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**Volume 6, Issue 2, June 2019**

**Articles**

**Front Pages**

*IBIS GÓMEZ-VEGA*

**[Ancestral Voices and Family History in Frances Khirallah Noble's \*The New Belly Dancer of the Galaxy\*](#)**

*MU'JIZAH*

**[Representation of Pluralism in Literary History from Riau Island, Indonesia](#)**

*DONALD C. SHELTON*

**[Anthony Carlisle and Mary Shelley – Finding Form in a Frankenstein Fog](#)**

*MARGARITA MARÍA CHAMORRO DÍAZ & CRISTINA SUÁREZ-GÓMEZ*

**[Language Contact in Colombia: A Pilot Study of \*Criollo Sanandresano\*](#)**



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ATINER is a **World Non-Profit Association** of Academics and Researchers based in Athens. ATINER is an independent **Association** with a **Mission** to become a forum where Academics and Researchers from all over the world can meet in Athens, exchange ideas on their research and discuss future developments in their disciplines, **as well as engage with professionals from other fields**. Athens was chosen because of its long history of academic gatherings, which go back thousands of years to *Plato's Academy* and *Aristotle's Lyceum*. Both these historic places are within walking distance from ATINER's downtown offices. Since antiquity, Athens was an open city. In the words of Pericles, **Athens "...is open to the world, we never expel a foreigner from learning or seeing"** ("*Pericles' Funeral Oration*", in *Thucydides, The History of the Peloponnesian War*). It is ATINER's **mission** to revive the glory of Ancient Athens by inviting the World Academic Community to the city, to learn from each other in an environment of freedom and respect for other people's opinions and beliefs. After all, the free expression of one's opinion formed the basis for the development of democracy, and Athens was its cradle. As it turned out, the Golden Age of Athens was in fact, the Golden Age of the Western Civilization. *Education* and *(Re)searching* for the "truth" are the pillars of any free (democratic) society. This is the reason why *Education* and *Research* are the two core words in ATINER's name.

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Volume 6, Issue 2, June 2019

Download the entire issue ([PDF](#))

<b><u>Front Pages</u></b>	i-viii
<b><u>Ancestral Voices and Family History in Frances Khirallah Noble's <i>The New Belly Dancer of the Galaxy</i></u></b>	65
<i>Ibis Gómez-Vega</i>	
<b><u>Representation of Pluralism in Literary History from Riau Island, Indonesia</u></b>	83
<i>Mu'jizah</i>	
<b><u>Anthony Carlisle and Mary Shelley – Finding Form in a Frankenstein Fog</u></b>	105
<i>Donald C. Shelton</i>	
<b><u>Language Contact in Colombia: A Pilot Study of <i>Criollo Sanandresano</i></u></b>	131
<i>Margarita María Chamorro Díaz &amp; Cristina Suárez-Gómez</i>	

# Athens Journal of Philology

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Before you submit, please make sure your paper meets some basic academic standards, which include proper English. Some articles will be selected from the numerous papers that have been presented at the various annual international academic conferences organized by the different divisions and units of the Athens Institute for Education and Research.

The plethora of papers presented every year will enable the editorial board of each journal to select the best ones, and in so doing, to produce a quality academic journal. In addition to papers presented, ATINER encourages the independent submission of papers to be evaluated for publication.

The current issue of the Athens Journal of Philology (AJP) is the second issue of the sixth volume (2019). The reader will notice some changes compared with the previous issues, which I hope is an improvement.

**Gregory T. Papanikos, President**  
**Athens Institute for Education and Research**



**Athens Institute for Education and  
Research**  
*A World Association of Academics and  
Researchers*

**12<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference on Languages & Linguistics  
8-11 July 2019, Athens, Greece**

The [Languages and Linguistics Unit](#) of ATINER, will hold its 12<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference on Languages & Linguistics, 8-11 July 2019, Athens, Greece sponsored by the [Athens Journal of Philology](#). The conference is soliciting papers (in English only) from all areas of languages, linguistics and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream organizer, presenter of one paper, chair a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (<https://www.atiner.gr/2019/FORM-LNG.doc>).

**Academic Members Responsible for the Conference**

- **Dr. Valia Spiliotopoulos**, Head, [Languages & Linguistics Unit](#), ATINER and Associate Professor of Professional Practice & Academic Director Centre for English Language Learning, Teaching, and Research (CELLTR), Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University, Canada

**Important Dates**

- Abstract Submission: **27 May 2019**
- Acceptance of Abstract: **4 Weeks after Submission**
- Submission of Paper: **10 June 2019**

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- Athens Sightseeing: Old and New-An Educational Urban Walk
- Social Dinner
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**Conference Fees**

Conference fees vary from 400€ to 2000€  
Details can be found at: <https://www.atiner.gr/2019fees>



# Athens Institute for Education and Research

*A World Association of Academics and  
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## 13<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference on Literature

1-4 June 2020, Athens, Greece

The [Literature Unit](#) of ATINER is organizing its 13<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference on Literature, 1-4 June 2020, Athens, Greece sponsored by the [Athens Journal of Philology](#). The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers from all areas of literature and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (<https://www.atiner.gr/2020/FORM-LIT.doc>).

## Academic Member Responsible for the Conference

- **Dr. Stamos Metzidakis**, Head, [Literature Research Unit](#), ATINER & Emeritus Professor of French and Comparative Literature, Washington University in Saint Louis, USA.

## Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **22 April 2020**
- Acceptance of Abstract: **4 Weeks after Submission**
- Submission of Paper: **6 May 2020**

## Social and Educational Program

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## Ancestral Voices and Family History in Frances Khirallah Noble's *The New Belly Dancer of the Galaxy*

By Ibis Gómez-Vega\*

In *The New Belly Dancer of the Galaxy*, Frances Khirallah Noble uses a ghost who returns not to "haunt" her grandson but to help him survive a horrendous ordeal. Simply because he is Syrian in America, Kahlil Gibran Hourani is targeted by "patriots" who see him as a terrorist, abduct him, and terrorize him. Kahlil's grandmother, his Situe, witnesses what happens to her grandson and resolves to help him. However, she does not help him escape, which is what he wants her to do; instead, she helps him by telling him three stories about his ancestors, two of which reveal that Kahlil's ancestors did not always make good choices. The grandmother's stories provide Kahlil with important historical information about his family as she attempts to explain to Kahlil that nothing in life is easy and that people often make hard choices in order to survive. Most of all, she wants him to understand that he also has choices that will reveal his true character. By the end of the novel, Kahlil has not only made important choices but he has also learned to value his grandmother's stories. He starts out in the novel as a man who has a very limited understanding of who he is as a Syrian in America, but by the end of the novel, he has made the right choices and returns home with his values intact, a new treasure trove of ancestral stories, his family's history, and a will to tell stories of his own.

**Keywords:** *Ancestral apparitions, Choices, Magical realism, September 11, Situe*

In Frances Khirallah Noble's *The New Belly Dancer of the Galaxy* (2007), the ghost of Kahlil Gibran Hourani's grandmother, his Situe, appears to him multiple times throughout the novel. When he mentions the ghost of his Situe to his wife, Sophie, she sends him to the doctor who, in turn, sends him to a psychiatrist. Because Kahlil is fifty-three years old and has a tendency to fall asleep while making love to his wife, the psychiatrist asks him if "it's impotence which has driven you to such distraction?" Kahlil, completely unaware that admitting to seeing a ghost may not be better than being impotent, answers, "No, it's my Situe" (Noble 2007: 2). His admission that the ghost of his grandmother visits him and speaks to him introduces Noble's use of magical realism to restore what has been lost. Kahlil's grandmother's ghost returns from the dead to guide him throughout the horrifying ordeal that he is about to face simply because he looks like an Arab in post September 11 North America. She knows what is about to befall her beloved grandson, so she returns to teach him something that should give him a stronger sense of who he is as a Syrian in America. To achieve her purpose, Kahlil's grandmother tells him three stories, two of which reveal his ancestors' unsavory past even as Kahlil complains that what she is saying about his ancestors cannot possibly be true. Situe's truth is simple; she wants Kahlil to know that, whatever is done to him, he has options.

*The New Belly Dancer of the Galaxy* uses magical realism to examine the life of a Syrian American man who must live in a post September 11 landscape

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\* Associate Professor, Northern Illinois University, USA.

and navigate the irrational racism that he encounters. The novel also challenges assumptions previously made by scholars like Kathleen Brogan and Stephen M. Hart about the role played by ghosts in ethnic literature. These scholars have written convincingly about how ghosts help to resolve a painful past, but the past is not as painful as the present in this novel. In *Cultural Haunting*, Kathleen Brogan (1998: 23) points out that ethnic ghost stories are dedicated to the project of "cultural mourning" because these "haunted tales [...] bear witness to some sense of breach with the past", but *The New Belly Dancer of the Galaxy* does not mourn the past. Instead, Kahlil has to somehow reconstruct his ancestors' history so that he can understand his new place in America. Kahlil is a third generation Syrian American who is not very conscious of having any connection to his Syrian past; his grandparents were the ones who immigrated to America, but he was born in California and he does not seem to know much about the family history. He names his optometry business The Oasis and decorates it with palm trees, but this is mostly a symbolic act because he has no conscious memory of a real oasis. Kahlil also admits that he really only remembers one of the stories told by his family members, the one about his grandfather being an orphan even though his mother was alive in Massachusetts.

In "Ghostly Presences", Lois Parkinson Zamora (1994: 118) points out that "ancestral apparitions often serve as correctives to the insularities of individuality, as links to lost families and communities". Kahlil's grandmother's ghost works to correct the insularity of Kahlil's individuality. She first appears to him in a dream that he later tries to explain to his psychiatrist. He tells the doctor that he "was asleep at home in my bed with my wife when this giant white bird, an eagle with piercing eyes, come [sic] down through the ceiling and landed right over me". The eagle asks him, "Do you want to see Situe again?" (Noble 2007: 2) in Arabic, a language that Kahlil barely understands, but he says yes to the eagle's question and soon is flown to heaven where he sees his "Situe sitting on a stool on a cloud" (Noble 2007: 3). Kahlil tells her that he "hoped [she] could answer a few questions", but before he has the chance to ask his questions, he is "startled out of my sleep by a terrible noise" which turns out to be "the gardener starting his blower below our bedroom window" (Noble 2007: 4). His magical dream of meeting with his grandmother is disrupted by a big blast of reality because *The New Belly Dancer of the Galaxy* meets Wendy Faris's most basic definition of magical realism, a text with "a preponderance of realism that includes irreducible elements of significant magic within it" (Faris 2002: 102).

The fact that reality startles Kahlil out of the dream in which he sees his grandmother is a realistic thing. People do wake when noise startles them. In Kahlil's dream, however, a few magical things were happening. First, Kahlil sees himself as a child when he sees that his "hands had become small and plump again" (Noble 2007: 3) as they were when he was a child and his Situe died. Then, the ghost basically asks permission to appear. Before taking Kahlil up to the sky to see his grandmother, the eagle asks him if he wants to see his Situe. The ghost does not intrude in his life until Kahlil says yes. The third

magical thing that happens is that Kahlil, who does not speak Arabic, understands the eagle speaking Arabic. Through this magical dream, Kahlil returns to his childhood, to the time when his Situe was alive, and he hears the family language that he had lost. These three magical moments stress exactly what Kahlil is missing at the beginning of the novel. At the age of fifty-three, he misses his youth and the grandmother whom he knew as a child; he is also missing an awareness of who he is as a Syrian in America, and this awareness is connected to his grandmother's absence from his life and his inability to understand Arabic, the language of his people.

