total work of art" ("Gesamkunstwerk") is "a collaborative practice and communal experience" (Menninger 2016, 6).

The most important and probably most fruitful partnership established in Burroughs' career, was that with Brion Gysin. In an essay on Burroughs' art, James Grauerholz – Burroughs' assistant, editor, bibliographer, virtually his factotum – insisted that "any attempt to 'contextualize' Burroughs as a painter must begin with Gysin, who, if we approach the question purely as a matter of art history was Burroughs' teacher" (1991, 239). I would argue that any attempt to contextualize Burroughs as an artist in general must be done in relation to Gysin who was not only a teacher, but more of a mentor and also a lifelong friend. Undoubtedly, he exerted a huge influence on Burroughs' art and life. As the co-creator and advocate of the avant-garde cut-up technique, Gysin had set the course for Burroughs' literary exploits. He introduced Burroughs to Arabic culture – or at least some aspects of the local lore, which the writer readily developed in his prose[2]. Gysin is responsible for Burroughs' conversion to Scientology as he is the one who introduced him to the, at that time,

[2] The figure of Hassan i Sabbah – the 11th century legendary leader of the Assassins – serves as a good example. Hassan i Sabbah became one of the key characters in Burroughs' mythology, whereas his supposed last words "Nothing is true – everything is permitted" echoes through most of Burroughs' works (Miles, 2016 "Through the Magic Mirror").

incipient New Religious Movement (Wills 2013, 3)[3]. Lastly – and sadly – he reinforced Burroughs' misogynist and paranoid worldview.

Gysin was a jack of all trades – a painter, writer, sound poet, performance artist and even a restaurateur. Born in 1916 of Swiss/Canadian parents, educated in England, fluently speaking four languages, Gysin soon became a citizen of the world. At the age of nineteen he decided to go to Paris and began painting at the Sorbonne. At that time, his circle included Max Ernst, Meret Oppenheim, Valentine Hugo, Salvador Dali, Dora Maar, and Pablo Picasso (Grauerholz 1991, 239). Legend has it that Gysin's paintings were removed at the last moment from the Surrealist exhibit of 1935 – at which he would present his works next to that of Picasso, Arp, Dali, Duchamp, Ernst, or Magritte – at Andre Breton's command, while Gysin himself was expelled from the group. The exclusion was supposedly provoked by a poster in which a calf's head bore too close a resemblance to that of Breton's (Grauerholz 1991, 239).

After his failure with the Surrealists, Gysin left for New York; there he "shared a studio with [Roberto] Matta, and saw Arshile Gorky and Jackson Pollock" (Grauerholz 1991, 240). During WWII, he was drafted and sent to a Japanese school where he learnt calligraphy – Japanese and Arabic script would later become an important motif in his works (Morgan 2012, 322). After the war, he was awarded a Fulbright scholarship which he quickly abandoned and moved to Tangier. The Moroccan port city was his home for the next twenty-three years. While living there, Gysin was fascinated with Arabic culture – he studied calligraphy, Islam and learned about magic from the Master Musicians of Joujouka (Grauerholz 1991, 240). In Tangier, he was in his element as he was naturally drawn to the exotic and esoteric, mainly due to his inclination toward mythmaking and his general paranoia. For Gysin, the universe was ruled by magical forces; things happened as a result of curses and secret rituals, there was no easy explanation for even the simplest, everyday occurrences. Once they met, Gysin rubbed off a lot of this paranoid, mystical attitude on to Burroughs (Morgan 2012, 322-23). Surely, Gysin's immersion into Arabic culture had a huge bearing on his art – it inspired "illusionistic" paintings of the desert and Moroccan marketplace, or the calligraphic abstractions of the 1950s which are usually seen as his best works (Grauerholz 1991, 240).

Despite his prolific output and the influence he exerted on many generations of artists, nowadays, Brion Gysin remains an obscure presence, "drifting on the borders of avant-garde anti-canon"[4] (Pisarski). He is "seldom mentioned in standard art history texts" even in connection with the Surrealist movement that he started out with

[3] Burroughs' involvement with the Church of Scientology is often overlooked or downplayed (probably because of the many controversies surrounding that organization); yet, I believe it should not be ignored as, for many years, Burroughs believed that the Church offers effective methods of both intellectual and spiritual development.

[4] My translation after Mariusz Pisarski, "Maszyna Snów Briona Gysina": http://www.ha.art.pl/projekty/felietony/1366-mariusz-pisarski-maszyna-snow-briona-gysina.

(Grauzerholz 1991, 241). Today, he is mainly known as the inventor of the "cut-up" technique and one of William Burroughs' closest associates.

Burroughs knew Gysin from their "Tangier days", as he sometimes visited Brion's restaurant "One Thousand and One Nights". At that time, however, neither one was impressed with nor interested in the other. Only when they ran into each other again in 1958 in Paris, did they hit it off to the point of becoming almost inseparable (Morgan 2012, xi-xii).

It was during his stay at the famous Beat Hotel that Gysin made his accidental, life-changing discovery. One day in 1959, while preparing a mount for his drawings, he cut through a pile of newspapers – the newly formed paper strips rearranged themselves into an interesting composition. Gysin was merely amused by that coincidence, but when he showed it to Burroughs, the writer thought that his friend made a momentous, ground-breaking discovery. On that occasion Gysin also declared that "writing is fifty years behind painting", and suggested that the methods already used by visual artist for years, could – and should – be applied to prose compositions (qtd. in Odier 1989, 28). The cut-up technique, perfected and used obsessively over the years by both artists, is one of the keys to understanding Burroughs as a writer and visual artist. It is the ultimate expression of Burroughs' notions concerning the fallibility and arbitrariness of language and, at the same time, a tool with which he wanted to deconstruct this flawed system. It became an elementary method of composition and was applied not only to prose but to all kind of artworks. Burroughs' used it with tape recordings, videos – he claimed that cut-ups are very similar to film montage – and paintings. Even though at the end of his career he limited the use of cut-ups and fold-ins, he had never abandoned it altogether.

The cut-up is a variant of collage; it is simply the cutting up of the original text or manuscript, and mixing it with parts of other, different texts. Inspired by Tristan Tzara's Dadaist poems and the Surrealist use of chance in drawings, the method presented itself to Burroughs at the perfect moment of his career (Morgan 2012, xxii). He had already finished *Naked Lunch* and was drifting further away from traditional narrative, searching for the medium best resonating with his ideas concerning language. Burroughs claimed that "the word is a virus" (Burroughs 1967, 49). What he meant is that language is the most powerful instrument of control and indoctrination and, according to him, the only way to break away from this arbitrary system is by deconstructing it. Slashing his own texts, or texts by other authors – Rimbaud, Eliot, Joyce – and mixing them with manuscripts or random newspaper clippings, allowed Burroughs to destroy the fictitious connections between words and enabled him to move outside the system of binary oppositions so deeply rooted in Western culture. Burroughs wanted to disrupt the artificial linearity, common to most of literature and enable the reader to travel freely on the axes of time and narration. The avant-garde cut-up method, according to Burroughs, broadened the perception by creating new

associations and collocations and forced the reader to consider the text from a new, "untrained" perspective. It was an attempt at de-conditioning the reader from commonly accepted, erroneous, ideas and values; "an attempt to restore truth to writing" (Hemmer 2007, 290).

Thus, the cut-up was a tool for liberation. At first, Burroughs – paradoxically – fought words with words. The avant-garde method was initially applied to prose; Burroughs – almost always in collaboration with other artists – produced hundreds of scrapbooks, albums, regular-, super- and meta-collages, two collections and three full-length novels: "Minutes to Go", 1960 – by Burroughs, Gysin, Corso, Beiles; "The Cut-up/ Nova" trilogy 1961-67 (which includes "The Soft Machine" (1961/66), "The Ticket That Exploded" (1962/67), "Nova Express" (1964)); and "The Third Mind", composed by Burroughs and Gysin and published in 1978. According to Grauerholz, "Burroughs' first participation in visual art may have been the development of his 'scrapbook' form, in collaboration with Gysin. These joint works of drawing, photography, typing, clippings, and collage continued from Paris in the mid-sixties through the early seventies, when Burroughs and Gysin moved to [...] London" (1991, 242).

"The Third Mind" is a combination of literary essays, poems, interviews, and theoretical texts explaining and advocating the cut-up technique. As stated by Grauerholz, the collection was "Burroughs' written exploration of the limits of collaboration and the breakdown of boundaries between forms of art" (1991, 245). The manuscript included more than one hundred collages – graphics, photos and illustrations made by either Gysin, Burroughs or by both of them, often using a grid system that Gysin had "worked out as the visual base" (Miles 2002, 169). It is difficult to analyze a work that is so diverse and extensive. Without doubt, it is an extremely important collection and serves as an explanation, a kind of a guidebook to most of Burroughs' cut-up projects. In the book, both authors expound on the methods they use – they give detailed instructions on how to create cut-ups, fold-ins and other collages[5]. They also clarify the philosophy behind their projects: "Tristan Tzara said: 'Poetry is for everyone.' And Andre Breton called him a cop and expelled him from the movement. Say it again: 'Poetry is for everyone'. [...] Cut-ups are for everyone. Anybody can make cut-ups. It is experimental in the sense of being something to do. Right here write now. Not something to talk and argue about" (Burroughs and Gysin 1978, 18). The artists believed that cut-ups can be used by everyone to produce works of art. However, they serve another purpose as well – they help to demystify the arbitrary and manipulative nature of language:

[5] "Take a page of text and trace a median line vertically and horizontally./ You now have four blocks of text: 1, 2, 3, and 4./ Now cut along the lines and put block 4 alongside block 1, block 3 alongside block 2. Read the rearranged page" (Burroughs and Gysin 1978, 10).

