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Hypertextuality in Ali Smith's *Like*[1]

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Abstract
This paper discusses Ali Smith's novel Like *within the framework of Gérard Genette's theory of transtextuality. Genette's concept of hypertextuality is also discussed in detail, an approach that is central to the paper's exploration of the links at the level of story and at the level of discourse between the hypertext and the hypotext –* Like *by Ali Smith and* Claudine at School *by Colette, respectively. Important connections between the hypertext and the hypotext not only deepen the reader's understanding of the protagonist, Ash McCarthy, but also support the perception of her narrative as a coming-of-age story incorporated into the complex narrative of Smith's novel.*

Keywords: *hypertextuality, hypertext, hypotext, Ali Smith,* Like, *Collette,* Claudine at School.

The intertextuality of Ali Smith's works is a popular topic of study which has been the subject of numerous studies including books (Germanà 2013), research papers (Ranger 2019) and student theses (Cingolani 2015; Janíková 2020). The theme has been explored using a variety of different approaches. For example, Holly Ranger has investigated Smith's philosophical perspectives as reflected in the recurrent use of themes and episodes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in her works (2019: 400-401). Cingolani's study works with Genette's theory of transtextuality in order to reveal the intertextual structure of Smith's novel *How to be Both* and its capacity for generating a form full of interconnections and possible interpretations (2015: 16-18). In yet another example of contemporary research, Janíková focuses on the analysis of several postmodern features in Smith's *Autumn, Winter* and *Spring* and enumerates various intertextual elements, concluding that Smith's selection of a specific theme for each of her seasonal novels corresponds with the intertextual references to specific works by Shakespeare, Dickens and Huxley or to Blake's poetry (2020: 44-58).

This paper represents a further contribution to this trend in the literary criticism of Ali Smith's works by exploring the relations between Smith's novel *Like* (1997) and Colette's *Claudine at School* (1900) through the perspective of Gerard Genette's term hypertextuality. The study aims to show that hypertextuality, a specific form of what Genette calls transtextuality, creates various connective features between the two novels on the level of story, discourse and in terms of the themes which Smith addresses. The parallels between *Like* and *Claudine at School* play a particularly important role in the characterisation of the protagonist Ash McCarthy and shed light on the course of her personal development. The connections between the hypertext and the hypotext not only deepen the reader's understanding of the novel's protagonist but also allow her narrative to be perceived as a coming-of-age story incorporated within the complex narrative of Smith's novel.

As Ali Smith's first published novel, *Like* is one of her least studied works and is therefore open to analysis from a perspective that has been largely neglected by other scholars to date. Smith's fiction is well-known for presenting the readers with a wide range of narrative themes that provide complex and authentic images of contemporary human experience: fragmented relationships, love, the search for identity, globalization and

explorations of social issues are all combined with the themes of death, the transience of life, the afterlife, guilt and suffering. As Monica Germanà and Emily Horton have noted in their introduction to Smith's work, *Ali Smith: Contemporary Critical Perspectives*, "[Smith's] ethical and political preoccupations offer insightful critiques of the contemporary condition, touching on topics as diverse as globalization and technology, consumerism and gender norms" (2013: 1). However, it is the topic of identity to which Smith returns most frequently, in particular representations of identities that are neither stable and homogenous nor durable and convincing (Levin 2013: 38).

Another important aspect of Smith's novels is her experimentation with form and language. As Marina Warner has written, "[Smith] is a writer who skilfully moves between voices and modes and genres while keeping a picture of the whole story she is telling" (2013: viii). In addition, Levin states that "in [Smith's] work the amalgamation of these particular qualities – anger, experimentation and trickery – attains its most radical expression" (2013: 35). In general, each of Smith's novels features multiple narrative perspectives and shifting points of view occur throughout a single novel. According to Justyna Kostkowska, the interchangeability of narrators and multiple narrative perspectives disrupt the power relations between characters who are in control of the narrative and those who can be described as objects (2013: 149). Furthermore, these varying perspectives require a degree of participation on the part of the reader and support an equality of expression by providing different characters with space in which to manifest their own perspectives. As Smith herself says, it is

> the urge to tell a story in the several different voices that produce or provide it. For me there's no story without voice, no voice without story, and no single story that doesn't imply another one right next to it, or behind it, or in front of it there's always another story. So when it comes to the novel…then the different voices, and a democracy of voice, if you like, are what make it for me.
>
> (quoted in Kostkowska 2013: 147)

Smith's experimentation with language includes specific details such as literary allusions and references to films and song lyrics (Warner 2013: ix) but, as Holly Ranger points out, her writing can also be characterised as "an endless play with language, definitions, repetition, and puns" (2019: 399).

In his essay "Simile and Similarity in Ali Smith's *Like*", Ian Blyth argues that Smith's first novel "can be seen as a significant text in the development of Smith's fiction" (2013: 34). The novel is significant due to its early evidence of Smith's experimentation with language, including combinations of usage, the emphasis on the importance of the word "like" through the formation of various similes and comparisons, and the creative word play and syntactic experimentations (34-35), techniques which continue to appear in Smith's later fiction. However, as Blyth also points out, the word "like" is also employed in expressions which denote and refer to same-sex desire and love, thereby revealing one of the central themes of the novel (37). The two young protagonists, Ash and Amy, encounter major problems and difficulties when engaging in and attempting to form an intimate relationship, and the novel "foregrounds the process of trying to become intimate with what we know we cannot reach" (Kostkowska 2013: 141). As Ian Blyth notes, intertextuality plays a major role in Smith's first novel, including allusions to such famous works as Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (2013: 27) or Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year* (2013: 32). In her exploration of the novel's intertextual allusions to Ovid, Holly Ranger even claims that *Like* is one of the "three most allusively Ovidian novels" that Smith has written to date (2019: 404). Drawing on the findings of these studies, this paper aims to demonstrate that *Like* features further examples of intertextual connections that can be defined in terms of hypertextuality.

Intertextuality is a complex concept that has been the subject of intensive research by numerous academics employing a wide variety of approaches. As the definition of the term offered by the *Oxford Dictionary* reveals:

> a term coined by Julia Kristeva to designate the various relationships that a given text may have with other texts. These intertextual relationships include anagram, allusion, adaptation, translation, parody, pastiche, imitation, and other kinds of transformation. In the literary theories of structuralism and poststructuralism, texts are seen to refer to other texts (or to themselves as texts) rather than to an external reality. The term intertext has been used variously for a text drawing on other texts, for a text thus drawn upon, and for the relationship between both.
>
> (Baldick 2001: 128)

This general and concise definition of the term is, by necessity, a basic and simplified amalgamation of the theories developed by theoreticians such as Ferdinand de Saussure, Mikhail Bakhtin, Julia Kristeva and Gérard Genette. While intertextuality is a key concept for both structuralists and poststructuralists, the two schools of thought differ in how they employ the concept; structuralists employ the term to identify and determine fixed literary meanings, whereas poststructuralists attempt to disrupt the concept of the stability of meaning itself (Allen 2000: 4). As Graham Allen (2000) has summarized, the term "intertextuality" was initially created to denote the fact that all texts (whether literary or non-literary) are constructed from systems and codes that have been established by previously written texts and thus lack an independent meaning (1). A variety of textual relations exists among texts, and thus "[t]o interpret a text, to discover its meaning, or meanings, is to trace those relations" (1).

The origins of intertextuality can be traced back to the work of Ferdinand de Saussure and his concept of the differential sign that is "shadowed by a vast number of possible relations" (11). Saussure's theory perceives the linguistic sign as a relational unit, suggesting that every linguistic sign possesses meaning on the basis of its combination and relationship to other pre-existing signs. Further developments of the concept appeared in the works of Mikhail Bakhtin who focused on utterance, proposing its division into monologic and dialogic utterances. While monologic utterance develops a single meaning and logic, dialogic utterance is dependent on another utterance (19). Bakhtin's notion of dialogism does not, therefore, simply refer to the dialogue between literary characters; it instead denotes the specific discourse of each character or human subject that does not only impact upon the discourse of others but is dialogic in itself. The dialogic character of this single discourse is reflected in Bakhtin's term of "double-voiced discourse" (24). As Allen clarifies, Bakhtin believed that "utterances depend on or call to other utterances; no utterance itself is singular; all utterances are shot through with other, competing and conflicting voices" (27).

Julia Kristeva's revision of Bakhtin's theory of dialogism developed the same fundamental point that all texts are constructed from previously existing discourses (Allen 2000: 35-36) and she introduced the term "intertextuality" to define the constructed nature of discourse. Unlike Bakhtin, Kristeva's disregarded the terms "character" or "human subject", favouring more abstract terms such as "text" and "textuality" (36). However, Bakhtin and Kristeva share "an insistence that texts cannot be separated from the larger cultural or social textuality out of which they are constructed. All texts, therefore, contain within them the ideological structures and struggles expressed in society through discourse" (36).

Kristeva's perspectives are echoed in Gérard Genette's theory which perceives each text as a part of an enclosed literary system and stresses the textual relations which exist between texts and a variety of discourses, literary genres and modes of enunciation (Allen 2000: 101). As Allen notes, Genette developed his ideas in his works *The Architext* (1992), *Palimpsests* (1997a), and *Paratexts* (1997b) and "redescribe[s] the entire field of poetics from

a new perspective: that of *transtextuality*" (2000: 100); a perspective that, despite some notable similarities with Kristeva's theory of intertextuality, cannot be classified as poststructuralist but should be seen instead as an "open structuralism" or "pragmatic structuralism": "a poetics which gives up on the idea of establishing a stable, ahistorical, irrefutable map or division of literary elements, but which instead studies the relationships (sometimes fluid, never unchanging) which link the text with the architectural network out of which it produces its meaning" (100).

Genette differentiates between five types of transtextuality. The first of these, architextuality, is based on an architext which refers to the group of general and universal categories within the literary system which a text contains. Metatextuality establishes the relationship between texts in which a text delivers a commentary on another text without any obligation to cite the text which is being subjected to the commentary. Genette's explanation of paratextuality, the third type of transtextuality, is based on the relationship between text and the elements that appear outside of the main text, elements which can be divided further into, among others, epigraphs, titles, prefaces and acknowledgements (Genette 1997b: xviii). Somewhat confusingly, Genette names the fourth type of transtextuality as intertextuality, referring to the established connections between texts when one text appears in another. Genette's understanding of intertextuality differs from that of Kristeva's as he limits the scope of his intertextuality to allusions, quotations, marked references and plagiarism (Allen 2000: 101). Genette's final form of transtextuality is hypertextuality which he defines as the connection between a hypertext and a hypotext. As Allen summarizes, the hypotext is "a major source of signification for a text. In this sense, Homer's Odyssey is a major inter-text, or in Genette's terms hypotext, for Joyce's Ulysses" (108). Hypertextuality thus denotes the intentional and self-conscious establishment of a relationship between two texts.

The terms which are introduced in Genette's theory of transtextuality, in particular that of hypertextuality, offer a basis for a precise terminological categorization and delineation of different types of transtextual relations formed in Ali Smith's *Like*. In the following sections, the perspective of hypertextuality will be utilised to explore the deeper textual relationships between the hypertext *Like* and the hypotext *Claudine at School*. These hypertextual relations will open up new perspectives on the analysis of the protagonist of the novel, Ash McCarthy, and allow the reader to more accurately identify the generic features of the coming-of-age novel in Smith's complex narrative.

The hypertext *Like* consists of two parts, each of which is narrated by a different character. The first narrative section is focalized through the perspective of Amy Shone who has been left temporarily illiterate[2] and who leaves only cryptic and ambiguous hints concerning the events that led to her current situation. Amy lives in a small trailer park in Scotland with an eight-year-old child named Kate, but it is not clear whether Kate is in fact Amy's biological daughter. Of primary interest to this paper is the second section of the novel, narrated in first-person by the protagonist Ash McCarthy and interspersed with extracts from her diary entries relating to her personal background, especially the history of her relationships with various women that she has met throughout her life. The main focus of Ash's narrative is her relationship with Amy Shone and her coming to terms with her own bisexual identity. The course of Ash's development from her early adolescence up to adulthood is presented to the reader through entries in her diary which reveals the small-town environment in which she grew up, her problematic relationship with her father, and various relationships with others that contribute to the formation of her identity and her understanding of love.

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[2] Amy is unable to read any text for a considerable period in her narrative section although she later recovers this ability toward the end of her narrative at which point she is able to read fragments from texts again.

The fact that Ash's personal story shares some important similarities with the story of Colette's Claudine is suggested in a passage which makes open reference to Colette's novel. One of the entries in Ash's diary refers to the moment when she meets Amy as a teenager during a road trip across Scotland which she makes with Amy's parents. At one stop, Ash finds Amy's hotel room empty and she steals a bookmark before running off:

> I opened my hand and looked at what I had stolen, a strip of woven lace, sort of macrame, a bookmark maybe, I'd taken it just to show I could though I didn't even know what it was. I didn't know what to do with it. I hid it under my pillow. Later I went out the back and put it in the dustbin under the top layer of rubbish, same as I'd done earlier in the summer with the copy of *Claudine at School* in case anybody caught me reading it, or, more likely, I caught myself.

> (Smith 1997: 190)

The explicit reference to Collette's novel in this passage is combined with a hint towards some secret aspects of Ash's life that she does not want to reveal to others but that are clear to any readers who are acquainted with the story of *Claudine at School*. Indeed, a familiarity with the story of the hypotext renders the parallels between the events, existents (or characters) and also the settings of Smith's hypertext and Collette's hypotext immediately apparent. The fifteen-year-olds Ash and Claudine do not conform to the typical conventions of acceptable behaviour of teenage girls. They both exhibit rather tomboyish features, are impulsive and often violent, and display a certain degree of disdain for the rules imposed upon them by the environment which surrounds and forms them. In simple terms, neither of the characters exhibit conformist behaviour. Both girls experience a lack of parental guidance since their mothers are dead and their fathers are more preoccupied with their own interests than with their adolescent daughters. As a result, neither Ash nor Claudine have a meaningful relationship with an authority figure during their adolescence, which, as this paper will later demonstrate, compels them to deal with their complex identities alone without the advantage of parental guidance.

Another similarity that connects Ash and Claudine is their relationship with art. Claudine is musically talented and Ash expresses her interest in movies, theatre and acting. In addition, they are both depicted as artistically gifted individuals who use their talents to adopt the positions of "actors", adapting their behaviour and identity in specific situations in order to manipulate and take control – as in the case of Claudine – or to be taken control of – as in the case of Ash. Claudine displays manipulative behaviour when she consciously adopts the persona that will benefit her the most, placing her in a position of either control or power. As an example of this, she adopts the persona of a naïve schoolgirl when trying to seduce the paedophilic District Superintendent for the sole purpose of vexing her jealous classmates who are squabbling over the Superintendent's attention (Colette 1900: 30). By assuming the role of a flirtatious, immature and inexperienced girl, Claudine can ridicule school's male teacher and mock the expectations of both the teacher himself and also the gender-based expectations of society as a whole (45-46). In another scene, Claudine pretends that she is unaware of the love affair between the Headmistress and Aimée so that she can later use this knowledge to gain control over the Headmistress. In front of her audience, the class of oblivious girls, Claudine consciously takes on the persona of an ignorant girl to covertly display her knowledge of the affair to Headmistress. After Claudine sees the two women kissing, she narrates "I put on my most idiotic expression as I replied: But, Mademoiselle I went to the second class just now to ask if I was to use Number 2 green for the oak-leaf and there wasn't anyone there. I called up the staircase to you but there wasn't anyone there either… Mademoiselle Sergent turned a darker crimson still and answered hastily" (82).

Although Ali Smith assigns the role of actor to Ash in a literal sense by depicting her subsequent career as a professional actress, she also makes it clear that Ash shares Claudine's capacity to alter her personal identity for the sake of an "audience"; in this case, her love interest and close friend Amy Shone. Ash suppresses her own needs and constantly tries to please Amy, either by chasing wasps out of her room in the middle of the night or stealing a painting from a gallery for her, only to be told by Amy to take the painting away. Grand gestures, impulsive behaviour and the repression of her own needs are roles which Ash can take on only temporarily. She also acts out the role of the rebellious Scot, as she calls it: "[love for Amy] called for me to play my part, be the disruptive heroic rebel of a Scot" (Smith 1997: 271). Once she finally accepts that her love for Amy is not reciprocated, Ash forsakes the role of the heroic rebel who is willing to sacrifice her identity for her same-sex love and instead realizes her own self-worth.

The conscious role playing that Claudine and Ash adopt in their lives is closely related to the same central issue of both novels – the theme of homoerotic desire. Claudine falls in love with the school assistant Aimée and experiences heartbreak when Aimée spurns her disdainfully. Ash also experiences a brief love affair with a school assistant in her last year of high school and later falls in love with her friend Amy Shone – here, the simple substitution of the French spelling of the character's name for the English form is another parallel between the hypertext and the hypotext. Although Ali Smith modifies the problematic relationship between Claudine and Aimée and creates her own distinctive depiction of a homoerotic relationship, the informed reader can perceive Claudine's experience of heartbreak as a subtle foreshadowing of the nature and ultimate resolution of Ash's relationship with Amy. The problematic nature of this relationship is defined through another transtextual reference, an allusion that helps Ash to capture the essence of her inner conflict:

> The Frankenstein game. We make something of someone else, then we're surprised when we come home one day and it's gone out by itself for a wander around the neighbourhood. So we lock the door, angry, disappointed, how dare it. Then we get worried. Only we alone know how dangerous our creation is. So we reach for the rifle.
>
> (Smith 1997: 228)

The reference to Frankenstein emphasises the unnatural state of a relationship in which a person undergoes a change, transforming their own identity and consequently producing an artificial selfhood for themself. This game, as Ash calls it, has the only available outcome, which is the termination of such an artificial relationship through the metaphorical "reach[ing] for the rifle".

In addition to the parallels between the hypertext *Like* and the hypotext *Claudine at School* outlined above, another important similarity lies in the authors' choices of settings, those of the small town and the school environment, that clearly relate their respective narratives to the coming-of-age genre. The school environment in particular plays a significant role in the formation of identities by children and teenagers and thereby functions as a common setting for coming-of-age narratives. Given the fact that the homosexual relationships that Claudine encounters occur within the school environment and are thus accepted by Claudine as natural, commonplace events, she is able to develop her sexual identity with the liberty of choice. In contrast, the homophobic commentary on the Headmistress's relationship with Aimée that Claudine hears in her hometown is associated with the conservative values which are typical of small-town environments. Interestingly, in Smith's narrative both school and small-town environments engender negative attitudes towards any form of otherness. In an illustrative scene from *Like* we see Ash's high school classmates using derogatory terms when commenting on homosexuality. Ash is driven to argue to a large group of her peers that "[i]t's perfectly okay for people to like whoever they

want to like" (Smith 1997: 217). After her friends show their disgust at her conception of love, Ash further adds, "[n]ot unnatural, I said. Just unexpected. It's just a different kind of natural" (217). Ultimately, Ash is forced to leave her small town in order to accept her bisexuality fully: "I had left Scotland far behind and gone south, to the land of summer fruit" (160). The south of England and its implicit suggestion of a big city environment functions in Smith's novel as a land of liberty in which it is possible to express and accept one's own sexual identity. In this respect, Smith develops upon the critique of the small-town values that Collette had addressed in her novel.