Kahlil's story takes place at a time when "in the weeks, months, and years after 9/11, hate crimes, workplace discrimination, bias incidents, and airline discrimination targeting Arab and Muslim Americans increased exponentially" (Alsultany 2013: 161). Evelyn Alsultany points out that "according to the FBI, hate crimes against Arabs and Muslims multiplied by 1,600 percent from 2000 to 2001" (Alsultany 2013: 161). Carol Fadda-Conrey (2011: 541) explains that "the post-9/11 backlash against Arabs and Muslims in the US ultimately erases internal differences within the Arab American community, depicting all Arabs in the US (whether they are recent immigrants, second-, third-, or forth-generation Arab Americans, residents, or students and regardless of their varying political and religious beliefs) as the enemy or at least as a potential enemy". Kahlil may think that he is an American who cannot be subjected to abuse by the men who abduct him; he may claim that he has rights, but the men see him only as an Arab who could be dangerous. As Georgiana Banita (2010: 246) points out, "after September 11, Arab Americans have fallen one step behind other social outsiders, being branded not only as second-rate citizens but also as social hazards". Because he is Syrian, an Arab in America, Kahlil becomes a victim to the hatred of others, but the novel also uses this sudden exposure to danger to provide Kahlil with his family's history. Kahlil will use the stories that his grandmother tells him to learn something about himself as an Arab. The ghost of his Situe comes back to give him the kind of knowledge that he needs to survive his current predicament, but he learns these stories as his own story unfolds.

As the novel opens, however, Kahlil's inability to understand Arabic or to remember his family's stories creates a problem about his sense of himself as an Arab because he lacks some of the most basic knowledge that would make him part of the group. Mohammed Albalawi (2015: 201) claims that, for Arabs, speaking Arabic is important because "Arabs are an ethnic group whose defining characteristic is the language", but Steven Salaita (2005: 149) also points out that "the Arabic language, for the most part, was not passed down from immigrants to children", which is exactly what happens to Kahlil. He tells his grandmother that his father "wanted to be an American" (Noble 2007: 89). His grandmother responds that "he could be both Arab and American" (Noble 2007: 89), but this was something that Kahlil's father did not think was available to him, and he, like other Syrian immigrants at the time, worked very hard to be classified as white. In "Becoming 'White': Race, Religion and the Foundations of Syrian/Lebanese Ethnicity in the United States", Sarah Gualtieri (2001: 30) documents the court battles and other struggles undertaken

by Syrian immigrants who "wanted to be recognized as white because it made them eligible for citizenship and the privileges it afforded". When the first court case was filed in September 1915, "Syrians wrote letters, published articles, hired lawyers, formed associations and raised money all to support the claim of whiteness" (Gualtieri 2001: 31). Syrian immigrants wanted to protect themselves from "the most vitriolic language of the day, which linked immigration to contagion and disease" (Gualtieri 2001: 32).

Philip M. Kayal, in "Religion and Assimilation: Catholic 'Syrians' in America" (1973: 409), states that "nearly ninety percent of all Arabic-speaking immigrants arriving here before 1924 were Syrian Christians from Mount Lebanon who were either Roman Catholics of Eastern rite or Syrian (Eastern) Orthodox. They were not 'Arabs' in the popular sense of the word". Thus, it makes sense that Kahlil's father considers himself American instead of Arab, although his rejection of Arabic is more difficult to understand. Kayal (1973: 418) argues that Syrian Americans who wanted to thrive in their adopted country lived "dual life styles" by keeping their ethnic "differences" to the privacy of family life. Clearly, Kahlil's father makes the choice to assimilate into American culture and keep the Syrian part of him private. Kahlil, at the age of fifty-three and after the attacks on September 11, must confront his father's choice because his Syrian ethnicity marks him as an "other". Although he may have thought of himself as a white man with a tenuous ancestral connection to the Middle East, other people see him as a dangerous "other", which is why the man in the brown suit and the fire marshal take matters into their own hands, abduct him, and brutally interrogate him to get him to admit that he is a terrorist. Kahlil's Situe witnesses his ordeal and helps him, not by showing him how to escape it but by telling him stories.

The ghost of Kahlil's Situe now considers Kahlil's ignorance of his family history and his ancestral language a mistake, and she blames herself. She admits to him that, when she was alive, she "was the sphinx on the porch. The silent woman who sat and smoked". Kahlil argues that she was "the center of the family" (Noble 2007: 244), but she does not want him to ignore what she now knows, which is that she could have done more to teach him his language and his history. Part of Kathleen Brogan's theory on the use of ghosts in American literature is the notion that ghosts "figure prominently wherever people must reconceive a fragmented, partially obliterated history, looking to a newly imagined past to redefine themselves for the future" (Brogan 1998: 29), which is exactly what both Kahlil and his Situe must do. She must make up for her neglect; she must undo the past, the many years of silence when she was alive and could have taught him the family history. Kahlil must in turn recover what he never knew he had lost. He must listen to his grandmother's stories and learn something about himself. In most traditional ghost stories, the trauma happens in the past, but Kahlil's trauma happens in the present when so-called "patriots" target him for being a "terrorist". Kahlil cannot use his memories to reconstruct the present because he does not have many familial memories to help him reconstruct a past that he also never had, and this is the task that his grandmother returns to fulfill.

For Kahlil, seeing the ghost of his grandmother creates problems at home. His wife, Sophie, is less than supportive about his dream of an Arabic speaking eagle or his visiting grandmother. She has no sympathy for him when he complains that, since he woke up from the dream, he has not been able to "retrieve the eagle" or "dream of Situe", and he feels "like a man with the weight of the world on his shoulders", a man approaching "despair" (Noble 2007: 4). Sophie does not care that he is missing his grandmother. Once, when he leaves the house to attend a meeting of the Hashanian Society at church, she tells him to "Try to act normal" (Noble 2007: 5) as if wishing he could see his grandmother again were somehow abnormal behavior for a man. Sophie does not think a man should discuss his grandmother, who has been dead for years, or speak about flying to heaven with an eagle. She has strict gender defined expectations about manly behavior, but Kahlil is distracted and childlike, missing his grandmother at the age of fifty-three. In fact, at the end of the novel, when Kahlil returns home after having been abducted and brutalized, Sophie uses his conversations with his dead grandmother and his dream about the eagle to paint him as a man with emotional problems. She asks the police officer, "did he tell you that a huge white eagle appeared to him in our bedroom and offered to take him to heaven to see" his grandmother? As if that were not disloyal enough, she also tells the officer about the "list of questions about the meaning of life, which he and Situe discussed after sneaking onto the porch of her old house in East Los Angeles" (Noble 2007: 258). Sophie uses Kahlil's magical relationship with his dead grandmother against him. She does not want to understand what Kahlil's connection to his grandmother and the past brings to him.

After she first comes to him in a dream, the ghost of Kahlil's grandmother appears for the first time at the Saints Peter and Paul Syrian Orthodox Church. As Kahlil is delivering a report on the last meeting's minutes for the Southern California chapter of the Hashanian Mutual Aid Society, he is "distracted by a movement in the back of the room" and sees that, "in the corner by the window sitting on her stool was Situe, smoking one of her beloved Duke cigarettes" (Noble 2007: 10). Instead of acting "normal", as his wife had told him to do, he exclaims, "Oh, my God, my God. You're back" and asks "Please, please, don't leave again until I have a chance to talk to you" (Noble 2007: 10) to the total bewilderment of the twelve remaining members of the society who were listening as he read the report. At this point, through the confusion, "Isaac Malouf, who had been a friend of Kali's father, asked Kali whether something was the matter", but Kahlil "didn't respond" (Noble 2007: 10); he finally realizes that the other men in the room cannot see his Situe, and they will probably be as reluctant to accept his visions as Sophie was reluctant to hear about his dream. When the men take a "smoking break" (Noble 2007: 10) and go outside, Kahlil is free to approach his grandmother. He tells her "I've been desperate to talk to you", as "he lifted the hand without the cigarette and kissed it gently and deferentially", but he also tells her "you'll get in trouble if you smoke in here. New rule". In a magical moment, Kahlil neither questions the appearance of his grandmother's ghost nor refrains from interjecting reality.

His Situe tells him, "Don't worry about the cigarettes, Kali. They're made in heaven. No ashes, no cough. And only you can see the smoke" (Noble 2007: 11). The result of this first vision is that Kahlil asks his grandmother about "the nature of the universe". He has already defined himself as "a man with the weight of the world on his shoulders" (Noble 2007: 4), so it is not surprising that he should ask such philosophical questions. His Situe tells him that he "should start with something more modest" and sends him home "to think more carefully about what [he] wanted to ask" (Noble 2007: 12).

Kahlil is so happy to speak to his Situe again that he forgets about Sophie's objections to his dream and tells her, "something wonderful happened tonight" (Noble 2007: 11). He innocently admits to her in bed that his "Situe came back". Sophie's response, however, is, "Oh my God, Kali, no. No more of this" as she "placed her arm over her face and moaned and turned away from her husband's voice" (Noble 2007: 12). Sophie is not willing to accept the magical moments that are now part of her husband's life, and she does not change her mind. At the end of the novel, Sophie tells Kahlil that "it's significant that you got your mind back when Situe went away. Or when you thought she went away" (Noble 2007: 267), which is not true, but Kahlil does not argue the point. After he returns home from having been brutalized by "patriots", he does not offer his wife any details about what happened to him, and he certainly does not tell her that his Situe's ghost helped him survive his ordeal. Sophie assumes that his reluctance to argue means that he agrees with her and demands that he acknowledge that "she didn't come back. She was never here" (Noble 2007: 267), but this is something that Kahlil cannot give her, even to keep the peace. Instead of answering his wife, he "turned his head aside—a gesture much used by Situe to avoid a situation or a feeling she didn't desire" because "it was too much to ask—this disavowal" (Noble 2007: 267). Kahlil cannot deny that his grandmother returns to guide him through a horrible episode of his life and to tell him a few stories that do in fact teach him something about his family and himself.

The first story told by Kahlil's grandmother is the story of her brother Bashara Ibrahim Bashara who steals his parents' "fortune", a few coins hidden in a pouch in a chest, to pay for his passage to America. The loss of the son and their small fortune destroys the family, and soon Tofa, the father, dies. Tasheeda, Bashara's mother, becomes bitter and eventually also dies, which leaves their daughter alone until the local priest arranges for her passage "to New York City, to work for a family from Beirut which had gone a generation before and had great success" (Noble 2007: 28). In the meantime, "Bashara became rich. Very rich. As he promised, he sent money back to his village. He paid for electricity. He built a new church. He erected a small medical clinic and paid city doctors to travel there once a month. Because of him, the people of the village had better lives", but Kahlil exclaims, "*But his fortune was based on a crime!*" (Noble 2007: 28). Kahlil's grandmother's very personal story teaches Kahlil the family history as it actually happened, which means that Kahlil now knows that his family history in America begins with a criminal act.

Bashara's story allows Kahlil's grandmother to tell her grandson that people often have to make hard choices. Those choices change their lives and the lives of others, sometimes for the better. Kahlil, however, is reluctant to listen. He finds Bashara's theft of his parents' treasure abhorrent, but his grandmother wants him to understand that even bad things can lead to something good. Kahlil's grandmother reminds him that, "*because of Bashara, your grandfather had the means to start the store*". This is the store that, she points out, "*supported all of us*" (Noble 2007: 29). Her argument with Kahlil is the result of his outrage at Bashara's crime. He sees only what Bashara did but not the good that came from his action. Kahlil points out that, because of Bashara, "*his mother and father died of broken hearts*", but his grandmother responds, "*They would have died anyway*". He reminds her that Bashara's "*sister endured the bitterness of her mother and worked like a slave*", but his grandmother counters that she "*would never have gotten to the New World if Bashara hadn't stolen the fortune*" (Noble 2007: 28). Kahlil finally satisfies his grandmother when he asks, "*Are you saying that nothing is clearly good or clearly bad? That there is no line between good and evil?*" to which she responds, "*It's more complicated than you think*". Kahlil, however, will not relent and admits, "*I still hold him in content*". His grandmother makes him feel a little better when she tells him that she "*saw him recently out of the corner of my eye roaming around with some of the others*" in heaven, and she "*vowed that I'd stab him in the heart with our father's dagger if I ever saw him again*", but she quickly adds, "*I didn't, of course*" (Noble 2007: 29).