> Yes, it [the straight declarative sentence] is unfortunately one of the great errors of Western thought, the whole either-or proposition. You remember Korzybski and his idea of non-Aristotelian logic. Either-or thinking just is not accurate thinking. That's not the way things occur, and I feel the Aristotelian construct is one of the great shackles of Western civilization. Cut-ups are a movement toward breaking this down. I should imagine it would be much easier to find acceptance of the cut-ups from, possibly, the Chinese, because you see already there are many ways that they can read any given ideograph. It's already cut up (Burroughs and Gysin 1978, 5-6).

The artists also claimed:

> All writing is in fact cut-ups. A collage of words read heard overheard. What else? Use of scissors renders the process explicit and subject to extension and variation. Clear classical prose can be composed entirely of rearranged cut-ups. Cutting and rear ranging a page of written words introduces a new dimension into writing enabling the writer to turn images in cinematic variation. Images shift sense under the scissors smell images to sound sight to sound sound to kinesthetic. This is where Rimbaud was going with his color of vowels. And his 'systematic derangement of the senses'. The place of mescaline hallucination: seeing colors tasting sounds smelling forms" (Burroughs and Gysin 1978, 19).

"The Third Mind", ultimately, "was denatured from its original 'scrapbook format' and reduced to a more or less traditional book form" (Grauerholz 1991, 245), as "the last thing [that the publisher] wanted to see from Burroughs was an oversize illustrated book which would cost tens of thousands of dollars to produce and in all probability sell very few copies" (Miles 2002, 169). It should also be mentioned that the collection includes one of the earliest permutation poems – that Brion Gysin generated with the help of Cambridge educated mathematician and computer engineer, Ian Sommerville – entitled "I AM THAT I AM" (Higgins and Khan 2012, 247).

Another attempt made by Burroughs to have "a fully illustrated 'comix-format' " was the edition of "Ah Pook Is Here" which was supposed to be published with Malcolm McNeill's illustrations (Grauerholz 1991, 245). As it turned out, "this project was ahead of its time" as when it was finally published in 1979, "Ah Pook" did not meet with critical acclaim or with much interest from readers (Grauerholz 1991, 245). Burroughs explains in the Foreword to the novel:

> [It] was originally planned as a picture book modeled on the surviving Mayan codices. Malcolm McNeil was to do the illustrations, and I was to provide the text. Over the years of our collaboration there were a number of changes in the text, and Malcolm McNeill produced more than a hundred pages of artwork. However, owing partly to the expense of full-colour reproduction, and because the book falls

> into neither category of the conventional illustrated book nor that of a commix publication, there have been difficulties with the arrangements for the complete work [...]
> The book is in fact unique. Some pages are entirely text, some entirely pictorial, and some mixed. Finally Malcolm McNeill and I have decided to publish the text without the artwork, still in hopes of seeing the eventual publication of this work that has been eight years in preparation (1979, 6).

The title of the "commix" novel refers to the Maya death gods, who appeared under several names and guises. One of their "incarnations" is called Ah Puch (Britannica 1998). The plot is a rather confusing mixture of an adventure story – about Mr. Hart who steals the surviving Mayan codices and learns about immortality and total control – cut up with disturbing anti-establishment scenarios, homosexual fantasies and science-fictional, apocalyptic visions of biological annihilation. As mentioned in the above quote, it was supposed to have over 100 pages of integrated text and image, of text alone and some pages which featured only pictures. In the end, only the text (approximately 60 pages) and 2 symbolic drawings made it to the final, published version.

Another perfect example of Burroughs' attempt "to make an explicit connection between writing and painting" – according to Grauerholz (1991, 245) – and one that shows his "interest in visual representation" – according to Robinson (2011, 126) – is "The Book of Breeething". In "The Book" Burroughs uses a pictorial language based on Mayan and Egyptian hieroglyphs; the volume is illustrated with original artwork created by Bob Gale. Edward S. Robinson explains that Burroughs' "foray into mixing alphabetic language with hieroglyphs and other pictorial images, attempting to recreate 'moving pictures' in a written text [...]" was made in order to "reveal the manifold ways in which an image can be interpreted, and the way in which elements can be incorporated within a picture to convey a specific meaning" (2011, 126). It was another of Burroughs' endeavors at devising a better, less biased and less arbitrary means of communication.

Burroughs' fascination with Mayan and Egyptian mythology is well-known; however it should be mentioned that the artist did not literally recreate these systems – he selected only those ideas that were of interest to him and built his own, original mythology (Wild 2008, 38-57). In addition, Burroughs created a pictorial language in which, e.g. the phrase "coming forth" is expressed by images of legs, mouth and eye; "waiting" is represented by a road and a hand; "for thee" is conveyed by means of a mouth and a cup; sheaves of wheat, owls and ejaculating phalluses represent abstract concepts (the phrase "in presence of" is a picture of an owl and an "ejaculating phallus"; "in the absence of" is "ejaculating phallus" and an "owl" – see the illustration below); different combinations may be made to express a specific meaning.

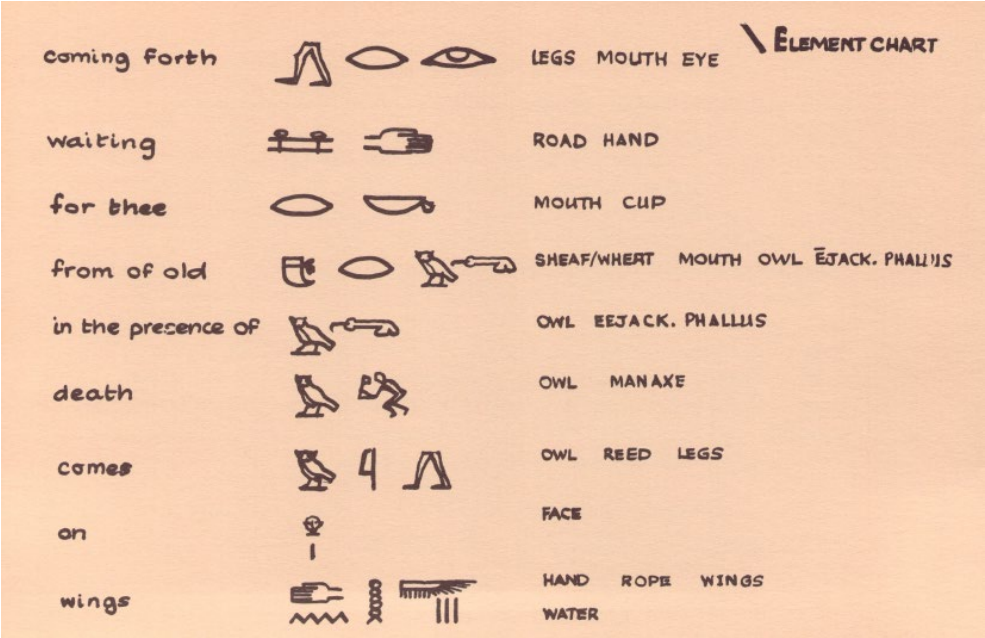


Fig. 1: "The Book of Breeething" (Burroughs 1975, 12). "Element Chart"

The book consists mainly of pictures, yet Burroughs also includes pieces of text – short stories that are rendered into hieroglyphs and then into pictures. For example, a short text about the Pharaoh Tutankhamen – "The Curse of King Tut" – contains an inscription: "Death shall come on swift wings to who toucheth the tomb of the pharaohs," which is then presented in the form of hieroglyphs:

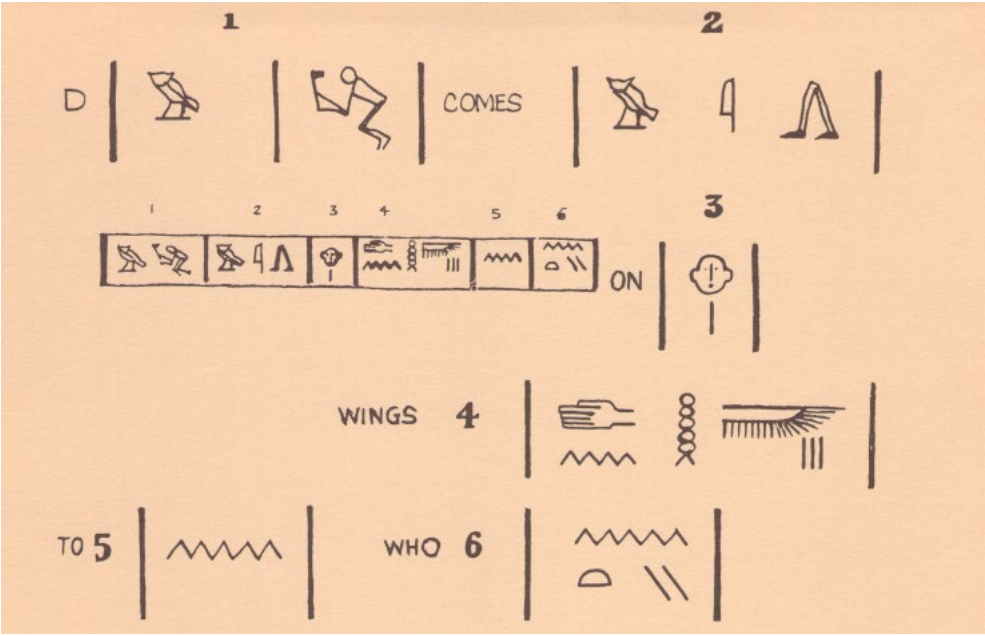


Fig. 2: "The Book of Breeething" (Burroughs 1975, 33). "The Curse of King Tut"