While the similarities in the choices of settings highlight the coming-of-age aspects of the two novels, important parallels between Collette's and Smith's representations of identity development can also be found at the level of discourse. Both novels use first-person narration and Ash and Claudine function as the sole focalizers in their narratives. Additionally, both narratives are written in the form of diary entries that grant a direct access to the internal life and monologues of the characters. Lastly, both narratives also feature the extensive use formal features such as self-conscious wordplay, puns and intertextuality. Both protagonists employ intertextual references for the purpose of expressing their emotions and attitudes, while their character traits are revealed through the employment of specific allusions. Thus, while Ash characterizes her relationship with Amy through the abovementioned reference to *Frankenstein*, Claudine provides a similar transtextual reference when she compares a flower gathering trip with Odysseus' dangerous journey, equating her theft of flowers with Homer's epic story:

> They did not budge; definitely tempted, but nervous. I seized two clumps of "Venus's slippers", speckled like tit's eggs, and I made a sign that I was waiting. Anaïs decided to imitate me and loaded herself with two double geraniums; Marie imitated Anaïs, Luce too, and we all four walked discreetly away. Near the door, absurd terror seized us again; we crowded each other like sheep in the narrow opening of the door and we ran all the way to the School where Mademoiselle welcomed us with cries of joy. All at once, we recounted our Odyssey.
>
> (Colette 1900: 247)

In both cases the transtextual references allow the narrators to reveal some important aspects of their personalities, whether it is Claudine's wild nature and tomboyish need for adventure or the crucial moment in Ash's personal development when she comes to understand the unnatural aspects of her relationship with Amy, comparing it to "The Frankenstein Game" (Smith 1997: 228).

The respective narratives of Claudine and Ash also show that they are setting out on a journey of self-discovery. Both protagonists are forced to confront their sexual identity, discover their true feelings and accept their otherness while gaining self-worth and confidence. Their journeys are long and arduous, in some sense comparable with that of Odysseus'. At the beginning of these journeys, Claudine and Ash are still afraid to show their true selves; they are ashamed to accept themselves fully, confused about their real identities and, in the case of Ash, are ashamed to find themselves as a representative of "the other" in the otherwise homogeneous environment of her small town. Ash is as terrified of being caught with a stolen bookmark as she is of being spotted reading the book *Claudine at School*, a work which features many unconventional characters and a variety of homosexual relationships. Claudine is also hiding her true self and her true feelings towards the school assistant Aimée at the beginning of her narrative, feeling the need to hide her brief affair with Aimée from her friends and her heartbroken self from everyone around her. However, as their journeys progress and both protagonists evolve, rebelliousness, disobedience towards authorities and a rejection of societal conventions change Ash's and Claudine's behaviour.

Claudine rebels against all authority figures and although her rebellious acts may seem to stem from her immature disregard for rules, her unruly behaviour in fact derives from her need for personal freedom and her contempt for social conventions. She compares her school with prison: "What disgust, what a desire to run away the sight of that dilapidated prison induced in me" (Colette 1900: 188) and is extremely scared of being locked in certain spaces. She also breaks the dress code in her school and fills her diary entries with ironic remarks against the perpetuation of gender stereotypes, primarily when enacted by male characters. Her rebelliousness has a root cause and it is not merely the behaviour of an immature girl. On one occasion, she finds herself wandering into a neglected and overgrown courtyard where she eats some of the fruit growing there, reminding both her and the reader of the Garden of Eden where the biblical Eve also violated the rules and ate the forbidden apple from the Tree of Knowledge:

> I lifted the rusty latch and found myself in a little square courtyard, by a shed. It was overgrown with jasmine and clematis, and there was a little wild plum-tree and all sorts of charming weeds, growing unchecked. On the ground,-admirable find!-some strawberries had ripened and smelt delicious.
>
> (Colette 1900: 173)

Claudine's rebelliousness against voices and figures in power may be an indication of her evolution into a more mature person and her literal struggle to be free reflects her need to find confidence in her otherness and cast off the restrictive social standards.

Ali Smith appropriates Claudine's rebellious nature but also transforms it in her depiction of Ash's identity development. Ash's sexual otherness also violates the rules and conventions of her small town to such an extent that she eventually chooses to leave her hometown and search for a more accommodating environment in which her identity can develop more freely. As an adult, Ash admits to her fear of accepting her true self as a consequence of the town's hostile environment: "if we had fallen so clearly, so loudly… my father would have got the looks in the street and less work coming his way, and my brothers would have had the snide comments and the jeers and maybe the threats in pubs… I'd even have found it harder to get a summer job" (Smith 1997: 159). After leaving for England, Ash attempts to fully come to terms with her bisexuality. She relates a recurrent dream to Amy in which she sees her own reflection on the surface of water which Amy interprets as revealing the fulfilment of Ash's struggle for freedom and self-acceptance. As Amy says: "You're blessed with a reflection that has a mind of her own. Other people see themselves on the surface of things, but you're lucky. Not only can you see past the mere mirror of yourself. Even more, your reflection is free to go where she wants, do what she wants, regardless of what's expected of her" (293). However, Ash's rebelliousness differs from Claudine's in its aims. While Claudine revolts against the authority figures and dominant discourses in her society, Ash's rebelliousness stems from her desire to be accepted and loved by Amy. Even though Ash may be more comfortable with her sexual identity, she constantly adapts her needs when trying to establish a relationship with Amy. It is only after making the final break with Amy that she is able to fully accept her entire identity and unapologetically express her views and emotions.

The hypertextual relations between *Like* and the *Claudine at School* which have been discussed in this paper reveal important similarities between two coming-of-age narratives which were created in different historical periods and cultural contexts. Both texts deal with personal developments that are crucially influenced by the strong sense of otherness; the otherness that transgresses the widely accepted norms of the societies in which the protagonists grow up and struggle to accept their identities. Nonetheless, these hypertextual relationships also point out the important differences between Colette's hypotext and Smith's

hypertext. Despite the enormous transformation in attitudes and liberalization which western countries have undergone in recent decades, Ash's personal development is paradoxically influenced by a stronger fear and a deeper inner struggle, and Smith's late-twentieth-century protagonist has greater problems to accept her otherness and be open about her sexual identity. Although Claudine never openly displays her sexual otherness in public due to the dominant effect of the conservative mores of nineteenth-century society, she nonetheless appears to show a greater confidence and an internal acceptance of her identity which fuel her rebellious acts and provide her with the sense of a certain (albeit limited) form of liberation. Claudine thus performs various subversive acts that help her to undermine, to a certain extent, conventional behaviour and traditional rules. Her personal development is paradoxically supported by the school environment that, despite its apparently conservative character, provides a space in which hidden homoerotic desires can be expressed and acted upon.

In contrast, although Ash lives in the age of postmodern liberalism and is in a position to voice her defence of homoerotic forms of love, she is nonetheless still subject to the powerful pressure of a homophobic environment, both in her hometown and at her high school. In addition, it is difficult to read her rebellious acts as signs of her development towards a greater maturity; instead, they are a paradoxical reflection of her subordinated position in a homoerotic relationship that is unable to provide her with any real sense of liberation. Ali Smith's novel thus presents a perspective that unmasks the persisting conservative trends which lie beneath the surface of late-twentieth-century liberalism, trends that have been confirmed by studies uncovering the high rates of verbal harassment that bisexual students experience from their peers at school (MAP 2016: 7). Smith's novel also reveals that homoerotic relationships are just as encumbered by power relations as heterosexual ones and thus cannot be presented as unproblematic sites of personal liberation.

In conclusion, the hypertextual relations between *Like* and *Claudine at School* play an important role in Ali Smith's criticism of the incomplete transformation of postmodern society, highlighting the fact that strong conservative values remain embedded into liberal society that contribute to the continuing marginalization of certain forms of otherness, not only those related to sexuality. Smith's hypertextual appropriation of Colette's fin-de-siècle novel thus acquires the form of transposition in which the usage of augmentation[3] helps her to expand upon the original work in terms of thematic extensions and allows her to create her own story for the twenty-first century.[4]

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[3] Augmentation, as Genette explains in *Palimpsests*, concerns the act of adding features which differ from the hypotext into the hypertext, resulting in a certain degree of distortion (1997a: 254).
[4] Ali Smith also explores the same issues in her later novels *Girl Meets Boy* (2007) and *How to be Both* (2014).

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The Language of Jacinda Ardern – A Woman Politician

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Abstract

Jacinda Ardern – a social democrat, a progressive, a republican, and a feminist, as she delineates herself – is a prominent politician who has been serving as the Prime Minister of New Zealand since 2017. Contemporaneously, she has also been the leader of the Labour Party, which position she assumed after, first, being unanimously elected as deputy leader of the party and soon afterwards being chosen unopposed as the party's standard-bearer. The present paper explores the discourse of this female leader, particularly in terms of the features of men's and women's language. The author's primary interest is whether Ardern's public utterances manifest more womanlike or manlike characteristics and manner of speech in a persistently male-dominated political context. The peculiar case of Jacinda Ardern's discourse seems to be all the more riveting because this female politician has been increasingly successful in implementing social, political, and economic measures (including her response to the Covid-19 pandemic) on the one hand, and her leadership style has received positive coverage from international media commentators, who refer to the phenomenon of Jacinda Ardern as "Jacindamania," on the other. In this study, the specificity of Ardern's speech and the way she communicates are assumed to constitute a substantial part of her female political leadership, and the linguistic research into this area has been conducted primarily with the theoretical background in political discourse (van Dijk 1997, Fairclough & Fairclough 2012) and the language of men and women (Lakoff 1972, Tannen 1994, Mulac, Bradac, Gibbons 2001, Weatherall 2002, Coats 2003).

Keywords: *political discourse, men's and women's language, Jacinda Ardern, female leadership, politician celebrity.*

1. Introduction

"Celebrity politics,"[1] "Jacindamania,"[2] "the Jacinda effect,"[3] "a political influencer,"[4] "the Facebook prime minister,"[5] "Jacinda Ardern – the celebrity,"[6] "Jacindamania goes global"[7] – to name but a few references to the phenomenon of Jacinda Ardern and her leadership style, which inscribes into what has recently become a worldwide trend oscillating on the verge of politics and mass media, and thus posing a research problem for representatives of various disciplines within humanities and social, cultural and political sciences, including studies of interdisciplinary and discursive nature (Loeb 2017; Marsh, 't Hart and Tindall 2010; 't Hart and Tindall 2009; Street 2005; Street 2004; West and Orman 2003).

Jacinda Ardern is a politician in the first place. However, the channels of communication which she happens to make use of certainly allow classifying her as politician celebrity. Simultaneously, her political leadership takes place in male-dominated institutional environment. All the more so does Ardern's language seem worth analysing in terms of its specificity. In the still stereotypically male-dominated political arena, this charismatic woman politician and leader has been magnetising New Zealand's voters and the public all over the world. It is assumed in this study that the manner in which Ardern communicates constitutes

a substantial part of her female political leadership. Therefore, this paper aims to enquire into Ardern's discourse in terms of men's and women's language features manifestations within political context.

2. Political discourse in the era of celebrity politics

As a relatively new trend and a late modernity phenomenon, celebrity politics may be considered from different perspectives: it embraces celebrities who enter the political scene, politicians who make use of others' celebrity glamour and influence, and politicians who "have acquired" a sort of celebrity image due to their actions. Marsh, 't Hart and Tindall (2010: 6) provide a typology concerning the categories of operators on the politics-celebrity interface, with reference to their conventional origin sphere, which may be either of celebrity or political character, and the nature of their relationship with the other one. The categories are as follows:
    (1) Celebrity advocate
    (2) Celebrity activist/endorser
    (3) Celebrity politician
    (4) Politician celebrity
    (5) Politician who uses others' celebrity
       The first three categories of operators have celebrity origin, whereas the latter two – political. *Celebrity advocates* are high-visibility figures who emanate from non-political spheres, such as entertainment, sport, science, journalism, and whose behaviour is minded to set a political agenda and/or is of policy-seeking nature. *Celebrity activists/endorsers* have the same traditionally non-political origin and are highly distinguishable figures, who offer to publicly and/or financially support a particular politician and/or political party. *Celebrity politicians* are high-visibility figures who do not come from political spheres but enter legislative or executive offices substantially related to political activity. The term *politician celebrity*, on the other hand, refers to an "office holder whose public behaviour, private life or association with celebrities alters his own public persona beyond the traditional political sphere into the celebrity sphere (by intent or by accident/scandal)" (Marsh, 't Hart and Tindall 2010: 6). A *politician who uses others' celebrity* is also an office holder in the first place, but they take advantage of particular celebrities and high-visibility figures' fame and recognition in order to endorse themselves, their candidature to an office, their party or policies.
       Jacinda Ardern may be described as a politician celebrity. She has been involved in politics since very young age and has a diversified political portfolio. At the age of 17, Ardern joined the Labour Party, which officially marked the beginning of her political career. After graduation in Communication Studies, she became a researcher in Phil Goff's office, which led her to a position on the staff of PM Helen Clark, whom Ardern considers to be her political mentor. Then, Ardern got two-and-a-half-year overseas experience in the cabinet office of British PM Tony Blair, after which, in 2007, she was elected president of the International Union of Socialist Youth. At the age of 28, Ardern entered the House of Representatives, and in 2017 she began a sprint towards the PM office: in August 2017, Ardern was chosen as the leader of the New Zealand's Labour Party, and soon afterwards, in October 2017, her charisma and natural, down-to-earth charm energised voters and

guaranteed her the PM position. Three years later, in October 2020, Ardern was re-elected for a second term as New Zealand's prime minister (Jacinda Ardern n.d.).

The same charm has magnetised the public and media all over the world. As *Britannica* reports (Jacinda Ardern n.d.), Ardern gained the celebrity characteristics and more media coverage after an increase in her political prominence, but also after the details of her personal life became known.

From the sociolinguistic perspective, especially in terms of this paper, one more aspect seems to be of particular importance in the abovementioned phenomenon, i.e. the channels and manner of communication, which may expand beyond the typically political contexts and genres. However, since this study intends to follow the assumptions of political discourse analysis, to ensure the political discourse ground, a few requirements must be met. Therefore, Jacinda Ardern – a woman politician, has been chosen as a political actor. Also, the genre of political speech as political text for analysis has been decided on, together with its political functions and implications. Having ensured these variables, the context will inevitably be political.

To support the research assumptions concerning political discourse, van Dijk's (1997: 12-15) approach may be cited: political discourse may be identified by "all participants in the political process" (its actors/authors, such as politicians, but also individuals (and groups of), citizens, voters, their organisations and institutions, taking active part in political discourse). Another indicator of political discourse may be "the nature of the *activities* or *practices* being accomplished by political text and talk rather than only the nature or its participants." Such political actions and practices are simultaneously discursive practices, and "forms of text and talk in such cases have political functions and implications." Last but not least, another delimiting factor is "the whole *context* as decisive for the categorisation of discourse as 'political' or not" (van Dijk 1997: 12-15; *italics* in the original text). Fairclough (2012: 17-18) also acknowledges that political discourse is "attached to political *actors* – individuals (politicians, citizens), political institutions and organisations, engaged in political *processes* and *events* – and […] *context* is essential to the understanding of political discourse" (*italics* in the original text). Fairclough (2012: 17-18) further claims that "outside political context, the discourse of politicians or any other 'political actors' is not 'political'." The reason for this is that political contexts are essentially institutional contexts – they "make it possible for actors to exert their agency and empower them to act on the world in a way that has an impact on matters of common concern." Chilton (2004: 6), on the other hand, emphasises the importance of language, communication and discourse within political context, especially in terms of its indicative and persuasive dimension: "[w]hat is clear is that political activity does not exist without the use of language. It is true […] that other behaviours are involved and, in particular, physical coercion. But the doing of politics is predominantly constituted in language."

3. Political discourse and gender

The discourse of Jacinda Ardern as a woman politician and a woman leader seems to be worth analysing, especially in relation to the traditionally male-dominated political context. Although there has been loads of research in women's and men's language (some representatives are Coats 2003; Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Weatherall 2002; Mulac, Bradac and Gibbons 2001; Crawford 1997; Tannen 1994; Lakoff 1972), it is extremely difficult to

unequivocally acknowledge if a person's language is predominantly male or female, all the more so because a number of external factors may contribute to its specificity, e.g. genre, type of communicative event or situational context. It is possible, however, to observe the manifestations of women's and men's language features and the extent to which they prevail in one's utterances.

This study assumes that Jacinda Ardern's language constitutes substantial part of her political leadership. Therefore, its main interest is the extent to which her language, as represented in her political speeches, evinces sets of linguistic features correlating to the conventionally male and female paradigm.

3.1 Gender and leadership

Interestingly, in terms of management and leadership, thanks to their female nature and qualities, women gain advantage over men and appear to be better suited for managerial positions and leadership. As Baskiewicz (2013: 35) claims, in the theory of management, leadership and business studies, women's characteristics are more consistent with the model profile of a manager or leader in institutional and business settings than men's. According to Baskiewicz (2013), women gain advantage thanks to their interpersonal skills in the first place. They are more likely and more willing to share knowledge, to delegate duties, to trigger creative work and to implement mentoring or coaching. They cooperate rather than compete and attach less importance to hierarchy, competition for power or gaining exclusive dominance in the organisation. Women do not refrain from counselling or more informal information exchanges. Their management may be generally characterised by cooperation, collaboration and partnership within their professional team.

The theory of leadership offers a classification into three types of leaders: *transformational*, *transactional*, and *laissez faire* (Eagly and Carli 2019; Carli 2018). As Eagly and Carli (2019) explain,

> Transformational leaders establish themselves as role models by gaining followers' trust and confidence. They state future goals, develop plans to achieve those goals, and innovate, even when their organisations are generally successful. Such leaders mentor and empower followers, encouraging them to develop their full potential and thus to contribute more effectively to their organisations. By contrast, transactional leaders establish give-and-take relationships that appeal to subordinates' self-interest. Such leaders manage in the conventional manner of clarifying subordinates' responsibilities, rewarding them for meeting objectives, and correcting them for failing to meet objectives.