The ghost of Kahlil's grandmother is not simply a storyteller. She tells the stories that make up history, in this case the history of a people who barely kept records. They are, as David Lowenthal (1997: 33) points out, "individual life-histories [that] uniquely illumine historical sources and contexts". Situe's stories have been passed down by word of mouth, and they are based on the lives of real people who sometimes did the wrong thing for a good reason. Lowenthal (1997: 35) also argues that these family stories, what he calls "the domesticated past" evident in "legends of origin and endurance, of victory or victimization, project the present back, the past forward, aligning us with forebears whose virtues we share but whose vices we shun". Situe wants her grandson to learn from these stories to be more flexible, even more forgiving, because she knows what he is about to suffer, but he complains that her stories paint his ancestors in a negative light. He is not exactly willing to listen to his grandmother's ghost, and he also complains that she is not answering his questions. When he asks her if he is "going to die soon", another one of the questions that she chooses not to answer, she explains, "I'm not supposed to give you concrete information; I'm supposed to guide you gently, let you find your own way, draw your own conclusions, seek your own truth". Then, she adds that part of her job is to "answer a question with a question. And so forth" (Noble 2007: 57), a humorous point that exasperates Kahlil but reveals her love for him.

Kahlil's grandmother knows that he is about to be abducted and beaten, so she tries to make him laugh. She appears as a benign, whimsical ghost who, throughout the novel, plays jokes on her grandson. She knows exactly what her

purpose is in her grandson's life, but she worries that she has a lot to teach him and he is "such a slow learner" (Noble 2007: 57). Although she appears to him often, even as the men who abduct him interrogate him, she worries that he is not learning. She asks herself if he could "comprehend in direct discussion the principles she was trying to teach him?" (Noble 2007: 104). The problem is that the principles that she is trying to teach him clash with the things he has learned during his life and sometimes provide confusing messages. She wants him to know "that the only thing certain is change itself; that tradition counts for everything; tradition counts for nothing; that individual courage and prowess matter; that community matters," but most importantly she wants him to realize "that the world is good, the world is bad, and so forth" (Noble 2007: 104-105). Kahlil's Situe has limited time to provide her grandson with the wisdom to survive his ordeal, to become more flexible, but she worries about his ability to understand what she is trying to tell him. Through her own doubts, she tells herself that "he was learning, whether he knew it or not. And she would return when he needed her, whether she could help or not" (Noble 2007: 105).

Situe's second story goes back in time, according to her, "*well over a thousand years ago*", which prompts Kahlil to argue, "with all due respect, dear grandmother, how do you know what happened then?" Her answer, in her customary good humor, is "primary sources, dear grandson. The horse's mouth" (Noble 2007: 44). This is a story about the time "*when our people lived in a small settlement along the edges of the desert, they climbed aboard their camels and rode off in huge numbers to raid the caravans*" but Kahlil interrupts again to argue that "our people lived in the mountains, not the desert" (Noble 2007: 44). Situe ignores him and continues by saying that "*the encounters were bloody; they were murderous*" because "*people cut off each other's heads. And hands. And certain other parts to make sure that their enemies did not proliferate*" (Noble 2007: 44). Again, Kahlil argues that his ancestors "couldn't have been involved in something like that" because "they believed in God" (Noble 2007: 45). Situe is challenging what little Kahlil knows about his family by telling him that some of his ancestors were murderers. If this is true, then his ancestors are responsible for what happens to Haleema, the girl who survives the massacre in Situe's story. According to Situe, after Haleema's caravan is attacked, "*Haleema was overlooked in the slaughter; somehow spared the raping and the death*" (Noble 2007: 45). However, when she hears moaning from the pile of dead bodies, she does not hesitate to help even after she realizes that the man moaning is "*one of the young men who had just murdered her tribe*". Instead of killing him, Haleema "*rose and found a jug of water*", and "*lifting the man's head, she trickled the water over his mouth until he was awake*" (Noble 2007: 46).

Kahlil displays the inflexibility that his grandmother dislikes so much when he instantly judges Haleema's behavior. First, he asks, "he helped kill her family and tribe and she helps him?" To which his grandmother answers, "such things do happen" (Noble 2007: 46). The lesson in this story is that people should be kind to one another and do what is right, not what is expedient or convenient, but Kahlil is not paying attention. He also places himself in a



strange position when he tells his grandmother that "if someone had killed everyone on my caravan, I wouldn't help them. I'd happily watch them die" (Noble 2007: 46). He has apparently forgotten that Haleema saves a murderer who is one of his ancestors, so Haleema is in fact doing him a favor. He also has just complained that his ancestors believed in God and would not have committed the crimes that his Situe says they had committed, but he objects to saving the life of a wounded man. In a sense, Situe's story challenges him to examine what he means when he claims that his people believed in God, which is a statement devoid of meaning until he actually knows that believing in God requires that Haleema help the wounded man, even if he is the enemy.

Haleema's story ends tragically because her people are just as intransigent as Kahlil is now. When the caravan does not arrive at its destination, her people send a search party; they find *"the lone survivor, and praised her extravagantly for her fortitude and toughness. She told them about the attack and the heroic, though futile, defense by her people. She did not tell them about the man"* (Noble 2007: 47). However, when she returns to her village and tells one of her cousins about the man whose life she saved, *"one of the elders"* calls her and asks her *"did you help the man who murdered your family?"* The elder, who should know better, demands to know, *"Did you feed him and nurse him back to health?"* Situe tells Kahlil, *"you can guess what happened to her"*. Kahlil, however, does not want to think about what happens to Haleema because he has also condemned her for doing what was ethical. Instead, he asks, *"what does it have to do with me?"* His Situe's answer is, *"You have the same options as everybody else, Kali"* (Noble 2007: 48). Kahlil's Situe does not want to tell him what he has to do, but she uses a story from his family history to teach him a lesson. She has already told him that her job is to guide him so that he can make the right choice. The option open to Kahlil is whether he is going to become a murderer by taking vengeance on his abductors or risk his life to save the lives of others. This is a choice that Kahlil will soon face as he makes his journey home.

When the man in the brown suit and the fire marshal abduct Kahlil, they take him to "the basement of an abandoned building" that is, according to Situe, who has been monitoring the situation from her cloak of invisibility, "about fifteen miles north" (Noble 2007: 91) of Santa Vista. Scared as he is, Kahlil tells his Situe that he is not sure what he can do if he escapes from that basement. Situe likes what he says and exclaims, "finally" because she hears in his statement "intelligent flexibility, a reasonable acknowledgment of the unknown" (Noble 2007: 92). When he asks, "Can't you just get me out of here? With some heavenly magic or something?" she tells him, "You know the rules", which of course means that she cannot use magic to get him out of his predicament, but what she does is give him once again a bit of wisdom. When Kahlil asks, "Who are these people?" she tells him that "the cast varies, but the script remains the same". Annoyed, he asks, "what kind of answer is that?" Her response is that "it's the same everywhere; only the uniforms change". He says, "They're not wearing uniforms", and she answers, "Exactly". When the men enter to continue the interrogation, she leaves with the final statement, "Now is

the time for bravery, dear Kali. And vision. You have the means. You have the ability" (Noble 2007: 92). Her last words to him work because, as the man in the brown suit leads Kahlil to another room, "Kali felt the proportion of fear to courage shifting slightly. More courage, less fear. He thought of Situe's words; her comforting image rested in a corner of his mind" (Noble 2007: 93). During the interrogation, Kahlil "looked at the faces of the two men and saw the failure of empathy, the corruption of unchecked power" (Noble 2007: 94). Slowly but surely, Kahlil is learning, and the presence of his grandmother's ghost helps him to bear the abuse perpetrated on him by men who hate him.

Situe's third story emphasizes the irrational in everyday life. At the end of the latest interrogation, Kahlil fights back. When his Situe sees him, his "nose was caked with dried blood. His face was swollen. His eyes were black". His Situe tells him, "although we are proud of you. We didn't know you had it in you", and she claims to be speaking for herself and "the colleagues I persuaded that you were worth the trouble" (Noble 2007: 98). Apparently, someone else in heaven is keeping an eye on what happens to Kahlil. He is in pain and not exactly receptive, but she tells him the story of two fountains in an unspecified village at an unspecified time. According to Situe, the women in the village complained that the fountain was too far and carrying water was too difficult. Soon, "*there was so much complaining that their husbands and fathers and sons could no longer tolerate it*", and "*rather than pitch in and help carry, which would have violated all the rules they lived by, they decided to dig another well in the other half of the village and build another fountain over it*" (Noble 2007: 100). Having two fountains in one village works well for a while, but soon the villagers realize that the village is separated and "the eligible daughters are cut off from half of the eligible sons" (Noble 2007: 100). Even after they dig a new well and build a new fountain, "*the talk was fountains, fountains, fountains*" (Noble 2007: 102). Into the dissatisfaction with the fountains walks the priest who was making "*his semiannual visit*" (Noble 2007: 102). He drinks first from the old fountain and then from the new one and praises the water from both; then "*he blessed the few marriages that had taken place in his absence, christened babies, dissolved curses with holy water, erased bad luck by his presence*" (Noble 2007: 102).

The visit goes well until "*on the last afternoon of the priest's visit*", the villagers hear the sound of horses bringing "*The Turks: coming to conscript their young men, to take them to die or starve or fade away from homesickness*". The young priest, "*holding a Byzantine cross in front of him as though he were casting out the devil*" (Noble 2007: 103) confronts the soldiers, and "*just as he reached the leader, a snake slithered out of its hole. One horse bucked and screeched, spooking the others, who also bucked and screeched, thereby igniting the riders, who cursed and drew their weapons, thinking they were being ambushed*" (Noble 2007: 103-104). The result is that "*the young priest—never an agile man—was struck in the chest by plunging hooves. He dropped to the ground and within seconds a fatal blow was delivered*"; this causes the entire village to attack the soldiers. Since "*there was no love lost between these groups. The soldiers, in self-righteous anger, sliced and shot*

*their unarmed attackers. Many villagers were killed*" (Noble 2007: 104). According to Situe, after the slaughter, when the surviving villagers argue and complain about what happened, they blame the second fountain. Their logic tells them that "*They'd ignored God's plan and substituted their own*" and "*built a second fountain when they had a perfectly good one already*" (Noble 2007: 104). By the time Situe finishes telling this story, Kahlil is asleep. She looks at "her dear grandson, wounded, braver than before" and asks herself "Would he prevail? Or merely survive?" (Noble 2007: 105). The story about the two fountains emphasizes the irrational. The priest, a good man, dies for no reason, just as Kahlil could easily die during the interrogations. Her story tries to teach him that the behavior of people does not always make sense.

By this point, the man in the brown suit and the fire marshal hand the investigation over to Orville and Shadrack, who introduce themselves to Kahlil as a thief and a rapist. Because of Orville's insistence that Kahlil should "relate everything in detail. From the beginning. Leaving out nothing. Starting with when Jane Plain brought in her three prescriptions and ordered four pairs of glasses" (Noble 2007: 133), Kahlil realizes that Orville and Shadrack have been planted in the cell to get information out of him. The men continue to insist that he should tell his story, but instead of answering their questions, Kahlil decides to say what he wants to say, not what they want to hear. He now knows that "his struggle to see and understand the collision of personal decision with the forces of history had shut him down" (Noble 2007: 138). In other words, he is being affected by recent events in American history, like the attacks on September 11, but he also realizes that his personal decision to chase Jane Plain to Santa Vista is part of the problem. When Orville asks him, "Do you embrace the Jihad?" he says, "my grandparents came here at the end of the nineteenth century". Kali's voice got louder. "My parents were born here. I was born here". This is not what Orville wants to hear, so he tells him that his story "fails to take into account the specifics of your heritage". Kahlil answers, "I don't divide the world into Arab and non-Arab or Muslim and non-Muslim. I don't think in those terms". Orville replies, "Then you're one of the few these days who doesn't" (Noble 2007: 141). Kahlil's abductors are not interested in the truth. They decide without evidence that Kahlil is a terrorist and take it upon themselves to punish him.