And then turned into pictures:

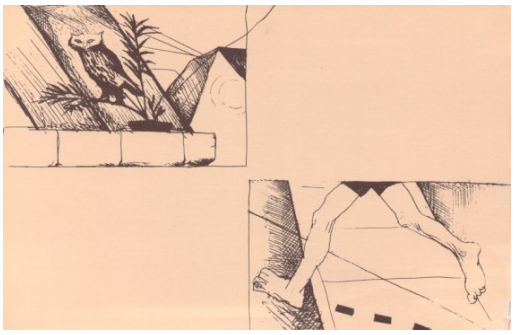


Fig. 3 and **4:** "The Book of Breeething" (Burroughs 1975, 41-42). "The Curse of King Tut"

It is also worthwhile looking at the book's introduction in which Burroughs again conveys his theories about language and its many flaws:

> In the beginning was the word and the word *was* God and has remained one of the mysteries ever since.
>
> What *is* word?
>
> To ask this question assumes the is of identity: something that word essentially *is*.
>
> Count Alfred Korzybski, who developed the concept of General Semantics [...] has pointed out that the is of identity has led to basic confusion in Western thought. The is of identity is rarely used in Egyptian pictorial writing. Instead of saying he is my servant they say he (is omitted) *as* my servant: a statement of relationship not identity. Accordingly there is nothing that word itself essentially *is*. Word only exists in a communication system of sender and receiver. It takes two to talk. Perhaps it only took one to write (Burroughs 1975, 9).

"The Book of Breeething" is Burroughs' only and perhaps most radical assaults on language, it was a realization of his project to "rub out the word" (Morgan 381).

Burroughs' use of Mayan and Egyptian hieroglyphs mirrors Gysin's adoption of Japanese and Arabic scripts. Both artists incorporated these ancient systems into their texts, paintings and cut-ups to reinforce their theory that "painting and writing were originally one" (Grauzerohlz 1991, 245). What is more, Edward S. Robinson suggests that "Burroughs' Multimedia Texts of the 1970s" (the mentioned "The Third Mind", "Ah Pook Is Here", "The Book of Breeething" and also "The Last Words of Dutch Schultz"), "serve a tripartite function". Firstly, they "bring new dimensions to Burroughs' attack on the systems control that run through the printed media". Secondly, "they signify his increasing fascination with non-linguistic modes of communication [...]". Thirdly, they

"preface the great emphasis Burroughs would place on the Mayan and Egyptian Books of the Dead during his final trilogy" (2011, 126).

Similarly to Grauerholz, Robinson attributes the publishing failure of Burroughs' multimedia texts to the fact that, as with so many of Burroughs' other projects, also these formats were "very much ahead of [their] time" (2011, 126).

In his later work – novels written in the 1980s, especially the so called "Red Night" trilogy – Burroughs drifted away from the cut-up and fold-in methods and turned back to more conventional, linear narrative: "I started painting when I was writing "The Place of Dead Roads" and continued while I was writing «Western Lands». [...] I don't do very much cut-ups these days. Sometimes I will make a cut-up to find something new. If I'm looking for something. Maybe I'll just throw it out or maybe I'll use it" (Hibbard 1999, 197). He became quite skeptical about the idea of overcoming language through the use of words. The "decline" of the cut-up was probably one of the reasons why during the last phase of his career, Burroughs made a complete turn to visual art.

As a controversial, avant-garde novelist, Burroughs had been in contact with many painters since the 1950s. In Tangier, he got acquainted with Francis Bacon. In New York, he met and collaborated with Robert Rauschenberg (in 1981 they worked on a six lithograph series known as "American Pewter with Burroughs", in which Rauschenberg chose phrases from Burroughs' works and incorporated them into his collages (Grauerholz 1991, 242; 246)).

Burroughs' shift from writing to painting was made in reference to Gysin's slogan *Writing is fifty years behind painting.* In a series of interviews conducted in the 1960s by Daniel Odier, when asked about the reasons for the gap between the two media, Burroughs explained:

> [the gap occurs] [b]ecause the painter can touch and handle his medium and the writer cannot. The writer does not yet know what words are. He deals only with abstractions from the source point of words. The painter's ability to touch and handle his medium led to montage techniques sixty years ago. It is hoped that the extension of cut-up techniques will lead to more precise verbal experiments closing this gap and giving a whole new dimension to writing. [...] This in turn could lead to a precise science of words and show how certain word combinations produce certain effects on the human nervous system (1989, 28).

The poignant words at the very end of "The Western Lands": "The old writer couldn't write anymore because he had reached the end of words, the end of what can be done with words" (Burroughs 2010, 258), may also be used to explain Burroughs' decision to turn to painting as they imply his final abandonment of the written word.

As may be expected, Burroughs' paintings are far from conventional. After his conversion to visual arts, he started producing pieces categorized as "Shotgun Art".

Burroughs' love of guns and weaponry was well-known among his friends and readers. He was a collector and an expert. He would carry a gun on him almost at all times, especially when he was living in South America. Even after the shooting accident with his common-law wife, Joan Vollmer Adams – in 1951, Burroughs accidentally shot her in a drunken "Wilhelm Tell act" – he would not give up on his "hobby" (Morgan 2012, 214).

In 1981, Burroughs moved to Lawrence, Kansas, and lived in a small rustic house outside the city limits, where he could indulge in his lifelong passion for shooting and combine it with a newly found interest in visual art. Burroughs' painting method was uncommon but simple. He would place or hang cans of spray paint in front of pieces of wood or canvases and then shoot at them. When shot, the cans exploded and the splashes of paint arranged into interesting patterns all over the canvases. Sometimes the "painter" would just leave the splashes, sometimes he would work on the them further, turning them into collages. James Grauerholz claims that it is doubtful that Burroughs was aware of the gun-art experiments of the French artist Nikki de St. Phalle, or of the lithographic-target series of his friend, artist and professional marksman, David Bradshaw (1991, 246). He claims that Burroughs developed the technique on his own as his method and its final effects are quite different from those achieved by the mentioned artists.

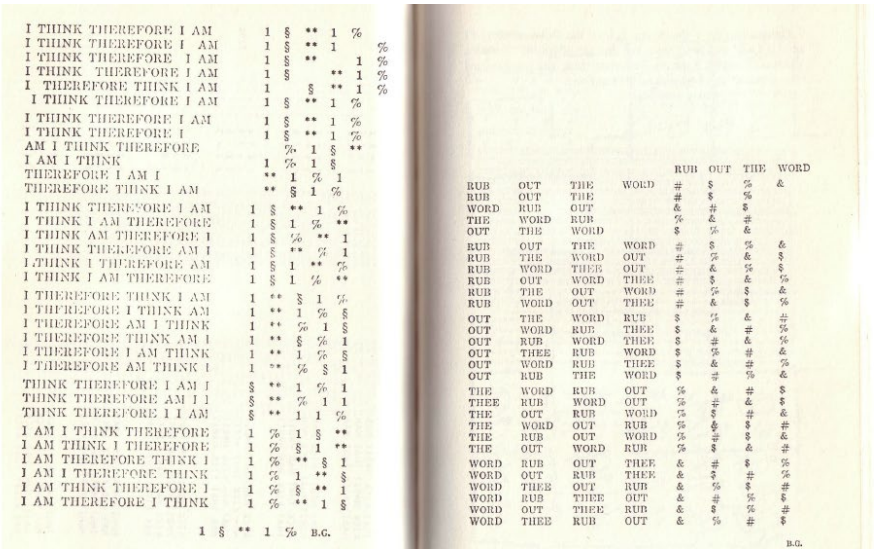
In the shotgun paintings, Burroughs wanted to accentuate the randomness factor of his works. He claimed: "The shotgun blast releases the little spirits compacted into the layers of wood, releases the colors of the paints to splash out in unforeseeable unpredictable images and patterns" (qtd. in Grauerholz 1991, 243). According to Burroughs, the paintings were very different from his cut-ups as with the production of cut-ups a very meticulous editing process was involved. The paintings were a matter of pure luck.

Burroughs' debut show took place in 1987 at the Tony Shafrazi Gallery in New York. Twenty-nine of his works on wood, thirteen newer works on paper, and two works on metal were presented at the exhibition. His artwork was well received and critically acclaimed. Since then, numerous exhibitions, held during Burroughs' life and after his death, in galleries around the world, met with critical acclaim and serious consideration.

It is hard not to notice that Burroughs' "Shotgun Art" is gruesome – the paintings are very dark, violent – again, even more disturbing in light of the accident with Joan Vollmer Adams. Zoe Pilger, the reviewer of one of the London exhibitions of Burroughs's art, suggests that the paintings and the obsessive shooting may be seen as a form of auto-therapy, "a sign of guilt, the motif of sin repeated ad nauseam until the end of [Burroughs'] long life" (2014).

Brion Gysin died in July 1986 in Paris. After his death, Burroughs declared: "He was the only man I have ever respected. I have admired many others, esteemed and valued others, but respected only him" (Burroughs and Gysin 1992, 71). William

Burroughs died in August 1997 in Lawrence, Kansas. Both artists were successful in their attempt to blur the line between painting and writing. They exerted an indelible influence on many generations of artists – writers, painters, musicians. Yet, I believe that their mission to "rub out the word" proved unsuccessful.



