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01

Mirko Šešlak

The Virtual Reality of Half-life in Philip K. Dick's *Ubik* as a Timeless Intermediate Possible World

Introduction

Deliberating on Dick's 1969 novel *Ubik*, science fiction author and critic Stanislaw Lem states in "Philip K. Dick: A Visionary among the Charlatans" that Dick's fiction "throw[s] many readers accustomed to standard SF into abiding confusion", giving rise to complaints, "that Dick, instead of providing 'precise explanations' (...) sweeps things under the rug" (62). Another complaint is that Dick does not "play the part of a guide through his fantasmagoric worlds as he gives the impression of one lost in their labyrinth" (62). A scholar who criticizes *Ubik* on similar grounds is Darko Suvin. In "P.K. Dick's Opus: Artifice as Refuge and World View", Suvin sees *Ubik* as "a turning from a fruitful tension between public and private concerns toward (...) a corresponding concern with unexplainable ontological puzzles" (8). Suvin interprets *Ubik* as Dick's turning away from the natural, science-fictional horizons, to the fantastic and supernatural. Phenomena such as precognition, telepathy or half-life open the door to interpreting *Ubik* as a work of fantasy. Half-life is a virtual reality created for the deceased in cryonic suspension. Its purpose is to stave off the psychological degeneration of the mind in the absence of external stimuli by providing a reality surrogate. The novel is often criticized for venturing out of the accepted science-fictional tropes, seemingly abandoning real-world logic. Lem disagrees with such views stating that Dick's novels "in some measure violate the convention of SF", but this should be "accounted to him as merit; because they thereby acquire broadened meanings having allegorical import" (57). *Ubik* is a work of fiction. Suvin's demand that to be science-

fictional it should conform to the laws of the real world in full is too much to expect. Rather, it should strive for the highest level of logical coherence. Consequently, any explanation of seemingly inexplicable phenomena should be sought within the boundaries of its fictional world, as the following reading intends to show.

Fictional realities of SF as natural possible worlds

Since this paper aims to ascertain whether *Ubik* is science-fictional or fantastic, Doležel's possible worlds theory is a good choice to achieve that end. To do so, the alethic modalities which govern the existence of fictional entities and objects within fictional worlds must be examined. Doležel explains their importance in *Heterocosmica: Fiction and Possible Worlds*: "The alethic modalities of possibility, impossibility and necessity determine the fundamental conditions of fictional worlds, especially causality, time-space parameters, and the action capacity of persons" (115)¹. Doležel lists two sets of alethic modalities. Codexal alethic modalities are "restrictions imposed on a world as a whole" (118). Unlike the previous, subjective alethic modalities are "[t]he sum of a person's physical, instrumental, and mental capacities"; often referred to as their "alethic endowment" (118). A character's alethic endowment is "normal when it corresponds to the human standard" or "hyponormal if the person suffers some deprivation" (118). If "a person's endowment, while not transcending the alethic conditions of the natural world, is above the standard", then it is "hypernormal" (118). Based on the analysis of alethic modalities, Doležel differentiates between two sets of possible worlds, the natural and the

supernatural: "If the modalities of the actual world determine what is possible, impossible, and necessary in the fictional world, then a natural fictional world is formed" (115). Realistic fiction is the most noteworthy example of fictional texts constructing natural possible worlds, generating "stories of the human condition" (117). However, if the alethic modalities "violate the laws of the actual world", then such texts construct "physically impossible, supernatural worlds" (115). Between the two opposites, there exists another type, the intermediate world bridging "[t]he alethic contrast between the natural and the supernatural" (117). These worlds are constructed by texts describing fictional experiences such as "[d]reams, hallucination, madness [or] drug-induced altered states" (117). As otherworldly as these experiences may seem, they are still "natural human experiences" although "physically impossible persons, objects, and events appear in these frames" (117). Much of the action in *Ubik* takes place in half-life, a technological simulation that can be recognized as an example of intermediate possible worlds.

Suvin defines science fiction as "*a literary genre whose necessary and sufficient conditions are the presence and interaction of estrangement and cognition, and whose main formal device is an imaginative framework alternative to the author's empirical environment*" (*Metamorphoses* 7-8)². He argues for "an understanding of SF as the *literature of cognitive estrangement*" (4). It is estrangement which "differentiates SF from

the 'realistic' literary mainstream", whereas "[c]ognition differentiates it not only from myth, but also from the folk (fairy) tale, and the fantasy" (8)³. The worlds of science fiction are modelled by analogy to empirical reality: "The objects, figures, and (...) the relationships from which this indirectly modelled world starts can be quite fantastic (in the sense of empirically unverifiable) as long as they are logically, philosophically and mutually consistent" (29). Since both realistic and science-fictional texts construct natural possible worlds, one of the characteristics of realistic literature present in science fiction is the category of inventiveness. Kvas and Petrović use this category to explain how fantastic elements function in natural worlds: "[I]f a fictional world still functions the way we assume the real-world functions, and if this assumption is supported by natural laws, then the existence of fictional entities and events that are alien to the real world does not violate its coherence" (*The Boundaries of Realism* 17)⁴. If this demand is met, fantastic elements in either realistic or science-fictional texts cannot undermine their logical coherence and verisimilitude.

The "novum of cognitive innovation", the premise alternative to our reality any science fiction story is based on, is "a totalizing phenomenon or relationship deviating from the author's or implied reader's norm of reality" (Suvin, *Metamorphoses* 64)⁵. The effect this novelty has on the reader's reconstruction of the science-fictional world is "cognitive estrangement". The verisimilitude of a work of science fiction, because it is fictional, cannot depend on any concrete and purely scientific justification. The displaced reality of a science fiction work, since its purpose is to comment on our world, can only be

interpreted within the same “cognitive or scientific horizon” as the empirical reality (67). A similar novelty occurs in fantastic literature. The two genres differ because it is “impossible for SF to acknowledge any metaphysical agency, in the literal sense of an agency going beyond *physis* (nature)” (66). The world constructed by a science-fictional text is an “alternate reality, one that possesses *a different historical* time corresponding to different human relationships and sociocultural norms actualized by the narration” (Suvin, *Defined by a Hollow* 76). Warrick argues that constructing an alternative chronotope is a technique science fiction authors utilize to dislocate the readers. To facilitate cognitive estrangement, it is necessary to destroy “the reader’s commonplace view of reality” (*The Cybernetic Imagination* 82-83). For his part, Jameson questions the human capacity to “imagine anything that is not *prius in sensu*, that is not already (...) derived from sensory knowledge” (*Archeologies of the Future* 120). Science fiction as an analogy to our reality should not be taken literally. It is impossible for every element of a science-fictional world to fully correspond to the real one. Even realistic literature cannot provide such a faithful representation of the actual world. The realia of science fiction “can only signify human relationships” as they exist or could exist in our reality (Suvin, *Defined by a Hollow* 76). Nevertheless, there are multitudes of works in science fiction incorporating supernatural impurities. This is possible due to the permeability of the boundaries separating the neighbouring types of possible worlds. The narrative is science-fictional as long as its novum determines “the overriding narrative logic” of the work “regardless of any impurities” (75). It is “this allegorical dimension”, which connects science fiction with the

real world in a displaced fashion, that fantastic literature lacks, for its “medieval imaginary seems primarily organized around the omnipresence of magic” (Jameson, *Archeologies of the Future* 63). Jameson’s words emphasize the fundamental predetermination in supernatural worlds, populated by supernatural beings and hybrid characters superior to humans. Jameson points out that cognitive estrangement enables science fiction “to continue a long tradition of critical emphasis on verisimilitude from Aristotle on” (63)⁶.

***Ubik*, the natural possible reality of SF or a supernatural timeless possible world**

To determine whether *Ubik* belongs to the possible worlds of science fiction, its alethic reality must be examined. Suvin’s definition of science fiction equates such fictional worlds with Doležel’s natural possible worlds. However, in actual narratives, impurities can always be detected, e.g. supernatural elements in possible worlds of science fiction. The most fundamental codexal alethic constraint in *Ubik* is entropy. The second definition in the online edition of Merriam-Webster Dictionary is the most relevant for this paper. Entropy is “the degradation of the matter and energy in the universe to an ultimate state of inert uniformity” (Entropy). In this natural process, Doležel’s “never-ceasing movement of nature (...) due to an operative form of the laws of nature, which our semantics denotes as nature force (N-force)” (*Heterocosmica* 59) can be recognized. N-force is an unavoidable “constituent of all narrative worlds, but the degree of its intervention varies from central to marginal” (59). In *Ubik*, it is of central importance.

The codexal alethic constraints in *Ubik* function on several fictional planes. The first is the natural possible world of the novel's primary reality. The second is half-life, a virtual reality. Since half-life is an illusion, it possesses the characteristics of Doležel's intermediate possible worlds.

In *Ubik*'s primary reality, the text constructs the characters' environment as the fictional Earth and Moon of the late twentieth century. It is an alternative world in which alethically normally endowed people live alongside the psychically, telepathically, and precognitively hypernormally endowed. In contrast to the influence of persons with hypernormal psychic talents, there exist hypernormally endowed individuals, *inertials*, whose ability consists in annulling the capabilities of the previous ones: "[Y]ou're a life form preying on the Psis, and the Psis are life forms preying on the Norms" (Dick 31). Jakovljević points out that the existence of half-life blurs the line between life and death because the deceased "remain temporarily in contact with the world of the living" (*The Alternative Realities* 148)⁷. Both the dead and the living exist in an undefined space in which the state of half-life spills over into the world of the living. Without turning to the future, living people become those who, at least partially, exist in a half-life of their own. Seemingly different from the real one, the novel's primary reality remains grounded in empirical reality in several ways, expounded upon in the following paragraphs.

First, the environmental conditions on the fictional Earth are identical to the real ones. The Moon is another fictional environment based on real-world knowledge. Its

fictional inhabitants reside in domes and passages isolated from the vacuum. Although such colonies do not exist outside fiction, the possibility of their existence is logically based both on the real world's scientific thought and works of science fiction dealing with the subject. Even the social environment of liberal capitalism we encounter in the novel's primary reality is a logical extrapolation of the possible developments in the actual world's economic system, and its consequences for human society. Such a fictional society becomes stratified into a smaller class of the extremely rich and a larger class of those who spend their lives in a greater or lesser degree of scarcity. An example of the former is Runciter, the owner of the prudence organization that employs the inertials whose destinies the reader follows in the narrative. An example of the latter is his technician Chip, "a little, debt-stricken, ineffective bureaucrat who can't even scrape together enough coins to pay his door to let him out of his apt" (Dick 36). *UbiK* incorporates fictional elements not found in the real world. The most prominent examples are hypernormally endowed individuals such as precogs, possessing the ability to see future possibilities, and telepaths, who can communicate with their minds. These are the elements responsible for the reader's fictional re-centring. However, the estrangement would not be cognitive if the reader were unable to recognize elements of the real world in the fictional one. Therefore, every plane of *UbiK's* fictional reality is grounded not only in physical laws but also in cultural and social patterns the reader is familiar with. As Jakovljević notices, much like our own, *UbiK's* primary reality is based on capitalist principles: "Everything is paid for, be it the news, cleaning robots, the shower, the refrigerator, even opening the front door of the

apartment, which is no longer private, but a contractually regulated space called a consumer apartment" (147-148). The principles of marketability penetrate every pore of *Ubik's* society. The conversion of the private space of an apartment, tailored to each person's measure, into public space, tailored to the measure of a uniform consumer, facilitates the process of consumer production: "[E]verything is marketable, including life after death and psychic powers, which become just one in a series of profitable products on the market" (Jakovljević, *The Alternative Realities* 148). Cryonic technology is yet another product for which the living must pay. In this way, the principles of marketability encompass both life and death. The reader finds these fictional circumstances familiar because both the reader and the author are partially the product of the real world's capitalist society which functions on the same principles of marketability as the fictional one in *Ubik*. The similarity between this feature of the fictional reality and the actual world's social arrangements is not immediately obvious because, in Dick's fiction, these principles are amplified and laid completely bare. They overtly shape every aspect of the fictional characters' existence.