After he escapes from his abductors, Kahlil runs to a Laundromat near by, but the men pursue him. When he sees his tormentors approach, he hides in a dryer. His Situe appears to him in the dryer, but this time she is the one who asks a question. During the interrogation by the men who abduct him, instead of confessing to being a terrorist, Kahlil "confesses" that, when he was a child, his father had once picked him up at school, "and the next day the kids asked me if the colored man was my father". Kahlil, the child, was so ashamed to be different, that he "said no". He asks Orville, "Do you think he knew?" (Noble 2007: 144). As a grown man, Kahlil is ashamed of denying his father, and this is what he confesses. Situe, who hears the story, sneaks into the dryer and demands, "How could you be ashamed of your own father?" (Noble 2007: 156). His excuse is, "I was only a child", but she complains, "Then you should

have been a better child" (Noble 2007: 156). Since her return, this is the first time that she has scolded her grandson, but she relents because he is bloody, bruised, and scared. He asks her, "What shall I do now?" Her response is, "continue your journey" (Noble 2007: 157), which means that he still has to make his way home to his wife. She also answers his other questions with more questions, which upsets Kahlil enough to say, "I don't want any more of your stories" (Noble 2007: 157). Situe does not appear to be offended, but she also never tells him another story.

When Kahlil realizes that the men are gone, he starts running, but he worries that he cannot go to the authorities because he is now convinced that "the fire marshal and the man in the brown suit *were* the authorities" (Noble 2007: 161). He is so distraught that he questions his own right to exist, to move freely in a country he had until then considered his own. He tells himself that, "when he got home and had time to reflect, he'd have to rethink his mixture: how many parts Arab, how many parts husband; how many parts father; how many parts optician, church member, voter (not down party lines, usually). Man?" (Noble 2007: 243). By the end of the novel, Kahlil has been brutally forced to recognize that some part of him may be Arab, and he is now ready to embrace it. Throughout his ordeal and his subsequent journey home, Situe's stories provide him with a sense of who his ancestors were, not by cleaning up their stories but by telling him the truth about their lives. She tells him about the hard choices made by his people and helps him to recognize how the history of these people and their choices are still a part of him and ground him. This is important for Kahlil because, as Lisa Suhair Majaj explains, "family stories frequently ground ethnic identification, and the popularized search for 'roots' is often articulated as 'remembering who you are'" (Majaj 1996: 266).

Fortunately, although Kahlil is not overly concerned with his ethnicity, in his private life he participates in family gatherings and is a member of a Syrian Orthodox Church. He is part of a group of people who share their own ethnic foods. In fact, being able to eat Syrian food is so important to Kahlil that, when he gets to Santa Vista and takes a motel room, he looks through a phone book "hoping to locate an Arabic restaurant" (Noble 2007: 49). When he gets to the Palace of Fine Arts for the belly dancing contest, he is happy to find "traditional Lebanese *mezza: dolmas, tabbouleh, hummus*, olives, bread and cheese, and more, spread out below the stage" (Noble 2007: 74). Of course, this calls attention to his being an "other", for the man in the brown suit who has been following him since he left the airport is now standing beside him and asking, "Can you spell that for me?" as "he took a pencil and small notebook from his breast pocket" (Noble 2007: 74). The suspicious "Arab" word that Kahlil mentions is "hors d'oeuvres" (Noble 2007: 75), but this strange word reinforces his difference. He also knows the names of the dishes, and that positions him as an Arab, the kind of man whom the man in the brown suit and his cohorts consider dangerous. The fact that Kahlil does not speak Arabic and is an optometrist, instead of a terrorist, does not matter to these men.

As he values Middle Eastern foods, Kahlil also values belly dancing. He remembers belly dancing at weddings and other gatherings of his many relatives

and friends, so it is not surprising that, when he watches the belly dancers perform, he tells himself that the women on stage "didn't look like the dancers he remembered. These moved in fits and starts and, heavy or thin, looked angled and pointy and sharp". He may not have lived in Syria, but he does recognize the difference between an American belly dancer and a belly dancer "from the old country". He notes that, compared to the dancers on stage, "their teacher", who is the only Arab among them, "was from the old days. She did anything she wanted to up there" (Noble 2007: 54). Even though he has no memories of the "old days", Kahlil knows what a belly dancer should look like on stage. As Lisa Suhair Majaj points out, "memory plays a familiar role in the assertion of identity by members of ethnic and minority groups" (Majaj 1996: 266). Without realizing it, Kahlil asserts his Syrian identity when he recognizes the one authentic dancer on stage and when he chooses to eat the food of his people.

Like Kathleen Brogan, Stephen M. Hart (2003: 118) associates the appearance of ghosts with the "disembodied memorialisations of a trauma experienced by the subaltern, normally in the past". He argues that "the phantom in magical realist fiction is the projection within an ideologically riven nation of a subaltern forced to 'disappear' as a result of lying (in both senses of the term) on the wrong side of the political, gender, or race line" (Hart 2003: 115). While Kahlil is an "other", an American version of the "subaltern", he does not consider himself as different, and he does not seem to realize that his nation is "riven". When the man in the brown suit and the fire marshal abduct him, take him prisoner, and interrogate him, Kahlil tells them that he has "the right to express [his] opinion. The right to ask questions" because he is "a citizen. For God's sake, we're all citizens" (Noble 2007: 94). These men abduct him because, as his Situe points out to him, "They think you're a terrorist", and to prove it they use as evidence his "nationality, demeanor, activity" (Noble 2007: 89), but Kahlil refuses to believe it. She tells him, "You're an Arab", but his response is, "Even though I can't speak the language?" (Noble 2007: 89). The conversation between Kahlil and his Situe reveals the problem. Even after September 11, Kahlil cannot imagine that anyone would see him as an "other", a possible terrorist. He considers himself an American, not an Arab American. He does not seem to be aware that "in the aftermath of the attacks on September 11, 2001, members of the Arab American community in the United States were exposed to new scrutiny, suffered new discrimination, and faced new uncertainty over their ability to fully enjoy a safe place within American society" (King Hainsworth 2006: 191).

At the beginning of his journey home, Kahlil is picked up by a rig whose driver, Benny, takes a Polaroid picture of everyone he picks up and hangs it on the dashboard. Benny tells him that the photograph is the cost of the ride. Kahlil does not think much of Benny's habit of taking pictures, but he admires the fact that there are many pictures hanging in the rig. Clearly, Benny has helped a lot of people, mostly Mexicans, judging by the pictures. When Benny tells him that he is carrying Mexicans in the back, Kahlil realizes that the Mexicans are illegal aliens and tells Benny, "I think I'd better get out. I have enough troubles as it is" (Noble 2007: 166). This is, however, one of those options that his Situe told him about. Although she is not appearing to him in the rig, Kahlil notices that his

Situe had "temporarily entered one of Benny's photographs from which she winked at him during their ride" (Noble 2007: 170). He is trying to decide whether he is going to get off the rig or continue his journey, but when the exit that he is supposed to take comes up, he stays in the rig. He chooses the journey. By chance, he also chooses one of his options because, when the rig stops and Kahlil goes to the back to meet the Mexicans, he immediately realizes that something is not right. There are "five men and a woman" (Noble 2007: 183) in the back, and Kahlil apologizes "for intruding, for alarming you", but he also apologizes because he has "nothing to offer you, nothing to give. Which is not my usual way. We Arabs", he says, calling himself an Arab for the first time, "are famous for our hospitality" (Noble 2007: 184). Because he has nothing to give them, he decides to tell them a story about "*a brother and three sisters [who] traveled across the sea from the old world to the new*" (Noble 2007: 185). Kahlil obviously makes the connection between the way his ancestors traveled to America and the way these Mexicans are making the journey, but his story is not well received. Mario, the coyote who is traveling with the Mexicans, objects. Kahlil tells him that he is "trying to comfort", but Mario asks, "With a fairy tale?" (Noble 2007: 185).

Kahlil dislikes Mario instinctively, and he dislikes him even more when he hears Mario's story about being framed for killing a man whose body was never found simply because he "had an affair with another man's wife". Kahlil listens to Mario's story, but "he did not like this man. He did not trust him, He was wary of tricks and lies. At bottom, he disapproved of infidelity, including his own" (Noble 2007: 187). When he sees how Mario "leaned over the woman, took her arm and pulled her up", Kahlil realizes that something is not right. He asks, "What are you doing?" but Mario tells him to "stay out of the way" as he "led the woman through the door and into the passage-way. She did not resist; she did not acquiesce" (Noble 2007: 188). Kahlil jumps out of the rig to get help from the guard at the Galaxy Casino where the rig is parked, but the man mocks him because of the bruises on his face and body. When Benny returns to the rig, he tries to tell him that Mario "mistreats those people", but Benny is drunk and does not listen. His Situe then appears on "top of a cement truck, over the huge dome where the cement was mixed" and Kahlil tells her, "I need to save them" (Noble 2007: 195). Instead of acting concerned about what he is doing, Situe says, "Tell me instead about your story" (Noble 2007: 195), and it pleases him that she had heard his attempt to tell a story. He is however plotting to defeat Mario, so Situe once again helps him by informing him that "the immigration authorities are at the edge of the parking lot" (Noble 2007: 196). Instead of attacking Mario, Kahlil decides to scare him into leaving. He takes the option of convincing him that his life is in danger instead of using a weapon against him, and his ploy works because "Mario jumped from the truck, strode across the parking lot, entered the casino, and effortlessly disappeared into the crowds" (Noble 2007: 199). The illegal aliens in the truck are free to go, and Mario loses the money that he would have made when he delivered these people to their destination.

After the rig leaves the parking lot, Kahlil stays behind and continues his journey on foot. He saves the illegal aliens from being sold by Mario, so he stops to admire the windmills whose "soft, spinning song called to him" (Noble 2007: 201). This is when he finds his grandmother worried that the people who are trying to enter heaven "feel entitled; they argue with everything we say", for they have "no humility, no insight" (Noble 2007: 204). Kahlil once again attempts to engage his grandmother in a philosophical discussion by asking her who actually gets into heaven. When he asks, "what about Hitler? Could he have gone to heaven?" she tells him that "Somebody always asks about him. Him and Attila the Hun and various serial killers". Still, she "can't provide information about specific people", but what she does tell him is that "what the questioner is really asking is whether redemption is available to the worst person on earth. Whether being sorry at the end can erase what a person has done before" (Noble 2007: 208). This is one of the most important tenets of Kahlil's religion, but his *Situe* does not provide him with an answer.

During his conversation with *Situe*, while he is trying to comfort her about the demands of her new job, Kahlil encounters Max, who shoots at a rattlesnake that Kahlil had not noticed. Max claims to be a Vietnam veteran who is living off the grid, but he is simply a man too damaged to live anywhere else. Kahlil likes Max and is surprised by "this unexpected harmonious meeting of apparently dissimilar human spirits" (Noble 2007: 216). Max in turn helps him by shooting the rattlesnake, feeding him, and taking him to an abandoned power plant where Kahlil can take a bath. Max never asks what happened to him, either because he does not care or because he does not think it is his business. He simply accepts Kahlil and helps him. They get along so well that Kahlil tells Max, "I come from a long line of storytellers" (Noble 2007: 229) and tells him the story of his grandfather Mansour, "his two younger brothers and younger sister" who "planned to live in Syria Town", in Boston, "with their mother and her new husband, and the four stepbrothers they had never met. Mansour had been his mother's favorite in the old country. And now he was an orphan", Max asks. "Thought his mother was alive" (Noble 2007: 230), but this is something that no one in Kahlil's family had ever stated, so Kahlil gives him the same answer that he was given as a child, "There is more than one way to be an orphan" (Noble 2007: 230).