Transformational and transactional leadership styles may be different, but most leaders, no matter if male or female, adopt at least some characteristics from both types. The last category essentially refers to non-leadership, since it is characterised by none of the above criteria except rank authority.

Eagly and Carli (2019) further conclude that women are more likely to fall into the category of transformational leaders, especially in terms of providing support, encouragement, or rewarding to their subordinates, whereas men tend to exceed women on some aspects of transactional leadership, especially in terms of actions of corrective and disciplinary character. They are also more likely to fall into the third category of laissez faire

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leaders, who refrain from taking responsibility for managing their subordinates. All in all, women appear to be more effective and better suited for leading a modern organisation. If so, it becomes even more noteworthy if (and if yes, how) it is reflected in a leader's language, if, and to what extent, it correlates with the typically men's or women's language features.

3.2 Men's and women's language

The issue of gender and language provides ground for interdisciplinary studies, just as political discourse does. As Tannen (1994: 4) claims, researchers investigating this field "have their roots in wildly divergent academic disciplines, including sociology, education, anthropology, psychology, speech communication, literature, and women's studies […]." Tannen's (1994: 10) claim that social relations as dominance and subordination happen to be constructed in interaction, constitutes a foundation and contribution to the analysis of talk from the interactional sociolinguistic perspective. This approach seems to be helpful not only in the study of everyday conversations, but also in the analysis of linguistic behaviours in the workplace, power-relation-based institutional contexts, or political discourse.

The theory of men's and women's language use indicates differences in the objectives of male and female speech. According to Maltz and Borker (1982: 205), men and women learn to do different things with words: girls are more likely to use them in order "(1) to create and maintain relationships of closeness and equality, (2) to criticise others in acceptable ways, and (3) to interpret accurately the speech of other girls", whereas in the world of boys and men, speech is typically used "(1) to assert one's position of dominance, (2) to attract and maintain an audience, and (3) to assert oneself when other speakers have the floor" (Maltz and Borker 1982: 207).

The acquired patterns and stereotypes translate to conventionally masculine and feminine interactional style. According to Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 574), the masculine communication style is typically characterised as direct, confrontational, competitive, and autonomous, it involves more dominance in terms of public talking time, aggressive interruptions, and is task-and-outcome-oriented and referentially oriented. Feminine interaction style, on the other hand, tends to be indirect, conciliatory, facilitative, and collaborative, it involves only minor contribution in public, supportive feedback, is person-and-process-oriented, as well as affectively oriented. These findings support the previously stated claim that women fit in better in regard to the theory of modern leadership.

The research into male/female language differences provides multiple findings in terms of lexical and grammatical markers which tend to appear more often in one or the other category. To begin with, in Lakoff's (1975) groundbreaking publication a set of linguistic features is provided. The researcher adopts a somewhat psychological approach and claims that women tend to become unassertive and insecure in their linguistic behaviour due to the fact of having been taught to speak and act like ladies. Therefore, according to the scholar, women's speech involves hedging and tentativeness, politeness, less swearing (or using weak expletives instead), the use of tag questions, emotional emphasis (which is reflected in intonation and the use of intensifiers), more frequent use of empty adjectives, extended vocabulary (especially relating to colour names discrimination), direct quotations, declarations with interrogative intonation, and lack of humour.

Poynton's (1989) research supports some of Lakoff's (1975) findings – the researcher confirms that women tend to make use of euphemisms rather than swearing, they also apply more intensifiers, adjectives, tag questions, but less slang, they tend to be more polite in

speech – they use polite markers as *please* or *thank you* more frequently, and apply super-polite multiple modalities in their utterances. Additionally, on a discourse level, both Coats (1993) and Wareing (2004) indicate a greater degree of familiarity and intimacy of women's utterances, and point out differences in the subjects touched.

Mulac, Bradac and Gibbons's (2001) approach employing Maltz and Borker's (1982) hypothesis assuming a necessary link between gender and culture (the gender-as-culture, or two cultures, hypothesis), allowed the researchers to verify the male/female differences in language use and conclude that, in general, men's language reflects a relatively more dominant and certain position, whereas women's language has a tendency to be more cautious and concerned not to offend or embarrass the interlocutor. Having examined a few empirical studies and twenty-one language features reported in them as either associated with male or female speech, Mulac, Bradac and Gibbons (2001) claim that the features more typical of men's language are quantitative references, judgemental adjectives, commands, location words, brief sentences, and self-references. Women's language, on the other hand, more frequently incorporates intensive adverbs, qualifying clauses, emotional reference, longer sentences, initial adverbials, uncertainty verbs and hedging, negation, simultaneous opposites, and questioning. The scholars also imply that the analysed features may have other functions and even reverse potential to the one traditionally ascribed to them, especially in terms of power relations and leadership:

> apparently it is not the case that the male style can be characterized as powerful and the female style as powerless. Things are less tidy than this. Women's use of indirectness may produce perceptions of low power, but may mask (and maintain) the actual power that they have. Their use of relatively elaborate language may lead message recipients to perceive them as being high in socio-intellectual status (Mulac et al., 1986). And their use of *references to emotion* may be associated with socio-emotional leadership. Men's directness may produce perceptions of high power, but their succinctness may work against such perceptions. The implications of their use of personal language are unclear, but their use of instrumental language may be associated with task leadership.
>
> (Mulac, Bradac and Gibbons 2001: 146, *italics* in the original text)

4. Research material and methodology

The research sample comprises eight speeches delivered by Jacinda Ardern at relatively crucial moments in her political career over time, embracing the period between 2008 and 2020. All transcripts were downloaded from Internet resources (mostly official archives), and additionally verified while watching the video recordings available online. All transcripts were accessed on August 18, 2021.

Table 1 Research material

Speech number and symbol	Speech title	Date of speech delivery	Source
SPEECH 1 (S1)	Maiden Statement	December 16, 2008	https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/49HansS_20081216_00001012/ardern-jacinda-maiden-statements
SPEECH	Acceptance	October	https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/2019/04/18/acceptance-

2 (S2+PC)	Speech and Press Conference	19, 2017	speech-and-press-conference-october-19-2017/
SPEECH 3 (S3)	United Nations Speech	September 27, 2018	https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/2019/04/18/un-speech-september-27-2018/
SPEECH 4 (S4)	Statement after Christchurch Mosque Attacks	March 15, 2019	https://edition.cnn.com/2019/03/15/asia/new-zealand-jacinda-ardern-full-statement-intl/index.html
SPEECH 5 (S5)	Speech at Christchurch Memorial	March 28, 2019	https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/2019/04/17/speech-at-christchurch-memorial-march-28-2019/
SPEECH 6 (S6)	Statement on Whakaari/White Island Eruption	December 9, 2019	https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/prime-minister-statement-white-island-eruption-2
SPEECH 7 (S7)	Statement to the Nation on COVID-19	March 21, 2020	https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/pm-address-covid-19-update
SPEECH 8 (S8)	Election Victory Speech	October 17, 2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/new-zealand-pm-jacinda-ardern-victory-speech-transcript-wins-2020-new-zealand-election

This study aims to identify the features of the language of Jacinda Ardern as a female politician and leader, in terms of the specificity of men's and women's speech. It also attempts to verify if her language inclines more to the nature of the language of men or to the language of women, in particular in the context of political discourse. To reach this objective, a number of linguistic features have been analysed, based on the typologies and research findings described in the previous section, especially Lakoff (1975), Poynton (1989), Coats (1993), and Mulac, Bradac and Gibbons (2001). The quantitative data have been provided for each speech separately to enable diachronic observations, to limited extent though, considering the sample size. The figures concerning word count, sentence count, lexical density or readability were counted using the online word count device online-utility.org, and many a time, the frequencies and percentages of occurrence of the selected language features were additionally verified and scrutinised by hand. For the reason of space limitations, only selected qualities of the language of men and women are presented in the paper. Some aspects are illustrated with examples.

4.1 Assumptions and ambiguities

For the sake of analysis, two main assumptions must be made: (1) the language of men differs from the language of women, and (2) the speech may be considered as a leadership tool, whereas the specificity of Ardern's language (as represented in her speeches) may be assumed to constitute substantial part of her female political leadership.

It seems, however, that there are certain ambiguities and limitations to the study. Firstly, the political context may affect the language used just as much as the genre selected for analysis determines linguistic choices. Furthermore, speeches as such may be significantly determined by their purpose, which, in turn, influences the choice of their language. Also, as Schäffner (1997: 1) emphasises, the political address is an inhomogeneous genre which cannot be unambiguously classified as either spoken or written text, since it

happens to employ the characteristics of both (in Pieniążek-Niemczuk 2016: 70-71). The speech-versus-writing opposition may be problematic also when considering men's and women's language features, which features have fundamentally been studied within the scope of spoken discourse – speeches are delivered orally, although they tend to be prepared beforehand, which means they cannot be considered to be entirely spontaneous.

5. Findings

To begin with, a few general criteria shall be presented, organised in reference to the consecutive speeches.

Table 2 Pooled analysis of speeches

	S1	S2 + PC		S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
No. of words	2389	601	1740	2659	666	862	975	1231	784
No. of sentences	107	27	80	118	40	59	52	72	50
No. of syllables	3594	929	2691	4160	981	1228	1555	1824	1146
Average no. of characters per word	4.36	4.52	4.63	4.62	4.46	4.17	4.63	4.40	4.25
Average no. of syllables per word	1.49	1.55	1.55	1.56	1.47	1.42	1.59	1.48	1.46
Average no. of words per sentence	22.51	22.26	21.75	22.53	16.68	14.61	18.75	17.10	15.68
Lexical density	43.13	41.43	44.94	42.76	39.58	43.74	47.79	43.79	42.09
Readability Gunning Fog index	13.26	13.90	13.78	13.69	9.67	8.67	12.59	10.58	10.15
Maori used	yes	no		yes	no	yes	no	no	yes

The pooled analysis of the selected speeches and statements shows that even though the speeches themselves may differ in length, which may be determined by external factors, such as time limitations, a few characteristics are relatively stable, be it the average number of characters or syllables per word, or the lexical density parameter. Supposedly, the sample is too small to extrapolate the results to the general, but within the researched texts, from the diachronic perspective, one may observe a tendency for creating shorter and shorter sentences in Ardern's utterances, which correlates with the level of readability of individual texts. Longer sentences are more characteristic of women's language (Mulac, Bradac and Gibbons 2001), so this kind of change may indicate the impact of contextual factors on Ardern's linguistic choices over time.

An additional feature of Ardern's discourse is the use of the Maori language, which she incorporates in her addresses on a regular basis. Here is an example:

(1) *E rau rangatira mā, e ngā reo, e ngā mana. Tēnā koutou katoa. Ngāi Tahu Whānui, tēnā koutou. E papaki tū ana ngā tai o maumahara ki runga o Ōtautahi. Haere mai tātou me te aroha, me te rangimārie, ki te whānau nei, e ora mārire ai anō rātau, e ora mārire ai anō, tātou katoa.*[8] (S5)

This is consistent with what she insisted on in her maiden speech – to introduce compulsory instruction in this language in New Zealand schools:

(2) *I attended Morrinsville College, which is a fantastic school and an example of why we should be proud of our public education system and the teachers working within it. I only wish that my education could have extended to the universal teaching of te reo Māori, so that more of my generation could converse in our national language rather than in the more common offering of German, French, and Japanese. Education in language builds understanding. I join colleagues who have gone before me in calling for the universal and compulsory teaching of te reo in our schools, and for all of the necessary resource that goes with it.* (S1)

By using te reo, Ardern expresses her Maori identity and gives honour to her roots. It does not appear in each and every statement, but may be considered part of Ardern's discourse.

5.1 Men's language features

In regard to men's language features, nine linguistic parameters have been investigated: quantitative references, judgemental adjectives, the imperative mood/commands, location words, brief sentences/ellipsis, self-references/*I*-references, swear words, and the use of humour and slang.

The results are mostly what would be expected, especially in terms of the linguistic items whose informality quintessentially disqualifies their application in political discourse and in the analysed genre.

Table 3 Occurrence of men's language features

Feature	S1	S2 + PC		S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Quantitative references	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Judgemental adjectives	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
Commands/ imperative mood	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
Location words	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Brief sentences/ ellipsis	+	-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-
Self(I)- references	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Swear words	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Humour	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
Slang	-	-	+/-	-	-	-	-	-	-

5.1.1 Quantitative references

Jacinda Ardern makes quantitative references in every speech, although they differ in number, which, in turn, is dictated by the content and the paramount objective of each text.

Table 4 Number of quantitative references

Feature	S1	S2 + PC		S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Quantitative references	8	2	1	8	11	6	8	1	7

The reasons for application of figures in Ardern's speeches are multiple – the politician provides them in order to inform the public about the current situation, to report what has been done, to give statistics and support her view or give legitimacy to governmental actions or her party's.

(3) *Labour lifted **130,000** children out of poverty through Working for Families, but that does not mean that may do not remain there still*. (S1)

(4) *The threat climate change poses demands it, but we only represent **less than 0.2%** of global emissions*. (S3)

(5) *There were **two** explosions, one after the other in quick succession. The police have advised that of the **47** people located on or near the island at the time of the eruption, **five** are deceased and **31** have sustained injuries, many are critical. A further **8** are still missing. **Three** have been discharged from hospital overnight*. (S6)

5.1.2 Judgemental adjectives

Adjectives which may be classified as judgemental do not appear in all speeches, and mostly if they do, they are rare. The biggest number has been detected in Speech 1 (8 adjectives) and Speech 3 (5 adjectives), whereas only one instance in Speech 5, Speech 6 and Speech 8, and additionally one during the press conference after Speech 2.

(6) *I attended Morrinsville College, which is **fantastic** school [...]*. (S1)

(7) *It is **shameful** enough that we are about to lose New Zealand's most proactive legislation in response to the impacts of climate change that we have seen to date*. (S1)

(8) *But even the **ugliest** of viruses can exist in places they are not welcome*. (S5)

Judgemental adjectives allow Ardern to express her own opinion on various issues, to comment on social and political undertakings, and other events and their ramifications. Sometimes, she seems to speak on behalf of the public too.

5.1.3 Commands and the imperative mood

The imperative mood is not applied in every analysed address, but it does appear in four of them: Speech 3 (2 occurrences), Speech 5 (7 occurrences), Speech 7 (5 occurrences) and Speech 8 (2 occurrences). There is also one occurrence in Press Conference.

The imperative mood may be used to give commands and orders, but in speeches its function may as well be to make direct requests or motivate to specific performance on the part of the addressed. Apart from positive imperative mood sentences, utterances with the imperative with the word *let* have been detected. Some examples from the compiled research material are as follows:

(9) *Please just **think** about that for a moment.* (S3)

(10) *So, **let's start** here with the institutions that have served us we; in times of need, and will do so again.* (S3)

(11) *Men of every creed and race, **gather** here before Thy face, asking Thee to bless this place, God **defend** our free land. From dissension, envy, hate, and corruption **guard** our state. **Make** our country good and great, God **defend** New Zealand.* (S5, as part of New Zealand's national anthem)

(12) *This alert system is designed to help us through that, so please **do stay** tuned and we will share daily updates […].* (S7)

(13) *Please **be** strong, **be** kind and **unite** against Covid-19.* (S7)

(14) *So, **let's step** forward together. […] **Let's keep** moving.* (S8)

One may observe that the imperative mood constructions are often softened and made sound more polite by adding the lexeme *please*. The *let's* variant also has a somewhat considerate overtone. Interestingly enough, the most direct instances of the imperative mood can be found in the fragment which Ardern happens to quote – a fragment of the national anthem, in which God is the addressee of the request and prayer, uttered by Ardern on behalf of the nation.

In regard to commands and requests, apart from the imperative mood, Ardern also employs the modal verb *need*, which happens to be one of the most frequently used words in business language and institutional discourse, a claim that may be supported by its very high frequency within both the Cambridge Business English Corpus (BEC) and the Cambridge and Nottingham Business English Corpus (CANBEC). Here is an example from Speech 7:

(15) *At each level there are things **we need you to do** to keep you safe, and there are things the government will do too. […] We will use this alert system every time we update our cases so you know if the status in your area has gone up or down or stayed the same, and what **you'll need to do**. […] Here are the things that **we need from you**. […] **We also need everyone to** start working differently.* (S7)

The use of *need* is characteristic of institutional context, whose Ardern's speeches are certainly part of. *Need* may be on the one hand considered as a more polite, more feminine, way of giving orders, but, on the other hand, it is a typical way of delegating duties, responsibilities, and assigning tasks in formal professional, organisational and institutional discourses.

5.1.4 Location words
Location words appear in each of the analysed speeches whenever Ardern refers to a place or location of something.

Table 5 Number of location words

Feature		S1	S2 + PC		S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Location	**Number**	44	5	13	34	12	3	23	11	4
words	**Percentage**	1.84%	0.83%	0.75%	1.28%	1.80%	0.35%	2.36%	0.89%	0.51%

Ardern uses prepositions of place on a regular basis and their frequency varies among individual speeches, mostly depending on the content.

(16) *I have very good memories of growing up **in** this small rural Waikato town*. (S1)
(17) *Mr Speaker, as we focus on the tragic events **at** Whakaari/White Island, I'm reminded of two things*. (S6)

5.1.5 Brief sentences and ellipsis
Hardly ever does Ardern incorporate brief sentences in her addresses. Examples similar to the ones suggested by Mulac, Bradac and Gibbons (2001) can be found only in one speech (although this one may still be questionable) and one press conference utterance.

(18) *Maiden statements are a bit like words spoken in a heated argument; **like it or not**, they will come back to haunt one*. (S1)
(19) ***Sorry, sorry***. (PC)

Ellipsis as a grammatical phenomenon may be observed in more texts, especially Speech 3, Speech 4, Speech 5, Speech 7 and Speech 8, but this should be rather considered in terms of a rhetoric measure, often simultaneously making use of anaphora, such as in the example below.

(20) *They were simple words, repeated by community leaders who witnessed the loss of their friends and loved ones. [They were] **Simple words**, whispered by the injured from their hospital beds. [They were] **Simple words**, spoken by the bereaved and everyone I met who has been affected by this attack*. (S5, text in square brackets added by the author)

5.1.6 Self-references
I-references appear in all analysed texts. However, one may observe a tendency for them to appear less and less frequently over time.