Whereas in our reality, such phenomena remain somewhat obscured, in *Ubik*, the monetary system works openly. These imaginary social relations do not truly differ from their counterparts in the real world, for anyone granted a bank loan is not immediately the legal owner of what they have purchased. One is free to use whatever the loan has paid for as long as one can finance the debt. The only difference between Chip and real-world consumers is that Chip finances his obligations directly, not in instalments, free from the

illusion that he is the master of his destiny. The situation Chip finds himself in is a fictional representation of the circumstances in which countless of his real counterparts live. As Freedman notices, *Ubik's* characters "live in a world dominated by commodities and conspiracies; which is to say, a world not wholly unlike our own" ("Towards a Theory of Paranoia" 19). Accordingly, the act of creating a science-fictional reality, both in Dick's novel and generally in science fiction, becomes "an ideological interpretation of the actual world" (20). The characters in *Ubik* remain the fictional counterparts of actual human beings because, as Butler perceives, "[t]he characters' relationship to their perceived (fictional) conditional environment is analogous to the individual human being's relationship to their perceived (non-fictional) consensus environment" (*Ontology and Ethics* 46).

Analyzing the alethic endowment of *Ubik's* characters in the primary reality, their normal alethic endowment can be taken as the primary reality's standard. The individual (anti)precognitive and (anti)telepathic abilities constitute the exceptions. These abilities are functionally and analogically connected to the actual world's consumer society. Akin to real-world circumstances, individual talents are commercialized. Fitting points out that such commercialized abilities serve "not to free but to enslave; to maintain and secure an exploitative and unjust system – a clear analogy, moreover to the trivialization and debasement of the 'artists' who today work in the advertising industry" ("Reality as Ideological Construct" 228). This trivialization is another reason that allows *Ubik* to function as an estranged reflection of the actual world's negative trends. According to

Lem, the result is the social environment in which “[t]elepathic phenomena, having been mastered in the context of capitalistic society, have undergone commercialization like every other technological innovation” (57). Due to these circumstances of the novel’s reality, Suvin observes that “[w]hen Dick satirically dramatizes a world of ubiquitous simulacra in *Ubik*, he is identifying some new experiences of the ‘little man’ in mass-consumption capitalism” (*Positions* 48). As Žikić, Milenković and Sinani argue, analogically founding his novel on the actual world’s socio-economic circumstances, Dick indicates “the meaning of the existence of different realities within one superstructural unit in [his] novels should be sought in their resolution, more precisely in the cultural message contained in it” (“The Socio-ontological Solipsism” 112)⁸.

The psychic abilities in the narrative are alethically hypernormal, and as a result, surpass real-world human endowment. Nevertheless, the author has taken care to describe these abilities as not fundamentally violating the physically possible. The precog’s ability to peer into the possible outcomes of future events is not depicted as prophetic. It lacks the determinism of supernatural worlds: “The precog sees a variety of futures, laid out side by side like cells in a beehive. For him one has greater luminosity, and this he picks” (Dick 31-32). The greater luminosity marks the timeline with the highest probability of being actualized. The precognitive abilities in *Ubik* do not provide insight into the inevitable future. Since the text constructs its primary reality as a natural possible world, the outcomes of future events cannot be predetermined. The existence of anti-precognitive abilities that suppress the previous and reassert the state of natural balance

confirms the naturalness of that world: “The anti-precog makes all futures seem equally real to the precog; he aborts his talent to choose at all” (Dick 40). Not even Pat Conley’s ability to alter a precog’s choices transcends the natural alethic constraints: “I can change the past but I don’t *go* into the past; I don’t time-travel” (Dick 33). From the perspective of both our empirical and *Ubik*’s fictional reality, time travel is impossible; cause-and-effect works in a single direction, toward the entropic end.

The second fictional plane the codexal alethic constraints of *Ubik* operate on is the intermediate fictional reality of half-life. As Fitting observes, unlike the second plane, the primary plane of the novel’s universe is not a simulation: “The events which lead up to the explosion [on the Moon] take place primarily on a single reality plane (...) Then, following the explosion and death of Runciter, reality begins to lose its consistency and integrity” (*Ubik: The Deconstruction of Bourgeois SF* 47-48).

Lem points out that “[t]he world which they experience is not part of reality, but a fiction created by appropriate methods” (58). Since half-life is fictive, the characteristics of Doležel’s intermediate possible worlds can be attributed to it. It is a simulation almost indistinguishable from the primary reality. However, the source of the knowledge necessary to fill the gaps in that reality is the mind of each cryonically frozen individual. The process resembles the way the reader reconstructs a fictional world, filling its gaps with the knowledge of the real world. Since half-life is rooted in real-world knowledge, the inhabitants cannot violate its natural alethic constraints. Although spurious, half-life is

subject to the same alethic constraints as the primary reality. If the circumstances around the characters are examined from the estranged point of view of a science fiction narrative, the tendency towards the homogenization of the characters with the creator of that pseudo-world, Jory Miller, can be interpreted as a distorted reflection of the actual world's corporate reality. Half-lifers are food meant to sustain Jory's pseudo-existence. Figuratively speaking, they feed the existing social order. The power relations between Jory and the characters he traps are asymmetrical in Jory's favour. The asymmetry stems from his hypernormal endowment, the ability to create a spurious reality and feed on the energy of others. Moreover, the alethic endowment of all characters but Jory in that intermediate reality is standard. The case of Pat Conley, one of the inertials, proves this point. In the primary reality, her alethic endowment is hypernormal, enabling her to alternate between different timelines at will. Once she finds herself in a timeless simulation, temporally displaced, her ability ceases to function: "[H]er time-travelling talent no longer functions. This is not really 1939, and we are outside of time entirely" (Dick 167). All hypernormal endowments cease to function once the primary/intermediate world boundary is crossed. Although it is not explicitly mentioned, we do not encounter a single character but Jory using their hypernormal endowment in half-life. However, one fact limits Jory's omnipotence. Much like all *Ubiq's* characters, Jory inhabits his creation. Consequently, he is subject to its alethic constraints. Powerless to transcend the limitations of his (pseudo)existence, Jory is shown as only seemingly omnipotent. He remains a powerful obstacle, but not insurmountable.

In *Ubik*, marketability is fundamental. Therefore, half-life is a logical extension of the characters' primary reality. Half-lifers are not placed in cryonic suspension due to the concern for their well-being. As Bubanja sees it, the moratoria are "profit-oriented institutions, as well as the entire narrative world of *Ubik*" ("Pseudo-cemetery" 61)⁹. Death becomes a controlled process because "medicine (...) has moved the *locus* of death to the cessation of brain function, thus laying the groundwork for considering the extension of life by loading the contents of consciousness into other carriers" (62). Cryonic technology becomes a tool of the market system which has "prolonged death and commodified the body", focusing on the brain as "the only irreplaceable organ" (62). The possibility of communication ensures that the families of the deceased fund the moratoria. In this way, half-life becomes yet another means of control. While the deceased are offered as commodities, the inhabitants of that fictional reality are transformed into their consumers.

Conclusion

While the reader may initially find the events in half-life incomprehensible, the verisimilitude and logical coherence of the plot are not undermined. Being a simulation, the half-life of *Ubik's* characters displays characteristics of a technologically induced hallucination. Although Chip and Runciter are the sources of the reader's perspective, they are outsiders within the construct. *Ubik's* characters are trapped inside the creation of a seemingly superior being. They move through Jory's pseudo-reality in the way they are

accustomed to in their primary reality. As Lem notices, “distinguishing between waking reality and visions proves to be impossible” (59).

The discussion of the use of Doležel's category of alethic constraints to determine the naturalness of a potentially science-fictional reality leads to the conclusion that this category unmistakably shows if a fictional reality is a natural possible world. Although the naturalness of a possible world is not the only characteristic that makes it science-fictional, it is nevertheless fundamental. The other characteristics are but an extension of this property. If the alethic world is not natural, it cannot incorporate a science-fictional novum. Consequently, a fictional world thus constructed can hardly be deemed science-fictional for it can function neither as an estranged reflection of real-world problems nor as an implicit commentary on existing social relations. Of course, literature cannot be ideally categorized. Fantastic elements belonging to supernatural possible worlds may find their way into the natural possible worlds. The fact that the naturalness of the fictional world is a characteristic science fiction shares with realistic literature, allows it to appropriate some of its categories. One of them is the category of inventiveness, which explains the presence of supernatural elements in natural possible worlds. If these elements are well integrated into the narrative, their presence will not undermine the narrative's logical coherence and verisimilitude. Such a world will remain physically possible. An excellent example is the intermediate reality of half-life in *Ubik* with its timelessness, i.e., existing outside of time. Nevertheless, neither the transformed time horizons and the intentionality of the apparent environment, nor the other impurities, such as the presence of precognition and telepathy,

can make the reality of the novel supernatural. The altered temporal horizons and the intentionality of the environment are limited to half-life. Unlike *Ubik's* primary reality, alethically natural and modally homogeneous, half-life bears the characteristics of an intermediate reality. Its deviation from the alethic constraints which apply both in our empirical and the novel's primary reality does not result in the reader abandoning the contract with the author that the possible world constructed by the text is natural and science-fictional. Illusions and hallucinations are comparable to dreams, the difference being that the characters in *Ubik* cannot wake up. Moreover, dreams are part of the natural human experience although dream worlds are not subject to the alethic constraints analogous to the actual world's physical laws (Doležel, *Heterocosmica* 117). Nevertheless, dreams rest on our real-world experiences. There are natural laws, such as entropy, that even dreams cannot escape. This characteristic presents itself in the retrograde movement of Jory's pseudo-world. Illusory experiences in the intermediate plane can be caused in the narrative in various ways, but they cannot affect the naturalness of the (science)fictional world if they do not disrupt the logical coherence of its narrative.

End Notes

- ¹ See also ("Kafka's Fictional World" 62; *Possible Worlds of Fiction and History* 32)
- ² See also (*On the Poetics* 375; *Positions and Presuppositions* 37, 66).
- ³ See also (*On the Poetics* 375).
- ⁴ Published in Serbia in 2011, by Zavod za udžbenike, Beograd, as *Granice realizma*.
- ⁵ See also (*Defined by a Hollow* 68).
- ⁶ Jameson also adds that Aristotle "famously explained that history only describes what did happen, while 'poetry' – in the larger sense – describes happenings probable or believable" (63).
- ⁷ All subsequent translations from the source are mine, unless stated otherwise.
- ⁸ All subsequent translations from the source are mine, unless otherwise stated.
- ⁹ All subsequent translations from the source are mine, unless stated otherwise.