For the first time in his life, Kahlil questions the family story and the reason why members of his family turned their backs on Mansour's mother. When the four children from her first marriage arrive in Boston, her new husband puts the three boys to work as peddlers. The boys hate their stepfather for making them work, but work allows them to make enough money to buy a car and leave Boston for California. The three boys obviously blame their mother for her new husband's behavior, so they leave her behind in Boston, and no one in the family ever mentions her. Kahlil now tells Max that Mansour's story "became a family legend of Arab success and independence", but he now realizes that "there was no room in it for my great grandmother". As he tells Max this story, Kahlil realizes that he "never asked how my grandfather could be an orphan at the same time he had a mother who outlived

him" (Noble 2007: 234). Clearly, his Situe's stories have taught Kahlil to question everything, including his family's stories.

Through the rest of his journey, Situe appears to Kahlil many times, but not as she had before. She plays tricks on him by showing her face in unusual places. Kahlil sees his "Situe's head—disembodied, like a Cheshire cat, a mischievous smile on her face—in the shade of a gray-green shrub" (Noble 2007: 228). When he hops a train to finally go home, he sees her face on billboards, "one of Situe selling coffee, one of Situe urging citizens to vote, another of Situe exhorting passengers to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ". Kahlil tells himself that his grandmother has an "apparent inability to resist playing jokes". He sees "the stoic, silent grandmother of his childhood transformed" because "she had a much better sense of humor dead than she'd had when alive" (Noble 2007: 242). His Situe appears to him in the railroad car "on the sandbag facing Kali" (Noble 2007: 243), and she returns to complain to him that he had told Max about "your poor drunken grandmother, passed out on the floor". She adds that hearing him tell this story about the last few days of her life "was humiliating" because he "revealed secrets. Leaving me no privacy, no pride". Her point is that she wants "to be remembered with dignity" because she feels that she "accomplished very little" (Noble 2007: 244) during her lifetime.

Situe's final visit with Kahlil takes place after he has a heart attack. Through the pain, he sees his "Situe who, ahead of him, had turned around and waited with outstretched hand. At this time, instead of the plump hand of a small boy, the hand of a man, albeit imperfect, accepted her welcome". However, when he attempts to walk beside her, she tells him to "pull yourself together". He asks if she has "bad news?" for him, and she tells him, "There's news. It's neither good nor bad" (Noble 2007: 272). At the end of the novel, Situe is still joking with her grandson, but she tells him that there was "a mistake in the timing. Sometimes our clocks are off. What can I say?" (Noble 2007: 273), and this is not his time to leave. At this point, Kahlil "looked behind him on the path and saw that it was full of possibilities and sorrow". His grandmother looks at him "with what could only be called infinite love" and tells him, "It's a cruel world, Kali. Enjoy" (Noble 2007: 273). Kahlil's grandmother, his Situe, returns from the dead to guide him through a horrible experience. In the process, she also provides him with stories about his family history that give him a better sense of who he is as a Syrian in America. The stories that she tells him represent the history of his people, the good and the bad of many lives for whom survival often meant making difficult choices. Kahlil learns from his Situe that stories are important and that they must be told.

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## Representation of Pluralism in Literary History from Riau Island, Indonesia

*By Mu 'jizah\**

*One kind of the genre in literature is literary history, often called historiography traditional. In 17<sup>th</sup>--19<sup>th</sup> century this type of work was commonly found in the Riau Island manuscripts, especially in Pulau Penyengat. This area in ancient times became a scriptorium of Malay manuscripts. Several authors and scribes' works, such as Raja Haji, Raja Ali Haji, Raja Ibrahim, and Salamah Binti Ambar and a descendant of Encik Ismail bin Datuk Karkun, were found in the region. Their works among others are Tuhafat An-Nafis, Silsilah Melayu, dan Bugis, and Hikayat Negeri Johor. In Indonesia, the manuscripts are kept in the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta and Indrasakti Foundation in Riau Island. Some manuscripts among others were found in the Leiden University Library and KITLV Library in Netherlands. The historiography is useful to explore the source of historical knowledge, especially in search for understanding the process in the formation of Malay ethnic group with plural identities in Indonesia. The aim is to find representation of pluralism in the past Malay literary history which has contributed and strengthened nationalism. In the study we use qualitative research and descriptive methods of analysis. The research has found that the Malay ethnic group in Indonesia derived from various ethnic groups that integrated and became a nation with pluralities. According to the myth, the Malay ethnic group came from the unity between the upper-world or the angelic world and the under-world depicted as the marriage between Putri Junjung Buih and a human being. This marriage is a symbol of unity of microcosm and macrocosm. From this unity many kings were born and then, they integrated in the other nations ranging from Macedonia, China, India, to many tribes in other countries. The pluralism was established through marriage, trade, and expansion of power.*

**Keywords:** *Identity, Integration, Pluralism, Traditional historiography, Unity*

### Introduction

It is known by many that Indonesian people are multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-religious. C. van Vollenhoven (1918-1933) classified Indonesian tribes or ethnic groups based on their cultural differences into 19 customary law areas (*adatrechtskringen*). Melalatoa (1995) developed this classification to include 500 ethnic groups in Indonesia which ranks second after India for its biggest numbers of multi-ethnic groups. With multi ethnic groups and cultures, Indonesia has some benefits; among others are strategic advantages, political advantages, and cultural advantages in the form of social and national strengths known as the archipelagic state of the Republic of Indonesia.

Those ethnic groups are scattered in various places in Indonesia. In Sumatra there are Acehnese and the Gayo, the Minangkabau, the Malayan Riau, Malayan Palembang, and Kerinci. In Jawa, there are Javanese, Sundanese, as well as Malay ethnic group (Betawi). In Bali and West Nusa Tenggara, there are three ethnic groups, namely, the Balinese, the Sasak people, and Bimanese. In Borneo, there

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are Malay people in Pontianak, Sambas, Banjarmasin, and Kutai besides the Dayaks and Banjar tribe. In Celebes there are other tribes or ethnic groups, such as the Bugis, Makassar, Mandar, Torajan, and Wolio tribes. In Moluccas, there are Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, and Ambonese. Many kinds of tribes can also be found in Papua.

Each ethnic group has its own culture, faith, and language. In the past there were a lot of faiths among those ethnic groups, such as Kaharingan and Kejawen. Later on, only Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism were acknowledged in Indonesia. Currently, after a new policy on decentralization was issued, a number of ethnic groups have revitalized their old traditions of faith.

Those ethnic groups have their own local languages for communication. According to Badan and Bahasa (2016), there are about 652 local languages in Indonesia, some of which have no longer been used or lost their popularity among local people. Within those local languages the ethnic groups keep their local wisdom and philosophies.

These diversities will surely become rich and positive qualities if they have been managed properly by the Indonesian government. Accordingly, Indonesia will become a united nation with its pluralities. Indeed, pluralism has been accepted, yet, it would turn to a boomerang if the government mismanaged it through its strategic policy. It may trigger separation. It is for integration that Indonesian forefathers adopted the principle of Unity in Diversity (*Bhineka Tunggal Ika*). This philosophy has been obeyed by the whole society.

Besides the philosophy of pluralism, Indonesia also bases its state ideology on *Pancasila* (the Five Principles). *Pancasila* basically contains five principles on how Indonesian people live in the country. Both the ideology and philosophy have become national guide and insight for people in Indonesia. They are represented in its politics, socio-cultural relationship, and arts. There is also the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In article 29 section 2, there is a statement that the state government guarantees everyone to perform his or her own belief and religion. Accordingly, each religion's follower should be tolerant to other religion's followers. This article is the realization of the first principle of *Pancasila*. Belief in God the Almighty.

Recently Indonesia has experienced a conflict upon pluralism. The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia has been undermined by several critical issues upon racism known as SARA (stands for Suku, Ras, and Agama). One of the latest incidents was about the campaign in the previous election in Jakarta resulted in the arrest of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, the former Governor of the Greater Area of Jakarta, with accusation of blasphemy.

There is vivid evidence that state control based on plural societies is not an easy task to do. Every part of the society, including the government as well as individuals, should be wise enough in taking decision and should engage in self-reflection to work together in harmony.

Before the independence of Indonesia, the control of pluralism in the society had been held by the rulers of many kingdoms in *Nusantara* (ancient name of Indonesia). Since August 17, 1945, all the kingdoms have agreed to unite into one

nation, the Indonesian people. The people also chose Malay language as the sole national language used in the country. This language has been later known as Bahasa Indonesia, and has become the state official language of Indonesia.

The history of this nation is an interesting object of research, especially the process of adopting the Malay language as the national language of Indonesia. Before 1945, the Malay sovereignties were spread out all over the country. This ethnic group is identical in the use of the Malay language in five big islands, in Aceh, Padang, Riau, Jambi, and Palembang (in Sumatra island), in Java, the Malay ethnic group resides in Batavia/Jakarta. The Malay ethnic group also lives throughout the Borneo island. In Celebes island, the Malay ethnic group lives in Makassar and Buton, and this ethnic group also lives in Moluccas, Ternate, Tidore and in Papua.

Among the whole Malay ethnic groups, the Malay people who lived in Riau were the most advanced due to its geographical location which is close to the Malacca straits. During the time period from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Malacca became the trade center where people came to negotiate. In terms of language, the Malay people in Riau has also shown their advancement. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, intellectuals in Riau were aware of the importance of a standard Malay language for a medium of communication. Therefore, Raja Ali Haji wrote Malay grammar, *Bustanul Katibin* and a dictionary of the Malay language, *Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa*. Based on those two references, Kridalaksana (1998) stated that Malay language in Riau is the standard language used among the Malay people. Numerous works and handwritten manuscripts were also published due to those two references. Those works function as social documents that record of the Malay people's thought in Riau Island.

Pulau Penyegat is one of so many places in Riau with abundant collections of manuscripts. This island has once become the center of the government in Riau. Pulau Penyegat has become one of the places in Riau for copying manuscripts or scriptoriums (Mu'jizah 2013). Numerous genres of literary work in the form of *hikayat* and *syair* have been found in this island. Among those works, the most popular ones are traditional historiographies. Those works were composed by Raja Haji, Raja Ali Haji, Raja Ibrahim, and Salamah Binti Ambar, and the descendants of the famous author, Encik Ismail bin Datuk Karkun.

Samples of the traditional historiography found in this area are *Tuhfat An\_Nafis*, *Sejarah Raja-Raja Riau*, *Sejarah Melayu*, *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis*, *Syair Sultan Mahmudin Lingga*, and *Hikayat Negeri Johor*. Instead of Myth, historical elements represent the strength of historiography. The Bugis and Makassar with their strong tradition in historical records also gave strong influence in those works. The manuscripts are securely kept in several places, such as in Indrasakti Foundation in Riau Island, in the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta, and also in Leiden University Library and KITLV Library in the Netherlands.

Those manuscripts represent a record of the social documents and livelihood of the society in the past. The idea of pluralism among Malay people can also be found in those manuscripts. They believed that plural society derived from their ancestors. Those people had survived through various phases in the history during

multi-cultural encounters. Eventually, the multicultural encounters had created a certain society with pluralities. Numerous nations and ethnic groups had merged and assimilated into a complex society as depicted in the historiography.

One of the examples is the belief that Malay people were the descendant of Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain from Macedonia. In another literary work, they were the offspring of Sea Goddess and Putri Junjung Buih. Those different versions of family tree did not have any effect on the society under the sovereignty of the Malay Kingdom. Multi-cultural encounters also happened among other Malay ethnic groups—among the Bugis, the Makassar, among the Minangkabau, the Acehnese, and the Jambi people. The existence of those ethnic groups and their reciprocal influence have become the topic of this paper which focuses on the pluralism in Malay society in literary history in Riau.

The objective of this paper is to explore the process in the formation of plural ethnic groups in Malay and to find its representation in the historiography. Hopefully, these findings will contribute to better understanding of the processes in the formation of pluralistic societies in Indonesia, help strengthening the nation and equip people with knowledge that multi-cultural blend is something positive that can be adopted for the development of ideas and self-maturity just like what happened in the past.