Table 6 Number of self-references

Feature		S1	S2 + PC		S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Self-	**Number**	93	17	27	13	9	3	14	8	8
references	**Percentage**	3.89%	2.83%	1.55%	0.49%	1.35%	0.35%	1.44%	0.65%	1.02%

Within political and institutional context, apart from *I*-references, worth investigating are also *we*-references and references to other men and women. Here are the ones encountered in the speeches:

Table 7 Occurrence of self-references, *we*-references and references to other men and women

Pronoun/ possessive adjective	S1	S2 + PC		S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
I	93	18	40	14	9	-	14	11	8
	3.89%	2.99%	2.29%	0.53%	1.35%	-	1.44%	0.89%	1.02%
me	21	1	5	2	1	2	-	-	1
	0.88%	0.17%	0.29%	0.08%	0.15%	0.23%	-	-	0.13%
my	40	1	10	5	-	-	-	1	-
	1.67%	0.17%	0.57%	0.19%	-	-	-	0.08%	-
myself	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	0.04%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
we	14	14	76	106	18	26	11	55	26
	0.59%	2.33%	4.37%	3.99%	2.70%	3.02%	1.13%	4.47%	3.32%
us	5	3	1	17	1	11	2	3	6
	0.21%	0.49%	0.06%	0.645	0.15%	1.28%	0.21%	0.24%	0.77%
our	18	1	12	43	7	14	7	11	12
	0.75%	0.17%	0.69%	1.62%	1.05%	1.62%	0.72%	0.89%	1.53%
ours	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	0.03%	-	-	-	-	-
she	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	0.04%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
her	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	0.29%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
he	6	1	5	-	-	1	-	-	-
	0.25%	0.17%	0.29%	-	-	0.12%	-	-	-
his	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	0.13%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
him	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
	0.08%	-	-	0.08%	-	-	-	-	-

We-references are very frequent in all analysed texts, which is a common phenomenon in institutional discourse, in political context, and also at the lower genre level, although their distribution may by different in individual addresses. They certainly reflect Ardern's identity either with her party or, and this is more frequent, with her voters, followers, the citizens. It indicates their common goals as a nation, and common values and roots. One may also say that, to some extent, we-references reflect the transformational leadership style.

As can be seen above, references to other women and men are rare, and most of them have been detected in Speech 1 – Maiden Speech, in which Ardern thanks a few colleagues and authorities for support and guidance which eventually led her to entering the House of Representatives.

5.1.7 Humour
The appearance of this feature is significantly influenced by the subject matter of individual addresses. It is, therefore, understandable that particular contexts will not allow it by convention. Nonetheless, if it is possible, Ardern does not refrain from incorporating

humorous remarks in her speeches, although it must be emphasised that it is by no means excessive, rather well-balanced. Furthermore, the humorous utterances detected in the sample cannot be classified as typical jokes, but rather situational humour, mostly including references to her very own persona. In Speech 1, five humorous fragments were detected, four during the press conference after Speech 2, and one in Speech 8. Here are some examples:

(21) *Some people have asked me whether I am a radical. My answer to that question is simple:* **"I am from Morrinsville." Where I come from a radical is someone who chooses to drive a Toyota rather than a Holden or a Ford**. (S1)

(22) **Barry's just the loudest so I'm just going to** *…* (PC) (spontaneously, when a few reporters asked questions simultaneously)

(23) *But most importantly, thank you to the many people who gave us their vote who trusted us to continue with leading New Zealand's recovery, who backed to the plan we are already rolling out. And to those amongst you who may not have supported Labour before* **and the results tell me there were a few of you**. (S8)

5.1.8 Swear words and slang

These two features have not been detected in the analysed material, just as expected. The only one occurrence of the colloquial word *yeah* uttered during the press conference is insufficient to ascribe Ardern the use of slang. Both features are determined by the public character of the genre and formal political context.

5.2 Women's language features

In compliance with the previously cited research, among the linguistic indicators typically ascribed to women, there are fourteen which have been subject to the present study: adjectives/extended vocabulary, including colour naming, intensive adverbs, qualifying clauses, emotional reference, longer sentences, initial adverbials, uncertainty verbs, hedging, negation, questioning, question tags, direct quotations, politeness in terms of the use of *please* and *thank you*, and politeness in terms of the use of super-polite multiple modalities.

Table 8 Occurrence of women's language features

Feature	S1	S2 + PC	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Adjectives/ extended vocabulary	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Intensive adverbs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Qualifying clauses	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Emotional reference	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Longer sentences	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Initial adverbials	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Uncertainty	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+

verbs									
Hedging	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Negation	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Questioning	-	-	-	+/-	-	+/-	-	+/-	-
Question tags	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Direct quotations	+/-	-	-	-	-	+/-	-	-	-
Politeness (*please*, *thank you*)	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
Super-polite multiple modalities	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

From among the analysed language features typically ascribed to women, it may be said that half of them appear in all speeches (use of adjectives, intensive adverbs, qualifying clauses, emotional reference, longer sentences, initial adverbials, uncertainty verbs and other forms of hedging, and negation). Simultaneously, four may be recognised as absent (question tags, direct quotations, super-polite multiple modalities) or whose manifestation is rare or unlikely (questioning).

The parameters of women's language features do not unveil any significant diachronic changes. Although their distribution may vary from one speech to another, the results seem to reveal a relative norm.

The absence of tag questions or super-polite multiple modalities may be explained by their conventional use in conversations rather than monologues, such as official statements. Likewise, asking questions is not typical of the analysed genre, unless rhetorical questions qualify as a rhetoric measure enhancing the message. Lastly, direct quotations, whose occurrence is marginal in the sample, may also be classified as a rhetoric tool within the analysed context, rather than as an unambiguous indicator of men's or women's language. Therefore, the absence of these does not come as a surprise.

5.2.1 Adjectives/extended vocabulary, including colour-naming
The use of adjectives in Ardern's speeches is relatively stable, and it ranges between 3.30% and 6.92% of all words in the selected texts.

Table 9 Occurrence of adjectives

Feature		S1	S2 + PC	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Adjectives/ extended vocabulary	**Number**	122	20	91	184	22	38	54	59	39
	Percentage	5.11%	3.33%	5.23%	6.92%	3.30%	4.41%	5.68%	4.79%	4.97%

Adjectives seem to be an inherent property of Ardern's utterances. They allow the politician to describe facts, reality, objects, people, phenomena, and to create a specific image of the world in a manner of speaking.

Colour-naming may not be relevant in the analysed context, and rather unlikely in political discourse. Yet, a few colour names have been found in the selected material.

(24) *I knew that there were suicides, and that the girl who used to babysit my sister and me one day turned **yellow** from hepatitis and could not visit us anymore.* (S1)

(25) *I fear that our pride in New Zealand's clean, **green** reputation is already misplaced.* (S1)

(26) *They have shown me that the world is not **black** and **white**, nor is it **rose-tinted**, and I honour them.* (S1)

(27) *So, there it is: the answer to that **golden** question.* (S1)

(28) *We will not issue any further offshore oil and gas exploration permits, we have set a goal of a hundred percent renewable energy generation by 2035, established a **green** infrastructure fund to encourage innovation and rolled out an initiative to plant 1 billion trees over the next 10 years.* (S3)

The colour names used do not extend beyond the basic colour palette. The lexeme *green* is always used to refer to the quality of being environmentally friendly. *Black and white* functions as an idiomatic expression in the provided context, and so does the lexeme *rose-tinted*, being part of an idiom (*see something through rose-tinted spectacles*).

5.2.2 Intensive adverbs

Intensive adverbs have been detected in all speeches and their distribution is fairly similar in all texts, though different lexemes are used.

Table 10 Occurrence of intensive adverbs

Feature		S1	S2 +PC		S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intensive	**Number**	18	3	3	11	4	5	4	3	6
adverbs	**Percentage**	0.75%	0.49%	0.17%	0.41%	0.60%	0.58%	0.41%	0.24%	0.77%

Intensive adverbs enhance the message, they intensify adjectives standing beside them. As a typically women's language feature, they sometimes also allow to amplify the emotional load of an utterance.

(29) *I am **very** mindful of the importance and the need for both.* (S1)

(30) *Again, I felt an overwhelming sense of being **incredibly** honored, privileged and humbled.* (PC)

(31) *Why wouldn't they when they themselves have had to adapt **so** rapidly to a changing world.* (S3)

(32) *In their immediate efforts to get people off the island, those pilots made an **incredibly** brave decision under **extremely** dangerous circumstances.* (S6)

(33) *The first **really** important thing to remember is that the vast majority of people who will ever have Covid-19 will only experience mild to moderate symptoms.* (S7)

(34) *And we needed a team focused **absolutely** and **entirely** on New Zealand and Labour **absolutely** is.* (S8)

All intensive adverbs which appeared in the analysed texts are presented in the table below:

Table 11 Distribution of intensive aderbs

Intensive adverb	S1	S2 + PC		S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
so	4	-	-	2	-	3	-	1	2
very	10	1	2	1	1	2	-	1	-
quite	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
strongly	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
genuinely	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
extraordinarily	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
incredibly	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-
absolutely	-	-	3	1	1	-	-	-	2
acutely	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
truly	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
unashamedly	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
increasingly	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1
utterly	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
seriously	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
extremely	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
heavily	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
really	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
entirely	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

From among the demonstrated adverbs, three seem to be applied most often: so, very and absolutely. Just as adjectives, intensive adverbs may be acknowledged to be a subsistent quality of Ardern's manner of speech.

5.2.3 Qualifying clauses

Qualifying clauses constitute another inherent part of Ardern's language. They appear in all speeches and in relative abundance. The tabulation below demonstrates the number of sentences which include qualifying clauses.

Table 12 Number of sentences including qualifying clauses

Feature		S1	S2 + PC	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Qualifying clauses	**Number of sentences**	39	14	24	31	14	22	11	18	14
	Percentage	36.45%	51.85%	30%	26.27%	35%	37.29%	21.15%	25%	28%

Qualifying clauses are multiple in the analysed sample, even the number of sentences in which they appear indicates that. This property of Ardern's speech certainly contributes to the length of sentences as such, which can be observed in the examples:

(35) *Murupara and the wonderful people **who live there**, and **who continue to work hard to rejuvenate their community**, formed just one of the many lessons **I have learnt**. (S1)*

(36) *Labour has always believed that government should be a partner in ensuring an economy **that works and delivers for all New Zealanders**. (S2)*

(37) *If we forget this history and the principles **which drove the creation of the UN**, we will be doomed to repeat the mistakes of the past. (S3)*

(38) *And secondly, the strongest possible condemnation of the ideology of the people* **who did this**. (S4)

(39) *We will remember the first responders* **who gave so much of themselves to save others**. (S5)

(40) *We are a nation full of ordinary people* **who do extraordinary things**. (S6)

Although qualifying clauses contribute a lot to the length of sentences and to the increased level of readability, it may also contribute to audience's perception of Ardern as an eloquent and well-educated person, whose communication skills are desirable on political scene on which Ardern represents the nation.

5.2.4 Emotional reference

Jacinda Ardern does not refrain from making emotional references. Below are examples from different speeches.

(41) *It was an experience that deepened my commitment to having a balance in employment relationships – a balance that* **I was shocked** *to see so severely disrupted in my very first week in this House*. (S1)

(42) *I want to conclude again by saying* **I feel extraordinarily honored and privileged** *to be in the position to form a government with a Labour – with Labour at the lead*. (S2)

(43) *It should hardly come as a surprise that we have seen a global trend of* **young people showing dissatisfaction** *with our political systems and calling on us to do things differently*. (S3)

(44) **It is with extreme sadness that I tell you** *that, as at 7 p.m. tonight, we believe that 40 people have lost their lives in this act of extreme violence*. (S4)

(45) *To those who have lost or are missing family and friends,* **we share in your grief and sorrow, and we are devastated**. (S6)

(46) *I understand that all of* **this rapid change creates anxiety and uncertainty**, *especially when it means changing how we live*. (S7)

Depending on the circumstances, Ardern either expresses her personal feelings or refers to the feelings of others, or else she sympathises with victims and condemns evil deeds. One can observe both positive and negative emotions expressed in her addresses.

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the use of emphatic references aligns with the supposedly most effective leadership style.

5.2.5 Longer sentences

Constructing long sentences is another women's language feature which happens to be Ardern's speech characteristic as well. As mentioned in one of the previous superordinate sections, one can observe a tendency for Ardern to build shorter and shorter sentences, but the sample is probably too small to extrapolate these results. The table below shows the number of long, complex sentences which were suggested for rephrasing by the word count tool (online-utility.org) to improve the index of readability.

Table 13 Occurrence of long sentences suggested for rephrasing

Feature		S1	S2 + PC	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Longer sentences	Number	33	9	25	36	13	18	16	22	16
	Percentage	30.8%	33.3%	31.3%	30.5%	32.5%	30.5%	30.8%	30.6%	32%

As one can see, each time nearly one third of sentences is advised for shortening. It would certainly contribute to better readability; however, longer sentences may also be a formality marker. It may as well reflect the ambiguous nature of the genre of speech as vacillating between spontaneous speaking and a pre-prepared piece of writing.

5.2.6 Initial adverbials

Likewise, initial adverbials are a norm in Ardern's speeches, which, just like qualifying clauses may contribute to an increased level of difficulty of a text. The presented tabulation includes the number of sentences with adverbials at the beginning.

Table 14 Occurrence of initial adverbials

Feature		S1	S2 + PC	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Initial adverbials	Number of sentences	10	2	16	39	8	6	8	19	11
	Percentage	9.35%	7.41%	20%	33.1%	20%	10.17%	15.38%	26.39%	22%

By placing adverbials at the beginning of sentences, Ardern shifts the emphasis in her utterances. Although it has been proved to be typically a feature of women's language, it may also be consistent with the specificity of the genre, which case would supposedly give advantage to women over men speakers in this respect. Here are a few examples:

(47) ***In the face of isolationism, protectionism, racism****, the simple concept of looking outwardly and beyond ourselves of kindness and collectivism might just be as good a starting point as any*. (S3)

(48) ***For many****, this may not have been the place they were born. **In fact**, **for many**, New Zealand was their choice*. (S4)

(49) ***Over the past two weeks** we have heard the stories of those impacted by this terrorist attack*. (S5)

(50) ***In the immediate aftermath of the eruption****, a number of helicopter pilots made the conscious decision to fly to the island to try to rescue people*. (S6)

(51) ***Today****, I'm announcing an alert system for covid-19*. (S7)

(52) ***As a nation****, we needed a plan for recovery*. (S8)

5.2.7 Uncertainty verbs

In the selected sample, six verbs which may be classified as uncertainty verbs have been observed: *sound*, *believe*, *seem*, *appear*, *imagine*, and *suspect*.

Table 15 Occurrence of uncertainty verbs

Feature		S1	S2 + PC		S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Uncertainty verbs	Number	5	3	2	2	3	-	1	2	1
	Percentage	0.21%	0.49%	0.11%	0.08%	0.45%	-	0.10%	0.16%	0.13%

One can see that this kind of verbs is quite rarely used. Below is their distribution in individual speeches.

Table 16 Distribution of uncertainty verbs

Verb	S1	S2 + PC		S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
sound	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
believe	3	3	1	-	2	-	-	-	1
seem	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-
appear	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
imagine	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
suspect	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-

Uncertainty verbs are essentially instances of hedging, but the examples below may be confusing due to applied ways of emphasis.

(53) *It **seems** a fitting place to stand.* (S3)
(54) *From what we know, it <u>does</u> **appear** to have been well planned.* (S4)
(55) *The fifth Labour Government made good progress on what I **believe** <u>must</u> continue to be our Focus – reducing poverty in this country.* (S1)

The auxiliary *does* emphasises the main verb *appear*, and is stressed in speech. In a similar manner, the modal verb *must* right after a more tentative verb *believe*, serves the same function. It is difficult, therefore, to unequivocally affirm a tentative character of at least some of the instances.

5.2.8 Hedging

Other instances of hedging have also been detected, but they are relatively infrequent. This category includes modal verbs expressing uncertainty, modal adverbs, or the use of expressions such as *a bit like*, *fairly*, *quite*, *kind of*, or *sort of*.

As for the first category, although Ardern uses modal verbs on many occasions, few of them express uncertainty:

(56) *You **may** have chosen us -- but we utterly reject and condemn you.* (S4)
(57) *That **may** change if we move into higher alert levels but sending children home at this stage doesn't necessarily reduce transmission in the community.* (S7)

Modal adverbs indicating uncertainty and tentativeness are also infrequent:

(58) *I spent most of my time—this is **probably** a shock to members on the other side of the House—talking to small businesses, local authorities, and even police officers, trying to understand the delicate balancing act between creating a regulatory environment that protects citizens whilst also allowing business and public services to flourish.* (S1)
(59) *In 1945 New Zealand Prime Minister Peter Fraser said that the UN Charter offered **perhaps** a last opportunity to work in unison to realize the hope in the hearts of all of us, for a peace that would be real lasting and worthy of human dignity.* (S3)

The same must be said about the last category – the use of abovementioned phrases is scarce in the selected sample:

(60) *Maiden statements are **a bit like** words spoken in a heated argument; like it or not, they will come back to haunt one.* (S1)

(61) *[…] to Darren, for all the leave that I know he will grant me and for dispensing the **kind of** advice that proves he was born middle-aged but also that he was born wise […].* (S1)

5.2.9 Negation
Negative forms have been found in almost every speech, both in full and contracted forms. Their distribution looks as follows:

Table 17 Occurrence of negative forms

Feature	S1	S2 + PC		S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Negation	28	-	15	32	7	14	4	6	13

If negation typically reflects the specificity of women's language, it may be said that Ardern's speech does exhibit it. It must be pointed out, however, that deciding on it without any doubt may be hindered by lack of clear-cut reference.

5.2.10 Questioning
In speeches, questioning is limited to asking rhetorical questions, which comes down to serving as a rhetoric device. Ardern does not expect any answers on the part of her audience. The questions are supposed to be thought-provoking. The ones present in the researched material are as follows:

(62) *That surely leaves us all with the question: how did we get here and how do we get out?* (S3)

(63) *If my Pacific neighbors do not have the option of opting out of the effects of climate change, why should we be able to opt out of taking action to stop it?* (S3)

(64) *What better way to hold ourselves to account and what better group to do that for than children?* (S3)

(65) *What words adequately express the pain and suffering of 50 men, women and children lost, and so many injured? What words capture the anguish of our Muslim community being the target of hatred and violence? What words express the grief of a city that has already known so much pain?* (S5)

(66) *And right now, what could be more important than that?* (S7)

5.2.11 Direct quotations
There are only two fragments found in two speeches, which may count as instances of direct quotations. One of them is the already cited sentence from Speech 1: *"I am from Morrinsville."* The other one may be the quote from the national anthem from Speech 5. From among these, the first one seems more congruent with the category; still, the number of occurrence is infinitesimal and, thus, supposedly negligible.