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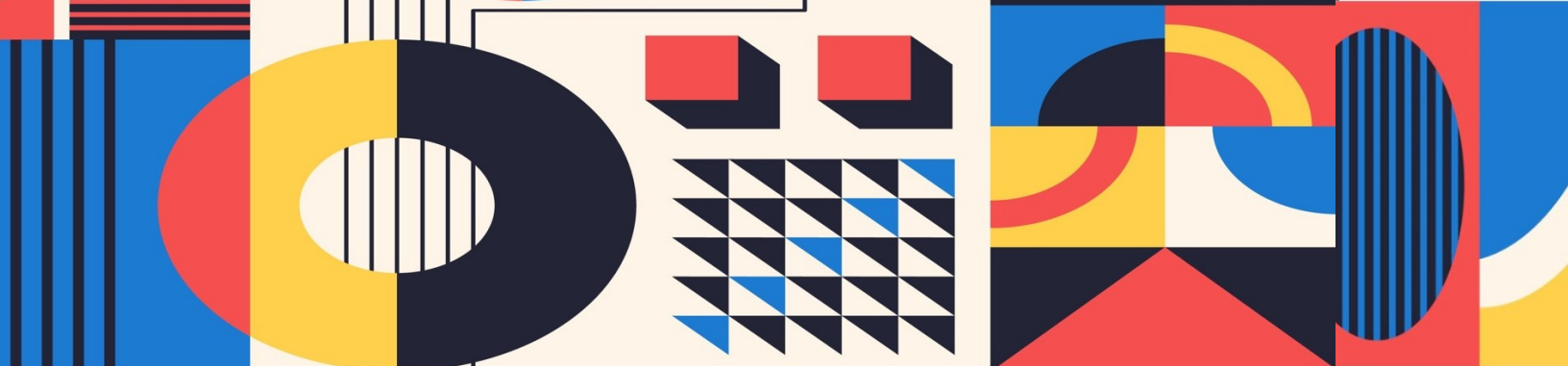
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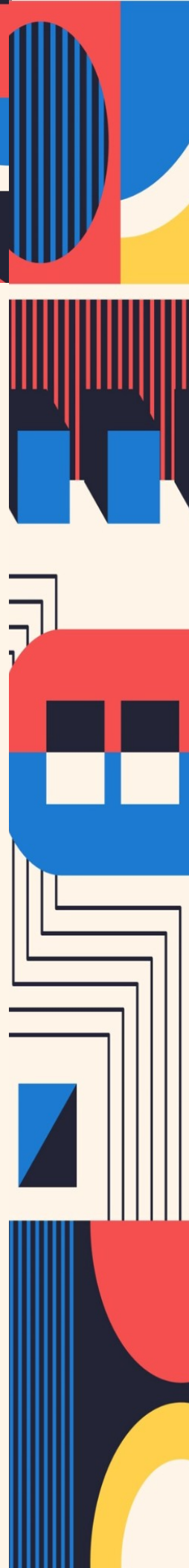
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02

Matjaž Zgonc

**“Standards Must Have Fell”:
Analyzing Structural and
Sociolinguistic Factors in
Past Tense Spreading
Normativity**



Introduction

As is commonly known, Standard English (SE) stipulates the use of the past participle with perfect tenses. Consider, however, the following examples:

(1) There's a few problems I've came across.

(2) You may already have knew that.

In (1–2), the preterit form is used where the past participle would be expected. This paper is concerned with this phenomenon, termed past tense spreading (PTS) by Geeraert and Newman, in the American English speech community. More specifically, proceeding from Canguilhem's influential cline of bodily and cognitive activity from normative (superior, better suited for a given situation) via normal to aberrant (inferior, poorly suited for or even detrimental in a given situation), the methodological approach of perceptual normativity is taken to determine whether speakers find PTS to be more normative or aberrant with regard to three classical dimensions of perceptual research in normativity and prescriptivism studies, namely correctness, acceptability, and likelihood of usage in own discourse (see e.g. Kostadinova 117–122 and works cited there). "Normative" refers throughout to an essentially hermeneutic conception of linguistic norm which posits an acquired linguistic intuition in the mind of any speaker whether a given string of linguistic structures is grammatical or not, which influences the way they produce and perceive discourse (Auroux 222; Mäkilähde, Leppänen and Itkonen 2019), and "perceptual" to the conative dimension of speech acts concerned with lay opinions and understanding of language use perhaps most often associated with the work of Dennis Preston (e.g. Preston; Kristiansen).¹ To address the guiding RQ

Which speakers of American English find PTS more normative or more aberrant in terms of correctness, acceptability and likelihood of own usage, the paper works with a methodological hierarchy (see Pajunen and Itkonen) for researching linguistic normativity perceptually, which demands considering linguistic intuition first, followed by corpus research and a survey if the former steps do not provide a satisfactory answer. Given that PTS seems to be in conflict with SE, an initial assessment of linguistic intuition in a hermeneutic framework is that it is ungrammatical. Yet, a more fine-grained assessment may reveal nuance and complexity in terms of its grammaticality, for which reason, as extensively as space constraints allow, literature concerning PTS usage and perception is reviewed. Since prescriptions and proscriptions can sometimes be considered as windows into language use and attitudes of laypeople in a certain time period (Tieken-Boon van Ostade), the literature review also includes prescriptive work on English. This is followed by corpus research in American English corpora and a survey of 159 respondents. Rational explanation (Leppänen 204–205) of results — the end goal of perceptual normativity research — is given in the discussion. The final part summarizes the paper's findings.

Literature review for PTS

Reference grammars Quirk et al., Huddleston and Pullum, and Biber et al. do not mention PTS as a grammatical possibility. It is therefore reasonable to assume that PTS is not part of SE. Conversely, PTS is present in the HUGE corpus, a corpus of usage problems described in both American and British usage guides from the late 18th century up to the present day. PTS is coded under the problem term 'have went'

because this is by far the most frequently cited example of PTS found in usage guides.

Of 77 usage guides in the HUGE database, 15 contain the problem term 'have went'.

No.	Year of publication	Place	Verbs considered
1	1770	UK	go
2 ²	1779	UK	go
3	1847	USA	do, come, go, see
4	1851	USA	do, go, see
5	1856	USA	begin, break, choose, drink, freeze, go, know, ring, shake, swim
6	1856	USA	begin (3x), break, choose, drink (2x), fall, go, grow, ring, run, sing, sink, shake, spring, swim, take, tread, wear
7	1911	UK, USA	drink
8	1917	USA	drink
9	1920	USA	drink, go
10	1977	USA	ʔ ³
11	1989	USA	do, dive, drink, forget, go, ring, swim
12	1990	USA	?
13	1995	UK	eat, give, go, see, take
14	2003	USA	do, go, drink
15	2004	USA	do, drink, drive, sing, spring, swim

Table 1: PTS in the HUGE corpus, s. v. 'have went'.

Table 1 shows that most of the usage guides containing PTS were published in the USA and that the verbs *drink* and especially *go* are most frequently considered. Prescriptive works may be considered corroborating evidence given that they offer a window into language usage as well as language attitudes of the period in which they were written (Tieken-Boon van Ostade).

PTS is sometimes termed “an American usage problem” (Cheshire “Standardization” 126, Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Kostadinova) even though examples of it can be found in British (Cheshire “Variation” 46–49) and Australian (Eiskovits) English as well. One of the earliest (non-systematic) records of PTS in American English was discovered in the Salem Witch Trials court archives from 1692 (Pablé). Pablé finds that PTS was used in variation with the SE pattern by both the

defendants as well as the judges, which leads us to believe that class was not a factor in PTS usage. In 1784, prominent American lexicologist Webster proscribes PTS with *break, begin* and *choose*, but allows it in 1807 with *break, bid, choose, drink, forget, freeze, mistake, steal, take* and *write* as it was present in the use of “good writers” (see Finegan). Finegan claims that few Americans would consider PTS a usage problem at the time (39). H. L. Mencken, another prominent figure in the standardization of American English, rejects PTS as “confusion” (Mencken 205) in 1919, yet he documents actual usage of PTS with *beat, become, begin, bite, break, choose, come, do, draw, drink, drive, eat, fall, give, go, hide, know, ride, ring, see, shake, shave, show, sing, sink, spring, stink, swear, swim, take, throw, wear* and *write* (193–197). It therefore appears that PTS has been present in American English for over 300 years and sporadically treated by lexicographers as a usage problem.

The earliest systematic survey of verbs in American usage was carried out within the *Atlas of American English* project, namely *A Survey of Verb Forms in the Eastern United States* by E. Bagby Atwood [1953]. It is a meta-analysis of data from speaker interviews from the Eastern Seaboard, but subsequent research on verbal forms in the US confirmed that the variation recorded in the *Atlas* is similar in the Midwest, West and South dialect areas (Kortmann et al. (ed.), 223). Atwood documents PTS with *break, drink, drive, eat, grow, ride, shrink, swell, take, tear, wear* and *write* (12, 13, 19, 24–26, 43). In terms of frequency, PTS occurs everywhere from “rarely” in the case of *take* to 90% of the time in the case of *write* with rural uneducated respondents. Social data was collected inconsistently and varies from verb to verb, yet in general, PTS seems to be most frequent in older, rural and “uncultured” [sic]⁴ respondents.

What most of Atwood's respondents have in common is geographic isolation, low social as well as geographical mobility, social marginalization and an identity based on where they live and work. The same is true for what Wolfram (157) calls "dialect enclaves": loosely associated parts of the Eastern US whose inhabitants share a "generalized core of structures" (146) in their speech. Dialect enclaves are typical of the Appalachian mountains ranging from Georgia to Pennsylvania. Members of different enclaves share a common history and Old Country origin, which is why there is a shared linguistic norm present in many enclaves (143). One of those is PTS which Wolfram calls irregular verb restructuring (150).

It appears that only a few research papers on PTS have considered not just frequency but also any pragmatic/sociolinguistic factor. For one, Geeraert and Newman demonstrate that PTS is used most frequently in the spoken genres of the COCA corpus, but that it is present in all of its subcorpora, even in academic writing (Geeraert and Newman 19). Next, Kemp et al. researched PTS use on Twitter using the statistical package *Twitter* and found that with the verb *go* specifically, the presence of a modal verb within the VP it heads⁵ is the best structural predictor for PTS in the main verb (46.4%). Also significant were several combinations of person and number, namely 1pSG and 1pPL (39.7%) and 3pSg (10.3%), and localization in NYC or Atlanta (27.3 and 26.4% respectively) but not in Sacramento and Los Angeles (13.8%). Since the former are part of Atlantic and Southern dialect groups, and the latter belong to the West dialect group, one might assume PTS would be more acceptable to speakers of Atlantic and Southern dialects. Finally, Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Kostadinova surveyed 70 respondents and showed that the presence of a modal premodifier makes a sentence

containing PTS acceptable 84% of the time, yet unfortunately no sociolinguistic variables were collected in this study.

Corpus data for PTS

The previous section indicated that PTS has been present in American English for some 300 years, mostly in rural populations, and that its acceptability might be contingent on a modal premodifier and dialectal factors, among which the shared norm of dialect enclaves and the discrepancy between the East and the West of the USA are worth mentioning. As a baseline, this distribution of factors was taken to be congruent with how linguistic intuitions of American English speakers were distributed throughout the speech community. To fine-tune the inquiry further, corpus research was conducted. This not only revealed how frequently PTS occurs with various irregular verbs, but it also enabled testing the structural parameters mentioned in the literature review: the combinations of person and number, and the presence of a modal premodifier.

