res

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From the Editors

Serendipity is our beginning. A lovely word, serendipity, coined by Horace Walpole. He plucked it from a fairy-tale, *The Three Princes of Serendip,* whose heroes, he noticed, "were always making discoveries, by accidents and sagacity, of things they were not in quest of."

The tale of **res: journal of undergraduate research** is this: Kristina Baumli, a doctoral candidate in English and an instructor in the Critical Writing Program, visited Valerie Ross, Director of the Critical Writing Program, to see if there might be some way to create a modest online journal to showcase the innovative research her students were producing for her writing seminar. When Baumli visited, Ross was thinking about putting together an undergraduate journal to feature outstanding student writing across the disciplines. Meanwhile, Art Casciato, Director of the Center for Undergraduate Research and Fellowships, was preparing to launch the prestigious new President's Award and was looking for ways to showcase the winners—the "best of the best" research projects across the university. Then Patrick Wehner, a Penn Writing Fellow, asked Ross if it would be possible to start the sort of journal in which his writing had appeared as an undergraduate.

A group of undergraduate students working on the Dean's Advisory Board for the College of Arts and Sciences contacted Ross seeking ways to promote undergraduate research and writing; a representative of the Student Committee on Undergraduate Education (SCUE) came to Casciato on a similar mission. In these pages are the first results of a series of accidents and sagacity, discussions and discoveries of things none of us, from editors to authors, was specifically in quest of but are delighted to have played some part, large or small, in creating.

Of course the real princes herein are our authors. Through research they have learned the wisdom of Walpole's coinage, that all findings are serendipitous, all discoveries happy accidents. It is exactly this sage humility that Alastair Green, Philip Labo, Emily Blumenthal, Justin Hulbert, Erica Miao, and all the rest would teach us once again. Like characters in a fairy tale, each discovered their own good fortune in a bit of practical magic, research in the richest sense of the word.

We are delighted at our good fortune, too, to be able to commence **res** with such a magical collection of essays that seem almost to have fallen into our laps, as it were, *in media res*.

Valerie Ross
Arthur D. Casciato
Kristina Baumli
Patrick Wehner

Alastair W. Green

Noble Capitalism: An Analysis of the Prosperity of The Murid Tãriqa in Senegal

Nnamdi Azikiwe African Studies Prize (African Studies Center)

Over the past fifty years, Senegal´s Murid brotherhood–one of the country's largest Sufi Islamic groups–has become very politically and economically influential. In particular, many Murid merchants have grown strikingly prosperous in Senegal´s informal economy. This paper attributes the Murids' commercial success to three main factors. First, it describes how the Murids' spiritual orientation toward hard work grooms members to become businessmen from an early age. Second, it suggests how Murid social institutions help build social capital that provides economic benefits. Third, it explains how Murid adherence to orthodox Islamic forms of money lending allows members to access and pool capital for investments. This paper also discusses the challenges that the brotherhood faces in adapting its institutions for members who enter the formal sector.

Introduction

The Dawn of the Murid Tãriqa

The Murid Sufi movement was founded by Sheikh Amadu Bamba (1850-1927) in West-Central Senegal in 1887. The scholarly and charismatic son of a Muslim scholar and Qur'aanic teacher, Bamba attracted an increasing mass of followers over the course of his lifetime. The explosive growth of the Murid

movement has been attributed to a combination of two main factors. The first of those factors is Bamba's saintly charisma. Bamba is reported to have been visited by angels who granted him mystical powers, such as the power to heal the sick. The second factor was the role the French colonial powers played in dissolving the local Wolof society and its caste system. The destruction of the Wolof kingdoms and the absence of the old systems of patronage created a power vacuum. This vacuum granted additional influence to the Muslim *tãriqa*[1] among the newly dispossessed lower castes and created the opportunity for families of marabouts,[2] or Islamic holymen, to exercise greater political influence in Senegal.[3] The Murid movement was able to grow in both size and prominence during this period of intense conquest and social upheaval.

After his initial revelation, Bamba began preaching to a growing band of followers. He developed a system of spirituality that hinged on the concept of *tarbiyya*, or the combined process of religious study, work, and prayer. Bamba was a prolific religious scholar and wrote large volumes of poetry as well as re-interpretations of the Qur'aan that applied to the Black African experience. In particular, he emphasized the importance of leading a productive existence, and his writings described piety and prosperity as the path to righteousness in the eyes of God. While the mystic led the brotherhood in the spiritual realm, his closest disciples worked to carry out his wishes on earth. Scholars have noted the role that the founder's associates such as Shaykh Ibra Fall and other zealots have played in the rise of Muridism in Senegal and in the construction of its economic institutions. Under Fall's direction, the Murids established peanut farms in central Senegal and trade posts in St. Louis and Dakar. Even during his seven years of exile in Gabon, Bamba's following expanded under the aggressive recruitment and ostentatious displays of faith made by his disciples. By Bamba's death in 1927, the Murid brotherhood had established itself as one of the dominant features of the Senegalese political and social landscape. In the 1930's, at a site in the brush lands of Western Senegal–the location of the founder's divine revelation–his disciples constructed a mosque and established a small colony of several hundred followers named Touba.

Muridism Today

Less than a century after its founder's death, the Murid movement is now a dominant feature in the Senegalese social and economic landscape. Currently, the Murids number an estimated 3 million of Senegal's population of fewer than 10 million. In April of 2003, thousands of bush taxis and rickety charter

buses sped towards Touba for the annual Grand Magal held in celebration of the founder's exile. In 2003, the event drew an estimated 3 million pilgrims to the tãriqa's holy city, including both local masses of worshippers and a large number of nationals living overseas. The city of Touba itself, which 90 years prior was a plot of scrubland with some 500 settlers,[4] is now Senegal's largest urban area[5] second only to its capital, Dakar. Touba is at once imposingly holy and impressively modern. While the city is organized around the gigantic Grand Mosquée at its center, the Khalife-General offers free running water and Touba boasts the highest percentage of cellular phone usage and Internet connection per capita in West Africa.

Outside of Touba, the Murids are a dominant force in Senegal's economy. Indeed, the presence of Murid merchants in Senegal's major cities is one of the foreigner's first observations. In every corner of Dakar, one sees shops proudly displaying names such as 'Touba Bakery,' 'Touba Auto parts,' 'Touba Merchandise,' and 'Touba Food.' It is informally estimated that Dakar's Sandaga market, the bustling mercantile hub of the capital, counts roughly 90% Murid among its merchants. Many followers of the Tijan brotherhood, Senegal's most populous *tãriqa*, complain about the Murids' position of privilege in the state's eyes. Even the president of the Republic, Abdoulaye Wade, is a devout Murid. In short, the Murid presence and influence is felt in every corner of Senegal, and in each aspect of daily and civic life.

The Urban Years

In recent years, the Murid movement has moved out of its rural origins and into more urban environments. As late as 1955, there were less than 30,000 recorded Murids in Dakar.[6] Today, Murids are over 20 times as numerous in the nation's capital. The shift toward urban environments among the Murids is partly due to periods of excessive drought between 1968 and 1973. These droughts made peanut farming considerably more difficult and drove many Murids into the cities. According to many Murid informants, this economic motivation was coupled with the desire of Murid marabouts to establish a strong presence in Senegalese cities in order to spread their ideologies across all of Senegal. The disciples adapted rapidly to urban life and Murid institutions grew. As many scholars have noted in their studies of urban Murid dahiras,[7] Murids have been outstandingly successful at expanding both their economic and religious presence in urban environments.[8]

In the 1970's, rising wealth and economic mobility allowed Murid academics and merchants to travel beyond West Africa and establish

themselves abroad. Today, Murid communities flourish in European locations, such as Turin, Paris, and Marseille, as well as, American cities, such as New York, Washington, and Philadelphia. The ambulatory Murid merchant, with his characteristic dress and ornate satchel, is now a familiar sight on the street corners of cities around the world.

The Murid Question

The Murids have been the subject of a far greater number of academic studies and analyses than the other Senegalese brotherhoods. The unique nature of the *tãriqa*, the fascinating trajectory of its rise to influence, and the economic growth of its followers have all contributed to the intense academic scrutiny of the Murids of Senegal. The first generation of studies on Muridism was conducted under colonial direction. These studies primarily assessed the Murids' theological and religious components and how they might influence French colonization projects.[9] A second wave of research conducted from the 1940's to the 1970's focused on the anthropological, sociological, and economic aspects of the brotherhood and its structures.[10] The most recent studies have begun to examine a broader range of issues related to Muridism, such as international migration, the transplantation of culture, urban Murid institutions, and commercial techniques.

The focus of this paper will be to analyze the factors of Murid society that have contributed to the economic and commercial success of its urban brothers. This paper will develop the idea that the success of urban Murids in Senegal stems from factors related to their spiritual beliefs, including their ideological orientation to hard work and their access to social support institutions. The institutional perspective has been explored before. For instance, a number of past studies have focused heavily on the peanut-Murid coupling and the related economic system, while many recent studies have focused on case studies of Murids abroad in New York or Turin. This paper will not discuss the fascinating agricultural or international aspects of Muridism. The vast majority of research and interviews conducted for this paper focused on obtaining an understanding of the Murid commerce based in major Senegalese cities, namely, Dakar, Thies, and St. Louis. This paper will examine the question "How does the Murid tãriqa contribute to the economic success of its members?"

I would like to begin by answering the question: What led me, a student of economics, to pursue this particular topic? In fact, there are actually several different areas that interested me over the course of my research. First,

studying urban Murid economics and its particular institutions helps to explain how a social and religious organization can provide its members with social capital, which translates into real economic benefits. I contend that the social qualities of the Murid tãriqa and, in particular, the urban institutions of the movement, account to a large extent for Murid commercial success. Murid institutions promote a heavy orientation towards commercial activities, and offer a network of support to groom the businessperson in his or her early years. Second, the Murid question is also interesting from the perspective of economic development. A current issue in developmental economics is the challenge of wealth creation among the 'very poor,' those individuals whose wealth falls into the lowest half of incomes below the country's poverty line. Studies show that cycles of extreme poverty are due, in large part, to the exclusion of the very poor from financing advantages and opportunity to become independent merchants.[11] The Murid solution to this problem seems to offer highly accessible financing and support for even the poorest of its urban members. Redistributions of wealth within the Murid system can divert funds towards the needy or other individuals caught in crisis. This paper will address the question of how 'inclusive' models of solidarity can help the very poor to grow in wealth. Finally, this paper explores the 'noble capitalism' of the Murids as a viable model for conducting business and the potential benefits of a business community hinged on common morals, solidarity, and networks of support.

Methodology and Research Design

Background Sources

The background information for this paper came from three main sources. First, I used academic writing and published journal articles that focused on the Murids. These resources were particularly useful in orienting my study, filling in holes in my analysis at the beginning of the research, and allowing me to check 'facts' which I gleaned from later interviews. These articles also presented me with several different perspectives on the reason for the Murids' success. I also drew heavily on the undergraduate theses of students at the Université Gaston-Berger in Sanar (St. Louis) and other local government and journalist documents in Senegal to provide further background information, to gain a better understanding of the methodological techniques suited to this research, and to learn more about tangentially related current issues on

Muridism. Finally, I am grateful for the support of many professors and students at the Université Gaston-Berger, as well as several research institutions which introduced me to contacts, reviewed my findings, suggested different approaches to the research, and recommended appropriate reading materials.

Fieldwork

I conducted the bulk of my research through organized and informal interviews with both Murid and non-Murid individuals in Senegal. Within the Murid community, I worked primarily with Murid businessmen, religious leaders, university students, and key members of the 'entourage' of the marabouts. Among Murid businessmen, my interviewees ranged from Senegal's most wealthy businessmen, to workshop bosses in Dakar's informal sector, to ambulatory cellular phone repairmen. This helped to provide a full range of information in order to better understand the broader Murid economic landscape. I interviewed a small number of religious leaders in order to gain a better understanding of the theological components of the 'Murid secret' and as an added perspective. The students interviewed came from the Université Shaykh Anta Diop in Dakar and the Université Gaston-Berger. These students offered an interesting perspective from faithful Murids pursuing the academic walk of life. I spoke with many members of maraboutic 'entourages' who worked closely to support the activities of prominent Murid marabouts and had a strong understanding of the Murid leaders' specific duties in regards to their *taalibés.*[12] I conducted 20 formal interviews with recorded answers. I conducted 10 interviews in French, 4 in Wolof, with the help of an interpreter and cultural guide, and 6 in Wolof and French without an interpreter.

Outside the Murid community, I met with both academics and developmental economists. These non-Murid academics provided a greatly needed counterbalance to the ideologically biased and often boastful accounts provided by many Murid merchants, and helped me to consider new aspects and avenues of my research. I worked with two developmental economists at the 'Bureau Régional du Développement (St. Louis)–the local regional development office–who helped me to examine the role of Murids from the perspective of developing Senegal.

The Murid Secret: A Recipe for Wealth

When I described my research project to Senegalese friends–telling them that I

was looking for the explanation behind the Murids' commercial success–they invariably (as I learned the Senegalese tend to do) offered me an unsolicited answer to my question. Amongst these friends, two main explanations continued to resurface. First was the spiritual ideology of the brotherhood, established by Shayhk Amadu Bamba in his writings and teachings. The holiness of hard work is regarded by Murids as one of the fundamental pillars of their faith and daily life. Certainly, the writings of the founder contributed greatly to the impressive work ethic and commercial aggressiveness of modern Murids. Therefore, the brotherhood's ideology will be examined later in this paper. Second, many people hypothesized that the values of urban Murid merchants aided their success: mutual trust, organization, cooperation, adaptability, and solidarity. Many of these qualities, in fact, are anchored in or centered on Murid institutions, such as the mosquée, the dahira, the working *daara,*[13] and relationships with spiritual leaders. For this reason, the important role of the Murid structural organization in individuals' economic success will also be considered later in this paper. As I believe that both of these explanations contribute to the overall success of the Murids, I examine both of these questions extremely closely.

Finally, there is also a third important ingredient in the recipe of the Murids' success. Over the course of my research, it became clear that a valuable aspect of Murid economics was the ease of access to financing provided to urban merchants by wealthier peers. The vast majority of Murids are unable to seek loans from the formal banking sector and instead borrow and lend in a highly fluid, unrecorded, and fast-moving system. Financing methods are tightly integrated into the daily lives of Murid merchants in the larger cities. For this reason, I have also focused on the beneficial role of Murid finance.

Ideology of the Brotherhood: The Exaltation of Work

The economic and spiritual ideologies of the brotherhood are firmly intertwined. The exaltation of work, a fundamental tenet of Murid values, guides the working fervor characteristic of Murid merchants. The manner in which the Murid work ethic and ideological orientation define the economic strategies of the movement's members remains an important contributing factor to their commercial success. As Max Weber postulated that the Anglo-Saxon Protestant work ethic serves as the fountainhead of Western-style capitalism and the free market system, so too have many scholars studying the

Murids attempted to explain Murid economics by using their spiritual beliefs.[14] It seems that the particular religious beliefs and views related to work have significantly shaped the Murid economic arena.

Apart from this fact, however, is the question of whether Murid economics have created a genuinely new and 'impure' form of capitalism. Far from focusing on the acquisition of wealth for its own means, work and business form one segment of both the founder's spiritual ideology and the aspirations of wealthy Murids. Hopefully, a thorough examination of the Murid work ethic will shed light on this question.

The Murid Religious Cycle: jàng, ligeey, ak julli

As one informant explained it, the teachings of Shaykh Amadu Bamba hinge on a three-part cycle of learning, work, and charity. Bamba's philosophy establishes that the first responsibility of a Murid is to inform himself, learn the Qur'aan, and educate himself to be useful at work. This step of education forms the basis for subsequent achievement, for without awareness and knowledge, work has neither value nor any direction in its efforts. This step corresponds to the Wolof word *jàng* (study) and the Arabic concept of *'adab,* although lacking a simple analog in English, refers to a state of general culture and education. As he becomes an adult, the cultured and educated Murid focuses his energy entirely on productive work: the Wolof concept of work, *ligeey*, is a foremost social and spiritual responsibility, and a complement to devotion to God. In Qur'aanic thought, the notion of productive labor as a pillar of a spiritual existence is known as *'amar.* This stage of the Murid spiritual cycle brings the young man into his full productive capacity, whether by serving his marabout in a peanut farm or operating a business in the city. The Murid spiritual cycle hinges on prayer and spiritual devotion; the notion of *julli*, or prayer, is that each Murid must devote himself to his spiritual duties. The parallel to spiritual devotion in the community is the Arabic notion of *khitma*, or offering one's wealth to the poor and the community. A wealthy Murid, having earned his wealth through hard work and perseverance, is expected, both through regular *haDiyas* (homonies) to his marabout and through larger community works, to contribute back to the community. This generosity reinforces the cyclicality of the Murid's spiritual life: as my informant explained, the concept of *khitma* ensures that one individual's wealth serves the community and provides others with the opportunities to complete their own studies and follow the Murid way.

This notion of cyclicality, that the older, wealthier Murids can foster

community initiatives and help younger brothers to learn and begin their own path, was shared by many Murid informants. Serigne Mourtalla, the youngest brother of the current Khalife-Général, founded Al-Azhar enterprises in the hopes of generating enough profits to open a modern Qur'aanic school. As his business flourished, he opened a fleet of charter buses running to and from Dakar, a number of small industrial factories, textile workshops, and wholesale stores. As his grandson, who directs the transport arm of the business, explained, these business initiatives were conceived with a community goal in mind: providing a modern education and Qur'aanic instruction to young pupils. Today, more than 200 Al-Azhar schools can be found both in Senegal and overseas.

One member of Serigne Mourtalla's entourage, who operates several small hotels and owns a number of properties, described some of the community efforts he has recently undertaken: the construction of several wells in nearby communities and support for the construction of a Qur'aanic daara in a local suburb. He explained that community works for the needy reflect adherence to the pillars of Islam, and form an important element of Murid ideology, which seeks to redistribute wealth to the community.

The practice of charity–through alms to the poor, contributions to one's marabout, or the pooling of funds to build a large Murid project–serves as a strong redistribution method for directing the funds of wealthy Murids (often through the hands of marabouts) to the disposition of the local community. In Touba, the contributions of taalibés helped build a Murid university that offers advanced Arabic, Qur'aanic and secular instruction.

The Righteousness of Financial Independence

All Murids would acknowledge that hard work is an important component of faith and a core recommendation of the founder. A number of Murids explained the common opinion in the brotherhood that financial independence is a prerequisite to true prayer and adoration of Allah, the Prophet, and the Holy Qur'aan. As one member of a marabout's entourage explained, the faithful who works and spends his free time praying is closer to Allah than the faithful who spends all his time praying and lives off the work of others. The first, he insisted, produced his own keep and thus no one could impose conditions of faith or influence his beliefs; the second, however, was dependent on the charity of others and could thus be swayed in his faith by his economic masters. This anecdote reflects the widely held Murid belief that economic self-sufficiency is a necessary criterion for spirituality and highlights the

spiritual underpinnings of the Murid's economic existence.

The Structural Organization of the Brotherhood

The ideological and spiritual orientation of the brotherhood helps explain the tendency of the brothers to pursue careers in business. Beyond this, Muridism also offers economic benefits to its members through its institutions. The Murids are characterized, relative to other Senegalese religious groups, by a high level of organization, solidarity, and a willingness to cooperate. These qualities, reinforced and emphasized among Murids in both their social and spiritual environment, are also peremptory norms of their behavior in the Senegalese marketplace. Since Murid doctrine approves heavily of hard labor performed as a component of prayer, work has always been an integral component of organized spiritual life for Murids. For instance, rural *daaras* formed the base of organization for young men in the movement, especially during its early growth. 'Wednesday fields,' in which a marabout's disciples work his fields one day a week, continue to serve as an expression of faith and symbol of hard work.

Many scholars, since the earliest colonial studies on the Murids, have proposed the Marxist-influenced model of the tãriqa's institutionalized work as a system of exploitation. Proponents of this view suggest that the arrival of the French collapsed the traditional Wolof caste system and created a power vacuum that was quickly replaced by the Senegalese *turuq* as the Murids. They maintain that the old caste-patronage relationships were transferred into exploitative marabout-taalibé relations. The marabouts, imbued with allegedly hereditary mystical powers, would guarantee the salvation of their taalibés, who would sacrifice their immediate wealth in the material world to their saintly spiritual guide. Some academics have even proposed that the Murid religious hierarchy was little more than an Islamicized resurrection of Wolof slavery.[15] Indeed, the view that the Murid brotherhood resurrected many of the traditional Wolof institutions has been popular. Behrman's studies on Senegalese brotherhoods concluded that the hierarchical system of the Murid marabouts supplanted that of the old Wolof *ceddo* (Wolof, 'feudal lords').[16] Many non-Murid informants in Senegal echoed this perspective, noting that the fervent devotion of a Murid taalibé to his marabout was more rigid than that of the other Sufi sects and reflected the highly stratified class relationships of old Wolof society.

In counterbalance to the literature that paints Murid institutions and work arrangements as either a system of exploitation or as a 'resurrection' of the

Wolof kingdoms, there are many defensive works, produced mainly by Murid academics, which cast a more positive light on the Murid tãriqa. These works emphasize the orthodoxy of Murid Islam, debunk the myth of economic exploitation, or clarify the benefits of Muridism to its followers. Many of these studies, however, particularly those produced by Senegalese scholars in recent years, are ideologically biased and fail to question the accuracy of claims made by Murid merchants and marabouts.

There are many reasons why the majority of Murid-focused literature, with its Marxist-derived perspectives, offers an incomplete framework with which to examine the brotherhood. First, many of the Marxist approaches have examined only the obvious economic relationships institutionalized in the Murid movement. These relationships include: the ritual contributions of manual labor, homonies from taalibé to marabout, and the years-long participation of young men in their *daara* of their shaykh. While these examples do stand out as evidence of economic inequality between taalibé and marabouts and also highlight the vertical dependencies found among rural Murids and their marabouts, such a Marxist, primarily economic analysis of the movement neglects the spiritual dimensions of Murid life. As one Murid academic pointed out, Marx believed in a godless world. Derivatives of his approach, which are unable to effectively include benefits such as those offered by organized faith, tend to focus disproportionately on economic systems and exploitation. While much of the institutionalized work in Murid practices does involve transfers of wealth or labor from taalibé to marabout, the benefits of spiritual affiliation offer the Murid disciple non-economic benefits. According to Murid scholars, these benefits include: the assurance of access to Paradise, strong Qur'aan schooling, and the introduction of Islam to non-believers.[17] As one prominent Dakar businessman stated regarding his adherence to the Murid tãriqa, faith and religious devotion offer emotional security, the knowledge that one's actions are leading towards paradise and increased spiritual protection from powerful marabouts. A Murid student explained that, as a follower of the tãriqa, he was always aware of the unmoving center of his spiritual and mundane life–his faith–and supported by the solidarity and a tight network of his coreligionaries at the University. The purely 'spiritual' benefits of Muridism to the average taalibé, then, are an important component of the Murid system and should not be understated relative to economic analyses.

In the economic domain, as in the spiritual, the tãriqa offers very real economic and social benefits to the taalibé, both from the generosity of his

particular marabout and from the organization of the system as a whole. As Donal Cruise O'Brien has noted, there are significant material benefits which the saints of the brotherhood and its institutions generate for the Murid taalibé.[18] The first type of material contributions–those from the marabouts to their taalibés–takes many forms: financial assistance for medical emergencies or weddings, grants of plots of land to young men, and support for acquiring visas for overseas travel. Many Murid merchants interviewed explained that their marabouts had assisted them with material contributions during their own times of need. Some marabouts explicitly stated that they felt a strong sense of responsibility towards their taalibés and that they held an important role in helping their followers, particularly young men, with money or land issues. The second form of economic advantages to Murid taalibés–those created by the institutions of the movement in general–also takes many forms. These benefits may include community solidarity, reciprocal assistance, and access to cheap financing, which will be examined later in this paper. In sum, for Murid taalibés, there are real economic benefits that accompany the spiritual and emotional advantages of brotherhood. As Roch has noted, "[T]he moral and metaphysical aims of Muridism are just as real motivations as the economic practices that they accompany."[19]

The Tãriqa as Social Capital

The economic advantages of belonging to the Murid *tãriqa* can be explained by an examination of its 'social capital,' a concept that has been examined much in literature of recent years. Social capital has often been defined as the structure of relationships between and among social actors, which encourage productive activity and can be measured in real economic benefits.[20] This concept evolved out of the recognition that organizational structures and networks of social relationships often contribute to the well being of their members, in terms of spirituality, economic security, and social mobility.[21] As a construct, social capital implies equivalence with classical, or economic, capital, and attempts to examine the role in which specifically non-economic roles, structures and relationships can definitively produce material results. Unlike traditional forms of capital, however, social capital is a moral resource that increases through use, and diminishes if not utilized regularly.[22] A further distinction between social and classical capital is that social capital describes the *opportunity* to draw on resources in an independent social network, as opposed to an object that can be used independent of the social setting. Social capital can generate economic capital or wealth either by providing

individuals with new sources of income–new business opportunities, financing, or information–or by reducing the transactions costs of conducting business–lengthy haggling, paperwork, or communicating via a third party. Because it hinges on close-knit relationships between individuals and groups, social capital has generally been examined in the context of local communities, or in subcultures and groups within greater communities. On the local level, businesspeople with institutionally enforced social relationships–for instance, members of a common religious affiliation in a small town–can eliminate repetition and costly negotiation in their business on a daily basis.[23] A well-known example of social capital is the web of kinship and ethnic ties of Jewish diamond merchants in New York city, whose tightly knit community offers individual dealers higher levels of trust with associates, shared information about the marketplace, the ability to fix prices, and access to financing between dealers on friendly terms.

Social capital is a useful framework for examining the way in which membership in the Murid movement, an organization spiritual in nature, can offer real material benefits to its taalibés. Material pursuits are never the explicit purpose of any Murid religious institution, and more than one of my earlier informants bristled at the suggestions that *dahiras* and maraboutic relations were focused on business rather than devout prayer and brotherhood. While not the explicit purpose of Muridism, the economic benefits of membership into the urban Murid society are essentially the positive externalities of the morals and values enforced and maintained by urban Murid institutions. To demonstrate that the tãriqa does create wealth for its members, we must first determine how this social capital translates into meaningful and measurable economic benefits. Next, this paper will examine how its institutions constitute or provide social capital to its followers.

Social capital can take many forms, such as: relations of trust, reciprocity and exchanges, common rules, norms and sanctions, connectedness, and networks and groups[24]. Social capital can assume all of these forms in any community interaction, although they will typically vary in importance among different groups. Although there are examples of each of these categories in urban Murid relations, trust and social connectedness serve the most important roles for urban merchants.

Trust is a vital asset to urban Murid merchants. Trust saves such Murid merchants time and money. It eliminates the need to actively monitor business associates and it creates a level of comfort with sharing resources, such as transport or information. Senegalese negotiation, or *waxale* (Wolof,

'bargaining') as anyone who has visited one of Senegal's markets will attest, is a lengthy and thus costly process of haggling and discussion. Murids who share a sense of mutual trust with their brothers are often spared much of this process. A small-time merchant in Dakar explained that when he buys goods from Murid brothers before reselling them in the street, he can trust his supplier's price and complete the transaction more rapidly. This means that he has more time to pursue clients and, therefore, makes more profit. Trust also allows merchants to share joint resources freely with other business associates. A Murid taxi driver outside of St. Louis said that because he trusts his fellow Murids, he allows them to operate his taxi at night and knows that he will be given a fair share of the profits without being cheated. High levels of trust also encourage merchants to engage in joint business ventures more readily and offer loans to friends with lower risk. These conditions permit the Murids more flexibility in running their businesses. For example, a shopkeeper might ask his Murid neighbor to manage his stall while he leaves to negotiate a deal, thus preventing him from losing sales.

Social connectedness is a valuable form of social capital, providing Murids with established connections to potential business partners and extending the merchant's awareness of rumors, local happenings, and business opportunities. Social connectedness has been recognized as an important economic asset, particularly to entrepreneurs in the urban informal economy,[25] where they rely on word-of-mouth to communicate information about business opportunities.[26] In other areas of sub-Saharan Africa, this view has been confirmed by Rowley, who has noted that well-connected individuals in large social networks tend to be wealthier than their less-connected peers.[27] While the importance of a well-connected 'personal' network is familiar to Western businesspeople, the informal and highly social nature of conducting business in Senegalese cities amplifies the necessity of having a large number of associates who are themselves well connected.

Relations of trust and social connectedness are noticeable characteristics of urban Murid culture and social interaction. These features may reflect both a cultural tradition of the movement that stems from religious values, as well as greater solidarity among the Murid arising from their prior minority status in Senegalese cities. Nonetheless, high trust and stronger connectedness are reinforced by specific Murid institutions. This paper will now examine how each of the most important Murid institutions generates social capital for the urban Murid businessman.

The Dahira

The literature has noted a pronounced trend in recent years towards urbanization and international migration among the Murids. This rural exodus and shift towards the cities among Murids can be explained by a combination of factors. First, poor agricultural and economic conditions made farming considerably more difficult between 1945 and 1960. Before and during this period, demographic expansion and population growth in Murid farming communities, combined with soil exhaustion and the lack of new lands, prompted migration out of traditional peanut farming villages into more lucrative environments. The economic focus of the brotherhood, during this period, shifted away from the rural to the urban, leaving a Senegalese government report to note that the city, rather than the village or *daara*, was the principal focus of Murid movement efforts since 1945[28]. Although the economic conditions at the time favored a migration towards the city centers, the movement as a whole advanced into the urban zones to proselytize and promote its religious beliefs among other Senegalese peoples. According to one Murid ideologue and educator, the economic rationale for domestic urban and international migration simply facilitated the broader Murid objective of sharing its beliefs and ideals outside of its own community. This combination of ideological and economic factors opened a new urban environment to the movement, a new social situation that offered rich economic opportunities while posing new challenges to Murid cohesion and organization.

The Murids have long been perceived as intimately linked to the peanut basin and rural agricultural production, and this perception has, in fact, often glossed over the other economic arenas in which the brotherhood plays a central role.[29] Many scholars have questioned the ability of the movement to adapt successfully from its roots in farming to a possible future in the urban economy. In the early 1970's, Donal Cruise O'Brien proposed the idea that urbanization could weaken the faith of Murid followers. He suggested that the Murid-dominated agricultural helped to surround Murids by those of the same faith, and that a transition to more cosmopolitan urban environments would present spiritual alternatives. This proposition does not seem to have manifested itself. Rather than eroding the strength of the brotherhood, urbanization has modernized and increased the wealth of Murid brothers. Although urban migration has demanded an innovative shift in Murid institutions, it has allowed the growth of the movement across the country. This positive transition has been greatly facilitated and encouraged by the adaptability of the movement and, in particular, participation in the *dahiras*,

which have become the structural core of urban Muridiyya.

The *dahira* is a relatively new and innovative social structure. As one scholar notes, the Murids have developed new structural institutions to each arising socio-historical situation and have flourished as a result of this ability to innovate.[30] As the working *daara* corresponds to the Murid rural peanut farming community, so does the *dahira* reflect a Murid adaptation to the social environment of Senegalese cities. The term *dahira* is derived from *dawa'ir* (Arabic, 'circle') and dates back to 1928, when the first urban *dahira* was implemented in the Tijan brotherhood at Tivaouane. Shaykh Mbacké implemented the first Murid *dahira* in Dakar in 1940 in response to the growing need for Murid organization in Senegal's capital. The *dahira,* as an institution, has evolved considerably since then. There are hundreds of *dahiras* in Dakar and dozens in other major Senegalese cities. These organizations play a dual role. They combine explicit spiritual and religious objectives, while providing social capital that translates into economic benefits for individual Murids. Although the spiritual function of urban *dahiras* is important, this paper will focus on the social and economic benefits stemming from participation in the organization, with an emphasis on how such participation has contributed to Murid economic success.

For the Murid trader, recently arrived from his native village to one of the larger cities of Senegal, the *dahira* offers the immediate opportunity to forge lucrative connections beyond the few family ties he may already possess. As many Murids noted, in the urban centers, business arrangements, joint ventures, and informal lending take place with great frequency along either family or religious lines, and the spiritual relationships forged singing *xassayds*[31] in the *dahira* often become important business contacts. Knowing and being known by older and more established Murid merchants offers a valuable starting point.[32]

The meeting place of the *dahira,* as the hub of urban activities, serves as a substitute for the traditional pillars of Murid culture and solidarity from the movement's rural past.[33] It reinforces the sense of community among Murids and serves as an urban-adapted link to the spiritual core of the brotherhood, which is more geographically isolated. A vital social advantage of the *dahira* is that is reinforces key Murid values, such as trust, social connectedness, and cooperation. One Murid real estate owner replied very clearly to a question about the secret to his urban brothers' success: "[S]olidarity binds us together and makes a family out of us. Our solidarity means that there is never competition between Murids and that we can make the most of our numbers

and our strength." He went on to specify how such solidarity is a key business asset: "When I go to buy my supplies for my business or look for a deal, I always approach my Murid brothers first. We are part of the same family, and we look to help each other out." The *dahira* thus helps reinforce mutual trust and social connectedness among urban brothers.

Outside of these functions, the *dahira* serves as an important component of the Murid urban community of informal merchants. To the extent that urban brotherhood members maintain relationships with the *dahira,* they are brought into contact with the practicing religious community, encouraged to offer charitable contributions to the Shaykh, and included in a highly organized system whose benefits extend beyond the walls of the *dahira's* compound.

The Murid Religious Hierarchy

Previous literature has noted that the Murid *tãriqa*, since its formation, includes many of the rigid vertical relationship roles of pre-colonialism Wolof society. Cruise O'Brien has noted that the level of absolute devotion of a Murid *taalibé* to his Shaykh was, both in invocations of submission and in practical terms, far beyond that of other Sufi sects. Several Murid academics explained the notion that the *tãriqa* is a collection of the faithful aligned along the path established by the Founder. The model for religious devotion to which many Murids aspire is that of faithful devotion to one's religious leader. As one rural dahira explained, "The truth is in love for one´s shaykh…since the teachings of the shaykh are inviolable."[34] Both the Senegalese and foreign academics have noted that Murid faithful tend to display a much greater level of allegiance and submission to their marabouts that Muslim of other brotherhoods.[35] At the same time, many Murids have noted that the rigidity and complexity of *marabout-taalibé* relations have gradually softened and loosened as the movement has become implanted in urban environments.

For young Murid merchants, the traditional *marabout-taalibé* relations have equivalent commercial relationships. Many wealthier Murid merchants take younger merchants under their wing, providing them with financing or merchandise, guidance in the market, and with access to the patron's network of connections. To many Murids, this act of patronage is a responsibility to help younger Murids flourish and provide them with the support necessary to develop their own independence as a merchant. Gérard Salem has noted this distinctively Murid mechanism at work in the case of Paris' most prominent Baol-Baol, who had taken dozens of young, itinerant Senegalese under his

wing and offered them material support. This vertical relationship of *patron*-protégé is an adaptation of the traditional rural hierarchy between saint and follower. This Murid tendency towards mentoring or patronage relationships provides social capital to urban brothers by providing a 'vertical' bond of solidarity across generations that complements the 'horizontal' solidarity among peers reinforced by the *dahiras*. This concept of vertical solidarity is prevalent in Murid ideology: the notion that the wealthy merchants have a responsibility to train younger merchants. These protégés, of course, profit from support in their early years in the marketplace, and can grow their businesses more rapidly with easy access to merchandise, a share in the patron's enterprises, or rapidly garnered loans. The more experienced Murids, in turn, further establish their position in the community and grow their base of employees and network of contacts, in addition to the potential benefits of assisting a younger merchant to a position of greater wealth.

The Murid Financial System

This paper has already described two ingredients to the economic success of urban Murids: the religious practices of Murid disciples and the social capital generated by their institutions. Another important factor of success for urban Murids is their access to, and use of, financing for their business ventures. The merchants' use of loans, joint ventures, and other forms of financing allow for much more rapid business growth and help them jump beyond wealth barriers that often lock micro entrepreneurs into marginal profits in informal sector work. The forms of financing used regularly by the Murid merchant differ significantly from 'Western' banking, the formal, institutionalized financial system familiar to businessmen in the developed West. We will examine this valuable financial and investment system from several perspectives. First, although it is influenced by Senegalese social values, the financing used by Murids approaches the practices of Islamic banking, common in the Middle East and supported by Islamic juridical thought. Islamic banking differs significantly from Western banking in terms of its guiding principles and core financial tools, offering more flexible and less risky options to small informal sector businesspeople. Next, after outlining the recommended forms of financing from Islamic banking, we will examine how flexible financing is used by Murids to advance their businesses more rapidly and with reduced risk. Murid financing, in fact, builds on the beneficial social capital generated by the *tãriqa's* institutions and allows for greater risk-taking and collaboration among merchants. Finally, we will see that financing, as practiced by the

majority of Murids, is highly inclusive and allows micro entrepreneurs at almost any age or level of wealth access to needed capital in line with their business needs. We will also see how this effect reinforces the role of the Murids as a social and economic development tool for its members.

Muslim Economics

Like the Murid movement itself–orthodox Muslim doctrine infused with local tribal values–the financing familiar to the urban brothers is linked to that advocated by Islamic thought and to local Wolof culture. The Murid's aversion to institutionalized banking is nearly total: none of the informants interviewed working in the informal sector had ever sought loans or opened an account at a financial institution. While this is perhaps a logical trend given the low quality of Senegalese banks, it reflects the Murid reliance on informal sources of finance. An academic informant explained that one reason for the unwillingness to work with Western-model banks was the Islamic prohibition against doing so. While it restricts certain forms of financing–above all, any lending on interest, the central financial product for most Western money-lending institutions–the Qur'aan and Islamic thought define and recommend different financing models.

Equality is the overarching principle in Islamic contract law and financing mechanisms. Islamic banking prohibits any forms of transactions or business agreements that lead to *istighlaal* (Arabic, 'unfair exploitation'). A contract is deemed exploitative when there is either unfair distribution of profits, of obligations and financial burdens, or a disproportionate share of any type of risk to one party.[36] Islamic financial laws, in general, hinge on the prohibition of *ribaa* (Arabic, 'excess' or 'usury'). The Qur'aan explicitly forbids the practice of usury in business or financial transactions; the earliest verse says: 'That which you lay out for increase through the property of [other] people will have no increase with God; but that which you lay out for charity, seeking the countenance of God, will increase; it is these who get a recompense multiplied.'[37] The Qur'aan prohibits *ribaa* in two forms: *ribaa al-fadl* and *ribaa al-nasii'ah*. The first form of prohibited usury refers to any form of exchange in which one party receives a greater profit from an exchange, such as lending on interest. The second form, *ribaa al-nasii'ah,* relates roughly to the modern financial concept of the time value of money. Any forms of delayed payment or loans given in exchange for goods at a later date are prohibited by Islamic thought in this category. These two broader categories of definitions clearly prohibit participation in any form with loans on interest or debt financing.

The Islamic banking prohibitions against *ribaa,* however, have allowed considerable room in the Muslim world for financial institutions, a variety of means of financing business ventures, avenues for investment, and a banking market. Since Islamic banking hinges on principles of equality and the prohibition of usury, the financing products available in the Muslim world are primarily shared-risk financing mechanisms. The two principal financing categories available to businessmen in the Islamic banking system are *mudaaraba,* a form of lender-risked equity financing, and *mushaaraka,* which includes variations on joint ventures and shared partnerships as means of financially supporting a business. The first notion, *mudaaraba,* is also known as PLS—Profit and Loss Sharing.[38] In *mudaaraba*, the lender offers an amount of capital to the borrower, called the *mudaarib*. This exchange is made on the understanding that the borrower will act within his power to bring the investment to fruition. Accordingly, the lender is unable to place restrictions on the borrower to whom he has offered his capital in good faith, and the buyer is expected to pursue the business arrangement responsibly. In the event of a business loss, the lender effectively assumes the entirety of the financial loss, while in the event of a profitable investment, the lender and borrower split the profits on a fixed ratio established before the capital was given. This form of financing is far more flexible and less risky to the businessperson (typically the borrower) because it amounts to equity financing of the same genus as the familiar venture capital financing often used by small business startups in the West. The second Islamic banking mechanism, *mushaaraka*, is a process of joint venture financing and suited to business collaboration. In this model of financing, multiple investors pool their funds and take equity ownership to the business or project proportionate to their contribution – there are no fixed amounts or numbers of investors in this mechanism. One of the contributors is charged with the task of operating the business and should be unconstrained from supervision and interference from the other investors. A profitable venture would distribute profits proportionately among the equity holders. This financial mechanism allows for relatively small businesspeople to pool their funds and pursue larger investment opportunities, and is fully acceptable in even orthodox Muslim doctrine.

Murid Financing

For the most part, the financing used by urban Murids conforms to orthodox Islamic banking principles; few merchants make use of banks or lending on

interest, and most receive loans from associates in the form of *mudaaraba* or collaborate with other through *mushaaraka*. *Mudaaraba* is, according to many informants, the most prevalent form of financing used by informal sector merchants. The youngest Murid merchants make exclusive use of this mechanism, often borrowing merchandise or money from elders, selling products, and returning a predetermined percentage to the patron. On many street corners in Sandaga Market in Dakar, elderly Murids will offer large sums of financing to well-trusted colleagues with the goal of removing containers from an ocean liner to sell the contents; following the sale, the Murid financer would receive a set percentage of the profits in addition to his original investment. Because *mudaaraba* is equivalent to equity financing, the risk of lending (at least in immediate financial terms) lies solely on the financer, although the costs to the reputation and community respect of the borrower may be equally real in the event of a failed investment. Such financing hinges on the social connection and interconnectedness between the financer and the borrower; no Murid financer would ever offer his money to a borrower who was presumed untrustworthy or unlikely to succeed in his venture. *Mudaaraba* financing, for this reason, tends to operate along lines of solidarity and social connectedness, while at the same time reinforcing the mutual interest and trust of Murid brothers. Another benefit of this mechanism is that, unlike in Western banking, where debt lenders have no vested interest in the success of their clients, Murid financers share the borrower's pursuit of a profitable venture and thus have an incentive to support the venture where possible. This concept of shared interest takes place frequently in the markets of Dakar; one wealthier informant financed a younger cousin to purchase a large shipment of clothing, and subsequently arranged for selling space and transportation with other business associates, with the aim of supporting their mutual investment. *Mushaaraka*, or joint venture investing, is also a common means of pursuing a business venture among urban brothers, particularly for shipping products, releasing them from customs, or establishing business in a new area. Joint venture investing is a highly flexible means of investing and coincides well with Murid cooperativeness and solidarity, since among brothers, each individual can contribute what he is able and reap the benefits proportionately, without expending time and resources on monitoring his associates with whom he is spiritually and institutionally linked.

The benefits of the shared-risk forms of financing to urban brothers are clearly manifold. First, they allow businessmen to aggressively pursue

opportunities in the market without conforming to overly rigid debt financing. Second, the use of equity-style financing aligns the interest of financer and borrower and opens opportunities for further mutual support and collaboration. Third, shared-risk financing operates along, and further strengthens, social networks and lines of solidarity among fellow Murids, creating interdependence and trust among the merchant community. Finally, as we will explore below, shared-risk, Islamic-style financing as used by the Murids offers a means to offer very poor members of the business community access to finance.

Inclusive Financing

We have already examined solidarity as a dominant value among urban Murids, particularly those whose social networks are reinforced by connections to a common dahira, marabout, or family member. The inclusiveness of the Murids appeared to apply equally to the merchants' financing strategies; budding merchants, often at a very young age, receive financing in cash or in kind from family members to sell snacks or facial tissues on city streets. Given that the youth repays the funds allotted to him, the donor will typically award him another sum of money to peddle his wares on a slighter larger scale. This process continues as the young merchant grows up and many young men in Dakar and Thies proudly man small roadside boutiques or pushcarts laden with simmering meat for sale. Amadou Diagne, a lively repairer of cellular phone in Dakar's Ponty area, explained that he began his business with small sums of cash–'help', as he termed it–from older friends, which allowed him to grow his funds and develop business acumen. The informal nature of Murid financing discussed above, high levels of solidarity within the community, along with obvious willingness to lend in small sums to even poor and inexperienced businessmen, means that the overwhelming majority of Murids have access to funds which will enable them to build their businesses.

The inclusivity of Murid financing demonstrates the ability of this system to surpass even institutional microfinance in offering funds to a majority of the poor. Although access to business capital has been acknowledged as a vital component of economic growth among the poor, formal development programs have found producing real growth among marginalized groups a challenge. The development literature in Africa has noted the polarizing impact of formal microfinance development schemes, which often close out poor, illiterate, or inexperienced entrepreneurs in practical terms. Studies conducted in Zambia's

copperbelt region have suggested that even sophisticated lending programs to the poor are systematically unable to support economic growth among the poorest of the poor.[39] By contrast, Murid financing, as evidenced by the examples above, are almost wholly inclusive since urban merchants can draw on funds, albeit commensurate to their status as a successful businessman, from a large number of community members.

Murid financing forms an integral element of the brotherhood's economic activity, supporting the dynamism of its merchants. Its characteristics reflect its origins in both orthodox Muslim banking principles and in distinctly West African and Murid elements. The modalities of the movement's financing promote risk sharing among financers and businessmen–behavior at once reliant on, and supportive of, community solidarity and shared goals. At the same time, Murid financing allows access to funds among the great majority of both established entrepreneurs and budding businessmen, helping to redistribute wealth and opportunity among the community.

The Economic Future of the Brotherhood

Thirty years ago, much of the literature on the tāriqa questioned the success of the Murid advance into Senegal's cities given the increasing geographical and ideological separation from the movement's spiritual center. Today, it is apparent that the movement has done more than merely weather the transition; rather, the Murids appear to have flourished, particularly in economic terms, in the urban informal sector. Even as the Senegalese informal economy – now Murid dominated – grows, new challenges present themselves: the creation of industrial production, the development of Senegalese multinationals, and the transition into the formal economy. At a conference held in Dakar by the Senegalese government in May, titled the 'Conference on Planning Senegalese Development,' Prime Minister Idrissa Seck noted that the nation's economic success required a combination of formal sector growth and informal sector dynamism. He underlined the need for Senegal's leading businesspeople to develop their informal networks into modern multinationals prepared to compete in the new global economy. His words underscored a recurring theme over the course of the conference: that the wealthier merchants needed to build large industrial businesses as a form of wealth creation in Senegal. As the executive director of a development resource center for the region of St. Louis insisted, Senegal has a thriving informal sector, largely run by Murid merchants. What is lacking in the country's development trajectory, he noted, was large-scale industrial production and

well-organized business to make, rather than simply re-distribute, products. The creation of big business and more widespread industrial production is therefore a necessary step in Senegalese development, and a step in which Murids could play a central role.

The movement does indeed seem poised (at least, judging by its wealthy members) to undertake the challenge to enter the highly profitable world of big business. This possibility is a relatively new phenomenon; until many Murids migrated out of the brush into their urban environments, building the necessary level of wealth to engage in anything beyond small businesses of reselling goods was out of reach for most. Since the successful implantation in city centers in Senegal and overseas, many Murids have the means to invest in large-scale industrial production or fund larger, formalized businesses. In Dakar, Serigne Mboup directs CCBM, a large multi-sector firm founded by his father, which owns electronics assembly plants, a large cement plant in Rufisque and Dakar's first Western-style mall. His commercial empire was one of the first large enterprises to emerge from the Murid system in Senegal. His father, who created the family business, began as a street vendor in Dakar before building his way up to holdings in the formal sector. In St. Louis, Shaykh Sourang operates a large fleet of cargo trucks transporting cement from Rufisque to Western Mali and tomatoes from the frontier region to the docks of Dakar. He built up his business from a loan from his father, which allowed him to purchase a taxi.

Certainly there are dozens of examples of wealthy Murids whose experience and opportunities in the urban informal sector have allowed a level of wealth and capital accumulation that would permit individuals (or small groups) to install industrial facilities. Nonetheless, the challenges of transition to the formal economy, if this is indeed the next step for wealthy urban merchants, will test the adaptability of Murid institutions and social advantages considerably. The successful transition to the formal sector places new demands on business owners – particularly in the area of sound, educated, management for small and medium-sized businesses.[40] In addition, accounting standards, necessarily more structured business hierarchies, greater financing needs and a shift from selling to production, may be factors in which the Murid work ethic and social institutions cannot offer the same advantages in the business arena.

Standard Murid practices such as borrowing and loaning money, often unrecorded and spontaneous, will be forced to adapt to the more rigorous standards of a formal business environment, nor will likely be able to

accommodate the larger capital demands of industrial production. There will be a needed shift towards banking institutions or more organized methods of financing. Another significant challenge will be the increasing requirement for business owner education and management training. At present, many highly successful urban Murids have very low levels of literacy, and an acquired, rather than instructed, form of management and leadership training, often built up over years in the marketplace.

The Murid business owner who undertakes the leap to the formal sector must, as did previous generations of the movement, adapt to a challenging environment in the hopes of greater levels of prominence and profitability. The role of managing a modern enterprise competing in the global economy may fall to the newest generation of Murid youth, sent abroad to be educated by parents wealthy by Senegalese standards. These individuals, said many Senegalese, are the next wave of Murids capable of taking on the challenge of managing businesses in the formal sector. Yet the movement's jump into formal sector commerce, increasing migration and infiltration of foreign markets, and the geographic distancing of Murid intellectual and social elites from the spiritual core of Touba threaten to fray the bonds that currently hold the brotherhood together.

Conclusion

The Murid movement has shown a remarkable level of adaptation to the urban environment in which it has flourished. This paper has attempted to show that the Murids's success in the marketplace stems from three main factors. First, Murids owe much of their success to their theological and spiritual orientation towards hard work as well as to their movement´s culture, which reinforces this outlook. The glorification and encouragement of hard work as a key component of faith and access to salvation, and a tendency to choose business over other forms of work have both helped foster a higher level of wealth creation compared to Senegal's other religious groups. Next, the ability of Murid social structures to reinforce social capital between members plays a central role in the material success of individual brothers. The *dahira*, the tradition of religious hierarchy, renowned Murid solidarity, and flexible financial systems within the *tãriqa* generate social capital that is particularly beneficial to informal sector businessesmen. The relationship between Murid organization, solidarity, and spiritual institutions and the wealth and economic success of individual members demonstrates the considerable economic benefits that relationships based outside the

marketplace can offer.

This paper has also highlighted how the Murid movement's economic behavior is interesting from the perspective of economic development. The movement´s highly sophisticated business practices serve as tools, adapted to the African reality, that successfully replace Senegal's lack of functioning, modern institutions such as popularized banks and reliable property law. Although such informal economic networks were classically viewed as fundamentally inferior to 'modern' formal institutions, economists adhering to New Institutional Economics maintain that the informal economic networks in developing countries have evolved to meet the real needs of the business community. Indeed, Ben-Porath has asserted that, in business environments lacking strong legal enforcement of contracts, fair adjudication, and the availability of modern finance, informal social networks, including family, ethnic, or religiously focused enterprises, fill an important role in the marketplace.[41]

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Notes

[1] Murid intellectuals refer to their movement as the *tãriqa* (Arabic, 'way'). This word, they say, correctly captures the movement's collective direction established by the founder. 'Brotherhood' is often used in academic writing to describe the Murids' organization.

[2] 'Marabout' is a term for Islamic holyman used throughout West Africa. In Sufi Islam, marabouts play the role of intermediary between the Muslim and Allah. In Senegalese Islam, marabouts are often believed to possess hereditary mystical powers.

[3] Robert Arnaud. *L'Islam et la Politique Musulmane Francaise en Afrique Occidentale Franciase: Renseignements Coloniaux et Documents* (Paris: Publiees par le Comité de l'Afrique Française, 1912), 31.

[4] Eric Ross "Touba, A Spiritual Metropolis in the Modern World." *Canadian Journal of African Studies 29:2* (1995): 252.

[5] Although it is Senegal's second largest urban grouping, Touba is still classified as a town rather than a city because it has no secular government institutions based there. Incidentally, Touba may be considered the world's largest 'village' at 300,000 people.

[6] O'Brien Cruise O'Brien and B. Donal. *The Murids of Senegal.* (Oxford: Clarendon Books, 1971), 242.

[7] A *dahira* is the location of a community of individuals belonging to the same brotherhood. The term *dahira* is derived from dawa'ir (Arabic, 'circle') and dates back to 1928, when the first urban *dahira* was implemented in the Tijan brotherhood at Tivaouane. *Dahiras* are typically affiliated directly with a marabout or with one of his representatives.

[8] Gérard Salem, "De la brousse Sénégalaise au Boul' Mich: le système commercial Murid en France." (France: *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 81-83 1988), 267.

[9] Paul Marty's comprehensive works are the leading example of colonial era scholarship.

[10] Better-known examples include: Jean Copans, Christian Coulon, Donal B. Cruise O'Brien, Adam Klein, Roger Pelissier, Fernand Dumont.

[11] J. Rossiter. ed. *Financial Exclusion: Can Mutuality Fill the Gap?.* (London: New Policy

Institute/UK Social Investment Forum, 1997).

[12] The word *taalibé* (Wolof) is derived from Taalib (Arabic, 'student'). It takes on a wide variety of meanings, often implying the young followers of a marabout. More generally, it is used to identify a disciple of one of Senegal's brotherhoods.

[13] A *daara* (Wolof, 'school') is the name for both urban Qur'aanic schools and rural work compounds. Rural *daaras* typically have large plots of land devoted to growing peanuts and a small center for Qur'aanic instructor under the care of a marabout or his representative. In the peanut growing regions near Touba, young men are often sent away from their families to toil in the fields of the *daara* for the marabout in exchange for education and the marabout's blessing.

[14] Abdoulaye Wade. *La Doctrine Économique du Mouridisme*. (Dakar: Nouvelles Éditions Africaines, 1966), 8.

[15] *Afrique Occidentale Francaise, Territoire du Senegal. Amenagement de l'économie Agricole et Rurale du Senegal. Dakar*, (Senegal: Mission R. Porteres, 1951), 108.

[16] Lucy C. Behrman. *Muslim Brotherhoods and Politics in Senegal*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 104.

[17] Cheikh Tidiane Sy. *La Conferie Senegalaise des Murids*. (Paris: Presence Africaine, 1969), 35.

[18] O'Brien Cruise and B. Donal. *Saints and Politicians. Cambridge*. (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 61.

[19] Translated from J. Roch, son rapport annuel 1969, in B.L.S.H, n 13, mai 1970 – p 126 « *les fins morals et metaphysiques sont des motivations aussi réelles que les pratiques économiques qui les accompagnent.* »

[20] J. Coleman. "Social capital and the creation of human capital." *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1988): 97.

[21] T. Benton. *Sustainable development and the accumulation of capital: Reconciling the irreconcilable*. (Mimeo.) (Colchester: University of Essex, 1998).

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A Cross-Platform Comparison of Malaria Gene Expression Data Sets

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Independent studies have been carried out for the genome-wide characterization of malaria transcription over the parasite life cycle. Le Roch et al. used a custom-designed Affymetrix gene chip to characterize transcription over nine (both erythrocytic and extraerythrocytic) time points.1 Bozdech et al., in contrast, used a glass slide array and a standard two-channel hybridization to measure transcription on an hourly basis over the 48-hour erythrocytic cycle.2 Although these studies differ in many regards, we find the results produced similar. This overall similarity draws attention to the robustness of both the measurement technology (microarrays) and the system being measured (Plasmodium falciparum mRNA synthesis). That said, we observed a full range of profile discordance identifying several biologically interesting groups of genes exhibiting discordant expression activity, some of these yet uncharacterized. We also examine technical factors for contribution to gene profile discord. Similarity between data sets will facilitate efforts to apprehend *P. falciparum* protein function, ~65% of proteome yet uncharacterized.

Introduction

While it is exceedingly difficult to quantitate the number of human deaths due to malaria in a year, propositions towards this quantity have found their lower bound at 700,000 and their upper bound at 2,700,000.[3] The number of "cases"

or "infections" worldwide has been estimated at between 90 million and 500 million per year.[4] While it is estimated that some 90% of these cases occur in Africa, it is also estimated that over 80% go both unnoticed and untreated by any formal health delivery system.[5] Further, African children are thought to represent 75% of all malaria deaths.[6] The number of cases and the number of deaths are expected to more than double over the next twenty years in the absence of effective treatment measures.[7]

Human malaria is caused by one of four parasites in the protozoan genus *Plasmodium*. Of these *P. falciparum* is responsible for nearly all malaria-specific mortality.[8] The mosquito *Anopheles gambiae* provides the definitive, sexual host. After *An. gambiae* injects sporozoites into human subcutaneous tissue, the parasite travels to the liver where it infects hepatocytes. Here each sporozoite gives rise to thousands of merozoites which, upon leaving the liver, infect erythrocytes. Each original merozoite-infected erythrocyte produces about twenty new merozoites whereby further erythrocytic infections occur. The erythrocytic infection cycle requires approximately forty-eight hours during which parasites may be sequentially and morphologically classified as rings, trophozoites, and shizonts. Upon leaving the erythrocyte, a small proportion of parasites convert to gametocytes which are taken up by *An. gambiae* in a blood meal, whereby the *P. falciparum* life cycle continues.[9]

Recent advances in malaria biology have proved truly genomic. While malarial infection is as old as human history (and presumably older), 2002 brought with it the publication of the *P. falciparum* strain 3D7 genome[10] and the *P. yoelii yoelii* (rodent malaria model) genome.[11] High-throughput proteomic studies were also published.[12] That said, 2003 introduced two independent microarray studies elucidating *P. falciparum* transcription activity.[13] While these genomic advances implicate the need for in-depth analysis (thereby converting data into information), this study aims at understanding the inter-relationship between the recently published malaria microarray data sets.

The first of the two, that of Bozdech *et al.*, employed a glass slide array containing 7,462 seventy base pair oligonucleotides representing 4,372 of the 5,334 *P. falciparum* annotated genes. The oligonucleotides were selected from *P. falciparum* strain 3D7 predicted open reading frames.[14] The study focused on the intraerythrocytic infection cycle. While the cycle requires approximately forty-eight hours, RNA from sorbitol-synchronized *P. falciparum* strain HB3 parasites was collected on an hourly basis starting one-hour post-merozoite invasion and continuing for forty-eight hours. Such RNA collected, forty-eight

competitive hybridizations[15]were carried out in which the experimental channel represented RNA from a given time point and the reference channel RNA from all time points. Data so-collected are usually displayed and manipulated in terms of the logarithm base two of the ratio of the experimental channel to the reference channel—such data provide relative mRNA abundance levels.

The second of these studies employed a much different strategy. Le Roch *et al.* designed a custom Affymetrix-type array, which Affymetrix thereafter synthesized using their patented photolithographic technology.[16] Of the array's approximately half a million twenty-five base pair oligonucleotides, 260,596 map to predicted 3D7 coding sequence while 106,630 map to predicted 3D7 non-coding sequence. No mismatch probes were used. While the study focused on the erythrocytic cycle, extraerythrocytic stages were included: RNA was extracted from both sporozoites isolated from mosquitoes and gametocytes purified from red blood cells. The Le Roch *et al.* study of the intraerythrocytic cycle employed two cell-cycle synchronization methods: a 5% D-sorbitol treatment[17] and a temperature-cycling incubator.[18] Two erythrocytic profiles were generated. RNA was extracted from parasites over the course of seven erythrocytic time points, these labeled early rings through late schizonts and merozoites. The collected RNA (all of which came from strain 3D7 parasites) was hybridized to arrays. While using expression reads from at most twenty probes per gene, the match-only integral distribution (MOID) algorithm [19] was employed to provide absolute expression levels for each of 5,104 annotated genes at each of the studied stages.

Some initial dissimilarities were mollified to facilitate comparison. First, Le Roch *et al.* extraerythrocytic data are not considered. Also, sorbitol-synchronized merozoite data are excluded as such RNA did not originate from the same biological sample as that for other sorbitol-synchronized time points. The compared erythrocytic expression profiles are: the Le Roch *et al.* sorbitol-synchronized six time point profiles (the Winzeler sorbitol, WS, data), the Le Roch *et al.* temperature-synchronized seven time point profiles (the Winzeler temperature, WT, data), and the Bozdech *et al.* forty-six time point[20] profiles. We perform all three possible comparisons. Second, while we compare generated profiles at the level of the gene, we consider only the 4,304 annotated genes included in either study; this represents 81% of the annotated proteome. Finally, while one study provides absolute expression levels and the other relative expression levels, we obtain Le Roch *et al.* relative expression values by dividing each value in a given profile by the mean of the profile. Le

Roch *et al.* ratio (WSR and WTR) data are compared to unmodified Bozdech *et al.* data (DeRisi ratio, DR, data). In contrast, Le Roch *et al.* sorbitol-synchronized expression levels (WSE) are compared to Le Roch *et al.* temperature-synchronized expression levels (WTE).