5.2.12 Politeness

In terms of politeness, it may be said that even though Ardern is polite, she does not exaggerate – super-polite multiple modalities as exemplified in the theoretical section are absent in her addresses. To some extent, this fact is justified by the specificity of the genre. However, politeness shows in Ardern's use of *please* and *thank you*.

Table 18 Occurrence of *please* and *thank you*

Feature		S1	S2 + PC	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Politeness	*please*	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-
	thank you	1	6	-	-	-	1	-	1	6

As mentioned earlier in the paper, Ardern usually softens imperative sentences with the word please, whereas she thanks if the context "requires" it. Please consider the examples below:

(67) **Please** *just think about that for a moment*. (S3)
(68) *This alert system is designed to help us through that, so **please** do stay tuned and we will share daily updates, especially as alert levels can move from one level to the next in a short space of time as we have seen elsewhere in the world*. (S7)
(69) **Please** *be strong, be kind and unite against covid-19*. (S7)
(70) *And for that, I only have two simple words. **Thank you**. **Thank you** to the people who worked so hard to share our message, who volunteered for us in what felt like an endless campaign. **Thank you** to the candidates and members of Parliament who worked not just for six weeks, but for three years to earn their community's support. But most importantly, **thank you** to the many people who gave us their vote, who trusted us to continue with leading New Zealand's recovery, who backed to the plan we are already rolling out. And to those amongst you who may not have supported Labour before, and the results tell me there were a few of you. To you, to you I say **thank you**. […] And in times of crisis, I believe New Zealand has shown that. And so again, I say, **thank you***. (S8)

(Super)-politeness may be viewed as a marker of uncertainty and subordination, but, in formal political contexts, it may as well be desirable. There is probably no need to be super-polite, and so super-politeness is not Ardern's attribute. However, politeness may be considered as a necessary component of political diplomacy.

6. Conclusions

All things considered, a few conclusions may be formulated.

Firstly, some of the analysed features from both categories have not been detected at all, e.g., swear words as a men's language feature, and tag questions or super-polite multiple modalities as women's language features.

Secondly, the occurrence of a few characteristics in both categories is infinitesimal and may be considered negligible and insufficient to observe significant tendencies within

them, which could be extended beyond the analysed sample – these include slang or brief sentences as men's language features, and direct quotations as a women's language feature.

The reasons for the above may be (1) the specificity of political discourse and political context, (2) the specificity of the genre, and (3) limited research sample size.

On the other hand, Jacinda Ardern's language manifests both the features of the language of men and of women in many respects. The number of particular features and the distribution of lexical and syntactical manifestations vary among individual speeches, which is often determined by specific purposes or themes of the statements.

Furthermore, although it must be remarked with caution due to the research sample size, some changes may be observed diachronically, such as the average number of words per sentence (sentence length), self-references, or readability.

Last but not least, the frequency of appearance of most features (of both men's and women's language) stays at a relatively stable level over time (e.g. quantitative references, location words, the number of adjectives, uncertainty verbs, initial adverbials, qualifying clauses, or longer sentences suggested for rephrasing), which allows to presume that these constitute relatively stable and inherent part of Ardern's language as a woman politician and leader. Many assumingly give her advantage in leadership.

In conclusion, although it is hard to judge unequivocally if Jacinda Ardern's speech inclines to male or female language, she is very skilful as a public speaker, and she certainly makes use of the potential of both.

Notes:

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[3] Peacock Collin (3 August 2017) "'Jacinda effect' in full effect in the media". Radio New Zealand; available at https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/mediawatch/audio/201853439/jacinda-effect-in-full-effect-in-the-media.

[4] Kapitan Sommer (4 September 2020) "The Facebook prime minister: How Jacinda Ardern became New Zealand's most successful political influencer". The Conversation; available at https://theconversation.com/the-facebook-prime-minister-how-jacinda-ardern-became-new-zealands-most-successful-political-influencer-144485.

[5] Ibidem.

[6] Bala Thenappan (16 March 2019) "Jacinda Ardern: The Celebrity". Penn Political Review; available at https://pennpoliticalreview.org/2019/03/jacinda-ardern-the-celebrity/.

[7] Peacock Colin (30 September 2018) "Jacindamania goes global: the PM in US at the UN". Radio New Zealand; available at https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/mediawatch/audio/2018664346/jacindamania-goes-global-the-pm-in-us-at-the-un.

[8] The translation of the text is as follows: I acknowledge amongst us today our distinguished leaders, speakers and those who bear authority. My greetings to the whole of Ngāi Tahu. The tides of remembrance flow over Christchurch today. So let us gather with love, in peace, for this family, so that they may truly live again, so that we all may truly live again.

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A Semiotic Analysis of the Portrayal of Masculinities in Selected Gay Magazines

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Abstract

In contemporary Western society, advertising plays an undeniable role in the formation of an individual's identity. However, the commodification of identities in advertisements results in the creation of an illusion of equality and negates the problems that the bearers of these identities face in their everyday lives. Inequalities between different identities may be further amplified by stereotypical portrayals of race and gender. This paper analyses a sample of print advertisements extracted from the gay lifestyle magazines Attitude and Gay Times in an effort to examine the portrayal of specific forms of masculinity within the confines of homonormativity.

Keywords: *homosexuality, advertisement, gender, race, masculinity.*

Introduction

As Bartholomew has pointed out, identity can be understood in various ways – whether as an individual's life-narrative that they present to others or as the choices an individual makes in regard to the societal roles that they adopt. However, in contemporary Western society, it is abundantly clear that identity is not something that miraculously comes into being, nor are any of us born with a fully developed identity in place. Instead, identity is made and remade through an individual's interaction with their surroundings, their responses to the events that they encounter, the knowledge which they acquire, and the relationships that they build with others (2009: 936). An individual is a collection of various time and space-dependent identities, and among the most important of these identities are social identities, more specifically those which give an individual the sense of belonging to a certain social group. Social comparison theory conceives social identities as being based on perceived differences or similarities perceived through comparison with others (Ozgen 2019: 4).

In a media environment which is oversaturated with visual impulses, it is unlikely that this process of comparison would occur without reference to the constructed images of men and women which surround us and, at the same time, it is equally unlikely that individuals would adopt the ideas from these images in a straightforward and uncomplicated way (Gauntlett 2008: 14). As Lipovetsky claims, advertisements no longer simply offer products but instead concoct imaginary lifestyles and identities by linking products to specific emotions, spectacles or metaphors (2007: 42). In a similar vein, Baudrillard points out that material goods are no longer the objects of consumption but rather of needs and that in order to become an object of consumption, the object must first become a sign (2005: 173). These understandings of the function of advertising served as the basis for the emergence of niche markets targeted at particular social groups (for example, the gay market) at the end of 1990s. However, as Siapera has noted, identities are subject to a regime of commodification which creates a hierarchy among identities based on the respective profit that they can generate (2010: 132).

Given the important role which gender plays in the construction of an individual's identity, an examination of the portrayal of masculinities in the homonormative environment

would offer valuable insights. The analysis draws on several theoretical sources and previously published research, in particular the concept of power relations in various forms of masculinity as proposed by Connell. In her book *Masculinities*, Connell explains how contemporary hegemonic masculinity, the form of masculinity which is held in greatest esteem in society, subordinates homosexual men by linking them to femininity (2005: 78). This form of homophobic stereotyping is the perfect grounds on which advertisers can build their promises of a more masculine self.

At this point, it would be useful to offer some clarification of the terms of sex, gender and sexuality. Messerschmidt describes sex as being based on bodily characteristics, primarily on physical appearance. As he notes, we are seldom exposed other people's genitals in everyday interactions, and yet we are nonetheless able to ascribe sex to individuals; as a result, sex can be considered to be a social construct (ibid. 111). Gender too can be seen as a social construct and refers to social practices in specific settings (ibid. 114). Finally, sexuality is governed by similar principles to gender (ibid. 115). All three categories are fluid and temporal as we are constantly negotiating our physical appearance, behaviour and desires. However, Messerschmidt also points out that these three aspects of an individual's identity are held in place by a rule of congruence; in other words, to be male is to be masculine, and to be masculine is to be heterosexual (ibid. 116).

Furthermore, Messerschmidt revised Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinities by including features adopted from the theory of intersectionality. As with the afore-mentioned concepts, hegemony came to be seen as situational in nature and thus dependent on other social categories such as age and race or ethnicity (2018: 115). In her work on the various forms of representational regimes in media, Siapera refers to racist regimes of representation which portray members of non-white races as inferior and notes that they are often presented in a sexualized manner in Western media (2010: 149). In a 2013 study, Tan and others demonstrated that Western models were often portrayed as Tough and Macho in lifestyle magazines, whereas Asian models were shown as Vigorous and Sunny, emphasising their youth and attractiveness in contrast to the stoic and manly Western idols (2013: 245).

Before moving on to the earlier research into the portrayal of masculinities in gay magazines, it is necessary to summarize what has been stated thus far. Homosexual men are considered feminine but, due to the performative, fluid, and situational nature of gender, advertising may carry the promise of masculinity. By connecting this trait and the preceding statements which were made in relation to identity, it becomes clear that advertisements are capable of connecting a random commodity, such as an item of clothing or a perfume, with masculine identities, thereby offering spectators the promise of a more masculine self – and thus the myth of masculinity is created.

The majority of research which has been conducted to date on the portrayal of masculinities in gay magazines is quantitative and rarely delves into the underlying level of representation. Such works often reach similar conclusions, mainly finding that the majority of male models portrayed in these magazines are muscular with low body-fat and, of course, white (Saucier and Caron 2008: 522). Furthermore, comparisons of gay and straight lifestyle magazines reveal that gay subcultures are more 'appearance potent', in that they display a greater reverence for appearance ideals, and it is therefore possible to assume that the effect of appearance-related ads has a greater potential influence on gay men than straight men (Jankowski et al. 2014: 480). While the high concentration of muscularity and low body-fat levels may disclose something about the portrayal of masculinity – Connell also mentioned that physical prowess is one way of displaying masculinity (2005: 54) – it may be also

connected with what Lipovetsky has identified as a prevalent feature of the current Hypermodern age – a strong focus on healthy lifestyles and the need to preserve youth for as long as possible (2005: 52). While much of the research into this topic shows a preoccupation with quantitative studies of the portrayal of male bodies, this paper will adopt a qualitative approach, examining gay lifestyle magazines and the power of advertising to sell identities.

Based on the afore-mentioned theoretical assumptions and on earlier research, this study will investigate how male models are portrayed in advertisements in gay magazines and assess the influence of other social categories on the portrayal of masculinity. Two hypotheses were formulated at the outset of the research: the myth of masculinity is the predominant feature of the selected advertisements, and non-white models are associated with femininity.

Methodology

Selection of Research Materials

The corpus of materials used in this study consists of all 2020 issues of the gay lifestyle magazines *Attitude, Gay Times, Advocate* and *Out*. A single issue from each of these publications was selected at random using the online service *textfixer.com*. Appearance-related advertisements promoting, among others, apparel, cosmetics, perfumes and jewellery, of meaningful size (i.e., a third of the page or greater) and portraying a male model with a clearly visible face were then extracted from the selected issues. This process yielded a total of six advertisements:

- Carolina Herrera: Bad Boy (Attitude 2020: 4– 5)
- Topgay.com (Attitude 2020: 25)
- Farah (Attitude 2020: 114)
- Dsquared2 (Attitude 2020: 148)
- Moschino: Toy Boy (Gay Times 2020: 9)
- London Sock Co. (Gay Times 2020: 13)

As is apparent from the list of advertisements, no suitable appearance-related advertisements were identified in the American magazines *Advocate* and *Out.*, and therefore any generalisations resulting from the analysis can only be ascribed to the two British magazines, *Attitude* and *Gay Times*. One possible reason for the lack of material in the American magazines may be related to the fact that their content is more heavily focused on more serious issues such as LGBT rights advocacy, culture and art in comparison to their more commercial British counterparts.

Semiotic Analysis

The methodology employed in the study is based primarily on Beasley and Danesi's book *Persuasive Signs* in which they propose an approach proceeding from diegesis – that is the description at the surface level, to the construction of connotative chains. Connotative chains can best be described as the brainstorming of all the connotational meanings which can be evoked by a sign in an advertisement (2002: 71).

In addition to signs, the analysis was enriched further by an examination of the aspects of camera angles and the presence or absence of gaze, and it is even possible to state that gaze seems to be one of the crucial defining features. in portrayals of power relations. The determination and interpretation of various camera angles, colour schemes and gazes in visual media was based on the methodology shown in *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* by Kress & Leeweun (2021: 123– 144). Also important in this respect is the work of Philip Bell, who integrated the concepts of Goffman's Gender Advertising (1987) into the earlier work of Krees & Leeweun to develop a comprehensive intersection of both theories (2004: 29).

Furthermore, Rinallo also mentions that the interpretative strategies of straight and gay men differ in that gay men complement shared narcissist and critical readings with insider readings which can approximate the concept of a queer gaze and connect fragmented signs in an effort to determine whether the model in the advertisement is gay (Pullen 2016: 41). As Laura Mulvey has noted, a further approach with similarities to the concept of the male gaze is that of fetishist readings (2007: 82). Patterson and Elliott point out that in the contemporary period, hegemonic masculinity is forced to adopt 'feminizing' strategies in relation to the portrayal of masculinity in media in order to remain relevant. As a result, male bodies become subject to the male gaze, a process which can provoke feelings of rejection, identification, and desire in men (2002: 241)

Discussion

At first glance, the selected advertisements may evoke the impression of having little in common other than their portrayals of men and their attempts to sell appearance-related products or brands. However, by taking a holistic view of the partial analyses of the visual texts, certain repeating patterns become apparent. Nonetheless, before addressing these patterns, it is necessary to discuss the partial analyses.

In *Carolina Herrera: Bad Boy* perfume advertisement, the model gazes directly into the camera lens, confronting the viewer. The young man is sitting firmly in an armchair, dressed in a suit with the last button of his shirt left unfastened. His face is partly covered by his hand which evokes feelings of danger, suspicion, or something secret. Combined with the dark colour palette and the play with shadows, the model evokes the bad boy archetype. With the model gazing directly into the camera fixed at eye-level, the viewer is positioned as being equal to the bad boy. The whole setting creates a connotative chain revolving around the bad boy, the dark colours, and the sense of masculinity. This focus on masculinity is further enhanced through the lightning bolt-like shape of the perfume bottle. In Greek mythology, the lightning bolt is associated with the god Zeus, a symbol of vitality, masculinity, energy and movement. The energy and vitality are enhanced further in the advertisement through the use of golden hues, which also symbolize luxury. The advertisement is also accompanied by two slogans: "The New Masculine Fragrance" and "#GOODTOBEBAD". From these two slogans, it is very apparent that masculinity is being conveyed through the image of the bad boy and that the advertisement proposes that it is good to be masculine, clearly implying that the viewer should also aspire to a masculine appearance.

The *TopGay.com* advertisement portrays two muscular men in underwear against a dull background portraying a featureless landscape. In the words of Kress & Leeweun's work, there is a contrast between the low sensory modality in the background and the high sensory modality

of the foregrounded models which clearly draws the viewers' attention towards the models and, more specifically, towards the colourful underwear. The focus on underwear may be interpreted as phallocentric symbolism, a characteristic which is clearly linked with masculinity. The featureless landscape has a dream-like quality which is further enhanced by the jungle-pattern on the models' underwear. The models are positioned in the medium distance with their gaze turned away from the camera. Such a portrayal is reminiscent of the idealised statues of classical Greece, and thus evoke a combination of eroticism, sexuality, and masculinity. The allusion to classical mythology and/or masculinity is also achieved through the stylisation of the O in the brand name into the symbol of Mars. Eroticism and sexuality are further enhanced by the portrayal of the two models – one standing firmly with his legs in a wide stance, and the other towering over the former, resting one of his arms rested against the lower model's shoulder. Given that the towering model is portrayed with visible body hair (in contrast to the less hirsute appearance of the other model), a clear signifier of masculinity, this portrayal evokes the gay jargon related to the roles of men in homosexual intercourse.

The *Farah* advertisement takes a different approach to marketing clothing and to the portrayal of masculinity. The image is a simple portrait of a young slim Black man in a close distance shot, taken at an oblique angle, and with the model turning his gaze away from the camera. The man is wearing a cream-coloured jacket which matches the similarly cream-coloured background behind him. The positioning of the model implies equality, yet, due to the oblique angle, also emphasises a sense of difference. The usage of the cream colour creates a contrast with the skin tone of the model. The advertisement is accompanied by a slogan, "Crafting Modern Menswear for a Century", which can be read on several levels. It may signify that racial diversity in men's apparel advertisements is a modern aspect, or that modern men are no longer required to conform to traditional definitions of masculinity. This latter reading is, however, obscured by the afore-mentioned use of the oblique angle.

The *Dsquared2* advertisement depicts the model holding a mobile phone, seemingly taking a photo of his reflection in the mirror (represented here by the viewers themselves). The model is young, athletic, and, due to the sensory modality and play with shadows, evokes an exotic and erotic impression. The eroticism of this advertisement is further enhanced by the setting of a public toilet, a direct reference to the hook-up aspect of gay culture, and by the fact that the model being dressed only in underwear. The red colour of the toilet booths, the high level of colour saturation, and the low exposure evokes adventure, vulgarity and desire. The placement of the brand name above the underwear is crucial as it symbolically castrates the model, obscuring his masculinity and thereby positioning him as an object of desire.

The grayscale portrayal in the *Moschino: Toy Boy* perfume advertisement is of key importance as, in combination with the latex clothing worn by the model, it immediately evokes the imagery of BDSM and Tom of Finland. The model is a young white man with delicate features who is sitting cross-legged on the floor holding an oversized perfume bottle in the form of a teddy bear. The high angle of the camera and the model's direct gaze towards the viewers emphasize the 'childish' subordinate position of the model. The entire advertisement is structured around the 'toy boy' archetype of the young partner of an older man. The shape of the bottle is reminiscent of a child's toy, implying that the latex-clad model should also be understood as a toy on a sexual level.