Preliminary corpus research was concerned with procuring a manageable number of samples. Verbs in which PTS can be observed include irregular verbs with non-isomorphic past tense and past participle, excluding regular verbs as well as those irregular verbs with at least one isomorphic paradigm (e.g. *dream* and *get*) from further analysis. At this point, at least 37 verbs were eligible for further analysis: *be, beat, become, begin, bit, blow, break, choose, come, do, draw, eat, fall, fly, freeze, give, go, grow, hide, know, lie, rise, run, see, shake, sing, speak, steal, stink, swear, swim, take, throw, wake, wear* and *write*. Using the *SketchEngine* interface, corpora EnTenTen15 (13x10⁹ words), EnTenTen18 (22x10⁹) and EnTenTen20 (36 x10⁹) were consulted to

count instances of the auxiliary *have* followed by either of the past tense forms of each of those verbs. If the frequency of PTS was lower than one in 100 million words in each of the corpora, the verb was excluded from further analysis on grounds of exceeding rarity of PTS. Fifteen verbs, namely *draw, eat, fly, freeze, grow, know, lie, shake, sing, steal, stink, swim, throw, wake* and *wear*, did not make the cut. Absolute frequency of the verbs was not taken into consideration — the goal was to obtain a relatively small sample of verbs with which PTS occurs relatively frequently because social and structural parameters were to be tested on attested examples fulfilling certain criteria (see section 4.1). Even though, for example, *swim* is proscribed against in usage guides more frequently than *give* (see Table 1), examples of PTS with *swim* were too few to allow constructing attested survey prompts.

Additional research was done using the highly representative COCA corpus. Frequency data for PTS was initially obtained through queries containing capitalized HAVE, which yields all forms of the auxiliary, and each of the verbs' past tense form. 'HAVE went' thus yields instances of *have went, had went, has went, 've went, 'd went*, and *having went*. On average, *has* + past tense yielded 22.2 hits, *had* + past tense 49.6 hits, *have* + past tense 94.4 hits and *'ve* + past tense 30.3 hits.

The threshold chosen for the final analysis was a sum total of at least 120 occurrences of PTS with a given verb. After removing noise, *be, bite, blow, choose, fall, give, see, speak, swear* and *write* were excluded from the final analysis, leaving 11 verbs, namely *beat, become, begin, break, come, do, drink, go, hide, run* and *take*.

Bare frequencies were amended by structural factors that came up during literature review (see above). The presence of a modal premodifier was operationalized

as a feature [+/-modal]. Combinations of person and number mentioned by Kemp et al. were also taken into consideration. Frequencies of verbs displaying PTS with different structural parameters are given in Table 2. For each verb, the occurrences of the auxiliary *had* in this form are subtracted from the rest and given as a separate figure. This is because *had* precludes [+modal], as in *I could had become, and the figures with the _{present} indicator should in general be higher than those with no constraints if [+/-modal] is a relevant parameter for PTS. This does appear to be the case (see Table 2):

Verb	1Sg (%)	2Sg (%)	3Sg (%)	1PI (%)	2PI (%)	3PI (%)	[+modal] (%)
Beat	83 (18.4)	28 (6.2)	230 (51.1)	29 (6.4)	1 (0.2)	79 (17.6)	38
Beat _{present}	76	27	141	26	1	59	52
Become	8 (4.3)	3 (1.6)	127 (68.3)	3 (1.6)	1 (0.5)	44 (23.7)	7
Become _{present}	7	3	76	3	1	32	11
Begin	16 (12.2)	1 (0.8)	74 (56.5)	7 (5.3)	1 (0.8)	32 (24.4)	6
Begin _{present}	12	1	34	5	1	23	10
Break	46 (27.9)	7 (4.2)	89 (53.9)	7 (4.2)	2 (1.2)	14 (8.5)	43
Break _{present}	36	7	60	5	1	10	59
Come	55 (18.1)	21 (6.9)	160 (52.6)	13 (4.3)	3 (1.0)	52 (17.1)	41
Come _{present}	48	17	109	13	3	42	55
Do	67 (33.5)	20 (10)	64 (32.0)	15 (7.5)	3 (1.5)	31 (15.5)	56
Do _{present}	55	19	47	13	3	20	71
Drink	61 (52.1)	11 (9.4)	25 (21.4)	3 (2.6)	0 (0)	25 (14.5)	26
Drink _{present}	52	11	11	2	0	13	35
Go	188 (30.2)	31 (5.0)	253 (40.7)	62 (10)	4 (0.6)	84 (13.5)	56
Go _{present}	148	30	198	51	4	66	70
Hide	27 (22.1)	4 (3.6)	50 (44.6)	6 (5.4)	0 (0)	25 (22.3)	53
Hide _{present}	22	4	50	6	0	25	76
Run	72 (30.5)	17 (7.2)	94 (39.8)	17 (7.2)	3 (1.3)	33 (14.0)	32
Run _{present}	61	17	56	16	3	29	42
Take	71 (26.6)	34 (12.7)	108 (40.4)	11 (4.1)	1 (0.4)	42 (15.7)	56
Take _{present}	62	31	81	9	1	36	68
AVG	25.1%	6.2%	45.6%	5.3%	0.7%	17.0%	37%
AVG _{present}							50%

Table 2: Figures of PTS for selected verbs in COCA, given with parameters, noise removed.

Kemp et al. predicted 1pSG, 1pPL and 3pSG to be the best predictors of PTS in descending order. The present data instead demonstrates the following order: 3pSG, 1pSG, 3pPL with 1pPL being even lower than 2pSG. It appears that the combination of person and number does not predict PTS reliably. On the other hand, as was assumed, [+modal] attracts PTS much more readily, especially if auxiliary forms precluding it are removed. Still, as 50% is performance at chance, corpus research alone does not allow for a rational explanation of PTS. Following the hierarchy of methods which was presented in the introduction, a survey is needed.

Survey for PTS

The first subsection presents the measuring instrument and gives reasons behind the choices made. The second subsection presents the results of the survey.

The measuring instrument

The survey consisted of two parts. The first was designed to collect demographic data to be used as sociolinguistic variables while the second collected responses to sentence prompts. The data collected in the first part included age, gender, ethnicity, the area in which the respondent grew up (corresponding to their native dialect) and perceived social mobility. The first four were obtained through open-ended questions aimed at limiting the influence of the researcher on the respondents and at helping minimize problems of essentialism⁶. The final question was worded in terms of the respondents' perceived status in their family of procreation as opposed to their family of orientation, i.e. their status now or in the future as opposed to the one they had when they were growing up. The respondent could answer either

‘about the same’, indicating low perceived social mobility, or ‘(much) lower/higher’, indicating high upward or downward social mobility.

The second part contained a control question and 24 sentence prompts. Under each question, the respondents found three clickable scales with verbally labeled points. Each scale corresponds to one of the most frequently invoked dimensions of normativity in linguistics (see e.g. Kostadinova): correctness, acceptability and likelihood that the respondent would use the sentence themselves. The responses were operationalized as Likert scales (see Pajunen and Itkonen 232) with values from 0 to 6, given as verbal labels from “not at all” to “completely”.

This permitted the interpretation of an average score above 3 (true middle ground) as more normative than aberrant along the dimension in question, and an average score below 3 as more aberrant. If, for example, a sentence is judged on average to be 2.5 correct and 4 acceptable, the result shows that the sentence is probably not in line with the highest linguistic norm in the speech community, yet is frequent enough to be considered acceptable among speakers.

The control question contained the verb *leave*, whose past tense and past participle forms are both *left* and thus cannot undergo phonologically marked PTS. Out of the 24 prompts each combination of number, plural and [+/-modal] was represented at least twice. Authentic examples were found in COCA for each prompt and truncated when necessary. Other grammatical features such as tense, negation, illocutionary force, etc. are at least minimally represented in the prompts, but they were not tested for. The survey was hosted on Google Forms, which allowed for simple distribution and inter-operating system commutability.

Results

Data collection was conducted in September and October 2022. The survey was completed by 159 respondents, mostly students at the University of Kentucky in Lexington, KY. Low representation precluded analysis on the basis of age and ethnicity; however, the rest of sociolinguistic factors were analyzable.

In terms of gender, three categories emerged from the given answers: 'male' (31.5%), 'female' (63.5%) and 'nonbinary' (5%).

In terms of the place where the respondent grew up, the answers were recategorized into dialect groups based on the latest data from the *Atlas of American English* (Labov, Ash and Boberg). For the sake of operability, less well represented dialect subgroups were grouped together if possible. The following categories emerged: 'South' (67.5%), 'North' (9.9%), 'Midland' (9.2%), 'Atlantic with New England' (9.2%) and 'West' (3.9%). Few respondents came from the American West, but it is not possible to recategorize them to larger dialect groups in good faith. Seven respondents could not be assigned a dialect group and were not included in the analysis.

Finally, in terms of social mobility, most respondents described their perceived social status as stable (52.2%), and the rest (47.8%) reported seeing themselves as highly mobile either downwardly (12.0%) or upwardly (35.8%).

A summary of averages for all variables together with standard deviations is given in Table 3. Deviations from the sum total are given for each variable.

	[+modal]			[-modal]		
	correctness	acceptability	lik. of use	correctness	acceptability	lik. of use
SUM TOTAL (N=159)	3.18	3.84	3.02	2.73	3.43	2.32
GENDER (N=159)						
Male (50)	3.22 (+0.04)	3.91 (+0.07)	3.12 (+0.10)	2.93 (+0.20)	3.54 (+0.11)	2.49 (+0.17)
Female (101)	3.22 (+0.04)	3.75 (-0.09)	3.00 (-0.02)	2.71 (-0.02)	3.34 (-0.09)	2.28 (-0.04)
Nonbinary (8)	2.45 (-0.73)	4.38 (+0.54)	2.68 (-0.34)	1.79 (-0.94)	3.80 (+0.37)	1.70 (-0.62)
DIALECT (N=151)						
<i>Atlantic+NE</i> (14)	3.19 (+0.01)	3.81 (-0.03)	2.80 (-0.22)	2.68 (-0.05)	3.42 (-0.01)	1.97 (-0.35)
<i>Midland</i> (14)	3.09 (-0.09)	3.82 (-0.02)	2.88 (-0.14)	2.67 (-0.06)	3.36 (-0.07)	2.08 (-0.24)
<i>North</i> (15)	4.03 (+0.85)	4.33 (+0.49)	4.02 (+1.00)	3.23 (+0.50)	3.56 (+0.13)	3.08 (+0.76)
<i>South</i> (102)	3.13 (-0.05)	3.79 (-0.05)	3.01 (-0.01)	2.72 (-0.01)	3.43 (+0.00)	2.35 (+0.03)
<i>West</i> (6)	2.89 (-0.29)	4.06 (+0.22)	3.12 (+0.10)	2.33 (-0.40)	3.43 (+0.00)	2.32 (+0.00)
PER. MOBILITY (N=159)						
Low (85)	3.16 (-0.02)	3.72 (-0.12)	3.00 (-0.02)	2.69 (-0.04)	3.28 (-0.15)	2.33 (+0.01)
Cumulative high (74)	3.21 (+0.03)	3.96 (+0.12)	3.04 (+0.02)	2.78 (+0.05)	3.60 (+0.17)	2.30 (-0.02)
High downward (19)	2.86 (-0.32)	4.53 (+0.69)	2.80 (-0.22)	2.35 (-0.38)	4.03 (+0.60)	1.92 (-0.40)
High upward (57)	3.33 (+0.15)	3.76 (-0.08)	3.13 (+0.11)	2.93 (+0.20)	3.44 (+0.01)	2.44 (+0.12)

Table 3: results of the PTS survey

Discussion

The structural parameter that appeared most in the literature concerning PTS was [+/-modal]. Its relevance was also indicated by the COCA-corpus survey (see Table 3). The sociolinguistic parameters were taken from the set of those used in American dialectological and sociolinguistic research (see e.g. the aforementioned Labov, Ash

and Boberg) with the more usual category of class replaced by perceived social mobility.