I THINK THEREFORE I AM 1 § ** 1 %
I THINK THEREFORE I AM 1 § ** 1 %
I THINK THEREFORE I AM 1 § ** 1 %
I THINK THEREFORE I AM 1 § ** 1 %
I THERFORE THINK I AM 1 § ** 1 %
I THINK THEREFORE I AM 1 § ** 1 %
I THINK THEREFORE I AM 1 § ** 1 %
I THINK THEREFORE I 1 § ** 1 %
AM I THINK THEREFORE % 1 § **
I AM I THINK 1 % 1 §
THEREFORE I AM I ** 1 % 1
THEREFORE THINK I AM ** § 1 %
I THINK THEREFORE I AM 1 § ** 1 %
I THINK I AM THEREFORE 1 § 1 % **
I THINK AM THEREFORE I 1 § % ** 1
I THINK THEREFORE AM I 1 § ** % 1
I THINK I THEREFORE AM 1 § 1 ** %
I THINK I AM THEREFORE 1 § 1 % **
I THEREFORE THINK I AM 1 ** § 1 %
I THFREFORE I THINK AM 1 ** 1 % §
I THEREFORE AM I THINK 1 ** % 1 §
I THEREFORE THINK AM I 1 ** § % 1
I THEREFORE I AM THINK 1 ** 1 % §
I THEREFORE AM THINK I 1 ** % § 1
THINK THEREFORE I AM I § ** 1 % 1
THINK THEREFORE AM I I § ** % 1 1
THINK THEREFORE I I AM § ** 1 1 %
I AM I THINK THEREFORE 1 % 1 § **
I AM THINK I THEREFORE 1 % § 1 **
I AM THEREFORE THINK I 1 % ** § 1
I AM I THEREFORE THINK 1 % 1 ** §
I AM THINK THEREFORE I 1 % § ** 1
I AM THEREFORE I THINK 1 % ** 1 §
1 § ** 1 % B.G.

				RUB	OUT	THE	WORD
RUB	OUT	THE	WORD	#	$	%	&
RUB	OUT	THE		#	$	%	
WORD	RUB	OUT		&	#	$	
THE	WORD	RUB		%	&	#	
OUT	THE	WORD		$	%	&	
RUB	OUT	THE	WORD	#	$	%	&
RUB	THE	WORD	OUT	#	%	&	$
RUB	WORD	THEE	OUT	#	&	%	$
RUB	OUT	WORD	THEE	#	$	&	%
RUB	THE	OUT	WORD	#	%	$	&
RUB	WORD	OUT	THEE	#	&	$	%
OUT	THE	WORD	RUB	$	%	&	#
OUT	WORD	RUB	THEE	$	&	#	%
OUT	RUB	WORD	THEE	$	#	&	%
OUT	THEE	RUB	WORD	$	%	#	&
OUT	WORD	RUB	THEE	$	&	#	%
OUT	RUB	THE	WORD	$	#	%	&
THE	WORD	RUB	OUT	%	&	#	$
THEE	RUB	WORD	OUT	%	#	&	$
THE	OUT	RUB	WORD	%	$	#	&
THE	WORD	OUT	RUB	%	&	$	#
THE	RUB	OUT	WORD	%	#	$	&
THE	OUT	WORD	RUB	%	$	&	#
WORD	RUB	OUT	THEE	&	#	$	%
WORD	OUT	RUB	THEE	&	$	#	%
WORD	THEE	OUT	RUB	&	%	$	#
WORD	RUB	THEE	OUT	&	#	%	$
WORD	OUT	THEE	RUB	&	$	%	#
WORD	THEE	RUB	OUT	&	%	#	$

B.G.

Fig. 5: "The Third Mind" (Burroughs 1978, 33)

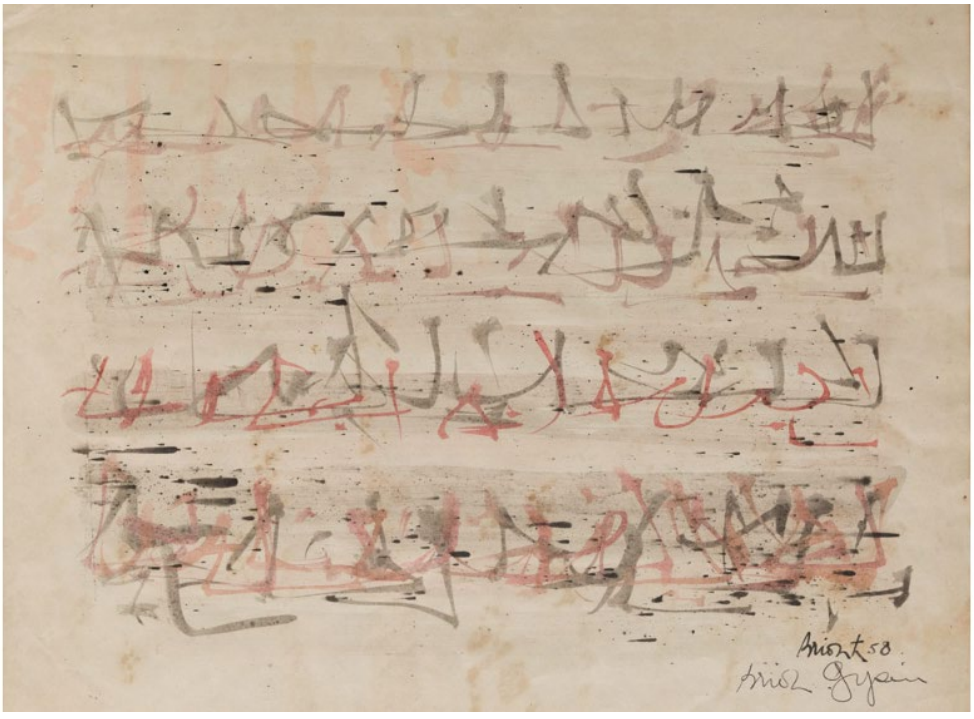


Fig. 6: Brion Gysin, "Written Desert" (1958). Ink on paper, 26 x 34 cm

Fig. 7: Brion Gysin, "Calligraffiti of Fire" (1985). Oil on Canvas (in ten panels), 130 x 1640 cm

Fig. 8: William S. Burroughs posing in front of his paintings, brandishing his "paintbrush" (Cumming 2012)

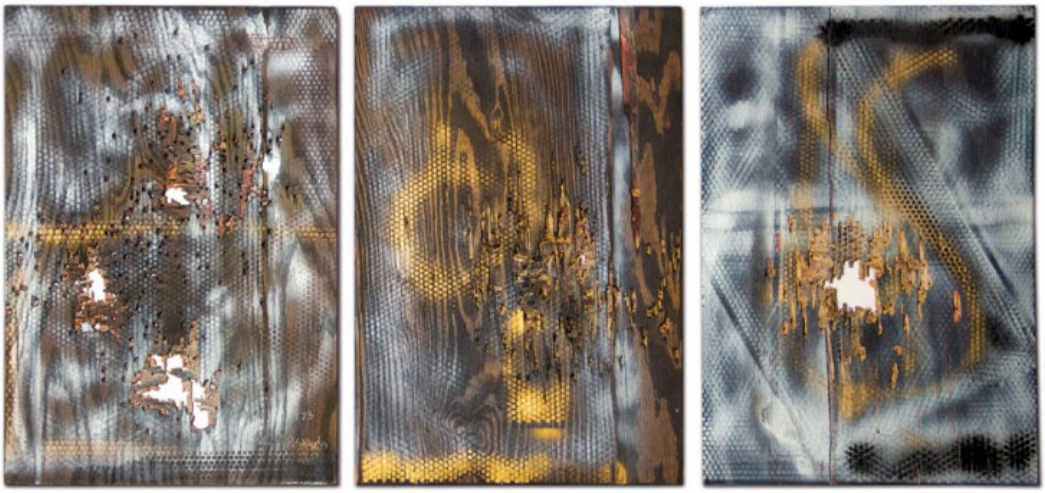


Fig. 9: William S. Burroughs, "Untitled Triptych" (1993). Spray paint and shotgun blasts on plywood, 73x55 x 6 cm each © Estate of William S. Burroughs

Fig. 10: William S. Burroughs, "The Furnace" (1989). Ink on paper, 36 x 24 cm
© Estate of William S. Burroughs. Photo: Jonathan Greet

References

"Ah Pook Is Here – William S. Burroughs, Malcolm McNeil". http://www.burroughsmcneillart.com/art-12.html.

Burroughs, William. 1979. *Ah Pook Is Here*. London: John Calder.

———. 1975. *The Book of Breeething*. Berkeley: Blue Wind Press.

——— . 1978. *The Third Mind*. New York: Grove Press.

———. 1967. *The Ticket That Exploded.* New York: Grove Press.

———. 2010. *The Western Lands.* London: Penguin Classics.

Grauerholz, James.1991. "On Burroughs' Art". In *William S. Burroughs at the Front: Critical Reception, 1959-1989*, edited by Jennie Skerl and Robin Lydenberg, 239-249. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press.

Hemmer, Kurt ed. 2007. *Encyclopedia of Beat Literature*. New York: Facts On File, Inc.

Księżyk, Rafał. 2013. *23 cięcia dla Williama S. Burroughsa*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo w Podwórku.

Odier, Daniel. 1989. *The Job: Interviews with William S. Burroughs*. New York: Penguin Books, Inc.