Results

Mapping Time Points Between Data Sets

As mentioned above, the compared profiles have six, seven, and forty-six time points, respectively. Direct comparison mandates a mapping of Le Roch *et al.* stages (*e.g.*, temperature-synchronized early trophozoite data) to Bozdech *et al.* hours (*e.g.*, hour 17 data). Such a mapping was determined using a rank correlation coefficient: the data associated with each stage were rank correlated with the data associated with each hour (see Methods). These correlations are on display in Figure 1. Graphs A, B, E, and F show the cyclical way in which the data from a given Le Roch *et al.* array correlate with data from each of the Bozdech *et al.* arrays — graphs A and B for relative expression levels and graphs E and F for absolute expression levels.[21] Graphs C and D, while displaying the same information as that displayed in graphs A and B, show the regularity with which data from a set of juxtaposed Bozdech *et al.* arrays correlate with data from each of the Le Roch *et al.* arrays. A mapping between hours and stages was obtained using graphs A and B: each Le Roch *et al.* (sorbitol- or temperature-synchronized) stage was mapped to the maximally correlated Bozdech *et al.* hour, *e.g.*, the temperature-synchronized early trophozoite stage was indeed mapped to hour 17 via the yellow curve in graph B.

Several other features within these graphs (Figure 1) prove noteworthy. First, we note the sinusoidal shape of all curves. The observed cyclicity in correlation corroborates that observed in the gene profiles by Bozdech *et al.* It also implicates the presence of such in the Le Roch *et al.* data though it was not directly noted. Also, each Le Roch *et al.* curve (graphs A, B, E, and F) maximizes in the expected order (the probability of which, given uniform random placement of maxima, is less than 0.001 for six curves and 0.00013 for seven). Whereas the temperature-synchronized merozoites are maximally correlated with hour 1 (graph B) or hour 47 (graph F) depending on data type, either is defensible as erythrocytic infection is cyclic. One might note the suppression of the early rings curve in graph B. The corresponding curve in

graph A not being suppressed, such is attributable to the Le Roch *et al.* temperature synchronization and perhaps reflects a G_0 state in *Plasmodium* due to heat shock. Finally, the relative expression correlations center around zero (graphs A, B, C, and D) whereas those for absolute expression about 0.5 (graphs E and F). This reflects either data manipulation or experimental design whereby mean expression over each profile was literally factored out of the ratio data.

A similar analysis was carried out in comparing the Le Roch *et al.* sorbitol- and temperature-synchronized data (Figure 2). While relative expression correlations again center about zero (due to data type), absolute expression correlations center about 0.73 (as opposed to 0.5) indicating a greater similarity between the two Le Roch *et al.* data sets than either has with the Bozdech *et al.* data set, as would be expected. We again note the sinusoidal shape of these curves—the Le Roch *et al.* erythrocytic expression profiles vary periodically like unto those in the Bozdech *et al.* study. This attribute most likely went unnoted in the Le Roch *et al.* study due to the paucity of time points across the cycle. We finally note that the sorbitol-synchronized early ring, late ring, early trophozoite, late trophozoite, and early schizont data correlate maximally with the temperature-synchronized late ring, early trophozoite, late trophozoite, early schizont, and late schizont data, respectively. While this off-by-one error is not rectified until the late schizont stage data, a correction is approached in the late trophozoite and early schizont data (note the nearly horizontal line segments adjacent to maxima in the green and aquamarine curves in Figure 2). This again implicates a suppression in cell activity due to the temperature synchronization; it also indicates a subsequent catch-up. Despite these off-by-one maximal correlations, we yet use correlation maxima to provide a mapping between sorbitol- and temperature-synchronized stages in the sequel.

Measuring Expression Profile Discordance

While the correlation values observed betray a good deal of similarity among these data sets, it is difficult to interpret their precise signification, *e.g.*, does 0.673, the maximal correlation in Figure 1A, indicate moderate or impressive correlation? While *p*-values may be associated with these correlations, these would only reflect the significance of the correlation observed between time points and not between entire data sets. While these *p*-values might possibly be combined in probabilistically defensible ways, such measures might render

the resulting conclusions somewhat obscure. So as to sidestep these issues, we propose a statistic for measuring the degree of dissimilarity between two expression profiles provided there is a clear mapping between time points. The statistic is $(1/m) \sum |\text{rank}(x_j) - \text{rank}(y_j)|$, where m is the total number or corresponding time points, x_j and y_j are the j^{th} expression values at corresponding time points from the two profiles, and rank(v) indicates that expression value v is given a numeric rank (1, 2, …, ⟨number of genes⟩) relative to other values from its time point.

Having three expression profiles for each of 4,304 genes and using the mappings between time points developed above, we applied this measure to all profile pairs for a given gene. Simulations were carried out so as to determine the null distribution of this statistic given the number of genes and the number of corresponding time points; by 'null distribution' we mean the distribution expected if the analyzed data were to have been generated by an entirely random process (see Methods). Figure 3 provides histograms of the 4,304 profile discordance values for each of the three comparisons. Discordance values in histograms A and B compare Bozdech *et al.* profiles to Le Roch *et al.* sorbitol- and temperature-synchronized profiles, while those in C compare the two Le Roch *et al.* profiles for each gene. Each actual distribution is in juxtaposition with and to the left of the appropriate null distribution. Clearly, these are different; this is especially the case when comparing the Le Roch *et al.* data across synchronizations.

Interrogating Expression Discordance

Of the 101 genes with a profile discordance score larger than 1,000 when comparing the Le Roch *et al.* data sets (Figure 3C), 75, 74%, are annotated hypothetical protein. Whereas 62% of the 4,304 genes here studied have the annotation hypothetical protein, is it possible to safely conclude that this annotation is more highly represented among highly discordant Le Roch *et al.* profile pairs than would be expected by chance? If it is, the hypergeometric probability of such an event is approximately 0.007. That said, we employ a more general and also non-probabilistic strategy to access this, *i.e.*, the overrepresentation of gene groups among especially discordant (or concordant) profile pairs. We average discordance scores within gene subsets of interest, large average scores indicating that gene profiles within the group are especially discordant.

We first examine the hypothetical proteins and their complement, all predicted proteins having an annotation other than hypothetical (PfEMP1,

rifin, glutamate-tRNA ligase, *etc.*). *P. falciparum* has an unusually large complement of proteins with unknown function relative to the proteomes of other sequenced organisms due to the evolutionary divergence of this species.[22] Of the 5,334 annotated proteins, 65% are hypothetical; of the 4,304 proteins here analyzed, 62%. Should hypothetical protein profile pairs be substantially more discordant between data sets than their non-hypothetical counterparts, this could indicate the misidentification of these genes. Only a slight shift is observed (Table 1) arguing against widespread misannotation. What, however, causes this shift? Perhaps several of these hypothetical genes are misannotated; Bozdech *et al.* propose one such case.[23] Also, the set of hypothetical proteins may include yet uncharacterized variably expressed antigens. Third, as non-hypothetical annotation often accompanies sequence homology, perhaps expression pattern is also conserved and therefore more reproducible. Teleologically, it seems consequent that non-hypothetical proteins have on average slightly more reproducible expression patterns, such reproducibility aiding in function identification.

We further dissect the analyzed set of 4,304 genes into functional and cell-componential subsets using the Gene Ontology (GO). GO is a controlled vocabulary describing gene products in terms of their molecular function, cellular localization, and biological role.[24] While a total of 1,705 GO terms have been applied to 3,109 *P. falciparum* predicted proteins [9, 22], a 'slimmed down' version of these classifications was also designated.[25] These 'GO Slim' classifications encompass all *P. falciparum* GO terms and may be used to provide a high-level view of *P. falciparum* gene function and gene product localization. We examined expression profile discordance using these classifications averaging profile discordance values for a particular comparison for all genes having a given GO Slim classification. Table 2 provides such average discordance scores. For readability the top 10% of these scores are given in red, and the next 25% are given in blue.

We note several interesting features in Table 2. First, the maximal average score in the rightmost column, the column representing a comparison between the two Le Roch *et al.* profiles for each gene, is 551; all are small. This again reflects the comparability of measurements obtained using the Le Roch *et al.* platform. Such similarity is inviolate to functional and cell-componential sequestration. That said, the values in the rightmost column rank correlate with those in the other two (correlation coefficients are 0.71 and 0.68). Of the forty-one GO classifications examined, seventeen lack average discordance scores among the top 35% of all scores (*i.e.*, all scores for

the GO term are given in black). Genes with a proposed molecular function of chaperone, enzyme, ligand binding or carrier, structural molecule, or translation regulator and genes thought to participate in cell invasion, response to external stimulus, the cell cycle, cell organization and biogenesis, cell proliferation, metabolism, and stress response have relatively similar profiles across data sets.

We now turn to the top 10% of average discordance scores (those in red). The profiles for genes involved in developmental processes (*e.g.*, modification methylase-like protein) appear quite different when comparing Le Roch *et al.* sorbitol-synchronized and Bozdech *et al.* profiles. This comparison involves four profile pairs. Profiles for genes involved in homeostasis (*e.g.*, vacuolar ATP synthase subunit h) are different when comparing Le Roch *et al.* temperature-synchronized and Bozdech *et al.* profiles. Perhaps divergent synchronization conditions perturb homeostasis expression activity in one data set relative to the other. That said, discordance was not observed between Le Roch *et al.* temperature-synchronized chaperone and stress response profiles (these groups largely composed of known heat shock proteins) and sorbitol-synchronized profiles (from either Bozdech *et al.* or Le Roch *et al.*). Finally, the Bozdech *et al.* profiles and Le Roch *et al.* temperature-synchronized profiles for genes localized to the apicomplexan plastid are relatively discordant.

The remaining observations among the top 10% of all observations provide a list of GO terms for which profiles from the Bozdech *et al.* platform differ markedly with both of the profiles derived from the Le Roch *et al.* platform (Table 2). GO categories cell adhesion molecule, defense/immunity protein, and cell adhesion are largely composed of *var* genes (93%, 98%, and 93%, respectively[26]). Other constituents are cytoadherence-linked asexual protein (CLAG, two so-annotated), CLAG 2, sequestrin, and apical membrane antigen 1. Categories physiological processes and extracellular component are largely composed of *var* and *rif* genes (99.5% and 93%, respectively). Other constituents are listed below.[27] *var* (variant antigen repeat) and *rif* (repetitive interspersed family) encode *P. falciparum* erythrocyte membrane protein 1 (PfEMP1) and rifin. The *P. falciparum* 3D7 genome annotation contains 59 *var* and 149 *rif* genes.[28] Whereas malaria must at times maintain mammalian infection for the greater part of a year in order to undergo transmission to *An. gambiae* (the sexual host) following the rainy season, these gene families and possibly others[29] are thought to provide the parasite antigenically different molecules which are localized to the erythrocyte surface thereby facilitating

host immune evasion. It is thought that only one *var* gene is expressed in a cell at a time.[30] Also, proteins encoded by the *var* and *rif* families are highly unique: orthologs to these genes are not found in closely related species (*e.g.*, *P. yoelii*[31], and orthologs across different strains of *P. falciparum* are relatively dissimilar.

These things noted, the discordance observed in these GO categories between Le Roch *et al.* and Bozdech *et al.* profiles is not surprising. Evidence indicates that differing cells of the same culture express differing subsets of the *var* and *rif* genes, perhaps expressing only one *var* gene at a time. Neither study took measures to isolate cell populations expressing a single *var* type. The two studies used differing cell preparation and synchronization techniques. Importantly, *P. falciparum* strain HB3 RNA was hybridized to oligonucleotides from strain 3D7 in the Bozdech *et al.* study. Given the divergence of the *var* and *rif* families, it is not clear that orthologous sequences between strains would hybridize on the array, nor is it expected that orthologs in all cases exist. Regardless the cause of the observed discordance, it is impressive that out of all high-level functional- and cell-componential subsets of characterized genes, expression discordance is observed (for the most part) only where it is expected. The data sets produced by Bozdech *et al.* and Le Roch *et al.* are remarkably similar highlighting the inflexibility of *P. falciparum* transcription activity and control. The parasite runs a tight ship.

While the above GO Slim sequestration of discordance corroborates present knowledge of and supposition regarding *P. falciparum* biology, sequestration based on the annotation hypothetical protein indicates that these profile pairs are on average slightly more discordant than their non-hypothetical counterparts. Some 65% of the parasite proteome remains uncharacterized: what do these proteins do? and how does this contribute to parasite pathogenicity, virulence, *etc.*? Two important gene families in *P. falciparum*, the *var* and *rif* families, exhibit especially discordant expression activity when comparing the Bozdech *et al.* and Le Roch *et al.* data sets. Such profiles also appear to be relatively dissimilar when comparing across Le Roch *et al.* synchronizations. So as to identify additional gene families having dissimilar expression profiles across data sets, we applied these measures to putative ortholog and inparalog groups which have been computed using the proteomes of ten species[32] including that of *P. falciparum* strain 3D7.[33] That is to say, we isolated 102 ortholog/inparalog groups having at least two *P. falciparum* proteins with data from both studies. The average discordance

score for such proteins was determined for all three comparisons, and groups were then sorted in decreasing order of the sum of these average scores. Table 3 provides the top fifteen groups so-ordered.[34] The score given in the leftmost column is the average of the average discordance scores for the three comparisons.

We note several interesting features in Table 3. First, eleven of these fifteen groups are composed of only *P. falciparum* proteins ($p = 0.000004$) while thirteen are composed of *Plasmodium* proteins ($p = 0.00001$). Is the former the result of probe cross-hybridization among inparologous sequences or does it reflect that *falciparum*-specific gene families are more likely than other gene families to have discordant expression profiles? The latter seems to be the case. Both Le Roch *et al.* and Bozdech *et al.* took pains to ensure probe uniqueness in the genome though slight correlation is observed ($r = 0.21$) between the number of inparologous sequences in a group and the group's discordance score. Second, we note the presence of the *stevor*, *rif*, *var*, and *varC* families in Table 3 (entries six, seven, and ten[35]). These families have all been implicated as participating in antigenic variation at the red cell surface.[36] That said, five protein groups score higher than these. Of the sixty proteins represented by the top five groups, fifty-six (93%) are annotated as hypothetical. More information on all groups can be obtained at http://www.cbil.upenn.edu/gene-family/ using the provided group identification number.

Examining Internal Indicators of Expression Discordance

Whereas in the foregoing extrinsic features were brought to bear in analyzing expression profile discordance between data sets, we here explore several intrinsic features. Results are summarized in the form of correlation coefficients in Table 4. We examined the number of oligonucleotides on either the Le Roch *et al.* or Bozdech *et al.* array as possible correlates of profile discordance. While experimental design choices led these studies to employ many (the Le Roch *et al.* array averaged 17.4) or few (the Bozdech *et al.* array averaged 1.3) probes per gene, either study employed a range of such. It may be expected that genes represented by many oligos on a given array would be less likely to disagree between data sets and vice versa. This was not observed. While in all cases a negative relationship was observed between the number of oligos and profile discordance, in all cases correlation was slight (first row, Table 4).

The remaining measures come from the profiles themselves. Maximum

and median expression measures were obtained from both Le Roch *et al.* and Bozdech *et al.* absolute expression profiles—the experimental channel (Cy5) data providing such for the Bozdech *et al.* study. A negative relationship was expected between either of these quantities and profile pair discordance, profiles of more highly expressed genes being perceived as more trustworthy. This was observed; correlations are in all cases negative (second and third rows of Table 4). Le Roch *et al.* low expression is more strongly correlated with profile discordance than is Bozdech *et al.* low expression when comparing across platforms. Further, profile induction ratios (the ratio of maximum to minimum expression) were determined using Bozdech *et al.* relative expression profiles and Le Roch *et al.* absolute expression profiles. As above, a negative relationship was expected. This was observed when comparing across platforms, but was not observed when comparing the Le Roch *et al.* profiles across synchronizations (forth row, Table 4).

The final measures employed were profile variance and profile average second difference. The typical measure of variance was employed (the average of squared deviations from the profile mean); a totally flat profile would have zero variance. The so-called second difference is a discrete estimate of the second derivative: such was estimated at each internal time point, the absolute values of these estimates averaged. A profile which changes trajectory frequently and sharply would score high by this measure, *i.e.*, the average second difference is a measure of profile smoothness, smooth profiles having smaller scores. These measures were applied to Bozdech *et al.* relative expression and Le Roch *et al.* absolute expression profiles. As with absolute expression and induction measures, a negative relationship was expected when comparing profile variance and profile pair discordance. This was observed (second to last row, Table 4). Bozdech *et al.* low variance is more strongly correlated with profile pair discordance than is Le Roch *et al.* low variance when comparing across platforms; this probably reflects the use of different parasite strains in the Bozdech *et al.* study. In contrast, a positive relationship was expected when comparing average second difference and profile pair discordance. This was also observed (last row, Table 4). Le Roch *et al.* lack of smoothness is more strongly correlated with profile pair discordance than is Bozdech *et al.* lack of smoothness.

Discussion

Which data set is better? What does better mean in this case? Table 5 summarizes key statistics from either study: assuming bigger is better, the Le

Roch *et al.* study 'wins' five comparisons and 'loses' three. While the Le Roch *et al.* Affy-synthesized array contains thirty-five coding sequence probes for every one on the Bozdech *et al.* glass slide array, in practice this proportion slips to about thirteen as at most twenty of the average fifty-one Affy probes per gene were used in generating gene profiles. Data pertaining to the 106,630 Affy non-coding sequence probes are not publicly available at present. The two arrays provide different types of information: that of Le Roch *et al.*, on account of additional probes per gene, provides absolute expression levels while that of Bozdech *et al.* provides relative expression levels. There are 799 annotated genes which have expression data from Le Roch *et al.*, but not Bozdech *et al.*, while there are 67 in the reverse category. Le Roch *et al.* provide expression profiles for 96% of the now-annotated proteome while this drops to 82% for Bozdech *et al.* Large gene families (*e.g.*, *rif* and *var* with 149 and 59 annotated constituents) are represented in approximately the same proportions on the two arrays despite the added difficulty presented to Bozdech *et al.* of identifying unique 70mers for such genes as opposed to 25mers.

Summarizing the above, the Le Roch *et al.* array proves superior in the number of oligos per gene and in annotated gene coverage. That said, the Bozdech *et al.* study provides greater density of expression reads across the erythrocytic cycle. Given the proximity and number of time points, profiles are amenable to smoothing operations (*e.g.*, loess smoothing) and seem to more intuitively represent a perceived smooth variation in gene transcription activity and RNA abundance in the cell across the cycle. Undoubtedly, this increased granularity enabled Bozdech *et al.* to observe and comment on[37] an impressive incidence of periodically regulated gene expression across the erythrocytic cycle. A greater number of data points across the time course facilitates the fast Fourier transform analysis which was used; such an analysis is not possible on the Le Roch *et al.* erythrocytic data. While information at adjacent hours is effectively redundant (ave[r] = 0.980 ± 0.003), this in a sense provides 'horizontal' replicates whereas Le Roch *et al.* invested in probe set replicates. More time points yield more intuitively appreciable profiles. The Le Roch *et al.* study, however, provides gene expression reads at sporozoite and gametocyte time points; Bozdech *et al.* concentrated on the intraerythrocytic cycle.

In this analysis, we removed data set incompatibilities to facilitate comparison. Only life cycle stages and genes for which both studies provide data are considered. Obtaining a mapping between Le Roch *et al.* and Bozdech

et al. stages and hours, we ultimately consider only corresponding time points defining a distance metric for gene expression profiles. In so doing, we effectively reduce the Bozdech *et al.* profiles to a six or seven time point data set (six or seven depending on comparison with sorbitol- or temperature-synchronized Le Roch *et al.* profiles). This is defensible as Bozdech *et al.* profiles are in native form relatively smooth and were also subjected to loess smoothing prior to comparison. Also, the pooling[38] of data at approximal Bozdech *et al.* hours does not yield additional correlation with the Le Roch *et al.* stage data, an expected result. Ultimately, profiles of the same dimension and number, and encompassing the malarial erythrocytic cycle, were compared.

The results are surprising. Despite differences in hybridized parasite strain, cell culturing technique, cell synchronization technique, array design, hybrization strategy, *etc.*, data sets are impressively similar. This highlights several points. For one, gene transcription regulation in a malaria cell in an erythrocyte appears to be robust overcoming divergent perturbations in data generation. This may be functionally related to the prevalence of periodically regulated genes over the cycle. Data similarity also draws attention to the efficacy of the tools and techniques used in data gathering. The microarrays used represent two very different strategies and yet produced comparable results. Similarities and differences in expression across data sets can facilitate genome annotation. Genes implicated in antigenic variation (e.g., *var*, *rif*, and *stevor*) were found to have highly discordant profiles across data sets. Gene families identified having the same quality and yet unknown function may be excellent targets for further study. That said, not only does similarity in profiles across data sets provide confidence that the observed expression pattern is correct, it may also add confidence in the transfer of annotations from genes of known function to genes of unknown function. Further analysis and experimentation is needed as genomic data is transformed into genomic information further elucidating the biology of the malaria parasite.

Methods

Data Acquisition

The Le Roch *et al.* data were downloaded from the authors' website.[39] The Bozdech *et al.* data were obtained through PlasmoDB (http://plasmodb.org/).[40] (In the sequel, microarray data sets are discussed as occupying large tables in

which rows represent genes and columns represent time points.) *P. falciparum* gene annotations and GO term assignments were obtained using PlasmoDB query and download functions as were OrthoMCL gene groups.

Rank Correlation Analysis

Microarray expression values were ranked in increasing order within table columns. In comparing two data sets, a correlation coefficient was obtained for each pair of ranked columns, one column coming from either of the two data set tables. Such correlations represent the amount of similarity or dissimilarity between data from various time points of the two data sets (see Figures 1 and 2).

Determination of Null Distribution for Profile Discord

We assume two time course data sets with n genes and m corresponding time points (these occupying two $n \times m$ tables). In calculating the n actual profile discordance values for the two data sets, actual data are ranked in increasing order within table columns. The absolute value of the difference of corresponding table entries is determined, and the m absolute differences for a given gene are averaged. The null distribution was determined by carrying out the same operations on data randomized within table columns. The following was repeated 10,000 times. $2m$ random permutations of the set $\{1, 2, \ldots, n\}$ were generated. These were placed in two $n \times m$ tables, and calculations were carried out as above. This provides $10{,}000n$ discordance scores based on randomized data; the proportions of individual scores within this set were determined thus providing the null distribution. The null distribution was determined for $n = 4304$ and $m \in \{6, 7\}$. The $m = 7$ distribution was used in comparing the Le Roch *et al.* temperature-synchronized seven time point data to the Bozdech *et al.* forty-six time point data; the $m = 6$ distribution was used for the other two comparisons.

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Emily Blumenthal

Facing the Music: Songs by American Soldiers in the Vietnam War, 1961-1973

Thomas C. Cochran Prize (History)

Composing, recording and disseminating music on the warfront, many American soldiers in Vietnam between 1961 and 1973 became historians without meaning to be and thereby solidified their place in military history and documented their own war for future generations. Employing these musical time capsules, civilians and veterans can uncover the nuances of the Vietnam experience from the perspective of the soldier on the ground rather than from that of the policy-maker in Washington. Revising our interpretation of the chronology of disillusionment, these songs reveal significant cynicism about the war from as early as 1961. Moreover, unlike previous military songs, the music made in Vietnam possesses a sharp tension between patriotism and cynicism that existed among soldiers in the face of defeat. An analysis of the soundscape of the Vietnam War reveals the visceral experiences and sentiments of American soldiers in Southeast Asia during a destructive and divisive period in American history. The songs enable historians, veterans and nations to listen to the past and perhaps change the way we remember it.

The following is an excerpt of the project.

Chapter Three. A Musical Dialogue: The Folk Revival Meets Military Song During the Advisory Period, 1961-1965

It's not how good a song is that matters, it's how much good a song does.[1]
- Pete Seeger, 1962

Saul Broudy was already interested in folk music when he arrived in Vietnam. Before serving as a laundry and bath platoon leader of the 96th Quartermaster Battalion, 1st Logistical Command at Phan Rang, Saul grew up with the music of Harry Belafonte, the Kingston Trio, and the Weavers—all of whom helped set the stage for the folk revival of the late-1950s and early-1960s. At college, Saul spent much of his time in the beatnik coffeehouses of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, immersing himself in the burgeoning folk movement led by socially-conscious, acoustic musicians like Pete Seeger; Peter, Paul and Mary; Bob Dylan; and Joan Baez. It was a time in which "espresso and existentialist doubt, no cocktails, no glitz," provided "an appealing combination to postwar college students seeking their own generational identity."[2]

Like most soldier-balladeers, Saul had minimal experience playing the guitar and harmonica before he went to war. However, once he arrived in Vietnam, Saul played music for the men in his unit, borrowing inspiration from both traditional military songs and the folk revival at home. Possessing the tastes and traditions of the domestic folk revival, some members of the American Military Assistance Command of South Vietnam transplanted a musical network from the West to the East. As Chuck Rosenberg, an A-Team Communications Supervisor in Special Forces at Fort Bragg from 1965 to 1968, explained:

> The so-called folk revival...consisted of a bunch of privileged college kids singing about sharecroppers and slaves and convicts songs from behind the halls of the Ivy League. And at the same time they were doing that, there was a real folk tradition, their peers that were in the military were actually participating in a living folk tradition and taking some of the Kingston Trio and Peter, Paul and Mary types of songs and then cycling them back through the folk process.[3]

Both early folk audiences and pre-draft troops tended to be white, well-educated, and middle-class. Mostly experienced non-commissioned officers, American advisors to the South Vietnamese between 1961 and 1965 maintained their musical preferences abroad, some of which also included country, jazz, blues, and gospel. Like their predecessors in World War II and before, Vietnam's soldier-musicians found an ample audience and plenty of stimulation for their musical pursuits. However, unlike previous warrior-balladeers, advisors composed novel songs about the Vietnam experience using the revived folk genre.

The "Vietnamization" of military song was not solely stylistic in nature. Rather, lyrically, the military songs created by men and women during the war often satirized the idealistic convictions held by the Kennedy administration about communist containment. The military advisors to South Vietnam during the early-1960s, who had been sent by President Kennedy after his inauguration, had one mission: to train and advise local counter-guerrilla forces in their fight against Northern communist aggressors. During this period, U.S. Army Aviation and Special Forces units paired up with their Vietnamese counterparts to raise the level of command, training, and control within the anticommunist forces. The men serving as advisors were typically older, more educated, and more trained than the draftees that would arrive for combat later on.

A stylistic and lyrical analysis of the songs of the advisory period of the Vietnam War, which lasted approximately from 1961 to 1965, reveals a musical dialogue with the folk revival at home and a cynical deconstruction of the policies and perceptions held by officials in Washington. Commenting on the instability of political life in South Vietnam, the reality of South Vietnamese-American relations, and the strategy to defeat the insurgent Viet Cong, the songs written by soldiers during the advisory period illuminate the disparity between rhetoric and reality even during the early phase of America's longest war. Moreover, their heavy political content revealed the advisors' keen awareness that America was in a quandary in Southeast Asia, which is often overlooked in official histories of the pre-combat period.

"The Times They Are A-Changin'": The Folk Revival Blows Overseas

> *I close on a note of hope. We are not lulled by the momentary calm of the sea or the somewhat clearer skies above. We know the turbulence that lies below, and the storms that are beyond the horizon this year. But now the winds of change appear to be blowing more strongly than ever, in the world of communism as well as our own.*[4]
>
> – John Fitzgerald Kennedy
> State of the Union Address, January 14, 1963

President Kennedy was not the only American who felt the "winds of change" in 1963. Six months and twelve days after the Commander-in-Chief addressed the nation about the pending challenges posed by communism, thirty-six thousand music fans sang along to a star-studded performance of Bob Dylan's

"Blowin' in the Wind" at the Newport Folk Festival. Musically modest and lyrically repetitive, Dylan's words strangely echoed the metaphor used by the President:

> How many roads must a man walk down before they call him a man? / Yes, 'n' how many seas must a white dove sail before she sleeps in the sand? / Yes, 'n' how many times must the cannon balls fly before they're forever banned? / The answer my friend, is blowin' in the wind. The answer is blowin' in the wind."[5]

An all-purpose protest anthem, "Blowin' in the Wind" cemented itself in the canon of folk music. Performed by an ensemble of stars at the festival, including Joan Baez; Pete Seeger; Peter, Paul & Mary; and Dylan himself, the song exemplified the 1960s revival of socio-political activism in American music-making. Critiquing apathy in the face of the civil rights movement, nuclear disarmament, and the war in Vietnam, Dylan condemned silence in the face of injustice. Moreover, "Blowin' in the Wind" became one of many folksongs that would define the post-World War II youth generation musically and politically, thousands of whom would become servicemen and women in the Vietnam War over the next decade.

Folk music served similar functions for its artists and audiences at home and abroad. Domestically, Pete Seeger proclaimed that the release of more than 200 folk albums during 1963 had proven the "triumph of the political folk diaspora" in the American music scene.[6] Indoctrinating listeners and musicians into a social-consciousness movement in everything ranging from civil rights to debates over nuclear weapons, folk music created a relatively safe forum for protest. As sociologist David James explains, "In singing first-person lyrics, one identifies with the discursive or narrative voice, and so the characterization of the narrator is the stage for the construction of political positions."[7] Moreover, unlike the big band music that was popular during World War II, folk music was "orally transmitted and largely improvisational. It is thus accessible to everyone, breaking the barrier raised by an apprenticeship in the code and the instrument. It has developed among all social classes, but in particular among those most oppressed."[8] An intimate form of musical expression requiring minimal instrumental skill, folk music served as both an identity-builder and a round-table for social and political expression. By joining in the chorus of "Blowin' in the Wind" at the Newport Folk Festival, thousands of young fans formed solidarity with the ideology of resistance.

This broadside folk tradition appropriately found its niche in the Vietnam War. By the late-1960s, the movement established a network of coffeehouses at army bases like Fort Hood, Fort Bragg, and Fort Dix. Mimicking the venues visited by Saul Broudy in Philadelphia, such places promoted G.I. resistance by the end of the war. In the early years of American involvement in South Vietnam, the folksong tradition recycled itself among the services, all of whom "had to acquire new cultural perspectives in the groups in which they found themselves arbitrarily assembled."[9] While most songs were written to quell boredom and heighten group morale, some music created by soldiers imitated the socio-political expression of the folksongs at home. Tom Cleaver, in describing the coffeehouse at Camp Hood, Texas, said:

> There is more political content than one would probably find in a civilian community, but I think that this is because of the same reasons that black slaves had 'political' music. It is a quiet way of expressing what they think without being too active about it, thus keeping down the possibility of individual visibility.[10]

Singing a song with a political agenda in a group enabled individuals to remain anonymous, particularly in front of their training officers. As Les Cleveland explains, "[Occupational song] offers the ordinary soldier entry into a psychological terrain of limitless expanse and imaginative reconciliation between the shining world of patriotic assertion and the disturbing realities of the battlefield."[11] Unlike the fans at the Newport Folk Festival who sang for peace, the producers and consumers of military song coped with war.

While on the ground, soldiers relied on their voices and a few instruments to be artistically expressive. Folk music could be performed on a small scale, without the complexity of a big band or orchestra. Relying mostly on a solo artist with his acoustic guitar or harmonica, such music could be performed without electricity in the constraints of a war zone. Folk music did not require the glitz of the music that had been popular during World War II. As David Hajdu, author of the folk revival account, *Positively 4th Street*, writes, "Folk music was down to earth when jet travel and space exploration were emerging; while Frank Sinatra was flying to the moon, Pete Seeger was waist deep in the Big Muddy."[12] Influenced by both the early collegiate, polished style of the Kingston Trio and the melodically simple folk ballads of Pete Seeger, soldier-musicians of the Vietnam War imparted their experiences through song with relative ease.

Policy Objectives and Failed Plans: Ballads of Truth and Cynicism

Songs reflected the difficult truths and take you, without apology to the deep end of the pool.[13]

- "Voices of the War," radio broadcast, September 18, 1993

A breadth of song satirized the political ideologies and military procedures of the advisory period. However, a trove of music also depicted the daily lives of Americans in Vietnam as it did in earlier wars. With subjects ranging from encounters in Saigon's red light district to eating Vietnamese foods, this cluster of songs revealed the lesser-known aspects of the early part of the war experience. Common to all wars of all generations, songs such as these were the "folklore spawned by the boredom, fear and frustration of many soldiers," which official histories often overlook.[14]

Because many of these songs served as vessels for complaints, the lyrics alluded to topics as routine and ordinary as mosquito bites, dysentery and humidity. Dolf Droge's "The Day's Mighty Long," written in Can Tho, Vietnam in February 1961, remarked on the tedious nature of his job in the USIA. Written at a party in Saigon one month earlier, another song by Droge, "Ban Me Thuot on a Saturday Night," described an average evening on the base. While such tunes may have seemed banal in the grander scheme of events, they nonetheless illuminated the nuances of the Vietnam warrior's experience. Moreover, these early songs provided a fascinating contrast with the more politicized issues that would guide the soldier-composer's pen.

On November 26, 1963, four days after President Kennedy's assassination in Dallas, the infant Johnson administration reasserted the central policy objectives in South Vietnam. After reviewing the Honolulu Conference that had been held on November 20, National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy issued the following statement:

> It remains the central object of the United States in South Vietnam to assist the people and Government of that country to win their contest against the externally directed and supported Communist conspiracy. The test of all U.S. decisions and actions in this area should be the effectiveness of their contribution to this purpose.[15]

After years of American involvement in preventing the communist domination of South Vietnam, the government remained hopeful in its continued efforts "to create in that country a viable and increasingly democratic society" through "a series of mutually supporting actions of a military, political,

economic, psychological and covert character…"[16] While leaders in Washington issued memoranda and held conferences to help South Vietnam establish a democracy in the face of communist aggression, American military advisors and civilians created music and shared songs to evaluate policy.

Stationed along the central coast of South Vietnam at Quang Ngai in October 1965, Captains T.C. Cooper and L.F. DeMouche composed a ballad extolling the virtues of the American Army advisor. They called it "The Ballad of Co Van My", which meant "My American Advisor." Written to the tune of Roy Acuff's 1936 country classic, "Wabash Cannon Ball," the ballad captured nearly every aspect of the advisors' roles in the war. Celebrating the jobs of city-based advisors, forward air controllers and naval gunfire spotters, the song initially praised the role of the "Co Van My:"

> You have heard of mighty warriors, you have heard of deadly fights,/ When broadswords clashed and cannon flashed through bloody days and nights. / There's many a fearsome fighting man in the halls of history, / But they can't hold a candle to the brave young Co Van My.[17]

One of the longest and most elaborate Vietnam War songs, "The Ballad of Co Van My" began by echoing the paternalistic pride of U.S. policymakers.

Written shortly after the escalation of sustained American bombing raids on North Vietnam, however, the song also contained cynical sentiments about the advisors' failure to empower the South Vietnamese to win their own war. The ballad explained the elusiveness of the enemy Viet Cong and the challenge of "chasing mythical battalions across outdated maps." One verse reads: "The ordinary Co Van can play a thousand parts, / From a deadly jungle killer to a patron of the arts. / He will talk of epic struggles, days of blood and fire and sweat, / He'll be written up in *Newsweek,* but he ain't seen a VC yet."[18] The song commented on the difficulty of using intelligence to advise the South Vietnamese on counterinsurgency tactics without having ample contact with the enemy. Moreover, the lyrics revealed an unavoidable obstacle in winning the war: the imperceptible distinction between the enemy and innocent civilians. The naval gunmen, as one verse stated, "sees VC in every hootch, supplies in every boat, / He's killed one hundred fishermen, twelve chickens, and a goat." "The Ballad of Co Van My" questioned the usefulness of an American presence in Vietnam and hinted at the disillusionment that would continue during the combat phase of the war.

Although "The Ballad of Co Van My" (1965) was written after the

expanded military campaign and Americanization of the Vietnam War, it succeeded a long list of songs that lambasted the American advisory presence during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. This body of musical material, which differed in subject matter from the songs of the combat period that would come later, included songs composed by civilians in the Foreign Service, USIS, USIA, CIA, and SLO, as well as numerous works by members of the Military Assistance Command Vietnam. Relying on both traditional tunes from older military songs and new songs borrowing from the folk revival, these songs used humor and sarcasm to critique the American advisory presence in Vietnam. Giving truth momentary exposure through musical expression, these songs did not merely capture the daily life of an advisor. Rather, they also analyzed South Vietnam's political instability, American-Vietnamese relations, futile counterinsurgency strategies and deficient leadership.

After a Buddhist monk burned himself alive in downtown Saigon in May 1963 in protest against the government's endorsement of Catholicism, the horrifying images appeared in the front pages of newspapers around the world. The self-immolation also became etched in the song lyrics written by American advisors, to whom South Vietnam's political instability had become apparent. Performed by the Cosmos Tabernacle Choir in December 1964, "The Longest Year" chronicled the corruption of President Ngo Dinh Diem's regime and his brutal persecution of dissident monks. Set to an unknown tune, the CIA officers' fourth verse contained the following imagery: "If they weren't out burning Buddhists, / Or scaling pagoda walls, / They were finding ways to cheat us, / 'Cause the load we had to haul."[19] Criticizing the anticommunist, but repressive South Vietnamese government, "The Longest Year" blamed some failures of early American intervention on the poor leadership of Diem and his ruling family. Proclaiming that "the longest year / you know damn well was spent right here," the Cosmos Tabernacle Choir concluded their ballad with a warning for the listener: "If you ever come to Saigon, / Follow my instructions, kid— / Buy a ticket on to Bangkok, / You'll be very glad you did!"

One member of Diem's family that received particular attention in a dozen songs by the American advisors was the President's sister-in-law and wife of the head of secret police, Madame Nhu. Referred to as "the yellow rose of Saigon," Madame Nhu garnered a sinister reputation after her callous reaction to the "monk barbeque" during the middle of 1963. General Thomas Bowen satirized Madame Nhu to the tune of "The Yellow Rose of Texas", a

popular Confederate marching song during the Civil War and later with the U.S. Cavalry on the western frontier. Derisively commenting on the unofficial First Lady's clever and self-interested persona, Bowen compared her to a prostitute on Saigon's Tu Do Street. In one verse, he wrote:

> So my Yellow Rose of Saigon, Stays off of Tu Do Street.
> She doesn't go much for loving. But at intrigue can't be beat.
>
> I look for many changes, When she meets with Mr. Lodge. 'Cause it's said that he's a sucker, / For eastern camouflage.[20]

Bowen cynically wrote about the way in which this shrewd woman duped American leaders into supporting her husband's interests. He concluded the song with a premonition about the downfall of the Diem regime, stating, "She's got to salvage something, / From this political enterprise. / Before the VC lose their fight, / And America gets wise." Kennedy "got wise" twenty-one days before his own assassination and backed the coup d'etat against Diem and his family on November 1, 1963.

Although the assassination and overthrow of President Diem and his brother Nhu barely gets mentioned in the lyrics of "The Longest Year" and "Yellow Rose of Saigon," the power struggle appeared in a song entitled "Let's Do It," written at the end of January 1964 in Saigon. Sung by Mary Eberhardt, the wife of a man in USIA, the song listed a group of South Vietnamese politicians who may have participated in the U.S.-backed coup. It opened with the following lines: "Who did it? Dinh did it. / Only others seem to think that Minh did it. / Let's do it, let's have a coup."[21] "Let's Do It" mocked the intrigue behind the coup, hinting at U.S. involvement in the line, "Marines from up in Hue do it…" The song revealed the wide spectrum of potential players in the coup of 1963 and portrayed the confusion felt by the American servicemen and women stationed in Saigon at the time. Moreover, it revealed the advisors' attentiveness to the political scene in South Vietnam and the United States Government's use of anti-democratic tactics to install a democratic regime.

John Granger and Volney Warner of the Psychological Warfare Section wrote a song that was said to be written at the time of the Diem coup. Called, "'Twas Coup Day" (1963) the tune told the comprehensive tale of the overthrow of Diem's regime. Using the poetic scheme of the famous holiday classic, "'Twas the Night Before Christmas," this ballad comically described the day of the coup from the perspective of the fallen government leaders.

Beginning with the line, "'Twas siesta on coup day and all through Saigon / Not a soldier was stirring, not even big Don," Granger and Warner set the scene for what became a frantic attempt at escape by Diem's family.[22] The lyrics revealed Diem's scandalous relationships with his brother and Madame Nhu. Portraying the coup as a surprise to the power-hungry leaders, one verse stated:

> The Nhus were all nestled so snug in their beds
> While visions of power danced through their heads.
> With Diem in his nightshirt and Nhu in his cap,
> Both settled down for a hot sweaty nap.
> When out on the roof there arose such a clatter,
> Diem rose from his bed to see what was the matter.
> Then what to his wondering eyes did appear,
> But 30s and 50s inspiring such fear.

Startled out of sleep by the sound of thirty and fifty caliber guns, President Diem and his relatives faced imminent danger. The song epitomized the way in which advisors could mock their former political allies through the jolly shield of a Christmas jingle.

The politically unstable atmosphere of South Vietnam after Diem's death also led to subsequent coups. In a song entitled, "I Met a Gal in Old Saigon," to the tune of "Sioux City Sue," one advisor jokingly wrote the following verse:

> I met a gal in old Saigon, I asked her what was new.
> She said, 'I think this morning, they held another coup.
> I don't know why they couped this time, I surely don't know who.
> The only thing I know for sure, we had a little coup!'[23]

In a jocular tone, the American emphasized the banality of political overthrows in Saigon. The consistent power struggle within the South Vietnamese government inspired numerous songs that used wit to comprehend humorless political strife.

Soldier-balladeers during the advisory period did not limit their criticism to Vietnamese political leaders. Rather, many of their songs revealed a pessimistic view of American relations with their Vietnamese counterparts. Written by Charlie Eberhardt of the United States Intelligence Agency, "Ghost Advisors By and By" (1963) briskly ridiculed the optimism attached to the strategy of pacification.[24] Set to the Stan Jones country music tune "(Ghost) Riders in the Sky" (1949) and written before the coup, the ballad described how advisors harbored hopes about their positive reception by the

Vietnamese that were ultimately shattered. The first verse stated, "Some Yanks went out advising, / Down there in South Vietnam, / But the people they advised / Didn't give a good Goddamn!"[25] Calling advisors "a bunch of fools," the songwriter illustrated the ways in which soldiers' expectations for the support of their South Vietnamese allies were dashed. Moreover, the song derided members of MACV who told U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara "that the war was 'in the bag' / that the Viet Cong were beaten / In this brave 'Diem-ocracy," without informing the "omnipotent" enemy about the victory. Calling the South Vietnamese government a "Diem-ocracy" again infused political criticism into song. Also serving as a prelude of what would come later in the war, "Ghost Advisors By and By" conveyed the emotions felt by many American servicemen and women that despite the building of strategic hamlets and provision of aid, their presence in South Vietnam was unwelcome.

Although hostility towards Americans emanated from many of South Vietnam's political leaders and citizenry, some advisors established amity with the Vietnamese people. This was exemplified by General Lansdale in both his song collections and his friendship with Vietnamese folksinger, Pham Duy. Lansdale reminisced: "the small group of Americans who have staffed the Senior Liaison Office of the United States Embassy in Vietnam will never forget the months together and our comradeship with the people of Vietnam."[26] The gatherings in Lansdale's villa on Cong Ly Street in Saigon became occasions for American and Vietnamese musicians to interact. Twenty-nine out of the fifty-one songs on Lansdale's first anthology were performed or written by Vietnamese folksingers. Two of them were sung by Prime Minister Ky. In the narration of the collection, Hank Miller of "Voice of America" stated, "During the past thirteen months, it has been our privilege to have shared our feelings, our beliefs, our lives with many others. Americans. Vietnamese. Filipinos. Koreans. Chinese. Australians. The free people of the world who have been comrades here."[27] Duets between American and Vietnamese folksingers, including "Wounded Soldier" and "Planting Rice" by Steve Addis and Pham Duy, illuminated idealistic aspects of the relationship between the two countries.

Connected by a common appreciation for folk music, which had a rich tradition in Vietnamese culture as early as the 1950s, Vietnamese and American participants sang everything from "heart songs" to songs of ribaldry expressing the American soldier's love of beer and women. Moreover, American composers would often write songs from the perspective

of their Vietnamese allies—and enemies. In the late-1960s, Chip Dockery wrote a powerful song entitled "Sitting in the Cab of My Truck," set to the popular Otis Redding hit, "Sitting on the Dock of the Bay" (1967). The song "by the immortal Otis Redding," as soldiers call him in Herr's *Dispatches*, had a melody that bled soul. Dockery, who flew almost 400 missions throughout the war, the majority in northern and southern Laos, wrote a song about the North Vietnamese truck drivers on the Ho Chi Minh trail. Describing the way drivers would chain themselves to the steering wheels of their trucks as a symbol of their steadfast commitment to their cause, Dockery assumed the voice of a North Vietnamese man: "Now I'm just sitting in the cab of my truck, / Watching the bombs fall through the rain. / Sitting in the cab of my truck, / Pulling my chain."[28] The song conveyed the fear that the enemy felt as American bombers would fly overhead.

Other tunes written by Americans portrayed their Vietnamese allies in a complimentary light. "Picture of a Man," by Hershel Gober of the IV Corps in Rach Gia, told a story about a Vietnamese man who guarded a bridge on the road each day so his people could go to the market without being killed by Viet Cong. With a slow tempo and simple melody, the song emphasized the humanity of the Vietnamese people and the bravery of one man:

> Stationed in an outpost in the middle of a field,
> To him this war is very, very real.
> He'll fight for freedom until the end.
> He fights for his family, fights for his friend.[29]

Painting a picture of mortality for his listeners, Gober related the courage of American infantrymen to that of the Vietnamese peasantry: "Men not so different from you and from me. / Men who will fight to keep their country free." The lyrics aroused patriotism and sympathy. They also posed a stark contrast to the cynical songs about American policymakers. After recovering from a combat wound in the hospital in 1968, Gober joined veterans and their families at General Lansdale's home in Virginia to sing "Picture of a Man." The performance has been preserved in Lansdale's *Songs by Americans in the Vietnam War.* Lansdale called it "perhaps, his most moving song of the war—one that many of us had heard him sing in Vietnam before."[30]

American-South Vietnamese relations were further complicated in songs critiquing the strategy of counterinsurgency, particularly regarding the practice of assigning U.S. advisors to their South Vietnamese counterparts. The satirists of the Cosmos Command quashed the effectiveness of this policy

in their song, "Don't Take My Counterpart Away," to the tune of the playful children's song, "You Are My Sunshine." In the opening verse, the group illuminated the flaws of working with Vietnamese counterparts who could not be easily discerned from their communist neighbors:

> In Southeast Asia, here in Vietnam,
> What kind of war no one can say.
> Some say insurgent, some psychologic,
> Please don't take my counterpart away!
> Down in the Delta, we have the VC,
> Who come here from north of Hue.
> Some say guerilla, some next door neighbor,
> Please don't take my counterpart away![31]

The lyrics of this song convey the point made by Christian Appy in his book, *Working-Class War*: "Provided with no certain way to identify communists, some soldiers came to regard all Vietnamese as legitimate targets."[32] While Americans viewed South Vietnam as the geographic focus of a global power struggle, policymakers, and subsequently their advisors, became unable to distinguish between the enemy and their advisees.

In addition to commentary on the widespread hostility felt by many advisors from their Vietnamese counterparts, the counterinsurgency strategies also became subjects for criticism in song. The "strategic hamlet program," as it came to be called by 1962, sought to pacify Vietnam's rural population and garner support for the central government. Described in the "Strategic Hamlet Song" collected by General Thomas Bowen, the fortified hamlets of the Republic of Vietnam were meant to protect rural Vietnamese villagers. To the aptly chosen tune of "Don't Fence Me In," Cole Porter's monster hit during World War II, the song began by explaining the program from the perspective of a South Vietnamese citizen: "Give me wire, lots of wire, under starry skies above, / Please, fence me in."[33] The song shared a similar awareness of Vietnamese humanity that existed in "Picture of a Man," augmented with a hint of sarcasm. Criticizing the strategy's inability to translate theories of counterinsurgency into operational realities, the song ended by saying, "So I'll bark at the moon until they burn my fences, / Stay in my hamlet till I lose my senses, / Bury my shotgun cause I've got no defenses, / Please, fence me in!" Adopting a South Vietnamese subject as the voice, the song encouraged temporary identification with the local peasantry. Political in motive, but military in practice, the strategic hamlet program fostered different reactions from the U.S. military advisors than it did from American

political leadership.

In their compositions, some advisors noted how counterinsurgency operations could transform peasants into Viet Cong sympathizers. As General Lansdale and many of the soldier-composers believed, the war would be won or lost in the hearts and minds of the peasantry.[34] Dolf Droge, who served in Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam with USIA, sang a parody of "The Marine's Hymn" sung by men during World War II to illustrate Lansdale's argument. Performing it during a Marine Corps training school lecture, Droge sang about the ways in which counterinsurgency operations could damage the peasants' livelihood and cause them to defect to the enemy's side:

> From the shores of the Perdinales
> We have come to fight VC,
> But to win you must remember
> Do not burn the banana tree,
> For the farmer leads a wretched life,
> Less than fifty bucks a year;
> Your napalm bomb he does not like,
> From his life you must remove fear;
> But if you burn huts and shoot buffalo,
> Just remember what it means,
> You are working then for Uncle Ho
> Not United States Marines.[35]

A rare instance in which an advisor's folksong was used as an educational tool for military training, "The Marine's Hymn" got to the core of the conflict faced by many Vietnam warriors: flawed strategic objectives often resulted in the devastation and defection of the Vietnamese who they were meant to help.

Vaguely defined strategies and aims caused many advisors to question their purpose early on. Droge explained in "Oh Dear, What Can the Matter Be?" (1966) that there were "eighteen generals and still no strategy."[36] Significant disillusionment stemming from unclear objectives emerged in songs like "Don't Tell Me I've Nothing To Do," as sung by the Cosmos Tabernacle Choir. Set to the Statler Brothers' tune, "Flowers on the Wall," which became a top-five record on both the pop and country charts toward the end of 1965, this song was written from the perspective of an advisor who did his job for the army, but felt he had accomplished little: "Counting geckos on the wall, / That don't bother me at all…"[37] Listening to the croaking Southeast Asian lizards, this soldier explained how he was "Shooting VC until

dawn, / Then my ammo's almost gone. / Drinking Ba Muoi Ba / And watching hamlets overrun…" The climax of the song came when the singer sarcastically defended his role in Vietnam: "Now don't tell me, / I've nothing to do." This song hints at the demoralization that was to come later in the war.

American servicemen and women in Vietnam during the advisory period needed to express their pessimism and doubts in a group setting, often at the expense of maligning their own leadership. Through the composition of songs, grumbling could be shared and sanctioned. Frustration most often was taken out on leaders in Washington over their imprecise gauge of success. In Dolf Droge's "McNamara's Band," written in April 1964, the singer poked fun at the Secretary of Defense and his inability to measure victory. A satirical number, written from the point of view of McNamara himself, the tune was part of a series of war songs that Droge composed. The song provided a clear contrast between the way wins and losses were defined by politicians in Washington and their advisors in Southeast Asia. The first verse stated, "Oh, me name is McNamara, I've got a special band, / And every couple of weeks or so I fly to old Vietnam." Followed by the chorus, "La, la, la, la we are winning!," this verse sarcastically explained how Americans serving in Southeast Asia stayed attuned to the possibility of defeat, while policymakers at home sought ways to blunt any doubts that victory would be achieved. Describing inaccurate measurements of success from calibrating groundless numbers, the tune was sung from the perspective of McNamara:

> Computers roar, we tally the score, the Viet Cong blaze away,
> And hardly a government flag survives after the close of day.
> But have no fear, victory's near, that is plain to see;
> Don't believe *The New York Times,* just rely on me.[38]

The ridicule of detached leadership and false perceptions about the viability of U.S. strategies found relative acceptance through song. Moreover, the application of the first-person narrative, using the voice of McNamara, created an element of theatrics that would not have been possible in ordinary conversation. Singing conveyed insults less brutally than speaking. Musical critiques of McNamara would skyrocket once the government began to measure progress with body counts during the combat period.

The political instability and shaky military campaign in Vietnam ultimately made many soldiers want to return home, even before the escalation of the war in 1965. Expressing this sense of futility and a desire to depart, General Thomas Bowen wrote the words to a song entitled *I've*

Stayed Too Long (1964) that served as a voice for other Americans stationed in Southeast Asia at the time. Longing "to get through that airport gate" and return home, Bowen conveyed sentiments of disillusionment. He wrote, "We don't need supervisors, / We don't need fertilizers, / We just need to get away from here."[39] Just as many soldier-composers later did during the combat period, Bowen attributed his frustration to the war itself, rather than on his own cowardice. He said, "We're not chickens, we're just all through." It is as if Bowen used the song to reassure himself that the failures in Vietnam were not his fault. Sick of never seeing the Viet Cong and getting mosquito bites during his sleep, the general exclaimed, "I guess I've lost the fight, / I've stayed too long." Although he would return for later tours of Vietnam in the upcoming years, Bowen encapsulated the sense of defeat that permeated the American services. He wrote the song the same year that the Gulf of Tonkin resolution granted President Johnson extraordinary power to act in Southeast Asia.

Vietnam War Song Hits Home: Barry Sadler, the Green Beret Balladeer

Fighting Soldiers from the sky, / Fearless men who jump and die. / Men who mean just what they say, / The brave men of the Green Beret.[40]

- Barry Sadler, *The Ballad of the Green Berets*, 1966

By 1965, both within the war zone and on the home front, ideological polarities over the war began to invade the musical realm. As Bob Dylan and his electric guitar launched the folk-rock genre, influenced by the emergence of British rock groups like the Animals and the Beatles, President Lyndon B. Johnson expressed the reasons for increased American involvement in Vietnam to a crowd of students at Johns Hopkins University:

> We fight because we must fight if we are to live in a world where every country can shape its own destiny. And only in such a world will our own freedom be finally secure…Our objective is the independence of South Vietnam, and its freedom from attack. We want nothing for ourselves—-only that the people of South Vietnam be allowed to guide their own country in their own way.[41]

Laying the foundation for a major pledge to the war-torn country, however, required the conscription of thousands of America's youth and the commitment of combat troops to the Asian mainland for the first time since

Korea. While their brothers, sons and husbands were waging war in Southeast Asia, people across the country listened to Barry McGuire's ominous song, "Eve of Destruction" (1965). A top hit on the Billboard charts for eleven weeks, the song's refrain resounded through the radio: "Take a look around you boy, / bound to scare you boy. / Ah, you don't believe we're on the / Eve of Destruction."[42]

The rising popularity of folk-rock music, which coincided with the escalation of the war, transformed a niche in the music industry into a battleground of political expression. While rock minstrel McGuire told Americans they were on the *Eve of Destruction*, a conservative folk-rock group, the Spokesmen, replied with the patriotic ballad, "Dawn of Correction" (1965). They implored the nation's youth "to keep free people from Red domination…man your battle stations."[43] Advocating participation in the Vietnam War, "Dawn of Correction" symbolized the plethora of pro-Vietnam songs that would emerge in response to the protest music, most of which would be written by country musicians.

Since its establishment in the music industry during the 1920s, country music usually "stands with our Country." According to sociologist Richard A. Peterson, "country music's market is predominantly white, Southern or Midwestern, and working-class … and it has always been this class of people who have supplied most of the foot-soldiers for modern warfare." Peterson illuminates one of the great paradoxes of war-related music, both by popular artists and soldiers themselves: those who typically fight America's battles, and subsequently risk their lives, are the same people who glorify and support war in song.[44]

Bridging the gap between the music by soldiers in-country and the songs on the 'hit parade' at home, Staff Sergeant Barry Sadler's "Ballad of the Green Berets" (1965) became the only song written by a combat soldier of the Vietnam War that would go on to sell over eleven million records. Filled with clichés of *machismo*, his song kicked Nancy Sinatra's "These Boots Are Made For Walkin'" (1966) out of the number one seat on the charts. Sentimentalizing the task of the soldier through song, Sadler became the archetypical Green Beret, his steel-chinned blond face gracing the cover of his album. His noble message, "make him one of America's best," was accompanied by simple guitar and martial drums.[45] The song "had a ring of authenticity that made it popular among people who were not even passionately devoted to the successful conclusion of the conflict." Like the antiwar songs that would emerge in the next few years by artists like Country

Joe and the Fish, Phil Ochs, Jefferson Airplane, and Arlo Guthrie, *Ballad of the Green Berets* garnered the attention of otherwise apolitical listeners. Moreover, Sadler's song lured Americans from their living rooms into the hub of the military elite.

Surpassing most of the domestic antiwar songs in popularity during 1966, "Ballad of the Green Berets" contributed to the formation of the myth of the Green Beret that would permeate popular culture and ultimately be shattered in post-war films like *The Deerhunter* (1978) and *Apocalypse Now* (1979). During the advisory period, the Green Berets embodied the enthusiasm and optimism of the Kennedy era. They were popular because, "in ideals and ingenuity, they seemed to personify all that was best about America."[46] As such, Barry Sadler received official Army encouragement to record his Vietnam War songs and appeared on the nationally broadcast CBS "Ed Sullivan Show" on January 30, 1966. One performance of his ballad in front of a Saigon bunker even played on ABC-TV for "the folks back home."[47] Moreover, Sadler's music would appear on Armed Forces Radio Network in Vietnam, supplanting hours of polka music and crooning numbers that had been commonly played at the time. It is noteworthy to remember that AFVN did not choose to play "We Are Winning" or "I've Stayed Too Long" in place of the polka numbers. Instead, the network gave official sanction for the broadcasting of Sadler's popular, patriotic hit. By the late-1960s, however, "Ballad" "was occasionally greeted with jeers by many of the troops," due to intra-Army rivalries and a longing for the rock-n-roll music that had become more popular "back in the world." The mythology spawned by Barry Sadler's music would also be tested as the war of attrition and tensions at home altered the way soldiers and civilians felt about their role in Vietnam.

In the history of Vietnam music, both domestic and in-country, Sadler "would be the hawks' 'white knight' to counter the Vietnik singers."[48] One commentator compared Sadler to Bob Dylan: "Both were leather-booted, wild animal type young men…Both of these men were as far removed as can be from the Regional Accounting Office."[49] Sadler, a combat veteran of the war, and Dylan, a musician who eventually tried to extricate himself from the burgeoning anti-war movement, represented the tensions inherent in the cross-continental musical scene of the 1960s. Polar opposites in life experience, political opinion, and musical style, both musicians would become enshrined in the history of a tumultuous decade. The pride of the American soldier as "one of the great fighting men / Towering high above the rest" would come crashing down soon as American victory started blowing away in the wind.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

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Justin Hulbert

The Role of Scene and Syntax in Mental Verb Learning

Miles S. Murphy Award (Psychology)

Children acquire language at astonishing rates, learning roughly ten words a day during the early stages of acquisition. However, children appear inclined to acquire and produce some word classes prior to and more readily than others. Verbs in general, and mental state verbs specifically, are among the last types of words learned. Not only are verbs arguably more abstract than nouns, and therefore conceptually difficult for children undergoing rapid cognitive development, verbs require specific extra-linguistic scenes and syntactic environments for appropriate word-to-world mapping. In the present work, we explored the effect of scene type and syntax on the acquisition of mental verbs in preschoolers, aged three to five. Results demonstrated that children were significantly more likely to offer a mental verb response when presented with a scene featuring a false belief. Subordinate clause prompts resulted in a similarly significant facilitation effect for mental verbs. The results paralleled those of the adult controls. The results supported the hypothesis that scene and syntax were powerful cues in mental verb learning, independent of conceptual sophistication.