The *London Sock Co.* advertisement has a similar arrangement to the *Carolina Herrera: Bad Boy* image; a young man dressed in a suit is sitting with crossed legs on a couch drinking tea. However, this man has typical East Asian facial features; his gaze is turned away from the camera and he is wearing pink socks. He is also portrayed at an impersonal distance from the

viewer. The advertisement is accompanied by the slogan "Classic style, with a modern twist". The "Classic style" here is clearly referring to the traditional portrayal of masculinity conveyed through the suit and the dark colour palette, but also to a stereotypical depiction of Englishness identified in the stained glass behind the model and the drinking of tea. On the other hand, the 'modern twist' refers to the racial aspect of the model which, together with the colour of the socks, is typically linked with femininity. While the message of supporting diversity which this advertisement is likely attempting to convey is undoubtedly noble, it is nonetheless reliant on a stereotypical portrayal of an Asian man. Furthermore, as with the portrayal of the Black model in the *Farah* advertisement, the impersonal distance signifies that there is a difference between the model and the viewer.

When conveying their messages, the selected advertisements rely on references to archetypes, ideals and stereotypes which are both internal and external to gay subcultures. Allusions to Greek mythology or ancient Greek culture are common when portraying traditional notions of masculinity based on muscularity. In contrast, young men who are not openly portrayed as muscular are often sexualized and positioned as objects of desire, implying their subordinate role. The usage of the bad boy archetype is somewhat different here, as it portrays a young masculine man who is by no means in a subordinate position. This portrayal is often tailored to niche markets as it infuses products with a sense of juvenile masculinity (Gopaldas and Molander 2019: 11).

Powerful figures such as muscular men or the bad boy are portrayed in a dominant manner through compositional techniques including specific camera angles, poses, gazes, allusions, and colour schemes. These depictions contrast with the portrayals of young men who are typically shown as subordinate objects of desire. One exception here is the portrayal of non-white young men, with camera angles, the impression of distance from the viewer, and gazes being employed to suggest that the models are equal yet different to the viewer. While the non-white models are portrayed as equal to the viewer, stereotypical depictions are used to achieve this effect.

Conclusion

When reflecting on the selected advertisements, we can see that certain hypermodern features are present. Some of the advertisements revolve around selling the brand rather than the product, and all of the images employ strategies which relate to archetypes or stereotypes based on various definitions of masculinity. When portraying traditional masculine ideals (for example, those taken from Greek mythology) or archetypes such as the bad boy, the models are positioned as either equal to the viewer or as an ideal to which the viewer should aspire. Body form and facial hair are frequently used as symbols of masculinity, while young hairless men are depicted as subordinate objects of desire. There are some differences in terms of the representation of race, however, with non-white models being portrayed as equal to the viewer regardless of the fact that they are young, slim and hairless. Nevertheless, techniques such as the use of impersonal distance or oblique camera angles emphasise the essential difference of the models in these images. Furthermore, both of the non-white models who features in the selected advertisements were linked in some way with femininity; for example, the Black model was the slimmest of the featured models and the Asian model was wearing pink socks. Returning to our initial hypotheses, it can be concluded that the myth of masculinity is

prevalent in the advertisements and that non-white models are associated with femininity, findings which are in agreement with the conclusions of earlier research.

While this research offers some insight into the depiction of masculinity in advertisements targeting gay audience, there are some shortcomings to this study. The qualitative nature of the analysis meant that the sample used in the study was necessarily limited in scope, and further research with a wider sample range should be carried out in the future. Although the sample was small, the random sampling did nonetheless result in a surprisingly diverse corpus. The corpus consisted of traditional advertisements which seem to be losing their primary role in selling products and brands, and thus research into advertorial and editorial material would also offer valuable insights. Lastly, other forms of media such as social media, television, or even video games should be analysed to determine whether the intertextual approach in advertisements is equally effective in different contexts. Nonetheless, the findings of this study can be utilized in further research.

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ÌBÀ (HOMAGE): A Compulsory Ritualistic Performance for the YORÙBÁ Oral Artists

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Abstract

Ìbà (homage) is a quintessential mandatory ritualistic phenomenon in the traditional programme structure of Yorùbá oral literature. Existing studies have established its compilation and its infrequent occurrences in written and oral poetry, prose and other genres. Most of these studies have hardly emphasized its major occurrences, or its place and purposes, which are capable of entrenching and maintaining orderliness in contemporary Yorùbá society. This paper investigates recipients, consequence(s) of jettisoning, and reflection on its definite importance as a prominent aspect of the Yorùbá oral literature observed by the ancient oral artists and a few contemporary artists. Eight Yorùbá oral performances imbued with sufficient usage of Ìbà have been purposely selected. To strike a balance, four oral performances in texts from the works of Akínwùmí Ìṣọ̀lá (Ṣàngó Pípè), T.A Ládélé and Dẹ̀jọ Fáníyì (Ẹkún Ìyàwó), Láwuyì Ògúnníran (Èsà in Eégún Aláré, prose) and Olúdáre Ọlájubù (Èsà) are analyzed. The other four include Ìbà in the musical works of Ṣínà Peters (Jùjú), King Wàsíù Àyìndé (Fújì), Ògúnáre Fọ́yánmu and Àlàbí Ògúndépò (Ìjálá). Ìbà is cited for remarks and interpretations from all the aforementioned artistic works with a view to ascertaining how and why it is established and utilized to make valid our findings on its importance in homaging. The literal method of translation has been adopted to give a direct interpretation of Ìbà contents from Yorùbá to English. Based on the analysis and interpretation of Ìbà in this paper, it is simply revealed that Ìbà is not a mere "homage" but a traditional mandatory ritual, which connotes respect, obeisance, submissiveness, reverence and acknowledgement of all supernatural being (dead or alive). It can be concluded that the absence of all these are responsible for social disorder in our contemporary society.

Keywords: *Ìbà (Homage), Yorùbá, oral literature, artists, ritual, performance.*

Ìbà (homage, reverence or salute to authorities) is not just a common phenomenon, but a compulsory ritualistic performance in the traditional programme structure of the Yorùbá people. Ìbà is a significant aspect of the Yorùbá oral literature usually observed with utmost spiritual motifs by the oral poets before any performance. Unlike what is obtainable in the contemporary Yoruba society of today, no traditional oral artist would embark on any artistic performance about the past without appeasing the existing authorities, whether seen or unseen. Then, the significance of Ìbà could not have been underestimated by any oral artist as no poet would want to be regarded as a recusant and play with the impending consequences awaiting violation of the act (Ọlájubù 1975: 886-889).

According to Abímbọ́lá (1975: 877-911), Ìṣọ̀lá (1976: 80-103), and Àlàbá (1985: 83-86), ìbà is a verbal reverence to superior authorities and beings. In this paper, ìbà is regarded as fundamental to the Yorùbá traditional beliefs and spirituality. It is a way of making superior powers

or specific beneficiaries feel elated, and thus, a way of urging such powers to willingly surrender whatever is required of them or accede to any request that is made of them. Among the Yorùbá, it is believed that the pioneers in any field of human endeavour should be respected by those who come after them as a prerequisite or condition to paving the way for greatness. Ìbà, the Yorùbá indigenous homage is a verbal art that gives the chanter and the society at large abundant confidence that whatever they embark on will be fruitful, prosperous and rewarding. Hence the proverbial saying among the Yoruba "àdáṣe ní hun ni, ìbà kì Í hun ènìyàn" (Orímóògùnjé 2016: 2).

The attachment of homage to religious belief is equally corroborated by Johnson-Bashua who is of the view that homage is equivalent to worship because it is an expression of reverence and respect paid to a superior. According to her, homage is one of the basic religious acts that define piety in the Yorùbá religion and culture, the recognition and acknowledgement of the Supreme Being, divinities and ancestors, as well as people's connection with them (Johnson-Bashua 2017). It can also be said that the Yorùbá are regarded as rich in morality and spirituality derived from religion. This means that for anybody to comprehend the traditional values of the people, they must understand their religious background in the context of Yorùbá worldview and culture. In spite of their present affiliations to Christianity and Islamic faiths, the Yorùbá are tenaciously adhere to the heritage of their traditional religious beliefs. This invariably plays a vital role in the sustainability and revitalization of ìbà in the performances of the few oral artists of today who refuse to break away from the old order. Homage is not just a part of the religion but the very core of it; it represents the commonest act of worship and an important part of the spiritual tradition of paying profound respect to the supernatural.

As expected today, it is obvious that most contemporary poets and musicians have almost broken away completely from this impeccable traditional order, as little or no attention is paid to it any longer in their performances. It is believed that a good number of these artists are either not well-tutored or refused to take to tutoring in the traditional way to appreciate the importance of Ìbà. Unfortunately, even other artists who are well-grounded and versed in Yoruba traditional beliefs are not always serious about its observation as ìbà is arrogantly jettisoned in their performances with assurance that violation cannot not spell doom for them. A position of this nature undoubtedly leads to social disorder in today's contemporary society.

By and large, this aspect of the Yorùbá oral literature would have gone extinct if not for the preservation efforts of some traditional rulers, poets and few oral artists on ground whose activities and performances always exhibit strict adherence to observation of Ìbà. Efforts to bring back into reckoning the place, importance and purposes of Ìbà (homage/reverence) which is capable of entrenching and maintaining orderliness in contemporary Yorùbá society are what necessitates this paper.

All the various tribes of the Yorùbá nation trace their origin from a leader called Odùduwà and the city of Ilé-Ifẹ̀, in today's south-western Nigeria. Ilé-Ifẹ̀ is fabled as the spot where God created man, white or black. The seven principal tribes that sprang from Odùduwà's seven grandchildren are the Ọ̀yọ́, the Benin, the Ọ̀wu, the Kétu, the Sábẹ́ and the Pópó. The others are the offshoots of one or the other of these seven tribes. Yorùbá are the main ethnic group in Èkìtì, Lagos, Ògùn, Òǹdó, Òṣun, Ọ̀yọ́ State and some parts of Kwara, Kogí and Ẹdó State in Nigeria. They equally spread to other African countries such as Egypt, Ghana, Togo, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast and Liberia. As far back as 15th to the 19th Century, Yorùbá people migrated

to countries like Cuba, Dominican Republic, Brazil, Trinidad and Tobago and Saint Lucia (Akinlabí and Adéníyì 2017). Yorùbá as a language belongs to the Sudanic family of languages, the vocabulary of which is built up largely of monosyllabic words, and of words which can be broken into their monosyllabic elements. This places it in the same group of isolating languages as Chinese and makes it of necessity a tonal language. In spite of their present association with Christianity and Islamic faith, the belief and organisational structure of their religious system remain solid and intact. Yorùbá people believed in Olódùmarè or Ọlọ́run as the Supreme Being whose supremacy is absolute. Olódùmarè is acknowledged by all divinities as unique and paramount. Yorùbá cosmology consists of Supreme Being, several divinities known as Òrìṣà, and group of spirits, ancestral forces and other supernatural agencies (Faniyi 1975). The semantic variance of the word Ìbà (homage, salutation or reverence) in English is incontrovertibly incapable of offering the accurate meaning of the subject matter as it is in Yorùbá language and literature where its meaning is deeply rooted only in the culture of the people (Johnson-Bashua 2017: 52-61).

Going by its etymology and history, the English 'homage' has its root in 'homo', a Latin expression which connotes 'man'. In medieval times, a king's 'man' by publicly announcing allegiance to the monarch in a formal ceremony. In that formal announcement known as 'homage', the subject kneels and puts his hands between those of his lord, symbolically surrendering himself and putting himself at the lord's disposal and jurisdiction. As a result of this, a bond is established between the two parties; the vassal's part is to revere and serve his lord while in return, the lord protects the vassal and his family. As time passed, gradually homage is extended from its ceremonial perspective to the acts of duty and respect done to the lord, and eventually to any respectful act or tribute (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2020). According to the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, homage in European society is a solemn act of ritual by which a person became a vassal of a lord in feudal society. Homage as posited by these editors is essentially an acknowledgement of the two. It involved the vassal surrendering himself to the lord by kneeling and giving his joined hands to the lord, who clasped them in his own, thus accepting the surrender (ibid.).

In English language, and as can be seen from our discussion so far, the *Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (2006) corroborates earlier position that the semantic variance of 'Ìbà' (homage) in English cannot capture its true meaning in Yorùbá by saying 'that, homage are things said or done as mark of respect or honour shown publicly to someone. Obviously, it is a mark of respect, but for who? It may be respect to the king and his vassals or respect from one party to others as established earlier. Or, can we conclude to say it is respect for the living and dead which is not seen as being mandatory in the contemporary western culture. By and large, Ìbà (homage) is more elaborate and deeper in meanings among the Yorùbá. It is a mark of respect for the living, the dead, gods, goddesses, and the Supreme God, the known and unknown, the seen and unseen forces. Homage is equally seen as a mandatory act especially, for the oral artists before performance. Ìbà, among the Yorùbá is an act of acknowledging the foremost performers or dramaturge before the commencement of any performance. It is a convenient peg on which the significance of any performance is hung. Ìbà (homage) can also be described as a unique way of taking permission from the existing authorities (seen and unseen) before the start of any performance. Indeed, Iba is a necessary a ritual as pouring a libation to the gods before a feast.

In a 2020 Inaugural lecture, Adélékè pontificates that the exhibition of Ìbà in Yorùbá proverbs is the most outstanding form of acknowledgments. He avers that:

> a proverb is often marked by some type of introductory formula like "Yorùbá bọ̀" or "àwọn àgbà bọ̀" (Yorùbá say or the elders say), and a closing formula like "tótó ṣe bí òwe" or "k'ówe máa jẹ́ tẹ̀yin àgbà" (Regards since it is typically a proverbs" or "may the proverb be credited to you elders") all of which are tantamount to homage.

<div align="right">(Adélékè 2020: n.p.)</div>

He maintained that it is not possible for anyone to utter a proverb without paying homage to the elders. The elders in this context are taken to be the metaphor of previous scholars. In other words, each time a scholar is cited or acknowledged in any academic work, it is assumed that ibà is observed.

The importance of Iba (homage) to elders is equally corroborated in Agidigbo music where it is made clear that an expression of deep reference to elders is not always negotiable in order to secure their approval and attract favourable condition for their performance because they are the main determinants of the success of such performance (Samuel and Adékọ́lá 2018: n.p.). It has also been submitted that Ìbà is the Yorùbá usual way of expressing acknowledgement and admission of inferiority before superhuman and supernatural being (Ìṣọ̀lá 1976: n.p.). As an important aspect of oral literature, the oral artists are always conversant with the implication of disregarding this vital ritual before performance. As a result of this, any coolheaded oral artist will want to acknowledge and recognize the class of super ordinate in order to appropriate their power and forestall antagonism.

In his 2004 paper, Orímóògùnjẹ́ is also in agreement with the spirituality attachment of Ìbà (homage), in Yorùbá oral literature which the subject matter of this paper emphasises. He maintains that "homage (iba) is an example of thaumaturgical expression, a unique expression that is capable of making the desire of the raconteur happen immediately and in accordance with the Yorùbá belief" (Orímóògùnjẹ́ 2004: n.p.).

It has been established earlier that this paper is an attempt to investigate and identify the recipients of Ìbà, reason for its observation, consequences after observation or jettisoning as well as reflecting on the definite importance of Ìbà. In attempt to execute all these, eight Yorùbá oral literature/performances were purposively selected for having sufficient usage of Ìbà. In order to strike a balance, four are oral performances in texts from the works of Akínwùmí Ìṣọ̀lá (Ṣàngó Pípè), T.A Ládélé and Dẹ̀jọ Fáníyì (Ẹ̀kún Ìyàwó), Láwuyì Ògúnníran (Ẹ̀sà in Eégún Aláré prose) and Olúdáre Ọlájubù (Àkójọpọ̀ Iwì Egúngún). The other four include Ìbà in the musical works of Ṣínà Peters (Jùjú), king Wàsíù Àyìndé (Fújì), Ògúndáre Fóyánmu (Ìjálá) and Àlàbí Ògúndépọ̀ (Ìjálá) respectively. By and large, Ìbà (homage) is cited for remarks and interpretations from all the selected artistic works with a view to ascertaining how and why it is established and utilized to make valid our findings on its importance. Subsequently, literal method of translation is adopted to give direct interpretation of Ìbà excerpts from Yorùbá to English.

In this section, certain salient questions are raised in the form of sub-headings under which given responses are appropriately interpreted. The question is: *How does the Oral Poets pay Homage?* In the traditional programme structure of the Yorùbá oral literature, oral artists or poets

pay homage to virtually everything that comes to their memories within the premise of the Yorùbá worldview. Homage, as a form of acknowledgment, varies from artist to artist. It is important to note that an oral artist pays certain homage: first, they acknowledge Olódùmarè (God) as the creator of heaven and earth; they acknowledge Èṣù as the spirit that brings fortune and misfortune, Ògún as god of Iron, Ṣàngó as god of thunder and lightning, Ọ̀rúnmìlà as compendium of knowledge, Àyàn Àgalú as the spirit of drum, Ológbojò as the spirit of Egúngún (masquerade); then, address the traditional rulers as the intermediary between God and their subjects. Homage is also paid to the witches and wizards, the foremost dramaturge and the founder of any professional guild, elders, children, men and women respectively. Some human parts such as Orí (head), Ọwọ́ (hand), Ẹsẹ̀ (leg) male and female genitals have a place in Iba (homage) and so, they are not left out. In essence, every power and principality is addressed and acknowledged. Examples of this abound in Ọlájubù where about four of the aforementioned authorities are addressed and Ògúnníran where virtually all the authorities within the confine of the Yorùbá worldview are also acknowledged:

> Ìbà ó o ò o!
> Ìbà ni n ó máa fòní jú
> Ọlójọ́ òní ma yá a júbà lọ́dọ̀ rẹ,
> Kí n tó m'áwo ṣe
> Ìbà o o o o!
> Ìbà ẹni tó dá kí n tó dá
> Ìbà ẹni tó tẹ̀ kí n tó tẹ̀ lójẹ̀
> Ìbà ìyá à mi Ọ̀ṣòròngà, Olókìkí òru
> Ìbà afínjú àdàbà tí ń jẹ láàrin àṣá
> Afínjú ẹyẹ tíí jẹ ní gbangba oko
> Ìbà ọmọ a-fòru-rìn

(Ọlájubù 1972: 8)

> Homage!
> I will use the whole of today for homage,
> I will quickly acknowledge the owner of today,
> Before embarking on my performance
> Homage!
> Homage to my predecessors
> Homage to the first dramaturge before me
> Homage to my mother witches, praise name Ọ̀ṣòròngà
> Homage to the fashionable dove that eats in the midst of eagle
> The elegant bird that eats in the open field
> The offspring of the one who walks in the dead of the night

Homage in the above excerpt is addressed to three prominent authorities before the actual performance. The first is God the owner of today' (Ọlójọ́ òní), the poets' predecessors in the act (ẹni tó dá kí n tó dá/ẹni tó tẹ̀ kí n tó tẹ̀ lójẹ̀) and the third one is the witches (ìyá à mi Ọ̀ṣòròngà). It is also important to note that the poet emphasized much on the importance of Ìbà (homage) before performance when he says:

Ìbà ni n ó máa fòní jú
Olójọ́ òní ma yá a júbà lódọ̀ rẹ
Kí n tó máwo ṣe

I will use the whole of today for homage
I will quickly acknowledge the owner of today
Before embarking on the performance

The more spectacular and elaborate example is that of Ògúnníran where Òjẹ̀ Lárìnnàká (an iwì egúngún artist) addressed all the existing authorities before his performance thus:

Ọba k'ẹ̀ẹpẹ́ o, mó júbà k'íbà mi ṣe
Ìbà ni n ó kọ́ jú ná, aré mi dẹ̀yìn
Mo júbà baba à mi
Òjẹ̀ Lárìnnàká, okọ Ìyádùn-ún-ní
Òun leégún aláré, a-bi-kókó-létí-aṣọ
Òjẹ̀ Lárìnnàká tíí gbé kowéè jóògùn ìlàyà …
Mo júbà pẹ́tẹ́ ọwọ́
Mo júbà pẹ̀tẹ̀ ẹsẹ̀
Mo júbà àtẹ́lẹsẹ̀ tí kò hunrun tó fi dé gbọgbọlọ itan
Ará iwájú mo túúbá
Jànmọ́-ọ̀n mo bẹ̀bẹ̀ ẹyìn
Mo bẹ̀bẹ̀ ẹyin kéyẹ má ṣe y'òwú ù mi jẹ
Oṣó ilé mo ríbà orin-ìn mi
Ìbà ẹyin ìyá à mi Òṣòròǹgà
A-pa-ni-má-wágún, olókìkí òru,
A t'apá j'orí, a t'ẹ̀dọ̀ jọkàn,
A t'ìdí jòrónro
Ẹyẹ a b'apá win-in-in
Ẹyẹ a b'ẹsẹ̀ win-in-in
Abìrìn àṣà lẹ́sẹ̀ mejèèjì
Ògogo ní'yẹ̀ẹ́, a jí da gòróọ̀ ara
Afínjú ẹyẹ tíí jẹ láàrin òru
Mo júbà Èṣù Láàlú ọkùnrin ọ̀nà
Èṣù Láàlú asọ̀rọ̀kolẹ̀, a-bàásó l'órí
Àlàmúlamú bàtà
Ó fẹ́ bàtà kù jó bámúbámú
Ò ṣá'mọ lógbẹ, gún'mọ lọ́bẹ
Èṣù Láàlú mo júbà o!
Mo júbà, j'óde òní ó yẹ mí.