In terms of dialect, the *South* dialect group was assumed to be more receptive towards PTS. Lexington lies within the *South* dialect area, about an hour and a half's drive from the Ohio river, which is taken to be the 'border' between the *South* and *Midwest* dialect groups (Labov, Ash and Boberg), and relatively close to the Appalachian mountains, home to several dialect enclaves. Cheshire ("Standardization", 125) mentions how proximity to Appalachia (i.e. Appalachian dialect enclaves) is the common denominator in research on the origins of PTS in contemporary American English. Because the speech commonly associated with PTS is also the local norm, it was not unreasonable to assume that living in Lexington might make one more accustomed to PTS and thereby less inclined to judge it as aberrant.

According to the data from Table 3, not only did the respondents who grew up in the *South* dialectal area not demonstrate higher normativity of PTS, it was actually the *North* dialect speakers who were most approving of it (by 0.62 of a Likert scale grade on average). The literature reviewed gave no indication that *North* dialects were a source of PTS spreading, so this result comes as a bit of a surprise. Still, the absolute distance of a *South* speaker's judgment from the average remarkably low (the mean of all six combinations is 0.03 of a Likert scale grade) and the average rating along all three dimensions with [+modal] as well as acceptability with [-modal] are also over 3. This indicates that *South* speakers find PTS more normative (correct, acceptable, and likely) than not when [+modal] is present, and more acceptable than not even when the [-modal] parameter is active. While the present results do not suggest the *South*-group

dialect is a good predictor of PTS normativity, this means that they are at least not in conflict with existing research on PTS.

In terms of gender, respondents identifying as women found PTS to be less normative than those identifying as men across the board. This finding is in line with previous research on gendered speech that found women tend to talk more in line with the standard than men for reasons such as covert prestige (Labov), although the absolute distance between genders is notably small. Interestingly, respondents identifying as nonbinary tend to be more accepting of PTS but less likely to find it correct or use it themselves regardless of [+/-modal]. Given the small sample size, strong points should probably not be deduced from this data.

For the present sample, perceived social mobility represents the connection between status anxiety and SE as the preferred code of traditional élites better than Labovian class (measured in revenue) since access to college in the USA tends to be less available to those less well-off. Thus, respondents who indicated lower perceived social mobility were hypothesized to be more receptive to PTS given that they would be less inclined to conform to SE in their speech. At first glance the data marginally refutes this hypothesis. However, there is a difference between upward and downward high perceived social mobility. While those who believe themselves to be upwardly mobile demonstrate higher normativity of PTS, those who perceive themselves to be downwardly mobile find PTS to be less correct and themselves less likely to use it (a third of a Likert scale grade), while once again reporting much higher acceptability (0.65 of a Likert scale grade) regardless of [+/-modal]. Similarly to respondents identifying as nonbinary, but in much larger numbers, those who deem themselves as downwardly

mobile score lower on self-oriented dimensions and higher on community-oriented dimensions.

By far the most significant result, however, was that [+modal] prompts scored higher for all dimensions than [–modal] ones. Not only that, the absolute distance between the two measured up to 0.52 of a Likert scale grade on average, among the highest in the entire dataset. The present results thus corroborate those in Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Kostadinova, and Kemp et al.

Why does [+modal] result in higher normativity? Huddleston and Pullum (78) claim that “[t]he central idea in the traditional concept of participle is that it is a word formed from a verb base which functions as or like an adjective”. However, not all uses of the past participle are equally adjectival in English. Consider the following:

(3) John went home. John broke the vase.

(4) John was gone/angry. The vase was broken/new.

(5) John has went home. John has broke the vase.

(6) ??John was went. ??The vase was broke.

(3–4) represent the SE, normative ways of using the past tense and past participle respectively. Note that the past tenses in (3) head their respective predicators and that the past participles in (4) are replaceable with non-deverbal adjectives while no such substitution is possible in (5): there, as in (3), the underlined verbs occupy a function which is much more verbal (as opposed to adjectival) in nature than that in (4) or (6). The verbal nature of the position occupied by the past tense verb in (5) is emphasized by the presence of a prototypically verbal element, the auxiliary *have*. In (6), it would be unusual for such prototypically⁷ verbal element to occur. Over 1000 (5)-type

examples found in COCA indicate not only a quantitative but also a qualitative difference between the prototypes. [+modal] ties into this because it designates another prototypically verbal element which cannot be attached to an adjective: *John was could angry. Following Huddleston and Pullum's description of participles stated above, this may be interpreted in the way where attaching a second prototypically verbal element, namely [+modal] verb, places the head is in so intensely a verbal function that a clash between it and a prototypically adjectival form of the past participle occurs, or at least a counterfactual force emerges which resists standardization demanding the adjectival form in a prototypically verbal function. In other words, [+modal] is a good predictor of PTS because it adds force to the prototypically verbal construal of the syntactic role occupied by a verb, meaning that there is less systemic pressure for said verb to take on the prototypically more adjectival form of the past participle stipulated by SE.

Conclusion

It seems the presence of a modal premodifier renders PTS significantly more likely to be normative, which is probably due to the fact that PTS occurs when the verb is in a prototypically verbal function but required to take on a prototypically adjectival form. Sociolinguistic variables proved to be much less significant, yet it was shown that gender plays a small role in establishing PTS normativity, likely due to its usual function of covert prestige. High perceived downward, but not upward, social mobility also resulted in higher-than-average acceptability ratings and lower ratings for both correctness and likelihood of the respondent's own usage. This may indicate that

linguistic insecurity plays a somewhat significant role in status maintenance when it comes to social slump, but less so otherwise.

A sample of 159 respondents, while not classifiable as a *very* large sample, warrants reasonably high confidence in the present set of data. However, as it is likely that the sample consisted of largely homogenous respondents (young college students), it may well be that a more balanced sample would yield more salient social variables. Still, proceeding from the data this paper disposes with, it is possible to conclude that PTS is not a recent anomaly about to disappear, but rather a moderately predictable feature of American speech.

End Notes

¹ NB this approach differs significantly from the prescriptive notion of normativity concerned exclusively with correctness and typical of the structuralist tradition, and instead places this multi-dimensional, speaker-oriented normativity into the center of discourse production and perception. The perceptual approach to it is undertaken to remedy some of the most relevant methodological and definitional shortcomings of a purely hermeneutic approach. See Zgonc, 43–103 for a contextualized full discussion.

² 2 is the second edition of 1.

³ '?' indicates that information was not obtainable because of copyright.

⁴ This term is consistently used throughout in Bagby, yet it is never defined. Contemporary sociolinguistic research would probably use the label "poorly educated" or "uneducated".

⁵ E.g. *might* in *She might have gone fishing* or *may* in (2) *You may already have knew that*.

⁶ Essentialism in sociolinguistic research refers to the practice of using predetermined categories of social reality as independent variables. This may be problematic because using fixed variables to statistically prove the correlation between that variable and a dependent speech variable often imposes upon the speakers a social reality that they themselves may not be experiencing at all (as in e.g. the "emasculated speech" of speakers who never felt emasculated in the first place). See Pablé and Hass for details.

⁷ "Prototypical" is used here in the well-established cognitive linguistic sense indicating gradation in category membership. Word class membership has been analyzed in this framework multiple times; perhaps the most accessible is Lakoff's (Lakoff, 63–64) recapitulation or Ross's research as a distinction between the "nounier" and less "nouny nouns" (ibid.) If the reader is struggling with the greater/lesser prototypicality of verbal elements, then, by analogy, one may also speak of 'verbier' and less 'verby' verbs. According to Huddleson and Pullum, then, participles are less verby verbs than VP-heading verbs because they are slightly more adjectivly, which, as the present research has demonstrated, may well influence the perceptual normativity of PTS within a phrase where they occur.

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03

Ayman Almomani

Translating *Nineteen
Eighty-Four* into Arabic



Introduction

According to Larson, “[t]he important thing is for the translator to recognize the euphemistic nature of the source language expression and then translate with an appropriate and acceptable expression of the receptor language whether euphemistic or not” (116). If the translator chooses word-for-word translation, known as literal translation, then their voice disappears and their hands are bound to the original text, thus transforming the translator into a mere tool. However, the translator might decide on a sense-for-sense translation, which allows for their own literary talent and capacity for writing. Sense-for-sense translation might give better results for fiction, and particularly dystopias. This is because the worlds in the text are based on very specific cultural frames which might need to be adapted to convey a similar meaning in a different language. However, the culture and norms of any society force limitations, as some words might be offensive and others taboo.

This article considers the difficulties and consequences of translating George Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1948) into Arabic due to linguistic and cultural factors. I will begin by demonstrating the reception of the novel across more than 14 countries in the Middle East. This is not an easy task because each country is under the influence of different regimes, so the reception was not uniform. However, establishing the controversies around the text and how it became used to political ends in some countries in the Middle East helps in understanding why a translation of the text into Arabic might be difficult. In the second part of the article, I will discuss two translations of Orwell’s text,

note the choices made by the translators, and consider the effects of omissions and euphemisms. I would like to note here that dystopia in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* centres on the use of language and the ways this might function as mind control. Compromising the language by mistranslation might actually present exactly the kind of risk Orwell is warning about in the novel, as it shows how subtle shifts in words and intentions significantly distort meanings. This article will focus on demonstrating euphemism and to a lesser extent omission in Arabic translations, and the potential misreadings of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* these could produce.

The Reception of Orwell in the Middle East

One of the most significant reasons Orwell's novel gained popularity and broader circulation in the Middle East was because of an article written in 2007 by Saod Al-Omar called "عن الرواية: 1984" which means "About the novel: 1984". The article offers a plot summary and explains major concepts in Orwell's work:

أيضاً كان لهذه الرواية تأثير كبير على اللغة الإنجليزية؛ فقد شاع استخدام العديد من المفردات التي ابتكرت (Thought Police - شرطة الفكر), (Room 101 - الغرفة 101), (Big Brother - الأخ الأكبر): في هذه الرواية مثل (Doublethink - التفكير المزدوج), (Newspeak - اللغة الجديدة), (Orwellian - أورويلي) مصطلح كطريقة لوصف الحالات, أو المشاهد, أو الأفكار, أو طرق التحدث التي (Orwellian - أورويلي) مصطلح (Al-Omar 1). تشبه ما جاء في أعمال أورويل عموماً وهذه الرواية خصوصاً

The article introduces the Thought Police, Big Brother and other elements of Orwell's dystopic world to Arabic readers. A second, more scholarly, article was published in 2010 by the Egyptian journalist Abd Alrahman Radwan, who considered how Orwell suffered

from his own success, his innovative writing style and ability to stitch words together in a way that no Arabic translator has managed to fully grasp.