The following is the text of the project; charts and appendices are not included.

Introduction

Many things happen from the time children make their first resemblance of a

word around 12 months and when they reach kindergarten around age five. For instance, children learn up to 10 words a day from about the 15th month until they reach kindergarten age.[1] To accomplish this feat, children need to map words onto real-world scenes. However, depending on the type of word in question, it is not always obvious how this is done.

Quine (1960) noted that observational word learning is subject to a number of barriers. For example, Quine asked readers to imagine themselves on an island devoid of speakers of their native language. A furry white animal with long ears and a pink nose hops along a grassy hill as an islander points in the general direction of the animal and says, "Gavagai." If the language learner is completely naïve, he/she might entertain an infinite number of word-to-world mappings. For instance, *Gavagai* could refer to the fur, the color, the prominent ears or nose, the grass on which the animal sits, animals in general, the one specific animal, that type of animal, etc. Since then, a great deal of research has focused on explaining the ways children limit the number of hypotheses they entertain.[2] Arguably, only a small set of concrete nouns can be mapped onto a single concept simply from the sensory environment even when the number of possible hypotheses are limited.

The indeterminacy of observational learning particularly affects verb learning, as reflected in the heterogeneous time course of language acquisition. Specifically, verbs are produced and comprehended later in linguistic development than are nouns.[3] One reason for that may be that mapping verbs onto events in the world is not straightforward. For instance, numerous events take place in any given real life scene. Furthermore, the verbs that describe these events also change depending on the speaker's perspective.[4] It may be no wonder that verbs are learned after basic noun acquisition as verbs necessarily describe relationships between objects or concepts, a task that already assumes some knowledge of nouns.

The problem is even more profound for the acquisition of highly abstract verbs, like *think* or *believe*. Unlike action verbs like *run* or *throw*, *thinking* takes place internally, making observation difficult.[5] Indeed, more concrete verbs are produced prior to these mental state verbs, which refer to inner thoughts, emotions, and beliefs about the world.[6]

What Makes Mental Verbs Hard?

The discontinuity hypothesis, a possible explanation for the lag in development of mental verbs, posits that mental verbs are simply more conceptually difficult than action verbs and cannot be learned without

reaching a conceptual threshold. Specifically, the argument goes, mental verbs, unlike action verbs, require a mature ability to understand that other people have beliefs and intentions and that these beliefs may not be an accurate representation of reality. This position points to evidence that the acquisition of mental state, or belief, verbs mirrors Theory of Mind (ToM) development.[7]

The alternative, but not necessarily mutually exclusive, hypothesis explaining the difficulty of mental verb learning holds that different cues or sources of information are required to learn different classes of verbs. Simple action verbs, much like simple concrete nouns, may be largely observable from the visual environment. More so-called difficult verbs, including mental verbs, might necessitate very particular types of input that are not always readily available in the environment.

How, then, can children acquire mental verbs? One possibility lies in syntax. Since belief verbs fairly reliably occur in the context of subordinate clauses, (i.e., *that*- clauses), the syntactic structure may be a cue, enabling children to learn to use mental state verbs in appropriate contexts.[8] For example, (1) "Sally ____ that Bob is smart," requires a verb from a limited set of sentential verbs, like *think* or *see*. Syntax is also a powerful cue for other types of verbs. For example, (2) "Sally ___ the ball," and (e) "Sally ___ to see Bob." The transitive structure with a direct object (hereafter referred to simply as transitive frame) of (2) indicates that the missing verb should denote a relationship between Sally, the actor, and the ball, the actee. Action verbs like *throw* occur most often in such transitive frames. The structure of (3) would be more typical of a desire verb, like *wants*.

The Human Simulation Studies

Gillette, Gleitman, Gleitman and Lederer (1999) developed a novel method for testing the contribution of scene and syntax in word acquisition. As opposed to directly testing children, who are undergoing simultaneous cognitive, linguistic, and social development, the human simulation paradigm asked adults to learn novel words in manipulated contexts. This paradigm has the benefit of using adult participants, often college students, who have a full conceptual understanding of the words in their native tongue as well as a fully developed theory of mind. In this manner, the paradigm artificially removes potential conceptual difficulties as a possible confound in the acquisition of mental verbs.[9]

In one of the first studies conducted using this paradigm, Gillette et al.

(1999) videotaped infant-directed speech and presented the silent videos to adult subjects. Single beeps dubbed into the video represented when a target verb was uttered. Participants were instructed to guess what the target verb was, and were assigned to one of a variety of conditions. One group of participants received only the video clips, while another received only an alphabetical list of the nouns used in the surrounding sentence (e.g., Doll, He). Another group received both the video and the noun listing. Three additional conditions were run: a condition in which the sentence structure and the function words were provided, though the nouns and verbs were replaced with non-sense words (e.g., "Did er PILK with the ramermok?"); a similar condition in which the nouns were uncovered, leaving only the verbs obscured as nonsense words (e.g., "Did he PILK with the doll?"); and a final condition, identical to the lattermost, with the addition of seeing the video clip along with being provided the sentence structure. This final experimental condition was met with the greatest success in identifying the verb actually uttered in the original video.

Importantly, subjects given the syntactic information had a higher rate of improvement for mental verb guesses compared to other verb classes. *Think*, for example, was associated with an accuracy rate of 90% in the final experimental condition despite never being guessed in the video-only condition. By comparison, an action verb like, *push*, started at a base rate of 50% when only the video was presented and actually dropped to 15% when the syntactic frame was provided. Gillette et al. (1999) concluded that visual environment in itself is not sufficient for all types of word acquisition, with some types of verbs benefiting more from syntactic information than others.

One might wonder why there is this difference between action and belief verbs. Unlike the environment of verbs that refer to mental states and "are by definition abstract and removed from purely sensory experience," the visual environment of action verbs remains fairly stable across learning trials.[10] For instance, the verb *kick* often occurs in contexts when an agent hits an object with his/her leg; conversely, the situations in which a belief verb occurs are quite varied. In fact, people (and perhaps all animate agents in general) are constantly entertaining propositions and beliefs about the world around them regardless of the external environment. Naigles' (2000) explanation of the disparity between belief and action verbs hinges on the abstract quality of belief verbs and the highly variable contexts in which they occur.

Dana Septimus' (2003) study exploring the human simulation paradigm further, revealed that adults are also more likely to guess that a mental verb

had been uttered in scenes involving a classic false belief situation (e.g., an unseen displacement in which a character switches a girl's bagel with a muffin without her knowing) than in a true belief scene. Mental verbs accounted for only 6% of responses across true belief scenes but more than 18% in false belief scenes.[11]

Surely the college students in the human simulation study recognized that all individuals possess beliefs. Given this assumption and the presence of a human agent with thoughts in both true and false belief stimulus scenes, we must explain why participants were significantly more likely to produce mental type verbs in false belief situations than in true belief situations.

One plausible hypothesis seems to be that some contexts make it easier to hypothesize that a belief verb has been uttered. In most situations, beliefs cannot be separated from the true state of the world, as many beliefs are true. In fact, many normative grammars discourage use of first-person belief verbs as it is considered superfluous.[12] It is only when beliefs diverge from the true state of affairs that they become relevant as a topic of conversation (Grice, 1975).[13] These situations involve false beliefs, usually as a result of deception or mistaken hypotheses. The false belief may cause the holder of that belief to behave in ways that seem unfounded to individuals holding true beliefs. Moreover, when the individual discovers the falsity of the original belief, s/he may be visibly surprised. These observable features typical of a false belief scene may be salient cues that focus attention on the internal processes (thinking) of a person holding the false belief. Indeed, to create the false belief-type stimuli and group them together, there had to be some underlying commonality that would provide the consistency that Naigles (2000) proposed, namely deception or covert object substitutions.

Goals and Hypotheses

The results from the human simulation experiments are striking; however, up until now, no study has explicitly investigated the generalizability of these results to the actual learners of a first language, children. In the human simulation paradigm, the participants were essentially being asked to re-learn verbs they had already acquired decades prior to the experiment.[14] In the current experiment, we set out to ground the results of the human simulation paradigm. Specifically, we address whether children benefit from the combined cues of scene type (false vs. true belief) and syntax in verb acquisition. We then compared their responses to those of adults.

The current study was developed around two hypotheses. Based on the

previous findings from the human simulation paradigm, we predicted that children, like adults, would benefit from the extra-linguistic context of false belief scenes and respond with more belief verbs in these situations as opposed to scenes involving a true belief. Secondly, we hypothesized that children, like adults, would benefit from the linguistic structure of a sentence, producing more belief responses when provided with a sentence containing a subordinate clause and more action verbs when provided with a direct object (transitive) structure.

Method

Participants

Participants included children enrolled in five Philadelphia daycares/preschools; two of these centers were affiliated with the University of Pennsylvania and one with Bryn Mawr College. Thirty-seven children participated in the study following their parent/guardians' consent. Of these, the data from three participants were not included in any analyses due to a failure to meet a pre-test threshold. The remaining n=34 ranged in age from three years, seven months to five years, nine months (M=4.57; SD=.498) with 53% being female.

A group of 34 adults also participated in the study. Seventy-four percent were students enrolled in introductory psychology classes at the University of Pennsylvania and received course credit for their participation. The remaining individuals were recruited individually by the experimenter and participated on a strictly volunteer basis. Adults ranged in age from 16 to 25 years (M=18.8 years), with 67.6% being female. Participants in both groups were treated in accordance with the guidelines set out by the University of Pennsylvania's Institutional Review Board.

Materials

It has been suggested that continuous stories, presented verbally or in movie form, provide the necessary means for children to draw inferences about states of affairs, while static pictures do not.[15] In naturalistic settings, children are exposed to a constantly moving, rich environment that video clips reproduce to a large extent. Therefore, video clips were selected as our medium of choice. With the hope that young participants would be more apt to believe the fantastic nature of the surprises in some scenes, more familiar

with the general structure of the stories, and be more willing to attend to the stimuli, we decided to employ fairytale-like stories in the present study[16].

We developed two broad classes of scenes: desire scenes and belief scenes. **Belief scenes** involved situations in which a character was tricked or mistaken (i.e., held a false belief) or had to make an assumption that was, indeed, accurate (i.e., true belief). In fact, true belief scenes were not unlike descriptive narratives about ordinary events.

The stimuli were scripted and videotaped prior to the study. Each clip was edited into four narrated variants using Apple's Final Cut Pro 4.0. Variants were fully crossed in a two-by-two design. In all variants, the participants received a prompt from one of the scene's characters at the end of each clip describing what happened in the scene, importantly with the verb replaced by a nonsense word. Two belief-types (i.e., scene-types) were possible: a **true belief** situation (e.g., a boy about to enjoy a real banana) or a **false belief** scene involving the same characters and a similar scenario (e.g., a boy about to enjoy a cucumber dressed in a banana peel). Similarly, the character's prompt was either of a **transitive** form with a direct object (e.g., "Did you see that? Matt GORPS the basket of food.") or contained a **subordinate clause** (e.g., "Did you see that? Matt GORPS that his grandmother is under the covers"). Video clip length ranged from 33.07 sec to 69.21 sec (M=53.25; SD=9.67).

True Belief (The Grandmother):

> Once upon a time there was a little boy named Matt who had a sick grandmother. One day his father says to him, "Take this basket of food to your sick grandmother; it will make her feel better."So the little boy, Matt, says, "Okay." And so Matt walks to his grandmother's house through the spooky forest where he meets a big cat."Where are you going with that basket of food?" asks the cat."To my sick grandmother," says Matt.The cat says, "I am sorry your grandmother is sick. Please let me help you carry the basket of food to your grandmother." [Matt hands the basket to the cat and they continue to his grandmother's house].Matt knocks on the door and goes over to his grandmother's bed. "Hi, grandmother. Here is a basket of food to make you feel better." [Subordinate Clause Prompt] *Cat*: "Did you see that? Matt GORPS that his grandmother is under the covers!"

[Transitive Prompt] *Cat*: (to himself) "Did you see that? Matt GORPS a basket of food!"

False Belief (The Grandmother):

> Once upon a time there was a little boy named Matt who had a sick grandmother. One day his father says to him, "Take this basket of food to your sick grandmother; it will make her feel better."So the little boy, Matt, says, "Okay." And so Matt walks to his grandmother's house through the spooky forest where he meets a big, bad cat."Where are you going with that basket of food?" asks the cat."To my sick grandmother," says Matt.The cat says to himself, "I will trick the boy so I can steal his food!" The cat runs to the grandmother's house before the little boy gets there. He locks her grandmother into the closet and hides under his grandmother's blankets.Matt knocks on the door and goes over to his grandmother's bed. "Hi, grandmother. Here is a basket of food to make you feel better." [Subordinate Clause Prompt] *Cat*: "Did you see that? Matt GORPS that his grandmother is under the covers!"

[Transitive Prompt] *Cat*: (to himself) "Did you see that? Matt GORPS a basket of food!"

A total of four desire scenes were used as fillers. **Desire scenes** were operationalized as scenes in which a person was trying to do something, such as reach a teddy bear, or expressing strong emotion over not being able to do something, such as getting out of a locked room or go to a party. These scenes remained constant in both their content (e.g., a boy loves to hug his teddy bear but it is way up high and he can't reach it) and prompt (a infinitival frame; e.g., "The boy PLEEBS to get his teddy bear") across conditions. Filler scenes were shorter than test stimuli, ranging in length from 9.14 sec to 31.07 sec (M=19.61; SD=9.12).

Desire/Filler (The Bear):

> Once upon a time there was a boy who liked to hug his teddy bear. But his teddy bear was way up high so the boy couldn't reach it. [The boy tries to reach the toy][Infinitival Prompt] *Boy*: "I PLEEB to get my teddy bear."

A full list of the stimuli can be found in Appendix I of the unabridged manuscript.

So that each participant would see one variant of each scenario and be exposed to each scene-type/syntax combination twice, a scene-type/syntax frame was devised, into which stories were arranged. The frame consisted of the following: 1) True Belief + Subordinate Frame; 2) True Belief + Transitive Frame; 3) Desire Scene Filler; 4) False Belief + Subordinate Frame; 5) True Belief + Transitive Frame; 6) Desire Scene Filler. The frame was then repeated, providing a total of twelve story slots.

To minimize possible, unintentional effects of the scenarios themselves, each scenario was yoked to each scene-type/syntax combination across subjects. To this end, the first ordering of scenarios was rotated (the first scenario, originally filling slot one of the frame, would be moved to slot 12, and all the others would move up one slot). This was done four times, resulting in a total of four stimuli orderings, or *Volumes*, as they were dubbed, in fitting with the storybook theme.

The stories were recorded onto a Digital Video Disk (DVD) in the four orderings described. In addition, three pretest video clips were constructed. These pretests were short clips of simple actions (e.g., throwing a ball, drawing on paper, etc.) without narration, designed to identify children who did not grasp the general nature of the task.

Design and Procedure

Children were taken from their classroom at teacher-approved times, one by one, and brought into a room or vacant hallway by a teacher or the experimenter where they found a table, two chairs, and a laptop. The child was seated in one of the chairs facing an Apple Macintosh iBook, which was on the table. Some of the participants were videotaped, with their parent's knowledge, for internal validity. The experimenter then read the following scripted material, filling in the child's name in the appropriate place:

> Hi, what's your name? Hi, __[name]__; my name is Justin and I need your help today. We're going to watch some stories today on the computer, but some of the people in the stories use funny words – words that I don't know. So I need you to help me and tell me what they are trying to say when I ask you to. Do you think you can help me? Great! Let's do a few practice ones first. So let's watch this video and then you can tell me what the person is trying to say. Ready?

Following the child's response, s/he was shown the first of three pretest clips on the laptop, a 6 second clip of an adolescent throwing a large, purple ball in the air a number of times. At the end of the clip, the adolescent said, "I'm DOLTING." The video then ended, and the computer returned to the main menu. At this point, the experimenter repeated the prompt, replacing the appropriate pronouns, saying, "He's DOLTING. What does that mean? He's DOLTING." If the child's response was reasonable (e.g., he's playing basketball, he's throwing a ball, tossing, etc.) then the child was shown the second pretest in a similar manner, and finally the third. Child participants passed an average of 2.47 pretests (SD=.507). Every adult participant passed all three pretests.

If, however, the child responded nonsensically or provided no answer, the experimenter then showed the same clip again and said, "Let's look at what's happening in the movie. When the boy uses a funny word, he's going to be talking about what happened in the movie." The same prompt was then repeated. If after this the child was still unable to produce an appropriate answer, the experimenter said, "Let me give you a hint. When the boy says he's DOLTING that means he's throwing a ball. Does that make sense?" Then the experimenter showed the clip a third and final time, and asked the child what the prompt meant to verify that s/he had understood the hint. When this happened, the experimenter noted that the child had not passed the first pretest. The child then progressed to the second pretest clip and then the third. If the child had not successfully answered at least two of the three pretests, s/he was shown a few of the test stimuli so that s/he wouldn't feel as though s/he was deprived of the fun and then was returned to the classroom. Pre-testing was conducted to ensure that children would be able to complete the task.

For those who passed at least two of the three pretests, the experimenter subsequently clicked on the appropriate ordering, for the child and started the first test scene. Participants were assigned to one of four *Volumes*, based on the order in which they were tested. Following the character's prompt at the end of the clip, the experimenter then repeated the prompt, again replacing the appropriate pronouns as described above. If the child was unable to produce a response, s/he was asked if s/he would like to see the clip again. If after repeating the clip three times without an appropriate response, or at the child's request, the scene was skipped. Those instances were coded as "missing" in analyses. Of the child responses, nine were coded as missing (2.2%). Similarly, only three of the adult responses were coded as missing (0.7%). Otherwise, the child's verbatim response was recorded on a code

sheet. Responses ranged from a single word to a complete sentence.

Participants completed this task in two sessions, interrupted by a short break in which they completed a filler task. Adults progressed through the study in a similar manner, with a slightly altered introductory script.

If, during the course of viewing the clips the child asked which character was which, they were presented with a pre-printed sheet depicting each of the individuals in the clips. The experimenter pointed to the appropriate picture and identified the character (e.g., "This is Matt"). Unless specifically requested by the participant, the sheet was not displayed. Responses in which the child appeared to confuse two individuals were recorded verbatim and still considered valid.

Coding

Responses were entered into SPSS 11.0 for Macintosh and coded for verb type, frame compliance, and response length (single word, phrase, or complete sentence). Verb categories consisted of No Response, Belief (e.g., *think*, *believe*, and *guess*), Desire (e.g., *want*, *wish*, and *hope*), Action (e.g., *eat*, *drop*, and *break*), Other (e.g., *is happy*, *like*, and non-verb responses), and Complex (e.g., "That means that he thinks that he doesn't want them to be gone"). Some of the verbs were ambiguous; in these cases, they were categorized as either action or other. For example, *beg* might be considered a desire verb or an action verb, though we coded it as an action verb for the purposes of the current study. Similarly, to be conservative, stative verbs that hinted at deception but did not explicitly encode it, as well as complex answers with multiple types of verbs, were excluded from being counted as either belief- or desire-type responses. For a complete list of verbs offered and how they were coded, we refer the reader to Appendix III.

Frame compliance was defined as consistence with the syntactic structure of the given sentence. For example, the response, "He ate all" to the frame, "Matt DAXES that the cookies are all gone," was coded as non-frame compliant because the verb *eat* does not accept complement clauses introduced with *that*. Multi-word responses, though they did not exactly adhere to the one-word nonsense prompt, were accepted as frame compliant as the study's instructions did not require the participant to give a single word response. Furthermore, responses that rephrased part of the prompt in a manner that didn't change the verb's syntactic environment (e.g., "He wants *it*" instead of "He wants *the apple*") were also accepted as frame compliant.

Results

Using the number of belief responses as the dependent variable, we conducted an initial repeated measures ANOVA with age and stimulus order as between subject variables and scene type (true or false belief) and syntax (subordinate clause or transitive) as within subject variables. The results indicated that the effect of stimulus order was non-significant (Belief*Volume: $F(1, 60)=2.042$, $p=0.118$; Syntax*Volume: $F(1, 60)=1.158$, $p=0.333$; Belief*Syntax*Volume: $F(1, 60)=1.494$, $p=0.226$). This finding was unsurprising, as the different scenarios were developed to be comparable within conditions. Given these results, findings for the different stimuli orderings were collapsed in all future analyses.

Child Data

Absolute rates of response for each verb type are presented in Figure Ia. Action verbs accounted for 43.90% of all responses across scenes, while belief verbs accounted for only 11.30% of the responses. This disparity is in keeping with previous literature using similar methodology that showed that action verbs are guessed more frequently than belief or desire verbs by adults learning novel verbs.[17]

Using the number of belief responses as the dependent variable, we conducted a two-level by two-level repeated measures ANOVA with scene type (true belief or false belief) and syntactic frame (subordinate clause or transitive) as within-subject variables. The analysis resulted in a significant main effect of scene type ($F(1, 33)=21.785$, $p<0.001$). Specifically, only 7.40% of responses to true belief scenes consisted of a belief verb. The majority of responses within this scene type fell into the category of action verbs (58.80%). However, in the case of false belief scenes, there was an increase in the percent of belief verbs, which accounted for 26.50% of the responses in that condition. In fact, there was a corresponding drop in the number of action verbs offered in true belief.

Turning to the effect of syntax, the repeated measures ANOVA described above also resulted in a significant main effect of syntax ($F(1, 33)=24.593$, $p<0.001$). In particular, scenes with a transitive prompt had an occurrence of belief verbs only 6.60% of the time, while action verbs occurred 69% of the time. The interesting case is that of subordinate clause prompts. In this case, belief verbs almost reached the level of action verbs (27.20% and 29.40%, respectively).

The combined effects of scene type and syntax were even more striking.

The repeated measures ANOVA described above also resulted in a significant interaction of scene type*syntax ($F(1,33)=5.425$, $p=0.026$). While only 1.50% of responses were of the belief class in true belief scenes with transitive prompts, nearly half (41.20%) of responses were belief verbs in false belief scenes with a subordinate clause frame, a difference that was statistically significant ($t(33)=-3.957$, $p<0.001$). True belief scenes with a subordinate syntax resulted in belief responses 13.20% of the time, a non-significant difference compared to the 11.8% of responses for false belief scenes with a transitive frame contained belief verbs ($t(33)=0.297$, $p=0.768$). Figure II represents these data graphically. Of special interest is the percent of responses coded as other under these conditions. While only 10.3% of responses could be thus classified in true belief scenes with a transitive frame, 36.8% of responses were coded as other in true belief with subordinate clause scenes, indicating that the effect of syntax extends beyond differences in mental verb response rates. An additional paired-sample t-test comparing other-type verbs for these two conditions resulted in a significant difference ($t(33)=4.370$, $p<0.001$). See Figure III.

A similar analysis for action responses resulted in a significant main effect of scene ($F(1,33)=21.785$, $p<0.001$), an even stronger main effect of syntax ($F(1,33)=70.342$, $p<.001$), but no significant interaction ($F(1,33)=0.078$, $p=0.782$). Action verbs represented the majority (79.4%) of responses in true belief scenes with transitive prompts but only 20.60% of responses in false belief scenes with a subordinate clause frame ($t(33)=9.574$, $p<0.001$). True belief scenes with a subordinate syntax resulted in action responses 38.2% of the time, while 58.8% of responses for false belief scenes with a transitive frame contained action verbs ($t(33)=-3.23$, $p=0.003$).

A repeated measures ANOVA for frame compliance resulted in a significant main effect of scene type ($F(1,33)=4.553$, $p=0.040$), a significant main effect of syntax ($F(1,33)=84.224$, $p<0.001$), as well as a significant interaction of scene type*syntax ($F(1,33)=5.690$, $p=0.023$). The effect of scene type on syntax demonstrated a greater level of frame compliance for false belief scenes than for then true belief scenes (53.70%, and 44.10%, respectively). It is important to note that 4.40% of the true belief scenes were coded as non-responsive, compared to only 1.40% for both false belief and desire scenes combined. The effect of syntax on frame compliance revealed more disparate results. Subordinate clause frames were met with only 27.90% frame compliance, while transitive frames had a frame compliance level of 69.90%. Subordinate clauses and transitive frames each had just over 2% non-

response rates. These data are displayed in graphic form in Figure IVa.

As it might be argued that children could not have been using the syntactic frame of the prompt to generate a syntactically non-compliant response, a similar repeated measures ANOVA with belief verb responses as the dependent variable was conducted with non-frame compliant responses excluded. Again, there were significant main effects of scene and syntax ($F(1,33)=6.231$, $p=0.018$; $F(1,33)=30.509$, $p<0.001$, respectively), and a significant interaction ($F(1,33)=5.587$, $p=0.024$).

In desire scenes, action verbs accounted for the majority (59.00%) of responses, with desire verbs accounting for 33.10%. Infinitival prompts favored desire verb responses, at a rate of 58.80%, with action verbs offered 33.00% of the time and no belief verbs offered at all. Desire scenes had the greatest level of frame compliance (75%) of all scene/syntax types and a non-response rate of only 0.70%.[18]

Adult Data

The overall patterns of response for each verb type mirrored child data and are presented in Figure Ib. Absolute response rates, however, differed quite a bit between adults and children. Action verbs (31.60% across scenes for adults) accounted for fewer overall responses than children's replies, while belief verbs accounted for 23.50% of the responses, more than double the number of belief responses for the children.

An identical two-level by two-level repeated measures ANOVA resulted in a significant main effect of scene type ($F(1, 33)=22.898$, $p<0.001$). Specifically, only 23.50% of responses to true belief scenes consisted of a belief verb. As with the child data, a majority of responses within this scene type fell into the category of action verbs (49.30%). In the case of false belief scenes, adults responded with belief verbs nearly half the time (46.30%). Action verbs fell to a rate of 33.80% in these instances.

The repeated measures ANOVA described above also resulted in a particularly significant main effect of syntax ($F(1, 33)=157.584$, $p<0.001$). The powerful effect of syntax can be visualized by comparing percent of belief verb responses. Scenes with a transitive prompt had an occurrence of belief verbs only 3.70% of the time, while action verbs accounted for 66.20% of the responses. When presented with subordinate clauses, adults responded with belief verbs at exactly the level of action verbs in the case of transitive prompts (66.20%).

A significant interaction effect of scene type*syntax ($F(1,33)=15.271$,

p<0.001) was also discovered for adults. Absolutely no responses were of the belief class in true belief scenes with transitive prompts; however 85.30% of responses were belief verbs in false belief scenes with a subordinate clause frame (t(33)=-17.183, p<0.001). True belief scenes with a subordinate syntax resulted in belief responses 47.10% of the time, while 7.40% of responses for false belief scenes with a transitive frame contained belief verbs (t(33)=4.735, p<0.001). See Figure IIb for a graphical representation of these data.

A similar analysis for action responses resulted in a significant main effect of scene (F(1,33)=9.721, p<0.001), a main effect of syntax (F(1,33)=117.850, p<.001), but no significant interaction (F(1,33)=2.568, p=0.119). Action verbs were offered at a rate of 49.3% in true belief scenes and at a rate of 33.8% in false belief scenes (t(33)=3.118, p=0.004). Additionally, action verbs accounted for 66.2% of responses in transitive frames and 16.9% of responses in subordinate clause frames (t(33)=10.856, p<0.001).

Frame compliance in adults was nearly at ceiling, making differences between conditions difficult to detect. Responses to true belief scenes with a transitive frame were frame complaint 98.50% of the time, as were responses to false belief scenes with subordinate clauses. Responses to true belief scenes with subordinate clauses and false belief scenes with transitive frames were only slightly less frame compliant (94.10% and 95.60%, respectively). As such, a repeated measures ANOVA for frame compliance resulted in non-significant effects of scene type (F(1,33)=0.195, p=0.661), syntax (F(1,33)=0.108, p=0.744), and interaction of scene type*syntax (F(1,33)=2.936, p=0.096). See Figure IVb.

Unlike the children's pattern of responses, desire verbs dominated responses in desire scenes, accounting for 86.80% of adult responses, with action verbs only accounting for 11.80%.

Child-Adult Comparison

In an effort to make the comparison between child and adult responses more direct, an omnibus repeated measures ANOVA with within-subject factors of scene and syntax and a between-subject factor of age (child vs. adult) was conducted. With the number of belief verb responses as the dependent variable, scene (F(1,66)=44.507, p<0.001), syntax (F(1,66)=164.280, p<0.001), scene*syntax (F(1,66)=19.648, p<0.001), and syntax*age (F(1,66)=41.800, p<0.001) were all found to be significant. A scene*age interaction was non-significant (F(1,66)=0.342, p=0.560), as was a scene*syntax*age interaction (F(1,66)=1.461, p=0.231).

When a similar analysis was conducted with number of action verbs as the dependent variable, there were two main effects of scene ($F(1,66)=28.916$, $p<0.001$) and syntax ($F(1,66)=184.058$, $p<0.001$) but no significant interaction effects (all $p>0.15$).

Finally, the omnibus analysis for frame compliance resulted in significant main effects of scene ($F(1,66)=4.640$, $p=0.035$) and syntax ($F(1,66)=70.350$, $p<0.001$). Additionally, syntax*age ($F(1,66)=65.582$, $p<0.001$) and scene*syntax ($F(1,66)=8.323$, $p=0.005$) interaction effects were found. A scene*age interaction just missed significance ($F(1,66)=3.409$, $p=0.069$).

General Discussion

The human simulation paradigm demonstrated that while the visual environment is not sufficient on its own for word learning, particularly the acquisition of mental verbs, such word classes are learned faster when participants are provided with syntactic clues.[19] The human simulation paradigm relies on the use of competent adult speakers in order to guarantee that any difficulty in learning the words was not due to a lack of conceptual understanding, as might be the case with young children who are concurrently undergoing conceptual development during word learning.

The current study attempted to ground the human simulation paradigm by testing children's word learning in situations with varied levels of observational and syntactic support. While Gillette, et al. (1999) provided compelling evidence that the disparity between noun and verb learning is at least in part due to "the information requirements of the verb, not the conceptual requirements," the finding still may not be pertinent to children actually acquiring their native tongue. It is theoretically possible that until conceptual development reaches a certain threshold, no amount of scene salience or syntactic support can facilitate verb acquisition.

We set out to address two hypotheses: (1) children, like adults, would benefit from the extra-linguistic context of false belief scenes and respond with more belief verbs in these situations as opposed to scenes involving a true belief, and (2) children, like adults, would benefit from the linguistic structure of a sentence, producing more belief responses when provided with a sentence containing a subordinate clause and more action verbs when provided with a direct object (transitive) structure. We now address the first hypothesis.

Effects of Scene

Both children and adults offered significantly fewer mental verb responses for

true belief scenes than for false belief scenes. Given the difference in mental verb responses by scene type, false belief scenes must have contained salient features that focused the participants' attention or hypotheses on internal events as opposed to external events, whereas true belief scenes did not. Almost all overt, observable actions remained constant between false and true belief stimuli. What changed were the agent's intentions and the predictability of his/her actions. Beliefs that are expected or congruent with the true state of affairs are unlikely to be noteworthy in typical conversation. Belief becomes relevant in situations where the belief does not synch up with the current state of the world, hence in false belief scenes but not in true belief scenes. In the Rock Scene, for example, Josh wanted to ensure that he would win the strongman contest, so he decided to deceive Matt. So, Josh switched the rock he would lift with a light ball of paper. Disguising a ball of paper as a heavy rock is out of the ordinary, and may have strong implications for what other naïve characters might think.[20]

Effects of Syntax

The second of the study's hypotheses was also supported by the data. Syntax, namely subordinate clauses in the test prompt (e.g., "Matt DAXES *that…*"), increased the rate of belief verb responses significantly in the study, even in the context of a true belief scene. Moreover, the effect of syntax was far more powerful than the effect of scene, based on the comparison of F-statistics.

As we mentioned in the introduction, multiple events are packed into any given situation.[21] To bypass this difficulty in verb-to-world mapping, learners have been hypothesized to use sentence-to-world pairings in which syntactic cues from the sentence guide them to an appropriate mapping. A number of previous studies have successfully demonstrated that children as young as 16- to 18-months old assign semantic roles to participants in a scene based on syntax.[22] For example, Hirsh-Pasek and Golinkkoff (1991) found that after being presented with a sentence like, "Big Bird is tickling Cookie Monster," infants would reliably look longer at a movie in which Big Bird was the agent and Cookie Monster was the direct object than at a movie presented simultaneously in which Cookie Monster is doing the tickling. The linguistic environments of language learners support such a syntax-to-belief verb connection, as child-directed speech studies have shown that sentence complements are more likely to follow belief verbs than motion verbs and that belief verbs very rarely occur in other contexts.[23] The current study illustrated that older children, at least, are able to apply this sentential knowledge to the

acquisition of belief verbs.

The effect of syntax on belief verbs could also be observed indirectly. As noted above, children used three times as many responses coded as "other" in the case of true belief scenes with subordinate clauses than in true belief scenes with transitive frames. This finding could be attributed to the mixed cues intrinsic to true belief scenes with subordinate clause linguistic prompts. True belief scenes taken alone suggested a strong action preference while the subordinating clause syntax suggested a belief verb. Therefore, in these scenarios, children may have largely forgone using either mental verbs or action verbs in lieu of other verbs due to the somewhat contradictory cues.

As with the rate of belief verb responses, frame compliance was found to be significantly higher for false belief scenes than for true belief scenes. However, overall, transitive frames inspired more frame compliance. This result could be explained since frames are much simpler syntactically, require less processing, and are less prone to perspective ambiguities compared to frames with subordinate clauses. Furthermore, even very young children rely on direct object transitivity vs. intransitivity as a cue for interpreting novel verbs.[24] Two and one-half year olds are much more likely to interpret a novel verb heard while watching a simple action as describing the actions of the causal agent when presented with a transitive sentence than with an intransitive sentence.[25] Fishers' (2002) finding supports the notion that young children attend to the sentence's abstract structure when interpreting its meaning and, importantly, use that information as a cue for word learning.

Adults were much more reluctant than children in breaking the syntactic frame. When confronted with mixed cues (scene supporting a belief verb and syntax indicating a transitive verb, typically an action verb) many adults expressed great distress. They got physically flustered, asked if they could use more than one word to respond, asked many questions about the characters in the story, and said, "I don't know…" quite a bit.[26] This anecdotal evidence, taken in conjunction with the statistical results, demonstrates the strong preference for frame compliance and, in turn, the importance of such information in verb learning.

While both scene and syntax individually are potent cues indicating the type of verb a novel word represents, their combined power is more than additive. This suggests that cues in the same direction are much more useful than cues pointing in opposite directions. As demonstrated by the reduction in action and belief responses in true belief plus sentence complement conditions (and the corresponding increase in other-type verbs) and the frustration adults

had in such situations, it is as if participants begin questioning their own beliefs about what an appropriate response looks like in mixed cue situations. These are precisely the types of situations that may hinder belief verb learning. On the other hand, when a false belief scene arises with a subordinate clause, both cues strongly indicating the presence of a belief verb, the rate of belief verb responses dramatically increases.

Mental Verb 'Learning' in Children and Adults

Paralleling earlier findings in which belief verbs accounted for less than 25% of adult responses across scene and prompt types,[27] adults in the current study produced mental verbs 23.5% of the time while action verbs accounted for 31.6% of responses. This finding, taken in conjunction with the high level of conceptual knowledge assumed to be possessed by the adult sample, strongly suggests that belief verbs are much more difficult to learn than action verbs, or even desire verbs.

Unlike in action scenes, which were associated with a much larger store of concepts from which to pull verbs, participants could have responded with a verb such as *think* in all four of the belief-type scenes, mapping *think* to four different target words.[28] Even in these situations, in which participants could have responded appropriately with a single verb multiple times, making the task much easier, the rate of mental verb responses still remained quite low, again emphasizing the relative difficulty in learning mental verbs.

As predicted by Smiley and Huttenlocher,[29] the child sample seemed to have more difficulty integrating the mental verb cues from the stimuli, whatever they may have been, as demonstrated in their production of mental verbs at a lower overall frequency, 11.3%. Eliminating this fissure between adult and child responses was precisely the reason for utilizing the human simulation paradigm. Aside from conceptual differences, absolute differences between the rates of response for adults and children could also be explained by children's shorter attention span and lack of experience in formal experimental situations. It was clear that a number of children, at least, wanted to succeed at the task, as they informed the experimenter that their "Sister taught them what GORP means awhile ago, but [they] forget it now."

Despite the attenuated overall rate of children's belief verb responses, the relative rates across conditions remained analogous (and highly significant) across adult and child samples. These results supported our predictions as well as the external validity of the human simulation paradigm. Moreover, these data suggest that scenic and syntactic cues have a measurable and

significant effect on mental verb learning independently of children's (potential) cognitive immaturity.

Implications and Future Directions

Children from various daycare centers and nursery schools around the Philadelphia area were recruited for the study. Without question, some children were more advanced in conceptual and language development. Despite being randomized to different condition lists, it may have been the case that the more linguistically and socially advanced children skewed the data in favor of higher rates of belief verb responses. An important future direction would be to use independent tests of language and social development and see how well the results correlate with the number of belief verb responses.

Additionally, it should be noted that the experimental conditions in this study were not necessarily naturalistic. Participants were only given one opportunity to "learn" a novel word, when, in fact, language learners are constantly exposed to novel words often over multiple instances. Follow-up studies might incorporate more trials for each scene-syntax combination.

In this paper, two explanations for the disparity between action and mental verb acquisition were presented. However, there are other explanations worth noting. For example, the linguistic input to which a learner is exposed could have a profound impact on acquisition. Furrow, Moore, Davidge, and Chiasson (1992) coded mothers' actual use of different types of verbs directed to their two- and three-year-old children.[30] While they discovered that mothers do, indeed, use mental state verbs in the presence of their children, almost 75% of their utterances containing *think* were conversational and did not represent a belief. For example, "I *think* it's time for your nap," didn't leave much room for doubt that it really was time for the child's nap. In fact, less than 1% of *think* or *know* utterances were relevant to the notion of uncertainty. Children pick up on this pattern apparently, as their first use of mental state verbs around age two and a half are typically conversational in nature.[31] The picture changes when children get older, as by the time children reach five years of age, both the parents' use of *think*, as well as that of the child's, refer to certainty/uncertainty (Frank & Hall, 1991).[32] Recently, Naigles (2000) asked if this change in mental verb understanding between the ages of three and five years is linked to this change in adult input. Naigles (2000) found that preschoolers were better at discriminating the different meanings of belief verbs than were their peers who had not attended

preschool, concluding that the more formally instructive input from the teachers was a crucial factor in mental state verb understanding. Looking at the relevant input a language learner receives prior to production of a certain novel word might reveal the frequency and contrasts required to drive word learning.

Although most language learning is done without any explicit training, the results and conclusions outlined above carry with them a number of implications for the ways in which children are taught language in the home and school. The current results, together with Naigles' (2000) findings, emphasize the importance of the instructive environments in the development of mental verb learning.

Verb Learning and Cognitive Development

The conceptual account of mental verb learning holds that children first need to acquire Theory of Mind before they can acquire this class of verbs. This is not to suggest that children under four years of age (the age when most children begin to pass classic false belief tasks) are unable to use words like *think*. In fact, Shatz et al. (1983) reported that children first start to use this verb around the age of two and one-half. However, these early uses are primarily, if not exclusively, conversational in nature, leaving the possibility open that children do not fully understand the true meaning of *think* at this point in development. While our results are independent from the conceptual story, as we only investigated possible conjectures about a word's meaning, they demonstrate that other factors (scene and syntax) affect mental verb acquisition independently of conceptual maturity. However, this does not completely rule out the role of conceptual development.

In fact, the cognitive explanation can be combined with the cue hypothesis quite seamlessly. The possibly limited cognitive capacity of developing children may cause difficulty in attending to the stimuli or combining the syntactic cues with the scenic cues to identify appropriate mental verb contexts. The current study's results support such a hypothesis, as the interaction effect (scene*syntax) was much less significant for children than for adults, suggesting that they had more difficulty integrating the two cues.

Conclusion

Children produce mental verbs, such as *think* and *believe*, late in language acquisition compared with other verb classes and much less frequently than do adults. Two hypotheses have been proposed to explain these phenomena.

The discontinuity hypothesis proposes that children are conceptually different from adults and, as such, cannot learn abstract, mentalistic verbs until they acquire a fully mature Theory of Mind. Alternatively, we propose that, at least to some extent, children possess the necessary conceptual apparatus to acquire mental verbs but that they are less readily benefited by the extra-linguistic and syntactic environment that facilitates such learning.

In an attempt to adjudicate between these two hypotheses, children's language acquisition, specifically mental verb learning, was empirically tested and compared to adult simulated learning. Results validated the human simulation paradigm. Specifically, our findings demonstrated a significant facilitation effect for false belief scenes and subordinate clause prompts, as well as a significant interaction. The results matched those of the adult controls, though at lower absolute levels. These findings support the hypothesis that linguistic and extra-linguistic cues mediate mental verb acquisition, demonstrating that conceptual development is not a sufficient explanation for the developmental difficulty of mental verb acquisition.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

[1] L. Gleitman and H. Gleitman. "A picture is worth a thousand words—but that's the problem." Current Directions in Psychological Science, no. 1 (1992): 31-35.

[2] E. Markman. "Constraints children place on word meanings." *Language Acquisition: Core Readings*. Ed. Bloom. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), 154- 173.

[3] J. Snedeker and L. Gleitman. "Why it is hard to label our concepts." *Weaving a Lexicon*. Eds. G. Hall and S. S. Waxman. (Cambridge: Bradford Books, 2004).

[4] Gleitman and Gleitman, 31-35.

[5] L. R. Naigles. "Manipulating the input: studies in mental verb acquisition." *Perception, Cognition and Language*. Eds. B. Landau, J. Sabini, J. Jonides and E. Newport. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).

[6] J. Snedeker and L. Gleitman, (2004).

[7] C. Moore and D. Furrow. "The development of the language of belief: The expression of relative certainty." *Children's Theories of Mind: Mental States and Social Understanding*. Eds. D. Frye and C. Moore. (Hillsdale: Earlbaum, 1991), 173-193. While early studies of false belief seemed to indicate that children under the age of four typically had no understanding of the possible disconnect between belief and reality, more recent studies and meta-analyses have demonstrated that 3-year-olds are able to

pass simplified false belief tasks under some conditions that improve their performance (Wellman, Cross, & Watson, 2001).

[8] L. Gleitman. "The Structural Sources of Verb Meanings." *Language Acquisition,* no. 1.1, (1990): 3-35.

[9] J. Gillette, H. Gleitman, L. Gleitman, and A. Lederer. "Human simulations of vocabulary learning." *Cognition,* no. 73, (1999): 135-176. (not cited by author)

[10] Naigles, "Manipulating the input: studies in mental verb acquisition," 247. [11] D. Septimus. (2003). *Studies in the Acquisition of Mental State Verbs.* University of Pennsylvania.

[12] R. Frank and W.S. Hall. "Polysemy and the acquisition of the cognitive internal state lexicon." *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research,* no. 20 (1991): 283-304.

[13] H. P. Grice. "Logic and conversation." *Syntax and semantics.* Eds. P. Cole and J. L. Morgan. (New York: Academic Press, 1975): vol. 2.

[14] Gillette et all, 135-176.

[15] S. Crain, R. Thornton, C. Boster, L. Conoway, L. M. Diane and E. Woodams. "Quantification without Qualification." *Language Acquisition,* no. 5(2) (1996): 83-153.

[16] Research suggests that parents, babysitters, and teachers expose children to stories of a fairy tale nature early in their development (Danilewitz, 1991). In her dissertation abstract, Milner (1983) suggested that such exposure to literature increases a child's vocabulary and understanding of the larger world by relating social scripts to the audience. Furthermore, parents have been known to intermittently pause and ask their children pertinent questions while reading to their children (Cashdan, 1999). For instance, they might ask, "What just happened?" or "What do you think will happen next?" questions which invite the child to place him/herself in the roles of the characters in the story. Fairy tales involving false beliefs abound in folk tales across cultures (Coulacoglou, 2000). Despite the fantastical nature of many children's stories, fairy tales that oft defy belief in the actual world still prove valuable sources of information applicable to the everyday life (Hohr, 2000).

[17] D. Septimus, (2003).

[18] Desire scenes always involved a transitive prompt, making the scene*syntax results the same as either component's results alone.

[19] Gillette et al, 135-176.

[20] However, the distance from reality appears to have a bound: Septimus (2003) found no significant difference in the rate of adults' mental verb responses between a more typical false belief scene and a more outlandish version. She suggested the existence of an upper limit to the helpfulness of the environment in learning mental verbs.

[21] Gleitman and Gleitman, 31-35.

[22] K. Hirsh-Pasek, and R. M. Golinkoff (1991). "Language Comprehension: A new look at some old themes." *Biological and behavioral determinants of language development*. Eds. N. A. Krasnegor and D. M. Rumbaugh. (Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991), 301-320; L. R. Naigles. "Children use syntax to learn verb meanings." *Journal of Child Language,* no. 17 (1990): 357-374.

[23] L. R. Naigles and E. Hoff-Ginsberg. "Input to verb learning: Evidence for the plausibility of syntactic bootstrapping." *Developmental Psychology*, no. 31 (1995): 827-837.

[24] C. Fisher. "Structural limits on verb mapping: the role of abstract structure in 2.5-year-olds' interpretations of novel verbs." *Developmental Science,* no. 5.1 (2002): 55-64.

[25] Ibid., 55-64.

[26] Additionally, adults demonstrated a similar level of frustration when confronted with a transitive sentence prompt that related to a character in the story who was unable to complete a task, such as breaking a piece of wood. While other transitive verbs that take a direct object were possible (e.g., "Matt holds the wood" for the other boy), the focus of the story was on breaking the wood. To incorporate the focus into the response, adults would have to map two words onto the nonsense word, which the adults found especially disturbing.

[27] D. Septimus, (2003).

[28] It should be noted that desire verbs were met with a similar, constrained vocabulary, and yet the rate of desire verbs in these scenes was higher (58.8%) than the rate of belief verbs in false belief scenes (26.50%). However, desire verbs had a consistent syntactic cue of the transitive prompt. A more comparable condition, then, would be the false belief with subordinate clause condition in which 41.20% of responses were action verbs. A fully balanced desire condition would be an even better comparison but was beyond the scope of this one study.

[29] P. Smiley, and J. Huttenlocher. "Conceptual development and the child's early words for events, objects, and persons." *Beyond Names for Things: Young Children's Acquisition of Verbs.* Eds. M. Tomasello and W. E. Merriman. (Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995): 21-62.

[30] D. Furrow, C. Moore, J. Davidge, and L. Chiasson. "Mental terms in mothers' and children's speech: Similarities and relationships." *Journal of Child Language,* no. 19 (1992): 617-631.

[31] M. Shatz, H. M. Wellman, and S. Silber. "The acquisition of mental verbs: A systematic investigation of the first reference to mental state." *Cognition,* no. 14 (1983): 301-321.

[32] Frank and Hall, 283-304. This finding is inconclusive, as other studies (e.g., Shatz, 1983) demonstrated that children do distinguish between *think* and *know* by the age of three.

Erica Miao

The Interrupted Journey: Punctuation in Virginia Woolf's To the Lighthouse

Rittenberg Prize (English)

To the Lighthouse, Virginia Woolf's 1927 novel on family life and subjective experience, uses punctuation in unique and meaningful ways. Through commas, semicolons, parentheses, and brackets, Woolf creates a sense of "punctuated" time that moves in starts and stops. Parentheses and brackets also introduce spaces or shifts in the text, and come to signify the silences or interruptions that characterize human conversation. Ultimately, Woolf uses parentheses to facilitate authorial self-interruption: she as a narrator intrudes upon her own text to insert a multiplicity of digressive voices, showing that human relationships, too, display the kinds of breaking and connecting that are essential to punctuation and parentheses.

In considering the language of Virigina Woolf's 1927 novel *To the Lighthouse*,[1] much has been said about Woolf's lyrical prose style and her technique of narrating events through a subjective unfolding of individual characters' mental processes. Less discussed, however, is the way Woolf communicates the nuances of internal perspective and psychological meaning through an external, material text: the prolific commas, semicolons, parentheses, and brackets that juxtapose a multiplicity of voices even as they symbolize communicative silence. I argue here that Woolf's unique and varied uses of

punctuation, especially parentheses, are central to both the style and the content of *To the Lighthouse*. First, punctuation marks serve to modulate the cadence of Woolf's own literary voice, connecting phrases or fragments of language into a unified whole, and creating extra-long sentences that exhibit a poetic, stream-of-consciousness sense of continuity. In the same way that the Ramsays' marriage exhibits division as well as harmony, punctuation divides and yet unifies the language of *To the Lighthouse*. Punctuation also takes on a more universal significance when it facilitates the literary manipulation of time: in the first section of the novel, "To the Window," parentheses suspend and elongate moments of time, but in "Time Passes," which spans ten years in the lives of the Ramsay family and their acquaintances, square brackets highlight the abruptness of isolated events and in effect break off bits of time. Woolf exploits such parenthesis as an expressive voice for the abrupt time shifts associated with impermanence, ephemerality, and death, and thus develops parenthetical marks as a metaphor for the theme of absence in general. "To punctuate" literally means "to insert points or stops,"[2] and in a book concerned with distance and space in human relationships, the punctuated text— with its dashes, cut-offs, and sentences that stretch heroically over a series of ideas— becomes a model for the silent spaces in conversation. Because parentheses allow segments of text to be represented as asides, they dramatize how the complex mental judgments and anticipations of the Ramsays and Lily Briscoe in fact belie their superficial or limited dialogue. Punctuation lastly establishes a unique relationship between Woolf's omniscient narrator and the internal voices of her characters, and the unique dialogue of a character's internal voice with itself. As a visual, auditory, and linguistic intrusion into the main body of the text, Woolf's parenthetical comments come to represent acts of self-interruption—jarring examples of truncation and self-silencing that characters, and authors, ultimately find the courage to transcend.

Material and immaterial things alike move to a rhythm of starting and stopping, or coming and receding, in *To the Lighthouse*. The waves crash rhythmically against the shore, the beam of the lighthouse sweeps across the summer house and then back out again to sea, human relationships grow and weaken according to the passage of time, and Lily Briscoe and the Ramsays themselves leave the summer house but then return again ten years later. Virginia Woolf's prose reflects this repeated sense of pause followed by continuation. By using semicolons where one would typically use commas,

Woolf inserts elongated pauses that break up language and invite readers to be unusually meditative: speaking from Mrs. Ramsay's point of view, she narrates, "There were the eternal problems: suffering; death; the poor."[3] The semicolons that follow both "suffering" and "death" establish a sense of finality, as if noun phrases were constituent sentences unto themselves. They create especially lengthy breaks in the text where readers can insert their own speculations or narrative continuations. Dash marks often induce a sense of breaking as well, perhaps most effectively in situations where characters literally break off in speech or thought. Mr. Ramsay, for example, wishes at times that he could speak more about his academic life with Mrs. Ramsay. However, he cuts himself off out of a reluctance to bother her and a fear of seeming too self-congratulatory: "There was no harm in him, he added, and was just about to say that anyhow he was the only young man in England who admired his—when he choked it back. He would not bother her again about his books."[4] The dash here could be said to represent absence—it encompasses the hypothetical utterance Mr. Ramsay could have made but did not make. In a way, then, different varieties of punctuation provide Woolf with a sensitive tool to transcribe the pauses and continuations in human speech.

Although they "break up" language and insert silences between words, semicolons and dashes also perform the diametrically opposite function of connecting pieces of language. Woolf links both sentences and sentence fragments in a highly continuous, rambling way that temporarily suspends traditional rules of grammar and punctuation. In a philosophical passage from "Time Passes" that discusses the onset of night, she uses two semicolons to link three full sentences into one: "But alas, divine goodness, twitching the cord, draws the curtain; it does not please him; he covers his treasures in a drench of hail, and so breaks them, so confuses them that it seems impossible that their calm should ever return or that we should ever compose from their fragments a perfect whole or read in the littered pieces the clear words of truth."[5] The last part of this statement also addresses the exact issue of breaking versus connecting: Woolf vividly compares the alternation of language, the way interpretation or understanding moves in fits and starts, to cycles of daytime and night. In the same way that "divine goodness" breaks up the beauty of boats, waves, and trees with the darkness of night, an author breaks language into fragments using the typographical tools at her disposal, with language nevertheless plunging forward into yet another sentence fragment.

Language and punctuation together therefore offer a metaphor for the way the story in *To the Lighthouse* functions; the tools that break are also the tools that connect, especially when they guide the rhythm of Woolf's imagery. There are numerous places where the narrative freezes, or pauses, before time continues. For example, when Cam and James Ramsay are finally on the water, traveling towards the lighthouse, Cam is struck by a sudden sense of stillness: "…there they came to a stop flapping about waiting for a breeze, in the hot sun, miles from shore, miles from the Lighthouse. Everything in the whole world seemed to stand still. The Lighthouse became immovable, and the line of the distant shore became fixed."[6] For a moment, the lighthouse becomes like Lily's art, fixed and frozen as a pause in an image that is usually ever-changing and dynamic. The opposition between breaking and connecting, as a mirror of two functions of punctuation in written language, fully manifests itself in the imagery associated with Mr. and Mrs. Ramsay. James imagines Mr. Ramsay as both a descending scimitar and a wheel that crushes someone else's foot. He thereby associates Mr. Ramsay's severe, unapologetic demeanor with the idea of being abruptly and painfully violated.[7] Meanwhile, Mrs. Ramsay, at dinner, takes full responsibility for being a unifying force: "Nothing seemed to have merged. They all sat separate. And whole of the effort of merging and flowing and creating rested on her."[8] In a relationship that seems both interdependent and complementary, Mr. Ramsay inserts the pauses—indeed, even censors himself into silence. Meanwhile, Mrs. Ramsay, who pities men and says what they want her to say (as in "Do you write many letters, Mr. Tansley?"), provides the continuation.[9]

Punctuation underlies how Woolf represents complexity in human thought within a single person's consciousness as well: the sentences that become connected into a whole in *To the Lighthouse* sometimes offer different, conflicting ways of approaching one idea. For example, Mrs. Ramsay observes and evaluates Charles Tansley in a way that alternates between positive and negative opinions. "Yet he looked so desolate; yet she would feel relieved when he went; yet she would see that he was better treated tomorrow; yet he was admirable with her husband; yet his manners certainly wanted improving; yet she liked his laugh—thinking this, as she came downstairs, she noticed that she could now see the moon itself through the staircase window—the yellow harvest moon—and turned, and they saw her, standing above them on the stairs"[10] Woolf's sentence—a full 77 words long, uses semicolons to evoke a simultaneity of thought, and in doing so disrupts our concept of each person

having a single, authoritative internal voice. Just as her characters can be thought of as collections of conflicting phrases separated and framed by punctuation, Woolf herself develops a narrative voice that is constantly revising, interrupting, suppressing, and encouraging itself. In a diary entry dated September 3, 1926, Woolf directly addresses this need to facilitate simultaneity in her narration. She specifically mentions the part at the end of *To the Lighthouse* where Lily and Mr. Carmichael remain on the shore but the Ramsays have embarked on their journey to the lighthouse:

> …I had meant to end with R. climbing on to the rock. If so, what becomes of Lily and her picture? Should there be a final page about her and Carmichael looking at the picture and summing up R.'s character? In that case I lose the intensity of the moment. If this intervenes between R. and the lighthouse, there's too much chop and change, I think. Could I do it in a parenthesis? So that one had the sense of reading the two things at the same time?[11]

Even though the final scene of the book never did become enclosed by a single parenthesis, Woolf succeeded on the whole in using parenthetical punctuation marks to achieve a sense of simultaneity. Throughout the novel, her parentheses connect texts with textual asides by inserting salient visual breaks into the text—not simply at the end of a phrase, as with semicolons, but instead in the middle of a sentence—for the purposes of literary digression. Thus parentheses are a more versatile and more powerful version of semicolons; they literally interrupt sentences, even as they expand and stretch their length.

It is fitting that "parenthesis" as defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary*[12] refers to both the round bracket, the graphical mark on a page that visually encloses and sets apart some portion of text, as well as the linguistic word or phrase inserted into the passage and contained *within* a set of round brackets. Much of Woolf's writing in *To the Lighthouse* consists of parenthetical statements, enclosed by parenthetical punctuation marks—in general, there are three or four sets of parentheses to a page, ranging in function from character description, as in that of Mrs. Ramsay "(bowed over her book)," to explanations of behavior, as in "(for [Lily] was in love with them all, in love with the world)," to narration of external events such as "(she accomplished here something dexterous with her needles)," to narration of mental asides such as "(but this cannot last, she thought, dissociating herself from the

moment while they were all talking about boots)"[13] Sometimes, parentheses contain full sentences or paragraphs, as in, "(The Boeuf en Daube was a perfect triumph)" or "(Lily Briscoe had her bag carried up to the house late one evening in September)"[14] Finally, several full chapters are contained within parentheses, including Chapter 14 of section 1, which describes Mrs. Ramsay's speculations about the progression of Paul and Minta's relationship, and begins, "(Certainly, Nancy had gone with them, since Minta Doyle had asked it with her dumb look…)."

Any classification scheme for Woolf's use of parenthetical statements would have to be diverse and complex. In his study *But I Digress: Exploitation of Parentheses in English Printed Verse*, John Lennard identifies four conventional functions of parentheses: for emphasis or de-emphasis of text, for marking a digression, for enclosing a "vocative" address to the reader, and for performing the purely syntactic functions of marking relative and conditional clauses.[15] While Woolf employs all four usages and their various permutations in *To the Lighthouse*, parenthesis is most significantly linked to both digression and to the "vocative" expression of internal voice at the same time, producing what I will call the *digressive voice*. For instance, the parenthetical Chapter 14 spans five pages, in which the reader learns that Paul and Minta go to the beach, that Andrew and Nancy discover them kissing, and that shortly afterwards, Minta loses her grandmother's prized brooch. On one hand, there are constant references to Andrew's feelings throughout the chapter—the beginning of the text reads, "But it would not do altogether, this shouting and damning your eyes, Andrew felt, picking his way down the cliff, this clapping him on the back, and calling him 'old fellow' and all that; it would not altogether do. It was the worst of taking women on walks."[16] On the other hand, the end of the chapter focuses on Paul's internal experience as he walks back to the house: "But, good heavens, he said to himself, putting his hand to his tie, I must not make a fool of myself."[17] The one unifying factor is that all five pages of text are enclosed within a single set of parentheses. Because the previous chapter ends with Mrs. Ramsay's question to Prue about the whereabouts of Nancy, Andrew, Minta, and Paul, such a striking graphical subordination of the enclosed chapter suggests that the perspective has shifted to the internal, subjective point of view of Mrs. Ramsay. The parentheses at the beginning of Chapter 14 effect a lingering impression of her imaginative intrusions into others' relationships, and the entire subsequent story of Paul and Minta's courtship thus appears to take place within Mrs. Ramsay's

consciousness. Parentheses in such a way complicate the notion of perspective— they create multiple storytellers when they graphically interrupt the main stream of the narrative.

One of the most frequently employed shifts in perspective is the introduction of internal speech, which has none of the contrivances of external speech. Like all of Mr. Ramsay's terse "phrase-making," external speech consists of stock phrases, meaningless utterances, and talking for the sake of filling up space. Mrs. Ramsay and the other adults politely discuss letter-writing at dinner, but the superficial conversation masks a host of internal monologues: "pray heaven that the inside of my mind may not be exposed," each character thinks.[18] Everyone follows a self-conscious "code of behavior" when communicating with others, and Mrs. Ramsay raises her eyebrows at the "discrepancy" between thought and language—"that was what she was thinking, this was what she was doing."[19] In contrast, internal speech bubbles up unconsciously in a character's mind. It represents spontaneous language unencumbered by the self-silencing that public audiences engender. By using parentheses to highlight a random, nagging thought at the back of Mrs. Ramsay's mind, Woolf identifies at least two levels of internal thought when she narrates Mrs. Ramsay's mental soliloquy of counsel to her children and herself,: "And yet she had said to all these children, You shall go through it all. To eight people she had said relentlessly that (and the bill for the greenhouse would be fifty pounds)….Marriage needed—oh, all sorts of qualities (the bill for the greenhouse would be fifty pounds); one—she need not name it—that was essential; the thing she had with her husband."[20] Captured in parentheses, the recurrent memory of the greenhouse bill spontaneously intrudes upon Mrs. Ramsay's other thoughts, and signifies an authorial intrusion in which Woolf speaks in free indirect discourse, taking on the mental voice of her character. Here, in addition to destabilizing the notion of a unitary inner voice for Mrs. Ramsay, parentheses enable a kind of narrative interruption: if Woolf's stylized prose, with its dramatic, oratorical pauses, has an auditory resonance, then the text contained within the parentheses seems to be uttered by the author in *sotto voce,* allowing Mrs. Ramsay's ever-present awareness of her domestic duties to emerge as a simultaneous literary aside.