Higgins, Hannah B. & Douglas, Kahn, ed. 2012. *Mainframe Experimentalism – early computing and the foundations of the digital arts*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. https://books.google.pl/books?id=WbMwDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA247&lpg=PA247&dq=first+permutations+poems&source=bl&ots=Mg93X7PFyk&sig=ACfU3U1cNUPnBO_VUVkpO4gz6iEQCzI-Sw&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj8o_XP1ILjAhVsAxAIHSTQDcIQ6AEwDHoECAkQAQ#v=onepage&q=first%20permutations%20poems&f=false Access Date: June 25, 2019.

"Cizin". The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. 1998. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. July 20, 1998. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Cizin. Access Date: June 25, 2019.

Cumming, Tim. 2012. "William Burroughs: All Out Of Time and Into Space, October Gallery". The arts desk.com, Monday, 10 December 2012. https://theartsdesk.com/visual-arts/william-burroughs-all-out-time-and-space-october-gallery. Access Date: June 25, 2019.

Robinson, Edward S. 2011. *Shift Linguals: Cut-up Narratives from William S. Burroughs to the Present.* Amsterdam – New York. https://books.google.pl/books?id=N3qLaHkz5bkC&pg=PA48&lpg=PA48&dq=the+rapacious+corporate+manipulation+Murphy+2002&source=bl&ots=eZ7ZDCDn4_&sig=toBavSrkQjpEOmUgwDkMPHeLPJw&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjbibjt5pjMAhVLCiwKHXKNCl4Q6AEIIDAA#v=onepage&q&f=false Access Date: June 25, 2019.

Morgan, Ted. 2012. *Literary Outlaw: The Life and Times of William S. Burroughs*. New York: W.W. Norton &Company, Inc.

Miles, Barry. 2002. *William Burroughs – El Hombre Invisible*. London: Virgin Books. https://books.google.pl/books?id=2abLDAAAQBAJ&pg=PT143&lpg=PT143&dq=Barry+Miles+%E2%80%9CThrough+the+Magic+Mirror%E2%80%9D&source=bl&ots=Rdfox0GnDa&sig=ACfU3U0aktZ1Qw2oMJs03b6na9NCyM-5vg&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjnpZer95btAhWKjqQKHbMlDvYQ6AEwDHoECAUQAg#v=onepage&q=Barry%20Miles%20%E2%80%9CThrough%20the%20Magic%20Mirror%E2%80%9D&f=false Access Date: June 25, 2019.

Miles, Barry. 2000. *The Beat Hotel: Ginsberg, Burroughs and Corso in Paris, 1957-1963*. New York: Grove Press.

Octobergallery.co.uk. "William S. Burroughs". http://www.octobergallery.co.uk/ exhibitions/2014wsb/index.shtml Access Date: June 25, 2019.

Octobergallery.co.uk. "Brion Gysin". http://www.octobergallery.co.uk/artists/gysin/index.shtml Access Date: June 25, 2019.

Pilger, Zoe. 2014. "Naked and the dead: William Burroughs's artwork". *Independent*, Sunday 2 March 2014 16:01. https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/ reviews/naked-and-the-dead-william-burroughss-artwork-9163658.html. Access Date: June 25, 2019.

Pisarski, Mariusz – *Maszyna Snów Briona Gysina*. Korporacja ha!art, online – felietony. http://www.ha.art.pl/projekty/felietony/1366-mariusz-pisarski-maszyna-snow-briona-gysina. Access Date: June 25, 2019.

Skerl, Jennie. 1985. *William S. Burroughs*. Boston: Twayne Publishers.

Wild, Paul H. 2008. "William S. Burroughs and the Maya Gods of Death: The Uses of Archaeology". *College Literature,* Vol. 35, No. 1 (Winter): 38-57. The Johns Hopkins University Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25115477. Accessed: 31-08-2018 13:46 UTC.

Wills, Davis S. 2013. *Scientologist! William S. Burroughs and the 'Weird Cult*. Beatdom Books.

KNOWLEDGE, METHOD AND UPBRINGING IN DESCARTES AND COMENIUS

Forum for Contemporary Issues in Language and Literature
No. 1/2020

ISSN: 2391-9426
doi.org/10.34739/fci.2020.01.07

Andres L. Jaume
ORCID: 0000-0002-2723-1410

University of the Balearic Islands
Faculty of Philosophy and Art

Abstract

This paper examines two methodological proposals presented in the 17th century as a way to enface the so-called knowledge problem. Comenius as well as Descartes, both pay attention to educational problems in a different way; and, most importantly, it must be remembered that theoretical and methodological discussions are not strictly separate from practical ones. In other words, education problems are intrinsically related to epistemological questions and vice versa. For example, there is no methodological or epistemological proposal in Comenius and Descartes which is not related to a way of educating an individual human being. Whatever philosophical construction is presented, it also involves an anthropological construction which is fulfilled in some kind of educational Proposal.

Key words

Comenius, Descartes, education, human nature, knowledge, method

Introduction

Both Descartes and Comenius have a foundational role in Modern Thought. Descartes is recognised as the father of Modern Philosophy, while Comenius often appears as the founder of Pedagogy. José Ortega y Gasset places both authors in the same generation (2012, 316). However, the historiography sets them apart and assigns them different roles. To one of them, the task of grounding the philosophical and scientific method, while to the other the task of developing pedagogy as a science and, consequently, being the propeller of the so-called pedagogical method.

In the present work, we will vindicate both the role of philosopher that undoubtedly corresponds to Comenius and also the impossibility of separating the pedagogical aspects from the methodical question. In other words, the method supposes an ideal of upbringing, in the sense of training and instruction, and therefore has an intrinsic didactic value.

Thus, in section I, I will present the connections between the educational project of Comenius and how this author manifests what J.A. Maravall (2007) has called the "Social Crisis of the Baroque" which, in the case of Comenius, translates into an attempt of a universal reform through knowledge. Not in vain does knowledge aspire to lead the lives of men but, as an analogous comparison to the Baroque culture, is something that constantly deals with certain guidelines. In this way, we highlight the epistemological value of the educational proposal of Comenius that cannot be considered secondary. The controversy surrounding the method (Desan 1987) is a constant in the culture of the Baroque period. The method is already a direction of the spirit because it teaches one to walk in a world that is presented as labyrinthine. Comenius develops an alternative method to the "Discourse on the Method" written by Descartes and not only a pedagogical proposal.

In Section II, however, I reverse the order of priority and point out those aspects of pedagogy, or related to an ideal of upbringing, which appear in the epistemological proposal of Descartes. From a historiographical point of view, we could say that this is an atypical way of analysing Descartes, but it cannot be called irrelevant at all.

The reading of the "Discourse on the Method" is, therefore, that of a methodical proposal for the constitution of knowledge that cannot ignore the formative question (upbringing) of the subject of knowledge. This subject, through the method, is taught to know, to constitute knowledge oriented to a certain purpose: freedom and personal autonomy. Finally, we will present some conclusions in which the contributions of the interpretations expressed in the previous sections are collected.

1. Method, knowledge and education in Comenius' works

In the history of education, Comenius has been widely denominated the founding father of pedagogy. Indeed, "The Great Didactic" ("Didactica Magna" 1657[1]) is the founding text of pedagogy for the modern times. In it, we find both the general foundations of education based on a naturalistic proposal and the project of school and curricular organisation in which it is materialised.

Much has been written about these general aspects of "The Great Didactic" and other pedagogical writings of Comenius, such as his methods of learning languages, as is the case of "Janua linguarum" or the "Orbis Pictus", as well as the other great theorisation that he wrote at the end of his life. This is the case of "Pampedia", a famous chapter of the monumental unpublished work "De rerum humanae enmendatione consulttio catholica". However, the questions that make Comenius a brilliant author who transcends the limits of pedagogical science are often left aside. In fact, Comenius'

[1] In this article we will be using the translation of "The Great Didactic" by M.W. Keatinge. The original can be found in Jan Amos Komenský "Opera Omnia" vol XV (1), Academia, Praha, 1986.

pedagogical project is the answer to a double problematic, social and intellectual, to which he wanted to respond from knowledge.

The pedagogical reform of Comenius is no less a social and intellectual reform that has as its background an image of the world in which uncertainty and confusion predominate; in short, an image of the labyrinthine world (Maravall 2007). If we stick to one of his first works "Labyrint světa a ráj srdce" ("The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart"), a literary work published in 1631 and written during his youth[2], we are presented with a typically Baroque problematic, the world as a labyrinth in which man must situate himself and find an exit. The pilgrim, the protagonist of the novel, is guided by Searchall Ubiquitous throughout the world as if it, the world itself, would be a great scenario. At the end of the trip, however, the pilgrim concludes his journey with a sense of disenchantment and turns his eyes to Christ, the only apparent form of security and salvation.

"The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart" also evidences a clear cognitive interest. In fact, in § 1 of the dedication to the reader we learn that:

> Every being, even an irrational one, tends to delight in pleasant and useful things, and to desiring them. Therefore this is naturally particularly the case as regards man, in whom the innate reasoning power has developed that desire for the good and useful; and, indeed, it not only develops it, but induces a man to find more pleasure in a thing the more good, useful, and pleasant it is, and the more heartily to strive for it. Therefore the question arose long ago among learned men, where and in what that summit of good (summum bonum) is to be found at which the wishes of man could stop; that is to say, that point which a man having attained it in his mind could and should stop, having no longer anything further to wish for (Comenius 1901, 55).