After the release of a translation in 2014, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* became more widely available and openly read by students. Ironically, Orwell's predictions about political control came true as Egyptian "thought police" started arresting college students for buying, reading, or talking about *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. An article published in 2014, right after the arrests by Yousif Hosni, was titled: "The Big Brother of Egypt arrests the holders of "1984"". The article offered a one-sided argument against the government, which Hosni called "cowards and afraid of educated people" (2). This article shifted popular feeling from fear to hatred and defiance, and those targeted for the reading the book, college students, created slogans to defy the government, such as: "fight them with knowledge" and "you can never stop us from reading" (3).

In 2015 Waleed Khairy decided to write an article in the *Hayat*, the leading Egyptian political newspaper titled "*Nineteen Eighty-Four* Dictatorship (totalitarianism) has many faces" (1). In an article which nearly ended his career, Khairy shed light on a new aspect: censorship of the novel. Up until the second translation no-one mentioned the novel, but it seems that before 2012 few had read Orwell in Egypt. Conversely, the first translation was well circulated in Lebanon. It seems that after the wave of arrests in Egypt in 2014, more copies were sold, and most of the attempts to block the novel, whether by arresting the people or by closing lesser publication houses, backfired. People were now aware of the fear the novel inspired in the heart of the government. Orwell's *Nineteen*

Eighty-Four became one of the most sought-after books in the Middle East, and available in multiple translations. In subsequent years there have been further translations which are similar to those sampled in the next section of this article. After all, you can only change a language a few times before you break it by deviating too far from the original meaning.

Arabic Translations of Orwell's Work

A euphemism is the substitution of a word or idea that might offend some people due to their beliefs and culture, with another one that conveys the meaning without forcing opposition for being insensitive or blunt. Orwell himself used euphemism in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* through wordplay in "Newspeak", a new political language which redeveloped recognizable words and phrases in English into standardized and simplified phrases approved by the fictional government in the text (Orwell 34). In political works in Arabic speaking countries, euphemism is common. This might be the consequence of religious values which limit the choices that translators can make. According to Al-Khanfar:

It also worths[!] mentioning that euphemism is widely used in Arabic prose and poetry. The main reference book of Arabs and Moslems i.e. the Holy Quran uses euphemism to avoid mentioning directly words or phrases that may cause offence or shame. (3)

In Arabic there are taboos which writers and translators alike tend to avoid. For example, the English word "terrorist" is translated into "مجاهد" (pronounced as "mo-ja-hed"), which

means a “Jihadist”, fighter of righteousness. This change happens because the writers who were reporting such words did not want to upset public opinion. Another example is the word “garbage collector”, which when translated into Arabic is “عامل نظافه” simply a “cleaner”. This shows how euphemism is used to escape social embarrassment and to shrug off negative opinion.

Politics can intensify euphemism. Keith Allan and Kate Burridge offer a good explanation on why this phenomenon happens in political discourse by claiming that “[e]uphemisms are alternatives to dispreferred expressions, and are used to avoid possible loss of face” (14). Translation, when combined with politics in the Middle East, often follows the course of propaganda leaflets that publishing houses in many states receive. For example, given the long-term and ongoing conflicts between Israel and other countries in the region, the name of the country undergoes a kind of dysphemism. Sometimes Israel is translated to “الكيان الصهيوني” (kayan Sohyoony) meaning “the Zionist entity”, and other times it is “الاحتلال الغاشم”¹ (Ihtilal Gashem) meaning “the barbaric occupation”. It is common for publishing houses to alter words according to political opinion. However, this compromises the integrity of translation and makes the process harder because few want the burden of attempting to translate political texts. As previously mentioned, Orwell’s novel foregrounds these issues, as history and politics are discussed through Newspeak.

Timothy Lynch, the director of the Cato Institute's Project on Criminal Justice, took special interest in Orwell's political language. In "Doublespeak and the War on Terrorism", Lynch discusses what I consider the most confusing words to translate:

One of the central insights in Orwell's classic novel 1984 concerned the manipulative use of language, which he called "Newspeak" and "doublethink", and which we call "doublespeak" or "Orwellian". Orwell was alarmed by government propaganda and the seemingly rampant use of euphemisms and half-truths and he conveyed his discomfort with such tactics to generations of readers by using vivid examples in his novel. (Lynch 1)

But how can these "tactics" and Orwell's "discomfort" be translated into Arabic? The terms "Newspeak", "doublethink" and "Big Brother" proved to be a challenge for translators.

In the original text, Winston Smith reads party slogans at the Department of Records:

"Who controls the past," ran the Party slogan, "controls the future: who controls the present controls the past." And yet the past, though of its nature alterable, never had been altered. Whatever was true now was true from everlasting to everlasting. It was quite simple. All that was needed was an unending series of victories over your own memory. "Reality control", they called it: in Newspeak, "doublethink". (Orwell 44)

In the first translation by Anwar Al-Shami, the text was translated as follows:

وأحد شعارات الحزب "من يسيطر على الحاضر يسيطر على الماضي". لكن الماضي , الذي هو في طبيعته قابل لاعادة النظر , لم يحدث ابدا ان يتغير. فما هو صحيح اليوم كان صحيحاً منذ أزل و سيبقى كذلك الى الابد. ان المر في منتهى البساطه, فكل المطلوب هو سلسله لا تنتهي من الانتصارات على ذاكرتك (Al-Shami 43). ""الاستحواذ على الحقيقه" او كما يسمونها في اللغه الجديده "التفكير الازدواجي

A direct English backtranslation would be:

One of the party's slogans is: "Whoever controls the present controls the past." But the past, which by its nature is reconsiderable, has never been changed. What is true today has been true since time immemorial and will remain so forever. The matter is very simple. All that is required is an endless series of victories over your memory, "obsessing over the truth," or as they call it in the new language, "doublethink."

In the second translation by Alhareth Al-Nabhan, the same passage reads:

يقول شعار الحزب: "من يتحكم بالماضي يتحكم بالمستقبل: و من يتحكم بالحاضر يتحكم بالماضي". ورغم هذا, فان الماضي.... على الرغم من طبيعته القابله للتغير لم يتغير قط. كل ما هو صحيح الان كان صحيحا منذ الازل و يضل صحيحا الى الابد! ولا يلزم لتحقيق ذلك الا سلسله من الانتصارات على ذاكرتك نفسها. يدعون هذا الامر باسم "التحكم بالواقع": و هو نفسه "التفكير المزدوج" في اللغه الجديده. عوى (Al-Nabhan 38). "الصوت الامر من جديد لكن على نحو اكثر لطفا بعض ال شيء" راحه

This passage, translated back into English, would look like this:

The party's slogan says: "He who controls the past controls the future: and he who controls the present controls the past." Despite this, the past... despite its changeable nature... has never changed. Everything that is true now was true

forever and will remain true forever! All that is needed to achieve this is a series of victories over your memory itself. They call this "reality control": which is the same as "doublethink" in New Parlance. The voice howled again, but in a somewhat gentler way. "Rest!"

Al-Shami tries to convey meaning using the sense-for-sense method of translation. The word "reality control" was changed into "الاستحواذ على الحقيقه" (al estehwath ala Al-hakikah) which is not only inaccurate, but also misleading. The word "الاستحواذ" (al-estehwath) is meant to substitute the word "control". However, "al-estehwath" means to possess, usurp or take something with power. This means that the people of Oceania were being forced to submit to the horror of the Inner Party. This translation cannot capture the idea of mind control in the novel. The other part of the term combines the word "reality" with "possession" (ala Al-hakikah), which implies "possession of the truth". If an English speaker reads the novel in its original language, then they might notice that "reality control" means shaping our conception of reality, rather than forcing it upon us. Changing this message by altering the symbolic theme of the mind control does not adequately convey Orwell's original meaning to an Arabic reader.

The second major term in the first translation was "Newspeak" which became "لغة جديدة" (logah jadeedah) which literally means "new language". In my opinion, it works as a poor substitute for the original term, because "Newspeak" did not only mean a new language but a new enforced mental schemata for the people of Oceania. "Newspeak" should have been translated into something similar to "new thought". To call it "new

language” misleads Arabic readers into believing that this idea was limited to communication or language, while it is much closer to a way of thinking.

The last term in the first translation is “doublethink”, which in the novel means saying one thing while believing in something else. In the first translation it became “التفكير الازدواجي” (al-tafkeer al-ezdewagee) which means “double thinking”. However, for an Arabic reader this would likely be taken to mean that someone has two ideas about something or is hesitant, just like the English term “second thoughts”. Simply put, “التفكير الازدواجي” means having two ideas about the same topic or two opinions about the same thing. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that in some cases it can also mean schizophrenia, which does not really capture Winston Smith’s experience in the novel. It is true that Orwell’s “doublethink” implies a psychological struggle, but in the original work Smith is not hesitant, he is rather self-contradictory, and the first Arabic translation misconstrues this idea.

In the original text and those familiar with Orwell’s work in popular culture, “Big Brother” implies the technological actuality of surveillance. However, when translated into Arabic it becomes “الاخ الكبير” (Al-Akh Al-Kabeer) which means “the older/big brother”. The word on its own in Arabic has positive connotations, without the capacity to ever mean something negative. A “Big Brother” is a protector and never a ruthless controller. This means that the satire and sarcasm Orwell uses to change the meaning of the term “Big Brother” cannot translate. Despite this, “الاخ الكبير” has been used relatively consistently in translations that followed Al-Shami’s 2006 version of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

The second Arabic translation of the passage mentioned above is more distant from Orwell's original work because the author of the second translation added his own words. Al-Nabhan has similar issues when it comes to translating "doublethink", "Newspeak" and "reality control". For example, "reality control" was changed into "التحكم بالواقع" (Al-tahakom Bel Waqe') which means "to control or shape reality". In comparison to the first translation, this comes much closer to Orwell's intention. However, "Newspeak" was translated into "new language" and therefore limited in much the same way as Al-Shami's version.

The most striking change in the second translation is the underlined sentence, which means "the sound of the idea was soothing and soon after he [Winston Smith] was in peace". The translator took the liberty to add this last sentence, it is not a translation of content from Orwell's novel. As discussed in the introduction, sense-for-sense translations allow for creativity, and more substantial alterations might be necessary to meet different cultural contexts. However, adding lines beyond the original text will inevitably distort the meaning of the text and raises questions around the integrity of the translation as a whole. In this case, it does not strengthen the specific and violent use of language which Orwell is describing in the scene, and it is not clear why or how Winston Smith is peaceful.

Cultural sensitivity and translating *Nineteen Eighty-Four*

Other problematic areas for translation are sexual themes and taboos. Sexual vocabulary is a sensitive topic in the Middle East, and to talk or write about it is often uncomfortable. This means that any sexual terms in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* had to be

significantly revised. To explore this change I have chosen to refer to Orwell's framing of

"Pornosec":

There was even a whole sub-section—Pornosec, it was called in Newspeak—engaged in producing the lowest kind of pornography, which was sent out in sealed packets and which no Party member, other than those who worked on it, was permitted to look at. (Orwell 55)

The first translation by Al-Shami is:

وهناك ايضا قسم فرعي - اسمه في اللغة الجديد بورنوسيك- و يعمل على انتاج انواع المواد الاباحيه, وهذه كانت توزع بمغلفات مختومه لايستسمح لاي عضو من اعضاء الحزب, ما عدا اولئك اللذين يعملون فيها, بالنظر اليها (Al-Shami 52)

Or, translated back to English:

There was also a sub-department - called in the New Language Pornosik - which worked on the production of the lowest types of pornographic materials, and these were distributed in sealed envelopes that no party member, except those who worked in them, were allowed to look at.