Indeed, throughout "The Window," the inner voices of both Lily Briscoe and Mrs. Ramsey dominate the subjective narration as the two women impute motives to men, judge the relationships of others, and self-consciously assess their own behavior. Mrs. Ramsay's uncertainty about interpretive authority

captures well the sentiment of the section: "How then did it work out, all this? How did one judge people, think of them? How did one add up this and that and conclude that it was liking one felt, or disliking? And to those words, what meaning attached, after all?"[21] Lily in particular idolizes Mrs. Ramsey as a mother and caretaker, but feels too inhibited to fully express her love. As she paints, she uncomfortably remembers that her own unmarried state is still pitied: "…always laughing, [Mrs. Ramsay would] insist that she must, Minta must, they all must marry, since in the whole world whatever laurels might be tossed to her (but Mrs. Ramsay cared not a fig for her painting), or triumphs won by her (probably Mrs. Ramsay had had her share of those), and here she saddened, darkened, and came back to her chair, there could be no disputing this: an unmarried woman (she lightly took her hand for a moment), an unmarried woman has missed the best of life."[22] Here the lines within the first two sets of parentheses interrupt the action of Mrs. Ramsay's statement to Lily, and in response offer insight into Lily's speculations on Mrs. Ramsay's personal feelings. Within each parenthesis, Woolf the author subtly moves out of Mrs. Ramsay's narrative voice and into Lily's: Lily thinks that "Mrs. Ramsay cared not a fig for her painting," and later mentally interjects that "probably Mrs. Ramsay had had her share" of triumphs. Meanwhile, in the third parenthetical statement "(she lightly took her hand for a moment)," Woolf uses an aside to realize an external event simultaneous with the mental, interior events of the conversation.

The frequent use of parentheses to contain both internal monologues as well as external events raises an interesting opposition in *To the Lighthouse*—sometimes, by parenthetically commenting on Lily or Mrs. Ramsay's private or subconscious thoughts, Woolf highlights the painful "discrepancy" between inner beliefs and superficial public gestures; at other times, however, the main body of the text is devoted entirely to explicating a character's inner psychological experience, while it is the physical, observable events of the narrative that are set aside in parentheses. In cases of the latter, Woolf the author moves out of free indirect discourse and into objective narration when she crosses the boundary of the parenthetical mark. "The very stone one kicks with one's boot will outlast Shakespeare. His own little light would shine, not very brightly, for a year or two, and would then be merged in some bigger light, and that in a bigger still," thinks Mr. Ramsay.[23] Then: "(He looked into the hedge, into the intricacy of the twigs.)" Woolf moves from a rare explication of one of Mr. Ramsay's meditations on the transience of human life

to a detached comment on the direction of his gaze. In fact, many of her external asides—that is, ones that narrate an external event—deal with this notion of vision and the gaze. At dinner, Mrs. Ramsay feels alienated from the disembodied nature of conversational language, and directs her attention elsewhere: "The words (she was looking at the window) sounded as if they were floating like flowers on water out there, cut off from them all, as if no one had said them, but they had come into existence of themselves."[24] In a novel where sight informs artistry and Lily has her "vision" when she finally completes her painting, the subordination of physical sight within a digressive parenthesis argues for a radical privileging of the internal. The main text offers an abstract analysis of language and human behavior, while parentheses are used to introduce visual, sensory information that remains secondary to, or in service of, internal comprehension.

Parenthesis in this sense can represent distraction, both a temporary suspension of a continuous stream of thought and a temporary suspension of syntax. Graphically speaking, the curved lunulae that visually set off a piece of text create a filled absence, a space in the sentence that becomes filled with other language. To repair communicative failure between characters that feel too inhibited to converse more honestly and deeply, Woolf sometimes uses parentheses to explicate meaning where there is silence or absence. As Mr. and Mrs. Ramsay communicate through scowls and silent glances at dinner, disagreeing on the trivial issue of giving Augustus Carmichael another bowl of soup, parentheses literally contain the absence of speech between husband and wife: "But he had controlled himself, Mr. Ramsay would have her observe, disgusting though the sight was. But why show it so plainly, Mrs. Ramsay demanded (they looked at each other down the long table sending these questions and answers across, each knowing exactly what the other felt)."[25] Woolf clothes their unspoken utterances in text, narrating a long stream of thoughts unbound by quotation marks and supplemented by parenthetical explanation. The silent communication between the Ramsay couple thus operates on an elevated, telepathic level, suspended over the simultaneous activity of the rest of the guests. In spite of the way Mrs. Ramsay remains "aloof" and Mr. Ramsay repeatedly chokes back his feelings, each often tries to intuit what the other is thinking, and thus, for them, marriage is the constant negotiation of such parenthetical absences.

To Lily Briscoe, however, marriage constitutes suspension itself, symbolized by a ball soaring through the air. As Lily looks at Mr. and Mrs.

Ramsay standing in solidarity and thinks to herself, "So that is marriage," she simultaneously tracks the path of a ball that Prue and Jasper are throwing back and forth in a game of catch. The suspension of the ball comes to mirror the very "suspension" of direct communication between husband and wife. Lily encounters a moment of sublime abstract comprehension: "…still, for one moment, there was a sense of things having been blown apart, of space, of irresponsibility as the ball soared high, and they followed it and lost it and saw the one star and the draped branches. In the failing light they all looked sharp-edged and ethereal and divided by great distances. Then, darting backwards over the vast space (for it seemed as if solidity had vanished altogether), Prue ran full tilt into them and caught the ball brilliantly high up in her left hand, and her mother said, 'Haven't they come back yet?' whereupon the spell was broken."[26] The physical motion of the children's ball flying through the air merges with the temporal suspension of Lily Briscoe's moment of intense awareness, which itself illuminates the nature of Mr. and Mrs. Ramsays' marriage.

What Woolf might call a "moment of being" merely illustrates the larger symbolic function of the parenthesis in *To the Lighthouse*: in a sense, all time is represented in suspensions and continuations, and all parenthetical asides come to reflect the surreal ways in which people understand human relationships. At one point when Mrs. Ramsay sits silent, "unveiling" each of her guests with her eyes, Woolf says of her, "for the moment, she hung suspended."[27] Syntactic, parenthetical, temporal, and metaphorical suspension combine to articulate silent understanding at points during the long dinner, which serves as a sort of Last Supper for the Ramsay couple, their children, and the guests they have brought together. The dinner provides necessary narrative closure before the inexorable passage of time causes people to die and children to grow up. Thus Mrs. Ramsay recognizes, amidst the buzz of human activity, "the still space that lies about the heart of things, where one could move or rest"; she contemplates silence and stillness for so long that the reader becomes absorbed into her private world, partaking in her intensely personal and yet somehow universally shared moment of transcendent lucidity. Woolf explains:

> Nothing need be said; nothing could be said. There it was, all around them. It partook, she felt, carefully helping Mr. Bankes to a specially tender piece, of eternity; as she had already felt about something different once before that afternoon; there is

> a coherence in things, a stability; something, she meant, is immune from change, and shines out (she glanced at the window with its ripple of reflected lights) in the face of the flowing, the fleeting, the spectral, like a ruby; so that again tonight she had the feeling she had had once today, already, of peace, of rest. Of such moments, she thought, the thing is made that endures.[28]

Through commas and semicolons, connected constituents, and the syntactic complexity of the longest sentence, Woolf's language and punctuation come to represent connection as they describe connection. Meanwhile, the parenthetical narration of Mrs. Ramsay's gaze intrudes upon and yet reinforces her epiphany. Towards the end of the supper Mrs. Ramsay feels increasingly outside of the stream of time—she sees the present moving relentlessly into the past even as she tries to hold onto time and preserve the youth of her children: "With her foot on the threshold she waited a moment longer in a scene which was vanishing even as she looked, and then, as she moved and took Minta's arm and left the room, it changed, it shaped itself differently; it had become, she knew, giving one last look at it over her shoulder, already the past."[29] Ironically, Mrs. Ramsay's elevated feeling of wholeness or completeness, of having "partook of eternity," is not only psychologically simultaneous with this sense of dissociation from linear time, but is in fact derived from it. Most of her inner thoughts operate at the altitude of narrative omniscience, where she can speculate about the future and see that "Rose would grow up; and Rose would suffer."[30] Her periodic detachment can be thought of as a parenthesis in time: "She had a sense of being past everything, through everything, out of everything, as she helped the soup, as if there was an eddy—there—and one could be in it, or one could be out of it, and she was out of it."[31] If time is a river, Mrs. Ramsay dwells in an "eddy" as she directs Charles Tansley to his seat at the dinner table; in a way, the entire narration of her inner consciousness is a parenthetical voice—one that interrupts, and assumes authority over, the traditionally objective perspective of the author-narrator.

The contemplative subjectivity of "The Window" disappears in "Time Passes," which uses parenthetical notation to create a very different literary effect. While "The Window" stretches the events of a single day into 124 pages of text, using parenthetical interruptions to elongate individual moments, "Time Passes" in turn collapses ten years into 18 pages. The Ramsays and

their guests leave the island, time moves forward relentlessly, seasons change and alternate, and the house decays. Abandoned objects come to illustrate the absence of their previous owners: "What people had shed and left—a pair of shoes, a shooting cap, some faded skirts and coats in wardrobes—those alone kept the human shape and in the emptiness indicated how once they were filled and animated; how once hands were busy with hooks and buttons; how once the looking-glass had held a face; had held a world hollowed out in which a figure turned, a hand flashed, the door opened, in came children rushing and tumbling; and went out again." Woolf ceases to interweave the inner voices of her characters and speaks instead as a detached observer, tersely narrating the continuous change of an environment devoid of human activity. Her technique of using parentheses to mark external events in "The Window" anticipates her technique, here, of using square brackets to contain all major plot events and character changes.[32]

Brackets are a salient angular innovation upon traditional parenthetical marks, and occur so rarely in literature that they jar the reader, and intrude almost violently upon the text. They require the label that scholar Richard Pearce applies to regular parentheses: "the typography calling attention to itself and undermining the realistic illusion that depends on the transparency of the print."[33] It seems disturbing that Mrs. Ramsay, the central figure of "The Window," dies unexpectedly at the end of Chapter 3 in a surreal summary enclosed by brackets: "[Mr. Ramsay, stumbling along a passage one dark morning, stretched his arms out, but Mrs. Ramsay having died rather suddenly the night before, his arms, though stretched out, remained empty.]" Her death is doubly an aside: not only is it marked by parentheses, but the statement "Mrs. Ramsay having died rather suddenly the night before" is an embedded clause within a larger sentence about Mr. Ramsay. Prue and Andrew Ramsay, embodiments of youthful promise in "The Window," also die in "Time Passes." The narrator says, emotionlessly, "[Prue Ramsay died that summer in some illness connected with childbirth, which was indeed a tragedy, people said, everything, they said, had promised so well]." Woolf collapses all the trauma of World War I into a few sentences, in which Andrew's death is also mentioned as an aside: "[A shell exploded. Twenty or thirty young men were blown up in France, among them Andrew Ramsay, whose death, mercifully, was instantaneous.]" Broad social trends are also trivialized. The narrator explains how the Great War witnesses changes in public taste by saying that "[Mr. Carmichael brought out a volume of poems

that spring, which had an unexpected success. The war, people said, had revived their interest in poetry.]" Like their deteriorating house, Andrew, Prue, and Mrs. Ramsay become icons of death, decay, and impermanence in "Time Passes." In a similar fashion, Mr. Carmichael's new book of poetry demonstrates the transience of trends in popular literature. All four events are crushingly realistic: in contrast to Mrs. Ramsay, who feels "outside the stream of time" at the end of "The Window" and contemplates personal peace and transcendence, these events happen here within linear time, and deal with the harsh facts of life. They are more allied with the pessimistic, factual philosophies of Mr. Ramsay, who prophesies anxiously and correctly that his books, his academic fame, and all of human civilization will eventually pass away. As square brackets are conventionally used by editors, not authors, to supply extra words that are *not* in a text, it proceeds that these bracketed statements not only point to an authorially self-conscious, "edited" text, but also to linguistic transience and absence.

Richard Pearce argues convincingly in *The Politics of Narration* that "Time Passes" makes the literal center of the book into a "hole" that interrupts the characters' journey to the lighthouse. "The death of Mrs. Ramsay, the death of her daughter in childbirth, a world war, a change in fortune and public taste are evoked not as events but as absences, as holes in a chapter that while itself parenthetical is the most powerful chapter Virginia Woolf ever wrote."[34] Sandwiched between two longer, slower, and more interior-psychological sections, "Time Passes" is indeed a parenthesis that interrupts and divides the longer narrative while it connects "The Window" and "The Lighthouse" to each other over an intervening period of ten years. As World War I can also be seen as a kind of historical intrusion that "punctuated" the experience of Europe, Woolf aptly expresses the trauma of war with techniques of narrative fragmentation and bracketed accounts of death and decay. In the last chapter of "Time Passes," the narrative violence of Woolf's middle section begins to recede and she returns to an abundant use of regular parentheses, as opposed to square brackets. Her objective description of how "messages of peace breathed from the sea to the shore" continues to subordinate characters and events as narrative asides: "(the house was full again; Mrs. Beckwith was staying there, also Mr. Carmichael)" and, "Gently the waves would break (Lily heard them in her sleep); tenderly the light fell (it seemed to come through her eyelids)."[35] However, this technique of mentioning principal events as asides gradually fades away, like the dark night, and the

last section of the novel, "The Lighthouse," goes on to repair the ravages wrought by time and war in "Time Passes." Lily, Mr. Carmichael, Mr. Ramsay, and some of the Ramsay children return to the tranquil island; the characters' mental processes return to prominence, and a small group finally embarks on the journey to the lighthouse. Lily resumes work on her unfinished painting, comes to terms with Mrs. Ramsay's death, and resolves her old sense of conflicted idolatry towards Mrs. Ramsay. While painting, Lily self-consciously evaluates her longing for the older woman: "And now slowly the pain of the want, and the bitter anger (to be called back, just as she thought she would never feel sorrow for Mrs. Ramsay again. Had she missed her among the coffee cups at breakfast? not in the least) lessened; and of their anguish left, as antidote, a relief that was balm in itself…."[36] Woolf now uses parentheses to enclose the memories of individual characters and to facilitate temporal jumping in her narration. Remembering how Mrs. Ramsay used to negotiate marriages, and remembering the figure of Paul Rayley, Lily finds herself transported back to the time and place of Paul and Minta's courtship: "(Suddenly, as suddenly as a star slides in the sky, a reddish light seemed to burn in her mind, covering Paul Rayley, issuing from him. It rose like a fire sent up in token of some celebration by savages of a distant beach. She heard the roar and the crackle. The whole sea for miles round ran red and gold. Some winey smell mixed with it and intoxicated her, for she felt again her own headlong desire to throw herself off the cliff and be drowned looking for a pearl brooch on a beach…)."[37] In this way, parentheses become the ultimate connective device that link the present to the past.

If parenthesis operates as a metaphor for space, suspension, and interruption throughout *To the Lighthouse*, the final section of the book could be said to fill in the absences—to redeem the notion of dissatisfying relationships and communicative failure. The glimmers of transcendent understanding that affect Mrs. Ramsay in "The Window" now enter into Lily's "moment of being" as well. Silences used to be trivialized pauses, as in Lily's unexpressed mental commentary, the suspensions of speech between Mr. and Mrs. Ramsay, and the conversationally awkward moments at the Ramsay dinner table; now, however, silences have eloquent expressive capacities of their own. Ironically, Lily comes into this realization by imaginatively constructing a false present in which Mrs. Ramsay, still alive, is advising her on her painting:

> Mrs. Ramsay sat silent. She was glad, Lily thought, to rest in silence, uncommunicative; to rest in the extreme obscurity of human relationships. Who knows what we are, what we feel? Who knows even at the moment of intimacy, This is knowledge? Aren't things spoilt then, Mrs. Ramsay may have asked (it seemed to have happened so often, this silence by her side) by saying them? Aren't we more expressive thus? The moment at least seemed extraordinarily fertile. She rammed a little hold in the sand and covered it up, by way of burying in it the perfection of the moment. It was like a drop of silver in which one dipped and illumined the darkness of the past.[38]

Woolf here pulls together her various tropes and images of art, communication, internal speech, memory, and the past to articulate a theory of absence as presence. It seems appropriate that, at the end, Lily feels connected to Mr. Carmichael despite their lack of verbal exchange: "The lawn was the world; they were up here together, on this exalted station, she thought, looking at old Mr. Carmichael, who seemed (thought they had not said a word all this time) to share her thoughts."[39] The silence enclosed by parentheses becomes the powerful bridge that links two separate and isolated human minds.

Broadly speaking, parenthetical asides are the principal locus of meaning in this book, because far from being actual asides, they signify crucial points about characters' relationships to each other and about their self-conscious dialogues with themselves. It is clear that punctuation marks in *To the Lighthouse* modulate the cadence of Woolf's narrative voice; of these, parentheses and brackets not only modulate the flow of time, but also control the course of events and the subjective realities of individual characters. One could say, perhaps, for a text in which punctuation is so uniquely linked to psychological representation, that the speech act itself ceases to depend on the verbal utterance: people communicate in glances and hunches, using their social intuition, and grasp concepts not through language but through personal epiphanies. Indeed, within a set of parentheses, language seems to escape authorial control: Woolf develops a narrative strategy of self-interruption in which parenthetical statements intrude upon the text and introduce a plurality of digressive voices, mirroring the ways in which Mr. and Mrs. Ramsay and Lily Briscoe silence themselves, move from external observation to internal explanation, or participate in past, present, and

eternity all at once. Ultimately, true communication defies control. Even as parentheses point to fragmented perspectives and communicative distances, *To the Lighthouse* radically and paradoxically redefines interruption as a contemplative space: a gap in a narrative, sentence, or conversational exchange; a place where silence is meaningful and memory transcends the impermanence of human life.

Acknowledgments
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Notes

[1] Virginia Woolf. *To the Lighthouse.* (New York: Harvest, 1927).

[2] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. Oxford University Press: 2003. <http://www.oed.com>

[3] Woolf, 60.

[4] Woolf, 66.

[5] Woolf, 128.

[6] Woolf, 183.

[7] Vicki Mahaffey. Class discussion, March 2003.

[8] Woolf, 83.

[9] Woolf, 85.

[10] Woolf, 116.

[11] Ruby Cohen. "Art in the Lighthouse." *Virginia Woolf: A Collection of Criticism.* Ed. Thomas S. W. Lewis. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975).

[12] *Oxford*.

[13] Woolf, 49, 22, 104.

[14] Woolf, 105, 141.

[15] John Lennard, *But I Digress: Exploitation of Parentheses in English Printed Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). 6.

[16] Woolf, 75.

[17] Woolf, 78.

[18] Woolf, 94.

[19] Woolf, 91, 83.

[20] Woolf, 60.

[21] Woolf, 24.

[22] Woolf, 49.

[23] Woolf, 35.

[24] Woolf, 110.

[25] Woolf, 96.

[26] Woolf, 73.

[27] Woolf, 107.

[28] Woolf, 105.

[29] Woolf, 111.

[30] Woolf, 81.

[31] Woolf, 83.

[32] Woolf, 129.

[33] Richard Pearce, *The Politics of Narration: James Joyce, William Faulkner, and Virginia Woolf* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991). 148.

[34] Pearce, 139.

[35] Woolf, 142.

[36]Woolf, 181.

[37] Woolf, 175.

[38] Woolf, 172.

[39] Woolf, 194.

Jennifer Burgess

La literatura postdictatorial de Chile y Argentina: Carlson, Timerman, Traba y Strejilevich

Edwin B. Williams Prize in Spanish (Romance Languages)

The military dictatorship of Pinochet in Chile (1973-1990) and the military regime in Argentina (1976-1983) were marked by widespread repression, abuses of human rights, and torture that created the phenomenon of the *desaparecidos*, or disappeared persons. *La literatura postdictatorial de Chile y Argentina: Carlson, Timerman, Traba y Strejilevich* analyses the various genres that have been produced in both countries as a response to this phenomenon. Works penned by survivors of torture camps, such as Timerman and Strejilevich, are constrained by the memories that haunt their authors. Fictional works by those who did not experience the torture firsthand, such as Traba's, lack the same impact but allow their authors more freedom to confront the subject. Collections of interviews such as Carlson's maintain an objective distance in order to convey the sense that they are representing historical events. Nevertheless, all postdictatorial textual modalities are necessary collectively to preserve the memory of those whom the dictatorships attempted to make disappear. The following is a selection from a longer work.

Introducción

Durante los años setenta en la Argentina y Chile, las fuerzas militares de ambos países se sublevaron, imponiendo una política de terror y tortura al pueblo argentino y chileno. Los designados como "subversivos" fueron

eliminados por el secuestro, la detención o el asesinato. Este método represivo creó el fenómeno de los desaparecidos—las personas que el gobierno simplemente hizo desaparecer del mundo por el encarcelamiento o por el asesinato. Indignados por los abusos sin precedentes de los derechos humanos, muchos de los sobrevivientes de la tortura igual que los observadores en otros países latinoamericanos o extranjeros sintieron la necesidad de denunciar las dictaduras y sus prácticas mediante la literatura. En la época de las postdictaduras, la literatura sobre los desaparecidos ha florecido, reclamando así el espacio y la voz de esa gente que las dictaduras trataron de destruir.

La historia argentina

En Argentina, "entre 1930 y 1976 hubo nueve golpes militares apoyados por los ciudadanos" (la traducción es mía).[1] Esta frase destaca la vacilación rápida entre los gobiernos "elegidos"—aunque esas elecciones no siempre fueron libres, o sea, muchas veces fueron amañadas—y los gobiernos militares que caracterizaron a la Argentina durante la época anterior a la dictadura de 1976-1983.

El 24 de marzo de 1976, el golpe vino con el derrocamiento de Isabel, la viuda del general Juan Domingo Perón. Una ciudadana argentina, Elsa comentó sobre el golpe: "Me llamó la atención que todo el mundo hablaba del golpe, un golpe que estaba previsto…pero no había inquietud en la gente; al contrario, había alegría en la mayoría por ese golpe."[2]

La primera junta militar consistió en el Presidente de hecho Jorge Rafael Videla, el jefe del ejército; el Almirante Emilio E. Massera, el jefe de la marina y el General de Brigada Orlando R. Agosti, jefe de las fuerzas aéreas. La actitud de los argentinos con respecto al golpe fue demostrada claramente por Jorge Luis Borges, que dijo, "Ahora caballeros nos gobiernan," frase que creó el apodo "The Gentlemen's Coup" (la traducción es mía).[3] Además, editoriales de felicitación aparecieron en los diarios internacionales (la traducción es mía).[4]

Videla anunció al país su plan llamado el "Proceso para la Reorganización Nacional," pero ya había descrito el plan cuando dijo en octubre de 1975: "Si es preciso en la Argentina, deberán morir todas las personas necesarias para lograr la seguridad del país."[5] En cuanto a la batalla declarada contra los subversivos por la junta, Emilio Mignone sugiere:

> There was a famous *comunicado (communiqué)* from the head of the Armed Forces, who was Videla, commander in chief in 1975…saying that the armed ability of the subversion had been exterminated: it was over. I believe that he was telling the truth. Everything that was done afterwards was to exterminate those that they considered the infrastructure of the subversion, those who weren't guerrillas themselves or combatants. Rather, they were student activists, activists in high school, activists in factories, intellectuals.[6]

Feitlowitz explica con mayor profundidad la verdadera capacidad de los grupos izquierdistas armados:

> At their height in 1974-75, these leftist groups totaled no more than 2000 individuals, of whom only 400 had access to arms. Both before and after the coup, the government grossly exaggerated the strength of the insurgent forces.[7]

A pesar de los indicios que los guerrilleros y los subversivos ya habían sido diminuidos, la nueva junta continuó con sus planes. En plena dictadura, operaron cientos de campos de detención donde los denominados subversivos fueron concentrados. "According to a judicial source who spoke to the underground press on condition of anonymity, by September 1976, the Process was conducting an average of 30 kidnappings a day; the whereabouts of only 1 percent of these victims had been verified: 'The other 99 percent,' he said, 'had to be given up for dead.'" [8] Había empezado una etapa muy oscura de temor, secuestros y desaparecidos en la historia de la Argentina que recibiría el nombre de "la guerra sucia."

Cuatro juntas con tres oficiales de las fuerzas armadas—del ejército, las fuerzas aéreas y la marina—encabezaron el régimen. En 1981, el General del ejército Roberto Viola asumió la presidencia. Después, el General Leopoldo Galtieri llegó al poder durante el mismo año y fue reemplazado por el General Reynaldo Bignone, cuyo trabajo fue terminar el Proceso, en 1982.

El 10 de diciembre de 1982, el doctor Raúl Alfonsín fue elegido presidente con su eslogan Democracy or Anti-Democracy. Como presidente, sabiendo la necesidad de curar las heridas abiertas del país, Alfonsín dio el primer paso para concretar los hechos que ocurrieron durante las juntas. Con este propósito, Alfonsín nombró la Comisión Nacional para los Desaparecidos (CONADEP) para acumular los testimonios de las víctimas y los familiares de las víctimas del régimen. Como Alfonsín solamente le dio seis meses a la Comisión para este trabajo, tuvo que extender la fecha límite. Después de doce

meses, CONADEP había registrado 8.960 desaparecidos y había publicado su informe en el libro Nunca más en 1984.[9]

Segundo, Alfonsín declaró que iban a enjuiciar a los comandantes de las primeras tres juntas. Aunque el Tribunal Supremo de las fuerzas armadas rechazó juzgar a los comandantes, Alfonsín siguió con su objetivo original. Los juicios se iniciaron el 22 de abril de 1985. Massera y Videla fueron condenados a prisión perpetua, el castigo más duro en la Argentina.

El 14 de febrero de 1984 en un intento de "restablecer la democracia…y proteger su futuro," Alfonsín formuló una ley llamada de "Obediencia Debida,"

> which allowed lower-ranking personnel to claim that they had merely been 'following orders.' Excepted were 'atrocious' or 'aberrant' actions; although torture, rape, murder, and robbery were covered under these headings, kidnapping—which facilitated the other abuses—was not (la traducción es mía).[10]

El 16 de diciembre de 1986, Alfonsín creó una fecha llamada "Punto Final"—el 23 de febrero de 1987—para los juicios. El último golpe a los recursos legales llegó durante la presidencia de Menem. Después de tanto trabajo para procesar a los comandantes de las juntas, el presidente les dio un indulto ejecutivo en octubre de 1990 para que ellos pudieran ser liberados y regresaran a sus casas para la Navidad.[xi]

La historia chilena[12]

En 1970, Salvador Allende Gossens,[13] el candidato del partido Unidad Popular, ganó las elecciones presidenciales en Chile. Los socialistas, los comunistas, los radicales y algunos miembros de los Demócratas Cristianos compusieron la Unidad Popular. Durante su presidencia, Allende Gossens trató de dirigir el país según los principios socialistas, pero con una forma de gobierno democrática.

Además de ser parte del bloque socialista, un hecho que le calificó como un enemigo de los Estados Unidos, que estaban en el apogeo de su posición anticomunista, Allende Gossens expropió las minas de cobre en el norte de Chile sin dar compensación a sus dueños estadounidenses. Imprimió dinero para abolir el déficit y autorizó aumentos de sueldo para reducir la disparidad entre los ingresos de los ricos y los pobres. Sufriendo la inflación, la falta de comida y sin el apoyo de la comunidad internacional, Allende Gossens recibió la ayuda de China y de Cuba—otro error desde el punto de vista estadounidense.

El 11 de septiembre de 1973, el palacio presidencial La Moneda fue atacado por una junta militar encabezada por el General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte,[14] apoyado fuertemente por las agencias de inteligencia de los Estados Unidos, aunque el papel de los Estados Unidos en el golpe solamente emergió muchos años después. Las autoridades de los Estados Unidos querían imponer un fin a la expansión del socialismo y el comunismo en la América del Sur. En este ataque con tanques, el cuerpo sin vida de Allende Gossens fue sacado del palacio. Había concluido una época de paz en Chile.

Al ocurrir el golpe de estado, el Congreso Nacional fue abolido y los partidos políticos fueron declarados ilegales. En junio de 1974, Pinochet Ugarte asumió la presidencia de Chile y fijó un papel consultivo para el resto de la junta. Aunque la inflación y los problemas económicos remitieron, Pinochet empleó prácticas como los secuestros, los campos de detención y las matanzas que se usarían más tarde en la Argentina. A diferencia de la Argentina, Chile no tenía una tradición de golpes militares ni de abusos de los derechos humanos. Chile era un país con una tradición democrática bien establecida. Aunque era socialista, Allende Gossens había mantenido esa traducción democrática.

Bajo la ley marcial que existió en Chile durante los cuatro años que siguieron al golpe, la Dirección Nacional de Inteligencia (DINA) funcionó como el organismo principal para los allanamientos y la tortura clandestina. Entre otros lugares, el Estadio Nacional—usado hoy para partidos de fútbol y conciertos—sirvió como lugar de detención. En 1975, el jefe de la DINA, Manuel Contreras, organizó una reunión con los jefes de inteligencia militar de la Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay y Brasil. Titulada Operación Cóndor—como el pájaro de los Andes—el acuerdo que nació durante esta reunión creó una red entre los gobiernos militares que sirvió para la persecución de los enemigos de esas dictaduras militares que buscaron albergue en otros países.[15]

Cuando Pinochet Ugarte mató a Orlando Letelier, un oficial del gobierno de Allende Gossens que vivía en los Estados Unidos, el acto le costó el apoyo de los Estados Unidos. En la opinión estadounidense, la extensión de la violencia hasta el territorio estadounidense no era aceptable; los escuadrones de la muerte de la dictadura no podían operar en los Estados Unidos. Pinochet Ugarte no sólo restringió la eliminación de sus enemigos a los que vivían en Chile sino que su terror se extendió a los chilenos en el exilio. Letelier había propagado su mensaje contra la dictadura por Europa, pidiendo la imposición

de sanciones económicas contra Chile. Por eso, el 21 de septiembre de 1976, Letelier y una compañera de trabajo fueron matados por un coche-bomba.

En 1981, Pinochet Ugarte introdujo una nueva constitución que remplazó la constitución existente desde 1925. Entre los cambios, la constitución de 1981 nombraba a Pinochet como presidente hasta 1990. Además, la constitución dictaba que Pinochet Ugarte serviría un mandato de ocho años, momento en el que un candidato presidencial sería nominado por la junta y, que si era aprobado en un plebiscito nacional, sería presidente hasta 1997. En 1988, con la ayuda de una campaña para el "no," los chilenos rechazaron a Pinochet Ugarte con un voto de 55% contra el dictador. En diciembre de 1989, una elección libre reemplazó a Pinochet Ugarte, cuya dictadura duró desde 1973 hasta 1990.

Aunque fue detenido en Inglaterra a petición de España, y acusado de la tortura de ciudadanos españoles durante su dictadura, Pinochet Ugarte finalmente fue juzgado incapaz y vive hoy en Chile.

Hoy al lado de La Moneda una escultura de Allende Gossens monta guardia sobre la plaza. El hermoso cementerio de Santiago de Chile—como muchos cementerios argentinos y chilenos—tiene una sección dedicada a las tumbas marcadas con las letras NN para designar un muerto anónimo. La fecha reveladora en las cruces negras anuncia el año 1973, señalando así otra víctima de la dictadura.

La producción literaria

Desde este sitio de historia traumática se han producido algunas obras de literatura que se enfocan en la desaparición de un ser querido, la búsqueda de un bebé nacido en cautiverio, los vuelos o que no tocan directamente el tema de la dictadura sino que lo construyen mediante el simbolismo. A través la de literatura se intenta salvar la memoria escurridiza de este momento chileno y argentino.

Con su larga historia de privación de los derechos humanos y de violencia por parte de la policía y el ejército, la Argentina quizás estaba mejor preparada para convertir su experiencia personal y dolorosa en literatura—en el sentido de que varios de los argentinos ya habían desarrollado una manera de procesar lo que experimentaban. En Chile, el choque psicológico causado por el golpe de estado y el trauma que lo siguió no tenía precedente en la historia reciente. Como explica Caruth en Trauma: Explorations in Memory:

The trauma is the confrontation with an event that, in its

> unexpectedness or horror, cannot be placed within the schemes of prior knowledge—that cannot, as George Bataille says, become a matter of "intelligence"…Not having been fully integrated as it occurred, the event cannot become, as Janet says, a 'narrative memory' that is integrated into a completed story of the past.[16]

Como la historia argentina demuestra, algunos de los argentinos habían experimentado la represión y la tortura antes del golpe de 1976 o por lo menos habían comprendido que estas experiencias pertenecían a su cultura; por eso, ellos tenían acceso a las herramientas necesarias para escribir su historia. Debido en parte a la falta de un esquema basado en el conocimiento previo de la tortura, hasta ahora los chilenos no han podido crear la misma cantidad de obras literarias sobre el tema que los argentinos; pero con el paso de tiempo, es posible que ellos puedan hacer caber su experiencia en un formato psicológico que resulte más fácil de manipular y que lleve a la producción literaria.

Otro componente debe ser considerado: la duración de la dictadura y de la tortura en la Argentina en comparación con la de Chile. En Chile, la dictadura empezó en 1973 pero duró hasta 1990 (diecisiete años), mientras que en la Argentina la dictadura solamente duró desde 1976 hasta 1983 (siete años). Veinte años han pasado desde la dictadura argentina, pero solamente trece años han pasado desde la dictadura chilena, dejando un espacio más largo para la recuperación de los argentinos, un período en el cual la literatura sin censura pudo florecer. Además, aunque nadie puede decir que la tortura en la Argentina era más brutal, la tortura caracterizó la dictadura argentina completamente, mientras que en Chile la tortura generalizada estuvo asociada más definitivamente con el golpe que con la dictadura que lo siguió. Pinochet reprimió a los chilenos, pero la tortura desencadenada acompañó los primeros años del cambio del gobierno, mientras que la detención de los argentinos casi siempre les amenazaba con la violencia y el nivel de tortura se mantuvo durante mucho tiempo.

Desde el principio del golpe, Pinochet se estableció como el nuevo poder dentro de una sociedad democrática y su gobierno no fue desafiado hasta el punto de derribarlo a pesar del hecho de que muchos no estaban de acuerdo con lo que estaba sucediendo. Por otro lado, la junta argentina era un gobierno mucho más frágil en un país menos estable, que siempre tuvo que imponer su fuerza sobre los argentinos. Definiendo a sus enemigos como aquellas personas que habían apoyado los gobiernos anteriores, las dictaduras

de Chile y la Argentina lanzaron un tipo de guerra contra "los subversivos," que Scarry explica así:

> War more often arises where the enemy is external, occupies a separate space, where the impulse to obliterate a rival population and its civilization is not (or need not at first be perceived as) a self-destruction. Torture usually occurs where the enemy is internal and where the destruction of a race and its civilization would be a self-destruction, an obliteration of one's own country.[17]

Esta frase ayuda a entender el enlace entre la tortura y el establecimiento del nuevo poder político en que Scarry profundiza cuando escribe:

> The physical pain [of torture] is so incontestably real that it seems to confer its quality of "incontestable reality" on that power that has brought it into being. It is, of course, precisely because the reality of that power is so highly contestable, the regime so unstable, that torture is being used.[18]
>
> …the absence of pain is a presence of world; the presence of pain is the absence of world. Across this set of inversions pain becomes power.[19]

Estas observaciones de Scarry demuestran que la prolongación del empleo de la tortura durante la dictadura argentina fue una manera de mantener un poder político menos estable que el de la dictadura chilena.

Durante la época antes del golpe, Buenos Aires, con una población más grande que la población total de Chile, servía de centro intelectual y cultural, con el único teatro de ópera de la América del Sur visitado por artistas internacionales, y con una reserva más extensa de escritores potenciales. Además, Buenos Aires tenía fama de ser más europea y cosmopolita que las otras ciudades de América del Sur, lo cual en conjunto con su posición en el Océano Atlántico y tamaño más grande que el de Chile atrajo a más exiliados judíos que Chile durante y después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Esta información es importante porque entre los autores de la literatura sobre la dictadura, un gran número de ellos son judíos. Poniendo el énfasis en servir como testigo, la cultura judía siente aún más que el resto de los argentinos y los chilenos la necesidad de propagar su historia, de atestiguar.

La necesidad de la recuperación de la memoria o conduce al proceso de olvidar o al proceso de rescatar la memoria; pero en la mayoría de los casos, la gente prefiere olvidar. El editor político del Buenos Aires Herald, Uki Goñi

señala que el olvido es lo deseado por los argentinos:

> When the military eventually left and we had a trial against the members of the Junta, lots of people would suddenly say, '*Yo no sabía*,'…and of course it's very hard to believe that. So the pretense carried on even as far as saying that they didn't know years later. At the time, most people turned a blind eye to it, and then, afterward, when it was obvious and it couldn't be ignored, people pretended that they didn't know in the first place. I think that there's general apathy toward the subject.[20]

Según Freud, el olvido es una parte intrínseca del trauma:

> The historical power of the trauma is not just that the experience is repeated after its forgetting, but that it is only in and through its inherent forgetting that it is first experienced at all....Since the traumatic event is not experienced as it occurs, it is fully evident only in connection with another place, and in another time....A history can be grasped only in the very inaccessibility of its occurrence.[21]

Contra este fenómeno del olvido permanente luchan los que escriben, así preservando la memoria y la dignidad para todos. Entre la literatura publicada, hay tanta variedad de estilo como hay escritores en Argentina y Chile. Se pueden dividir los textos producidos en tres grupos generales: hay textos escritos por los sobrevivientes, los exdesaparecidos o los familiares de los desaparecidos; hay textos ficticios escritos por los que no experimentaron la tortura de primera mano, los autores en el exilio o los que no fueron detenidos; finalmente, hay personas en el extranjero que han compilado un tipo de documental con los testimonios de varias personas, o con la investigación histórica.

Conversación al Sur

Miembro de la segunda categoría, la argentina-colombiana Marta Traba salió de la Argentina muchos años antes del golpe de estado para vivir en Colombia con su marido. A pesar de no experimentar la tortura ni la dictadura directamente, ella escribió la novela Conversación al sur para contar al mundo lo que había pasado en su patria. En concordancia con la idea de prevenir la justificación y perpetuación de la violencia, Traba explica su propósito literario e histórico en la dedicatoria de Conversación al sur con la frase: "A Gustavo y Elba, para no olvidar."[22]

En su novela, Traba presenta a dos mujeres ficticias, Irene y Dolores, que

conversan y crean con sus diálogos una dicotomía entre el cuerpo torturado y el cuerpo sano, la sociedad y los desaparecidos, el espacio privado y el espacio público, y la generación mayor y la generación de los jóvenes—este último el grupo perseguido con más frecuencia que cualquier otro. La presencia de tantas dicotomías refleja el proceso psicológico que el sujeto torturado experimenta. Como explica el autor Robert Jay Lifton, quien documentó las atrocidades en Hiroshima:

> So one is inwardly or unconsciously struggling with how to cohere and how to absorb and in some measure confront what one has had thrust upon one, what one has been exposed to. And that's what trauma is all about…That is, extreme trauma creates a second self.[23]

Lifton introduce la idea de que una escisión, una ruptura se desarrolla en la persona torturada entre la persona que experimenta la tortura y la persona que la sobrevive. La persona torturada tiene que separarse del momento doloroso para poder sobrevivir. Apoyando esta sugerencia, L.L. Langer comenta sobre un sobreviviente del holocausto, señalando la brecha entre su existencia en los campos de concentración y su vida actual:

> It [his holocaust experience] can…never be joined to the world he inhabits now. This suggests a permanent duality, not exactly a split or a doubling but a parallel existence. He switches from one to the other without synchronization because he is reporting not a *sequence* but a *simultaneity*.[24]

Tal como la persona torturada crea dos realidades paralelas, la novela se divide en múltiples dualidades.

En Conversación al sur, el ejército tuvo presa a Dolores, quien demuestra en esta novela los efectos deshumanizantes de la tortura. En el centro de detención, sus torturadores le causaron abortar su embarazo y mataron a su esposo Enrique. Por otro lado, Irene, una actriz argentina, representa un cuerpo más o menos sano.

Mientras Irene y Dolores conversan, Dolores empieza a hablar de la tortura que siempre está presente en su mente.

> De pronto se puso a clasificar las torturas como si hablara de especies vegetales…Mientras fumamos un cigarrillo o tomamos un café es posible comentar que a alguien le han hecho tragar sus excrementos o beber su orina…lo importante es sobrevivir y cuando eso te pasa, ya no sos el mismo, ¿viste?…Debía ser así para que, tirada boca arriba, desnuda y pateada hasta que se desmayó, en el

> sexto mes de su embarazo, se considere una favorecida por la suerte puesto que está aquí, ahora, charlando conmigo de la desdicha de los otros.[25]

Insensible a la tortura después de haberla sentido durante tanto tiempo, Dolores puede nombrar la tortura como si "hablara de especies vegetales."

Privar los objetos de todo sentido era una meta de los torturadores. Como explica Scarry:

> The room, both in its structure and its content, is converted into a weapon, deconverted, undone. Made to participate in the annihilation of the prisoners, made to demonstrate that everything is a weapon, the objects themselves, and with them the fact of civilization, are annihilated: there is no wall, no window, no door, no bathtub….[26]

Desde este punto de vista, es natural que Dolores hable de la tortura como de vegetales porque todos los objetos han perdido su sentido: todo contiene un elemento de tortura.

Como los objetos que han perdido su sentido, la mujer que era Dolores ha sido despojada de su propio nombre y de lo que este nombre representa: su identidad. Aunque Dolores es su nombre, a la misma vez es un sinónimo para 'heridos' y un vínculo con su tortura. En el centro de detención, los torturadores le fijaron un número a Dolores y le devolvieron un nombre irreconocible cuando la dejaron en libertad. Ahora, el nombre Dolores no sólo identifica a la mujer sino que representa algo más; éste no vuelve a tener el mismo significado, perpetuando así la tortura que ella sufrió.

Esta pérdida de su nombre refleja también su caída de la civilización porque el nombre es su marca identificadora en la sociedad y un indicio de su humanidad. Scarry demuestra este proceso de romper los enlaces con la civilización y con los objetos conocidos:

> In all these cases the designation of an intensely painful form of bodily contortion with a word usually reserved for an instance of civilization produces a circle of negation: there is no human being in excruciating pain; that's only a telephone; there is no telephone; that is merely a means of destroying a human being who is not a human being, who is only a telephone….[27]

Como el teléfono que deja de ser un teléfono, Dolores deja de ser Dolores.

Por usar el baño con frecuencia, Dolores revela que la tortura la dejó con problemas intestinales. Además de este signo físico de la tortura que permanece en su vida, la reacción de Dolores en comparación con la de Irene

al oír el timbre destaca claramente que hay una línea infranqueable entre Dolores e Irene. Aunque el hijo y la nuera de Irene desaparecieron en Chile sin tener contacto con ella, Irene no comprende lo que significa ser torturado como Dolores lo comprende.

Cuando el timbre suena en la casa de Irene, ella quiere abrir la puerta, pero Dolores le ruega que no la abra si no espera a nadie. Entonces, Irene "le alzó la cabeza [a Dolores] para hacerla entrar en razón y vio algo que nunca había visto. El miedo arrasando un rostro." Después de la partida del hombre que tocó el timbre, Irene dice, "Ahora nos queda la duda de quién podría ser." A la cual, Dolores responde, "Puede ser que no se tratara de nada malo, ¿viste? Pero ¿qué puedo hacer? Es más fuerte que yo. Me quedan todos los reflejos del pavor." [28]

Los desparecidos viven con la memoria opresiva de lo que les pasó. Los pensamientos de Dolores siempre regresan a la tortura: "¿O esta vez la picana? ¿Y cuántas veces se había hecho furiosamente el propósito de no pensar? ¿No había modo de escapar del infierno de la memoria?"[29] Como Freud y otros psicoanalistas han postulado, el acontecimiento traumático regresa en la forma de escenas retrospectivas como ésta. Los psicólogos Van der Kolk y van der Hart formulan:

> Thus, in contrast to narrative memory, which is a social act, traumatic memory is inflexible and invariable. Traumatic memory has no social component; it is not addressed to anybody, the patient does not respond to anybody; it is a solitary activity.[30]

Dolores demuestra la soledad y el abandono que siente como una exdesaparecida cuando pregunta a Irene,

> ¿Por qué te crees que ya la gente ni te mira cuando se cruza en la calle? Si un amigo te ve cuando subís al ómnibus mete la cabeza en el diario como si hubiera aparecido el diablo y se baja en la parada siguiente, no vaya a ser que le digas "chau" y el saludo le cueste el pellejo.[31]

La sociedad evita a los desaparecidos como si hubiera el peligro de contraer la plaga de ellos.

Otra tremenda diferencia entre la sociedad y los desaparecidos es su comprensión de la realidad. Mientras que Dolores no se engaña sobre su experiencia y ni sobre el peligro que todavía la amenaza, Irene vive en un mundo de autoengaño. Cuando comenta sobre la situación en Chile, Irene declara, "Yo oí solamente noticias sobre el Estadio, donde están metiendo a

medio mundo....Tarde o temprano tendrán que soltarlos."[32] Es importante señalar que Irene es bien informada y concienzuda en comparación con mucha gente. Cuando son confrontados con los hechos de la tortura en la Argentina, mucha gente siguió diciendo: "No sabía."

Hasta que Irene también sufra la tortura, ella no podrá estar al mismo nivel psicológico que Dolores. Irene misma reconoce esta distinción entre ella y Dolores cuando dice:

> Me da vergüenza decírtelo porque parece una bravuconada; pero no sé lo que es el miedo, no sé cómo es....Estoy como rodeada, empapada del horror de no saber nada del muchacho. ¿Será eso el miedo? Sabía que mi nombre estaba prohibido en Buenos Aires, y no tuve miedo de volver…
>
> No lo sé. Lo que sé es que no se siente miedo mientras uno crea que hay ciertas cosas que no pueden pasarle. Te enterás que matan a los otros, que los torturan, que los hacen pedazos; pero pensás que no es con vos. El miedo empieza cuando la cosa te alcanza directamente y te das cuenta de que no, que no estabas a salvo.[33]

Negando la seguridad del espacio privado, la dictadura destruyó este sentido de estar a salvo aun dentro de la casa. Según Nunca más, un 62 por ciento de los secuestros ocurrieron dentro del domicilio. Conversación al sur recrea esta situación al final del libro, cuando la casa de Irene se convierte en una prisión, donde el ejército detiene a Dolores e Irene.[34]

El útero de Dolores también deja de ser un espacio privado, pues los torturadores lo controlan. Ni siquiera la mente de Dolores le pertenece. En su artículo "Conversación al sur: novela para no olvidar," María Sola destaca que Dolores no tiene control sobre sus propios pensamientos. Por un lado, Dolores quiere olvidar; pero por el otro, no puede hacerlo. Sola escribe lo siguiente sobre Dolores:

> Pues de su férrea disciplina le resta apenas conciencia para obligarse a recordar. La ironía de su peculiar situación resalta en una de sus reflexiones: "Ahora vivía tratando, al tiempo, de olvidar y de vengarme, lo cual era imposible, porque para vengarme no podía olvidar."[35]

La opción de olvidar no es accesible a Dolores. El trauma que la dictadura le infligió nunca termina de resonar en su cerebro.

Gisela Norat afirma que Irene pierde el espacio privado de su casa cuando deja entrar a Dolores:

> As soon as Irene allows Dolores to cross her threshold, she "exposes" herself to the consequences of associating with a persona non grata. Symbolically, Irene is admitting the political reality into the private domain of her home.[36]

Como sugiere Parizad Dejbord, la casa simboliza la patria que también deja de ser un espacio protector.[37] Según Dejbord, mediante la yuxtaposición, las novelas de Traba

> se erigen como construcciones que conscientemente proponen inquietar al lector mediante la problematización y el cuestionamiento de todo aquello que se toma por sentado en una sociedad "civilizada": la seguridad física, personal y familiar junto a la justicia civil y legal. Asimismo, sus textos apuestan a la destrucción de dicotomías: lo privado/lo público; la patria/el enemigo; el adentro/el afuera.[38]

La novela utiliza estas dicotomías—lo público/lo privado y la patria/el enemigo—y las destruye para reflejar la realidad—una realidad en la que la dictadura destruía estas dicotomías.

Aunque la dictadura anuló la distinción entre lo privado/lo público y la patria/el enemigo, como ya he mencionado, la tortura creó una ruptura entre el cuerpo torturado y el cuerpo sano y separó a los desparecidos de la sociedad. Mediante su persecución casi exclusiva de los jóvenes (82 por ciento de los detenidos tenían menos de 30 años según las cifras de La Plata de Argentina), la dictadura solidificó una división más: entre la generación mayor y la generación de los jóvenes.[39]

Como sugiere Sola, lo que unifica tanto a los viejos como a los jóvenes, lo que destroza esta dicotomía, es el sufrimiento.[40] Sin tomar en cuenta la edad o la clase de sus víctimas, la dictadura hería a todos por igual.

Nora Strejilevich y Jacobo Timerman

En su artículo "Rewriting Fictions of Power: The Texts of Luisa Valenzuela and Marta Traba," Emily Tomlinson provee una idea que vincula toda la literatura generada por la dictadura, incluyendo las ficciones como Conversación al sur y la literatura testimonial de Nora Strejilevich y Jacobo Timerman:

> The novel itself takes on and expands the capacity for worldly self-extension that is denied the marginal consciousness under torture; in so doing, it attempts to ensure that the interpretation of pain, the one incontestable 'presence' or 'certainty' available to that consciousness, can no longer be solely the certainty of power.[41]

La literatura reclama el espacio perdido durante la dictadura, reclama la palabra y todo el poder que ésta conlleva.

Aunque los autores que han experimentado la tortura y los que no la han experimentado tienen el mismo propósito de rescatar la memoria, reclamar el lugar de los torturados en la humanidad y prevenir la continuación del poder ilegítimo, hay una diferencia innegable entre ellos. Robert Jay Lifton, que no fue víctima del holocausto, escribió un libro sobre los médicos nazis. Refiriéndose a una conversación con el autor y sobreviviente del holocausto Elie Wiesel, Lifton dice:

> What he [Elie Wiesel] was saying is that you must in some significant psychological way experience what they experience. You can never do that quite. But it's being a survivor by proxy, and the proxy's important. You're not doing what they did, you're not exposed to what they were exposed to, but you must take your mind through…what they went through, and allow that in.[42]

Mientras Wiesel anima a los autores que no han vivido lo que escriben a tener esta actitud, sigue distinguiendo entre los autores como Lifton y los sobrevivientes. Schreiber Weitz también reconoce esta distinción, pero añade que es imposible no hablar, sugiriendo también una aceptación de las obras ficticias:

> People have said that only survivors themselves understand what happened. I'll go a step further. We don't…I know I don't…
>
> So there is a dilemma. What do we do? Do we not talk about it? Elie Wiesel has said many times that silence is the only proper response but then most of us, including him, feel that not to speak is impossible.
>
> To speak is impossible, and not to speak is impossible.[43]

Por su parte, Dori Laub propone con respecto al testimonio:

> The survivors did not only need to survive so that they could tell their stories; they also needed to tell their stories in order to survive.
>
> The testimony is, therefore, the process by which the narrator (the survivor) reclaims his position as a witness: reconstitutes the internal 'thou,' and thus the possibility of a witness or a listener inside himself.[44]

Caruth añade:

> Speech seems to offer only, as Kevin Newmark says, the attempt "to move away from the experience of shock by reintegrating it into a

> stable understanding of it."[45]

Desde la perspectiva de Caruth, Laub, Weitz y Wiesel, el testimonio es una terapia, casi una necesidad y una manera de manejar el trauma.

Shoshana Felman analiza la poesía de Celan, un poeta y sobreviviente alemán del holocausto, siguiendo el proceso por el cual éste reclama el lenguaje.

> Celan's poetic writing therefore struggles with the German to annihilate his own annihilation in it, to reappropriate the language that has marked his own exclusion: the poems dislocate the language so as to remold it, to radically shift its semantic and grammatical assumptions and remake—creatively and critically—a new poetic language entirely Celan's own. Mallarmé's crisis of language here becomes the vital effort…to reclaim and repossess the very language in which *testimony* must…be given.[46]

El proceso de reclamar la lengua española, la lengua de su tortura y la lengua de la que los torturadores le privaron, es un proceso único al sobreviviente de la tortura, y al cual Traba no podía someterse.

Theodor Adorno subraya la necesidad de reinventar el arte, de crear un nuevo estilo después del desastre: "The esthetic principle of stylization…make[s] an unthinkable fate appear to have had some meaning; it is transfigured, something of its horror is removed."[47] No solamente tienen que reclamar la lengua, sino que los sobrevivientes tienen que producir otro tipo de arte. Traba recurre a un estilo novelístico mientras que las narrativas de Strejilevich y Timerman tienden a ser más como un monólogo interior que no cabe dentro de una categoría fija.

Debido al carácter de la memoria del trauma original que constantemente oprime a los autores, las obras de Strejilevich y Timerman son dictadas por sus recuerdos: éstas deben ser fieles a la imagen que vuelve a aparecer en su mente. Por eso, el estilo de sus obras es menos novelístico, y toma la forma de una colección de memorias autobiográficas.

Caruth propone que esta memoria repetida es una reacción involuntaria al trauma:

> Not having truly known the threat of death in the past, the survivor is forced, continually, to confront it over and over again....It is because the mind cannot confront the possibility of its death directly that survival becomes for the human being, paradoxically, an endless testimony to the impossibility of living.

> From this perspective, the survival of trauma is not the fortunate passage beyond a violent event, a passage that is accidentally interrupted by reminders of it, but rather the endless *inherent necessity* of repetition, which ultimately may lead to destruction. [48]

Timerman y Strejilevich han convertido una fuerza potencialmente destructora en el acto creativo: el acto de escribir.

Como una serie de sueños, la novela de Strejilevich salta bruscamente de una idea a otra. Cuando relata el cumpleaños cuando sus padres la traicionan y la llevan al dentista, Strejilevich cambia el tema y escribe:

> [They] even had a ferret, a really nasty little beast. It's similar to the weasel…but when it gets hungry, it will attack humans in places like the earlobe or the nose. That ferret really messed up my nose, nibbling on it whenever I dozed off....They cracked up laughing during these episodes. That was the scariest part of all.[49]

Mediante la yuxtaposición de dos situaciones en que los hombres la defraudan, ella demuestra que las injusticias de la vida real no equivalen a las injusticias de la dictadura. Aunque la vida puede ser cruel, las crueldades de la dictadura existían en otro nivel. Cada sección presenta el trauma inhumano que experimentó Strejilevich y crea un sentido de incredulidad en el lector, que se refleja en la autora misma porque ella tampoco puede creer que lo que escribe no sea ficción; que unos hombres le han impuesto actos tan bárbaros y que ella ha sobrevivido.

Por ser verdaderas, las obras de Strejilevich y Timerman introducen un elemento mucho más chocante que hace palidecer las emociones de Conversación al sur. Demostrando que sus nervios están cerca de la superficie, la furia de Timerman salta de la página—es palpable. Adaptado a su nuevo ambiente, Timerman explica que lo que amenaza su estabilidad mental es "la penetración del mundo de afuera, con todas sus memorias" (85; la traducción es mía). Esta penetración viene en la forma de un libro escrito por Liv Ullmann. Timerman describe un encuentro con ella después de su liberación:

> She gazes at me with sympathy, indifference, or perhaps aloof interest. And I look at her with hatred…Yet it would be impossible not to tell her that it was she, Liv Ullmann, who did me the most harm while I was in prison…We called her "Howlmann" because her name coincided with the word "howl," which was what we mostly did in our cells—we howled inside…And all this happened after her book

> arrived in the prison…She brought to that place where tenderness is the enemy, where goodness is madness and memory the implacable, encroaching leper, she brought that gentle face of hers…She brought it directly to me—me with three sons, and I tremulously defended myself against their memory, those three sons who'd been told by a policeman that their father was a brave man because of the manner in which he withstood torture.[50]

Todo lo que Timerman y Strejilevich escriben está infundido de la verdad vivida—que impacta más que algo inventado—y de todo el horror que sus testimonios implican.

La elección Timerman de la palabra 'aullar' para describir su estado mental subraya otra vez la pérdida de la lengua que los detenidos experimentaban. Con referencia al fenómeno de volver a un estado más primitivo, Scarry escribe:

> Physical pain does not simply resist language but actively destroys it, bringing about an immediate reversion to a state anterior to language, to the sounds and cries a human being makes before language is learned.[51]

El regreso al modo de comunicar primordial demuestra que los seres humanos torturados no solamente pierden la conexión con el mundo sino que se convierten en seres menos evolucionados. Mediante el acto de escribir, Timerman y Strejilevich reafirman su capacidad intelectual y recuperan su posición en la sociedad humana tradicional.

Otro elemento único a Strejilevich y Timerman como sobrevivientes es el enfoque sobre su religión, el judaísmo. Ser judío en la Argentina durante la dictadura era una desventaja debido a los sentimientos antisemitas que prevalecían especialmente en algunos sectores del ejército. Siendo una adolescente cuando fue secuestrada, Strejilevich relata el tratamiento especial que recibían los judíos:

> Jews were taken out on a daily basis to be shoved around, beaten up. One day Hitler's speeches were played and they were forced to raise their arms in salute and say, "I LOVE HITLER, HEIL, HEIL, HEIL FUHRER." The guards got a big kick out of this. Then they stripped the prisoners down and spray-painted black swastikas on their bodies.[52]
>
> They centered the interrogation around Jewish matters.[53]

Para los judíos argentinos, la opresión antisemita fue paralela a las

atrocidades del holocausto. Como comentarista político, Timerman analiza la ideología de la dictadura, señalando una base antisemita que le lleva a creer que la dictadura argentina tiene mucho en común con el período equivalente antes y durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial:

> For a Jew, the description put forth by a military ideologue as to the nature of Argentina's main enemies is like the appearance of an ancient ghost, since the figures chosen to illustrate the enemy are three Jews.

Timerman postula:

> Indeed, at various times, they've [military officials] voiced the need to avoid any expression of anti-Semitism, maintaining this as a tactical necessity, however, rather than an ideological position or an expression of principle. Their main argument in favor of avoidance of any suspicion of anti-Semitism invariably has been the need to avoid confrontation with the powerful Jewish community in the United States.[54]

Durante su detención, Timerman fue interrogado varias veces sobre su conexión con el movimiento sionista. Sus interrogadores insistían que los sionistas querían controlar el mundo y que la Argentina era "un centro de poder" judío desde el cual los judíos lanzarían su ataque.[55]

El tono indignado de Timerman cuando expone sobre su detención durante la dictadura y el tema del judaísmo, la tristeza que inspiran los relatos de Strejilevich y todas las palabras de los sobrevivientes han motivado a otros intelectuales a escribir en beneficio de los que no han sobrevivido y de los que no tienen la capacidad de presentar su testimonio.

Eric Steiner Carlson

Como ejemplo de un autor de un libro documental, Eric Stener Carlson perpetua la memoria de Julia, una mujer joven que desapareció en Argentina cuando estaba embarazada, y cuyos restos fueron encontrados en una tumba común, e identificados por los signos de una cirugía cardiaca y con la ayuda de placas dentales.

En un sentido, los libros documentales como el de Carlson sirven para enseñar e informar a quienes no han sido tocados por la dictadura. Hoy en día, muchas de las obras aparecen primero en inglés porque es la lengua natal del autor—como en el caso de Carlson—o son traducidas al inglés para que adquieran una circulación más extensa. Como son una herramienta de la

enseñanza, los documentales dependen de los hechos publicados y los testimonios de personas que vivieron en la Argentina o Chile durante la dictadura. Aunque la información recogida por los documentales puede tener un gran impacto, éstos no comparten la misma motivación ni pasión que las obras de los sobrevivientes—o aun las novelas ficticias—debido a que su misión principal de informar los obliga a mantener una distancia objetiva para dar validez a sus palabras.