## Literature Review

Many kinds of research in the process of the formation of the plural Malay society have focused on several aspects. Some researchers, for example, Liaw (1993), claims that historiography consists of two elements, the myth and the history. Myth refers to sacred beings, while history deals with the historical events and real people. Both myth and history can be used to trace the origin of mankind, more specifically the Malay people as part of Indonesia people.

The Malay traditional historiography, such as *Tuhfat An-Nafis*, have become the object of study in several research. Matheson (1991), for instance, divided his research into three parts. The first part was about the origin of the literary work, the author, and the source of its historiography. The second part focused on the manuscript and on the process of editing the texts. The third part presented the various versions of this *hikayat*. *Tuhfat An-Nafis* has been studied by Teng (2015) in the historical framework. Noor (2014) has also studied this manuscript by focusing on the ethical values during the reigns of Johor, Riau, and Lingga. The object of his research was one of the versions of *Tuhfat An-Nafis* which had been kept in Trengganu.

Other manuscripts related to Riau island were studied by Kratz (1977). In his research entitled *Sejarah Peringatan Negeri Johor*, the treasures and the historical aspects of Johor are discussed. Yusof (1984) in another study entitled *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis* explored the origin of the Malay people who might have mingled with the Bugis. The manuscript mentioned four famous Bugis people, one of which was Daeng Kamboja. The four Bugis people helped Sultan Sulaiman during the war against Raja Kecik. Similar study related to Bugis in the Malay

region was done by Hamid (1980) based on the manuscript *Hikayat Upu Daeng Menambun*. He traced back the origin of Upu Daeng Menambun from the era of Sultan Muhammad until the descendants of Bugis in Sebukit.

Another study related to Riau was done by Mulyadi (1974). In his study entitled "*The History of the King of Riau*", he explored the origin of the Kings of Riau. In another study related to Pulau Penyengat in Riau, three researchers—Julaiha et al. (2017) exposed the history and roles of Riau with numerous historical sites. Those sites have become the objects of historical tourism in Riau.

Besides Riau, there is another area, namely Siak, with historical connection with Riau. Research on Siak was done by Supandi (2015) who focused on the important role of Siak in the historical development of Riau, especially regarding the conflict between the Kingdom of Siak and the Dutch colonials. He only explored the period between 1760-1946 by taking into account the concept of pluralism in historiography.

The topic of pluralism in Indonesia has often been related with multiculturalism. The topic has been studied several times, yet any research on pluralism and its connection with the Malay are still open for discussion. Mostly the studies on pluralism in Indonesia have been based on difference in religions. One of the studies that is worth mention was done by Latifah (2016). It was said in this study that differences in religion were considered in Al-Quran as God mystery, and therefore should be accepted with no reserve. Al-Quran accepted pluralism in mankind with spiritual intrinsic or perennial value. Islam principally tolerates other religious followers to conduct their own rituals. Based on this religious tolerance, the Jews and Christianity get their total freedom. The relation between multi-religions and nationality is interesting to observe Indonesian history.

The main focus in this study is to observe the origin of the nation and ethnic groups viewed from the political aspects during the aristocracy era in the past. Smith (2003: 60) has ever mentioned that the concept of nationality was closely related to nationalism. It has become a hot topic in the discussion of modern countries with sovereignty and nationality as their ideology. There was a semi religious power that might have played in the separation of kingdoms which later created new nations. Indeed, those nations were created based on a "newly created tradition" as a result of social engineering to fulfill the interest of the elite in power. It was done through people's power during the general election. Smith considered nation as an imaginary community for political reasons to anticipate the lack of cosmic religiosity. It may happen for the nations to develop in linear time during the print capitalism emerged as the new concept.

Before the second world war, there were many scholars who believed that nations existed in each period in the history of mankind although the idea of nationalism has just emerged recently. They said that nations had existed from some time in the past. This perspective is known as perennials, something related with race and nation. Most often race has been considered as separate culture from the descendant rather than the legacy that was inherited through biological genetics known as ethnicity.

## Methodology

In the study of pluralism in historiography, especially those related to Riau, the qualitative method was taken combined with the descriptive analytic methods. The qualitative approach focuses on the social strata to find the truth. Several connections of the object being studied and the constraints were analyzed to find the answer of the questions regarding the social phenomena and to identify their roles and meanings.

The first step is the data collection from several written manuscripts in Riau as the sources. The primary as well as secondary reference was taken from literature study. The next step is to identify the aspect of the story through any related motives with pluralism in the stories. Those are stories about kingdoms as the basis of nationality in the past. Several aspects have been put into account. The political aspect can be seen through wars, succession of power, diplomacy between kingdoms, agreement between kingdoms. The economic aspect appears in trade and cruise. From the aspect of law, migration and integration of people as well as their cultural traits are considered as the identity of the Malay people.

To identify what aspect will be most prominent, it is important to analyze the motive of the story. Motive is part of the story which is repeated and connected to the pluralism among the Malay people. Motive comes up as a concept that becomes dominant through deliberate repetition. These motives have appeared through significant phrases (Abrams 1971). According to Sutrisno (1983), motives were the driving elements to the next events in the plot of the story that lead to the climax and the end of the story. The types of motives in story has been listed in Thompson (1958) and Propp (1968).

In order to understand the concept of pluralism, several opinions have been taken into account. *Plural* as a word means more than one, and *ism* is a concept or distinctive system or practice towards pluralism in Indonesia, viewed from the social, political, and religious aspects. These three aspects are controlled harmoniously so that the community may interact and live together in peace. Although there are a lot of differences, people should have great tolerance and respect to each other to live harmoniously. This awareness is important in order to accept similarities and differences among them.

Pluralism is thus considered as an attitude to admit and to understand pluralities as a positive values and blessings. This attitude has become the concept of pluralism discussed in this study. This concept is quite important to bridge the connection between members of plural communities in Malay. Pluralism can be identified from the diversities in races, religions and cultures. And without good control, it may trigger conflict that leads to separation or disintegration. When it happens, there will not be any more harmony among members of the community. The lack of harmony will threaten the disintegration of this nation as Indonesian people. Pluralism among the Malay people appeared in their literary works. This ethnic group has been living through the myths and the interaction with other ethnic groups in term of politics, economy, and social interest.

A nation, according to Grosby (2011: 9), is considered as a community in its own birthplace. When someone was born in a nation, based on his biological



birthplace he belongs to that nation. This fact has developed in history and territorial structures within a nation. Nation is one form of relationship related to territories. Nation may exist in different territories such as different ethnic groups, countries or cities as long as there is a uniformity in culture in a long period of time.

Several factors are considered significant in the previous quotations. Those are the birthplace, biological facts concerning the birth in history, territorial structure of a cultural community in the form of kinship, and uniformity of cultures. Accordingly, the word *kebangsaan* (nationality) derives from *bangsa* (nation) in KBBI (2017) with a number of meanings. The first meaning is "about a nation" or related to nation. The other meaning is self awareness of being a member of a country. According to the meaning and concept of nation and nationality, there is a question whether the characteristics of a nation as proposed by Grosby can be used to identify the characteristics of Malay people in Indonesia as shown in the classic Malay literatures.

The next step is the analysis and the interpretation. Various data will be analyzed and interpreted by considering numerous phenomena inherent in the stories. The interpretation is performed within the context of the people during that past era, i.e., during precolonialism and colonialism. The colonial era happened during the Dutch colonialism and English colonialism. According to Ardison (2017: 26) colonialism was intended to exploit the natural resources of the colonized country for the benefits of the occupiers, in this case for the Dutch and the English colonials. Imperialism is intended to influence every aspect of the life, especially in politics and power. From the 14<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this event happened through a very long process. There were some important points in the history of the Malay people in their efforts to become a unified nation and ethnic group.

## Findings

Based on the inventory of the traditional historiography in Riau, there are seven literary works that fit the objective of this research. These are (1) *Sejarah Melayu*, (2) *Tuhfat An-Nafis*, (3) *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis*, (4) *Hikayat Negeri Johor*, (5) *Syair Sultan Mahmud di Lingga*, (6) *Sejarah Raja-Raja Riau*, and (7) *Hikayat Upu Daeng Menambun*. However, only four literary works were chosen for this paper because of their completeness in story. They are (1) *Sejarah Melayu*, (2) *Tuhfat An-Nafis*, (3) *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis*, and (4) *Hikayat Negeri Johor*. Two manuscripts that were not chosen have similar historical background. The historical and political backgrounds in *Syair Sultan Mahmud di Lingga*, and *Sejarah Raja-Raja Riau* could also be found in those four literary works.

The four stories that became the object of this study were the edited versions of some philologists. *Sejarah Melayu* was edited by Ahmad (1986), *Tuhfat An-Nafis* was edited by Matheson (1991), *Sejarah Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis* was edited by Yusof (1984), and *Hikayat Negeri Johor* was edited by Mu'jizah (1996).

All those literary works were related to Riau, either the topics are about Riau, or written in Riau.

Those four literary works were written in the Malay language—the language that was adopted as the national language in Indonesia on October 28 2018. The Malay language had become the pioneer of National language as well as formal state language as stipulated in the Constituent in 1945. The unitary concept is also inherent in the philosophy of Indonesia *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) that welcomes pluralism in Indonesia.

Indonesian people should keep the unity amidst the pluralities. In order to do this, it is important to trace back what and how the Malay people have kept their unity despite their pluralism. The track can be done by identifying the background, characters, and important events through the motives of the stories. The four stories have long background of time as well as numerous background of place. The stories started from the pre-colonial time to the colonial era. The places mentioned in the stories were related to the toponymy or names of places scattered in many areas. Those places were also related to the territorial places within the authorities of certain countries. Some of those places were located overseas while most of the places were in Nusantara.

The process of tracing pluralism in the stories should relate to old stories about kingdoms and the royal families. Those kingdoms had their own territories according to their political power. Some parts of the stories are also related to social and economic aspects. The economic aspect appeared in the depiction of trade activities. Another things that deserves attention is the fact that each kingdom has its own cultural elements that can be considered as the local cultures. The legal aspect appeared in mutual agreement between countries. The migration and integration in those kingdoms would eventually lead to plural nation. Several aspects in the stories will be studied through the motives of the stories.

The first manuscript to discuss is the *Sejarah Melayu* (the History of Malay). This is a masterpiece of Malay literature, because it described the kinship and the origin of the Malay communities. The first link began with the arrival of Raja Iskandar Zulkarain, a great King from Macedonia. The second phase described how the great King defeated many kingdoms and united them into one big power. One way of unifying power was done through marriage, for example by marrying an Indian princess, also with Chinese princess. Through marriage, his power grew immensely because of the integration of power among several kingdoms.

In the third phase, exertion of power was done through invasion. A number of countries that were defeated through war were Perak and Siam (Thailand). Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain also defeated Tumasik (now Singapore) and became a ruler there.

Some of King Iskandar Zulkarnain descendants mentioned in the stories are King Suran, Sang Sapurba, and Wan Sundari. Just like their father, those rulers also exerted their power onto Bukit Seguntang (Palembang). In Palembang, King Suran married Mpuk Walini and Wan Empuk. Wan Sundari was King Suran daughter who later on married the ruler of Majapahit in Java. Other political-based marriage also happened with the princess from Tanjungpura, and princess from Bintan Kingdom, Sang Nila Utama.

Son of Sultan Iskandar Syah married Putri Junjung Buih. In the *Sejarah Melayu*, the princess born Sang Sapurba, the king of Pagarruyung, Minangkabau. Another victory over Tumasik was also described in the story. Sang Nila Utama went to a certain place known as Tanjung Bemban in Tumasik and changed the name into Singapura because there was a lion named Tun Sri Buana.

During the process of integrating several parts of the Malay regions, the Malay princess from Singapore rejected the dowries offered by Raden Ino Mertawangsa, king of Majapahit. As a result, war between two kingdoms was unavoidable. After several wars, finally Majapahit won the war and King Iskandar fled to the Malacca Strait accompanied by his pet dog. With the help of his pet dog he overpowered a new region called Malacca. King Iskandar resided there and had three children.