The second translation by Al-Nabhan reads as follows:

بل ان ثمة ايضا قسما فرعيا كاملا.... يدعوونه "قسجنس" في اللغة الجديده مهتمه في انتاج احط انواع المواد الاباحيه اللتي يجري ارسالها في مغلفات مختومه, و باستثناء من يعملون فيها, لا يجوز لأي عضو من أعضاء الحزب الاطلاع عليها (Al-Nabhan 48)

Once again, the backtranslation would go like this:

There is even an entire sub-section...which they call "Qasjans" in the new language...concerned with producing the lowest kinds of pornographic materials which are sent in sealed envelopes, and which, with the exception of those who work in them, no party member may see it.

Pornography is both a taboo topic and word in the Middle East, so it is not a surprise that this section would risk negative opinion and be difficult to translate. In the first translation "pornosec" was translated into "بورنوسيك" which is a transliteration of the original. However, it means nothing in Arabic. Consequently, to understand the reference in Arabic the reader must already have an English lexicon in mind. In the second translation it was called "قسجنس" (qesjins) which means sex section. Although the Arabic is related to the topic, it misses the meaning, because "جنس" (qesjins) means sex or gender but not porn. This means that the whole term had to change in order to facilitate an Arabic translation. The only example of a close translation on this theme is the term "anti sex league" which was literally translated into "الشباب المناهض للجنس" (Al Shbab Al Monahed Lal Jins) in both versions.

Politically speaking, the language that Orwell used is considered subversive and easy to misunderstand. The novel uses irony in almost all the names and titles such as "Big Brother" or the slogan "war is peace". However, what I have found that challenged the translators the most were the names of the ministries, because they were translated first by Orwell into his fictive language and way of thinking "Newspeak". In the original text Orwell writes:

The Ministry of Truth, which concerned itself with news, entertainment, education, and the fine arts. The Ministry of Peace, which concerned itself with war. The Ministry of Love, which maintained law and order. And the Ministry of Plenty, which was responsible for economic affairs. Their names, in Newspeak: Minitrue, Minipax, Miniluv, and Miniplenty. (Orwell 7)

In the first Arabic translation, Al-Shami offers the following lines:

فوزارة الحقيقه تختص بشؤون الاخبار ووسائل اللهو و الاحتفالات و التعليم و الفنون الجميله, ثم وزارة السلام التي تعنى بشؤون الحروب, ثم وزارة الحب و هي المسؤوله عن حفظ النظام و تطبيث القانون, ثم اخيرا وزارة الوفرة و هي ترعى الشؤون الاقتصاديه (Al-Shami 7)

These lines translated back into English would look like this:

The Ministry of Truth is responsible for news, entertainment, celebrations, education, and the fine arts, then the Ministry of Peace, which is concerned with war affairs, then the Ministry of Love, which is responsible for maintaining order and enforcing the law, and finally the Ministry of Plenty, which looks after economic affairs.

Al-Nabhan translated the same section into:

وزارة الحقيقه التي تعنى بالانباء و الترفيه و التعليم و الفنون الجميله. ووزارة السلم المختصه بالحرب, ووزارة الحب التي ترعى الفنون و النظام. ووزاره الوفرة المسؤوله عن الشؤون الاقتصاديه. واما اسماء هذه الوزارات في اللغه الجديده فهي (وزاحق, وراسلم, وزاحب, وزافره) (Al-Nabhan 8)

Here is the English backtranslation:

The Ministry of Truth, which deals with news, entertainment, education and fine arts. The Ministry of Peace is concerned with war, and the Ministry of Love is concerned with the arts and order. The Ministry of Wafra is responsible for economic affairs. The names of these ministries in the new language are (Wazhaq, Zasalam, Zahib, and Zafarah).

In both translations the names of the ministries were translated using the word-for-word method. However, what the first translation does not include are the names of the ministries in “Newspeak”. Al-Shami chose to omit these words completely throughout the novel whenever he could. Perhaps he assumed that they would not have any effect on a reader whose first language is not English. I would argue that this decision damaged Orwell’s world-building as it stripped Newspeak of some important words as well as showing how “Newspeak” changes English. This is another example of when the decisions of the translator come at the expense of the writer’s intention.

The second translation tried to convey Orwell’s original meaning using sense-for-sense translation. This was attempted using the linguistic tool of lifting, clipping and combining words together. Unfortunately, Al-Nabhan’s process doesn’t necessarily fit with the rules of the Arabic language. Thus, the names of the ministries in “Newspeak” are completely out of context for an Arabic reader, and the titles of the ministries become incomprehensible stretches of letters.

Conclusion

In conclusion, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* has a controversial history in the Middle East, both in terms of adequate translation and in provoking protests. Some of the mistakes of the Al-Shami's translation were avoided by Al-Nabhan by attempting to capture the meaning of Orwell's original. However, the lexicon developed by Orwell specifically for the novel, as well as its overt political language make translations difficult. The theme of control in terms of thought and speech are essential both to the story world and its reception.² Whether it is by language or by surveillance, the dangers of political control are integral to Orwell's message. Control is the bridge between his ideas about totalitarianism and the role of "Newspeak", something which remains difficult to translate.

End Notes

¹ A few examples from the titles of news articles: "The Zionist Entity and the Palestinian Arabs: A Study in Colonialism and Self-Determination" by Walid Khalidi, published in the Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Spring, 1974), pp. 5-21. "The Zionist Entity's War Against Palestinian Children" by Ramzy Baroud, published in CounterPunch on July 30, 2018. "The Zionist entity's quest for a 'Jewish majority'" by Jonathan Cook, published in Middle East Eye on November 23, 2020. "The Zionist Entity: How Israel's Influence on US Foreign Policy Has Created a Dangerous Situation" by Whitney Webb, published in MintPress News on September 10, 2019.

² This issue was not only the Middle East, as discussed here, but non-Western European countries, too. For example, the Hungarian reception of both utopian and dystopian literature (almost universally excluded from comprehensive overviews produced in Western Europe or the US) is uniquely shaped by the Socialist regime and its cultural politics which has a positive effect on the reception of utopian texts promoting communal property (see Maczelka 2019, 13), but caused a considerable delay in the reception of Orwell and other politically suspicious authors (see Czigányik 2011).

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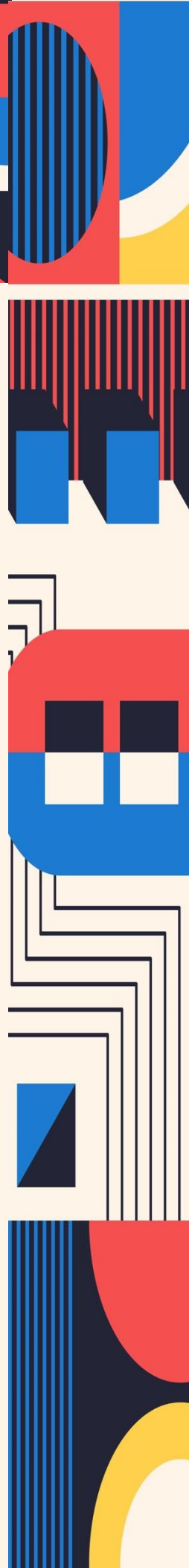
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04

Marie Krebs

**Only Evil Can Live Forever:
Racialised
Misrepresentations of
Voodoo Communities in
*American Horror Story:
Coven***



If New York is the *City that Never Sleeps*, perhaps New Orleans has earned itself the byname of the *City that Never Dies*. Few other places in the US are quite as entangled with iconographies of the macabre, the supernatural, and the chill-inducing as this Louisiana metropolis, which, at the same time, functions as a symbol of carnivalesque hedonism. Some authors even attribute to this city “loose morals” (Jenkins 40), whatever this statement may entail or however one can envision a city’s conception of morality in a more general sense. New Orleans is also ‘the’ American vampire city – a rather lucrative venture for the local tourist industry (Piatti-Farnell n.p.) – and ‘the’ city of voodoo, which has developed into a thematic staple for the modern horror genre as an umbrella term encompassing a vast array of real or imagined religious and magic practices (Fandrich 778). The myth of New Orleans as a space of haunted anachronism has lent a backdrop to many of these stories, providing a convenient setting for the supernatural, the chill-inducing, and the frightening.

The dark and mysterious side of New Orleans is closely enmeshed with the region’s actual history – ghosts, after all, are most commonly understood as the spirits of the deceased haunting the realm of the living, disrupting the naturalised conceptualisation of death as irreversible and absolute. This transgression of the border between life and death is often traced back to a violent, grisly death that serves as an inciting incident to hauntings; a reason why the ‘natural’ course of life was disrupted and a spirit remains suspended between life and death. More concisely put: ghosts, in scary or supernatural narratives, are usually indices of very

real horrors, which most literary and film scholarship reads as an outlet for negotiating anxious awareness of historical circumstances (Briefel & Miller 4). In the context of the US and particularly the Southern states, including Louisiana, this addresses pasts of slavery and racialised exploitation, which are either allegorically or directly portrayed as sources of hauntings (Horsley 135). Stories tend to feature themes of reckoning with these painful histories as a way to “address the sins of the past, ultimately leading to a type of recompense” (Horsley 146). In this context, then, contemporary scary stories set in the American South are by no means unencumbered by painful, racist histories: for example, stories may feature ghosts of tortured slaves¹, or vampires as overtly or subtextually racialised entities². Particularly prominently, racialising patterns of representation manifest in the imagery associated with voodoo, which serves as the primary focus of this paper.

However, before any analysis can take place, it may be worth briefly pointing to the history of horror and Gothic narratives in the American South to sketch some terminological distinctions. This paper reads the third season of hit TV series *American Horror Story*, subtitled ‘Coven’, as an example of an on-screen continuation of the earlier literary movement of the Southern Gothic, which can be understood as an offshoot of the larger American Gothic movement. American Gothic fiction has continually drawn audiences’ attention since the days of Edgar Allan Poe or Charlotte Perkins Gilman (Monnet 1), whose work is often understood as the precursor to modern horror and crime fiction. The Southern Gothic, then, spearheaded by William Faulkner and Flanner O’Connor, more concretely situated gloomy, creepy, and

uncanny narratives in the American South (Horsley 19). This has spawned a plethora of film and television representations, including programmes such as *The Originals* or the aforementioned *AHS: Coven*.

This paper, then, focusses on *AHS: Coven* as a manifestation of racial politics in the representation of voodoo religious communities in the Southern Gothic on screen. In particular, I examine religious dimensions in narratives of immortality, which serve as a key impetus of *AHS: Coven*. There is nothing accidental about the narrative-discursive construction around voodoo, magic and immortality – there is a fragment of a religiously inflected moralism despite the show’s seeming secularity, one which has descended almost directly from racist politics of the nineteenth century and continues to be a genre-defining trope in Southern Gothic narratives: that of voodoo practices construed as Satanic and, by consequence, inherently and irrevocably evil.