Sin embargo, la emoción y las opiniones de Carlson se advierten claramente. El título completo de su obra, I Remember Julia: Voices of the Disappeared, demuestra que Carlson, como Traba, quiere preservar la memoria y destaca que Carlson se compadece de los desaparecidos. En las menciones, Carlson discute un sujeto ya mencionado en conexión con el personaje de Dolores: el nombre robado.

> The author finds it ironic that he is compelled to take "Julia's" real name away from her in order to promote her memory, for it is the name, first of all, that this disappeared person was robbed of when she was kidnapped.[56]

Es claro que Carlson se siente apasionado por los desaparecidos; pero, aun cuando se menciona a sí mismo, utiliza la tercera persona—diciendo "el autor"—para crear un espacio entre el autor y el hombre emocionado que es también.

Para explicar el por qué escribir cuando tanta gente que conoció no quería recordar lo que les había pasado, Carlson relata este cuento de su profesor de literatura Arno_t quien sobrevivió el holocausto:

> As he began to walk more and more slowly, he realized that he was freezing to death....Suddenly, a group of men who had been wandering on the fringe of the compound gathered around him and pressed their bodies together, raising his temperature through their body heat....Arno_t said that this is why he talks about the Holocaust....Although it was ugly....there was one beautiful moment when people gathered together to save his life, and this act of human solidarity had to be remembered.[57]

Aunque esta explicación es válida, carece de un elemento personal, y por eso, abre un espacio entre el propósito de la obra y el autor, mediado por la experiencia del profesor Arno_t.

Desde el punto de vista de Shoshana Felman, que ofrece un curso universitario que investiga la relación entre la historia, el trauma y el

testimonio, la clave del éxito para los que tratan de enseñar sobre este tema es provocar una crisis en los estudiantes para que ellos puedan comprender el trauma de una manera limitada:

> I have learned from that class, that teaching in itself, teaching as such, takes place precisely only through a crisis: if teaching does not hit upon some sort of crisis, if it does not encounter either the vulnerability or the explosiveness of an (explicit or implicit) critical and unpredictable dimension, it has perhaps not truly taught: it has perhaps passed on some facts, passed on some information and some documents....but that no one could *recognize*, and that no one could therefore truly *learn, read* or *put to use*.[58]

Aquí yace el peligro de los documentales: que no provocan una crisis en su lector.

A la misma vez que Carlson incluye entrevistas con el ex-novio de Julia—que ha construido un sepulcro en su memoria—y con su hermano menor, también entrevistó al miembro del ejército argentino y al director—que hoy niega su relación íntima con Julia—de una clínica donde ella trabajaba. Así, los dos lados de la dictadura—los que la recuerdan y los que prefieren olvidarla—aparecen en el texto. Para representar todos los aspectos del tema y establecer su distancia objetiva, Carlson elige estas voces variadas (y que han aparecido a lo largo del texto de este trabajo).

Obras como la de Carlson son importantes para dar un trasfondo a los que no están informados sobre la dictadura; pero es importante que ese lector lea también tanto obras escritas por los sobrevivientes mismo como las obras de ficción sobre el tema. I Remember Julia: Voices of the Disappeared tiene la misma forma que un libro histórico, pero incorpora la opinión y el juicio del autor. Aunque presenta los hechos y una voz menos subjetiva, la obra de Carlson no tiene la urgencia de las palabras de los sobrevivientes ni la voz crítica y creadora de la ficción. Cada categoría narrativa complementa a las otras y ayuda a generar una imagen más completa del período.

Conclusión

Aunque los tres tipos de literatura—el documental, la novela ficticia y el testimonio de los sobrevivientes—representan una gran variedad de expresiones ya que cada una es única al autor que la escribe, las une el propósito común de rescatar la memoria. Debido a esta meta, no se puede determinar que un tipo sea superior o inferior a los otros. Los testimonios

pueden provocar una reacción más fuerte en el lector porque las emociones que leen son verdaderas; pero a la misma vez, los testimonios son restringidos por las memorias particulares de sus autores. La novela ficticia carece de esta restricción y tiene una gran libertad para presentar su mensaje, pero no tiene el mismo nivel de emoción. Por su parte, los documentales mantienen una voz histórica y hacen un trabajo científico requerido por el mundo actual para validar este acontecimiento. Mediante sus diferencias, la literatura generada por las dictaduras lucha con el problema de representar esta época tan nebulosa porque muchos de sus protagonistas han desaparecido o prefieren olvidar sus experiencias.

Es imposible entender el sufrimiento de los sobrevivientes de la dictadura sin haberlo experimentado. Pero, la lectura de estas obras es parte del proceso de reclamar la memoria, de reclamar el futuro, protegiéndolo del olvido y de la repetición de los hechos horrendos de las dictaduras chilena y argentina. Caruth subraya la importancia de los testigos de la memoria:

> Freud's central insight [is]…that history, like trauma, is never simply one's own, that history is precisely the way we are implicated in each other's traumas.[59]

Aunque las experiencias de la tortura y de vivir en la Argentina y Chile durante esta época pertenecen exclusivamente a los sobrevivientes, Caruth indica que su historia pertenece a todos. El acto creativo de escribir la novela, el documental, la obra de teatro, o filmar la película, igual que el acto de interaccionar con ellos como lector, es absolutamente necesario para los autores y para la comunidad humana.

Mientras que la dictadura destruyó la lengua, la voz humana y la civilización, los varios tipos de narración y su lectura sirven para recrearlas, rescatando así lo que la dictadura intentó hacer desaparecer.

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Notes

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Kate Lehman

The Bush Administration, Foreign Aid, and the Motives Behind the Millennium Challenge Account

Goldstone Prize (Philosophy, Politics, and Economics)

Six months after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, President Bush proposed the Millennium Challenge Account, a surprisingly drastic increase in American foreign aid spending. As the Republican Party has maintained a historically consistent antagonism toward foreign aid, and because the policy was presented as a strategy to protect national security, the motivations behind this unexpected political development are worthy of examination. Evidence from those involved and from experts who have followed the situation closely shows three main factors that influenced its conception. These include national security, the demand for effective assistance and the assertion of soft power. However, an examination of the policy's nuances and the rhetoric of the speeches that bolster it reveal that national security is placed far above development in the hierarchy of goals. Ensuring power in African markets and making alliances with African oil producers are other important and clandestine factors in the formation of the Millennium Challenge Account.

The text below is an excerpt of the project.

National Security

Evidence supporting the view that national security drove this initiative will be examined first, including: an examination of the Bush administration's 2002 National Security Strategy (NSS); the immediate increases in foreign aid to

front-line states and to departments related to defense, such as the State Department, following 9/11; the proposal of the HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria Act of 2003; the belief that extremist groups may be more attractive to desperate people than governments that fail to provide basic services; a growing recognition that resentment toward the U.S. because of its military and economic dominance is a threat to security; an examination of policy toward other insecure areas of the world such as Iraq; and the correlation between poverty and young men joining and supporting extremist causes.

There is an overwhelming consensus that President Bush pushed for the MCA at least partially in response to the September 11th attacks. The link is explicit in Bush's speeches promoting the MCA and is conveyed in the administration's U.S. National Security Strategy, released in September of 2002. The NSS promised to support development assistance and aid alongside defense and diplomacy–a relatively new concept in national security. During the Cold War, aid was given in the name of national security, but the countries targeted were always chosen for political reasons. Instead, the MCA aims to select countries based on objective criteria with the greater goal of reducing poverty and spurring development. A long-term benefit of such change, though not always clearly stated as such, is to decrease the terrorist threat in Africa. To understand what role national security played in the administration's decision to launch the MCA, it is pertinent to examine the justification they provide in the NSS:

> The events of September 11, 2001, taught us that weak states, like Afghanistan, can pose as great a danger to our national interests as strong states. Poverty does not make poor people into terrorists and murderers. Yet poverty, weak institutions, and corruption can make weak states vulnerable to terrorist networks and drug cartels within their borders. The United States will stand beside any nation determined to build a better future by seeking the rewards of liberty for its people. Free trade and free markets have proven their ability to lift whole societies out of poverty—so the United States will work with individual nations, entire regions, and the entire global trading community to build a world that trades in freedom and therefore grows in prosperity. The United States will deliver greater development assistance through the New Millennium Challenge Account to nations that govern justly, invest in their people, and encourage economic freedom.[1]

Thus, President Bush made it clear that development and prosperity are necessary objectives in fighting the war on terror. He also explained that this newfound effort to address these issues emerged when 9/11 provided proof that weak states are as dangerous as strong ones to U.S. national security. Steven Radelet, a Senior Fellow at the Center for Global Development and Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Treasury from January 2000 through June 2002, concurs that the MCA program was, at least in part, a response to 9/11. He suggests that the MCA and the HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria Act of 2003–seen as a vital counterpart to the MCA–were responsive policies to the demand for increased national security. The HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria Act of 2003 is a policy for which the Bush administration authorized $15 billion in U.S. aid over five years to combat the spread of HIV/AIDS in countries devastated by the disease in Africa and the Caribbean.[2] The timing of these two Africa-focused increases in foreign aid, both proposed in the wake of 9/11, supports the claim that the MCA initiative was a response to the changed atmosphere in the United States and its position in the world post-9/11.

Most of the foreign aid called for by the Bush administration following 9/11 went to rebuilding Afghanistan and supporting regional front-line states, including the allocation of $297 million to Afghanistan, $600 million to Pakistan, and $250 million to Jordan. Next came the announcement of the MCA, and a few months later the administration promised to increase U.S. funding for the World Bank by 18% over three years, on the condition that the additional funding be performance-based, similar to the MCA. Finally, in President Bush's January's 2003 State of the Union address, he unveiled the new Emergency Plan for AIDS relief initiative, which included $300 million for "complex emergencies" and fighting famine.[3] Radelet states that the first motivation of the administration's new rationale for foreign assistance is because, "aid can play a direct role in the war on terror by supporting both front-line countries and weak states where terrorism might breed." $5 billion was added to the 2003 supplemental spending bill for these front-line nations mentions before, since they are viewed as key partners in the war with Iraq. These funding increases to nations linked to terrorism is evidence of the changed attitude toward foreign aid spending in response to the terrorist attacks of 9/11.

Radelet also alludes to a slightly different take on national security that the MCA demonstrates; that is, the Bush administration's acceptance, however reluctant, that poverty and inequality around the world generate animosity

and resentment toward the United States, thus weakening national security. This argument is especially compelling in the long run because it allows the MCA to provide selective aid to countries that are more likely to be successful because only prosperous nations will bridge the income gap and become developed. Another indirect effect is that the improved standards of living in MCA nations should cause a regional spill-over effect. According to this theory, over time regional trade will increase as MCA nation's economies grow, leading to trade agreements and cooperation as well as imitation of successful projects by neighboring nations. Additionally, it is plausible to believe that increased aid from the United States, if successful, will lead to more development aid from other donor nations. These effects together will generate higher standards of living for people in non-MCA nations. In addition, national security is elevated when the image of the United States abroad is positive. The MCA conveys a compassionate image of the U.S. in contrast to the image of military domination projected to the world by the war in Iraq.[4]

Charles Snyder, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, spoke at a conference at the American Enterprise Institute entitled, "Leave No Continent Behind: U.S. National Security Interests in Africa." In his speech, he showed great insight into the administration's motivations for proposing the MCA. He first highlighted several programs launched to counter immediate terrorist threats, such as the East-African and Pan-Sahel Initiatives, which are efforts to engage governments in the region and build their capacity to monitor their borders effectively.[5] However, addressing terrorism in the long run requires a more effective foundation that persuades governments to be self-reliant in regulating borders and in strengthening judicial institutions. Synder posits that the programs emerging from the MCA will promote justice and the rule of law, encourage agricultural production, and force lasting economic development, all of which will help create strong, stable states that are much more capable of dealing with terrorism issues in the long-run.[6] Snyder explains that to "drain the swamp" of terrorism over time, development, democracy and institution-building are vital to replacing the reasons why people are susceptible to fundamentalism.

The rationale connecting terrorism and the poverty and instability of failing states is thus, as he explains it:

> We've examined this problem, and the fertile ground for this kind of recruitment follows where failed government or where government doesn't reach out. What these people provide, in many cases, is some system of justice where there is none. It might be in the form of an

> Islamic court, but when there is no justice, that sometimes is an attractive thing. They provide basic medical assistance in places where the governments don't get as a recruitment device. They provide food, in some occasions, where agricultural programs have failed. So, if we don't drain the swamp, this will begin endless war. That's why the Millennium Challenge Account is, in fact, part of the global war on terrorism. It's going to change behavior if we succeed in this program, and it's large enough to make a difference.[7]

The motivation for the policy is the belief that if some states are successful and make progress, others will continue in the right direction in terms of development, creating a reverse domino effect. Unlike many other briefings previously given by President Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell, this address provides details as to why poverty in Africa poses such a threat in conjunction with terrorism. If governments cannot offer their citizens basic economic goods and security, then extremist groups become more attractive. So, if the experiment of the MCA leads to convincing results in some nations, then more funding can be devoted to a greater number of nations, increasing the number of developed nations. The hope is that, conversely, the number of nations susceptible to terrorism will then decrease.

Nicholas Eberstadt of the American Enterprise Institute attributed at least part of the rationale for the policy to national security and the new "War on Terror." Like Radelet, Eberstadt views the initiative not only as a strategy to reduce poverty internationally, but also as a way to diffuse international resentment toward the United States. Additionally, he maintains that it is much easier to increase foreign aid because national security is at the forefront of the agenda and thus justifies the increase in a way not possible before 9/11. He added that the public approval the administration has felt for the HIV/AIDS initiative may be attributed to this as well. Representative Henry Hyde (R-Il.), currently the chairman of the House International Relations Committee, is a key supporter of the MCA. Hyde has observed that Congressional distrust of foreign aid has eased a great deal since the terrorist attacks. He accounts for this change in attitude toward foreign assistance to 9/11 highlighting of the threat posed by weak and neglected states and because U.S. foreign assistance programs have lacked an overall strategy for so long.[8] On the Senate side, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Richard Lugar, held a hearing on the MCA in March 2003. In the hearing, Senator Lugar articulated some beliefs similar to Congressman Hyde's, but moved beyond the threat of current weak and neglected states in

his arguments. Lugar professed the belief that the primary goal of American foreign assistance must be to combat terrorism and that doing so effectively will require direct military and economic aid to key allies in the war on terrorism. He explained that foreign assistance should also serve the much broader purpose of fighting against terrorism in the long run by strengthening democracy, building free markets, and encouraging civil society in nations that otherwise might become breeding grounds or havens for terror. Senator Lugar conceded that the MCA rests on the assumption that some of the answers about how to help nations develop and be successful are understood. The MCA represents a confidence that nations with good leadership, sound market principles, and investment in health and education, have the greatest chance of prospering.

Senator Lugar links foreign aid to national security but also contends that by "strengthening democracy, building free markets, and encouraging civil society in nations that otherwise might become havens or breeding grounds for terrorists" the aspirations of MCA nation citizens may be fulfilled thus simultaneously preventing terrorists from controlling territory and thriving in poverty.[9] He is confident that national security can be achieved through strategies such as the MCA, which will combat terror around the world over time by spreading American ideals of liberty and humane standards of living through more open and transparent economies. His overwhelming support for the program as a key to deterring terrorism in the long run makes it very likely that national security played a very large role in proposing the MCA as well as getting it enacted, as he maintains close contact with Condoleezza Rice and serves as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This sentiment is expressed, as is his desire to make the MCA as effective as possible, when he explains "An ineffective foreign aid program squanders our anti-terrorist assets just as surely as a poorly designed warplane, an unnecessary military base, or a flawed intelligence collection operation."[10]

Andrew Natsios, Administrator for USAID, claims that development assistance is one of three essential components of American foreign policy, along with defense and diplomacy. He identifies the same tangible dangers to U.S. security unrelated to terrorism, explaining that poverty and despair abroad often return to America in the forms of disease, drugs, and illegal migration. He dismisses the arguments against foreign aid in the past as a waste by explaining that "The current state of the world – with anti-Western sentiment in the Islamic world and the spreading HIV/AIDS pandemic in Africa and elsewhere–makes these arguments of the 1990s about whether to extend

foreign aid seem out of date."[11] It is interesting to note that he does not claim that 9/11 was the reason that old perceptions of foreign aid are outdated, but instead believes that the inequality gap between the United States and much of the world creates a danger not only of resentment, but also in the forms of drugs and disease infiltrating North America. His projection that the MCA will be successful, because it holds countries accountable for improving the fundamentals of development, including health and education, seems to parallel Lugar's belief that national security will improve when nations strive to embrace democratic institutions and free-markets, two MCA-eligibility areas of criteria.

In determining the motivations behind an initiative as surprising as the MCA, it is important to address the consistency of that policy with others of this administration. Increasing national security has been repeatedly stated as a very high priority of the Bush administration, demonstrated by policy toward other issues and regions besides Africa. Very few experts have compared Bush's policy toward Africa through the MCA to his policy toward Iraq in the Middle East, but those who have, believe it is highly relevant. Michael Phelan, of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations makes the sobering point that the MCA's true motivation will remain unclear until Bush has followed through with allocating the $5 billion over three years. This suggests the possible motive of gaining political advantage by announcing a large, innovative initiative and then never financing it as originally proposed. Phelan gave the same evaluation that a policy must be compared to others in order to determine patterns. He first suggested looking at the argument that "No Child Left Behind" was a great idea and gained President Bush a great deal of credibility with its announcement, but has been severely under-funded. Later, he suggested comparing policy toward Africa to the Middle East, since they are both part of foreign policy and thus more valid than comparing a domestic and foreign policy issue.

On this subject, Phelan explained that, just as the MCA aims to use a few successful examples to motivate the whole region, it aims to create a model of democracy in Iraq for the Middle East. If Iraq becomes a successful model, other countries in the region might be convinced of the advantages of democracy. Thus, the region will generally become secure as liberal principles expand. Ghana, due to its prior economic triumphs and relatively clear path to eligibility for the MCA, may be Iraq's equivalent as a model to induce regional change, according to Phelan. The Bush administration seems to show consistency in its theory about the two regions. The common message is one of

improving long-term security against terrorism for the United States and the world by countering instability and non-democratic regimes in the Middle East, and reducing poverty to prevent those same threats in Africa.

During a speech made at the University of Louisville, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice drew this parallel, though not as explicitly as Phelan, between the foreign policy goals of the action taken in Iraq and plans for the MCA. She called the MCA a revolutionary way to administer foreign aid, by linking the aid to good governance, investment in people, and economic freedom. She acknowledged the ambitious agenda the administration has taken on across the world, and compared the War on Terror to the Cold War, in that both were more about visions than armed forces. The central truth in foreign policy, she told the audience, is that long-term security and lasting peace are products achieved exclusively through the advancements of prosperity, liberty, and human dignity. She immediately addressed the Middle East and terrorism, warning that, "The terrorists offer suicide, and death, and pseudo-religious tyranny. America and our allies seek to advance the cause of liberty and defend the dignity of every person."[12] Rice did not clearly state that the agenda toward Africa and Iraq is part of a broad united effort. However, the aforementioned key phrase about longer-term security and peace is linked in the Middle East to political liberty, and in Africa to economic prosperity. Though different strategies are used in the regions, the projected outcomes of global security through democratic principled advances are identical.

Counter-Argument

Nonetheless, despite all of this evidence, some voice doubts about any direct link between poverty and terrorism, and about whether it makes sense for the Bush administration and others to attribute all or a great deal of the motive for the MCA to national security. When President Bush himself announced the MCA, he made numerous references to the war on terrorism, claiming that, "We also work for prosperity and opportunity because they help defeat terror" and "poverty prevents governments from controlling their borders, policing their territory, and enforcing their laws. Development provides the resources to build hope and prosperity, and security."[13] Although most analysts will agree that poverty can be a contributing factor to terrorism, many question how important national security actually was to initiating the MCA in light of certain facts. That is, as the NSS statement said, "poverty, weak institutions, and corruption can make weak states vulnerable to terrorist networks and drug cartels within their borders." In other words, that failing

states are more prone to terrorism. Failing states do not, however, meet eligibility requirements for the MCA.

Indeed, the program may discourage many failing states who cannot realistically ever reach a competitive point with the median of criteria set by other countries. The collapses of Haiti and Liberia suggest that national security efforts have been misguided since these nations are potential threats to American security but would not meet eligibility criteria. If countering terrorism is a main tenet of the MCA, the link between the MCA and terrorism is weakened by the fact that the majority of terrorists are from wealthy backgrounds. Afghanistan was the source of one of the largest terrorist networks and yet would have been ineligible. The administration's push for middle-income countries to be eligible for MCA funding in FY2006 suggests that this provision to the MCA would serve the purpose of securing economic and political allies through aid. But this form of security is more like the Cold War strategy and is not the same as the NSS strategy to reduce poverty in the long run. Thus, there are two arguments against national security as the main motivation. If the MCA aims at increasing security, and these facts are true, the methodology is misguided, and thus, it will fail. On the other hand, it could be that the structure is so misguided that national security to combat terrorism specifically is not the actual main influence. The real motive behind the MCA would thus be the opportunity to gain allies and political ties that will lead to economic advantages in gaining leverage with African markets and securing ties with oil-producing countries there.

Radelet raises a crucial question in light of the post-9/11 spending in the name of national security, including increased money to frontline states, the State Department, and the MCA. He asks why no clear strategies have been made to deal with failed states that have no functional governments; failing states that are dangerously near collapse; and fragile states that could implode easily.[14] Radelet admits that the problem is complicated, and that, while failed states can probably only be helped with humanitarian assistance, many should not be helped at all, due to the corruption of their leaders. Still, he argues that some strategy be proposed to address these other failing or failed states. Ironically, the descriptions listed in the NSS as factors that make states most susceptible to terrorism are characteristics of failing states, yet most failing states will not qualify for aid because they will not meet the corruption or the economic liberty test criteria. President Bush has claimed that when governments fail their people, those failed states are more susceptible to becoming breeding grounds for terror. So it is puzzling that the administration

bases the MCA on national security when the most dangerous states, failing or failed, will not qualify for aid in the first place.

Many experts argue that outlining clear strategies for dealing with failing states, which are the most dangerous, is more vital for the promotion of national security than the MCA. One journalist used the sobering reminder that the second anniversary of the MCA came at the same time as the collapse of Haiti. He compares the two in order to point out that the MCA is not sufficient to meet the desperate needs of the world's poorest countries.[15] Before the collapse of Haiti was Liberia, and before that Bolivia, Ivory Coast, and Sierra Leone. The argument that Jeremy Weinstein of the *International Herald Times* makes is that the security threat of weak and failed states poses a serious danger to the United States and around the globe. Additionally, development and democratization are not taking place in many of the countries that need it most. The MCA claims to be in the name of national security, but aims to improve and help developing countries that are far less threatening than failed states, which do not qualify for aid. He states, "The United States should not wait until it is dragged, kicking and screaming, into post-conflict reconstruction as it was in Liberia and is now in Haiti. It needs an agency that is up to the task of turning around weak and failing states." Exploring what that agency might be goes beyond the scope of this discussion. However, this argument is important, because it challenges the notion that national security best explains this proposal.

There have undoubtedly been sweeping changes in three interdependent components of national security policy since 9/11, including military force, homeland security, and the "softer" tools of diplomacy and foreign assistance. September 11 has expanded strategic calls for aid in the methods of directly rewarding allies, shoring up front-line states, and rebuilding Afghanistan.[16] In addition, aid is being given to address the poverty that weakens states and provides an environment for terrorism to grow, which is an indirect method of increasing national security, according to Susan Rice, an expert from the Brookings Institute. She is concerned that rapid globalization is leading to an expanding gap between rich and poor, which, if not tempered with more redistribution benefits, can contribute to regional conflict, extremism, and conflict-inducing struggle over resources. Rice supports President Bush' discussion of failed states and the danger they pose as safe havens for terrorists and staging grounds for terrorist organizations. Beyond terrorism, failed states can challenge U.S. interests with increased refugee flows, trafficking in illicit goods, and lost trade and investment.[17] But recognition

means nothing if action and policy do not follow, which is her main criticism of the NSS. No vision, policy, or additional resources are requested to counter such threats. She proposes a strategy with more aggressive conflict resolution and nation-building in global crisis zones that far surpasses those outlined in the MCA. She suggests, "The United States should devise innovative ways to assist failed and failing states through targeted development and counter terrorism assistance as well as improved trade and access to the U.S. market."[18]

According to Rice, the MCA is insufficient for promoting national security because it overlooks the greatest danger, unstable states. Rice defines failed states as countries in which the central government does not maintain effective control over or capability for delivering vital services to important parts of its own territory due to conflict, ineffective governance, or state collapse. Current examples are Afghanistan, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Sudan. There are many others on the brink of failure. The danger of these states is that international terrorists are more likely to take advantage of their porous borders, their weak law enforcement and security services, and their non-enforcing judicial institutions that allow for the movement of men, weapons, and money around the world. Her main issue is that while acknowledgement of the problem is positive, the current solution (the MCA) is an insufficient response. Rice argues that, "This limitation reflects a contradiction in administration strategy, since it often looks to these same big countries to prevent or resolve conflicts in neighboring failing states and to serve as regional partners in the war on terrorism. According to the NSS, Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, and Ethiopia are 'anchors for regional engagement and require focused attention.' Yet given the high bar being considered for MCA eligibility, most of these countries may not benefit from MCA funding."[19]

Many critics of the MCA offer the rather obvious example of Afghanistan as a failed state and zone for terrorism to promote the idea that if the war on terror is to be more than a simple framework of unseating odious rulers (Iraq) and assisting frontline nations (Pakistan), war-torn states that are failing must also be addressed. In the early 1990s, Moscow and Washington disengaged and Afghanistan was left to become a haven for terrorists.[20] The expressed link between the MCA and national security is weakened with this argument because the danger of terrorism is not proven to be threatening in the states that will be eligible.

Other analysts believe that the MCA and its goals are so misguided that

the policy must actually be driven by other motives. The timing of the announcement of the proposal to some suggests that the MCA is an effort to provide a "soft image" of the U.S. to temper the militaristic image of the Iraq war. Others claim that the MCA is more of an opportunity for the Bush administration to reform aid that has been popularly viewed as ineffective under a motive that is more persuasive for representatives to explain to their constituents. Since there is much more evidence that national security is threatened by failing states than by those most likely to succeed in development, it may be argued that national security is the reason provided for the public in place of other more important objectives. The administration may be linking poor countries and the incubation of terrorism to sell the MCA, especially with the heightened awareness of security and its predominance in the consciousness of the American people. The question remains: what would the administration be hoping to achieve by doing so?

Charles Snyder, acting Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, in an address in April 2004, explained the prevalence of real U.S. interests in Africa. One of the most important interests to Americans currently is energy resources and, according to Snyder, Africa will provide up to 30 percent of U.S. oil in the next 10 years.[21] He cites traditional suppliers such as Nigeria, Gabon and Angola, but also includes the emerging possibilities of oil exportation from Equatorial Guinea, Chad, Sao Tome and Principe, and others in the long-run. In this same context, Synder reinforces the statement Bush made while visiting Africa, that it is the last great emerging market in the world, by claiming that, "More and more businesses are paying attention to Africa…there really is a large emerging market there, a serious one, maybe the last one that's open for grabs in any real sense that doesn't have preexisting patterns that can't be broken at this point."[22] Beyond the potential economic advantages that Africa may offer, especially with U.S. assistance to further development through projects such as the MCA, he notes that it will also be a source of allies and friends willing to help on the front lines on the war on terrorism. Nonetheless, he still contends that Africa's importance in the world and to the United States will only increase in the coming years because of its growing natural resources. These facts provide support for the argument that economic and political interests may be the most influential factors behind the MCA, or at the very least, Bush has acted on a different strategy toward national security than the stated goal of countering terrorism through development and poverty reduction.

Some analysts from the Center for Global Development suggest that it is in

the self-interest of the United States to address world problems with bold and forward-looking leadership based on American values, national security, and economic strength.[23] These experts posit that national security is affected by poverty and ill health, because instability and lawlessness in countries with poor living conditions often have spillover effects to more stable nations and can offer safe haven to terrorists. They place a great deal of importance on national interest explaining that beyond national security, by promoting democracy and making foreign assistance more effective, the U.S. will undoubtedly reap benefits of future economic success in Africa. They claim that there will be a an even greater market for American exports, as almost 45% of U.S. exports already are outsourced to developing countries.[24] They even contend that as low-income countries develop, the health of the U.S. economy will depend directly on the citizens of the developing world. In this way, the MCA provided a groundwork of engaging with and being responsible for advances made by successful recipients of MCA funding, so that attention to Africa now will serve American interest later when a more developed Africa provides the 'next frontier' for American exports.

Michael Phillips of the *Wall Street Journal* reports that the MCA was largely the brainchild of Condoleezza Rice, and suggest that the proposal is first and foremost concerned with national security in its ability to shore of front-line states.[25] Additionally, he argues that piloted projects for the MCA will be chosen based on how crucial they are to the anti-terrorism fight. He cites the examples of Senegal, a Muslim nation in West Africa, and Tanzania, the site of a deadly U.S. embassy bombing in 1998 as reasons the administration wanted an initiative that both appears compassionate, but secures such an unstable region as well. He also expresses the concern that aid might be used to reward antiterrorism allies with little regard for economic results. All of this information implies that national security is the driving force behind the MCA, but it is for the interest of rewarding antiterrorist allies in dangerous regions, whether by assisting with U.S. intelligence, increasing monitoring of terrorism, or by other means.

In an interview with Sarah Lucas from the Center for Global Development, she named national security as the driving force behind the MCA, but also agreed with those concerned about the lack of strategy for failed states, that something must be done. She would like to see different tools used for countries with divergent needs.[26] Although the approach to these countries is debatable and complicated, helping nations secure peace by bringing warring parties to the table, for example, is one way in which foreign aid can play a

significant role in U.S. security. Radelet discusses the states that present an immediate threat to security, including Afghanistan, Somalia, and Sudan, but also acknowledges, "Others are a less immediate threat, yet are vulnerable to the spread of illicit criminal networks, as with the growing flow of narcotics through the Caribbean, the trade in conflict diamonds in West Africa, and the explosion of small arms trafficking in Central Asia."[27] As countries grow less stable, it is becoming imperative that the administration takes a stance, even if that means approaching each country on a case-by-case basis. Lucas suggests an overarching National Security Vision for development aid itself, so that national security is addressed more broadly than just through the MCA, which affects very few countries.

Many believe that this model of foreign aid will persuade countries neighboring those eligible for MCA funding to address and improve areas of weakness and failure. Ideally, this structure would create a situation where MCA nations influence the poorest and most corrupt countries to strive for eligibility. But several experts question how likely it is that a destitute country such as Somalia will be motivated to meet those criteria given how far they are from qualifying. Even if Somalia were motivated, the time it would take to gain stability and achieve economic growth worthy of eligibility would leave American national security exposed for many years. Thus, the argument that aid to failing states in Africa can be part of a strategy to lessen the proliferation of terrorism is paradoxical because failing states are open to terrorism now.

Another reason for suspicion that the MCA is not chiefly aimed at promoting national security through prosperity and growth in the developing world is the prevalent concern that the program will turn into a method of funding states that support the United States in the war on terror. This issue was raised after President Bush announced the added proposals for FY2006, which included an effort to extend MCA funding to countries with GDP between $1,415 and $2,935. This expansion includes countries that are beyond International Development Aid (IDA) eligibility status. Also, the amount of money available for the poorest countries would most likely be reduced with the inclusion of these low-middle income nations. There are 28 more countries eligible with this addition, and the ironic fact is that many of these nations maintain strong political and strategic ties with the United States, such as Egypt, Jordan, Columbia, Turkey, and Russia.[28] At the very least, including these nations increases the perception that countries might be selected on criteria other than MCA performance measures, namely for geo-strategic and

political American interests, which is a clear return to past foreign aid practices.

Furthermore, higher income nations tend to fulfill the stated criteria more readily just by virtue of a higher economic status and an advanced level of development, hurting lower-income nations' chances for eligibility. This prevalent argument suggested that the MCA was created as a vehicle to dispense aid for political and economic reasons in the long run and not for the stated motive of development unhindered by political motives. Thus, the motivation remains national security, not to counter terrorism through poverty reduction, but instead for strategic American political gain.

Many groups that generally support the MCA, especially those affiliated with religion, are concerned that the policy's unique approach to achieve development results through economic growth and poverty reduction will be in jeopardy if these more developed low-middle income countries are eligible for funding. Political and strategic interests have always been the key to American foreign aid allocation, and many blame the failure of development success on this reality. The argument is that unless growth is made a priority for the poorest nations, by using criteria unfettered by political interests, this program cannot do what it has promised. Additionally, including countries above the $1,415 level means squeezing out the neediest nations to make room for healthier economies that will score higher on eligibility indicators, raise the median standards for qualification and be chosen more readily. Simply including this provision raises suspicion as to what the administration truly seeks. The question remains: Was this program created to test a new kind of foreign aid to gain the highest effectiveness or is it made flexible in an effort to strengthen geopolitical ties? The most prevalent argument criticizing the effort by the Bush administration to allow low-middle income countries to qualify is that those nations will be funded to serve as strategic partners in the war on terrorism and foreign aid will return to its former role that did not make development a priority. Additionally, the possibility to fund more economically viable nations increases the chances that they have natural resources, such as oil, which increases their importance to U.S. national interests, as explained by Charles Snyder.

The Bush administration addressed this by requesting that when the 28 other low-middle countries are added to the group of 87, the two different groups be evaluated independently, but still on the same criteria. The more obscure issue is whether the administration will divide MCA resources into two separate amounts of money. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee

recommended in S. 1160 that low-middle income countries be permitted to participate in FY2006 and beyond, contingent on MCA funding being above the projected level of $5 billion.[29] Additionally, in years that the MCA appropriations exceed $5 billion, the Senate bill would limit funding for low-middle income countries to 20% of the total amount. The House agreed to the 20% limit, but they did not insist on the contingency that the $5 billion be allocated at the time. Therefore, the final legislation allows for low-middle income countries to be eligible in FY2006, but only for 25% of the amount appropriated for the MCA in that year, which is still a large sum of money.

Some experts are suspicious of the motivation behind the MCA in light of the prominence of national security on the nation's consciousness. Lael Brainard, an expert from the Center for Strategic International Studies, warns that the MCA will confound political interests with sustainable development goals if certain changes are not made to the program. She explains, "There is a risk, however, that this administration – led initiative will fall short of expectation unless many critical remaining decisions are made, and soon, so that MCA funding does not follow the fruitless path of much of U.S. aid during the Cold War."[30] Her fear is that the MCA could become the preferred fund, not for the countries most likely to succeed as proposed by the MCA, but more so for geo-politically salient countries through manipulation by the MCC and inclusion of low-middle income countries. This is a by-product, according to Brainard, of increased demand for assistance associated so frequently with security imperatives. She cites the aforementioned November 2002 decision by the administration to extend aid to middle income countries as evidence of this danger, especially since those qualified countries are already among the largest recipients of politically directed U.S. assistance. In fiscal year 2002, Russia, Jordan, Egypt, Columbia, Peru and South Africa (all of which would be eligible in FY2006) received $1.25 billion in U.S economic assistance, which is one-fifth of all foreign assistance for non-disaster programs, while none even qualified for concessional lending from the World Bank.[31] Direct national security funding is clearly a high priority of the Bush administration.

The criteria of the MCA, based exclusively on economic performance and governance, is the purest structure for dispending aid ever attempted by the United States. Brainard claims that the MCA fund is exactly the type of program that development advocates hoped would emerge following the Cold War. But because the aid imperative and vision were tied to the fear of Communism, development assistance declined with the wavering threat of Communism through much of the 1990s. She notes that it was surprising even

to security experts that such a large proposal would be announced at a time of extreme need for political funding to assist allies in the war on terror, strengthen front-line states, and make failed states as stable as possible.[32] Brainard's assessment suggests that the Bush administration perceived the MCA to be a vehicle to dispense aid to political allies, all the while promoting it as a tool for compassionately and efficiently dispensing foreign development aid.

She foresees this possibility because of the increasing correlation of aid with security imperatives and the deteriorating budgetary environment which could also harm the purity of the MCA. Brainard explains in more detail: "Within the context of the overall discretionary spending cap of 4%, and in light of the increased demand for security and defense spending, finding room in the budget for the MCA and the additional $1 billion for the HIV/AIDS funding pushed by Congress and pushed by President Bush has proven difficult."[33] Thus, another danger in light of the increases for terrorism-related development is that with the budgetary crunch, critical health and education programs in other poor countries led by the USAID will be squeezed and that MCA funding will be diverted to strategically important countries, especially when middle-income countries are eligible. This point is argued further by her CDG colleague, Steven Radelet.

Before the announcement of eligible countries, Radelet created a systematic estimation of which countries would be eligible for the aid based on the 16 criteria. Using this model, China and Egypt easily qualified. This is surprising because of clear criteria violations on the part of China with human rights and Egypt's history of wasting aid and over-regulating trade markets. These results are partly because countries need only to score above the median on half of the indicators in one of the three larger criteria, a fact which permits loopholes. Another issue is that inconsistent and incomplete data are highly probable with countries lacking in statistical information and experience in some areas, such as days it takes to open a business. If the coverage of the data is incomplete and thus allows for flexibility and discretion on the part of the MCC (the entity responsible for the running of the program) geopolitical bias is more likely. These possibilities are compounded in light of current budget constraints and the explicit priority of national security in general budgetary spending. These facts indicate that national security and prevention of terrorism are strong underlying influences behind the creation of this initiative. Additionally, the MCC board will be headed by the Department of State, which has diplomatic foreign policy interests as its

primary objective.

The direct link between terrorism and poverty is debatable, and its ambiguity is rather evident in the rhetorical language used in discussion of the topic. Officials often speak of the hopelessness that poverty breeds, yet quickly follow up this evaluation with the declarative statement that there is no reason to think terrorism is linked to poverty. When speaking on *NPR: Talk of the Nation*, the undersecretary for International Affairs for the Treasury Department, John Taylor, described in detail the poverty and lack of education in Afghanistan before the U.S. military intervened. In a manner common to many experts and the President himself, Taylor described Afghanistan, "It was reeking with poverty, low education, enrollment of girls in schools [was] only 3 percent. It's no wonder that their young men looking for things to do besides being in school will take routes like that." Yet, he adds the disclaimer, "But there's no reason to think that poverty necessarily leads to terrorism."[34] There are legitimate ways to argue that terrorism can be combated by helping nations develop, but Taylor's correlation, used by so many as a conveniently short "sound-bite" to justify the MCA appears to be flawed.

One reason that people who support this link use the disclaimer is that most of the terrorists involved in the September 11th attacks, and many current terrorist leaders, including Osama bin Laden, come from relatively wealthy backgrounds. Thus, the consensus is that poverty is a contributing factor to terrorism when weak governments in poor countries are unable to control the movement of people across borders and within their country. It is also important to note that there is no clear statistical information either way to judge what environment, and what factors are most likely to cause terrorism. As a country develops and its government gains resources and demonstrates more transparency, there is a higher likelihood that extremist groups will be identified, as borders are more strictly controlled. These are all long-term effects because development is a complicated and time-consuming process, but they are nonetheless substantial in linking development aid and national security for countries with higher risk of porous borders. Yet none of those nations will be eligible for MCA funding.

In an interview with Erin Chapman of Debt, Aids, Trade-Africa (DATA) she was confident that the creation of the program was not a direct response to 9/11. As a representative of U2 singer and political activist Bono's non-profit organization, she attests that it was already "in the works" and there were "seeds" of an increase in aid to Africa before the terrorist attacks. She concedes that 9/11 may have acted as a trigger to implementation but she

argues that pilot programs were being discussed within the administration before 9/11. Chapman could not discuss the details due to confidentiality issues with the actors involved, but she was sure that the initiative had been proposed pre-9/11. She also insisted that many representatives had been working with Bono on the issue of increasing aid to Africa in a more substantial manner before the terrorist attacks. This claim is supported by Holly Burkhalter, of the Council on Foreign Relations, who argues that evangelical Christians are the reason that the Bush administration has taken up the cause of Africa so fervently, especially on the issue of AIDS. She believes that the fact that President Bush answered UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's request that wealthy countries contribute $7 billion to $10 billion a year to the 2001 Global Fund to fight AIDS and other infectious diseases, with a relatively small pledge of $200 million, provides evidence that future financial assistance increases were a product of something more.[35] Burkhalter attributes this additional influence to "prodding" by evangelical Christians who took up the cause in 2002. Nonetheless, the fact that Bush was reluctant to increase funding to AIDS before September 11 seems to suggest that it is undeniably a factor or is a political decision to answer the requests of the increased lobbying by religious groups.

It is clear that 9/11 contributed to the creation of the MCA. Experts such as Erin Chapman argue that pilot programs for a new foreign aid initiative to Africa were in the works before the terrorist attacks, and many argue that pressure from other donor counties and the UN was on the Bush administration to bring a large initiative to Monterrey, Mexico. This may be true, but it is likely that the MCA would have been as large without the sentiment that was aroused over national security in a post-9/11 world. If national security in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11 was not a main factor, why was a similar program not passed or discussed anytime before then by any administration? No one can analyze the exact components that lead to terrorism, especially since most terrorists that have attempted aggression against the U.S. come from wealthy backgrounds. Thus, arguing that the MCA is a direct and satisfactory method to combat terrorism in not convincing unless it is assumed that it will be used to support front-line states or to secure relationships with nations that will be economically valuable in the years to come. Foreign aid was on a direct decline during the 1990s until the U.S. and international communities recognized in the wake of 9/11 that global poverty and inequality threaten U.S. and international security and interests.

Terrorists pose a threat by using a government's inadequacies to their advantage to lure followers. However, as many critics of the administration's insistence on a direct link between terrorism and poverty rightly affirm, the MCA targets nations that do not fit the model of failing states with no control over their borders or resources to provide citizens to dissuade them from joining extremist causes. Increases in funding to the State Department, DOD, frontline states in the war on terror, and the proposal of the HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria Act of 2003 demonstrate that the Bush administration is attempting to cover many different bases to maintain security in a very large and interconnected modern world.

Because the problems of failing states are complicated and involvement is under international scrutiny, past administrations have experienced disasters when attempting to intervene, as was the case with the Clinton administration in Somalia. Thus, the new idea is to attempt an innovative foreign aid program in countries with promise of success, with the overarching goal that other nations will catch on and benefit through regional economic progress and through competition. The administration is trying to benefit from every angle this initiative provides, which confuses its goals and creates controversy. They claim that by creating a program that dispenses aid based on unbiased criteria, they aim to prevent terrorism in Africa through poverty reduction and economic progress. But by proposing to extend the available aid to nations at an income level that surpasses international standards of aid eligibility, by putting foreign policy officials on its board and allowing for discretion in choosing eligible nations, ulterior political interests are revealed.

The opportunity to give politically salient countries more funding probably still promotes U.S. national security, but it reverses the principles that made the policy authentic and promising. National interests of securing allies in Africa as it emerges as the last market of the world is a legitimate goal, especially if it is achieved through development spurred by funding from the MCC. This way, the U.S. gains an economic advantage in Africa and African countries move more swiftly toward development. However, if the MCA is in fact a vehicle for political interests through manipulating the criteria to be able to fund nations that are allies in the war on terror, foreign aid purity will thus be corrupted and will likely revert to aid practices of the 1970s that focused on fighting communism, and long-term goals of development will be overlooked once again. Despite these failings, this program is decidedly a response to the changed atmosphere post 9/11 as part of a new foreign policy and national security strategy to fight the war on terrorism in the long run.

Acknowledgements

I worked with Rogers Smith, my professor in Civil Rights/Civil Liberties.

Notes

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Andria Bibiloni

Grandma, Grandpa, Mom, and Home

Fine Arts Major Senior Award (Fine Arts Program)

This body of work was presented at the 2004 Senior Thesis Exhibition at the Charles Addams Gallery at the University of Pennsylvania from March 15 to April 9. The work itself began with a simple suggestion from my older sister: "Why don't you build a shack?" Although she was only half serious, my sister was referring to part of our family history. My maternal grandmother had tried to keep the details of her childhood secret, but we knew that she had grown up in a poor beach town in Puerto Rico, and was orphaned at a very early age. I immediately thought of the way my mother described the apartment where she grew up in Brooklyn; how its hallway was dank and smelled of urine, but once you stepped inside it was beautifully decorated with quality and design. My mother has instilled within me the idea that you can do a lot with a little, no matter where your home is. So I set out in January to build a shack that would actually be a beautiful home.

I presented this concept to my faculty advisor, Julie Schneider, Undergraduate Chair of Fine Arts. Dr. Schneider suggested that I start with something small that represented the idea, so I bought an old rusty kitchen cabinet for ten dollars from the thrift store. Out of that, ***Grandma*** was born. I started collecting items that reminded me of her: items that she collected, that she cooked with, that she used for healing, and I constructed a memory of my maternal grandmother, who lived at home with my grandfather and my family when I was a little girl. ***Grandpa*****,** made out of an old TV, was the next natural step, followed by ***Mom*** (my mother, their daughter), out of a microwave.

With each piece, I collected the things that stuck out in my memory of them, and tried to stay true to what was important to each of them. ***Home*****,** the

place where they would live, was constructed over Spring Break week, just in time for the thesis show opening. Decorating the inside was an exercise in reconstructing my sense for the place of my childhood. I filled it with "bad mother plants," as my grandmother called them, and cooked *arroz con habichuelas* at the opening reception.

Statement of the Artist

As an artist, I have always been interested in emotional expression and personal investigation. But as I have studied and as I now have experienced, one cannot identify the emotion she is having until it has been expressed. All she knows is that something is stirring inside her: "I feel… I don't know what I feel." The only satisfaction that she can have is in putting a name to that feeling, or in the case of the artist, creating a visual representation for it.

Understanding this concept, it now makes perfect logical sense to me that I have emerged as a mixed media artist: a collector, an arranger. Staring at a blank sheet of paper or canvas has not aided me so far in my quest to identify and express the many deep and hidden emotions that I have saved over the course of my life. But if I can recall and collect objects, colors, scents and images from my memory, history, or a daydream I once had, I can begin to put them back together in a way that pleases my sensibility for the unidentified feelings that I have. As I go through the process of hunting, gathering, placing, and creating, I filter out those elements that don't quite fit until I am satisfied with the sense I have made out of the ones that do—those that truly fit the description in my mind's eye.

Through my recent investigations, *Grandma*, *Grandpa*, *Mom* and *Home*, I was able to create for myself a place that subconsciously sought to reference my Puerto Rican heritage, my childhood, and a sense of loss and loneliness that I experienced at an early age, which has remained with me to the present day.

It is not my intention to arouse within viewers the emotions that I feel. If there is any effect I can hope to have on my audience, it is only to make them understand.

The following are selected photographs of the installation.

Acknowledgments

Advisor, Julie Schneider, Chair, Undergraduate Fine Arts

Title: *Home*
Subject: *The artist in her work*
Author: *Photo copyright Jaques-Jean Tiziou*
Comment: *Andria C. Bibiloni, mixed media, installation, 2004*

ZONED
BUSINESS-RESIDENTIAL

Title: *Grandma*
Subject: *Full view*
Author: *Photo copyright Jaques-Jean Tiziou*
Comment: *Andria C. Bibiloni, mixed media, installation, 2004*

Title: *Grandma (detail)*
Subject: *Inside view*
Author: *Photo copyright Jaques-Jean Tiziou*
Comment: *Andria C. Bibiloni, mixed media, installation, 2004*

Title: *Cabinet*
Subject: *Bottom shelf*
Author: *Photo copyright Jaques-Jean Tiziou*
Comment: *Andria C. Bibiloni, mixed media, installation, 2004*

Title: *Mom (detail)*
Subject: *Inside view of microwave*
Author: *Photo copyright Jaques-Jean Tiziou*
Comment: *Andria C. Bibiloni, mixed media, installation, 2004*

Title: *Home (detail: la famila)*
Subject: *Family Photo*
Author: *Photo copyright Jaques-Jean Tiziou*
Comment: *Andria C. Bibiloni, mixed media, installation, 2004*

Title: *Grandpa*
Subject: *Full view*
Author: *Photo copyright Jaques-Jean Tiziou*
Comment: *Andria C. Bibiloni, mixed media, installation, 2004*

Title: *Grandpa (detail)*
Subject: *Inside the TV*
Author: *Photo copyright Jaques-Jean Tiziou*
Comment: *Andria C. Bibiloni, mixed media, installation, 2004*


Fruit Cocktail

Sean Cusack
Eiji Takizawa
Joyce Tam

The Production of Silicon Wafers Through the Use of the Czochralski Growth Process

Melvin C. Molstad Award (Chemical Engineering)

The objective of this plant process design is the production of 300mm silicon crystal wafers. The starting material, metallurgical silicon (MGS), is a by-product of the steel industry. It is 98% pure but does not meet the necessary requirements for the silicon wafer industry. Thus, it is converted to trichlorosilane (TCS) by reacting with hydrochloric acid (HCl) in a high-temperature fluidized bed. After several intricate steps involving the removal of metal salts and other silanes, TCS is converted to electronic grade silicon (EGS) via the Siemens deposition process. Through the use of the Czochralski (CZ) crystal growth process, polycrystalline silicon (EGS) is melted in a quartz crucible. Single-seed silicon is used to begin the crystal growth process, with the solid interface at a temperature of 1,420 C and a pulling speed of .23mm/min. Following the growth process, the final product (the single crystal) is appropriately sliced into wafers. It should be noted that 40% of the initial charge (EGS) will be recovered. The majority of the losses come from the unused cones at the top and bottom of the ingot and the dust generated from the slicing of the single crystal. By allowing the CZ growth reactors to run simultaneously, approximately 100,000 300mm diameter wafers will be produced each month, each having a thickness of 650 μm. The overall process for a monthly production of 100,000 wafers at the market price of $125

yielded an investor's rate of return of 49.7%.

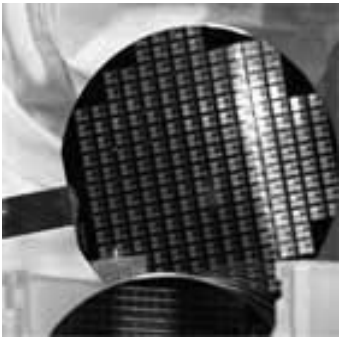
For each batch process of producing a single crystal, the quartz crucible, which is expensive at $2000/crucible, is discarded. Furthermore, after each process the plant must be shut down in order to replace the quartz crucible. Such a system suggests there is room for further refinement. An alternate method, which involves the production of EGS using white rice husks (90% silicon) rather than MGS, was performed and analyzed. This would allow for 8 recharges of the crucible before it is discarded, thereby maximizing the use of the crucible while reducing the utility cost of electricity.

The following is an excerpt of the project.

Introduction

It is clear that the personal computer has found a permanent place on almost every home and office desk throughout the world. As our civilization advances, computer processors are becoming ever more prevalent in everyday items. New watches can retrieve data from the Internet in real time, more people are carrying personal digital assistants, and even some toasters can now be integrated into a home network to prepare a favorite breakfast without human intervention. None of this would be possible without the production of a microprocessor substrate. The substrate of choice for more than 30 years has been electronic grade silicon. The goal of this project is to design a plant that will make silicon wafers appropriate for use in the semiconductor industry while maintaining a profit.

Silicon is sold to the semiconductor industry in the form of circular wafers with an approximate thickness of 650 _m. However, the diameter of these wafers is currently in a state of transition. Microelectronics companies prefer to use large wafers because it saves them money. Microelectronics companies need to imprint silicon wafers with several different features in order to create circuits on the microscale (see figure 1).



(a) **(b)**

Figure 1 – Silicon wafers before (image a) and after imprinting (image b). (http://www.rasa.co.jp/s_wafer.html)

However, the machines used to create these features require some amount of set up time that is independent of wafer diameter. Therefore, if a company uses a wafer that is larger in diameter, more chips can be printed at a time, and the company's wafer throughput increases.

Microelectronics companies are currently upgrading their existing fabrication facilities to support new 300mm diameter wafers. Since the number of 200mm wafers on the market is plentiful, the price is rather low – only about $40 per wafer. Conversely, 300mm wafers sell for about $200 each in today's market. Therefore, it would appear that making only 300mm wafers would be a wise move for a new silicon wafer company. However, the process to make 300mm wafers requires not only more material, but also more time, thus lowering the overall throughput of the process. A detailed discussion of how many 200mm wafers vs. 300mm wafers to be made can be found in the economic analysis section of this report.

A basic schematic for the growth of silicon wafers is shown below in figure 2.

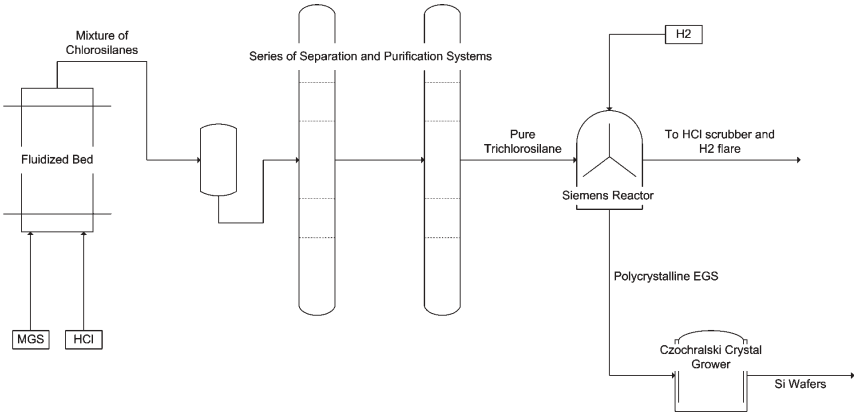


Figure 2 – Schematic process for the production of high purity EGS wafers via the Czochralski method

First, hydrochloric acid (HCl) and metallurgical grade silicon are reacted in a fluidized bed reactor in order to make a mixture of chlorosilanes. MGS is an attractive source of silicon because of its low cost of 3$/kg. MGS is made by reducing silica sand (SiO_X) with carbon. This is typically done in an arc furnace at temperatures exceeding 2000 °C. This silicon product contains about 98.5 weight % pure silicon, with the balance being heavy metal impurities such as iron, aluminum, and copper. These metal impurities must be completely removed if a wafer is to meet modern technological specifications of 150 parts per trillion impurity levels.[1] MGS is produced by most steel industries, explaining the low cost.

After passing through a series of purification steps, 99.9% pure trichlorosilane (TCS) is deposited inside of a Siemens reactor. The mechanism for deposition inside of the Siemens reactor is known as chemical vapor deposition (CVD). This process is slow; making a one ton batch usually takes about 10 days. CVD operates via a surface reaction on a solid substrate. First, TCS and hydrogen gases enter the CVD reactor. The gaseous TCS diffuses throughout the reactor, mixing with the hydrogen gas. Inside the Siemens reactor there are electrically heated silicon rods at a temperature of 1400 K and atmospheric pressure (see figure 3). Both the hydrogen gas and the TCS adhere to the silicon rod, where surface reactions take place which cause polycrystalline electronic grade silicon to be deposited onto the silicon core.

Since the reactor is a fixed volume, by-products of the reaction are pushed out when flowing hydrogen gas enters due to mass balance. It is important to note that the silicon rods are the only heated objects in the reactor. In addition, the wall temperature of the reactor must be substantially cooler than the rods. Otherwise, silicon will deposit on the walls of the Siemens reactor thus decreasing throughput and increasing the amount of required maintenance.

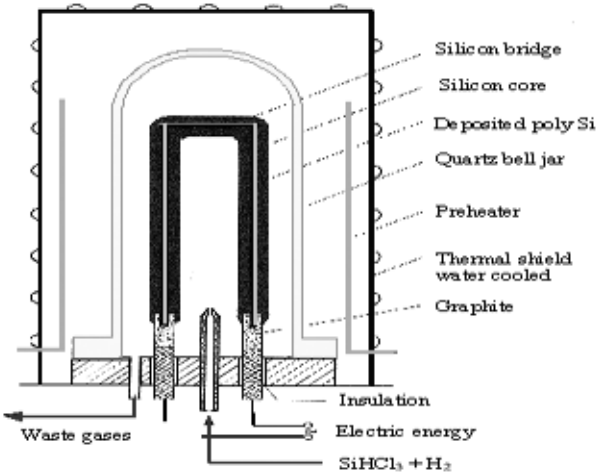


Figure 3 - Siemens Reactor (2)

The process of growing a single crystal ingot is done in a Czochralski (CZ) crystal grower. As shown in figure 2, this is the last step for silicon in this plant. The EGS from the Siemens process is broken into somewhat large chunks, placed inside the CZ grower and heated at a desired temperature until it is completely liquefied. Although it is clear that the melting temperature of silicon is high enough to warrant the use of a ceramic crucible, it should be noted that the melting point of silicon is so high that it will dissolve any crucible material. Quartz crucibles are used to prevent contamination from crucible elements. In addition, each time the CZ grower is turned off, a new crucible must be installed. In order to grow a crystal, a seed crystal of pure EGS with a specific crystallographic orientation is used to start crystallization. The crucible and the seed are slowly rotated in opposing directions during the crystallization to give a radial distribution of any minute impurity that may end up in the finished crystal. Then, the seed is dipped into the crucible and is

slowly pulled out, interacting with the cooler surroundings, which are mostly comprised of Argon gas (see figure 4). Varying the pulling speed will vary the overall diameter of the wafer. When the ingot has been formed, the furnace is turned off, and the crystal is allowed to cool to a reasonable temperature inside of the furnace. After the ingot is cool enough to handle, it is removed from the furnace, the crucible is replaced and recharged, and the cycle begins again.

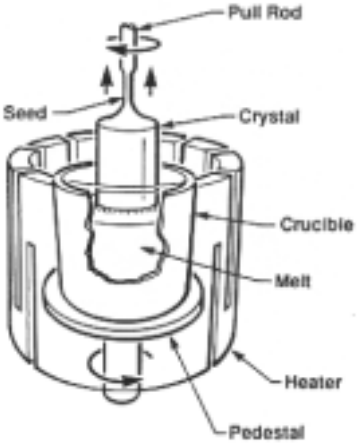


Figure 4 - CZ growth Apparatus

The finished crystal contains several parts. The seed determines the orientation of the crystal. The neck helps remove any possible disruptions when the crystal experiences thermal shock and also supports the entire weight of the crystal. Since the pulling speed must slowly decrease in order to form the body of the crystal, a shoulder is formed during the gradual speed reduction. The body is the part of the crystal that is sliced into wafers. Lastly, the bottom is tapered to prevent thermal shock when removing the crystal from the melt. The finished ingot is sliced into thin tiny wafers using wire saws. The outer layer of the wafers can then be polished away, the primary purpose being to remove any possible surface cracks and dislocations. Finally, the flatness of the wafer is checked.

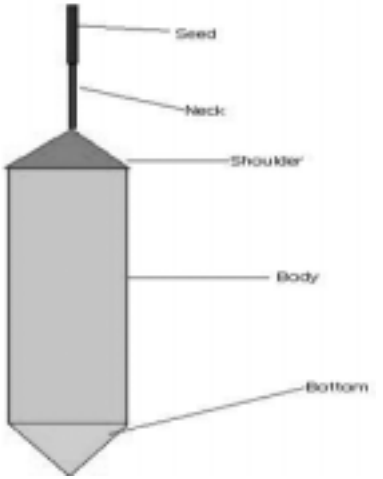


Figure 5 - Crystal Components

Detailed Computational Models of Selected Process Components

Siemens Reactor Computational Model

As described previously, the Siemens reactor is essentially a high temperature CVD reactor. Because of the intense temperatures needed for the deposition reaction (1400K), it is necessary that the walls of the reactor be made of a ceramic. In a closed system, the following reactions would occur until the system reached gaseous equilibrium[3]

$$SiHCl_3 + H_2 \rightarrow Si(g) + 3Cl(g)$$
$$Si + 2HCl \rightarrow SiH_2Cl_2$$
$$Si + 4HCl \rightarrow SiCl_4 + 2H_2$$

The Aspen reactor model RGibbs was used to minimize the Gibbs free energy of the products and unreacted reagents (thus producing an equilibrium state). In order for RGibbs to operate correctly on the Siemens reactor model in Aspen, parameters for reactor pressure, temperature, and flow conditions need to be set. For simplicity, the non-hydrogen inlet flows are considered to be constant. This is because the flow rates of MGS and HCl have already been chosen to optimize R-101. The pressure was selected based on the sensitivity analysis shown in figure 6.