(Oláwuyi 1972: 39)

May you live long your highness, here is my salutation,may it be acceptable.
I will first render salutation before my performance.
Òjẹ̀ Lárìnnàkù, the husband of Ìyádùn-ún-ni
The masque dramaturge that has knots at the edge of his gown

Ọjẹ̀ Lárìnnàká that burns kowéè for the courage medicine…
I salute the surface of the palm
I acknowledge the sole of the foot
I salute the sole of the foot which does not grow hair up to the lap.
The foremost people I bowed
The congregation I plead for previous misdeeds
I plead for my past misdeeds so that, bird will not eat up my wool
I recognise the wizards in my performance
I acknowledge the witches in my show
Tribute to the witches, praise name Ọ̀sọ̀rọ̀ngà
The night famous killer that does not look for the vulture
He who devours the head through the arms
He who devours human's heart through the liver
The one who swallows the gallbladder through the intestine.
The bird with mysterious fingers
One that walks gracefully with its two legs
Horned feathers that work sluggishly with the whole body
A clean bird that flies in the night
I acknowledge Èsù Láàlú, the road master
Èṣù Láàlú, the one with horn on his head
The one who detests shoes
One who dances masterfully without shoe
One who stabs and inflicts injury
Èṣù Láàlú, here is my pledge
I salute, let it be well with me today.

In the analects above, the artist comprehensively acknowledged virtually all the existing powers and principalities identifiable in the Yoruba world view. These include Ọba (king), Bàbá (his late father), Pẹ́tẹ́ Ọwọ́ (surface of the palm), Pẹ̀tẹ̀ Ẹsẹ̀ (sole of the foot), Ará Iwájú (the foremost people), Jànmọ́-ọ̀n (Congregation), Oṣó (wizard), Àjẹ́ (witches) and Èṣù respectively. (All these are believed to have certain spiritual attachment to the fortune and misfortune of every Yorùbá person). The second line of the piece emphasizes the significance of Ìbà (homage) and why it is seen as being mandatory for the oral artist. The sentence 'Ìbà ni n ó kọ́ jú, eré mi dọ̀la' (I will pay homage first, my performance is tomorrow), which is part of the performance and which must come first, portrays ìbà as spiritually compulsory and more important than the real performance. Sometimes, iba (homage/reverence), is so important that it could be used to offer respect to male and female in an entertaining manner as alluded to in Adédùntán (2009) where a hunter acknowledged male and female using their genitals thus:

Ìbà okó tó doríkodò tí ò ro
Ìbà ìyámòpó tó doríkodò tí ò ṣẹjẹ̀
Má jẹ́ ó ṣú mi í ṣe o
Má jẹ̀ ń ṣìṣe níbẹ̀ o
Má játùpà Ògún ó tìdí jò mọ́ n lọ́ọ́.

(Adédùntán 2009: n.p.)

> Homage to the penis that drops and yet does not drip
> Homage to the virginal that opens downward and
>   yet does not bleed
> Do not let me tire
> Do not let me fail
> Save me from the accidental burst of Ògún's lamp

The above is synecdochally presented to pay homage to male and female present at the performance as well as entertaining the audience using both male and female reproductive organs. Synecdoche is a literary device where a part is substituted for a whole. The poet mentioned the male reproductive organ (okó) directly while he presented that of the female metaphorically to show the respect African men always given to women. Here, the oral artist deliberately employed the use of male and female reproductive organs (a part) in substitution for male and female (whole) basically for stylistic effect. The next question is: *Why do the Yoruba Oral Poets pay Homage*?

The constant appearance of Ìbà (salute to authorities) in Yorùbá literature underscores a belief that some terrible circumstantial catastrophe will happen to the poet or the artist and his show if the necessary pacifying act is not carried out. In view of this, any artist who does not want to witness a calamitous scenario in his performance must first acknowledge Olódùmarè (God) and the lineage from which he received his tutelage. This should be followed by tribute to both the seen and unseen forces like gods, ancestors and other spirits. The moment this is fulfilled, the artist is free to perform. *Ìbà (homage) is equally paid to seek the support or the backing of existing authorities before performance*. The implication of this is that both the seen and unseen spirits are solidly behind the artist who recognized them and that no evil will befall him (Olájubù 1972: 56).

Homage always comes first before performance because of its spiritual tradition of giving profound reverence to the supernatural. This emphasizes why it is a mandatory ritual. However, a poet or an artist may decide to be audacious and disregard this lofty aspect of the Yorùbá oral literature if he has capacity to shoulder the consequence. In his 1972 book, Ògúnníran presents instance of an iconoclastic Iwì Egúngún artist who broke away completely from this traditional structure by ignoring the presence of his senior colleagues in his performance. In the magical aspect of his performance, he was transformed to a very big boa constrictor but, unfortunately, for him, he could not reverse to his former self as human being due to an act which his detractors see as lack of respect for the constituted traditional authorities-in-council. After a while, Òjéládè, the crocodile instructed one of his boys in Iwì Egúngún chant thus:

> Òjékúnlé ò, s'ó ń rí nǹkan!
> Ayé gbìyànjú, wón yí mi láwò padà kíákíá
> Ayé, ayé yìí ò se!
> Ayé níí gún'yán eérú
> Ayé níí rokà eèpè
> Báyé sènìyàn tán
> Wón á tesè mó'rìn kíákíá
> Ayé ló s'Agbe tó daláró igbó o
> Ayé s'Àlùkò, tó d'olósùn egàn
> Ayé ò ní se yín, e ò ni sìse,

Ayé ló ṣe mí tí mo d'Erè láàkọ́kọ́ ojọ
Bí ò bá sí iṣu, kí la ó máa pè ní'yán?
Bí ò bá sí èlùbọ́, kí la ó pè lámàlà?
Bí ò bá sí àgbàdo kí la á pè lẹ́kọ yangan?
Ọpẹ́lọpẹ́ orí bàbá mi, un náà ló yọ mi
Nígbà tí mo d'Erè láàkọ́kọ́ ojó
Ìgbà tó tún d'ẹlẹ́ẹ̀kejì yìí ńkọ́?
Kin ní ọ̀hún tún ti yíwọ́ o, ará ìlú ù mi!
Òjẹ́kúnlé, wá súré relé
O ó bá mi délé bàbá mi
Àdó kan ń bẹ l'ájà a-mi-lo-lo-lo
Ìgbà tó o bá mú u dé
Gbogbo rẹ̀ yóò sì ṣ'ẹnu're
Ará àlògbó, ọmọ ẹkùn ní'Bá
Ayé binú kán-ún, wọ́n sọ kán-ún s'ómi
Ayé bínú iyọ̀, wọ́n po'yọ̀ m'éèpè
Ayé bínú Ọjẹ́lànàdé,
Wọ́n yí i láwọ̀ padà kíákíá.

(Oláwuyi 1972: n.p.)

Òjẹ́kúnlé, can you see something?
The World has quickly transformed my skin
People of the World are very wicked
The World pound yam of ashes
The World prepares sand filled Àmàlà
When the World destroys a person
They quickly run away from the scene
The World is behind Agbe's turning to an indigo
coloured one of the forest
The same World transformed Aluko to a cam wood
coloured one of the wilderness
May the World not destroy you,
May you never misbehave
The World is the cause of my turning to a boa
constrictor at the first instance
Without yam, would there have been pounded yam?
Without yam flour, would there have been àmàlà?
Without the maize, is it possible to have a pap?
Thanks to my father's predestined
Which eventually saved me
On the day I was first transformed to a boa constrictor
And what about this second time?
The thing has gone out of hand again my people?
Òjẹ́kúnlé, quickly dash home
Go to my father's house
There is a certain dangling charm at the ceiling
When you bring it

All shall be well
An Àlògbó man, the cub of a tiger from the den
The world scorn the potash and threw it into the water
They despise the salt and was mixed with the sand
The world became annoyed with Òjèlárìnnàká
And quickly transform his skin.

The above explained one of the consequences of being so audacious to the extent of jettisoning the power that be on the part of Òjéládé. It rained heavily while he was still expecting Òjékúnlé to bring the charm and this eventually rendered the charm impotent. Incidentally, Òjéládé the boa constrictor was flooded into a nearby refuse ground where a woman was innocently and co-incidentally threw some maize chaff on the boa which eventually transformed Òjéládé to his real human form. *This ultimately influenced Òjéládé's religious adherence to this important aspect of Yoruba traditional programme structure.* This leads us to the issue of *Importance of Homage among Yoruba.*

Here, data relevant to this sub-heading is presented and analysed. In Yorùbá society, a poet or an artist whose performance is imbued with Ìbà (Homage) always receive full supports and backing of his audience. This establishes the Yoruba adage that says; "Bí ekòló bá júbà ilè, ilè á lanu fún un" (when the earthworm salutes the earth, the earth opens for it). Ògúndáre Fóyánmu and Àlàbí Ògúndépò established this in one of their Ìjálá performances thus:

> Àkànó Oládùn-ún-ní
> Tí n bá sùn, tí n bá jí
> N ó máa júbà àwọn baba rẹ tó kókó jọba
> Nítorí àdáṣe níí hun ni ìbà kìí hùn 'yàn
> Orí olóyè àkókó yóò máa sọ tìkẹyìn dedede
> Ogunlọlá lorúkọ Ṣòún àkókó ńjẹ
> Ajagúngbádé ọmọ Onídugbe

<div align="right">(Foyanmu 2008)</div>

> Àkànó Oládùn-ún-ní
> Whenever I sleep or wake up
> I will always acknowledge your predecessors
> who previously ruled
> Because disrespect courts disaster
> Homage paying never does that
> The spirits of the previous chief protects his successor
> Ogunlọlá the first Ṣòún that reigns
> Ajagungbádé, the offspring of Onídugbe

From the above, and in attempt to show importance of Ìbà (Homage), the poet, Ògúndáre Fóyánmu's intention is geared towards appeasing the identified class of superordinate kings who ruled before the present Ṣòún of Ògbómòṣó. This is done *to appropriate their powers and forestall antagonism;* not just for the king but his own performance as well as seeking their supports for the successful tenure of the incumbent hence, the expression.

Orí olóyè àkókó
Yóò máa sọ tìkẹyìn dede

The spirits of the previous chiefs
Protect his successor

Àlàbí Ògúndépò is unique and slightly different from the above when he says:

Ìbà o o o!
Olójó òní mo júbà k'íba mi kó máa sẹ
Ìbà lówó Olódùmarè a gb'òtún
Aténí lébélébé ṣagbeji ara
Mo júbà k'íbà mi kó máa ṣẹ
Ìbà apétẹ owó
Ìbà pèlèmbè ẹsè
Ìbà àpétẹlẹrísè tí ò hunrun tó fi dé pọọlọ itan
Olójó òní mo júbà k'íbà mi kó máa ṣẹ
Ìbà alájá t'òun t'ògbóró
Ìbà ẹlẹṣin t'òun t'èèkàn lésè
…bí labalábá bá jáko a sì júbà ẹyẹ oko
Àgbè jáko a sì júbà kùèkùè
Àgbè tó jáko tí ò júbà kùèkùè
Okó a ṣá wọn lójúgun
Olójó òní mo júbà k'íbà mi kó máa ṣẹ.

(Àlàbí 1998)

Homage o o o!
The owner of today I pay homage
Let my homage be acknowledged
Homage to Olódùmarè who claims the right path
The one who flatly spread the mat to cover his entire body
I pay homage let my homage be acknowledged
Homage to the palm of the hand
Homage to the sole of the foot
Homage to the sole of the foot which does not grow hair up to the lap
The owner of today I salute let my homage be acknowledged
Homage to the owner of dog and its chain
Homage to the owner of horse and its chain
When butterfly enters farm it acknowledges the birds in the forest
When farmer enters farm he acknowledges kùèkùè
The farmer who enters farm without paying homage to kùèkùè
gets himself hit on the shin by the hoe.

Again, the above excerpt emphasizes the importance of paying homage to God Almighty, the creator of all things including parts of the human body which are equally significant for aiding any performance. According to the poet; homage paying is so significant to the extent that, failure

to observe it will spell doom for whoever does not take it seriously. Hence, "*the farmer who enters the farm without paying homage to kùèkùè, gets himself injured on the shin by his hoe*". It should be stressed here that 'kùèkùè' is a phonaestic coinage symbolising the sound made whenever a farmer is weeding grass or making ridges on the farm. It is believed to be more superior than the farmer himself because it has always been an existing sound in the farm since time immemorial and so it should be acknowledged.

In Sàngó pípè (Sàngó's chant), Ìbà (homage), which is a form of acknowledgement, is also rendered to *plead for needs of the artist before performance*. When pleading, the artist keeps mentioning the word *wárí* or *wádè* (bowing of head), an inclination of the body in greetings reverence and respect. The analects below from Ìsòlá encapsulates this important aspect of Ìbà thus:

> Ẹ ẹ̀ wa ráyé
> Balógun a dẹ̀ lóhùn panijẹ
> Alábàálàṣẹ!
> Ọmọ dídún niṣẹ́ ẹyẹ
> Oò jíire?
> Ìyàwó àṣẹ̀ṣẹ̀gbé, bó jí a kúnlẹ̀ a gbàtẹ́wọ́ ọlá
> Mo f'ówó ní
> Mo wá à *wárí*
> Mo f'ọ̀rọ̀ ọ́ ní
> Mo wá à *wádè*
> Ire gbogbo tí n ó níí
> Ó ń bẹ lọ́dọ̀ Sàngó tí í jéégún
> Olóomi!
> A-dáni-má-dáni-pa
> Òjògán bojú ọ̀run wò

> (Ìsòlá 1976: 80-103)

> Can you see the World?
> The subtle voice warlord that kills
> One whose suggestion comes to pass
> Child-like cry is the business of the birds
> Did you wake up well?
> A new bird, having woke up
> Knelt down to be pampered
> I wish to be prosper
> I bowed my head *wárí*
> I wish to be wealthy
> I paid homage *wádè*
> All the blessings that I desired
> Are within the reach of Sàngó the masquerade
> My god!
> One that kills halfway
> He who manifests himself through the sky.

In the above, the expressions *'wárí'* (bowing of head) and '*wádè*' (total submission of body in greetings) stand for Ìbà (homage/reverence) and *the plea for both prosperity and wealth from Ṣàngó* respectively. Expressions of this nature are semantically parallel to the word Ìbà (homage), so also any word of respect uttered during performance. However, the story is not in any way different in Ẹkún Ìyàwó (Bridal chant), in terms of *plea for marital success* where the bride, on the eve of her wedding day pays homage to Èṣù. She puts her left leg on Èṣù and rendered Ìbà (homage) in Ẹkún Ìyàwó (Bridal chant) thus:

> Ìbà Èṣù Láàlú Láaróyè Lárògọ
> Ebọra tí í jẹ́ Látọọpa
> Ilé ọkọ tí ǹ ré yìí
> Jẹ́ ó sanmí s'ówó
> Jẹ́ ó sanmí s'ọ́mọ
> Bàbá ọkọ tí n ó bàá
> K'óun má ṣ'elénìní ì mi
> Orogún tí n ó bàá
> K'óun má ṣ'elénìní ì mi

(Faniyi 1975: n.p.)

> I acknowledge Èṣù Láàlú Láaróyè Lárògọ
> The spirit whose name is Látọọpa
> As I get into the wedlock
> May it brings riches
> May it brings forth children
> My father-in-law there
> May he never be my detractor
> My mother-in-law there
> May she not be my antagonist
> My co-wife there
> May she not be my enemy

Homage in the above is *used strictly for prayer of success, prosperity, childbearing and love from every member of her husband's family in her matrimonial home*. The plea of this nature to Èṣù is imperative because Èṣù is seen as god of fortune and misfortunes.