Malacca then became the center of international trade. Its fame went far into Keling and a descendant of King Keling went to Malacca and married a princess of Malacca. Malacca was attacked by Siam, but survived. In the end Siam overpowered Pahang that was led by Sultan Mansur Syah. The position of Pahang became stronger, and the King of Pahang was elected as a trainer for elephants as part of its armed cavalry.

In another part of *Sejarah Melayu* there was a story about the migration of Arabian people to Malay. It also indicated the beginning of Islam period in Malay. Those Arabians came from Jeddah. It was told in the story that King Kecil dreamt of meeting the Rasulullah. The next morning when he woke up, he was surprised to find out that he had been circumcised and was able to read the Quran. The Arabians had good interpersonal skills and a lot of Malay people soon became the Islam followers. The king was later given the title Sultan Mahmud Syah. During his time, *Adat Raja-Raja Melayu* was created.

The vast expansion of Malay kingdom also reached Pasai. Merah Silu was told to grant gold with the grandson of Raja Ahmad. He then build the kingdom of Pasai. Pasai was considered as a powerful kingdom in Malay. Several scriptures and inscriptions found in Pasai cemetery showed that it had its golden era in the past.

The power of Malay kingdom expanded widely until it reached Makassar (Raja Semerluki) and Patani. However, the power began faltering with the arrival of Peringgi ship from Goa. Alfonso de Albuquerque, king of Peringgi attacked Malacca. Because of Sri Nara Diraja, Malacca survived and the Peringgi went back to Goa. King Peringgi with its strong navy attacked Malacca again, and finally succeeded in defeating the Malacca arm forces. Sultan Mahmud Syah fled to Pagoh, from Pagoh he went to Muar, and finally reached Bintan. Paringgi pursued him by attacking Bintan. Sultan Mahmud Syah fled again to Kampar, an inland areas surrounded by woods.

In *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis* some examples of pluralism were shown through the descendants of King Malay and King Bugis with the migration of Putri Balkis, Siti Malengkai who married King of Macedonia. From the marriage, born La Madusilat. He was the first Islam ruler in the region. This king had 5 children: Daeng Perani, Daeng Menambun, Daeng Celak, Daeng Kemasa, and Daeng Marewa. Those five Daeng went to Malay and married Malay princesses.

The integration of Bugis and Malay people took place widely in Riau, and the expansion went to Siantan.

The power of Bugis people and Malay in Riau became stronger because of the leadership of Sultan Sulaiman, king of Riau. He successfully made Riau as a popular center for trade, even the Chinese people came there to trade gambier. Many Sayeed also came from Arab for trading. They lived in the mosques. Johor also enjoy prosperity in trading. The ethnic groups from Johor was popular among the Malay people because of their brave adventures. To expand its power the Bugis people also married princesses from Malay.

Bugis people dominated the maritime trade. They also succeeded in expanding their power in politics. During the reign of Sultan Sulaiman, Riau became part of Bugis domination. Their sole enemy was Raja Kecik from Minangkabau who ruled Siak.

Five Bugis descendants expanded Bugis power onto several areas in Malaysia, i.e., in Kedah, Selangor and Siantan. Some of them also went to Sambas and Mempawah in Borneo. Formerly Daeng Kemase and Daeng Menambun went to Sambas to pay a visit. In Sambas, Daeng Kemase married Tun Tengah, the Sultan's sister from Sambas. Daeng Menambun went to Mempawah and married the princess also daughter of Sultan Mempawah.

Another descendant of Bugis, Jamril, went to Dayak and did some trading there. Later on he refused for a proposal to marry a Dayak girl. Afterwards, came Daeng Rilaka to continue the business with the Dayak people. Through this trading, Bugis successfully overpowered Dayak. Another Bugis man went to Batavia to help the Dutch colonial fighting against the Chinese people. He joined the high officials in Batavia.

In another story, *Tuhfat An-Nafis*, the Bugis people succeeded to expand their power to Tumasik (now Singapore). Some parts of this story are similar to the parts narrated in other stories. With skillful strategies, the Bugis people allied with Sultan Sulaeman and became Raja Muda in Riau. Political marriage was frequently performed by the Bugis people to strengthen their power in Malay lands.

The interesting part of the story was when Raja Haji, a descendant of a Bugis king fought against Dutch infiltration to the Malay islands. The Dutch colonial at that moment had occupied most of the Malacca Straits. The Dutch armed forces tried to attack Malay but failed because of Raja Haji's opposition. Finally, the Dutch officials agreed to sign an agreement.

Raja Haji was eventually defeated by the Dutch colonial because of the tricky agreement. The Bugis people in Riau and Lingga fled to Rembau. In this story, Sultan Sulaiman was told to ally with the Dutch. After he deceased, his throne was succeeded by Sultan Ahmad who was still 8 years old. During this era, Raja Haji showed his patriotic opposition. He held the position of Engku Kelana.

Raja Haji allied with Sultan Indragiri to attack Minangkabau. During that time, drug deal was still legal, and Yang Dipertuan Muda was able to pay his debt to the Dutch from drug trading. When Raja Haji took a voyage to Malacca, his ship was stolen and drowned. Raja Haji went to Malacca and asked for reimbursement for his loss. The Dutch agreed to pay the compensation. Soon

afterwards Raja Haji was appointed as *Yang Dipertuan Muda* in Riau. Bugis people became prosperous which caused jealousy among the Malay people.

One day a conflict erupted between Raja Haji and the Dutch colonial about profit sharing, and this initiated a war between them. The war took place in Pulau Penyengat for about a year long. Riau was aided by people in Selangor and eventually the Dutch retreated from Malacca. Later on, the Dutch people were cornered in Teluk Ketapang, because the help of arm forces from Batavia, the warring parties were equally strong. Raja Haji was killed during the war, but the Dutch failed to occupy Teluk Ketapang when King Tempasok came for help. After the Dutch troops retreated from Teluk Ketapang, Sultan Mahmud chose to stay in Pahang, and then moved to Trengganu. He begged Sultan Trengganu for reconciliation, but the Dutch rejected the request.

In 1795 the UK took over Malacca. Sultan Mahmud was then legitimized as the ruler in Riau. He built the palace in Siak. When he passed away, Raja Abdul Rahman was appointed as his successor. At the same time, the Dutch colonial was building a customs office in Tanjung Pinang. The Dutch occupied the areas and protected themselves by setting up cannons. A Bugis man, namely Arong Birawa, was paid monthly to guard the place.

In the *Hikayat Negeri Johor* (Mu'jizah 2018) the concept of pluralism appeared in the power shared by the Johor and Jambi. Conflict between them happened in Johor in 1672 during the leadership of Sultan Abdul Jalil Syah I. The Sultan moved to Pahang because Johor was attacked by Jambi. Afterwards Tun Abdul Jamil built a palace and kingdom in Riau next to river Carang. When the Sultan Abdul Jalil Syah I passed away, his throne was succeeded by Sultan Ibrahim from Pahang who sometimes lived in Riau

Sultan Abdul Jalil Syah II was appointed in Makam Tauhid in 1700 AD. Unfortunately, his palace was on fire. He moved to Riau. During his leadership, Riau was being attacked by the Minangkabau in 1717 AD. When he passed away, Sultan Sulaiman was appointed as his successor. Sultan Sulaiman was backed up by 5 Bugis warriors: Kelana Jaya Putra, Daeng Perani, Daeng Menampuk and two others. Raja kecil came to attack the kingdom, but defeated by the Bugis in 1721 AD. After the appointment of Sultan Sulaiman, the Bugis people were granted high position in the Kingdom. Daeng Menambun became *raja tua* (the elder king) while Kelana Jaya Putra became *raja muda* (the younger king). Later on the Bugis people married Malay women. Daeng Perani married Tun Iring, Daeng Menampuk married Tun Tifah, Daeng Mesuru married Tun Kecil, Putra Marhum Muda, Daeng Mangsuk married Tun Aisyah.

There was a conflict between the Bugis people and Sultan Sulaiman that made him move to Bulang in 1723 AD. Raja Kecil from Minangkabau together with Raja Emas and Daeng Matekah attacked Riau several times but failed. In 1736 Daeng Kamboja was elected as Raja Muda in Selangor. He was accompanied by Raja Haji, son of Marhum Mangkat.

Raja Haji from Selangor married Encik Aisyah. When his wife passed away, he married again to Encik Sejuk, King Amaran's daughter. The conflict between Raja Sulaiman and Raja Muda because Sultan Sulaiman was pro the Dutch colonial and he made friend with Raja Buang. Raja Buang was Raja Kecil's son

who fought against his brother, Raja Alam. Raja Buang lost the battle, and went to Sultan Sulaiman to ask for help.

Raja Haji and Raja Muda in Lingga were attacked by twelve warship from Malacca. Raja Haji fought back and wounded. He went to Riau afterwards. Yang Dipertuan Muda together with Raja Rembau and Raja Alam decided to attack Malacca. On the journey to Malacca, the defeated many countries such as Peringgah, Tenggera, Keling, Bukit Cina and Teluk ketapang. Each conquered country then became their basecamp for defense. Malacca got help from Batavia during the war. After eight months both parties agreed to set cease fire. They went home and soon afterwards, Raja Haji married daughter of Raja Perak.

When Sultan Sulaiman in Riau, the Dutch colonial called him for political negotiation. He came to Bunga Rama accompanied by Tengku Selangor, Peggawa Miskin and Nakhoda Tauli. They continued their trip to Pedas and then to Asahan, went on to Malacca and ended in Lingga. When they arrived at Lingga, there was an emissary from Jambi who asked Raja Haji to go to Jambi. In Jambi, Raja Haji was granted a new title, Pangeran Sutawijaya. He married Kadar, daughter of King Indragiri. As recorded in historiography, there were wars against Raja Hijau and Raja Bayang. Afterwards, Raja Haji or Pengeran Sutawijaya proceeded his journey to Kuala Cinaku and built a kingdom there.

One day, the Dutch fleet came to Lingga and seized King Yusuf properties. They brought the spoils of war to Malacca. Raja Muda Daeng Kamboja pledged Raja Haji to take back the property, and finally the Dutch returned it to him. It was brought to Riau, afterwards, Raja Haji went to Selangor and married Raja Salamah. He also went to Pangkor and married Raja Indud. From the marriage, they got a son, named Raja Jafat. Afterwards, Raja Haji returned to Riau when he got the news that Raja Muda Daeng Kamboja passed away. In the end Raja Haji was appointed as the new ruler in Riau by Sultan Mahmud II and Datuk Bendahara.

One day there was a fleet from Benggala and the Dutch attacked them in Tanjungpinang and brought the ship to Malacca. Previously there had been an agreement between Raja Haji and the Dutch colonial, that whoever got booty, it could be shared between both. The Dutch broke their promise. He decided to attack Malacca and built his defense camps in Selangor, Rembau, Pedas and Batang Tiga. The Dutch people got help from nine warship from Batavia. During the war in Ketapang Bay, Raja Haji and Daeng Selikan were killed.

The four historiographies mentioned above contained a record of what happened in the past during the existence of the Imperium in Riau. Migration and relationship among several ethnic groups eventually formed the Malay people that we recognize nowadays. Thus, it is safe to say that the Malay people derived from several kingdoms in various location. The integration of those ethnic groups was repeated in the stories. The motives that led to the integration were marriage, war, and trade.

*Marriage Motive as a legitimacy and Unitary Exertion for Power*

During precolonial time, integration among various ethnic groups was the result of marriages. Marriage is not intended only to build a new family, but it also functions as exertion of power. There were normal marriages as well as political marriages in the historiography.