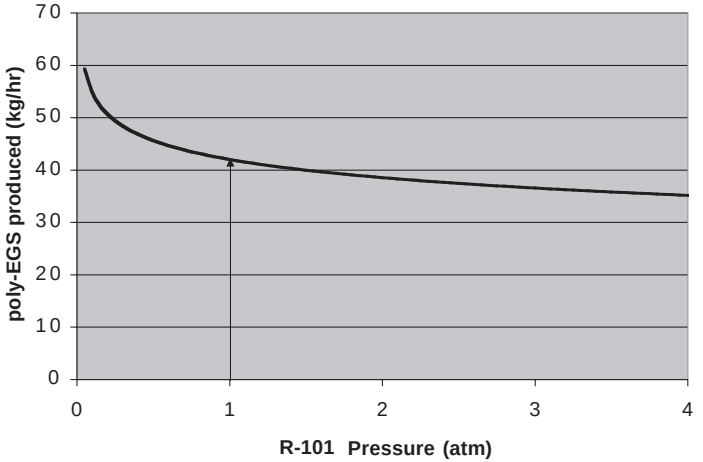


Figure 6 - Poly-EGS production as a function of Siemens reactor temperature. See stream table for incoming stream conditions. Reactor temperature at 1400K. Arrow indicates pressure used in simulation.

Although the production of poly-EGS increases with lower pressures, if a leak develops within the reactor, ambient air will leak into the reactor, ruining the silicon batch. In addition, more poly-EGS can also be produced by a small increase in hydrogen flow rate, which is a simpler solution. Based on these considerations, an operating pressure of 1 atm was chosen for the Siemens reactors. Figure 7 shows the dependence of temperature on poly-EGS production.

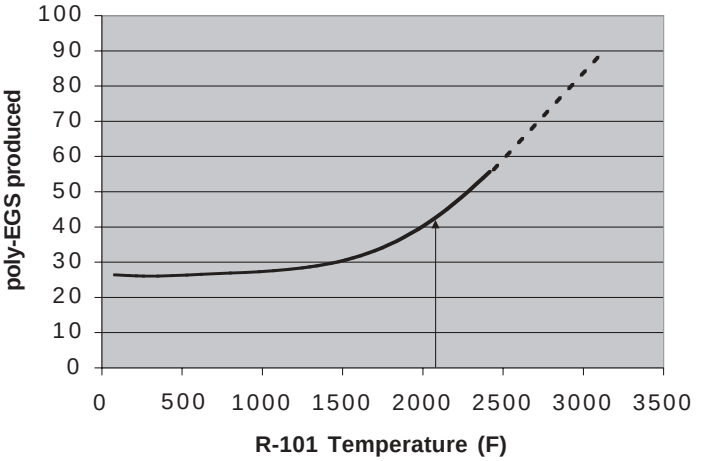


Figure 7 - poly-EGS produced as a function of temperature. Dotted line indicates data that is beyond the melting point of poly-EGS and has therefore been linearly extrapolated. See stream table for reaction conditions. Reactor pressure is set at 1 atm. Arrow indicates temperature used in simulation.

The temperature of 2060 °F was chosen for several reasons. Principally, it is beyond the drastic slope change that occurs between 1500 and 2000 °F thus giving a much larger amount of poly-EGS produced for a small increase in temperature. In addition, it is still well below the melting point of poly-EGS and therefore, it will still retain favorable mechanical properties for handling. Given these conditions, the hydrogen input flow was varied until the desired outlet poly-EGS flow rate was determined.

Since our system is a flow system instead of a batch system, it would be beneficial to confirm our Aspen results with research done on a laboratory scale. Laskafeld and Roznov[4] have analyzed a Siemens reactor flow system in great detail. In order to determine the extent of reaction, a new quantity termed the thermodynamic yield is defined. If we assume solid silicon has no effect on the gaseous equilibrium, then we can write an equation for the thermodynamic yield in the following manner[5]

$$\alpha = \frac{(n_{Si}/n_{Cl})_{entering} - (n_{Si}/n_{Cl})_{equilibrium}}{(n_{Si}/n_{Cl})_{entering}}$$

where _ = the thermodynamic yield
n_{Si} = total number of gaseous moles of silicon either entering or leaving the
reactor at a given condition.
n_{Cl} = total number of gaseous moles of silicon either entering or leaving the reactor at a given condition.

The feed to the Siemens reactor in Laskafeld and Roznov's experiment used only hydrogen gas and TCS, as opposed to our feed which also contains small, but non-negligible amounts of DCS and STC. Therefore, in order to determine the optimum temperature and pressure to operate our Siemens reactor, the RGibbs reactor model was used with the conditions given in the Laskafeld and Roznov article in order to determine the validity of our reactor model. The comparison between these simulations is shown below:

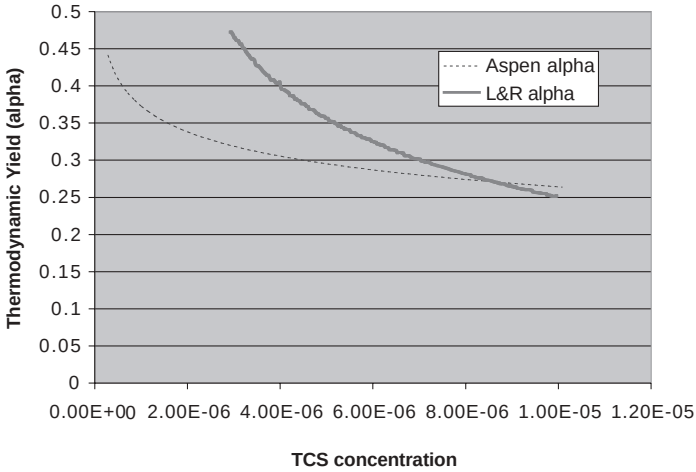


Figure 8 - Thermodynamic yield vs. TCS concentration. Unsurprisingly, this curve is just a rescaled version of the poly-EGS vs. pressure curve shown above. L&R alpha curve is data obtained from theoretical study by Laskafeld and Roznov[6].

The results shown are close to the predicted results. The differences probably arise from the differences in constants used in the Aspen program and the cited research. Since Aspen was made at a more recent date, the data from Aspen will be used in order to determine optimum solid silicon growing conditions. Although it will be assumed that the Siemens reactor will allow silicon to deposit until complete equilibrium has been reached, the data given by Laskafeld and Roznov proves that this is not a bad approximation.

Czochralski Grower Calculations

The mass production rate of a single silicon ingot pulled from a Czochralski reactor can be defined by the following mathematical formula:

$$P = UA\rho$$

where P = production rate of silicon (in kg/hr)

U = pulling speed of silicon ingot (in m/hr)

A = cross sectional area of ingot (in m^2)

_ = density of solid silicon (in kg/m^3)

Clearly, _ is a fixed quantity. Since the desired wafer diameter is known, A is a fixed quantity. Although less obvious, U is constant due to the nature of the

Czochralski process. Since the only heat in the process comes from the crucible of molten silicon, the pulling speed will affect the temperature distribution, thereby also affecting the cooling rate. Thus, very precise control must be maintained over the pulling rate of the crystal in order to obtain a consistent crystal diameter. To properly solve for the temperature distribution in the solid, the only equation that must be solved inside of the ingot is a microscopic heat balance[7]

$$\nabla \bullet k\nabla T - U\rho\hat{C}_p \bullet \nabla T = 0$$

where k = thermal conductivity of solid silicon (W/m-°C)

T = temperature at some point (°C)

= heat capacity of solid silicon (J/kg-°C)

There are two necessary boundary conditions to solve for the temperature distribution within the crystal. First, it is known at the interface between the melt and the solid, thermal equilibrium must hold[8]

$$T_M = T_S = 1420\ ^oC \quad \text{at melt interface}$$

where T_M = temperature of the melt (°C)

T_S = temperature of the solid silicon ingot (°C)

In addition, from every surface not in contact with the melt, the conduction of heat out of the solid ingot must be balanced by a combination of convective and radiative heat transfer from the rest of the growing chamber:

$$-n \bullet (k\nabla T_s) = h(T_s - T_\infty) + \sigma\varepsilon(T_s^4 - T_\infty^4)$$

where n = the direction normal to the surface

T_S = the temperature on the surface of the ingot (K)

h = the convective heat transfer coefficient in the surrounding chamber (W/m^2-K)

T_∞ = the temperature far away from the ingot (K)

_ = the Stefan-Boltzmann constant

_ = the emissivity of solid silicon

Furthermore, in the solid ingot, there is symmetric temperature distribution along the rod axis due to the slow crystallization of the liquid silicon, and the constant turning of the forming ingot. Also, it is assumed that there are no temperature gradients far away from the crystal body[9]

Some assumptions need to be made to solve this problem effectively. To avoid solving the energy equation for both a liquid and solid phase, it is reasonable to assume that the liquid melt will be well stirred due to the

counter-rotation of the crucible and crystal ingot. Even though the temperature is high, the viscosity of silicon is 0.88 cp at its melting point, thus, the assumption is not unreasonable.

The boundary condition given in the melt interface equation suggests that the melt interface should always be flat and normal to the motion of the solid. This is not the case, since a differential element near the surface of the ingot will experience much faster cooling than an element embedded in the center of the ingot. Also, since the melt is not perfectly stirred, it can also transfer some heat away from the solid ingot. Thus, the very nature of the melt interface is difficult to determine. However, the assumption of a flat, normal melt interface will be used to simplify calculations.

Using the above equations, a model may be constructed in the finite element modeling software FEMlab, which solves the above equations across an extended solid by dividing the solid into a series of finite elements. This data can be used in order to determine the minimum bottom cone length required to prevent thermal shock back into the single crystal silicon ingot. The cone is long enough when areas of large temperature gradients (or high heat flux) are only found within the cone section of the crystal. Results from the cone part of the FEMlab simulation are shown in figure 9.

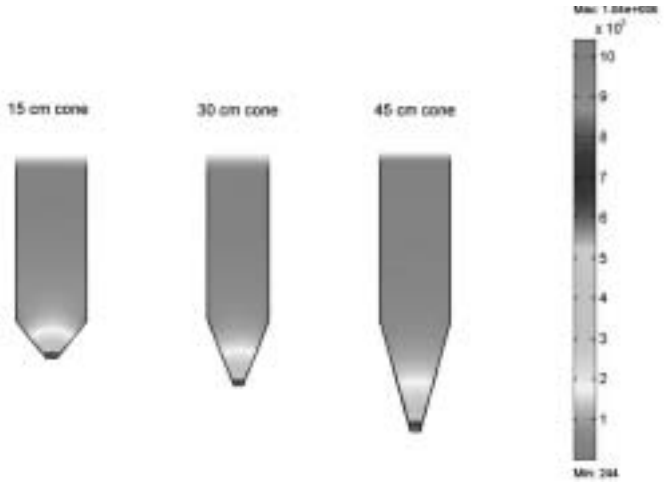


Figure 9 - FEMlab simulation showing heat flux distribution for different end cone lengths. Units are in W/K-m^2

Due to the door size on our selected CZ furnace, we could determine that

the maximum ROI would be obtained if only 300mm wafers were grown, even though the throughput of 200mm wafers would be a bit higher. Therefore, if only 300mm wafers are produced, we then know the given charge size in each crucible. Although the proper seed pulling rate could be determined from FEMlab simulations, industry data was used to determine the optimum pulling rate since their experience provided the best answer to this problem.

Batch Recharge Czochralski Method

Background

The bottleneck in the typical Czochralski method occurs at the crystal pullers. In the traditional method, each crystal takes an average of five days to produce. Approximately half of the time is spent growing the crystal while the other half is used to set up the system, such as loading and melting the charge, cooling the system and replacing the crucible from the previous run. With the proposed batch recharge (BRCz) method, the overall cycle time is significantly reduced.

The BRCz process uses an initial mixed charge of chunk and granular silicon. In normal Cz, only chunk silicon is used which stacks crudely in the crucible. As a result, the charge size is less than the crucible capacity, thereby limiting the size of the crystal[10] pulled (see figure 10). For a 22 in. diameter crucible, a mixed charge size is 300kg as opposed to the 250kg chunk silicon charge. In BRCz, the chunk portion of the charge is loaded first and partially melted. The granular silicon is then added to the crucible and the charge is allowed to melt completely. The surface area to volume ratio is much higher for the granular silicon than for the chunk silicon, allowing for faster melting and a reduction in utility requirements.

In BRCz, after a crystal is grown, the crucible can be recharged with granular silicon 600-700 _m in diameter. The crucible can be reused seven times before the coating becomes depleted[11]The charge can start refilling as the crystal is slowly being withdrawn and cooled, thereby both reducing production time and increasing throughput. In addition, since the system requires shutdown only after every eight crystals, fewer crucibles and utilities are required while maintaining higher throughput. Furthermore, approximately 7.5% of the silicon, or 18.75 kg, is wasted at the bottom of the crucible because the impurity concentration is too high[12] When the crucible is recharged seven times, the amount of unused silicon per crucible remains

constant. Instead of losing 7.5%, only 0.78% of the silicon is lost to the crucible. This percentage takes into account the increase in charge size associated with BRCz.

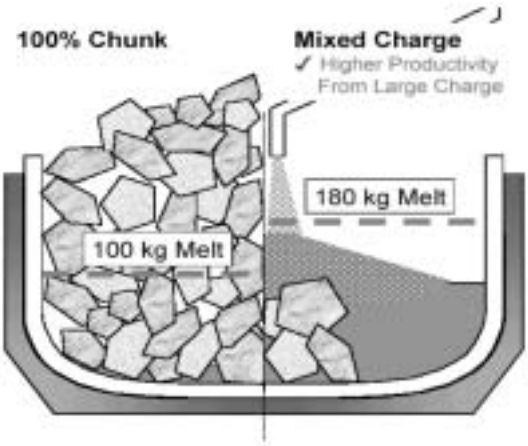


Figure 10 - Illustration of chunk silicon stacking versus granular silicon stacking in a crucible.

Another disadvantage of using a chunk charge is the formation of bridges and hangers inside the crucible[13] Examples of this are shown in figure 11. A mixed charge containing a much lower portion of chunk silicon will eliminate the splashing due to hangers falling into the melt because the chunks do not stack above the final surface of the melt. In the case of bridging, as the chunks begin to melt, they start to stick together. Since the pieces are not packed closely together, a bridge of material may form above the height of the melt. As the pieces continue to melt, the bridge will eventually fall into the melt, causing molten silicon to splash out of the crucible and damage equipment. When a mixed charge is used, the silicon will fill in the spaces between the chunks, essentially eliminating the risk of bridging.

Mixed charge also reduces the chances of crucible damage[14] The jagged edges of the chunks can scratch the crucible, causing high levels of impurities to enter the melt. By reducing the amount of chunk silicon in each charge, risk of damage to the crucible is reduced. This will save money aside from just the cost of the crucible; throughput is increased since the process will not have to be shut down as often to install a new crucible.

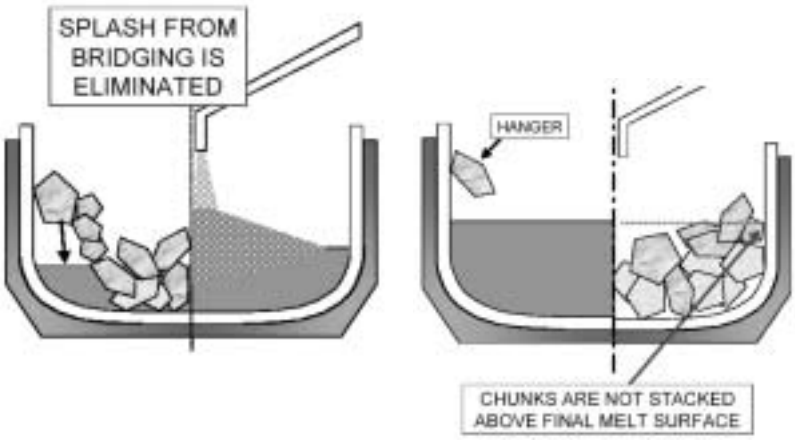


Figure 11 - Examples of (a) silicon bridge forming in the melt and (b) hangers stuck to the side of the crucible above the melt surface[15]

For the recharging process, purely granular feeding is used. The primary reason is to reduce the cost associated with loading and melting the silicon. With granular silicon, we can use a hopper and feeder that can be programmed to refill the crucibles automatically at a certain time interval. In the case of chunk silicon, the charge has to be loaded manually. This leads to one of the main disadvantages of using granular feed. In chunk silicon, the melting process is very slow, which allows trapped hydrogen to slowly diffuse out of the system. Since the granules melt so quickly, there is a rapid release of hydrogen trapped inside the solid. If silicon is loaded into the melt too quickly, the gas will bubble through the melt, causing molten silicon to spill out of the crucible. In the initial mixed charge, the chunk silicon forms a cap that blocks splattering[16]When the crucible is being recharged, there is no chunk silicon to form a cap so the granules must be added more slowly. For the initial charge, the granular silicon feed rate is 18 kg/hr[17] When refilling, the flow rate is decreased to 11 kg/hr.

For a BRCz system using a 300 kg charge, 8 BRCz growers produce as many crystals as 9 normal Cz growers[18] At a cost of $2.7 million for each grower, this could add up to tens of millions of dollars in capital cost savings. Also, with batch recharge, 97% of the silicon needed is made using the

fluidized bed reactor. As a result, the traditional silicon manufacturing plant can be scaled down significantly, which more than offsets the cost of building a second plant to produce granular silicon. We have designed a revolutionary new process using white rice husk as the starting material to take advantage of the emerging BRCz technology. Further details on the design of this section of the plant can be found in the Cusack, Takizawa, and Tam publication in the Penn Engineering library.

Batch Recharge Plant Summary

The granular silicon plant is sized to produce 100,000 wafers per month in conjunction with the traditional Cz plant. The chunk silicon plant has been rescaled to account for the decrease in production. The granular silicon plant produces 35.32 kg/hr of silicon, with capital costs of approximately $6.7 million and a total depreciable capital of $2.95 mil. The utilities cost $32,000/year. The operating cost per year is $3.03 mil, 10% of which is for waste management.

Cost Analysis

Assuming all operating costs, and prices of equipment, utilities, and all other costs do not fluctuate significantly with the inflation rate, the process plant was calculated to begin operation in 2007. In 2006, 300mm wafer demand forecast is projected to top 1.26 million wafers per month[19]This is a dramatic increase from 2003, where the monthly market demand was 418,000 wafers.

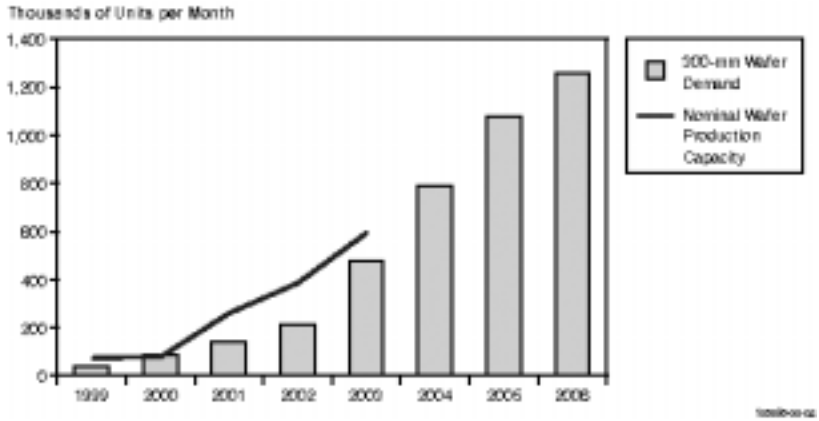


Figure 12 - 300-mm Wafer Demand Forecast 1999-2006 (Gartner Research[20])

In the month of December 2003, the five major industries, Shin-Etsu Dai, SUMCO, Wacker-Chemie, Komatsu, and MEMC produced 200, 100, 50, 45, and 10 thousand wafers per month, each wafer having a market price of $200.[21]However, given that Intel and other major microprocessor producers such as Motorola, AMD, and Texas instruments purchase the wafers in bulk amounts, it is safe to assume the bulk price is significantly less than the market indication. Anticipating a competitive market price of $125 per wafer, the process plant was optimized to produce approximately 100,000 wafers per month, thereby competing with both top producers in Shin-Etsu and SUMCO (December 2003 monthly production).

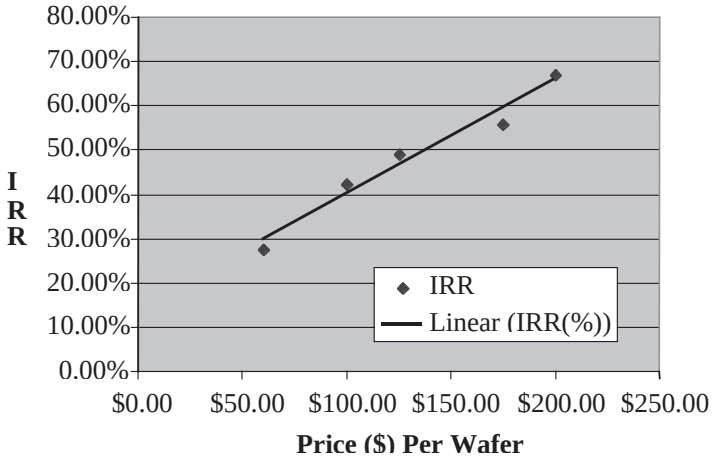


Figure 13 - IRR trends with increasing wafer price (100,000 wafer/month.

Based on different wafer prices chosen for the monthly production options, the IRR for each condition was computed using an iterative process over a given time period until the Net Present Value (NPV) reached values close to zero. For the price of $125 per wafer, over a 15-year investment period an IRR of 49.7% is obtained. This generated a total sales of $152.8 million yearly at full production, with the major utilities being the powering of the Czochralski growers, which amounted to $14.38 million yearly. Such wafer

price estimates were part of a cautious approach to the market industry. However, if each wafer were priced at the market price of $200, this would generate a 67% IRR. For further analysis, a sensitivity test was conducted between IRR and wafer price, with the results shown in Figure 13. There was a noticeable trend that as each wafer reached the market price of $200, the IRR increases proportionally. The effect of raw materials cost was not significant, with the sum of hydrogen, MGS, and HCl less than $2 million yearly.

Batch Recharging: An alternate method

Although the above production rate resulted in a profitable IRR, it must be noted utilities were extremely expensive. For the 100,000 wafer option, which required 26 CZ growers, annual utility cost amounted to $14.4 million. If we scale up the plant to 500,000 wafers/month in order to meet future demand, then 111 CZ growers will be required with an associated annual utility cost of $61.4 million. Together with the costs associated with the proper growing conditions (clean and vibration-proof rooms to prevent snapping of the crystal neck), these maintenances were significantly more expensive than the cost of the entire process—that is, much costlier in comparison to the purchase of raw materials, refrigerants, and heat exchangers.

To account for the high utilities cost, an alternate method was designed to lower both the utilities and operational costs. In this process, the primary source, rather than MGS, is white rice husks, which is essentially free since they are a waste product of the rice industry. As mentioned in the process description, both operational and utility costs were substantially lower. At the conservative approach of entering the market with a production of 100,000 wafers per month and at the competitive price, an IRR of 58.8% was obtained. This was higher than the IRR of the original plant itself, and the utility costs were lower, approximately $4.1 million. Likewise, the trends revealed in the original plants showed in this alternative design: wafer price increased with rising IRR (figure 14).

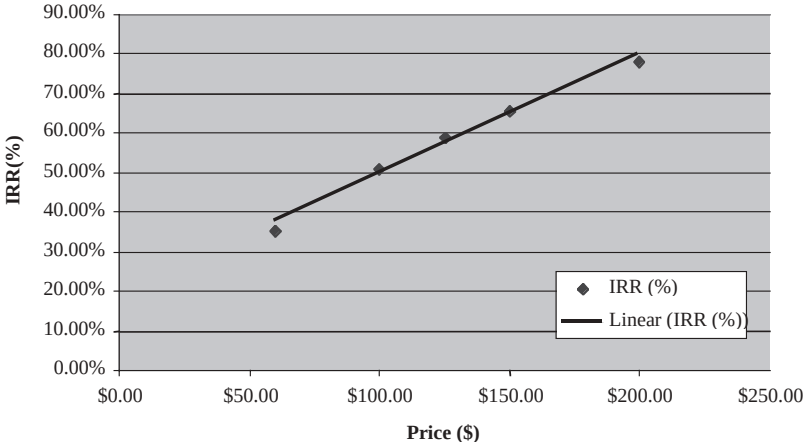


Figure 14 - IRR trends for Batch Recharge Process (100,000 wafers/month).

However, considering the startup costs, the amount of time necessary to build the plant, and the volatile technological advances, it is likely that a price of $125 per wafer will change. Anticipating such a change, analysis for lower wafer prices was conducted. Because it is highly improbable that an approach of only a 10,000 wafer production will garner much market strength, different responses were calculated for the production of 500,000 wafers per month.

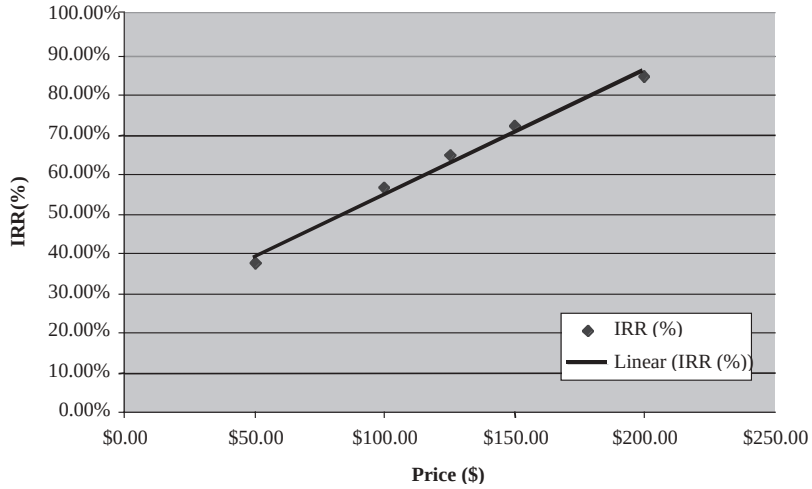


Figure 15 - IRR trends Batch Recharge Process (500,000 wafers/month)

As shown above (figure 15), IRR increased with rising wafer prices. For a selling price of $100 per wafer, an IRR of 55.8% was obtained. Furthermore, at a low selling price of $60 a wafer, an impressive IRR of 38.3% resulted. These results give a positive prediction that although this process will be in its initial phase when entering the already tight and extremely competitive market, the indicated high IRRs suggest an economically feasible operation.

Another major consideration is the plant life which was estimated to be 15 years. Although this is not reflective of the rapid technological advances of the market industry, the reasonably high IRRs indicate competitive stability with the other big five corporations, especially if the wafers were to be sold at $60.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This process evaluation has led to a reasonable and economically feasible production. By performing multiple situations with wafer price sensitivity, multiple solutions could be transformed to feasible operations. However, the silicon wafer industry has been proven to be extremely competitive, as shown by the formation of SUMCO, leaving five companies comprising 90% of the world silicon wafer market share. Together with the anticipated rise in wafer production, there are two possible options. First, industries will increase 300mm wafer production. Therefore, it is strongly recommended that this process design begin production at 500,000 wafers a month, including the batch recharging method, with an individual selling price of $125. Second, one must take into account the price fluctuation due to the economy, inflation, deflation, etc. Consequently, prices will most likely not remain at the suggested competitive price as stated in the first option. These trends suggest wafer price should be sold at either $60 or $100, which will yield reasonable IRRs of 38.3% and 55.8%, respectively. Either option is feasible, and gives a sound prognosis of survival in the market.

It is difficult to predict how the silicon wafer industry will change—that is, with the fast-paced nature of the industry, whether there will be new prototypes. It is possible that 400mm wafers will eventually prosper, potentially driving this plant out of the market. A new method for single crystal growing may be in the market, thereby revealing another possible obstacle in the struggle for supply power. Simply put, there are a multitude of possible changes, each exposing deficiencies in the current design. The process design does have slight shortcomings, primarily the decision to hold a plant life of 15 years in a highly volatile market.

To account for possible innovations in the silicon market, a further study to evaluate the IRR and profitability of a plant with a proposed ten year life is strongly recommended. This would be much more compatible with the changing semiconductor industry, and would provide a much better prognosis determining whether such a design would be both financially and economically feasible. For example, sample IRRs were calculated using the batch recharging mode 500,000 monthly wafer production. At the selling price of $60 and $100 per wafer, IRRs of 35.5% and 52.2% resulted, both reasonable IRRs. This was not an accurate prediction given that inflation rates will change, but provided an estimate of how a ten year plant life would fare, anticipating technological advances.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

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Terri Ginsberg

Profile of Courage: The Story of Simone Weil Lipman

Jeanette Nichols Prize (Women's History)

In the years between the wars, many French Jews had joined service and cultural organizations, including the Jewish scout movement, Eclaireurs Israelites de France. Out of organizations such as these came the dedicated workers who formed organizations such as the Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants, the French Children's Aid Organization. One of OSE's most dedicated and effective workers was Simone Weil. Like many of her peers, she worked at first in legal, above-ground homes and camps. As more and more Jews were arrested and deported, she, like many of her colleagues, went underground with the French Resistance. She assumed the name and identity of a French Catholic nurse, and in that guise was able to continue hiding Jewish children, saving them from deportation and probable death. This study consists of passages from interviews with Simone Weil Lipman, interspersed with sections giving relevant historical context.

The following is an abridged version of the project.

Fall 1992: Two white-haired women sit adjacent to one another in a New York synagogue. Below them, the men sway together, mumbling through the Saturday morning prayers. Above their harmonized voices, the women's gallery is bursting with conversation. Each woman eyes the other, not in an attempt to place the rich mink coat or the weathered raincoat. Rather, their eyes focus on nametags, worn quite conspicuously and uniformly printed with

name and whereabouts during the war. “Simone Lipman, Rivesaltes” reads the tag on the woman in the raincoat. “Rivesaltes!” exclaims the other woman. “I was rescued in Rivesaltes by a social worker who forged my papers and got me out.”

The elegant woman, splendidly clad in her mink coat, is shocked to discover that the woman next to her, Simone Lipman, is the Simone Weil who saved her from deportation and almost certain death. At the first gathering of the “alumni”, children rescued by the Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants (OSE), the French Children’s Aid Organization, Simone Lipman had characteristically not displayed on her nametag that she was indeed a rescuer deserving of praise, not one of the children saved from the camps. During the war, Simone Weil Lipman participated in the rescue of some 3,000 French children.

* * *

After the Kristallnacht in November, 1938, many German Jewish families sent their children across the border in response to the porgrom conducted against Germany’s Jews…Several of these young Jewish girls sent across the border without their families had had Simone Weil as their lead counselor in the Jewish scout movement, the Eclaireurs Israelites de France (EIF). The EIF integrated native French Jewish children with immigrants, teaching them Zionist ideals and Jewish heritage.[1]…EIF camps and training courses were dedicated to Jewish learning and service, in addition to “pedagogy, scouting, calisthenics, sports and handicrafts” [2](Lazare 58). This was to fit with the mission of the EIF founder and national commissioner, Robert Gamzon, to move from a “Jewish condition lived passively to that of a newborn Jewish militancy, founded on humanistic and spiritual values”[3] (Lazare 54). Simone’s involvement with the EIF would not be the last time the organization would call upon her to take a leadership position. In fact, her training as a counselor would be the number one cause of her involvement in clandestine activities during the war.

September, 1939: (After the German invasion of Poland) Strasbourg was evacuated to southwest France. The Weil family relocated 100 miles away from Strasbourg, in Blamont, believing that this move would enable Abraham Weil to continue his successful farming business. …

One Saturday morning in June, 1940, the Weil family watched in complete surprise as the French army steamed by their house, in retreat. Knowing that

the impenetrable Maginot line had been breached, the family took off…Josephine and Abraham had never driven on the Jewish Sabbath, yet they all drove south, not knowing their final destination. Mattresses piled on the roofs of their cars, they had a harrowing five days and nights:

> The French army was behind us, and there were constantly planes zooming overhead. We finally arrived at a spot where the Germans were both behind and in front of us. They had invaded the entire country.
>
> Paris had been invaded and the armistice was signed. Alsace was reattached to Germany – it became German overnight. All the Jews were given 24 hours to gather minimal money, and one suitcase. They were driven to the demarcation line between northern and southern France and just dropped there. Somehow, among them, my uncles were eventually demobilized and sought us out.[4] (Simone Lipman, interview)

That November, the foreign press received word of internment camps in France, housing foreign nationals, particularly Jews. Gurs, the largest of these camps, was near the Pyrenees. Originally built to house refugees of the Spanish Civil War, Gurs began receiving German Jewish refugees as early as September, 1939. Many in France were unaware of these camps, more concerned with their day-to-day survival in strange new circumstances following their unimaginable defeat.

1941: The Weil family set up their third home in as many years in the Unoccupied Zone, buying with whatever funds they could muster a small guardhouse with a farm on the grounds of a chateau. Returning to Strasbourg after the fighting had stopped was not an option:…they felt fortunate to find a place that could sustain their swelling numbers.

Living with Simone, her parents, brother and grandmother were two aunts, their two children and two German Jewish men who "somehow had been picked up along the way". The family became accustomed to their country routine: Simone would milk the cows, make cheese, and, on market day, hitch the horse and buggy and sell whatever they did not eat in town. After a day of tending animals and cultivating potatoes and beans, they would gather around the radio and listen to coded messages from De Gaulle on the scrambled BBC station. "We thought we knew from that, that the war could not possibly last that long." Life was as close to normal as possible, though not quite. Almost everything was rationed, and "the Germans requisitioned

everything". In October 1940, the Vichy government had issued an edict, requiring all the Jews in the Unoccupied Zone to register officially by reporting to the police to have "JEW" stamped on their identity cards as part of the "Statut de Juifs" (Vegh 12.) Lipman remembers

> To this day, I do not know whether I registered or not. My parents were law-abiding citizens, and I am almost certain that they would have registered. In fact, I know they did. But I really can never remember whether or not I went to register. The war does funny things to memory.[5]

By August of 1941, the Vichy government revoked laws banning anti-Semitic articles in the French press. It was the beginning of an unprovoked, Government-sponsored campaign of anti-Semitism. The government of Marshal Henri Petain decried the decadence of the Third Republic, and saw the occupation as a symptom of that decay, caused by agents of the anti-France, namely Jews, Freemasons, Communists and foreigners. Petain had met with Hitler in October of 1940 and agreed to take initiative in the collaboration[6] (Peschanski 87).

France was undergoing a revolution with Petain at the head of a cult of personality that drew from elements of monarchy, dictatorship and saint-like veneration[7] (Ousby, 89). By law, his image was displayed in public buildings, and his bust was found in many homes. Laws passed in October of 1940 also gave prefects in the Unoccupied Zone in southern France the power to intern all foreign Jews. Given that all government welfare benefits were withdrawn from foreign refugees, local officials were not at all hesitant to comply[8] (Poznanski, 172). In an unexpected twist for those Jews who sought refuge in southern France after the German occupation of Paris, Vichy's anti-Semitic policies were actually stricter that those in the Occupied Zone. Germans defined Jews as those with two or more Jewish grandparents who observed religious practices. Vichy declared people with only two Jewish grandparents as Jews, as well as those who were married to Jews[9] (Ousby 100).

As France tried to understand its new fate as a divided and occupied country, a young woman named Andree Salomon came to quite prominence in Jewish circles. Salomon was a legal secretary and a former leader in the EIF. She was only 31 years old when, in 1938, she began her involvement with the plight of Jewish children in France. As the traveling supervisor of the resident OSE relief teams, she was entrusted with training young social workers working in detention camps for foreign Jews throughout Vichy France[10] (Lazare 132). Through contacts within the EIF Jewish scout network, Salomon

had gotten Simone's name in early 1941. Salomon needed to recruit social workers on behalf of OSE to go into the Rivesaltes detention camp, located east of the Pyrenees Mountains, almost at the Spanish border. …Lacking enough professional staff, OE hired counselors from youth movements, such as the EIF. (In Simone Weil's words:

> To my eternal guilt, I had no knowledge of what had happened to Jewish refugees…(Some) were deported west, to Rivesaltes. Rivesaltes was an old abandoned army barracks, completely unprepared for human habitation. It was hard to leave my family. But I said "Sure, I'm coming" and I left.[11]

With those three simple words, Simone Weil would change her life. When asked why, she will graciously tell you that there was a job to be done, and she had to do it. But taking the risk and leaving the countryside, where people still lived relatively well, took more than just a profound sense of duty.

November, 1941: Rivesaltes was built in 1911 as a transit center for colonial troops from Senegal and Morocco. Constructed over an open, stony plain, the camp's wooden barracks stretched out for three kilometers. The weather was appalling, with glacial winds in the winter and hot summer winds that picked up dust in gusts that ran up to 120 miles per hour.[12] (Marrus 173) …

Simone arrived at Rivesaltes in late November.. The conditions were "absolutely atrocious. The sanitation was abominable. People had been there for years. Though food rations were required by the Geneva Conventions, these were quickly looted by camp guards and sold on the black market. All around her, people died..

> My purpose was to do something with the children. People ask how I communicated with them; I could speak enough German to get by, and spoke it badly enough that it sounded like Yiddish for the Yiddish speakers. I was to organize activities with NOTHING. There were no pencils, no crayons, no paper, no supplies. I also was to provide them with a sense of Jewish life and ritual. My other job was to get extra rations for the people starving and dying of starvation.[13]

Through the Swiss relief organizations and the Joint Relief Committee, Simone secured food items, just enough to keep people from starvation; barrels of dates, tins of sardines and precious sweetened condensed milk were rationed to the weakest. During the daily
distribution of bread, the OSE workers cut the slices evenly enough to squeeze out just one extra slice. However, it was "more sawdust than bread".[14] The

OSE workers, joined by workers from the Quaker, Unitarian and YMCA relief organizations, would do anything "just to keep people alive".[15] The camp administration had a food allotment of 11.5 francs per day for each internee, but generally spent around four francs per person. Each day, internees at Rivesaltes received a serving of ersatz coffee, less than 200 grams of bread and two servings of soup that was all turnip and no fat in a broth of water. Only twice a week would they officially receive a maximum portion of 60 grams of protein[16] (Poznanski 181). Most historians agree with Simone's assessment that had the internees been left with the food provided by the camp officials, most would have died before the summer of 1942.

Although Simone could leave the camp if she pleased, while she was there she was subject to the same conditions as the internees. Bedbugs and other vermin were rampant, and there was little running water. Even the sick had to walk more than 150 meters from the infirmary to reach running water. Prisoners suffered enormously from the cold. The shortages of fuel were beyond comprehension; of the seventeen to eighteen tons of fuel needed each week, the camp received less than four tons in an average week[17] (Marrus 174) At the same time, supplies of shoes, socks, stockings, undergarments and other clothes dwindled to almost nothing.

Simone could see something profoundly different about the children, even from the beginning. Most of them realized that they were responsible for their own survival, and each learned their own ways of getting around the camp infrastructure, securing that extra gram of meat that would mean survival. Vivette Samuel (another social worker) recalls the transformation:

> Paternal authority had vanished… some children, dirty and slovenly, brazen and rebellious, formed little gangs that acknowledged no authority over them. Others remained for some time the same well-groomed, polite children, until one day their own brakes suddenly no longer held. For them all, it was the same road to the disintegration of moral values[18] (Samuel 51)

Simone and her colleagues had to maintain some sense of order as well as physical and moral health. Her classroom was not so much a place to learn facts as a location where the old societal norms still held.

For the 350 children at Rivesaltes, the "sole method of punishment was to deprive a child of a day of class"[19] (Poznanski 187) The resident social workers were voices that seemed to be heard within the bureaucracy of the camps, at points where the internees' voices did not carry. They were also reminders of life outside the camps. Their humanity helped give the hope to many that

there were others concerned with their plight. The workers in the camps were a sign that these people, in a country not their own, would not be forgotten.

Winter, 1941: Awful winds blustered through the camp, blowing dirt, sand and even the weakened internees in every direction. Desolation reigned. Simone set up workshops to occupy people, ensuring that there would be something to make the desperate days pass. She helped start a dressmaking shop, paying what money she could for the "nicest dresses I ever had made"[20] (SW) She would learn that the internees of the camp always kept their dignity, a lesson that would remain with her for life. In all, 147 adult pupils in Rivesaltes studied carpentry, shoemaking, sewing and dressmaking, hairdressing and basket weaving[21] (Poznanski 189)

Aid workers were permitted to enter the camps due to the rulings of the Nimes Committee, established by the Ministry of the Interior in response to growing demands for assistance…Simone and the two other OSE workers sensed that nothing good could come of the war for those in captivity at Rivesaltes…They began to work

> through whatever means possible to "liberate" children from camps and put them in children's homes. This meant separating families, one of the most difficult things to do. We got some support in official quarters to get children under sixteen out. We did it by legal means and by convoy. We also fudged the dates. A lot.[22] (SW)

Children were placed in OSE children's homes throughout southern France. Some of the most difficult moments occurred when Simone and her co-workers saw parents kiss their children goodbye; many would never see each other again. Some parents, not native to France, confused and overwhelmed by the conditions in which they found themselves, were quite reluctant to hand over their children to strangers… Most parents approached it as an opportunity … to do *something* for their children when they were completely unable to plead the case of their starving child to a faceless and uncaring administration across a barbed wire fence.

Most of the OSE homes were staffed by "aliens", foreign refugees who had entered France before the war, yet were denied the opportunity to work. They were qualified social workers, teachers and doctors who were without work and a sense of purpose in Vichy France… Over 1,000 children under the age of fifteen were released from the camps and placed in OSE group homes prior to July, 1942, along with an unknown number who were smuggled out[23] (Lazare 133) …

1942: By the end of the year, almost all of the children would be out of the camp… On March 27, 1942, the first trainload of Jews left the Drancy internment camp for Auschwitz… As arrests and deportations drew more attention, word spread through France that families were being torn apart in front of witnesses[24] (Zuccotti 145)

Throughout August of 1942, Jews in the Occupied Zone who arrived in France after 1936 were rounded up. That month, the Vichy government would hand over some 15,000 more foreign Jews to the Germans[25] (Vegh 16) Half a century later, Simone's voice still quivers as she remembers "as if it were yesterday.. I will never forget… the first jeep of German soldiers as they arrived in the camp"[26] It was clear to all the OSE workers that the Germans were "relocating" the Jewish population, but no one quite knew why. Under the guise of "family relocation", German soldiers coaxed parents into giving away the names and addresses of the children who had been taken to OSE homes. Children, arrested with the purpose of being "reunited" with their families, returned to Rivesaltes in handcuffs. Over 1800 children had been entrusted to OSE homes.[27] (Samuel, 76) Meanwhile, foreign Jews were rounded up from all over the Unoccupied Zone and brought to Rivesaltes, and the number of internees began to swell.

Andree Salomon settled into Rivesaltes to advise the OSE workers. Her report of what transpired in August of 1942… (clarifies) the role of the OSE social workers.

> It was common knowledge that four thousand children separated from their parents had been deported from Paris in similar conditions. If we could still delude ourselves about the fate of able-bodied men and women fit for work, we continued to wonder about the fate of the others – the ill, the disabled, the children…
>
> The social workers threaded their way among those who had just registered their children. Carefully so, since they could not give away their identity, they indefatigably went from one person to another repeating "It's not necessary for you to be here; leave, return to your barracks." … But we had to act prudently to be able to remain there, to stay informed, to anticipate the worsening of measures, to exert an influence upon the administration and our colleagues. Once again, the role of witness assumed by the social worker proved to be of the utmost importance.[28] (Samuel 79)

The Germans produced categories of people that might be exempt from deportation, particularly women with children under two. Simone, like the

other OSE social workers,
frantically sought out all those that fit those categories:

> We just didn't know! Our minds couldn't have fathomed gassing at Auschwitz! At the time, we just wanted to prevent people from getting on the convoy. We had no idea what would come! We stupidly believed those *stupid* exemption categories! At the time, it enabled us to make papers to stop people from being picked up. On this first convoy, they allowed the social workers to accompany people to the train, and I found out there were twenty people there who were exempt that were among the people lined up to get on the train; twenty people on that train who shouldn't have been there.[29]

Running the length of the train, Simone found the twenty people who fell within the German categories of exemption and removed from the train in the nick of time.

> What I didn't know is that some German soldier had been given a quota. And twenty other people were picked up before we had a chance to gather dossiers and maybe save them. It is still hard to digest, to this day. However many people we could save, they would just find more to take their place. There were always more. [At this point in the interview, Simone is visibly distressed, and leaves the room, returns to continue on an unrelated tangent, going back to the story of the deportations only after some time.][30]

1943: Simone Weil, by all official reports, ceased to exist. Aided by the fact that she did not look particularly Jewish, Simone Weil became Simone Werlin. Working with other members of the Resistance and with stolen official rubber stamps, Simone took on an entirely new identity. The director of the School of Social Work in Strasbourg willingly predated a new diploma to certify Simone as a licensed social worker and also falsified her student card. Now that she was listed with the health department, Simone wore a navy blue suit and hat every time she left home. To make it even more realistic, she painted a red cross on her hat, which remains in her possession to this day. She secured lodging with two old ladies and told them nothing of her past. She attended Mass every Sunday, and made sure that they saw her there, though she always sat in the back. She went so far as to keep a rosary next to her bed. While at Mass, she silently ran through the Jewish prayers, prayers that she had dared utter aloud only in what seemed a previous lifetime.

Working closely with local resistance forces, both Jewish and Christian, Simone would search for any private home, camp, convent or school that would take Jewish children. She would supply them with false identities and forge papers and ration cards. Transporting them on bicycle, tram, horse and buggy or whatever means available, with each child holding only essentials, Simone would deposit the children in their new homes, then set to work on the next batch. She would return from time to time with forged ration cards for food and clothing, along with what news she had of their families.

Some children could not pass as non-Jews, even with her prompting and proper paperwork. They could be readily identified by dress, religious practice or physical traits. Some of them were eventually smuggled across the Swiss border. The children who could pass as Aryans assumed the identity of orphans from bombed-out cities in the north. Because many archives were destroyed by Allied bombs, these claims could not be readily disputed.[31] (Zucotti 215) The OSE administration realized that someday the children would have to reclaim their identities. They dared not depend on OSE workers to help because they might be captured, deported or killed. Coded lists of all children placed by OSE were sent to Switzerland.[32] (Klarsfield 99)…

(Throughout 1943, the pro-Vichy forces grew more violent, and the resistance more widespread. For the OSE, this meant more people trying to bring down the Vichy regime.)

1944: Simone received orders to attend a clandestine meeting in Limoges, sixty miles from where she was then working. Her friend Charlotte, a member of the resistance, lived there, and Simone made plans to meet her outside of a pastry shop. Depositing her bag and bicycle at a safe house, she met Charlotte, both hoping that they would be able to enjoy some of the unrationed pastry. As they emerged from the shop, a man with a large book under his arm approached them. The book was actually a box, containing a revolver. The man and his companion marched the two women to Charlotte's home. Simone recounts the story:

> We never should have met! Not only was I compromising my safety, I was compromising the safety of the children. Inside the lining of my coat, I had lists of children and stolen stamps to make more fake identification. I watched as they ransacked the apartment and waited for them to search me. Very quietly, I asked if I could use the bathroom. Their mistake! I walked in slowly, took off my coat and ripped off the lining. I flushed all the papers down the toilet, and jumped up

> on the toilet to throw the stamps out the window. I am a short woman, but somehow I managed to be much much taller that day.[33]

When she returned, the men searched Simone but found no traces of illegal activities. The policemen let her go, and arrested Charlotte.

> It was far from over. I needed to alert the network and let them know what had happened. I had to get to my rucksack and the documents that were inside it. I had to clean out my bags. That night I spent with a team member, although I do not remember it. The next day, I bicycled back to my apartment. When I returned, the two little old ladies said to me, "Your two male friends from Limoges came to visit, and were very disappointed that you weren't home." I was 100% sure it was the militia men from Charlotte's apartment, that they regretted letting me go. I told the ladies, "What a pity! I would have liked to have seen them!" and packed my bags and left again.[34]

1944: After her close call in Limoges, Simone relocated to Bourges. The situation for Jews in the south continued to deteriorate and OSE needed many more places to relocate children. Simone knew that the convents, monasteries and schools around Bourges would provide more opportunities for hiding than private homes. To even begin to place Jewish children in church-run institutions, OSE needed permission from the Archbishop.
Simone convinced the Archbishop to not only place children, but to forge baptismal records as well.

There was a strong history of French Christian participation in OSE efforts. The Archbishop of Toulouse, Monseigneur Jules-Gerard Saliege, began placing children in Christian institutions as early as 1942. Similar arrangements were made with Protestant officials, such as the Reverend Marc Boegner, the leader of French Protestants.[35] (Klarsfeld, 99)… The leaders of the Christian community were more likely to know of people in distress, had access to space and food, often took in foreigners and attracted far less attention than private individuals.[36] (Zuccotti 240)

Summer, 1944: As the Germans continued to lose the war, the numbers of Jews who were deported, arrested and executed continued to rise. Even the Weils, secluded on their farm, were not exempt… As she continued her work with OSE, Simone would not return home and even gave up contacting family members to shield them from retribution should her resistance activities be uncovered…

Both of her parents, Jeanne and Abraham, who had registered as Jews, were arrested in a local round up. They did not use the papers she had given them; they were law-abiding citizens and above all believed in the French state. An overzealous gendarme sent Jeanne home, and Abraham was not deported. False paperwork arranged through Simone's contacts in resistance circles saved the others in the home from arrest.

Meanwhile, Simone was still working to find homes for children while the Germans actively attacked OSE homes. In 1944, the Nazis deported and gassed the entire population of three OSE homes: eighty-one children in all.[37] (Lazare 206) One raid was led by Klaus Barbie, the so-called "Butcher of Lyon". All this occurred while the Allies were only miles away.

The raids on children's homes were not confined to towns and villages. In July, 1944, less than a month before the liberation of Paris, Gestapo agents raided eight homes in Paris, capturing 258 children and 30workers. Eventually, an OSE report to Switzerland alerted them that all OSE homes had been closed for security reasons.[38] (Klarsfield 100)

September, 1944: It was the time of the Jewish High Holy Days, though Simone in her guise as a Catholic nurse had not observed them for some time. As the Jewish calendar pointed to a new year, Simone found herself in a formerly occupied France, liberated by the Allied troops. But her work was far from finished. There were "OSE kids all over the place"[39] and each child who had been ingeniously placed in hiding had to be collected. All over central France, old children's homes were re-opened to house children who had been shepherded away to private homes, convents and faraway towns. There was much work to be done to make the homes habitable for their small residents, but Simone recalls that she had "never been so happy cleaning rat doo".[40]

1945: Simone reclaimed her old identity, moved to Paris and opened a new Montessori-based OSE home called Le Petite Monde, also known as Melbourne House because of its financial backing from OSE-Australia. It sheltered as many as 35 Jewish children, generally from the ages of two to six. They had been recovered from the homes of French families who had kept them hidden throughout the war.[41]

Many visitors came to Le Petite Monde, bringing gifts. Among these were shoes with real soles. Throughout the war years, Simone had gotten by with clogs fashioned from wood. (The return of wooden shoes in the 1990s is something she will never understand.) One of these visitors alerted her to a

scholarship program established by the US-based National Council of Jewish Women. Their goal was to recruit women involved in the re-building of Europe, send them to school in America, then return them to France.

Simone applied for the scholarship was enthusiastically accepted. She enrolled for a Masters in Social Work at Tulane University, and the following year received her degree from Western Reserve University (now called Case Western Reserve). It was, she said "such a relief to be away from the misery" that pervaded France. After her brief stay in America, she was sent back to France to work for the Joint Distribution Committee, assessing the children's homes that she had helped to re-open. It would be a brief stay in her home country, however. In 1949, Simone was released from her commitment to the National Council of Jewish Women because she had plans to return to the United States and marry Martin Lipman. They have lived in America ever since.

2003: Simone Weil Lipman is 83, but seems much younger. She and Martin live in a retirement community in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Her involvement in the community has never ceased. It is quite possible to see her reading from the Torah at a Saturday morning service, or speaking at a board meeting for the local chapter of Jewish Family Services. Her energy is boundless and her involvement seemingly everywhere. She is extremely knowledgeable and approachable, yet when asked about why she did the things she did during the war, she can produce no answer:

> There really is no answer why we got involved. The people I came across were from all walks of life. We were Jews, Christians, Frenchmen and foreigners, women and men. When I think back, we were really very foolhardy… quite of few of the people I worked with lost their lives. Surviving was just a matter of luck; it had nothing to do with brains. It was just luck that I was allowed to go to the bathroom (in Limoges in 1944)[42]

Simone is quick to point out that a major influence in her decision to join the resistance was her involvement in Les Eclaireurs Israelites de France (EIF). Indeed, the EIF "provided the backbone of French Jewish resistance. It was my life's commitment. We took an oath to service and I would follow through with that commitment whatever it took. The scouts were my family."[43]

Simone has been able to contact many of her associates from her days underground with OSE. In 1993, Simone met Charlotte for the first time since they had been questioned in Limoges. When they reunited, Charlotte

exclaimed, "Now we can finally get our pastries!" The women disagreed about whether or not they had actually eaten pastries before being apprehended. Charlotte had been jailed for her connections to resistance activities. She knew of a nurse there who was working for the resistance, and her one goal was to stay alive and get to the infirmary. For days, she faked the most excruciating tooth pains and had two perfectly good teeth pulled. She finally made contact with the nurse and escaped.

More and more OSE "alumni" have been getting in touch with Simone. She credits this to a need to "fill out pieces of their lives". She may be the only link to the families that perished, a link to lives that many cannot remember. Simone was asked to speak at a 1999 meeting in Washington honoring the Jewish rescuers in the Holocaust who risked all for their own people. She translated her own speech, alternating between French and English, explaining why she had risked all during the war. After her speech, she was mobbed by "old people, just like me" who wanted to talk about their experiences. All asked if she could remember them. "If these people had pictures of themselves, they wouldn't' be able to recognize themselves as children. They are missing a piece of their life."[44]

Simone had helped remove two little girls from Rivesaltes. They were the daughters of a prominent rabbi who was interned in the camp. Both survived the war, and remained true to their religiously observant roots. Each gave birth to thirteen children, and those children have since had children of their own. In total, those two rescued children have produced over one hundred Jews. It is clear that Hitler's plan for a "Final Solution" to the question of the Jewish people failed. That is due, in no small part, to the workers of OSE. To Simone Lipman.

Notes

[1]Lucien Lazare. *Rescue as Resistance: How Jewish Organizations Fought the Holocaust in France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). 54.

[2] Lazar, 58.

[3] Lazare,54.

[4] Simone Lipman, interviews by author, April 2003.

[5] Lipman, interview.

[6] Denis Peschanski. *Memory, the Holocaust and French Justice* (Hanover: University Press of New England: 1996). 87.

[7] Ian Ousby. *Occupation: The Ordeal of France, 1940-1944* (New York: Cooper Square Press. 2000). 89.

[8] Renee *Poznanski. Jews in France during World War II* (Hanover: Brandeis University Press. 2001). 172.

[9] Ousby, 100.
[10] Lazare, 132.
[11] Lipman interview.
[12] Michael Robert Marrus. *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: Schocken Books, 1983) 173.
[13] Lipman interview.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Poznanski, 181.
[17] Marrus, 174.
[18] Vivette Samuel. *Rescuing the Children: A Holocaust Memoir* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002). 18.
[19] Poznanski, 187.
[20] Lipman interview.
[21] Poznanski, 189.
[22] Lipman interview.
[23] Lazare, 133.
[23] Susan Zuccotti. *The Holocaust, the French and the Jews* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999). 145.
[25] Claudine Vegh. *I Didn't Say Goodbye* (New York: E.P. Dutton Inc, 1979). 16.
[26] Lipman interview.
[27] Samuel, 76.
[28] Ibid, 79.
[29] Lipman interview.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Zuccotti, 215.
[32] Serge Klarsfeld. *French Children of the Holocaust: a Memorial* (New York: New York University Press, 1996). 99.
[33] Lipman interview.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Klarsfeld, 99.
[36] Zuccotti, 240.
[37] Lazare, 206.
[38] Klarsfeld, 100.
[39] Lipman interview.
[40] Ibid.
[41] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Website. "Le Petite Monde Photo Archives". United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 12 April 2003. <http://wwwushmm.org/uia_doc/photos/6738?hr—null>
[42] Lipman interview.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.

Natalia Adler

Postmodernisme et Féminisme dans le contexte antillais: une analyse littéraire d'Amour de Marie Chauvet

Clifton C. Cherpak Prize in French (Romance Languages)

Written in the heart of the Duvalier regime (1968), Marie Chauvet's controversial trilogy *Love, Anger and Madness* (*Amour, Colère et Folie*) is an insightful example of the vitality of a woman's writing in Haiti that surpass the stereotypes of postcolonial and gender/voice limitations and finds unprecedented resonance in Hélène Cixous' theory of the *écriture féminine*. Departing from this notion, this paper will first contemplate the relevance of viewing the Caribbean literature as an active and original participant of the postmodernist movement, considering the works of Michael Dash, Edouard Glissant, Homi Bhabha, Mikhail Bakhtin and Paul Gilroy. In this context, we will then approach Chauvet's first novel, *Amour*, as a combination of postmodern and feminist theories and regional Caribbean particularities in a literary carnival, where the female body translates, through a powerful and organic text, the authentic voice of a woman that has long been silenced by a phallic and dominant discourse.

The following is an excerpt of the project.

« *(…) c'est avec son corps qu'elle passe dans sa voix, c'est avec son corps qu'elle soutient vitalement la 'logique' de son discours : sa chair dit vrai. Elle s'expose. En vérité, elle matérialise charnellement ce qu'elle pense, elle le signifie avec son corps. Elle inscrit ce qu'elle dit, parce qu'elle ne refuse pas à la pulsion sa part indisciplinable et passionnée à la parole. Son discours,*

même 'théorique' ou politique, n'est jamais simple ou linéaire, ou 'objectivé,' généralisé, elle entraîne dans l'histoire son histoire »[1]

L'*écriture féminine*, célébrée par Hélène Cixous dans son manifeste, « Le Rire de la Méduse » (1975), évoque le corps féminin comme la source d'une écriture de résistance et une alternative au discours phallique répressif. Ainsi, le corps féminin émerge non seulement comme un espace de redécouvert de la femme de soi-même – l'exploration du *continent noir* dont Freud parle – mais il se sert également d'outil indispensable dans la lutte de libération d'un discours authentique supprimé par un phallocentrisme autoritaire. C'est exactement dans cet univers bouillant et volcanique qui l'écrivain haïtien Marie Chauvet écrit la trilogie *Amour, Colère et Folie (1968*) – un œuvre où l'acte d'écrire lui-même atteint un niveau d'endurance et de réalisme caractéristique de ce dont parle Cixous dans son idéal d'écriture féminine. Ecrire passe à avoir, symboliquement, une vie organique dans le roman où l'écriture de Chauvet se confond avec le journal intime de l'héroïne, Claire : un bouleversement d'écriture et de corps, d'histoire et de pulsion, de politique et d'érotisme. Dans cette optique, *Amour* peut être aperçu comme une épreuve valable d'une tentative d'invention d'une nouvelle forme d'expression authentique postmoderne aux Antilles.