Voodoo or Witchcraft?

Voodoo (or vodou, in the Haitian spelling) is a hybrid religion that developed out of Yorùbá contact with Christianity and indigenous belief systems of the Caribbean and the South of the US. As an “Afro-Creole counterculture religion” (Fandrich 779), it has lent a sense of community and faith to oppressed Black individuals in the American South both in the nineteenth century and today by blending Christian saint-worship with Yorùbá spirituality, thus allowing for a ‘common ground’ of religious practice. However, misrepresentations of this school of faith have a long-standing tradition. It has been called a backward, Satanist, and “progress-

resistant” (Hebblethwaite 4) belief system, is said to have incited the Haitian revolution (Fandrich 779) and has been falsely accused of facilitating ritual human sacrifice (Hebblethwaite 8). In this sense, Black communities are associated with terminology of ‘savagery’ without any explicitly racist wording, and the rhetoric of subjugation becomes a cultural matter as opposed to a (pseudo)biological one.

While representations of voodoo as evil and Satanic are rooted in the early colonial history of the Caribbean, the deployment of this religion as a narrative trope in horror has continued well into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Films such as *White Zombie* from 1932, *I Walked with a Zombie* from 1943, or more recent examples such as *Voodoo Dawn* from 1991 share this fear of voodoo as dark magic or a kind of menacing paganism (Reuber 8). For lack of a better way to phrase it, while the explicit false association of Blackness with amorality has disappeared, the misrepresentation of practices from Black communities persists. Most of this linking happens through a logic of guilt-by-association that weaves through almost all cultural imagery depicting voodoo religious practices and communities. For Christianity-based moral systems, voodoo is linked to witchcraft and sorcery and is thus Satanist in nature. As voodoo is a religion grown out of and primarily practiced in Black cultural spheres of the Caribbean or the American South, a transitive link is formed between Blackness and amorality; which abstracts the fictional construct of *race* into an immutable cultural difference. Even horror scholarship is not immune to this fallacious position. In some academic texts studying horror cinema, “voodoo and witchcraft”, one a majority-PoC religious community and one either a catchall term

for perverted feminised spirituality or a reference to Wiccan faith, are coordinated unquestioningly (see: Abbott 99). The lumping together of two separate movements may suggest that this is not a statement about actual religions, but rather that non-Christian spirituality, no matter in which form, is a key element of horror narratives. This becomes particularly manifest in negotiating the trope of immortality.

Immoral Immortals

As the theme of the 2023 *Anglophonia* conference was 'Endlessness', the thematic anchor for this article is immortality, which is examined to extrapolate moralistic connotations in the primary material. For a theoretical prism, I turn to Marie Roberts's seminal work *Gothic Immortals*, which investigates the inherent moralism of nineteenth-century novels by, among others, Mary Shelley and Percy B. Shelley, specifically looking to their depictions of immortality. Immortality itself, observes Roberts, is not presented as intrinsically and inherently bad; however, it leads to a sort of spiritual degeneration among those seeking it (210). She finds that Gothic narratives often have an inherent didactic function to convince readers of the inevitability of death and an inherent immortality in quests for non-Christian eternal life (Roberts 208). However, Fontaine Lien later observes that this is not the complete picture: She postulates that there are two types of immortality, the 'spiritual' one, in a Christian sense, and a 'false' one that is acquired through selling one's soul (81). The author stresses that the notion of moral decay connected to immortality is Western and Christian-specific but tends to portray itself as universalised whenever it appears (Lien 85).

One of the major overarching themes of *AHS: Coven* is undoubtedly the quest for immortality and the pursuit of eternal youth. Particularly in the figures of Fiona Goode and Marie Laveau, different approaches to immortality are negotiated and placed in a larger moral context. Much of the show focusses on emphasising that these figures are basically polar opposites: Whereas Fiona Goode is the power-hungry and absentee leader of a coven of young, privileged white witches living in a white colonial mansion, Marie Laveau is the leader of a voodoo coven, running a hair salon and taking great pains to ensure the safety of those under her protection. Aside from the stereotypes woven into the characterisation of these two, clichés abound in their narrative arcs that, as I further argue, entirely fail to challenge racist stereotypes.

Leaving aside all comparisons with her historical counterpart, Marie Laveau in *AHS: Coven* is a prime example of a Faustian character who succumbs to what Fontaine Lien (81) calls the pursuit of “false” immortality, one that is rooted in a hubristic, immoral, *lower* urge. She trades her soul as well as countless lives to preserve her young, powerful body to a demonic version of the Haitian deity Papa Legba, who, in return, requires her to sacrifice one “innocent soul” per year. A noteworthy observation is that Papa Legba, in voodoo religions, is originally linked to Saint Peter and connects the mortal realm to that of divine spirits. He is alternately portrayed as an “old man who moves very slowly in a very distinct manner” (Fandrich 783) or a more mischievous trickster figure, yet never an outright malicious force (Fandrich 787). In *Coven*, however, Papa Legba is a demonic entity, red-eyed and

summoned with a generous offering of what looks like cocaine (“The Magical Delights of Stevie Nicks” 34:07), trading false immortality for souls. *AHS*, in its depiction of Papa Legba particularly, wilfully employs untruthful notions of voodoo as demonic and Satanist to create feelings of horror, drawing on narratives from the nineteenth century.

Eventually, Marie Laveau is killed and sentenced to another eternal life in hell, where she must forever torture her nemesis Delphine LaLaurie. She does this, albeit not willingly, but only upon being coerced by Papa Legba (“Go to Hell” 41:00). *AHS: Coven* portrays Marie Laveau as a voodoo queen fallen from grace, receiving more eternal life than she originally bargained for. Importantly, Laveau’s quest is portrayed as doomed from the very beginning, as her ways of attaining immortality begin in heresy – namely, in voodoo. However, it is worth noting that Laveau is not painted as an unsympathetic character but primarily a naïve one, and that she discovers during her long life that immortality is more a punishment than a reward and wishes to protect others from sharing her fate.

Seeking Eternal Life

The other particularly interesting character in this regard is that of Fiona Goode, the ageing supreme witch of her coven who, with all her might, wishes to escape death and decay by any means necessary. She approaches Marie Laveau in the second episode, “Boy Parts” (27:05-30:19), asking her for the secret to immortality, but its true nature remains unknown to her until much later, when Laveau reveals her bargain with the Papa-Legba-inspired demon (“The Magical

Delights of Stevie Nicks” 21:24-23:19). Attempts to summon him herself fail, however, as Fiona is revealed to have no soul of her own to sell (“Stevie Nicks” 36:30). Eventually, Fiona is killed as well, and is also sent to her own personal hell for eternal punishment.

Fiona Goode’s reasons for pursuing immortality resemble those of Marie Laveau, albeit only at first glance: She, too, seeks immortality to satisfy a power-hungry hubris that will not allow her to relinquish the position of the supreme in her coven and hand it over to the next generation. However, upon closer inspection, there seem to be more sinister factors at play than mere hubris. Despite being aware of the hefty price paid by Marie Laveau for her eternal youth, Fiona is fully prepared to sign a contract with Papa Legba. He asks her whether, in order to attain immortality, she would mutilate her daughter or murder her loved ones, to which she responds, “Absolutely. Whatever it takes” (“Stevie Nicks” 35:57). Whereas Marie Laveau, at the point of selling her soul, is unaware of the moral corruption that her deal with the deity will bring, Fiona does not hesitate to sacrifice other lives for her own self-indulgence. Marie Laveau is clearly distraught at having to give up her child, tricked into this by Papa Legba, but Fiona almost eagerly offers the life and health of her daughter and fellow witch Cordelia Foxx. Both Marie and Fiona are arguably partially redeemed by their fierce protection of the coven against witch hunters. However, notably, Marie is depicted as a flawed but generally caring leader of her coven, whereas Fiona remains ruthless and brutal throughout her entire quest, yet somehow, they end up in the same place: hell. Marie Laveau even outright protests

this, arguing that “[she] helped so many people” (“Go to Hell” 40:52), but Papa Legba insists that her punishment is just and that there is no difference in degree between the crimes of Fiona and Marie.

This leads to the question of why Marie Laveau’s character is so much more readily sacrificed for crimes inarguably less heinous than Fiona Goode’s by the show’s narrative-building. One reason may be that through her association with voodoo and ‘Black magic’ – a term that is itself rather loaded, but to discuss it would likely exceed the limits of this paper – she is inherently seen as corrupted and morally inferior. Her punishment serves a didactic function that can be traced back to nineteenth-century novels, which “have bestowed immortality on characters whose chronic dissatisfaction with existence, prolonged or otherwise, ensures that they will always remain discontented” (Roberts 210). However, with Marie Laveau, the sin lies not merely in pursuing immortality or aspiring to the wrong sort of immortality – rather, she is reproached for presuming and succeeding to grasp immortality through what is understood as an abject religion: voodoo. She is, literally, punished for being part of an Afro-Creole religious community.

Conclusion

AHS: Coven plays on known anxieties, inspiring fear through what is considered to be particularly *American* horror, meaning one that is unique to its cultural sphere (Johnston 45). In this case, the sphere is one that remains permeated by issues of racial injustice and exploitation. Contradictorily, the show retains explicitly progressive and inclusive elements, particularly in its casting choices and

representation of non-normative bodies, such as disabled, Black, ageing, queer, and not conventionally beautiful individuals (Jowett 24; see also Christian 1115).

However, at the same time, the narrative takes some shortcuts to inspire fear in its viewership by appealing to an ingrained sense of apprehension in the US-American cultural consciousness: the fear of voodoo, which stems from a moralism superimposed on religious practices in order to justify the oppression of Black communities.

To summarise, the first contention in this essay is that *Coven* grievously reproduces falsehoods about the practice and religion of voodoo; secondly, it links these practices to an immoral pursuit of immortality, which is in turn racialised. Finally, the narrative continues to perpetuate moralism rooted in early Gothic literary traditions. The characters of Marie Laveau and Fiona Goode are used as representatives for making this argument – the Black woman Marie Laveau has access to immortality through her immoral practice of voodoo, which the white Fiona Goode seeks to reproduce but cannot. Both immortality and immorality come more easily to the racialised individual; the Black woman in *AHS: Coven* can more easily access what is deemed evil by Christianity. Thus, the depiction of immortality reproduces a racialised moralism rooted in the nineteenth century.

End Notes

¹ A very interesting recent cinematic example of this would be Nia DaCosta's *Candyman* from 2021. In this film, which modernises the urban legend of 'Bloody Mary', the spectres of murdered, lynched, or otherwise brutalised Black individuals literally return to seek recompense (in the form of murder, dismemberment, and general mayhem).

² For instance, the roots of the vampire myth can be traced to portrayals of 'bloodsucking' aristocrats entangled problematically with antisemitic caricatures of Jewish money lenders figuratively 'sucking people dry' (see also: Roberts 1). As portrayals of vampires become more romanticised, they lose their antisemitic connotations and become almost exclusively defined by their extreme whiteness – see, for example, Stephenie Meyer's *Twilight Saga* or the HBO series *True Blood*, where Black vampires are rather sparse. Of course, the myth of vampiric whiteness has not remained uncontested; see, for example, Octavia Butler's *Fledgeling*, which engages, among other things, with the racialisation of the vampire myth.

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