Knowledge is a necessity; uncertainty generates pain because everyone wants to obtain good and useful things. Knowing how to determine the *summum bonum*, is, therefore, a theoretical objective that becomes eminently practical. Comenius presents a contrast between the search for earthly goods, illusory and ultimately frustrating, and the ultimate goal of man, which is God. The contrast between the impermanence and futility of the world and the certainty and divine glory is evident in the whole work. The later work, "The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart", will conceptually thematise this important topic. "The Great Didactic" will point out the importance of reforming the school as a means of reforming society. The school is for Comenius the place where the human beings becomes what they should be:

[2] A second edition of the corrected and enlarged text was published in Amsterdam in 1663. For the present article I use the translation from Count Lützow.

> He spoke wisely who said that schools were the workshops of humanity, since it is undoubtedly through their agency that man really becomes man, that is to say (to refer to our previous analysis): (i.) a rational creature; (ii.) a creature which is lord over all creatures and also over himself; (iii.) a creature which is the delight of his Creator. This will be the case if schools are able to produce men who are wise in mind, prudent in action, and pious in spirit (Comenius 1896, 223).

However, why should a man be formed like this? The school does not undergo a process of reformation if it is not because it has a problem, is doing badly or it can be improved. It is precisely in chapter XI of "The Great Didactic" where Comenius asks "has any school either existed on this plane of perfection or held this goal in view; not to ask if any has ever reached it?" (228), an idea that is in consonance with one of the programmatic texts *par excellence* of Comenius, the "Pansophiæ Prodromus" (1637), written the same year as the "Discourse on the Method" and with a very similar purpose.

The "Pansophiæ Prodromus" addresses the question of knowledge itself, not its institutionalisation or the art of transmitting it. However, the reform of knowledge is undertaken in this book is motivated by a practical interest: knowledge must be reformed. He affirms in section §15 that the studies – understood as the transmission of knowledge – as they are organised cannot lead man to his ultimate end, which is God. In the "Prodromus", the educational issue is subordinated to the need to reform the knowledge that for Comenius is materialised in the *pansophic* proposal. *Pansophia* is the knowledge of everything that is knowable for the human being and as such, it requires a method (§82), but which? Moreover, how is it different from the educational method?

The method (or pattern) of the constitution of knowledge consists, for Comenius as well as for Descartes, of some rules that it enumerates and that, properly applied, allow one to obtain knowledge. These rules are stated in the "Prodromus" (§83 and ff.) and are those that are summarised below:

> R.1. (§ 83) A precise anatomy of the universe must be carried out, that is, to an exact classification or inventory of what exists.
>
> R.2. (§84) What exists must be named appropriately and accurately, with mathematical precision.
>
> R.3. (§85) Theorems and canons must be postulated – together with their relevant proofs – from which to deduce or to which they subject (subdue) the divisions and definitions of things.
>
> R.4. (§86) All these precepts must be considered clear and univocal by themselves.
>
> R.5. (§ 87) The axioms of the *pansophy* must be real and practical, not demonstrated a priori, but explicit, since they are printed in the human soul.

> R.6. (§88) The *pansophy* does not bring anything new, because everything particular is deduced from the aforementioned general principles.
> R.7. (§93) What cannot be demonstrated by appealing to the above principles must be reformulated in a clearer way (Jaume 2012, 177-184).

These rules constitute an *organon* or method of knowledge that Comenius carefully separates from the didactic question. In other words, the *pansophic* method appears here primarily as *ars inveniendi* and, to a lesser extent, as *ars exponiendi*, since to this latter question Comenius responds more explicitly in "The Great Didactic".

"The Great Didactic" can be considered as a treatise on the educational method. Its main topic deals with the transmission of knowledge, and not the constitution of knowledge. However, strictly epistemological questions are not absent in it. There are some anthropological foundations that justify the possibility of knowledge and, to the extent that a technique in the transmission of knowledge is addressed, it theorises about the nature of knowledge (Schaller, 1992).

Comenius addresses the problematic of the didactic from a naturalistic perspective. The teaching proceeds in the same way as Nature. The duty and the attempt of the didactics are to seek the foundations in which everything and everyone can be taught in an easy, solid and fast way: knowledge is a key issue in the life of man and its acquirement corresponds not so much to a personal decision as a collective enterprise. In Chapter XVII of "The Great Didactic", Comenius presents the foundations for the ability to teach and learn, in chapter XVIII he points out the foundations of its solidity and, finally, in chapter XIX, the foundations of the abbreviated speed of teaching. Later, Comenius points out the methods of teaching science, arts and languages. If we stick to this tripartition, we will see that the concern of the sciences is the "the news of things" or "the internal knowledge of them" as indicated in section §2 of chapter XX of "The Great Didactic". Science, for Comenius, has to do with a thorough vision of reality, since the mind is only a mirror that can reflect it. The method of the sciences is, then, the one that allows us to know reality. However, the knowledge of this reality would be sterile if it were not accompanied by its transmission and its manipulation. Hence Comenius also insists on the two methods previously pointed out. The *pansophia* is neither purely contemplative nor a solitary enterprise in that it cannot be carried out in solitude – henceforth the importance of language and the methods of the education of languages in all of Comenius' works.

Thus, it can be said that in the method of sciences the emphasis is placed on direct experience, on that of the arts, on practice and on the languages in use. Knowledge results from the synergy of these three methods. We learn by observation, but not less by touching and putting words to things. The art of naming things correctly is the art of being able to distinguish and, in short, of knowing what each thing is. Language also makes out of the experience something intersubjective and communicable. "Orbis sensualium pictus" (1658), a manual which teaches Latin, begins with a dialogue of

profound epistemological depth that very effectively translates the previous idea: "Magister: Venie, puer, disce sapere! Puer: Quid hoc est, sapere? Magister: Omnia, quae necessaria, rectè intelligere, rectè agere, rectè eloqu" (Comenius, 2012). Knowledge consists of the correct understanding of what it is, doing it correctly, and naming reality with precision.

Each didactic method does not constitute knowledge *per se* but facilitates the ability to learn and the application of this knowledge in a constant process of searching, as outlined in the "Prodromus". In other words, the methodological proposal of "The Great Didactic" has an eminently didactic nature; it allows one to constitute knowledge from the cradle to the grave and with it, to fulfil the intrinsic purpose of human life.

Comenius' methodological proposal may be surprising. In "The Great Didactic", as already mentioned, there seems to be a multiplicity of particular methodological proposals. Such prolixity requires clarification. As can be seen, such a profusion of particular principles and methods seem to blur the clarity of a single method that is both *ars exponiendi* and *ars inveniendi*. Nevertheless, it is not going to be Comenius who simplifies this question but, as we will see in the next section, Descartes.

However, considered in its entirety, it can be said that "The Great Didactic" constitutes a single method, the method of teaching that imitates Nature. The didactic method has, therefore, an undoubted gnoseological dimension that, also, is complemented by a certain theory of school organisation. "The Great Didactic" is proposed as an instrument for the reform of knowledge through education.

Comenius separates, at least within rational parameters, the question of the exposition of knowledge and the question of the achievement of knowledge. Both fields are clearly related because the educational purpose cannot be achieved if it is not through the transmission of genuine knowledge. Equally, such purpose requires a certain procedure, a method that is based, no less, on human nature. The didactic has an instrumental value, as well as the *pansophia* because the latter is subordinated to the imperative of salvation. We know its function is to saves rather than dominates nature, unlike with Descartes, who will propose a method for the human being to be owner and possessor of nature (Descartes 2006).

Knowledge and education have in Comenius a salvific function in which Nature does not appear as an object of domination or under the metaphor of the machine[3], but according to the old conception of nature as an organism. The novelty that Comenius presents lies in how much a reformer and renaissance man he was. There is no argument of authority other than the Scripture in matters of faith. However, the testimony of the senses and the natural disposition that the human being has – according to the guidelines of the Christian-reformist anthropology that Comenius

[3] Concerning the concept of Nature in Comenius see Jaromir Červenka (1970). It can be said that Comenius was a critic of the mechanistic conception of Nature.

admits – give us the possibility of knowing, but, as long as the individual knows how to conduct his natural dispositions according to a method.

2. Method, knowledge and training (upbringing) in descartes

Until now, we have examined the relationships between method, knowledge and education in Comenius. As mentioned at the beginning, Comenius was a contemporary of Descartes, who has gone down in history as the greatest methodologist, but with an apparent absence of considerations on education[4]. Even though in Descartes the educational problem does not appear with the force and rigour that it does in Comenius, we will argue that it cannot be said that it does not have a place in his writing and that this place is not necessarily marginal. In the same way, it has been seen that the epistemological problem was not marginal in Comenius either. The idea that we will try to challenge is the classic conception that gives Comenius the paternity of pedagogy and does the same with Descartes and Modern Thought. Something is true in this idea, especially if we stick to how they affected the history of philosophy and the effects they had on its future development. However, if we consider both authors in their concrete historical circumstances, this conception seems to be insufficient.

It does not seem easy to find an idea of education in Descartes. Descartes is not an author who, like Comenius, can be related to the canon of Pedagogy. We do not find didactic proposals in the work of Descartes as we find them in Comenius, even though on many occasions Descartes refers to the education of his time and to the system of knowledge that emanates from educational institutions. Thus the French author is not completely unaware of the educational problems that the Czech author also observed. In this way, it can be stated that although there is no clear and well-defined idea of education in Descartes, the author is aware of its importance as a fundamental role in the instruction and upbringing of each individual. In a way, Descartes also had an anthropological conception of education, and as Compayré says, all philosophy supposes a certain conception of human nature and, therefore, a pedagogical system in the making (1911).