Cependant, telle affirmation n'est pas trop simple. Etant née en Haïti, l'écriture de Chauvet appartient à une littérature signalée comme postcoloniale – une catégorisation qui peut limiter l'espace analytique et littéraire de l'œuvre. Dans ce contexte, est-ce que la littérature postcoloniale peut adopter un discours féministe souvent dépeint comme essentiellement occidental et postmoderne ? Ann Rosalind Jones réfute telle possibilité en critiquant l'idée même d'une écriture féminine à cause de sa caractéristique monolithique et ahistorique : « (…) [I]s women's sexuality so monolithic that a notion of shared, typical feminity does justice to it ? What about variations in class, in race, and in culture among women ? »[1] Or, comment est-ce qu'on peut lire Amour en considérant, en même temps, la pluralité antillaise et des théories postmodernes féministes, sans se rattraper dans un discours essentialiste ?

A fin de répondre à cette question et afin de discuter Amour dans un cadre postmoderne en s'appuyant sur les théories féministes de Hélène Cixous, cet essai va se diviser dans trois parties d'analyse : 1)- la pertinence de contempler la Caraïbe comme un endroit de prolifération d'une littérature et d'une identité qui participe dans le mouvement postmoderniste, où on va considérer les travaux de Michael Dash, Edouard Glissant, Homi Bhabha et Paul Gilroy ; 2)- la

nécessité de se concevoir une nouvelle forme d'expression authentique aux Antilles qui contribue également aux concepts de circulation, du 'milieu' et de l'océan Atlantique envisagés par Glissant, Bhabha et Gilroy, respectivement, et finalement ; 3)- l'analyse d'Amour, comme un exemple marquante de cette nouvelle forme d'expression qui s'utilise des théories postmodernes, sans se limiter à eux, où le corps féminin traduit, à travers une écriture puissante et originelle, la voix authentique de la femme effacée par le discours phallique dominant. En bouleversant et en renversant la structure et l'hégémonie de ce discours masculin, la voix féminine émerge comme un vrai Signifiant dans la circulation symbiotique de la Poétique de la Relation, avec une écriture finalement 'libérée.'

Sur la possibilité et la convenance d'utilisation des théories postmodernes dans une lecture postcoloniale.

Est-ce qu'il y a une compatibilité entre un discours postcolonial et un discours postmoderne ? Est-ce qu'on peut adopter la théorie de déconstruction postmoderne (envisagée souvent comme essentiellement occidentale) et, en même temps, préserver une identité de résistance post-coloniale ? La réponse n'est pas claire et le débat donne lieu à une multitude des théories diverses et, parfois, antagonistes. La problématique réside dans le fait que toutes les deux doctrines partagent un discours de résistance et de défi à un ordre dominant : simplement dit, postmodernisme défie l'hégémonie de la pensée et des valeurs modernes, tandis que postcolonialisme critique l'hégémonie culturelle et sociale de l'occident en célébrant l'identité authentique des ex-colonies. Cependant, la convergence entre ces deux théories signale également la possibilité de remplacement (et effacement) de l'identité postcoloniale par un universalisme post-humaniste fondamentalement occidental. Ainsi, dans cette livraison, on va analyser la potentialité, les obstacles et les avantages de l'adoption d'un discours postmoderne dans un contexte postcolonial. Cette première partie est de grande importance, car elle sert à situer l'analyse suivante d'Amour de Marie Chauvet comme un texte qui concilie et accommode des concepts postmodernes dans un contexte postcolonial.

Dans cette perspective, Shaobo Xie, dans son essai, « Rethinking the Problem of Postcolonialism, » souligne la nuance de la discussion:

> Postcolonialism is first of all a counterdiscourse of the formerly colonized Others against the cultural hegemony of the modern West with all its imperial structures of feeling and knowledge, whereas postmodernism is primarily a counterdiscourse against modernism

> that emerges within modernism itself. Postmodernism, while rigorously challenging the fundamental assumptions of Truth, Order, sign, and subjectivity institutionalized since Plato and sublimated by modernism, tends to universalize its own problematic. Postcolonialism historicizes postmodern thematics, deploying postmodern arguments in the service of decentering world history as well as vindicating and asserting the identities of the formerly colonized.[2]

De cette façon, on peut discerner l'importance d'un discours postmoderne comme outil d'émancipation postcoloniale, où toute les deux visent à une critique du *status quo* et à une tentative de remplacer une pensée dominante par la reconnaissance d'une multitude des discours indépendants et distincts. Toutefois, Xie alerte sur le risque de l'acquiescement d'un discours postmoderne dans la théorie postcoloniale : à cause de ces tendances universalistes, postmodernisme menace d'effacer l'identité postcoloniale en la réduisant à une vision ou à un modèle tout à fait centré dans un discours amérique-européen.

Ainsi, Xie voit dans le discours postmoderne une association irrévocable avec l'universalisme occidental, qui peut être traduit comme une nouvelle masque d'oppression et de réduction culturelle et économique – c'est-à-dire, *néocolonialisme*. En revanche, l'auteur évoque la spécificité du discours postcolonial face à l'universalisme postmoderne en citant Kumkum Sangari: « the postmodern preoccupation with the crisis of meaning is not everyone's crisis » et également : « different peoples have different 'modes of de-essentialization. »[3] Par conséquent, Xie semble, quelquefois dans son essai, partager avec beaucoup d'autres auteurs, la notion d'une vision défensive et presque hystérique de la possibilité de 'contamination' de l'hégémonie de l'Occident dans la souveraineté d'une culture postcoloniale.
En effet, cette division séparatiste, presque manichéenne, entre postmodernisme et post-colonialisme, reflète une vision dichotomique qui vise glorifier l'indigénisme et l'essentialisme d'une culture postcoloniale 'supposement' *dépossédée* des valeurs occidentales : « In order to undo the colonial contamination, those marginalized Others need to have 'distinct political agendas and a theory of agency,' which postmodernism threatens to cancel. In this sense, postcolonialism signifies an attempt by the formerly colonized to reevaluate, rediscover, and reconstruct their own cultures… against the inadequacy of the terms … invented by the West. »[4] Cette approche, qui refuse la compatibilité entre les deux théories, dévoile un désir urgent d'action de résistance et de militantisme face au pouvoir éminente

néocolonialiste. Dans ce sens, la réalité postcoloniale met l'accent sur l'importance de la lutte contre l'appropriation de la culture non-occidentale par des valeurs universalistes de l'occident. Dans cette optique, Homi Bhabha reconnaît aussi cette impatience : « The force of colonial and postcolonial discourse as a theoretical and cultural intervention in our contemporary moment represents the urgent need to contest singularities of difference and to articulare diverse 'subjects' of differentiation. »[5]

De cette façon, cette urgence, cet appel pressant à une action plus immédiate et plus concrète (au lieu d'un travail plus métaphysique) incite beaucoup de théoriciens à voir l'impossibilité de réconciliation entre postcolonialisme et postmodernisme : « (…) the fundamental incompatibility of post-modernist textuality and the lived realities of the post-colonial (or really, neo-colonial) experience. »[6] Diance Brydon résume la nuance de la problématique : "When directed against the Western canon, post-modernist techniques of intertextuality, parody, and literary borrowing may appear radical and even potential revolutionary. When directed against native myths and stories, these same techniques would seem to repeat the imperialist history of plunder and theft. »[7]

Toutefois, un grand nombre des auteurs critique cette division binaire, colonisé/colonisateur, occident/non-occident, en s'appuyant sur l'impossibilité d'avoir une théorie postcoloniale essentiellement 'indigène' et 'non contaminée.'[8] Shaobo Xie positionne dans ce cadre des auteurs comme Linda Hutcheon, Gayatry Spivak et Homi Bhabha, mais la liste ne s'arrête pas. Sans essayer de négliger les travaux de Hutcheon et Spivak, on va se limiter à étudier la théorie développée par Bhabha dans son œuvre, *The Location of Culture* (1994), surtout en la comparant avec ce qu'Edouard Glissant évoquait dans *Le Discours Antillais* (1981): la possibilité d'une réconciliation entre postmodernisme et postcolonialisme – une analyse essentielle pour la lecture d'*Amour* (1968) de Marie Chauvet dans le cadre postmoderne qui suit prochainement.

Dans cette optique, Xie résume la doctrine développée par Homi Bhabha de la façon subséquente : « Bhabha shifts focus from the colonized/colonizer confrontation to a third space beyond the binary structure … he provides a narrative scheme for analyzing the hitherto neglected grey, ambiguous space of culture, renaming the colonial subject and colonial discourse in terms of the *in-between*, and more importantly, turning the indeterminacy of colonial discourse into an agency of counterhegemonic resistance. »[9]
En effet, Bhabha constamment fait usage d'une réconceptualisation de la

culture dans un espace et un temps toujours en mouvement qui participe d'un discours tout à fait poststructuraliste. Ainsi, l'auteur critique la vision simpliste de percevoir le préfixe 'post' comme un annonciateur d'une déroulement rudimentaire : « These terms [post] that insistently gesture to the beyond, only embody its restless and revisionary energy if they transform the present into an expanded and ex-centric site of experience and empowerment. » Par conséquent, Bhabha résystématise la temporalité linéaire en réfutant la notion d'une passé comme origine et un présent comme transition d'un future lointain – « the breakdown of temporality [that] suddenly releases this present of time from all the activities and intentionalities that might focus it and make it a space of praxis (…) » De la sorte, il amplifie la notion de la chronologie en considérant « an interstitial future, that emerges *in-between* the claims of the past and the needs of the present. »[10]

De cette façon, Bhabha, dans sa poursuite pour la localisation de la culture (précisée dans le titre de son œuvre), ironiquement, projette l'idée que telle recherche ne conduit à aucun lieu, car la culture (et tout ce qu'elle encadre) ne peut pas être un objet de contrôle statique – à l'inverse, son positionnement est ambulant, fluide, fragmenté et, quelquefois, 'schizophrénique.' Dans cette optique, l'auteur insiste sur la coupure et la réévaluation de frontières, « opening out » des limites des signes de différence, où « difference is neither One nor the Other but *something else besides, in-between* (…) »[11] Ainsi, Homi Bhabha récapitule ce concept de la façon suivante :

> What must be mapped as a new international space of discontinuous historial realities is, in fact, the problem of signifying the interstitial passages and processes of cultural difference that are inscribed in the 'in-between', in the temporal break-up that weaves the 'global' text. It is, ironically, the disintegrative moment, even movement, of enunciation – that sudden disjunction of reach. And, paradoxically, it is only through a structure of splitting and displacement – 'the fragmented and schizophrenic decentring of the self' – that the architecture of the new historical subject emerges at the limits of representation itself, 'to enable a situational representation on the part of the individual to that vast and unrepresentable totality which is the ensemble of society's structures as a whole.[12]

Dans une perspective pareille, J. Michael Dash, dans son étude sur la littérature antillaise, *The Other America : Caribbean Literature in a New World Context* (1998), évoque l'idée de reconceptualiser la place de la Caraïbe comme adepte à un discours postmoderne, surtout à ce qui concerne l'anéantissement

de la dichotomie à laquelle cette région est toujours classée face à l'occident : « In championing a poetics of multiplicity and heterogeneity as opposed to exclusivity and opposition, postmodernism put the emphasis on liminality and inderterminacy (…) »[13] Dans ce sens, Edouard Glissant émerge comme un des précurseurs dans l'exploration de la possibilité de voir l'identité de la Caraïbe en termes de *transversalité* en se basant sur les études de déconstruction de Jacques Derrida sur la théorie des différences: « Glissant's objective is to theorize an otherness that cannot be contained or appropriated. Consequently, his model is based on fluidity and movement – as he puts it, on 'becoming' as opposed to 'being.' »[14]

Le *mouvement* au lieu de la fixité, l'*opacité* préférée à la transparence – ce sont quelques réponses de Glissant face à la division traditionnelle colonisée/colonisateur, occident/non-occident. Selon lui, c'est dans cette région de circulation et d'ambiguïté qu'une identité propre et authentique peut émerger. Ainsi, dans un contexte linguistique, Glissant voit dans la diffusion du français et du créole aux Antilles un exemple illustratif de l'usage effectif de l'opacité :

> (…) on peut affirmer que la seule pratique possible est de les rendre opaques [français et créole] l'une à l'autre. Développer partout, contre un humanisme universalisant et réducteur, la théorie des opacités particulières. Dans le monde de la Relation, qui prend le relais du système unifiant de l'être, consentir à l'opacité, c'est-à-dire à la densité irréductible de l'autre, c'est accomplir véritablement, à travers le divers, l'humain. L'humain n'est peut-être pas l'image de l'homme' mais aujourd'hui la trame sans cesse recommencée de ces opacités consenties.[15]

Dans cet optique, Michael Dash transfère la théorie de Michel Foucault - *The Order of Things* (1970) - sur la catégorisation binaire culturelle (saine/insane, normal/devient) dans un contexte post-colonial, où « (…) a hegemonic discourse sharply defines otherness both politically and morally. »[16] Ainsi, Dash s'aperçoit de la formation binaire d'un discours primitiviste et exotique qui réduit des autres cultures à l'espace du libidinal et du sauvage. Similairement, Homi Bhabha souligne le caractère ambivalente et indéterminé de la culture comme une alternative à cette classification réductive de l'Autre comme opposition à l'Un. De cette façon, résister non seulement à telle réduction culturelle, mais surtout réfuter cette dichotomie, est, selon les adeptes de la transversalité de Glissant (et l'espace 'au milieu' de Bhabha), la manière plus effective pour l'émergence d'une vraie poétique de la Relation : « (…) there wil no longer be

culture without cultures, no civilisation capable of being the metropolis of others. »[17]

De cette façon, c'est dans la célébration de l'opacité – un troisième espace de production identitaire – qu'Edouard Glissant réconcilie la théorie déconstructiviste postmoderne avec le discours postcolonial. En réfutant la dichotomie traditionnelle, l'occident/non-occident, Glissant, ainsi comme Homi Bhabha, esquisse une narrative ambiguë et opaque – située au milieu du schisme colonisé/colonisateur – comme un outil essentiel dans l'émergence d'une identité post-coloniale : « L'opacité comme valeur à opposer à toute tentative pseudo humaniste de réduire les hommes à l'échelle d'un modèle universel … il nous faudrait déstructurer la langue française, pour la contraindre à tant d'usages. Il nous faudra structurer la langue créole pour l'ouvrir à ces usages. »[18] De cette façon, le postcolonialisme peut s'utiliser non seulement d'un discours postmoderne de déconstruction et d'opacité comme outil de résistance à l'universalisme humaniste réducteur, mais la propre théorie postmoderne - considérée initialement comme essentiellement occidentale – perd telle définition limitative et géographique, et passe à faire partie intégrant d'un contexte colonial.

Dans ce sens, C.L.R. James, dans son étude sur la révolution haïtienne, *The Black Jacobins* (1989), formule l'idée du modernisme comme partie intégrante de l'histoire de la Caraïbe – une notion également partagée par Glissant dans son *Discours Antillais*. Ainsi, de la même façon que James voit la Caraïbe comme « (…) a dynamic engagement with global history, » il argue également que l'opacité est un résultat d'un contexte radical du modernisme global[19] – ce que Glissant désigne comme *l'irruption dans la modernité*.[20] Paul Gilroy, dans *Black Atlantic* (1993), signale cette notion dans un context esclavagiste : « (…) the concentrated intensity of the slave experience is something that marked out blacks as the first truly modern people, handling in the nineteenth century dilemmas and difficulties which would only become the substance of everyday life in Europe a century later. »[21]

Par conséquent, non seulement l'opacité ouvre les portes pour la circulation constante des idées sans contrains, mais on voit une désappropriation d'une notion jusqu'ici traitée comme essentiellement (et réductivement) occidentale : le postmodernisme *per se*. Ainsi, la dichotomie culturelle envisagée par Foucault perd sa force de significatif et la modernité est reversée et transportée dans un contexte colonial (et racial). De cette façon, postmodernisme se débarrasse d'une vision purement occidentale et restrictive et assume un caractère dynamique d'instrument ambulant qui peut être

possédé par quelque culture, quelque part, quelque temps.

En effet, Toni Morrison partage la notion de l'origine de la modernité dans le contexte colonial et indique d'une façon remarquable la symbiose de la Poétique de la Relation dans la psyché postcoloniale et occidentale. Bien qu'elle traite de la question raciale (et de genre) comme le précurseur de la modernité, on suppose qu'on peut accroire cette notion dans un contexte colonial et postcoloniale en général :

> (…) modern life begins with slavery… From a women's point of view in terms of confronting the problems of where the world is now, black women had to deal with post-modern problems in the nineteenth century and earlier. These things had to be addressed by black people a long time ago : certain kinds of dissolution, the loss of and the need to reconstruct certain kinds of stability. Certain kinds of madness … These strategies for survival made the truly modern person… Slavery … broke Europe. It made them crazy. You can't do that for hundres of years and it not take a toll. They had to dehumanize, not just the slaves, but themselves. They have had to reconstruct everything in order to make that system appear true.[22]

En effet, la Diversité émerge comme une alternative à la théorie universaliste/humaniste européenne, non simplement comme une opposition à l'état du 'Même,' mais une pièce important dans la construction d'une unité dans la relation humaine (Glissant). De cette façon, on s'approche d'un processus de symbiose, où l'occident est contraint à renoncer graduellement la masque d'autosuffisance culturelle en la remplaçant par une poétique de [co]relation avec le non-occident. Ainsi, Dash argue : « Glissant uses the idea of cross-culturality [poétique de la relation] to suggest the process of decomposing and recomposing, a new politics as much as a new poetics, born out of need to demystify notions of power, resistance, and freedom. »[23] Ainsi, la symbiose émerge et se prolifère jusqu'à un point où on ne peut plus discerner ce qui est envisagé comme occidental ou pas. Dans un autre côté, Homi Bhabha célèbre également cette Diversité en termes d'une dialectique de négociation :

> I am more engaged with the 'foreign' element that reveals the interstitial ; insists in the textile superfluity of folds and wrinkles ; and becomes the 'unstable element of linage', the indeterminate temporality of the *in-between*, that has to be engaged in creating the conditions through which 'newness comes into the world (…) the agency of foreigness, the purpose is… not 'to turn Hindi, Greek, English into German [but] instead to turn German into Hindi, Greek, English.[24]

En fait, une autre problématique se manifeste : si l'opacité, la circulation des idées et l'espace alternative du 'milieu' (*in-between*) donnent lieu à une multitude des discours qu'on ne peut plus classifier dans une dichotomie classique – occident/non-occident, par exemple – comment est-ce qu'on peut discuter postcolonialisme et postmodernisme sans considérer le fait qu'ils évoquent une division où le référent est toujours l'occident et le postcolonial est réduit à l'idée de l'Autre ? Michael Dash signale la controverse dans l'introduction de son œuvre, *The Other America* - de la même façon qu'il reconnaît l'inefficacité et le caractère limitatif de telle division, Dash avoue la difficulté de discuter ce thème sans faire allusion à cette même dichotomie.

Pareillement, malgré cette connotation universalistes réductive, on va, toutefois, continuer à utiliser telle division dans cet essai pour des raison pratiques – ce que Dash appelle, « an unavoidable compromise »[25] – sans oublier bien sûre que non seulement on considère tel division peu adéquate, mais également, que la circulation des idées sont capables de traverser la limitation géographique souvent données aux cultures et aux pays : « Whether bound by nation, region, class, or race, literary phenomena always involve complex relations with international ideologies or literary styles … World literature derives its validity from its recognition of the fact that *writing transcends boundaries* (…) »[26] Edouard Glissant ajoute à la discussion : « J'appelle littérature nationale cette urgence pour chacun à se nommer au monde, c'est-à-dire cette nécessité de ne pas disparaître de la scène du monde et de courir au contraire à son élargissement. »[27]

De cette façon, on revient à l'idée de l'opacité et de la réconceptualisation de la littérature postcoloniale comme adepte à la circulation des discours modernes et postmodernes. C'est dans ce contexte qu'on verra ensuite comment Edouard Glissant trouve le moyen pour sa poursuite incassable d'une poétique dans l'inconscient collectif antillais qui était négligé par une Histoire et une langue imposées. Ainsi, l'auteur souligne dans ce procès l'importance de la libération de la langue et l'introduction d'une nouvelle forme d'expression (une 'poétique libérée'), où le postmodernisme émerge comme un instrument essentiel d'émancipation.

Dans une autre côté, tandis que Glissant explore la Diversité dans cette circulation, Homi Bhabha se sert de l'hybridité comme allusion à l'espace 'au milieu' où la culture se déroule : « If hybridity is heresy, then to blaspheme is to dream. To dream not of the past or present, nor the continuous present ; it is not the nostalgic dream of tradition, nor the Utopian dream of modern progress. It is the dream of translation as 'survival' as Derrida translates the

'time' of Benjamin's concept of the after-life of translation, as *sur-vivre*, the *act of living on borderlines.* »[28]

De cette façon, le corps de l'explication de cette livraison avait pour but de détailler les éléments primordiaux dans l'exploration de la possibilité et la convenance de l'adoption d'un discours postmoderne dans un contexte postcolonial. Ainsi, on considère les thèmes développés surtout par Homi Bhabha et par Edouard Glissant – la coupure des frontières, le *'in-between'*, la circulation et l'opacité - essentiaux dans la lecture d'*Amour* de Marie Chauvet, surtout dans ce qui concerne la nécessité de développement d'une nouvelle forme d'expression, insérée dans le contexte postmoderne des théories féministes, particulièrement celles envisagées par Hélène Cixous. Par conséquent, dans les pages subséquentes, on va adresser l'urgence d'un nouvel mode d'expression dans l'écriture antillaise - résultat du conflit entre Histoire et langue imposées- le concept de la mer comme une métaphore de l'inconstance organique de l'écriture de la Caraïbe et finalement la convenance de regarder le corps comme inspiration d'une écriture féminine authentique et de résistance dans cette région.

Sur la nécessité d'une nouvelle forme d'expression antillaise
Se nommer soi-même c'est écrire le monde[29]

La poursuite d'une nouvelle forme d'expression aux Antilles, selon Edouard Glissant, est une préoccupation constante de l'écrivain antillais qui vit dans un univers des dichotomies, des lacunes et des ruptures. Ainsi, tiraillé entre une Histoire imposée et une histoire authentique, une langue officielle et un langue maternelle, confronté par un procès continu des transitions entre l'oralité et l'écriture, entre une 'poétique forcée' et une 'poétique naturelle,' ce même auteur cherche partout un trajet indépendant vers une pratique d'une 'poétique libérée' dans sa production littéraire et identitaire. Dans cette perspective, on va examiner comment le contexte antillais – un univers de coupure et fractionnement, surtout en ce qui concerne l'Histoire et la langue – offre un espace fertile pour la prolifération non seulement d'une 'réconceptualisation du pouvoir' mais également d'une poursuite d'une nouvelle forme d'expression. Dans ce sens, on fera ressortir la proposition de la métaphore de la mer dans l'écriture antillaise comme une source très caractéristique de cette région dans la remplissage de ces lacunes et ces vides – un discours qui signalera la possibilité de regarder *Amour* de Marie Chauvet également dans l'optique d'une tentative d'établir une nouvelle forme

d'expression en se basant sur la théorie féministe postmoderne d'Hélène Cixous, où le corps féminin émerge comme source inspiratrice.

De ce sens, Edouard Glissant approche le thème de l'Histoire avec ironie et réserves dans *Le Discours Antillais*. Selon l'auteur Martiniquais, l'Histoire est une *invention* de l'occident (pour emprunter le terme développé par Edward Saïd) qui ne correspond pas à l'inconscient collectif antillais. Dans cette optique, il discute, par exemple, l'absence des Africains et des Amérindiens de l'Histoire antillaise qui est basée à, son tour, sur la théorie linéaire d'Hegel et également sur la contrainte d'une temporalité essentiellement occidentale, où le procès de hiérarchisation du temps ne coïncide pas avec la façon dans laquelle l'Antillais, lui-même, conçoit son histoire et son temporalité. Ainsi, le résultat de ce décalage est une incompatibilité entre l'Histoire et l'inconscient collectif qui, par suite, occasionne l'émergence d'une sorte de névrose, tout à fait liée avec le manque d'une mémoire commune. Homi Bhabha reconnaît cette incompatibilité et encourage une révision des ces valeurs fixes dans une Histoire et dans une chronologie dégagées de la réalité de beaucoup de pays non occidentaux : « (…) a radical revision of the social temporality in which emergent histories may be written, the rearticulation of the 'sign' in which cultural identities may be inscribed. »[30] Dans ce sens également, Glissant met l'accent sur le rôle de l'écrivain dans la récupération de cette mémoire égarée :

> Parce que la mémoire historique fut trop souvent raturée, l'écrivain antillais doit 'fouiller' cette mémoire, à partir de traces parfois latentes qu'il a repérées dans le réel … Parce que le temps antillais fut stabilisé dans le néant d'une non histoire imposée, l'écrivain doit contribuer à rétablir sa chronologie tourmentée, c'est-à-dire à dévoiler la vivacité féconde d'une dialectique réamorcée entre nature et culture antillaise.[31]

Dans cette perspective, Glissant se sert superbement d'un langage presque psychanalytique, non seulement pour approfondir le dégagement entre l'inconscient collectif antillais et l'Histoire, mais afin d'exalter également le rôle primordial de l'écrivain antillais étant que psychanalyste lui-même : « 'revenir sur ces choses du passé' qui serait une manifestation du retour du refoulé. »[32] Dans cette perspective, écrivain haïtien Dany Laferrière fait mention de ce sujet dans son roman, *Pays sans Chapeau* (1997) : « J'ai envie de hurler…C'est comme si vous n'avez pas eu d' 'avant.' Vous n'avez qu'un présent … Je veux vivre dans le présent, mais il n'y a pas de présent sans passé. »[33] En fait, le but n'est pas un retour élémentaire au passé, mais, surtout, un voyage au gouffre sous-marin où l'Histoire antillaise authentique se trouve : « La profondeur

n'était pas le seul abysse d'une névrose mais avant tout le lieu de cheminements multipliés. » Ainsi, en évoquant les Africains, jetés par-dessus bord des navires négriers, qui « semèrent dans les fonds les boulets de l'invisible, » Glissant dépeint l'image de la transversalité comme la racine de la Relation : « Des racines sous-marines … prolongées dans tous les sens de notre univers par leur réseau de branches. »[34]

Dans ce contexte, Michael Dash résume la nuance de cette problématique de façon remarquable dans son œuvre, *The Other America*,: « One of the basic impulses in Caribbean thought is undeniably the need to reconceptualize power. The fascination with worlds of closure; the need to ground a new society on a visionary discourse; the exploration of a foundational poetics … the desire to establish a new authority, to repossess time and space."[35]

En effet, on rencontre cette 'réconceptualisation du pouvoir' dont Dash parle dans la notion de la Poétique de la Relation envisagée par Glissant, surtout en ce qui concerne la corrélation entre le français et le créole. Ainsi, selon Glissant, l'écrivain antillais, responsable pour le procès de ressaisissement d'une Histoire oubliée et pour la reformulation d'un inconscient collectif opprimé, doit confronter ces épreuves à travers une langue, qui comme l'Histoire, est également imposée. Ainsi, le français ne correspond pas à ce que Glissant signale comme une 'langue nationale' antillaise – c'est-à-dire, « la langue dans laquelle un peuple produit »[36] – et la Caraïbe francophone doit faire face au dilemme de la 'langue imposée et de la langue non-posée' de la même manière que la problématique de l'Histoire se conçoit. Selon l'auteur, l'Antillais francophone, tiraillé entre « la langue maternelle, le créole, et la langue officielle, le français, » se voit dans un tourment latente : comment réconcilier une 'poétique naturelle' et une 'poétique forcée ? Comment raccommoder « une langue dont on se sert et un langage dont on a besoin ? »[37]

Cependant, loin d'être victime de cette dichotomie, Glissant transforme cette limitation - de la même façon qu'il réfute l'idée d'une division réductive entre occident et non-occident (comme on avait discuté auparavant) - en instrument de profit pour la culture en général. Ainsi, il transcende au delà du clivage linguistique et fait allusion à la musique, à l'oralité, à la nature et à la mer antillaise comme alternative d'une nouvelle forme d'expression en Caraïbe, c'est-à-dire, dans la participation dans la Poétique de la Relation. Et c'est le rôle de l'écrivain de la développer également dans le cadre la littérature. Ainsi, Dash explique : « The French Caribbean writer must forge a new discourse that transcends spoken languages, written conventions, literary genres, traditional notions of time and space. »[38] C'est dans cet univers de

résistance et de transversalité que l'écrivain s'utilise des discours postmodernes et les transforme et les enrichit avec la Diversité antillaise.

Paul Gilroy explore un thématique pareille dans *Black Atlantic*, où il met accent sur la possibilité de voir la musique noire comme un instrument puissant dans la poursuite non seulement d'une nouvelle – et authentique – forme d'expression, mais également d'une forme de 'contre-culture de la modernité' - « counterculture of modernity. » Dans cette perspective, il explique : « The vitality and complexity of this musical culture offers a means to get beyond the related oppositions between essentialists and pseudo-pluralists on the one hand and between totalising conception of tradition, modernity, and post-modernity on the other. »[39]

Dans cette perspective, Edouard Glissant, bien comme Paul Gilroy, reconnaissent l'importance de l'exploration d'autres formes d'expression, non seulement comme une façon de résistance à un universalisme humaniste réducteur, mais surtout comme un moyen de trouver une authenticité égarée et perdue par siècles et siècles d'oppression coloniale et post-coloniale. De la sorte, ces deux auteurs croient que la Diversité est profitable pour la Poétique de la Relation dans le monde en général et non seulement dans un contexte antillais. Ainsi, de la même façon que le non-occident confronte la menace de réduction par les tendances universalistes de l'occident, celui-ci manque le profit de la Diversité : « (…) le Divers ouvre les pays… Les littératures occidentales retrouveront cette fonction d'insertion et redeviendront, partageant le monde, un digne des nations, c'est-à-dire un faisceau du Relaté. »[40] Ainsi, la solution réside non seulement dans la circulation du Divers, mais surtout dans la célébration de son éclatement mondiale et de sa symbiose constante.

Par conséquent, selon Glissant, il ne s'agit pas d'une rupture entre l'occident et le non-occident, entre le français et le créole, entre la littérature et l'oralité, mais, au contraire, il se traite de la fusion entre ces oppositions en résultant dans une multitude d'explosion d'expression culturelle. Ainsi, cette Poétique de la Relation est possible grâce à l'opacité, car il n'es pas question de choisir entre l'un et l'autre, autrement dit, entre remplacer le français par le créole par exemple, mais surtout de « reconstituer les conditions de production, déclencher par les facteurs de responsabilité globale et technique du Martiniquais dans son pays, pour que la langue se développe vraiment. » En rendrant français et créole opaques, l'écrivain antillais francophone peut approcher des nouvelles formes d'expression, autrement dit, « développer un *cri* … en parole qui le continue, découvrant ainsi la pratique … d'une poétique

enfin libérée. »[41]

On rencontre l'image du cri dans la littérature antillaise francophone partout. Aimé Césaire, Patrick Chamoiseau et Raphaël Confiant s'utilisent de cet devise amplement dans leurs œuvres et on ne va pas amplifier cette discussion dans cet essai, cependant, on va se limiter à traiter le cri dans le sens développé par Glissant dans *Le Discours Antillais* : un moyen de libération d'un étouffement culturelle et sociale, une manière de contempler une névrose occasionnée par la choix entre le français et le créole, entre littérature et oralité, entre fixité et mouvement, entre une Histoire dans le sens occidental et une histoire authentique. Le cri de Caliban, « l'appel de la bête » qui se développe dans le créole – déguisé, vite, organique. Ainsi, ce qui nous intéresse ici c'est la notion du cri comme instrument de libération « d'une liaison très tourmentée entre écriture et oralité. »[42]

Selon Glissant, la transition entre oralité et écriture est un point essentiel dans la formation culturelle et littéraire du Caraïbe. Ce procès est souvent marqué par un perte d'une sorte d'authenticité antillaise : la passage de la fluidité du corps oral par le non-mouvement de l'écriture. Ainsi, Glissant insiste dans cette attribution de valeurs à l'écriture et à l'oralité : respectivement, statique et fluctuant : « Passer de l'oral à l'écrit, c'est immobiliser le corps, le soumettre (le posséder). L'être dépossédé de son corps ne peut atteindre à l'immobile où l'écrit s'amoncelle. Il bouge à tout coup, il crie seulement. Dans cet univers muet, la voix et le corps sont la poursuite d'un manque. » Il faut donc remplir cette lacune, cette abîme qui s'est développé dans la transition entre oralité et écriture afin de fixer la littérature et la culture antillaise dans une identité propre et authentique : « La parole antillaise ne se continuera en tant que telle, dans l'écrit, qu'à partir du lieu où ce manque s'énoncera. »[43]

De cette façon, on voit la notion de 'la remplissage d'un vide' comme une sorte d'allégorie où l'écrivain antillais peut atteindre une 'poétique libérée' dans le contexte du Caraïbe. Dans cette perspective, on va explorer deux moyens par lesquels l'Antillais peut concevoir telle notion : tout d'abord à travers de l'image de la mer comme une métaphore du mouvement de l'oralité dans la littérature et ensuite à travers l'émergence du corps féminin comme source d'une écriture féminine de résistance.

Michael Dash définie la métaphore de la mer dans les travaux de Glissant comme une force révolutionnaire d'expression littéraire et culturelle : « The caribbean Sea is not an inland, centralizing body of water but one that explodes outward, thereby dissolving all systems of centering or totalizing thought. »[44] Cette notion est également partagée avec Antonio Benítez-Rojo

dans son œuvre, *The Repeating Island : The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective*. Celui-ci réfute la notion d'une essence antillaise, comme une unité statique et fixe, en s'appuyant dans l'image de la marche et de la coupure des îles : « (…) he uses his reading of the deconstructive impulse in postmodern theory to elaborate on the Caribbean as being always in motion, forever in a state of flux, not a fixed ground but an open field of signifiers. »[45] Ainsi, dans cet univers de mouvement, la mer émerge comme figure centrale propre du contexte du Caraïbe, non seulement comme source des images des ondes, des cours, et de fluidité dans le texte, mais surtout dans l'explosion de la mer dans l'Atlantique, ce qui encourage la circulation des personnes et des idées dans les routes marines, une notion, qu'on verra ensuite, est également partagée avec Paul Gilroy dans *The Black Atlantic*.

De plus, Michael Dash reconnaît l'importance et l'influence de St. John Perse et son analogie avec la mer comme un « unstable, interdiscursive space » dans la littérature du Caraïbe. Ainsi, on regarde cette région comme appartenant doublement à une mouvement international de circulation littéraire et des idées, mais qui conserve un caractère particulier des Antilles : la mer du Caraïbe. Ainsi, Dash décrit l'impression de Perse (ce qui Glissant a déjà utilisé dans Le Discours Antillais) : « the sea represents the unstable referent , an ever-shifting space that refuses a totalizing or authoritarian discourse … we have in Perse an imaginative and epistemological rupture with the tradition of tropical exoticism in the French Caribbean. »[46]

Cette même notion de circulation est développée par Paul Gilroy dans *The Black Atlantic,* mais ici en soulignant non seulement le contexte colonial et postcolonial, mais surtout la question de la race. De toute façon, l'accent est met dans la circulation personnifié par l'océan Atlantique et le 'Middle Passage' comme une source d'une vision transnationale et interculturelle du monde moderne. La perspicacité de Gilroy réside dans la transformation des relations unilatérales du commerce triangulaire en une symbiose constante des influences culturelles et politiques circulaires : « (…) to rethink modernity via the history of the black Atlantic and the African diaspora into the western hemisphere. »[47]

Cependant, on va se limiter à l'idée de l'Atlantique noir que l'auteur développe comme un concept très proche de la Poétique de la Relation dont Glissant parle : « The image of the ship – a living, micro-cultural, micro-political system in motion … Ships immediately focus attention on the middle passage, on the various projects for redemptive return to an African homeland, on the circulation of ideas and activists as well as the movement of key cultural

and political artefacts …"[48] Ainsi, de la même façon qu'a avait discuté auparavant l'archaïsme d'une vision purement dichotomique entre l'occident et non-occident (parmi d'autres divisions limitatives culturelles) dans l'utilisation des théories postmodernes et postcoloniales, on rencontre dans l'œuvre de Gilroy cette même résistance à une limitation géographique et politique dans une contexte culturel : « The specificity of the modern political and cultural formation I want to call the black Atlantic can be defined … through this desire to transcend both the structures of the nation state and the constraints of ethnicity and national particularity. » C'est inévitable alors d'associer cette idée de transcendance avec la *transversalité* développé par Edouard Glissant, toutefois, Gilroy est plus explicite dans l'affirmation d'une dégagement des artistes, des écrivains, des intellectuelles « from restrictives bonds of ethnicity, national identification, and sometimes even 'race' itself » dans la poursuite d'un 'poétique libérée.'[49]

Dans cette optique, Michael Dash aperçoit dans *Le Discours Antillais* la notion de l'image de l'écrivain antillais comme capitain d'un bateau : « The creative imagination, chained to the same vessel or island, is the lone, immobile figure, voluntary bound to the ship's mast, and sensing through it the shudder of the vessel land the energy of the crew. He cannot command. His audience is deaf. He must both refuse the call of the Sirens and believe that the journey ends in freedom. »[50] Dash partage cette idée de modernité dans le contexte littéraire en soulignant la capacité de l'écrivain antillais de rechercher un voyage infatigable d'invention et de re-invention littéraire : « It is precisely this restlessness that makes the literature of the Americas, or at least that of the other America … so modern – or, rather, modernistic – in its impulse toward self-invention. It is an acute sensitivity to the problem of representation that drives the other America's skepticism, which both decodes the sign discourse to counter imposed meanings. »[51] (

Dans ce sens, la mer et son mouvement fonctionnent comme allégories de cette trajet infatigable d'une 'poétique libérée,' d'une façon de fuir la contrainte d'une Histoire et d'une langue imposée : « L'écrivain n'est-il pas à jamais prisonnier du forcé ? » C'est dans cette voyage qu'on rencontre la possibilité d'une nouvelle forme d'expression – celle qui sache réconcilier les oppositions fondamentales entre l'occident et le non-occident en remplissant le vide d'une civilisation divisé et d'un inconscient collectif égaré. Glissant appartient lui-même à cette parcours : « Pour moi, depuis longtemps je m'efforce à conquérir une durée qui se dérobe, à vivre un paysage qui se multiplie, à chanter une histoire qui n'est nulle part donnée. Tour à tour l'épique et le tragique n'ont

séduit de leurs promesses de lent dévoilement. Poétique contrainte. Forcènement de la langue. Nous écrivons tous pour mettre à nu des enclenchements inaperçus. »[52] Ainsi, Michael Dash souligne le dilemme de l'écrivain antillais dans l'invention (ou re-invention) d'une littérature propre de sa région : « [Writing] … had to be conceived in terms of a new discourse that would both contest European hegemony and yet not succumb to the mirage of cultural or racial essentialism. »[53]

C'est dans cet optique qu'on voit Amour de Marie Chauvet – comme une tentative de non seulement faire une réconciliation entre des dichotomies fondamentales (entre occident et non-occident ou entre postmodernisme et postcolonialisme), mais surtout comme un roman qui converge l'audace d'établir une nouvelle forme d'expression dans le contexte antillais, où le corps émerge comme une source inspiratrice d'une écriture féminine, révolutionnaire et de résistance. Cependant, cette approche ne néglige pas une particularité antillaise. Ainsi, loin d'affirmer une insertion aveugle d'Amour dans un contexte purement aperçu comme occidental ou postmoderne, on va reconnaître les caractéristiques de ce roman comme appartenant également `a un littérature national antillaise et haïtienne.

Sur la poursuite d'une écriture authentique dans Amour de Marie Chauvet

Silence gives grace to women. –Sophocles

Au long assourdi de leur histoire, elles ont vécu en rêves,
en corps mais tus, en silences, en révoltes aphones.[54]

Subjuguée au silence par une métaphysique occidentale où la voix féminine est réduite à l'état de *l'autre*, la femme lutte pour produire et développer un discours indépendant et authentique. De plus, dans le cas de la Caraïbe, cette problématique se complique, car les femmes écrivains doivent confronter également une pression régionaliste qui vise s'approprier de leur voix comme complément de leur discours de résistance contre le néocolonialisme. Ainsi, divisée entre « black nationalism and white foreigner, »[55] écrivain haïtienne Marie Chauvet émerge comme un des précurseurs dans la poursuite d'une nouvelle forme d'expression alternative à la dichotomie occident/non-occident vue auparavant. Dans cette perspective, avec son trilogie, *Amour, Colère, Folie* (1968), Chauvet se situe dans le cadre des auteurs qui vise à une décentralisation et une déconstruction du discours dominant à travers une écriture qui transcende et renverse les barrières

culturelles et sociales en se rapprochant du carnaval textuel envisagé par Mikhail Bakhtin. De cette façon, on va analyser la possibilité de voir Amour comme exemple d'une écriture qui s'utilise de la théorie postmoderne d'Hélène Cixous - sans y limiter - et qui participe également dans la circulation symbiotique de la Poétique de la Relation envisagée par Edouard Glissant. En ce qui concerne cet essai, on va se limiter à analyser Amour séparément du reste de la trilogie, ce qui ne compromet pas l'intégrité de l'œuvre, car Chauvet les avait écrits comme des histoires indépendantes, bien qu'elles partagent des similarités marquantes.

Dans ce contexte, Amour émerge comme un exemple illustratif de la possibilité de dérangement du discours dominant à travers une écriture tellement subversive. Ainsi, l'intrigue de ce roman se déroule sous la voix narratrice de Claire Clamont, vieille fille célibataire d'une famille bourgeoise en Haïti, qui, différemment de ses sœurs très blanches, souffre à cause de la couleur foncée de sa peau. Au côté de la problématique racial, Claire endure également le manque d'amour et un désir sexuelle prêtre à l'explosion, en même temps qu'elle garde « une lucidité effrayante sur elle-même et sur le monde qui l'entoure »[56] à travers une écriture qui semble déstructurer les fondations de la métaphysique occidental et en réfutant également le nationalisme essentialiste antillais. Ronnie Scharfman décrit l'impact subversif de l'ouvre : « [The text] shocks us, not in our morality, but rather in the depths of our being. It wounds, confuses, haunts … [Chauvet] is as merciless towards her reader as the world that she depicts is towards its victims. Chauvet provokes both resistance and fascination. But she does not leave the reader indifferent. »[57]

Dans cette perspective, on peut inférer qu'*Amour* semble 'choquer' ses lecteurs car il renverse, bouleverse et déstructure les signes, les codes et les barrières de connaissance intériorisés et institutionnalisés par la pensée métaphysique établie depuis Plate. Ainsi, on verra que c'est exactement dans cet univers de désordre que cet œuvre trouve son fortitude et génialité, car il façonne un moyen pour faire sortir la voix supprimée de la femme. Dans cette optique, Shoshona Felman, dans son article « Women and Madness » (1975), analyse la convenance de s'utiliser la théorie déconstructiviste de Jacques Derrida, dans un contexte de genre, pour l'émancipation d'une voix féminine écrasé par le discours masculin dominat. Ainsi, en s'appuyant sur les œuvres de Luce Irigaray et Phyllis Chester, Felman explique :

> Western metaphysics is based on the totalitarian principle of so-called 'logocentrism,' that is, on the repressive predominance of 'logos' over

> 'writing,' on the priviledged status of the present and the consequent valorization of presence. (…) Thus, the metaphysical logic of dichotomous oppositions which dominates philosphical thought (Presence/Absence, Being /Nothingness … Same/Other, ect) is, in fact, a subtle mechanism of hierarchization which assures the unique valorization of the 'positive' pole … and, consequently, the repressive subordination of all 'negativity,' the mastery of difference as such.[58]

Dans un perspective pareille, Hélène Cixous s'approche de ce thème en reconnaissant également l'engloutissement du discours féminin par un discours masculin dominant et la nécessité pressante d'émanciper la voix de la femme de cette réduction exténuante : « (…) on ne peut pas plus parler de 'la femme' que de 'l'homme' sans être pris à l'intérieur d'un théâtre idéologique où la multiplication des représentation, images, reflets, mythes, identifications transforme, déforme, altère sans cesse l'imaginaire de chacun et rend d'avance caduque toute conceptualisation. »[59] Donc, afin de résister la corruption et la diminution de cette dichotomie sexuelle, les femmes sont obligées à 're-inventer' une langage où elles peuvent fuir à la division limitative du sexe : « Si la femme a toujours fonctionné 'dans' le discours de l'homme … il est temps qu'elle disloque ce 'dans,' qu'elle l'explose, le retourne et s'en saisisse, qu'elle le fasse sien … qu'elle s'invente une langue pour lui rentrer dedans. »[60] Felman ajoute à la discussion :

> The challenge facing the woman today is nothing less than to 're-invent' language, to re-learn how to speak : to speak not only against, but outside of the specular phallogocentric structure, to establish a discourse the status of which would no longer be defined by the phallacy of masculine meaning.[61]

Cependant, cet encouragement d'une nouvelle langue évoque également la menace d'essentialisation dont un grand nombre de féministes ont peur. A leurs yeux, l'accent sur l'utilisation d'une 'écriture féminine' est, en soi-même, un obstacle à l'émancipation des femmes en général, car, incapables de s'exprimer à travers un langage essentiellement féminin, les femmes sont forcées au silence, où « the [dominant] speech … will then swallow them up, will speak for them. »[62] Donc, comment concilier un discours « which would neither spring from nor return to this masculine Sameness »[63] sans se rattraper d'un un discours essentialiste ?

La réponse est trop complexe, mais ce qui nous intéresse ici est la possibilité d'utiliser une approche d'une écriture et d'un langage féminins, pas dans un sens essentialiste et réductif, mais, au contraire, comme un *moyen*

efficace de résistance et de déconstruction d'un discours unilatéral masculin dominant afin d'établir une voix authentique et, par conséquent, un 'discours libéré.' De cette façon, on va essayer de situer Marie Chauvet dans le cadre des auteurs qui esquissent une re-évaluation de la langue et du discours masculin dominant à travers son roman, Amour. Dans cette optique, Chauvet partage la notion, envisagée par Edouard Glissant, de remplissage des vides, non seulement dans le domaine historique et linguistique, mais surtout dans la nécessité de se trouver un discours alternative qui participe de la Poétique de la Relation – dans ce cas, à travers la récupération de la voix et du corps féminins confisqués par un discours masculin dominant. C'est donc au moyen de ce procès de transcendance que l'écrivain femme de la Caraïbe peut aller au delà de l'essentialisme féminin et contribuer dans la circulation de la Relation avec un sujet authentique et un discours 'libérée.'

En effet, Chauvet, en cherchant un voix authentique, c'est-à-dire, féminine, n'a pas l'intention de créer une autre langue dans le sens séparatiste et essentialiste, au contraire, cette innovation consiste en l'introduction d'un nouveau discours dans le réseau de la Poétique de la Relation, où la pluralité des discours ouvre et détruit l'hégémonie du discours dominant. Ainsi, dans cette multitude de discours (qui ne doit pas se limiter à la question de genre), l'auteur, en renversant et en bouleversant le texte et l'écriture avec des pulsions émanés du corps de Claire, se lance dans la poursuite de l'authenticité de la voix de son narratrice confisquée par le discours dominant phallocentrique.

Dans cette perspective, Catherine Belsey, dans son article, « Contructing the Subject » (1985), met beaucoup d'accent sur le rôle de la littérature dans cette poursuite de libération d'une voix contre un discours oppressive et dominante : « (…) literature [is] one of the most persuasive uses language may have [and an] important influence on the ways in which people grasp themselves and their relation to the real relations in which they live. »[64] Ainsi, à travers le procès de déconstruction, le but d'émancipation d'une idéologie dominante est possible, une stratégie qui s'approche de la tentative de Chauvet de transcendance de la dichotomie sexuelle oppressante et qui aborde également le concept de la circulation de Glissant et de le *milieu* de Bhabha :

> The aim [of deconstruction] is to locate the point of contradiction within the text, the point at which it transgresses the limits within which it is contructed, breaks free of the constraints imposed by its own realistic form. Composed of contradictions, the text is no longer restricted to a single, harmonious and authoritative reading. Instead it

> becomes plural, open to rereading , no longer an object for passive consumption but an object of work by the reader to produce meaning.[65]

Cette réconceptualisation du pouvoir, comme on avait déjà vu auparavant, est essentiel dans le discours antillais. Cependant, dans le contexte de genre, la situation se complique, car le discours déconstructiviste sert comme un outil de résistance non seulement face à l'universalisme humaniste écrasante de l'occident, mais, pour les femmes, il consiste également en une alternative à la centralisation du pouvoir masculin en général. De cette façon, Michael Dash reconnaît l'urgence des femmes écrivains de la Caraïbe de participer dans le discours de déconstruction à cause de la double oppression à laquelle elles sont soumises : « against *all* totalizing and centering systems. »[66] Ainsi, selon cet auteur, *Amour, Colère, Folie* (1968) se manifeste comme une exemple de « the most powerful assault on literary modernism in the Caribbean and the full-blown emergence of a postmodernist poetics » (110).

Joan Dayan n'emploi pas les termes 'postmodernisme' ou 'déconstruction' dans son essai : « Reading Women in the Caribbean, » cependant son approche semble partager la vision précédante de Michel Dash. Ainsi, Dayan, pareillement, place Marie Chauvet dans une position où le choix dépasse le dilemme d'échelle simpliste entre un discours ou un autre, mais il réside dans le refus total d'une appartenance réductive et d'une effacement d'une identité propre : « Chauvet writes her trilogy to examine the way women are forced in *between* two constructs not of their own making : black nationalist and white foreigner. » De la sorte, Dayan positionne *Amour* au milieu de cette dichotomie : « Chauvet has chosen to write out of her separateness … going beyond the 'peasant novel'… defl ying] mythologies or mystifications. »[67]

De cette façon, *Amour* est, en même temps, en dehors du nationalisme essentialiste évoqué par la littérature antillaise, et, en même temps, inséré dans un contexte tout fait appartenant à cette région. Ainsi, on y voit clairement un exemple marquante de « l'interstitiality » évoqué par Homi Bhabha dans *The Location of Culture*, où l'univers d'*Amour* n'est pas limité, au contraire, il cerne simultanément des préoccupations bourgeoises, le rôle limité des femmes, la question raciale, tout cela dans un contexte historique bien défini par la terreur politique des tontons macoutes et l'occupation américaine, entouré par la mer singulière de la Caraïbe.

Ainsi, la singularité de ce texte réside dans l'avant-gardisme de son écriture, ce qu'on analysera ensuite, et dans la complexité du sujet de Claire. En effet, le sujet de celle-là reflète une pulsion énergique d'affranchissement,

qui pareillement à son écriture, signale une tentative de libération des contraints du stade du miroir de Lacan en poursuite de sa propre authenticité. Ainsi, lorsque Nara Araujo affirme que : « [Claire] suffers the agony of a fragmented, dissociated identity, »[68] elle est en train de discuter la contradiction qui prolifère partout dans le texte et qui est émanée du personnage antinomique de Claire : la vierge sexuée, 'le paradis infernal,' amour/haine, vodou/religion, noir/blanche : « (…) a certain violence emanates from the internal contradictions … as they are articulated at the level of the *discourse itself.* »[69] De cette façon, ces multitudes de contradictions sont représentatifs de la lutte interne de Claire, étant que narratrice, qui réfute l'entrée réductive dans la Loi du Père et qui cherche l'authenticité d'un sujet dépossédé des contraints du symbolique et d'un discours dominant. Dans un contexte plus large, cette bataille signale également le dilemme de Marie Chauvet, étant qu'écrivain, de subir les pressions du nationalisme antillais et de l'étranger qui visent à l'appropriation de son authenticité littéraire.

Dans ce sens, Chauvet développe le personnage de Claire comme symbole de telle impasse - rattrapée dans le sémiotique dont Julia Kristeva parle, dans l'avant-langage, dans l'utérus, la narratrice refuse l'écrasement de son sujet féminin et authentique par l'ordre symbolique – soit-elle le discours masculin antillais ou l'étranger. De cette façon, elle rejette « la ruse et la violence … de l'économie masculine consistent à hiérarchiser la différence sexuelle en valorisant l'un des termes du rapport, en réaffirmant ce que Freud appelle le primat du phallus. »[70] Ainsi, elle veut fuir le lourdeur d'une éducation oppressante, d'une société hypocrite, et l'intériorisation de l'ordre symbolique en soi-même - en d'autres mots, Claire veut franchir « le thétique … entre le sémiotique et le symbolique »[71] afin de retrouver et de récupérer non seulement sa voix perdu, mais également son corps confisqué par le discours masculin dominant.

Toutefois, c'est intéressant de noter que, dans sa poursuite pour une voix perdu, Claire, en revanche, ne parle pas - elle ne s'engage que rarement dans un dialogue direct avec des autres personnages dans le texte. Jean Luze, le beau-frère pour qui Claire cultive une passion illicite, essai de la faire parler, il tente, en vain, d'extraire la voix cachée de la femme: « Dis ce que tu pense, Claire. »[72] Cependant, elle reste muette : « Je n'ai jamais su que me taire. »[73] Elle choisit de demeurer dans un silence intentionnel en résistant l'entrée dans un langage corrompu par un discours dominant. Autrement dit, elle « refuse to participate in a language which would erase [her] difference. Rather, by unsettling or displacing the dominant discourse, [she] reveal[s] the vincibility of

the One/Same. » De plus, Dale Bauer, dans son essai « Gender in Bakhtin's Carnival (1988), » reconnaît la possibilité d'avoir une voix féminine silencieuse et, en même temps, en train de se faire entendre : « (…) even as a 'silenced zone,' the female voice competes and contests for authority. » Ainsi, Chauvet crée une narratrice qui ne peut pas exprimer sa voix authentique sans faire une révolution dans le sujet condamné de Lacan - en d'autres termes, l'auteur engage son héroïne dans une poursuite tenace où « the voice competes for ascendancy to power or, at least, an intense relationship on the threshold where boundaries between the languages or self and other break down. »[74]

Dans cette perspective, l'approche déconstructiviste postmoderne, bien que le concept de la circulation et le *'in-between'* discutés antérieurement, prouvent efficaces dans l'analyse d'Amour, car ils ouvrent le texte et le déshabillent du poids du discours dominant. On y ajoute la notion du carnaval de Mikhail Bakhtin insérée dans un contexte de genre par Dale Bauer : "While the authoritative discourse demands conformity, the carnivalized discourse renders invalid any codes, conventions, or laws which govern or reduce the individual to an object of control."[75] Dans ce contexte, Joan Dayan situe Marie Chauvet très proche de cette notion de carnaval littéraire et linguistique : « Chavet takes her stand *in between* the generalities so often used to glorified, devide, or mystify…[in order to] *break down, subvert, and confound* … the claims of class, race, or gender. »[76]

Dans cet optique, Chauvet s'engage dans ce carnaval en créant une écriture qui, comme Ronnie Scharfman bien décrit, « destabilize our perception of the world … transgresses us in our comfort by deconstructing our illusion of exteriority and innocence … threaten[ing] … our integrity. »[77] De cette façon, Amour, à travers la déconstruction et la circulation, se consacre à faire un carnaval dans la fondations du discours dominant, en brouillant et en renversant les codes littéraires afin d'ouvrir les portes pour l'entrée d'une nouvelle forme d'expression. Dans ce contexte, Chauvet s'approxime de la notion d'une écriture 'féminine,' pas dans le sens essentialiste de tel mot, mais afin de questionner le *status quo* masculin qui domine l'écriture antillaise et afin de fuir les classifications réductives qui positionne son texte comme un simple reproducteur du discours dominant : « (…) [l'écrivain femme] détruit les lois, l'ordre '*naturel*,' elle lève la barre qui sépare le présent du futur, brisant la loi rigide de l'individuation. »[78] Ainsi, fatiguée de son réduction à l'état limitatif de l'autre : « Mon rôle, dans ma vie, a toujours été secondaire, »[79] Claire, comme Dora de Freud, rejette l'appropriation de son corps et de sa voix par un discours phallocentrique et se consacre à contrôler son propre discours comme

« la vraie 'maîtresse' du Signifiant. »[80]

De la sorte, Claire « takes the pen out of the hands of her male compatriots »[81] et écrit son journal intime, où elle « analyse sans complaisance non seulement les manifestations du préjugé de la couleur et ses conséquences psychologiques chez ceux qui en sont victimes, mais aussi la terreur politique qu'un gouvernement à dominance noire fait régner dans le fief mulâtre où se déroule l'action. »[82] Cependant, ce qui nous intéresse ici n'est pas une analyse directe du content psychologique et historique de l'intrigue et ses répercussions dans ces personnages dans le contexte haïtien *per se*, mais surtout la façon et le vigueur dans lesquels cette écriture s'extériorise. Ainsi, le moyen dans lequel Chauvet donne une voix expressive à son narratrice n'est pas à travers un dialogue ou un récit conventionnel (comme on a vu antérieurement, elle ne parle beaucoup), mais à travers une écriture qui se manifeste avec des énergies et des pulsions émanés du corps féminin réprimé de Claire. C'est à travers ce corps que la narratrice trouve son *cri* de libération et la façon dans laquelle elle peut entrer dans la Poétique de la Relation comme un sujet authentique et singulier : « *Voix-cri.* Agonie, - 'parole' explosée, déchiquetée par la douleur et la colère, pulvérisant le discours. »[83]

Nara Araujo signale correctement l'importance et la force de l'écriture de Claire: « [Claire] arrives at writing through desperation… for [writing] is an act of self-recognition. »[84] Ainsi, Claire déclare au debout de son journal : « Mon intelligence sommeillait et je l'ai réveillée … Je crois pouvoir écrire. Je crois pouvoir penser … J'ai pris conscience de moi. »[85] De cette façon, la narratrice trouve dans l'écriture un moyen de lutter contre l'écrasement de son sujet par une éducation oppressante, le préjugé de la couleur, la frustration sexuelle, l'hypocrisie sociale et contre le confinement claustrophobe qui entoure le roman et les habitants de cette ville terrorisée en Haïti : « Tout aussi tard je me suis rendu compte de l'imbécillité des classifications sociales basées sur la richesses et la couler de la peau. Je suis devenue habile dans l'art de démasquer les parvenus, les hypocrites (…) »[86] Cependant, l'écriture que Claire façonne dans son journal signale surtout - comme une métonymie du rôle de Chauvet en écrivant *Amour* - une tentative de faire casser les barrières et les contraints du discours masculin dominant sous la forme d'une narrative intense, organique et charnelle qui semble avoir une vie propre dans le texte : « Writing in Amour is the equivalent of masturbatory fantasy. »[87]

C'est dans cette perspective que les théories d'Hélène Cixous sur la possibilité de voir le corps féminin comme une source inspiratrice et présente dans l'écriture se déroulent : « (…) l'envie d'écrire : une envie de se vivre

dedans, une envie du ventre, de la langue, du sang. »[88] Ainsi, forcée au silence par un langue corrompu, une éducation bourgeoise, une société fausse et un modèle de narrative dominé par le *status quo* masculin, Claire personnifie l'idée 'd'écrire avec son corps' dans le sens que son récit et ses monologues intérieurs semblent se manifester au niveau du corps – un corps prêt à explosion, proche à libération : « Tout ce qui a fermenté pendant près de quarante ans dans mon imagination : mes désirs inassouvis, mes appels, sans écho, l'extase stérile des plaisirs solitaires *se soulèvent en moi*. C'est une révolution. Je me sens prête à répondre aux exigences de mon être. »[89]

De cette manière, Claire élabore sa révolution à travers son écriture qui transpire des pulsions énergiques et sexuelles proviens de son corps opprimé. La narratrice réveille son corps d'un stupeur écrasant et écrit avec son sang bouillonnant dans l'intérieur de sa chambre - lieu de palpitations, de sueur, de nudité et de désirs où Claire émerge comme écrivain authentique : « Claire is above all a writer. »[90] Ainsi, Amour se déroule organiquement à travers l'ardeur du corps de Claire qui s'inscrit matériellement dans les pages du roman : « (…) Claire's body becomes the locus where all of the conflicts of the novel – psychic, social, racial erotic, even, eventually, political – wage their wars. »[91] Dans cet optique, Cixous souligne : "(…) c'est avec son corps qu'elle soutient vitalement la 'logique' de son discours: sa chair dit vrai. Elle s'expose. En vérité, elle matérialise charnellement ce qu'elle pense, elle le signifie avec son corps. Elle inscrit ce qu'elle dit, parce qu'elle ne refuse pas à la pulsion sa part indisciplinable et passionnée à la parole. »[92]

Ainsi, cette « vitalité inquiétante »[93] de l'écrivain en s'alliant avec une atmosphère de peur et de terreur poussent la narratrice au bout de ses émotions – jusqu'au point où le corps et l'écriture se fusent dans un état de désespoir qui clame pour la libération et la liberté. Cette notion est bien illustrée par un passage dans le texte, ou Claire danse avec Calédu, le commandant sadique qui terrorise l'aristocratie mulâtre locale. Dans cette optique, de la même façon que l'écriture de Claire se traduit par des pulsion énergétiques et sexuelles émanés de son corps, d'autre côté, on retrouve le corps de Calédu comme une métaphore de la lourdeur d'une discours dominant qui littéralement écrase la voix et le corps de la femme : « Et, m'enlaçant d'autorité il me fit tourner à en avoir le vertige. Ses mains semblaient posséder une force si prodigieuse qu'à leur contact je sentais mon corps entier serré dans un étau. Je voulus me libérer, il resserra son étreinte. Nos deux corps étroitement liés brûlaient de haine. »

Toutefois, Claire met un fin à cette oppression : « Je m'arrêtait

brusquement … j'arrachai ma main de la sienne » en produisant un récit brûlant et de résistance qui déstabilise la dominance du discours masculin.[94] De cette façon, son dégagement du corps de Calédu symbolise son refus de participer dans un discours où sa voix soit appropriée par une autre privilégiée par un discours phallocentrique. Ainsi, ce rejet violent, qui se prolifère partout dans le texte, casse les barrières des codes et des références - « la terreur bris[e] ses élans »[95] – de la même façon que le carnaval de Bakhtin suspend la discipline du texte.[96] Dans cet univers de bouleversement, le discours dominant s'affaibli et donne lieu à l'émergence d'une multitude de discours qui concourent, l'un avec l'autre, pour se faire écouter, dans une symbiose culturelle propre de la Poétique de la Relation. C'est dans cette indétermination et incertitude que Claire laisse son corps traduire son histoire et ses désirs en détruisant les contraints et l'oppression sociale et littéraire : « En révolte déjà contre tout ce qui m'avait marqué, je m'acharnais hypocritement à détruire les mythes, et secouais le joug sans me trahir une seconde. »[97]

Ainsi, Claire se sert de ce désordre carnavalesque dans le discours dominant pour établir sa voix comme part intégrant d'une vraie Poétique de la Relation. De cette façon, la narratrice décrit la fin de son journal intime (qui ne doit pas nécessairement s'arrêter) avec son 'sang et chair' : « Me voilà brûlante… le sang me martèle les temps … Je sens mon cœur en lambeaux. » De la sorte, c'est avec ce délire d'émotions et de bouleversements que Claire s'inscrit avec son corps une 'autre langue' où elle émerge comme la vraie Signifiant dans une Relation sans discours privilégié : « Il faut que la femme écrive son corps, qu'elle invente la langue imprenable qui crève les cloisonnement, classes et théoriques, ordonnances et codes, qu'elle submerge, transperce, franchisse le discours à réserve ultime (…) » C'est à travers cette langue - un *cri* de libération, le 'cri de Caliban' – que la femme se débarrasse de la contrainte du discours dominant qui l'avait réduite au rôle de l'autre et de complément au discours masculin : « (…) j'ai envie de hurler. »[98] Finalement, on entend sa voix, son cri - pas dans le sens conventionnel - mais un son qui trouve son écho dans une écriture sonore, insurrectionnelle, parfumée, mouvementée et circulante : « A women's voice has been expressed … the woman's writing remains… *Amour* [is a] proof of Chauvet's trust in the word. »[99]

De cette façon, *Amour* émerge comme une réponse à la métaphore du 'refoulé' d'une culture opprimée par un Histoire et une langue imposées et, également, d'une voix de femme écrasée par une discours phallique dominant. Malgré ces contraints, le 'refoulé' ne se tait pas, au contraire : « il revient …

d'un retour explosive, absolument ruinant, renversant, d'une force encore jamais libérée, à la mesure de la plus formidable des répression (…) »[100] en réconceptualisant le pouvoir et l'histoire et en situant sa voix authentique dans l'entrelacement de la Poétique. Ainsi, Marie Chauvet choisit d'écrire non seulement *au milieu* des discours dominants, « Black nationalism and white foreigner »[101] comme bien signale Joan Dayan, mais également dans une perspective de genre, autrement dit, en soulignant la force de la voix de la femme supprimée et engloutie par ces deux discours dominants.