This aspect discusses data collected from the few contemporary artists who always embrace and observe homage in their performances. It is obvious from the works of many contemporary Yorùbá poets and musicians that Ìbà (homage) is not given any priority in their performances. Some artists are not versed in homaging and are less concern about its observation. And those who are knowledgeable about it always carelessly jettisoned it. In short, the issue of Ìbà (homage) being mandatory does not have any meaning to most of these contemporary artists. In spite of the fact that almost all the Yorùbá contemporary poets and musicians have broken away completely from this lofty aspect of the Yorùbá traditional programme structure, there are some who adhere strictly to this act of propitiating the existing authorities (seen and unseen) before their performance. Prominent among them is Ṣínà Peters, an accomplished Nigerian Juju musician who in his 1993 album titled '*President'* on youtube admitted that there is seniority in music and acknowledged foremost musicians of different genres of music thus:

… gbogbo ọba onílù pátápátá
Mo júbà yín o
Ẹ̀yin ọba Jùjú pátápátá
Mo júbà yín o jàre
Gbogbo ọba Fújì pátápátá
Ìbà ni mo ṣe
Mo júbà yín o

(Peters 1993)

… all the kings of music I salute
All the kings of Jùjú I acknowledge you also
I equally pay homage to all the kings of Fújì music
I salute you all

It has also been observed that, as many as the contemporary Fújì musicians, some of them still keep to this aspect of traditional programme structure. Among them is King Saheed Ọ̀ṣùpá who is never indifferent to the issue of paying homage to his predecessors as recorded in his 2019 album titled *Endorsement* on youtube:

Lead: … wọ́n ní k'ílẹ̀ ó ṣè'bà kò fẹ́ ṣè'bà
           táyé fi tẹ́ní lé e 2x
Chorus: Ẹ ṣè'bà àgbààgbà ká yé máa ṣàfojúdi
           Ẹ ṣè'bà àgbààgbà
Lead: Ǹjẹ́ k'ẹ́ní náà tún ṣè'bà kò fẹ́ ṣè'bà
           Àga di'hun tán'ń gbé lé e 2x
Chorus: Ẹ ṣè'bà àgbààgbà ká yé máa ṣàfojúdi
           Ẹ ṣè'bà àgbààgbà
Lead: Bọ́mọdé ò tẹríba f'ágbà o
           Kò lè ṣe'un t'ágbà ń ṣe
           Bó kẹ̀ lè ṣe é mo fẹ́ kẹ mọ̀
           Kò lè lẹ́yìn tó máa dáa
           Ṣé b'áwọn kan ti kọ́ kọrin síwájú o
           Kó tó di pé a ti ẹ̀ dáyé?
           Ìbà àwọn tó ti kọ́ kọrin síwájú
           Kó tó di pé a ti ẹ̀ dáyé
           Ṣe b'áwọn kan ti ń kọrin
           Kó tó di pé a m'órin níṣẹ́
           Ìbà àwọn tó ń kọrin
           Kó tó di pé a m'órin níṣẹ́

(Akorede 2019)

Lead: The earth was told to pay homage but was reluctant and
           the worldly people spread mat on it (2x)
Chorus: Salute the elders, stop being audacious
           Pay homage to elder
Lead: It was the turn of the mat to pay homage but it failed to do so
           And the chair was placed on it (2x)

Chorus: Salute the elders, stop being audacious
Lead: If a little child refuse to salute elders
                      He cannot do what the elders can do
                      And if he does
                      Its consequence will not be palatable
                      After all, some people have played music
                      In the past before we were born
                      Homage to those that played music before we were born
                      Some have been playing music before we decided to choose music as profession
                      Homage to those who have been playing music
                      before we decided to choose music as profession.

From the foregoing, it can be said that most contemporary musicians under study acknowledged their predecessors. This shows that age and professional seniority are of utmost importance. Significantly, for oral artists, homage is for securing elders' approval as well as attracting favourable conditions for their performances since it is believed that foremost musicians are the major determinant of the success of such performances.

It can be deduced from the foregoing that Ìbà (homage) is indeed a mandatory ritualistic phenomenon in the traditional programme structure of the Yorùbá oral literature. Homage, as revealed in this paper is a required ritual observed according to religious belief of the Yorùbá people to address and acknowledge every power and principalities in everything they do. Ìbà (homage/reverence), as discussed in this paper has been made compulsory for artists in order to get a soft landing from the existing powers and principalities in their performances; that is why it always come first before the real performance. The spiritual importance of Ìbà to powers and principalities is tied to the fortune and misfortune of every Yoruba person. It has also been revealed that Ìbà (homage) is used not only for acknowledgement, reverence or salutation, but also for entertainment, especially when it is synecdochally presented to salute male and female using their reproductive organs. This is done basically to achieve stylistic effect.

The paper accentuates a belief that terrible circumstantial catastrophe can happen to any iconoclast who audaciously ignored this necessary pacifying and propitiating act in his performance. This is very instructive to those who may decide to be daring and disregard this lofty aspect of the Yoruba traditional programme structure in their respective performances. The paper equally emphasised seeking of permission from the existing authorities (seen and unseen), prayer of success, prosperity, spiritual and financial favour before, during and after each performance. This paper thus established the declining nature of Ìbà (homage) among contemporary artists and musicians who hardly pay attention as a result of their lack of knowledge about it and act of deliberate jettisoning on the part of those who have knowledge on it. Only few among the contemporary artists expressed and employed Iba in their performances. Finally, in line with Adédùntán (2009), Samuel and Adékólá (2018), it can be said that Ìbà (homage) reflects and emphasizes much on the gerontocentric structure of the immediate community in which Yorùbá people operates. This is obvious because age and professional seniority are given much priority in such a way that a drummer measures his own capacity and formidability by the power and strength of the master-drummer (Àyàn Àgalú) whom he pays homage. Homage to such a master drummer is an extra composition to pontificate the drummer's rich pedigree.

It has been established in this study that Ìbà is indeed a quintessential mandatory ritualistic phenomenon in the traditional programme structure of the Yorùbá oral literature in which its expression in performance attracts divine favour, and non-expression brings calamity. Ìbà (homage), as emphasized in this paper, is the Yorùbá expression of acknowledgement, reverence or admission of inferiority before powerful human and supernatural forces during performance. It is rendered to appease the identified group of superordinate in order to appropriate their power or forestall antagonism.

Ìbà should not be perceived as an act meant for musicians and oral artists alone. It should be seen as the affair of all and sundry, and should rather be strictly adhered to by every member of our contemporary society. This is in line with Johnson-Bashua's position that no major functions, ceremonies and programmes begin in the Yorùbá culture without initial reverence of precedent and authority. This is to reiterate that everything that happens to mankind in the natural world inevitably has a connection to the spiritual world. As a result of this, man needs to communicate and maintain connectivity with the spiritual world for him to maintain harmony and tranquility. Ìbà not only seeks to create stability in one's world, but also serves the purpose of reaffirming or strengthening one's metaphysical views of the world around him. It also testifies to the dynamism and wealth of Yoruba culture and reveals the means by which the Yoruba make sense of the material and spiritual world around them. Today, as generations pass and the influence of Christianity and Islamic faith broaden, ìbà becomes immensely significant to the continued existence of the Yorùbá culture. It is through this aspect of the Yorùbá oral literature that practitioners remain glued to their religious root and historical tradition. Yorùbá people cannot afford to be detached from their religious beliefs and traditions of many years. To do this is to physically and spiritually erase their identity and all they represent.

Notes:
1. This is where ìbà is equated with acknowledgement in academics.
2. Explaining how unsuccessful the performance of Agidigbo will be without homaging.
3. Homage is observed to avoid accidental and calamitous occurrence in performance.
4. Spirituality implication of homage to the Yorùbá is said to be sacrosanct.
5. Emphasizing seniority which must be acknowledged in Ijala chan.

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BOOK REVIEW

The Humanities Still Matter.
Identity, Gender and Space in Twenty-First-Century Europe.
Rubén Jarazo-Álvarez and José Igor Prieto-Arranz (Eds.), Oxford: Peter Lang, 2020, pp.326

This collection of essays on the humanities and their crucial role in the recognition of the challenges facing contemporary Europe, co-edited by José Igor Prieto-Arranz and Rubén Jarazo-Álvarez, is an extraordinary piece of literature which champions the relevance of the knowledge which the humanities have brought and continue to bring to our society and culture. The volume not only points out how the position of the humanities and cultural studies has become weakened in recent years but also illustrates how far the findings gained from these fields is interwoven into a number of other concepts such as identity, gender, space. The book opens with an account of how recent movements within Spain and other European countries have led to the humanities being overlooked and undervalued in the job market. The humanities are losing popularity despite the fact that the field can provide answers to many of the problems which we are currently facing, and the book emphasises the need to promote contemporary academic discourse and to implement the humanities and their findings within the EU framework, a step which would be of enormous value for the development of contemporary Europe.

The declining state of the humanities has also been the focus of other academic studies from other countries than Spain, for example a recent article by Annamária Inzelt and László Csonka (2020) which investigates the impact of social science and humanities PhD programs on Hungarian graduates and on their own personal and social environments. The research revealed that the postgraduate education process and the degree itself have a more positive impact on the personal satisfaction and career prospects of individual graduates rather than on their future employers. Further investigations were then conducted in an attempt to explain and understand these impacts from different perspectives, such as the specific sector of employment, the level of mobility, or the actual level of the impact itself. Other authors who have investigated the declining prestige of humanities subjects have also noted similar supporting evidence for the phenomenon. José Igor Prieto-Arranz and Rubén Jarazo-Alvarez, the editors of the work under review, make a strong case suggesting that if humanities were to be perceived in the context of identity-explanations and shapers, this would possibly showcase the explanations and findings that would not otherwise be brought to our attention. More important still is the need to gather sufficient support to ensure that these findings can be carried into practice. The collection of chapters offers a comprehensive explanation of the crisis of humanities, with the editors advocating the powerful capacity of the field to lead us to a "better, more equitable world".

The content of the book is subdivided into three main sections, each of which is divided further into individual chapters written by respected academics and researchers. This approach allows readers to gain an overview of different fields of expertise, all of which strongly demonstrate the power of the humanities to offer fruitful insights and potential solutions for the problems which contemporary society faces.

The first section introduces the crucial term of identity and the ways in which its issues within contemporary European society are reflected through several cultural genres. A chapter by Sabine Coelsch-Foisner discusses theatre and theatrical performances in the light of

intercultural dialogue, exploring the role of the text and its meaning in both performance and in its surrounding context, emphasising the importance of the latter. The author demonstrates that theatrical performances within contemporary Europe add to and enliven Europe's genuinely visionary qualities, and these arguments are supported with the concepts of "role responsibility" or "cultural responsibility" which have emerges from studies by Martha Klein. The following chapter by Elizabeth Woodward-Smith takes a look at the national conservatism currently prevailing on the British political scene, most notably reflected in the UK's withdrawal from the EU. The author analyses political cartoons and other representations and examines their impact on the EU-UK discussions in the context of the Euroscepticism which is currently spreading across the UK and the EU. The author offers a concise overview of the cultural nature of the situation in the context of current political difficulties involved in reaching an agreement on the country leaving the EU, the fraught discourse over national identity discourse, and, last but not least, politics in the age of Twitter and Instagram.

These themes are also relevant to the next chapter in which Eduardo de Gregorio-Godeo relies primarily on critical discourse analysis to connect the political discourse employed by the UKIP with its yearning for the British past. He also notes that western culture as a whole is undergoing considerable change and that British neo-nationalism is just a small part of this puzzle, also mentioning "Tweet politics" and alt-right movements within this context. Chapter four may be the first academic study of the novel *Sea of Memories* by Fiona Valpy with Jane Ekstam analysing the work from the perspective of a memorialising of the past which heightens the empathy of the reader, playing with his/her emotions. Of particular relevance in this study is the key term of "past-presencing", a concept which describes how we can understand, reflect and reconstruct meaning from the past. This chapter offers more than just literature analysis; it also touches on the philosophical presumption that the past is the key to living the present, and Ekstam's analysis brilliantly points out why this work of literature is relevant not only to a British female readership, but for all women and for humanity in general.

In the fifth chapter, David Clark reviews some recent works of crime fiction, including those by the authors Derek Fee and Catriona King, to explore concepts of criminal identity with the capacity of addressing other scenarios in which the acceptability (or otherwise) of specific issues can be perceived in a legal and cultural sense. The chapter also explains the unresolved historical divisions of Northern Irish society as reflected in the context of police forces and law enforcement. The first section of the book closes with Slávka Tomaščíková's insightful analysis of the construction of the meaning of food in contemporary media discourses. The author emphasizes the depiction of food as a cultural construct which conveys connections to place, tradition, a feeling of togetherness, and the past. Tomaščíková's study showcases food studies as a relevant field of study not only within the disciplines of health sciences and anthropology but also as a cultural element linked to the themes of identity and culture. Secondly, the chapter also underlines the contemporary strategies of looking back to the past as a new cultural sensibility.

The first part of this book, therefore, provides ample grounds for studying distinct cultural elements as parts of their domains, as such an approach can serve as the key to understanding not only the identity itself but also the social mission of cultural elements such as theatrical plays, crime fiction, food discourse or media discourse. By this point in the book, the reader will already be aware that, rather than being ignored, individual cultural elements are being evaluated and analysed in a manner which can contribute to changing society for the better and managing these changes in a more powerful, productive and authentic way.

The second section of the volume stands as a sequel to the first part and presents further insights into the depiction of identity through different cultural manifestations, focussing on research into different elements in terms of gender differences. The various chapters in this section offers the perception of feminism and gender studies as fluid and liberating movements.

Estella Tincknell opens the second section with a critical discussion of the representation of older Asian women in British cinema within the context of the history and patterns in depictions of older women on the Indian subcontinent. Tincknell takes into consideration both the gender of the subjects and other factors such as age and immigration status of these women in post-imperial Britain, explaining that comedic representations built upon contemporary neo-conservative movements have contributed to the declining status of older Asian women and of Asians in general. The interconnections between gender and age in cultural and media studies are very apparent and can be considered as an extremely relevant field of research. Two novels by Marian Keyes, *This Charming Man* (2008) and *The Brightest Star in the Sky* (2009), are also discussed by María del Mar Ramón-Torrijos in this section of the book with a focus on identifying condescending humour in representations of women in popular culture and "chick lit". Ramón-Torrijos argues that these two novels display a more serious outlook in comparison to Keyes' earlier works.

The ninth chapter by Natalia Magnes examines gender-neutral language in English and Russian social media in the era of #Metoo. She focuses on recent strategies which aim to make language more gender-neutral and its distinctive perception in both the Anglophone world and in Russia. Magnes' study benefits from her precise attitude, even including EFL learners as an object of her research, and from her emphasis on a positive approach and interdisciplinarity among language, gender, and cultural studies which could result in considerable social improvements. José Manuel Estévez-Saá investigates a prominent "transnational novel of globalization", *Home Fire* (2017) by Kamila Shamsie, in the final chapter of the second section, advocating strongly for the continued relevance of literature and literary research in twenty-first century society. Estévez-Saá sees literature as not only as an art form but also as a tool for politicians (in political sciences and sociology), a perception which brings the reader back to the first chapter of the book in which the concept of intercultural responsibility was analysed. In his analysis of Shamsie's work, Estévez-Saá highlights the significance of transnational competence as a solution for cultural problems in culturally diverse societies.

In the third part of the book, the authors elaborate on the cultural connection to location itself, emphasising the fact that the concept of location/space has been somewhat neglected in the past through an excessive focus on historical, social, economic, political meanings at the expense of linguistic and cultural construction meanings. The concept of namings like "the city of love" or "the city that never sleeps" as offered as examples of the interconnection to the effect of language on the creation of strategies such as city-branding and their symbolic economies. A similar example can be also found in the case of *Marína* by Andrej Sládkovič, the world's longest love poem, which was written in the small city of Banská Štiavnica in Slovakia. The work has a tremendous cultural meaning and a recent strategy of the town has used the poem to promote the city and improve its tourism potential, primarily targeting young couples. In the case of Banská Štiavnica, a tourism strategy which is constructed entirely on the symbolic constitution of the places where "this love was born" and on the town's cultural heritage (Banská Štiavnica is recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage Site) is connected to the economy and well-being of the city and its inhabitants.

Before embarking upon the third and final section of the book, the reader may question whether the core concept of the humanities being in full retreat can be correct given their

connections to the tourism, city branding, or even economical strategies of cities. This dichotomy is addressed neatly in terms of the capacity of humanities subjects to clarify the meanings of such important phenomena which are otherwise cloaked behind the guise of secrecy for its perceivers on an everyday basis. This means the humanities can make a strong contribution to academic discussions in this field and to the understanding of such phenomena.

In the first chapter of the third section of this volume, the issue of country/city branding is explored by Armela Panajoti, with the author concluding that purely linguistic analysis is insufficient for use in, for instance, marketing activities. The representation of place adds to the effectiveness of communication, as is demonstrated by Panajoti as well as in the chapter by Mark E. Casey and another one by Antonio Bruyèl-Olmedo and Maria Juan-Garau which analyse places in Majorca. In the case of Majorca, social and capital status sets the pace of a place and its tourism. Continuing the discussion on sociolinguistics, Roberta Piazza employs oral history in her study of Holocaust narratives, more specifically her dialogues with a Jewish married couple who were witness to anti-Semitic persecution in Mussolini's Italy. She focuses on the differences in the perceptions and portrayals of these events due to the influences of the "construct of different selves". Once again, the concept of "past presenting" is proffered as an effective research tool within the humanities. Piazza also emphasises the different communication narratives employed by individual speakers and also notes the variations according to gender.

The only objection which could be made to this collection is the occasional reference to the humanities as standing in opposition to the more technically oriented studies or even of being in conflict with such disciplines. While there is some evidence that research funding is being diverted from humanities subjects in favour of more technologically oriented fields, this may in fact lead to some incidental benefits for the humanities; for example, the disruption caused the automation of job positions by technological means might support the creation of more creative job positions in the job market, careers which, as the book notes, are more suitable for graduates of humanities programs. Moreover, the future focus of human-centric technologies does not necessarily imply a tragic decline in the humanities but may instead bring about an increasing demand for the knowledge and understandings which the field can offer. Even if such a perception were not to prove valid, at the very least it might attract more students to enrol in humanities studies and thereby bring more fruitful results than the endless squabbling between advocates of the natural sciences and the humanities and the condescension which many hold in the humanities for the utilitarian attitude toward knowledge which they perceive in scientific spheres.

In general, this volume amasses a considerable amount of evidence to support the idea that the humanities can offer unique knowledge which is capable of explaining the meaning of such complex concepts as identity, gender representation and media discourses, with the chapters standing as literature which can lead to the emergence of such powerful results as political movements or ideologies. The book emphasises the strong position of humanities as being more than capable of facing current social, political, economic, or cultural issues in contemporary European society, and the arguments and discussions found throughout the book can be considered as an opportunity to address these challenges. This book is a celebration of the humanities and a call for action in the current educational and societal environment.

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