The idea of *purpose* in the education training, upbringing or, what we understand today as educational teleology, is a recurrent topic in the writings of Descartes, especially when Cartesian philosophy is aimed at a certain end that is linked to a certain theory of humanity and its nature: freedom[5]. In this way, in Descartes, we find a response to the question of the *purpose* and *goal* of education, especially when we understand that certain anthropology is presupposed. This last element is

[4] Both authors actually met (Rood 1970, 124–134).

[5] In this respect, the observation of P. Guenancia is very interesting, which places the problem of freedom as a great Cartesian problem. The autonomy of the trial would be nothing but a prerequisite to that of personal liberty and autonomy. In effect, Guenancia says, at the beginning of his "Lire Descartes": "Le fil conducteur de la pensée cartésienne, l'idée d'où tout part et où tout aboutit est celle de la liberté" (2000, 9).

understood as the nature of a human being and the way in which he/she is being brought up.

Facing the already traditional idea of the Cartesian man, a notion that has also been consecrated by historiography, let us pay attention to the circumstance surrounding Descartes as a man of his time. Descartes lived in a moment of deep crisis[6]. On the one hand, we find ourselves with the political situation in Europe, the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), which, among other causes, echoes the intellectual climate fostered by the Protestant Reformation. The consequence of these two factors is a situation of radical uncertainty and the need to face it with new certainties, not least because, the old ones have entered into crisis and decay. Thus, the idea of a Cartesian man is, above all, the historically situated man who develops a new discourse of self-understanding. In this discourse, the dominant element is the subjective perspective, added to which are some questions that have come back from the past and others that arise from the particular historical circumstance encompassing individual lives.

In this sense, there are many authors who highlight the importance of subjectivity and, moreover, emphasise the analytical aspect of it: distinguishing between *res extensa* and *res cogitans* with the consequently divided image of man. However, there is a pre-reflective moment, the experience, from which Descartes departs, and involves the discovery of the *Ego cogito* in the "Discourse on the Method" and its genuinely philosophical thematisation in the "Meditations on First Philosophy" (1641). In fact, precisely in the latter, we find a notion that must not be overlooked: the man as *unum quid*, a notion that will somehow arise again in the "Passions of the Soul" (1649) and, very insistently, in the correspondence with Elizabeth of Bohemia. It is not, then, the Cartesian subject that is unfolded in its analytic moment, but rather the man as the subject of a purely subjective experience that cannot ignore its corporeality. It is on this man that the formative – or if we want to call it "educational" – reflection of Descartes falls into. At the same time, it is a man that pursues a "vital purpose" – making a reference to the concept of human life as fundamental reality and as a "happening" –

[6] The aspects of the Baroque crisis have been masterfully addressed by Maravall, J. A. op. cit. From a more philosophical perspective it is interesting to point out the opinions of Toulmin who sees in Descartes a different modernity from the one that begins with the Renaissance and which, among others, has Montaigne as one of its greatest exponents. Toulmin insists on the socio-political context of the moment. Note that the direct attempt to overcome scepticism by Descartes and the attempt to make reform in Comenius are nothing but efforts to overcome a particular situation. In this regard Toulmin points out that: "In this blood-drenched situation, what could good intellectuals do? So long as humane Renaissance values retained their power for Montaigne in the private sphere, or for Henry of Navarra in the public sphere, there was hope that the reasoned discussion of shared experiences among honest individuals might lead to a meeting of minds, or, at least, to a civilized agreement to differ. By 1620, people in oppositions of political power and theological authority in Europe no longer saw Montaigne's pluralism as a viable intellectual option, any more than Henry's tolerance was for them a practical option. The humanists' readiness to live with uncertainty, ambiguity, and differences of opinion had done nothing (in their view) to prevent religious conflict from getting out of hand: *ergo* (they inferred) it had helped *cause* the worsening state of affairs. If scepticism let one down, certainty was more urgent. It might not be obvious what one was supposed to be certain about, but *uncertainty* had become *unacceptable*" (1990, 54-55).

that has already been announced to us in the "Discourse on the Method" that clearly influenced the letter-preface appearing on the French edition of "Principles of Philosophy" in 1647.

In the first of these works, the "Discourse on the Method", narrated in an almost autobiographical form, Descartes, among other things, insists on the purpose of knowledge. Someone simply cannot attain knowledge, either by mere curiosity or speculative desire, while for some "it is possible to attain knowledge which is very useful in life, and that unlike the speculative philosophy that is taught in the schools, it can be turned into a practice by which (...) we could put them to all the uses [the forces of nature] for which they are suited and thus make ourselves as it were the masters and possessors of nature" (Descartes 1982, 51). In the same way, in the aforementioned letter-preface it is insisted that although the study of wisdom is the object of Philosophy, the latter has a purpose that immediately reverts to human well-being "by *Wisdom*, we understand not only prudence in our affairs, but also a perfect knowledge of all the things which man can know for the conduct of his life, the preservation of his health, and the discovery of all the arts" (62).

Descartes uses the adjective *useful* in reference to philosophy. In several places within his work, he insists that philosophy needs to be useful for the individual in this world and this life. Where does this urge to make philosophy useful come from? Perhaps the key is to be found at the beginning of the "Discourse on the Method" because it is in this work that the author insists in a need for the reformation of knowledge, which can only be achieved by reforming the method that allows the individual to conceive of it in the first place. The set of knowledge does not start with the Aristotelian *theorein* – or not at least in its more scholastic sense – but is guided by a clear, practical interest concerned with the domain of nature. Hence, the reform of knowledge that it is carried by the methodological discussion is not less than a reform of the very constitution of knowledge and, with this, it necessarily implies a reform on the way the Cartesian man is brought up: A man who is not content with contemplating the world, but rather desires to possess it and master it for his own benefit.

In a text that did not see the light of day during the author's life time, the famous "Regulae ad directionem ingenii" ("Rules for the Direction of the Natural Intelligence" written probably between 1626 and 1628 and published posthumously in 1684) that undoubtedly influenced the writing of the "A Discourse on the Method", we find a series of reflections on instruction and upbringing. Descartes points out in that same text that knowledge does not just come for the sake of it. The desire that Aristotle located in all men must be conducted. Consequently, the method must be taught for its correct application and to reach knowledge that goes beyond the limits of Aristotelian contemplation.

The *Rule I* of the "Regulae", constitutes a programmatic affirmation directed clearly against the concept of method elaborated by Aristotle in *Analitica Posteriora*. Human wisdom, Descartes tells us, "always remains one and the same, however

applied to different subjects (...) one also has to believe that all the sciences are so interconnected that it is much easier to learn them all together than to separate one from the others" (Descartes 1998, 65, 69). Hence, as stated in the title heading *Rule I* "The goal of studies should be the direction of the natural intelligence [spirit]". We learn, therefore, to direct the spirit of men, to form "solid and true judgement about all the things that occur to it" (69). Learning the method supposes, in the light of what Descartes indicated, an exercise of freedom, because it is a determination of the will, as it is shown by the personal and autobiographical style that appears in the "Discourse of the Method". However, the relationship with the formative process is ambiguous. On the one hand, there is the need to reevaluate whole areas of knowledge together with the need to propose a method, a task that is assigned to the philosopher, and, on the other hand, the way of instruction and training, a task assigned to the tutor.

The Cartesian man is an autonomous individual, but autonomy appears only in adulthood, not in childhood. When studying, the pupil needs to work hard as indicated by the preceptor, but the adult or, more specifically, the philosopher, is the one who has the responsibility to doubt. Doubting and questioning, is not something that is available to everyone, in fact, as stated in the second part of the "Discourse on the Method": "Even the decision to rid oneself of all the opinions one has hitherto accepted is not an example which everyone ought to follow" (2006, II, 15). Thus, the autonomy that it manifests, and that seems to embody its ideal of a human being, the autonomy that supposes an investigation guided by the maxim of "to include nothing in my judgements other than that which presented itself to my mind so clearly and distinctly" (17), such as the first of the rules of the method state, contrasts with a conception of a pupil and tutor that is rather negative.

There is no image of education as a process that should favour the critical spirit, nor is there a proposal for how to reform the schools – the latter will appear in "The Great Didactics" by his contemporary Comenius. However, there is an idea about acquiring knowledge through a certain methodological proposal, by which we can claim that there is, at least, some interest in teaching such a method.

The method, then, has an intrinsic pedagogical character, but neither is it institutionalised nor does it become a pedagogical method itself. The method and what its implementation implies, according to Descartes, belong to adulthood, not to childhood. The manifestation of autonomy that characterizes adulthood manifests in the ability to make voluntary decisions, in short, a conscious critical attitude:

And for my part, I am convinced that if I had been taught from my earliest years all the truths which I have since sought to prove, and had found no difficulty in learning them, I might perhaps never have known any others; or at least I would never have acquired the habit and facility which I think I have of always finding new ones, as I proceed to apply myself to search for them (Descartes 2006, VI, 58).

If the method supposes such critical capacity and has personal value, it is because it is applied from the strictest autonomy of a person. Descartes says "my project has

never extended beyond wishing to reform my own thoughts and build on a foundation which is mine alone" (2006, II, 15). Consequently, this is a matter that is only proper to adulthood, because only in adulthood man is the owner of himself and can become autonomous.