Cependant, *Amour* ne s'encadre pas dans un essentialisme aveugle de la féminité comme le seul Signifiant, au contraire, il relève le corps féminin comme source inspiratrice d'émancipation d'une voix authentique dans l'intention de la faire participer dans une circulation si cruciale pour le fonctionnement de la Poétique de la Relation. De cette façon, Chauvet trouve l'authenticité de son discours dans le corps sexuelle et explosive de sa narratrice - un corps, toujours en mouvement, instable et inquiétant comme la métaphore de la mer de Glissant, qui permit que la femme casse « (…) la barre de séparation, inscrit avec son corps le différentiel, perfore le système des couples et oppositions. » Ainsi, Chauvet voit dans cette fluidité du corps de la femme l'outil dont elle a besoin de confronter et 'carnavaliser' le privilège des discours dominants, en ouvrant l'espace pour la prolifération d'une multitude de modes de signification, où « the symbolic, the codes of reference and the semes – evade the constraints of the narrative sequence. To the extent that these are 'reversible,' free-floating and of indeterminate authority, the text is plural … non single discourse is privileged. »[102] C'est grâce à cette carnaval de Bakhtin, la circulation de la mer de Glissant, l'Atlantique de Gilroy, et également le concept du '*in-between'* de Bhabha, que Marie Chauvet trouve, à partir de l'accent sur le corps de la femme met par Cixous, un texte tellement singulier et authentique : « [A travers son corps] elle fait soudain circuler une autre façon de connaître, de produire, de communiquer … elle rompt avec l'explication … Elle *vole.* »[103]

Dans ce contexte, tandis que Cixous voit dans l'acte de voler le geste de libération de la voix de la femme réprimée par le Phallique, Edouard Glissant façonne un voyage sous-marin au gouffre où on trouve des racines de la Poétique de la Relation « prolongées dans tous les sens de notre univers par leur réseau de branches. »[104] Malgré le chemin, le but du voyage est pareille dans tous les deux cas : l'émancipation d'une voix authentique opprimée qui s'utilise des théories postmodernes et postcoloniales, bien que des métaphores tellement régionalistes, telle quelle la mer de la Caraïbe, ou d'autres dans un

niveau de genre, comme le corps sexuelle et inquiétant de Claire. Dans ce trajet infatigable, *Amour* émerge comme une nouvelle forme d'expression de la Caraïbe dans le sens qu'il fournit ses lecteurs avec des outils nécessaires à l'affranchissement contre une multitude de contraintes qui réduit la voix à la position de l'autre.

De cette façon, Marie Chauvet finit son roman avec Claire, fermée dans sa chambre, en contemplant sa jouissance récupérée : « (…) contemplant se sang sur mes mains, ce sang sur ma robe, ce sang sur le poignard… » tandis que « les portes de maisons sont ouvertes. »[105] (Chauvet 187). Dans cette métaphore, la femme récupère et répossède son corps et sa voix confisqués par le Phallique et les serre à double tour afin de préserver leur authenticité et éviter leur réappropriation, reprise et destruction. Toutefois, ce corps ne reste pas 'non-contaminé.' Au contraire, il s'enlève et vole à travers les portes ouvertes de la maison et de la ville au moyen d'une écriture qui dérange le discours dominant et concourt pour une place authentique dans le mouvement éternel et symbiotique du réseau de la Poétique de la Relation.

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Notes

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Lynn Huang

Between Manuscript and Print: George Gascoigne as the Professional Poet

John L. Haney Prize (English)

Renaissance ideals of humanism and court culture created a conflict between the exemplary roles of the scholar and the courtier, both of which were closely tied to the social machinations of manuscript culture. Out of the tensions between these competing social ideals arose the professional poet, not a scholar or a courtier, but rather a different social identity altogether. My study examines how George Gascoigne breaks with this polarized paradigm of social roles and creates a new space for himself and others like him as a socially acceptable professional poet in the transition from manuscript to print. Writing on the cusp of print culture's emergence as the dominant mode of literary dissemination, Gascoigne attempts to negotiate a relationship to print that replicates aspects of manuscript culture and its contingent social symbolism.

The following is an excerpt of the project.

Politics and literature intersected at every turn during the English Renaissance as the politically ambitious strived to become members of the powerful royal court, and members of the court strived to maintain their status by perfecting courtly skills, described in Baldesar Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (1528), the perennial handbook for both the aspiring and the seasoned courtier. Achieving higher social rank and therefore increased political power no longer

depended upon nobility of birth, but rather upon a solid education and decorous social manners at court. The judicial connotations of the word "court" are especially relevant when we discuss the royal court, since it is the king's residence and therefore the locus of power. For those who had access to it, the fine art of courtiership had potential as a useful tool for self-promotion or for repression of others. Those who already had power were anxious to keep it and distinguish themselves from those who did not; for them, courtliness was a means of manifesting one's entitlement to social status. Among the lower social ranks, courtliness was a way to penetrate courtly circles and maneuver oneself into a more favorable position.

One such aspiring courtly writer was George Gascoigne, who wrote *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* in part to reify his status as a courtier. In an effort to exhibit the qualities found in the ideal courtier Castiglione describes, Gascoigne attempts to be, or to appear to be, an expert in all things and to effectively take on multiple roles, each of which carried a different type of cultural value. He takes on the roles of courtier, soldier, teacher, gardener, and finally, poet.[1]

Renaissance cultural ideals of humanism and court culture created a conflict between the exemplary roles of the scholar and the courtier. Out of the tensions between these competing social ideals arose the professional poet, not a scholar or a courtier, but rather a different social identity altogether. This paper examines how George Gascoigne breaks with this polarized paradigm of social roles and creates a new space for himself and others like him as a socially acceptable professional poet in the transition from manuscript to print. The sociological conditions of participating in both manuscript and in print are inextricable from a coherent discussion of the professional poet; therefore, much of my paper will draw connections between the various social functions (and dysfunctions) of literature and Gascoigne's project. I believe Gascoigne represents a unique opportunity for understanding the process of social self-fashioning through print. As an aspiring courtly writer, Gascoigne printed his 1573 anthology, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, in part to display his extensive "inside" knowledge of what went on in courtly life, defiantly using print medium to signal his membership within, rather than exclusion from, courtly circles.

Gascoigne was acutely aware of his literary culture and the changes in the second edition of his anthology, re-titled *The Posies*, reveal his efforts to manipulate courtly systems of representation to raise his own social status. To make his personal political agenda successful, he adheres to the rules of

literary discourse by revising his allegedly salacious anthology. The revision of individual texts and the insertion of new ones between the old—in addition to new prefaces and the rearrangement of the contents into *flowers*, *hearbes*, and *weedes*—suggest that Gascoigne attempts, not only to revise his previous work, but also to re-invent himself and to re-shape the manner in which his work will be received. Writing on the cusp of print culture's emergence as the dominant mode of literary dissemination, Gascoigne attempts to negotiate a relationship to print that replicates aspects of manuscript culture and its contingent social symbolism.

Self-Fashioning: Manuscript and Print

To understand Gascoigne's need for self-fashioning, we must consider the circumstances that made it so crucial in court culture. Self-fashioning was common practice because the ever-shifting power relations between court members created a need to constantly re-make one's identity to advance socially or simply to maintain status. Visible, external characteristics were thought to display corresponding internal alterations or continuities in identity. One could create the illusion of an identity by projecting certain characteristics without actually *being* that identity. In a sense, one can never *be* a courtier; one can only *perform* the courtier, a circumstance that works in tandem with the perception-based logic of social status.

Emphasis on the action, not the actor, created unique conditions for advancement through courtiership for those who were well-educated but not of noble birth. Becoming a proper courtier, refined in both body and mind, required much study and practice. Yet the courtier's graceful thoughts and actions were to seem effortless, a quality Castiglione refers to as *sprezzatura*, or flawless grace. The paradox of *sprezzatura* is that such grace could be learned, yet its value lay in the belief that it could only be a manifestation of one's high social standing and that those of low social status could not achieve it. This paradox arises from the assumption that a true gentleman acts in a particular way, and from that proceeds the notion that only a gentleman is capable of such comportment.[2] In a social system where one's rank is determined not by what one *is* but rather by what one *does*, Gascoigne attempts to do as the courtiers do, and therefore reify his status as a courtier. Even as Castiglione and other courtier handbook writers discuss the effortlessness of courtly grace, they sell guidance on how to achieve it, or at least appear to achieve it.

As a social tool, *sprezzatura* need only exist superficially. This meant one

could expend infinite effort, so long as it was not seen. Since identity was based upon performance, speech and writing were two commonly used mediums for staging one's identity and exhibiting courtly graces. Castiglione observes that writing is more dangerous than speaking because the permanent nature of writing necessarily subjects it to greater scrutiny.[3] Once written, a text must convey its meaning without the aid of the writer; therefore, writing must be done more carefully than speaking. However, Castiglione refers to courtly speech and writing, not public print. In courtly circles of manuscript circulation, a writer was usually familiar with his readers and had greater control over his audience's context than in he would in print, particularly public readers of print. In print, writing needed to be re-contextualized and regulated through titles or prefaces, a circumstance that proved useful for Gascoigne in creating a context for himself so that he would be read in a specific manner, whether as a reformed prodigal, a courtly lover, or a teacher who offers flowres, hearbes, and weedes from which the reader may learn.

Print can be a liability because the writer almost certainly cannot be present to defend his writing or correct a misunderstood context; however, the possibilities for broader dissemination through print means a broader dissemination of the self-fashioned identity that the text communicates and hopes to circulate. The problem with print is that any mistakes and potential misunderstandings will likewise be widely disseminated, without a writer to explain his intentions. Yet it did offer new ways to consolidate a self-fashioned identity. The frontispiece to *The Steele Glas*, for example, features Gascoigne's portrait.[4] Dressed as a soldier and flanked by his gun and his shelf of books, he is clothed in and surrounded by the trappings of a noble military man and the equipment of a poet and scholar. The pen hanging off of the shelf indicates he does not stop at simply imbibing information from books, but he also writes and takes action. Each of the elements in this portrait symbolizes Gascoigne's facility with various courtly skills in the hope of attracting patronage for his service.

In order to reconcile the divergent identities in *A Hundreth* and *The Posies*, Gascoigne presents himself as an older, wiser writer in *The Posies*. Rather than deny the salacious content of *A Hundreth*, Gascoigne incorporated it into his new identity as a reformed prodigal.[5] The problem with using this identity is the brevity of his publishing career—difference between his "early" and "later" work is a matter less than three years. This fact underscores Gascoigne's active self-fashioning and his effort to create a sense of

maturation over a short time. A common trope, the story of the reformed prodigal was familiar and therefore more readily accepted by readers. In a preface to *The Posies*, "To the Reverende Divines," Gascoigne disavows responsibility for any vices found in *A Hundreth* while promising that all traces of immorality had been removed. He casts himself as a repentant prodigal who wishes to educate his peers: "So even in the worst sorte, I might yet serve as a myrrour for unbridled youth, to avoyde those perilles which I had passed."[6] This device allows Gascoigne to turn his misspent youth into a didactic warning. Here, his role as a reformed prodigal overlaps with his role as a teacher.

Self-fashioning in print was not limited to poets. Gabriel Harvey, a renowned scholar and friend to Gascoigne, also engaged in constructing (or one might say, parsing) his own identity.[7] He uses several *personae* in his writing, which largely consisted of marginalia.[8] Perhaps the most telling of all Harvey's personae, "Euscopus,"also called "Euscopius," is the "sharp-sighted man" who is capable of seeing into both past and future.[9] Harvey describes Euscopus as a "Rationist" who is in complete control of his emotions, and who, like a phoenix, periodically burns and then is reborn. By this, Harvey suggests that he has created a new life for himself. He writes: "The indestructible core of Euscopius in many lives. But here and now is one carefully fashioned, absolutely different, and very aptly adjusted to the world."[10] Virginia Stern interprets "many lives" to mean, in part, "Harvey's multiple careers as teacher, orator, courtier, writer, and civil lawyer—each of which was in some way thwarted, if not actually burned to ashes."[11] Like Gascoigne, Harvey has pursued various careers without much success.

One cannot help but notice the parallel between Harvey's struggle as a scholar in a courtly environment and Gascoigne's struggle as a poet in the same context. Harvey appears to criticize Gascoigne's predilection for misdirecting his energy when he plays different roles; however, his fault-finding may be a sign of dissatisfaction with his own failed pursuits. In the margins of *The Posies*, Harvey writes:

> Sum vanity: & more leuity: his special faulte, & the continual causes of his misfortunes. Many other haue maintained themselues gallantly vpon sum one of his qualities: nothing fadgeth with him, for want of Resolution, & Constancy in any one kind. He shall neuer thriue with any thing, that can brooke no crosses: or hath not learned to make the best of the worst, in his Profession. It is no maruell, thowgh he had cold successe in his actions, that in his studies, & Looues,

> thowght vpon y Warres; in the warres, mused vpon his studies, & Looues. The right flourishing man, in study, is nothing but study: in Looue, nothing but looue: in warr, nothing byt warr.[12]

This lengthy comment appears at the end of the Green Knight's tales, which may be read as semi-autobiographical, as "The Green Knight" was Gascoigne's nickname.[13] It is appropriate that Harvey's criticism of Gascoigne immediately follows yet another account of the author's failures, expressed through the Green Knight, one of Gascoigne's multiple personae.

Self-fashioning in the form of writing was not uncommon, and the production, transmission and consumption of literature pointed to a specific culture in which every social act was necessarily political. Books and manuscripts constituted a form of political currency and cultural capital, exchanged to show alliances and favor, and reading texts gave their authors social and therefore political recognition.[14] Courtly writers often exchanged manuscripts within coteries, which functioned as scribal communities in which "author and user publication…was often a mode of social bonding whose aim was to nourish and articulate a corporate ideology," namely that of the monarch.[15] Members of scribal communities, or writing circles, often experimented with the same literary forms, indicating a somewhat consistent exchange of writing between members.[16]

Courtly writers would also make gifts of books or writing to patrons of higher status and receive gifts of office, money, or affiliation in return. Patrons included aristocrats, ambassadors, and members of Parliament, not to mention the Queen herself. The patronage network radiated outwards from the Queen in such a way that each courtier was simultaneously a patron to a person of lower status and a suitor to one of higher standing. A personal relationship with the Queen was the most highly coveted position at court; these fortunate and highly influential courtiers were able to lobby for others, and the ability to help others climb the social ladder and reap the rewards therein reinforced a courtier's prestige. The ability to patronize such frivolous and wasteful activities as poetry also marked the extent of one's wealth and advertised one's good taste in literature and the arts.[17] Printed dedications and addresses to patrons were effective in broadcasting patrons' status or soliciting patronage. The courtly writer's highest aspiration was to write directly for the Queen; lacking her actual patronage, many writers dedicated their work to her anyway in the hope of fashioning themselves into her servicemen and making the fictional relationship real.

Courtship rituals involving the Queen most clearly illustrate the nexus of

political, social, economic, and literary activity concentrated at court. The Queen's status as an unmarried woman left her open to romantic courtship; however, marriage was for her more of a political relationship than a romantic one. Consequently, courtship was less about love and more about political power, and courtiers demonstrated their loyalty and admiration for the Queen by wooing her in amatory writing.[18] Conflating the personal with the political, court relationships point towards "a society that imagined government as more personal than bureaucratic."[19] The political nature of intimate relations meant that sexual relationships held particular import.

For this reason, among others, courtiers likely took issue with Gascoigne for his unapologetic depiction of the rampant adultery that went on at court in *The Adventures of Master F.J.* Much of the verse in *A Hundreth* relates Gascoigne's personal experiences, and while blurring the distinction between fact and fiction was both common and acceptable in manuscript, in print it made one susceptible to charges of libel.[20] This story could have been a true story about actual courtiers, thinly veiled as fiction, and Gascoigne even leads the reader to believe it was nonfiction. Gascoigne positions himself as an "insider" at court by demonstrating his knowledge of the sexual liaisons that often characterize it. In manuscript form, such a story would likely be understood the way he intended it because access to it would be more controlled and restricted to other insiders. In print, however, access is theoretically available to everyone. By printing this story, Gasciogne effectively becomes an insider, but a traitorous insider.

Revealing courtly sexual liaisons in print was not only libelous, but also comparable to revealing confidential knowledge of political relationships. He brandished the skeletons in the courtiers' closets, real or fictional, sexual or political, and court society would not stand for it. Gascoigne exonerates himself from accusations of slander by claiming it was pure fiction and revising it as such in *The Posies*. The 1575 revisions were, in part, meant to placate those who would criticize him for his blatant exposé of courtly practices, under the pretense of appeasement directed towards religious clergy.

As *The Adventures of Master F.J.* demonstrates, the introduction of print complicated the relationship between courtliness and literature. Courtly writing was largely produced and circulated in manuscript form, thereby restricting circulation, while print was arguably in public domain, which made it an inappropriate medium for such personal and private writing as lyric love poetry.[21] Furthermore, printed writers were plagued by the "stigma of print."

This stigma arose from the idea that print constituted a product of labor, and that the writer of a printed text was therefore a worker. Essentially, courtiers and aristocrats frowned upon printing for money because it was a form of work, and employment for economic gain was considered completely inappropriate for the gentry, especially courtiers. Castiglione cautions courtiers against doing anything for gain, whether in writing or, in his example, playing tennis: "I would have our Courtier engage in it (and in all other exercises except arms) as in something which is not his profession, and in which he will make it evident that he does not seek or expect any praise; not let it appear that he devotes much effort or time to it, even though he may do it ever so well."[22] Work is characterized by its exchange for something of value; therefore, any activity that is solely for pleasure would not be considered work.

Primarily interested in profit, printers and booksellers only produced books that they were confident would yield revenue in a reasonably short time; such was the modus operandi of printers and sellers dating back to the earliest days of the book business. During these early days, print served to increase and broaden the circulation of manuscripts that had already enjoyed success, while less popular works were cast aside.[23] Since print was putatively about profit, writers who printed their work struggled to prove that these literary activities were actually about enjoyment, not money.

The production and circulation of manuscript writing was putatively about pleasure, although it simultaneously garnered profit of various sorts (political, amorous, hierarchical, and financial). In fact, writing for pleasure often provided a convenient alibi for print that resulted in financial gain. Caught between the stigma of the printed writer, on the one hand, and the exclusivity of courtly manuscript culture, on the other, literary figures and would-be courtiers like George Gascoigne carved out an alternate space: that of the professional poet.[24]

The high visibility of Gascoigne's effort in producing a second edition made it more difficult for him to disguise his work as a product of pleasure and *sprezzatura*. Readers who remember his earlier work, printed only two years before, can see his effort; he even explains his effort in several new prefaces in 1575. Meanwhile, such a re-write would not cause such notice if it had been committed in manuscript form. The constantly repeated transcription of manuscripts in general meant that it was not unusual to find multiple permutations of a given text, including differences in authorial attribution.

The Poet as Literary Humanist

Gascoigne struggled to balance and maintain his various roles. Each of these roles constituted a particular aspect of the ideal courtier as set forth in manuals such as Castiglione's, and Gascoigne sought to embody this ideal, if not in his real life, then in his textual identity, or rather, identities. His project was further complicated by the rise of competing conceptions of humanism that led to the perception that such roles were mutually exclusive.[25] Framing oneself as one type of humanist or another became limited to particular modes of representation.

The two predominating conceptions of English humanism are: one, as a pedagogical paradigm; two, as a social and intellectual ideal that encompasses an educational ideal without constituting an educational method.[26] I am concerned with the latter, which can be further divided into two distinct social roles, that of the courtier and that of the scholar or philosopher. While I discuss the scholar and the courtier as somewhat oppositional ideals, it is crucial to bear in mind that they are idealized models and therefore impossible to embody. Even as Castiglione delineates the perfect courtier, he admits that the courtiers in his book "have imagined a Courtier that never existed and perhaps never can exist," a paragon of courtly comportment that could never be achieved in real life.[27] Castiglione suggests that one ought to strive for perfection even with the knowledge that achieving it is highly unlikely, if not outright impossible. This same proviso applies to the ideal of the perfect scholarly humanist.

The central difference between the scholar and the courtier is a matter of content versus form, or more specifically for the courtier, style. While the philosophical humanist may be broadly described as a contemplative scholar intent upon the substance of learning, the courtly humanist may be conceived as a courtier intent upon cultivating style, with less concern for content. The literary humanist represents a reconciliation of content and style. Although poetry had its place for scholars and courtiers alike, this last type of humanist most closely approximates the poet, who belonged wholly to neither the scholarly nor the courtly camp.[28] To understand the poet—and Gascoigne specifically—as a literary figure who represents an alternative to well-established humanistic ideals, we must first establish the dichotomous scholar-courtier framework within which he functions, and from which he departs.

The upper class, many of them would-be courtiers, sought to differentiate themselves from those of lower class in a manner that illustrates the content-versus-style paradigm that characterized the scholar-versus-courtier

dichotomy. Education was once the mark of aristocracy, but as humanist pedagogy gradually permeated English teaching methods, it became increasingly available to non-aristocrats. Humanist scholars strived to gain a broad command of ancient literary texts and to imitate classical authors, and espoused these methods of education not solely for the gentry, but for all people.[29] As humanist pedagogy spread, the upper class experienced a need to find another way to distinguish themselves from those below them.

One way to mark the difference was "to emphasize *manner* rather than matter: others may be found who can do the things a gentleman does, but they cannot do them *properly*. The difference in kind remains visible, but it becomes one of style rather than substance."[30] Since anyone, ostensibly, could acquire the substance (or content) of education and learn to do as the aristocrats do, then preserving the hierarchy meant shifting the focus away from what one does and towards *how* one does it. Thus, the goal of the aristocracy was to display overly civilized self-manifestations of status, such as hunting and dancing, while emphasizing the style of such activities to the point of excluding non-aristocrats.

These efforts to keep the well-educated middle class at bay often resulted in frustrated ambitions and resentment. The continuous education combined with the class-based glass ceiling generated a whole demographic of discontented middle-class young people who did not have anything to do with their newly acquired education. In order to succeed even with a substantive education, they were forced to negotiate with aristocratic stylistic ideals. Many headed to the Inns of Court, the locus of gentlemanly education where social climbers, serious students of the law intent on entering the legal profession, and well-born young men who only sought some diversion, all mingled together.[31] The Inns of Court served as a gentleman's "finishing school" during the period, and were regarded as "seminaries and nurseries wherein the gentrie of this kingdome are bredd and trained upp."[32] The Inns of Court conferred a gentlemanly air to those who lived, worked, or played there, and it was accepted—and to some extent, even expected—as convention for a gentleman to have spent some time there enjoying such genteel pursuits as fencing, dancing, and music.

This is not to say that the Inns of Court did not serve the serious students. The Inns only became known for providing courtly education in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; before, during, and after that period, they served primarily as schools and organizations for both practicing lawyers and those who were preparing to enter the profession. In fact, the

Inns' acceptance of career lawyers and students bred tension between their merit-based constituency and their honorific or well-born members. The gentlemen elevated the Inns' status, but often sought to separate themselves from the common members, especially since the legal profession held the lowest status among the three learned professions, and association with it was likely to lower a gentleman's status rather raise it.[33] Thus, many of them adopted courtly effects in dress, speech, and general behavior. Even under the philosophically unifying umbrella of humanism as common humanity, there was a sense that some people could be even more human, more civilized, than their peers if they cultivated that which separated them from the uncivilized.[34] Even practicing lawyers often denied their profession in an effort to appear more gentlemanly.

This elevated "style" of gentleness was at the heart of courtly modes of social discourse and representation, and some scholars were not willing to compromise their scholarly integrity to participate in what they considered a superficial, surface-based concept of humanism. Gabriel Harvey, for example, advocated the humanist as "curious universal scholar" as opposed to the humanist as amorous lyric poet.[35] Notoriously uncomfortable with court values, Harvey's criticism can be traced to the idle and narcissistic reputation of love poetry. However, even Harvey found lyric poetry attractive because it offers an opportunity for the true scholarly humanist to advertise his erudition.

The scholar and the courtier were polarized as social ideals; in practice, however, their boundaries were less clear in practice. Like other court satellites, Harvey was lured by the possibility for courtly advancement and devoted himself to intense study of *The Book of the Courtier*, of which he owned copies in Italian, English, and Latin.[36] As Harvey was drawn to courtiership, serious courtiers were likewise drawn to scholarship. To be the perfect courtier was to be well versed in everything, including scholarly pursuits. Like scholars, courtier Sir Philip Sidney valued education; however, his courtly aesthetic valued the pleasures of learning above strict erudition.[37] In his *Defense of Poetry*, he describes the courtly conception of poetry: "I say the philosopher teacheth, but he teacheth obscurely, so as the learned only can understand him; that is to say, he teacheth them that are already taught. But the poet is the food for the tenderest stomachs, the poet is indeed the right popular philosopher."[38] The philosopher's focus on content and his ignorance of style and the aesthetics of pleasure makes his teaching difficult to understand and accessible only to other philosophers. Poets, on the other

hand, make lessons digestible for "tender stomachs" by making them pleasurable.

Sidney writes that poetry must be practiced "with the end of well doing and not of well knowing only: even as the saddler's next end is to make a good saddle, but his farther end, to serve a nobler faculty, which is horsemanship…So that, the ending end of all earthly lerning, being virtuous action, those skills that most serve to bring forth that have a most just title to be princes over all the rest."[39] Ideally, poetry must move one to action, thereby fulfilling the edifying purpose of poetry. Poetry looks forward—in a saddle, the poet envisions a horseman; scholars, according to Sidney, would be endlessly engrossed in the saddle. Gascoigne's portrait in *The Steele Glas* speaks to the need for action. The pen hanging off of the shelf of books indicates he does not stop at simply imbibing information from texts, but he also writes and takes action. In contrast to the scholar's contemplative texts, poetry in the court always needed to serve some purpose or incite some kind of action. At court, the conventions of amorous lyric poetry conveniently coincide with the political strategy of self-advancement through the praise of others. The content of the poetry was not as important as its style, the effect it would have, and how it would benefit the writer.

If Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* was the style handbook for courtiers, then George Puttenham's *The Art of English Poesie* was the handbook for courtly writers. Puttenham emphasizes the importance of poetic form in books two and three of his treatise; but most importantly, he describes poetry as the foundation of civilization itself:

> It is written that poesie was th'original cause and occasion of their first assemblies, when before the people remained in the woods and mountains, vagrant and dispersed like the wild beasts, lawless and naked…so as they little differed for their manner of life from the very brute beasts of the field. Whereupon it is feigned that Amphion and Orpheus, two poets of the first ages, one of them, to wit Amphion, builded up cities, and reared walls with the stones that came in heaps to the sound of his harp…. And Orpheus assembled the wild beasts to come in herds to hearken to his music, and by that means made them tame, implying thereby, how by his discreet and wholesome lessons uttered in harmony and with melodious instruments he brought the rude and savage people to a more civil and orderly life.[40]

Puttenham's claim that poetry differentiated humans from the "brute beasts of the field" boldly advanced a vision of the humanist as poet. The archetypal

poetic figures, Orpheus and Amphion, are held up as the ideal models for poets. As literary humanists, poets can build cities and sustain civilization, but this ability comes with great responsibility; for, if poets do not build up humanity, then no one will. Their method of "taming" ineloquent, bestial brutes is to charm them with poetry and to gently teach them "wholesome lessons" using literary subtleties.

Gascoigne flexes his humanistic literary muscles in his anthologies by providing various flowers, herbs, and weeds from which readers can learn. Since this garden offers a whole range of human experience, it serves to cultivate civilized minds. As a literary humanist, Gascoigne translates the content of classical authors, but he does not stop there; he also translates the form of classical authors. He has already "gathered partely (by translation)" nectar from the flowers of the "outlandish [foreign] Gardins of Euripides, Ovid, Petrarke, Ariosto, and others" and digested these writings in the manner of the scholarly humanist. His translation of *Jocasta* is an adaptation and translation of Lodovico Dolce's *Giocasta*, which, in turn, is "an extensive adaptation of Euripides' *Phoenissae*.[41] *A Hundreth* features no textual translation of Ovid, but one of F.J.'s sonnets uses Ovid's *Amores* I. V as a source.[42] No texts from Petrarch are to be found, but Gascoigne did see himself as continuing Petrarch's humanistic poetic tradition.[43] Gascoigne shows that he has not only read and understood classical texts, but he has also such a command of them that he has interpreted and reproduced their content in a different form. He gathers and cites fragments of classical texts and authors in the manner of the scholarly humanist, but his translations are distinctly literary and often take the form of allusions.

Ideally, the poet ought to combine style and substance in writing that is both pleasing and edifying. This goal corresponds to Thomas Cooper's definition of humanism as "teaching liberall knowledge" while incorporating aspects of scholarly and courtly humanism. Under the pretense of educating others, Gascoigne was able to present himself as a teacher in his printed work. He combines this identity with that of the repentant prodigal to teach his gentlemanly peers not to repeat his mistakes. He also places responsibility for learning from it into the hands of his readers, as I will explain later in the next section.

Transition from manuscript to print: How Gascoigne uses print media

By the sixteenth century, the extent of the proliferation of print matter, coupled with the concomitant proliferation of vernacular English, made

printed materials accessible to virtually anyone who could read, and even to many who could not. As accessibility to print increased, so did literacy, and therefore, the demand for books. "Popular" readers, such as workers, merchants, and craftsmen, often acquired books, or knowledge of texts, that were not directed toward their demographic.[44] Furthermore, printers and booksellers made concerted efforts to sell books to popular readers.

What makes Gascoigne so fascinating is that he engages in self-fashioning at a time of transition from a manuscript-based culture to one dominated by print. Like many Renaissance writers, he struggles to find a way to manipulate print without falling victim to its stigma as public and visible labor. He attempts to establish a very particular relationship to print that recalls the look and feel of manuscript tradition. Although print does not allow for a perfect translation of manuscript devices, Gascoigne finds ways to leverage the social cache of manuscript even as he participates in print by taking advantage of the avenues for self-fashioning and the defensive strategies available only to print.

Extending the concept of self-fashioning to the anthologies reveals how Gascoigne wanted his books to be viewed, and how he wanted to be viewed, as an author, in relation to his work. He addresses several audiences to bring attention to the universality of *The Posies*. His first edition had only one preface, directed towards a general audience of readers; his second had three, directed towards specific groups of readers—clergy, young gentlemen, and finally, general readers. In case he neglected to address some demographic, Gascoigne presents additional prefatory material, including commendatory poems and his own opinion as the putative author.

In attempting to embody the courtier in his work, he tries to be all things to all people by offering a broad range of genres and personae. The title-page of *A Hundreth* features no less than three typefaces in varying sizes, a typographical illustration of the multifarious works contained within.[45] In lieu of the author's name, we see the anonymous inscription "Meritum petere, graue," meaning "To seek a reward is a serious matter" or "it is painful to seek a reward" in Latin.[46] The absence of an author to take credit for the book underscores the refusal to seek reward as well as the refusal to bear the consequences for any questionable content. The anonymity of the work foregrounds Euripides, Ovid, Petrarch, and Ariosto, classical authors whose presence lend authority to the anthology, and do so in classically authoritative Roman typeface.[47]

Comparing the title-page of *A Hundreth* to that of *The Posies* foregrounds

Gascoigne's poetic ambitions. By far the most noticeable visual change is the border. The monumental frame around the text indicates the reader is about to enter an enduring work, while *A Hundreth* had a more unassuming pattern border.[48] The most noticeable textual change is in the title: *The Posies of George Gascoigne Esquire, Corrected, perfected, and augmented by the author* instead of the laboriously lengthy *A hundreth…* The long, conditional title was necessary due to the absence of an author, but the attribution to "George Gascoigne, Esquire" appears to have lifted the burden of justifying an anonymous printing.

The Posies is a more confident rendition of its predecessor, but only on the title-page. It seems that, once Gascoigne took responsibility for the anthology, he also needed to make self-exonerating gestures. In his prefatory letter "To the reverende Divines," Gascoigne assures religious authorities that he has not only purged his work of offensive content, but that the book has been "beautified with addition of many moral examples"[49] In "To al yong Gentlemen," he claims to teach his peers not to commit the same errors he did in his youth: "because I have…mispent my golden time, I may serve as ensample to the youthfull Gentlemen of England".[50] In another effort to disassociate himself from print, Gascoigne adds a poem to the end of the prefaces to *The Posies* in which he bids "*His ultimum vale* to Amorous verse"[51] as an aristocratic gesture. He aligns himself with other courtiers who have dabbled in love poetry, and whose appearance in print is a singular incident. Furthermore, Gascoigne suggests that any more poetry he may write will be available exclusively.

Gascoigne further explains away the salacious parts of *A Hundreth* by maintaining that his work was printed in his absence and without his permission. He claims his absence was due to his patriotic service as a soldier, making himself sound even more virtuous. The fictional contributors to the first edition of Gascoigne's anthology, A.B., H.W., G.T., and F.J., also distanced him from the work. Printers often inserted their own messages, and this practice facilitated Gascoigne's exploitation of the machinery to suggest that he was not consulted before the printing of *A Hundreth*.[52] In the sole preface to the first edition, "The Printer to the Reader," Gascoigne presents himself as only a contributor, with a fictional compiler named G.T. and another fictional primary contributor, H.W., both of whom, like Gascoigne, were betrayed when the printer allegedly printed the volume without permission. Gascoigne's name is never mentioned, yet his fingerprints are all over the rest of the book, hints at his authorial presence embedded in various poems. The courtly conditions

under which most poetry was written meant that one's friends were often involved in its publication, and that they could be charged with responsibility for making the work public.[53] This served to preserve respectability on all fronts—the friends did not actually write the poetry, and the poet did not mean to print it.

The struggle to be present without inviting criticism for printing is exceptionally difficult, evidenced by Gascoigne's laboriously long title.[54] The title invites the reader to consider *A Hundreth* as an anthology, which the OED defines as "a collection of the flowers of verse, i.e. small choice poems, especially epigrams, by various authors." Both the concept of an anthology as a collection by "various authors" and Gascoigne's own reference to "others" as contributors encourage the reader to think of *A Hundreth* as a compilation of multiple writers' work. However, the table of contents reveals an abundance of works written or translated by one particular writer: George Gascoigne. Even the translations are presented as "Englished by George Gascoigne of Grayes Inne" or "translated and digested into Acte by George Gascoigne, and Grancis Kinwelmershe." Current critical discussions of Gascoigne concur that he was the sole author of *A Hundreth*, a conclusion supported by the title of the second edition of the anthology, which included his name.

Another strategy for avoiding blame, especially for printing scandalous material, was to make readers responsible for whatever they gleaned from the text. Gascoigne offers a hundreth sundrie flowres from which readers may learn—"sundrie sweete savours of Tragical, Comical, and Morall Discourses" that are "bothe pleasaunt and profitable" (title-page). However, these flowres are only pleasant and profitable "to the well smelling noses of learned Readers," which means that readers not already "learned" will not reap the rewards of his writing. The preface to *A Hundreth* also serves to remind readers it is their responsibility to read well. Gascoigne attributes the universal appeal of the anthology to the variety of the text. He explains how one ought to go about reading his book, which is to pick one's own "flowers" from those offered, and construct one's own reading. The reader has the freedom to choose from the "hundred sundry flowers." Gascoigne admits that some of these "flowers" may not smell as pleasant as the others, but asserts that all of the "flowers" contain value, and what readers gain from the work depends on their ability to extract value from what they read. Readers who are not "well-minded" or intelligent enough will not learn anything no matter how enriching the text may be. By placing both the power of selection and the responsibility for deriving value in the hands of readers, Gascoigne disclaims

responsibility for any effects his work may have.

The reader's responsibility to gather the "bouquet" is underscored in the second edition, which was divided into "Floures, Hearbes, and Weedes." Gascoigne explains that the "Floures" contain "some rare invention" and are "more pleasant than profitable;" the "Hearbes" are "morall discourses, and reformed inventions, and therefore more profitable than pleasant."[55] The "Weedes" are examples of misbehavior that may be dangerous if consumed inappropriately, but which may be edifying if one learns from them without actually making those mistakes. It is no accident that *The Adventures of Master F. J.* is relegated to the questionable "Weedes" section, and "Woodmanship" is placed under the moral "Hearbes." Dividing the book into Flowres, Hearbes, and Weedes actually gives Gascoigne greater freedom. The division shows that he is conscious of literature's capacity—indeed, responsibility—to cultivate and instruct readers' minds and move them to positive action, and he takes advantage of this to add new material, most of which falls under the "Weedes" category.

Authorial Identity in Flux

Gascoigne's success in gaining patronage after printing *The Posies* indicates it was an auspicious project. Shortly after *The Posies*, Gascoigne accompanied Queen Elizabeth on her visit to Earl of Leicester's castle of Kenilworth, where he was commissioned to write verses and masques for the Queen's entertainment, including *The Princely Pleasures of Kenilworth Castle* and *The Tale of Hemetes the heremyte, pronownced before the Q. Majesty att Woodstocke*. With success, however, come restrictions. In some ways Gascoigne becomes bound to his self-imposed role as a writer. Richard McCoy observes, "Gascoigne's career is fascinating because we can see him proceed from autonomously fashioning himself to being formed inescapably by a role which had once been provisional."[56] Having shaped his new role as a professional poet, Gascoigne may have had less creative freedom; however, his work does include implicit critiques of courtly modes of discourse in poems such as "Woodmanship." These poems prove that criticism of predominating social modes of discourse is possible, even under courtly patronage. Although a far cry from outright censure, such indirect critiques were also far more effective.

Throughout this study, I have focused on the figure of the professional poet as a social entity alternative to those of the scholar and courtier during the Elizabethan Renaissance. Gascoigne failed as a courtier in the purist,

print-abstaining sense, and also failed to achieve pedantic glory as a scholar. However, he was an extremely successful literary humanist, or as I consider it, poet. Though print, Gascoigne fashioned himself into a teacher, a reformed prodigal, a soldier, a courtier—and finally, into an author.

To be a socially acceptable professional writer, Gascoigne constructs himself as a reluctant print author. Fictional contributors, compilers, and printers conspired to bring his work to the press, and once published anonymously, he was able to make his authorial debut having tested the waters of poetic enterprise. He creates the sense that his literary expertise as well as his writing are is in demand. At the end of *The Posies*, Gascoigne introduces his style guide for writers as "Certayne notes of Instruction concerning the making of verse or ryme in English, written at the request of Master Edouardo Donati." He draws attention to this essay as fufillment of a promise made to a friend: "promise is debt, and you (by the lawe of friendship) do burden me with a promise that I shoulde lende you instructions towards the making of English verse or ryme."[57] Gascoigne's promise to provide instructions in lieu of paying a debt implies that his poetic instruction has value, and that his literary skill constitutes an almost patronly bargaining chip, as Master Donati had solicited the essay. Regardless of whether or not this exchange took place, Gascoigne has fashioned himself as a skilled writer who possesses valuable poetic dexterity.

The avenues for self-fashioning in print had broader implications for the fashioning and re-fashioning of authorship. The title page of *A Hundreth* invokes the authority of the named classical authors, yet their work does not actually appear in *A Hundreth*. Authorship has become a fluid concept; the classical writers authorize—that is, confer authority—upon Gascoigne's literary pursuits, while Gascoigne establishes his authority, or ownership, over their work. His authorship, in the sense of textual ownership, of his own work is bound up with the legacy left by these classical writers. In a sense, he can only establish his own authority as a writer by recalling theirs.

Part of the ongoing discussion about Gascoigne includes speculation regarding attribution.[58] Was Gascoigne the sole author of either of the editions, or did he only write parts of each? What are the implications if we consider other possible contributors? The perceived need to find evidence for other authors and the possibility that these other authors may exist are symptomatic of the complications that arise in attempts to define authorship in the transition from manuscript to print. Questioning attribution in this way makes it clear that "the author" is a constructed identity, an identity that has been

fashioned, whether by a single person or multiple writers, editors, and printers. The very concept of what constitutes an "author" is in flux in the sixteenth century, and the same questions of how to represent oneself, or how to allow others to represent one, prevail. Whoever wrote these anthologies, be it Gascoigne or others, the fact remains that these works are evidence of a re-configuration of authorship. They are indicative of the re-fashioning of authorial identity in the age of print, a process that continued long after Gascoigne the man was no more, while Gascoigne the self-fashioned professional poet survives to this very day.

Acknowledgments

My project on Gascoigne evolved from a paper I wrote for a Renaissance Poetry class I took with Sean Keilen and Dan Traister. I conducted archival research in England that summer, and worked on the project in the fall as an independent study with Rebecca Bushnell, who was also my thesis advisor in the spring. Max Cavitch led the English Honors Thesis seminar and also advised me. Rebecca Bushnell deserves the most credit for helping me to make this paper what it is.

Notes

[1] By "poet", I mean "one who makes or composes works of literature; an author, writer" (OED). Most of the writing from this period consisted of verse, although the term "poet" often referred broadly to literary writing in general.

[2] Frank Whigham. *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy*

Theory. (Berkely: University of California Press, 1984) 33.

[3] Baldesar Castiglione. *The Book of the Courtier*. ed. Daniel Javitch. Trans. Charles S. Singleton. (New York: Norton, 2002. First published 1528) 36.

[4] Ruth Loyd Miller. ed. Preface. *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres: From the Original Edition of 1573*. Second edition. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press Corporation, 1975) 1-12. Portrait from *The Steele Glas* (1576) See Illustration 1.

[5] Richard Helgerson's *The Elizabethan Prodigals* gives a more detailed analysis of Gascoigne's use of the reformed prodigal device, as well as an analysis of its usage by Lyly, Greene, Lodge, and Sidney. He also explores the dimensions of the trope itself.

[6] George Gascoigne. *The Posies of George Gascoigne. Corrected, perfected, and augmented by the authour*. (London: Henry Bynneman, 1575) 361.

[7] Harvey wrote several elegiac poems about Gascoigne after his death, which indicates they had a positive relationship. These poems are in his *Letter-Book*, pages 55-8 and 68-70 in Edward Scott's reprint from the original manuscript.

[8] Stern explains the nuances of each *personae* in pages 175-80 of her biography on Harvey. Under the name "Axiophilus," one of Harvey's first personae, he refers to himself as a both a creative and critical poet who enjoys fine literature. Harvey's other

frequently used *personae* include "Eutrapelus," indicating one who has a facility with language, in both speech and writing. "Eudromus" refers to the pragmatic and ambitious side of Harvey; "Chrysotechnus" refers to "the man with golden skill," one who is an expert, and was often used while Harvey was a student and a lawyer.

[9] Virginia F. Stern. *Gabriel Harvey: His Live, Marginalia and Library*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979) 179.

[10] Ibid., 179.

[11] Ibid., 179.

[12] Gabriel Harvey. Annotations to his copy of The Posies of George Gascoigne. Corrected, perfected, and augmented by the authour by George Gascoigne. (London: Bodleian Library, Mal. 792) 192.

[13] The knight is the protagonist of "Dan Bartholmew of Bathe," also semi-autobiographical, which indicates that the Green Knight represents Gascoigne. The eponymous tale discusses the knight's various failures in love and war, much like those of Gascoigne, as "an early disappointment in love unfitted him for settled occupation" (Lee 915).

[14] Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital makes a distinction between material wealth and cultural wealth. Cultural or symbolic currency, such as a miscellany of poems, can augment one's economic wealth not because the writing is the same as monetary currency, but because its cultural value can affect power relations. For Bourdieu's discussion on this concept, see *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.

[15] Harold Love. *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*. (Oxford: Clarendon; New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) 80-1.

[16] Curtis Perry. "Court and Coterie Culture." *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*. Edited by Michael Hattaway. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2000. 108-9.

[17] David R.Carlson. *English Humanist Books: Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print, 1475-1525*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956) 7.

[18] Stern notes the original Latin of Harvey's comment: "Euscopi fundamentum adamantinum. Multis vitis: sed una exquisite composita; absolute digesta; praeesentique mundo aptissime accommodata."

[19] Perry, 106.

[20] Arthur F. Marotti. *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995) 307.

[21] I associate manuscript with private court circles and print with a wider reading public; however, these are generalized distinctions and are not absolute. For example, manuscripts were often used to publicly circulate political satire that would have been censored in print.

[22] Castiglione. *The Book of the Courtier. 74.*

[23] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin. *Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*. Trans. David Gerard. (London: Verso, 1990. First published 1958 by Éditions Albin Michel.) 249.

[24] I use the term "professional poet" to indicate one who declares or acknowledges the practice of poetry and engages in it for money or subsistence (OED). Early modern learned professions included divinity, law, and medicine, but not poetry. Sidney refers to poets as "professors of learning," a concept that departs from the OED's definition of a profession as "A vocation in which a professed knowledge of some department of learning or science is used in its application to the affairs of others or in the practice of an art founded upon it. Applied *spec.* to the three learned professions of divinity, law,

and medicine; also to the military profession." For Sidney, poetry facilitates the learning of other professions.

[25] For a brief overview of humanism of the period in question, see Mary Thomas Crane's "Early Tudor Humanism" (note that Crane uses "humanist" to mean what I call the "scholar"). Clark Hulse discusses aesthetics of the period in "Tudor Aesthetics." Richard Schoeck offers a broader view of the humanist movement in his article, "Humanism in England."

[26] Rebecca Bushnell discusses humanism in terms of pedagogy in *Culture of Teaching*. Mary Thomas Crane also explains humanism in *Framing Authority* as a method of learning, specifically one in which the student or scholar gathers Greek and Latin sayings. Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine explore the humanist foundations of liberal arts studies in *From Humanism to the Humanities*.

[27] Castiglione, *144*.

[28] Scholarly humanists had further subdivisions of kind; for example, Machiavelli focused on the practical aspect of politics while More focused on moral ideals (Crane "Early Tudor Humanism" 22).

[29] I will use the term "scholar" to refer broadly to humanist figures whose primary focus was erudition and learning, such as philosophers. Mary Thomas Crane uses the term "humanist" to indicate what I call the "scholar."

[30] Whigham, 34.

[31] Wilfrid R. Prest. *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts: 1590-1640*. (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1972) 23.

[32] Ibid., 24.

[33] Ibid., 40.

[34] Mike Pincombe. *Elizabethan Humanism: Literature and Learning in the later Sixteenth Century*. (London: Pearson Education Limited, Longman, 2001) 7

[35] Ibid., 54-5.

[36] Harvey's extensive annotations of Hoby's English translation of *The Book of the Courtier* are evidence of his intense study of gentlemanly manners. See Virginia Stern's biography for analysis of Harvey's marginalia. G. C. Moore Smith gives Harvey's actual comments in *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*.

[37] For a detailed biographical account of Sidney's life at court, especially as a courtier and coterie poet, see *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* by Katherine Duncan-Jones.

[38] Sir Philip Sidney. "An Apology for Poetry." *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*. Edited by Vincent B. Leitch. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2001) 337.

[39] Ibid., 333-4.

[40] George Puttenham. *The Art of English Poesie*. Menston, England: The Scholar Press Limited, 1968. Facsimile of the 1589 edition in its original size, shelf-mark G. 11548 at the British Museum. 3-4.

[41] George Gascoigne. ed., by G.W. Pigman III. *George Gascoigne: A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (1573). Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000) 509 n. 59.1.

[42] G. K. Hunter. "Drab and Golden Lyrics of the Renaissance." *Forms of Lyric*. ed., Reuben A. Brower. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970) 14.

[43] Gascoigne, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* , 465 n. 1.4.

[44] Roger Chartier. "Reading Matter and 'Popular' Reading: From the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century." *A History of Reading in the West*. Ed., Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier. Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press,

1999). First published 1995 as Histoire de la lecture dans le monde occidental by Giuseppe Laterza & Figli Spa.) 270-72.

[45] See Appendix 2, Title-page for *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (1573). Reproduced from Miller's facsimile.

[46] Gascoigne, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres,* 466 n1.9.

[47] Mark Bland discusses the cultural connotations of various typefaces in "The Appearance of the Text in Early Modern England."

[48] See Appendix 3, Title-page for *The Posies* (1575). Reproduced from Miller's facsimile.

[49] All citations of Gascoigne's texts are from Pigman's edition.

[50] Gascoigne, *The Posies of George Gascoigne*, 368.

[51] "His final farewell to Amorous verse."

[52] Similarities between "The Printer to the Reader" and the various prefaces added to *The Posies of George Gascoigne* indicate that the same author wrote the 1773 preface, likely Gascoigne.

[53] J. W. Saunders. "The Stigma of Print: A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry." *Essays in Criticism* 1 (1951): 145..

[54] [Gascoigne, George]. A hundreth sundrie Flowres bounde up in one small Poesie. Gathered partely (by translation) in the fine outlandish Gardins of Euripides, Ovid, petrarke, Ariosto, and others: and partly by invention, out of our owne fruitful orhcrades in Englande: Yelding sundrie sweete savours of tragical, comical and moral discourse, bothe pleasaunt and profitable to the well smelling noses of learned Readers. London: Henry Bynneman/Henry Middleton for Richard Smith, [1573]. Publ. anonymously; n.d.

[55] Gascoigne, *The Posies of George Gascoigne*, 367.

[56] Richard McCoy. "Gascoigne's *Poemata Castrata*: The Wages of Courtly Success," *Criticism*, 27 (1985): 33.

[57] Gascoigne, *The Posies of George Gascoigne*, 367.

[58] B. M. Ward's edition of *A Hundreth* and subsequent articles offer alternative theories of attribution.

Contributors Notes

Natalia Adler, originally from Brazil, has been living in the United States for five years and has always been interested in the contrasts of those two distinct cultures. She graduated from University of Pennsylvania in 2004, where she majored in French with emphasis on Postcolonial Literature and Women's Issues. She plans to continue her exploration of these themes in a social justice context as she joins the Human Rights graduate program at Columbia University in the fall of 2004.

Andria C. Bibiloni grew up in Queens and Long Island, New York. She rediscovered art-making after a three-semester stint as an undergraduate in Wharton. Since then, she has taught art, designed scenery, organized a mural project, and facilitated an after-school arts and leadership program for children in West Philadelphia public schools as a Fellow in the University Center for Community Partnerships. Andria has also participated in the Philadelphia Mural Arts Program. In 2004, she received a Kelly Grant for undergraduate research awarded to a Senior Fine Arts Major for outstanding performance. She begins teaching Upper School art at the Haverford School in September.

Emily Blumenthal is a graduate of the College of Arts and Sciences in the University of Pennsylvania's Class of 2004. She majored in American History and completed an interschool minor with the Wharton School of Business in Legal Studies & History. She worked as a writing advisor at the Kelly Writers House and as an editor of the Penn History Review during her time at Penn. For the next two years, Emily will work as a legal assistant in Commercial Real Estate at Sullivan and Cromwell in New York, where she hopes to gain skills and interests that will eventually steer her to graduate school.

During her time at Penn, **Jennifer Burgess** volunteered with the West Philadelphia Tutoring Project, became a member of the National Society of Collegiate Scholars and Phi Beta Kappa Honor Society, continued to play the piano, and had the opportunity to work at AstraZeneca as a returning summer intern from 2000 to 2003. Her passion for Spanish has taken her to Barcelona as a high-school exchange student as well as the South American countries discussed in her thesis.

Sean Cusack was a double major in Chemical and Biomolecular Engineering and Materials Science and Engineering. After graduating in 2003, Sean worked for Bristol-Myers Squibb in New Brunswick, NJ in Process Engineering. His interest in silicon was driven primarily by his love for computers, which was a by-product of living four years on the Science and Technology Wing ("STWing") of his college house at Penn. He is honored to be recognized for such a prestigious award and indebted to his group mates and teachers for all of their hard work.

Terri Ginsberg graduated in May 2004 with a double-major in History and Hispanic Studies. Born in Johannesburg, South Africa, she grew up in Durham, North Carolina. She studied in Seville during her junior year. Her thesis is based primarily on interviews with Simone Weil Lipman, who worked with the French Resistance in World War II, placing hundreds of Jewish children in safe houses away from the fighting and from the threat of deportation. Ginzberg will be teaching European History in Edison, New Jersey in the coming school year.

Alastair Green is a rising senior in the Huntsman Program in International Studies and Business. He began his research on the Murid brotherhood while abroad in Senegal his sophomore year. Since his time in West Africa, Alastair

has become interested in economic development and human rights in the Third World. With the help of a Nassau Grant, he is currently working with an indigenous community in Ecuador to study how households cope with major decreases in income. Alastair is a founding member of EMPAWR, a non-profit organization that is working to address child labor problems in the third world by developing viable alternatives to sweatshops.

Lynn Huang graduated from Penn in 2004. Her studies focus primarily on Renaissance and 18th century issues of authorship and audience. She received an Undergraduate Research Fellowship from the Penn Humanities forum for her work on the early British novel, and grants from the Penn Humanities Forum and University Scholars Honor Society to do archival research at the British Library and the Bodleian Library at Oxford for the project excerpted here. Upon graduation, Huang was inducted into the Phi Beta Kappa Society. Working toward a Master's of Education in English, Huang will teach secondary English in the New York City public school system as a member of Teach for America's 2004 Corps, and plans to pursue a Ph.D. in English.

Justin Hulbert is a rising senior psychology major in the School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania. In addition to his research at the Institute for Research in Cognitive Science, which resulted in his honors thesis, Justin conducts research at the Center for Cognitive Neuroscience and at the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia. His research interests include the development of language and memory. Justin commonly employs the medium of video in his research and owns and operates his own video production company, Just Envision Productions.

Philip T. Labo hails from New Knoxville, Ohio, a small farming community in west-central Ohio. His family moved to the Philadelphia area following his graduation from high school, whereupon Philip attended West Chester University for a year and later the University of Pennsylvania. At Penn, Philip minored in classical studies and majored in biology, focusing on computational biology. Graduating summa cum laude in May 2004, Philip is a recipient of the Neysa Cristol Adams Prize. His research in malaria genomics was conducted in the lab of Professor David Roos in the Penn Biology Department. Following an additional year in the Roos lab, Philip plans to pursue graduate training at the interfaces of statistics, genomics, and computational biology.

Katherine Lehman, a native of Indianapolis, Indiana, graduated cum laude from the University of Pennsylvania with honors in the Philosophy, Politics, and Economics major. She studied abroad in the politically tumultuous city of Buenos Aires, Argentina for a semester where she developed an ardent passion for politics. This experience led her to Washington, D.C. to intern for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Senator Richard Lugar. On campus, she was active in both the club tennis team as well as the Tri-Delta sorority, where she held the position of New Member Educator.

A rising senior in the College of Arts and Sciences, **Erica Miao** is an English and Linguistics major with interests in stylistics, pragmatics, book history, and the philosophy of language. She was awarded a Perspectives in Humanities Fellowship in 2002-2003, for which she completed a project on the cultural evolution of handwriting and print. Erica is a Benjamin Franklin Scholar, a 2003 Dean's Scholar, and a member of Phi Beta Kappa. She is currently working on a study of mystical imagery in the sacred Latin hymn, "Salve Mundi Salutare." She plans to pursue graduate study in the humanities.

Born in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia on June 17, 1982, **Eiji Takizawa** possesses the cosmopolitan spirit. From Saudi Arabia he moved to Sao Paulo, Brazil, his mother's homeland. Currently he resides in suburban Detroit. From the conservative setting in Saudi Arabia to the complete opposite in Brazil, Eiji has seen vastly different cultures. His strong desire for different cultures and a fruitful education led him to the University of Pennsylvania. At Penn, he received a BSE in Chemical and Biomolecular Engineering. This summer he will travel throughout the United States and in South America.

Joyce Tam was born in Hong Kong and moved to Malden, Massachusetts in 1988. She graduated from Penn in May 2004 with a BSE in Chemical and Biomolecular Engineering and Materials Science and Engineering. During her undergraduate career, Joyce won the Melvin C. Molstad Award, Honorable Mention in the School of Engineering and Applied Science Design Competition, and was on the Dean's List in 2003. After graduation, she will work at the Naval Surface Warfare Center in Philadelphia where she will design improved life support equipment for military submarines.

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