The reformation of the school does not appear to be a concern in the work of Descartes, although there are references to school and teaching that seem quite ambivalent. On the one hand, the importance of receiving a body of knowledge is pointed out, while on the other hand, it alludes to its weakness. These are two lines that we find throughout the "Regulae" or in the first chapters of the "Discourse on the Method". The reformation of knowledge that is illustrated by the metaphor of the city, and that appears at the beginning of the second part of the "Discourse on the Method" is the central concern of Descartes. However, it is clear that there is something contradictory to this idea. It is somewhat paradoxical that this method should not be taught systematically, especially when an affirmation is made about the universal capacity of the *bon sens* that it has to grasp the truth. Why not teach it in schools? Why not encourage the autonomy of free examination from the beginning? If the possibility of a solid body of knowledge that has been received is denied, or the encyclopedic tradition of Alsted or Comenius is rejected (Burke 2000), why not to train the students themselves in the method so that they can constitute the set of firmly established knowledge?

There is a certain element of doubt about the viability of the method. Descartes talks about himself and shows the results that emerge from what he considers an adequate method of building knowledge. With this, the pedagogical conservatism that some may see is only the other side of a prudential maxim about the effects that their own attitude may have on other subjects. The prudent attitude that adds to an environment not always favourable to the reforms as illustrated in the case of Galileo, to which Descartes experienced firsthand (Grayling 2006). Thus, in short, it can be said that the purpose of education in the Cartesian man starts from adulthood itself and assumes the limitation and fallibility of the body of knowledge received during childhood and young age. All this, in the attempt – which I do not necessarily recommend – for seeking a graceful solution to uncertainty, in order to direct reason and seek truth in the sciences (as it is stated in the title of Descartes' Method) or, following the spirit of the "Principles of Philosophy" or the "Passions of the Soul", to seek happiness (Guenancia 2000).

Some may want to know everything, but not everything can be known. The will is unlimited, but knowledge and understanding are infinite. The issue of the natural characteristics that the men have to learn is not something that Descartes overlooks. Indeed, in the "Regulae" he addresses the issue, more specifically in *Rule VIII* where he states that "But here one can inquire into nothing more useful, in fact, than into what human knowledge is, and how far it extends" (Descartes 1998, 119). The method presupposes a conception of human nature. Thus, to insist on the need to enumerate,

as indicated in *Rule VII* as in "the Discourse on the Method", or to point to the imperfection of perception, or to indicate the excessive influence of the will, is only to recognise the fallibility of human faculties and to try to solve them.

As we can see, the Cartesian man wants to know, but with understanding. Not in vain he recognises that for this to happen we need our intellect. However, knowledge can only occur as a whole when coexisting with the imagination, perception or the will. Faced with the image of the Cartesian man previously mentioned (a man divided between knowledge and the world), the practice of knowing cannot but ignore the aforementioned analytic moment. The act of learning involves the man as a whole, as a psychophysical unit. The fatigue, the deceptions of the senses, the weakness of the will or the memory are difficulties that are experienced by all men and Comenius, in his "Prodromus", will make them very present. The men (as a whole, as a complex individual) learns and the method is applied to him. The method assumes, then, pedagogy insofar as it is a way of learning how to think in an orderly fashion and to avoid, as a consequence, the possible sources of error. The student, the learner, the apprentice learns by submitting his will to the guidelines of the method, but the method is not arbitrary. It arises, as already noted, from the consideration of human nature itself and the necessary order that needs to follow to achieve its purpose, knowledge.

Conclusions

Neither the educational question can be subtracted from the reform of knowledge that the epistemological fundamentalism claims, nor can it be presented outside of the considerations about human nature and its upbringing – elements that are evident from the educational reflection. Thus, as it was the intention in the previous examination, both Comenius and Descartes are participants of the problem: the question lays the foundations and provides an outlet to a multifactoral crisis of knowledge. Also, it can be added that the answer to this crisis is through a common element: the need to provide a good and safe method that allows constituting a solid and useful knowledge.

The method, in the philosophical Modernity, is the instrument of knowledge. Whoever has a method is in a position to face error and ignorance. Knowledge, then, comes from the application of a method, whereby knowledge and method can be practically taken as synonyms. The method or the various methodological proposals cannot, as shown in the preceding pages, be removed from the educational question. The method not only provides knowledge but has a pedagogical function, teaches how to use the understanding correctly. Given what can be considered the method's purpose, this is no other, than knowing and avoiding error. The method, as an epistemological instrument, has value not only because it provides us with knowledge or teaches us to acquire it, but also insofar as its non-application entails error, that is, the opposite of knowledge.

Thus, a theory of knowledge must provide no less than a theory of error to account for those executions that can be considered as instances of knowledge. This is negatively achieved by the method because its non-application leads to error or to find knowledge by chance. This last element is also relevant since where there is a method, there is no place for chance. Both Comenius and Descartes, considering what has already been said, could be considered part of these reflections on knowledge. In fact, this is the thesis that we have tried to defend here. However, although both methods share common elements and face no less the formative problematic, the differences are notorious as has been presented in the previous two sections.

The method in Comenius has a salvific and ultraterrenal function. It is about preparing the way for the next life by reforming its human affairs. The *pansophic* proposal does not separate the human from the divine; everything is the object of the same method. It also uses the school as a place in which to develop it, the school is, as has already been pointed out, "a workshop of humanity", thus, it has an idea of men according to a determined Christian and reformed anthropology. On the other hand, for Descartes, there is a clear separation between human and divine affairs. Descartes is neither a reformer nor an author that addresses the issue of the Reformation, but a Catholic educated by the Jesuits (Grayling 2006), who submitted his judgment in dogmatic questions to the authority of the Church – not of Scripture. Moreover, the objective of the application of the method, the knowledge, happens in the earthly life, this, facilitating and making the life joyful by means of mastering and dominating nature – even though on this last point it will never be insisted too much. In short, knowledge, for Descartes and unlike Comenius, is an activity that takes place outside the academic sphere or primary education that only blurs the understanding. Knowledge – and the way of obtaining it – is a personal decision for which not all men are trained, the act of thinking for oneself.

As it can be seen, despite the common elements, the differences between Descartes and Comenius are notorious, but the consequences of these differences are not. The Comenian counterpoint allows us to glimpse a modernity that could have been but was not. The Modernity that has triumphed has been the Cartesian one, which has located as the object of knowledge the strategy for mastering and dominating nature and one in which individualism has prevailed. Probably, this was not the Modernity that Descartes wanted, but these have been its effects. A lot could be said about it. To a large extent, a considerable part of the philosophy of the 20th century has been concerned with this revision of modernity and its consequences. The labels *crisis of modernity* or *postmodernity* have already become common. However, there is still a lot to think about and to do with the concept of Modernity and what it implies. Thus, there is no other way than having some kind of *spiritual anamnesis*, to go back to the origin of the disease to try to understand it and find out if it has a remedy or if its outcome will be fatal.

References

Burke, Peter. 2000. *A social history of knowledge.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Cervenka, Jaromir. 1970. *Die Naturphilosophie des Johan Amos Comenius*. Hanau: Danusien.

Comenius, J. Amos. 1986.*Comenius Opera Omnia*. Praga: Academia Praha.

Compayré, Gabriel. 1911. "Descartes". In *Nouveau Dictionnaire de Pédagogie et d'instruction primaire* edited by Ferdinand Buisson, Paris: Librarie Hachette. http://www.inrp.fr/edition-electronique/lodel/dictionnaire-ferdinand-buisson/document.php?id=2535. Access date: 12/09/2020.

Desan, Fhilippe. 1987. *Naissance de la methóde*. Paris: Nizet.

Descartes, René. 2006. *A Discourse on Method.* Edited and translated by Ian Maclean. New York: Oxford University Press.

Descartes, René. 1982. *Principles of Philosophy*. Translated, with Explanatory notes by Valentine Rodger Miller and Reese P. Miller. Huron College: University of Western Ontario; London: Ontario.

Descartes, René. 1998. *Rules for the Direction of the Natural Intelligence.* Edited and translated by George Heffernan. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Garber, Daniel. 1998. "Descartes, or the cultivation of the intellect". In *Philosophers on Education. New Historical Perspectives*, edited by Amélie Rorty, 124-138. London: Routledge.

Grayling, A. Clifford. 2006. *The Life of René Descartes and Its Place in His Times.* New York: Walker &Co.

Guenancia, Pierre. 2000. *Lire Descartes*. Paris: Gallimard.

Jaume, L. Andres. 2012. "Coneixement i mètode en Comenius i Descartes: un estudi comparatiu". *Taula. Quaderns de pensament* 44: 177–184.

Komensky, J., Amos. 1901. *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart.* Edited and translated by Count Lützow. New York: E.P.Dutton & Co.

Komensky, J., Amos. 1896. *The Great Didactic.* Edited by Maurice Walter Keatinge. London: Adam and Charles Black.

Komensky, J., Amos. 2012. *Orbis sensualium pictus*. Beroun: Machart.

Maravall, José A. 2007 [1975]. *La Cultura del Barroco*. Barcelona: Ariel.

Ortega y Gasset, José. 2012. *En torno a Galileo*. Madrid: Tecnos.

Rood, Wilhelmus. 1970. *Comenius and the Low Countries. Some aspects of life and work of a Czech exile in the seventeenth century*. Amsterdam: Van Gendt.

Schaller, Klaus. 1992. *Comenius 1992. Gesammelte Beiträge zum Jubiläumsjahr*. Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag.

Toulmin, Stephen. 1990. *Cosmopolis. The Hidden Agenda of Modernity*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Vaan de Ven Jeroen, Bos, Erik Jan. 2004. "Se nihil daturum – Descartes's unpublished judgement of Comenius's Pansophiae Prodromus (1639)". *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 12 (3): 369–386.