Model of marriage in *Sejarah Melayu* shows the kinship and the origin of the Malay rulers. Commonly it would be narrated in the initial part of the story. The first marriage mentioned was between Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain from Macedonia and a Hindi princess. The second marriage was between King Culan and Putri Mahabbatul Bachri, a sea goddess, daughter of King Aftagul. The manuscript also mentioned another marriage between Sultan Iskandar Syah and Putri Junjung Buih. From the marriage, they got three sons—Sang Sapurba who later became King of Pagarruyung, Minangkabau, Putra Tanjung Pura, and Sang Mantaka. The last later on lived in Palembang and got a son, namely Demang Lebar Daun.

Marriage is like a myth to legitimize power in Malay. Because their forefather was Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain, the powerful ruler of Macedonia, the Malay descendants became outstanding people too. The women to whom Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain married, were also distinguished people. An Indian princess and the other is a sea goddess which symbolize the power of nature. It implies that the Malay people were strong people because of their outstanding ancestors.

There was also another marriage between the descendant of Malay people from Tanjung Pura and Raden Galuh Kesuma, the daughter of King Majapahit, Raden. Thanks to Hang Tuah that made the marriage possible. The Sultan in Malacca married daughter of King Majapahit and brought her to Malacca. Therefore, there was a kinship between the Malay people and those from Majapahit, from East Java.

Political alliance through marriage was done by King Cina who married his daughter Hang Liu to King of Malacca. To make it possible, the King from China send ship full of needles. At that moment, needle was considered a precious thing. To repay the gift, King Malacca sent a ship full of sago and rending. Because of the marriage, Malacca and China became ally.

In *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis* interracial marriage happened during the marriage of a Balkis princess, Siti Malengkai and King of Macedonia. From the marriage, they got a son, La Madusilat. Later on he became the first ruler who embraced Islam as his religion. La Madusilat got 5 bugis sons, they were Daeng Perani, Daeng Menambun, Daeng Celak, Daeng Kemasa, and Daeng Marewa. To extend their power, those five sons went to Malay island and married Malay girls. Because of the marriages, there was strong kinship between the Bugis and the Malay people in Riau.

La Madusalat had three sons. The eldest was Upu Daeng Rilaka who later became King of Luwuk. The second was Upu Daeng biasa who took adventure to Java island and resided in Batavia. The third son, Upu Daeng Rilaka married a female ruler from Topamma and got a son, named Datu Ruatu. Daeng Rilaka went to Makassar accompanied by Arung, king of Bone. Later on, Daeng Rilaka went

to Batavia. He borrowed some money from his brother Upu Daeng Biasa to buy a ship. It is a special warship, and he continued his journey to several parts of Malay islands and occupied several countries.

In *Hikayat Negeri Johor*, political marriage also described between Raja Haji and women from other regions. The first woman he married was from Selangor. The second was the daughter of King Jambi, and the third wife was the daughter of the Great King of Indragiri. Relationship among various kingdoms improved significantly because of the political marriages.

Riau also initiated a close relationship with the Bugis people through marriage. Four Bugis people who had helped Sultan Sulaiman married Malay girls from Riau. Daeng perani married Tun Irang, Daeng Menempuk married Tun Tifah, Daeng Mesuru married Tun Kecil, and Daeng Mangsuk married Tuna Aisyah. These happened in 1723 AD. Through marriage, there will be blood kinship among those kingdoms. Children born from interracial marriage became Bugis-Malay descendants. Raja Ali Haji was one of them. This kinds of marriage was narrated in *Tuhfat An-Nafis*, too.

#### *War as an Expansion of Power*

According to KBBI (2017), war results from a conflict between two countries, two nations, two religion or two ethnic groups. War in historiography has become one of the motives of the story. It happened because of the decision to exert power and to occupy wider regions. In *Sejarah Melayu* the war happened between Maharaja Dewa Dura who attacked Pahang, but he failed to occupy this region. Pahang at that moment got help from Sultan Mahmud from Riau. Because of this, Pahang and Riau became alliance.

A famous war in *Sejarah Melayu* happened when Peringgi attacked Malacca. The later was central of international trade at that time. The fleet from Peringgi coming from Goa and attacked Malacca. However, the attack which was led by Alfonso de Albuquerque failed to occupy Malacca because of Sri Nara Diraja, a brave knight from Malacca who fight against them. Peringgi retreated to Goa, yet the next invasion from Peringgi managed to defeat Malacca in 1511 AD.

Several attacks on Malacca by the European people were described in *Sejarah Melayu*. Other than Peringgi, Malacca has been occupied by the Dutch colonial. The Dutch defeated Peringgi and took over Malacca. In the end, Britain beat the Dutch and took over Malacca.

War as the motive of the story could also be found in *Hikayat Negeri Johor*. It happened among tribes. One of the war mentioned was between the alliance of Malay Kingdoms and the Minangkabau kingdom. Malay fled were led by Nakhoda Sekam, while Minangkabau was led by King Kecil. The war made Riau went to find other allies. The alliance between two countries and more was intended as the means of diplomacy to maintain the power. Riau then asked Bugis for help. Therefore, Sultan Sulaiman sent his four emissaries to the east to get help from Bugis. They were Kelana Jaya Putra, Daeng Kamboja, and two others.

The Malay kingdom with the help of the Bugis people managed to defend Riau from Minangkabau attack. Afterwards, there was close relationship between



the Bugis people and the Malay people. Daeng Kamboja from Bugis was appointed as Raja Muda later on.

Daeng Ali also united several small kingdoms into by attacking Selangor. Raja Sulaiman also sent his emissaries to several kingdoms, such as Ungaran, Pahang, and Trengganu for diplomacy. From these diplomacy, they build their alliance to make them stronger.

In *Hikayat Negeri Johor* war events happened several time. One of them happened when Raja Haji in Lingga was invaded by 12 warships from Malacca. Raja Haji fight against the attack and got wounded. He retreated to Riau. He built the power and decided to make a counter attack with the help of Raja Rembau and Raja Alam. On their journey to Malacca, they also beat several countries such as Peringgi, Tengker, Keeling, Bukit Cina, and Ketapang Bay. Each of them later on became the basis of his defense to attack Malacca. Formerly, Malacca was almost defeated, but with the help of 9 warships from Batavia, they managed to protect Malacca. After nine months of war, both parties agreed to set a cease-fire.

However, the Dutch broke their promise, and Raja Haji went to Malacca to claim his rights. When Raja Haji returned to Riau, Malacca attacked him. During the war, Raja Haji lost the battle and died in Ketapang Bay. After his deceased, Riau continued their defense against the Dutch invasion. Eventually, the Dutch colonial managed to occupy the region, and they built their fortress for defense.

#### *Trade as an Expansion of Economic Power*

Trade is related to activities of buying and selling with profit orientation. In historiography, trade was not merely for the sake of getting profit but also for power expansion. In *Hikayat Negeri Johor*, for example, during the leadership of Sultan Sulaiman, Riau became a prominent center for business and trade. Even the Chinese traders came there for business. They sold Gambier. Also many Sayeeds from Arabian countries came for trading and they stayed in the mosques. Advanced trading also happened in Johor. This lucrative condition drew the European people, especially the Dutch people and the British people to come, not only for trading, but also to occupy the region.

In *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis* one of the Bugis people's enterprise is trading. Because of their skills in maritime, they dominated the maritime trade. While doing some business, they also expanded their territories. Riau became one of Bugis territories. Raja Kecil from Minangkabau who overpowered Siak became Bugis main competitor.

Bugis also expanded their power to other regions such as Kedah, Selangor, Siantar, and several regions in Borneo such as Sambas and Mempawah. Formerly, the Bugis came to Sambas because of an invitation. There came Daeng Kemase and Daeng Menambun to Sambas. Daeng Kemase married the Sultan's sister, Tun Tengah. Daeng Menambun went to Mempawah and married the princess of King Mempawah.

Jamril, the descendant of Bugis people, went to Dayak for trading and was proposed to marry a Dayak girl, but he refused. Daeng Rilaka then went to Dayak and began the trade with the Dayak tribes. Finally, the Dayak was overpowered by

the Bugis people. Another Bugis descendant, Upu Daeng Biyasa even succeeded in joining the Dutch colonials by helping them to fight against Chinese people in Batavia.

## Discussion

Riau in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries has become the center of the Malay imperium. The capital city of this kingdom moved from Johor, to Riau, and then to Pahang, and to Lingga. Riau has a very strategic location as the center of Malay civilization. Based on Traktaa London in 1824, Riau became the dominion of the Dutch colony. This island functioned as a transit for trade where several nations met as traders. Other than trading, some people also came to Riau for religious teaching. They brought with them their native cultures that impacted the local people. This is evident in Riau communities.

The word *Riau* derived from *rio* means "sungai" or river in English. It is a word taken from the Portuguese. Sooner or later the word change its spelling into *Riau* while the Dutch people used to write *Riow*. Another theory said that Riau derived from *rioh* which means similar sound, or can also mean noisy. This notion might have been inspired by the fact that Riau had been a crowded center for trade in the past time. Sultan Ibrahim Syah the Malay ruler from 1671-1682 named the place as *Bandar Rioh* (Mu'jizah and Rukmi 1998: 8). The Malay imperium in the past has significant role in the history of the Indonesia. Malay was the origin of Indonesian root. The main clue for this national identity is the use of Malay language as the national language in Indonesia. It functioned as the language for communication among the kingdoms. The Malay language also became the *lingua franca*. In the process of Indonesia's independence, this language was adopted as the national language on October 28, 1928—a unitary language functioning as one of the identities of the Indonesian people as stipulated in the Constituent UUD 1945 and legally confirmed in the Regulations of the Republic of Indonesia no. 24, 2009 regarding the use of flag symbol, language, and national logo and anthem.

The Malay language also had its strategic role as the language for diplomacy among kingdoms and with the Dutch and English colonials. A number of research studies were done by Gallop (1994) on the letters written in the Malay language as diplomacy communications between kings in Nusantara and the English colonial authorities. The letters for communication between the kings and the Dutch colonial authorities were studied by Mu'jizah (2009). Those letters were written in the Malay language using Javanese scriptures and sent by the kings of Banten, Madura, Riau, Banjarmasin, Pontianak, Aceh, and Ternate.

The Malay language has been used in several kingdoms in Nusantara for political reasons. Kingdoms in the past had independent power to decide their own language for communication. Among various ethnic groups in Indonesia, the Malay language was chosen as the unitary language among numerous kingdoms with a number of variation and dialect based on local usage. These variations and different dialects in the Malay language indicate that there is pluralism in the language.

From the above description, it is evident that many nations and ethnic groups came to Malay island from all over the world, including the Balkan countries and Arab world, as well as the Malay people who lived in Thailand, in Malaya, and in Tumasik (now known as Singapore). The ethnic groups involved the Bugis people, the Makassar, the Minangkabau, and the Dayak people.

During that era, many ethnic groups and nations mingled and interacted to each other. But some characteristics can still be recognized nowadays. Some of the characteristics are related to their biological traits, such as, for example, of those from India, some European countries, such as Portugal, the Netherlands, the Great Britain, and some Asian countries, such as China, Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore. They can be easily distinguished by looking at their physical appearance. A lot of ethnic groups in Indonesia have also distinctive features physically, but those features are only subtle. The most significant factors that distinguish Indonesian ethnic groups from each other are their local nature and native cultures. The Bugis and Makassar ethnic groups who live in the coastal areas have different physical characteristics than the Dayaks who live in the inland areas surrounded by woods.

Various ethnic groups in Indonesia in the past had full political power across their own territories. It is evident from the documents that show the diplomacy between the kingdoms and with the Colonials. Every kingdom had its own authority in governing their own regions (see Gallop 1994, Mu'jizah 2009).

The dispersion of people can be shown in the map of nations and ethnic groups migration to the Malay regions which center was in Riau, especially the Riau island as it is known nowadays. The map shows the migration of numerous nations and ethnic groups who integrated to create a close relationship known as the Malay ethnic group. The pluralism in Malay can be found in several aspects, one of them is in the stories' motives.

Three motives, namely, marriage, war, and trade, triggered the integration and migration of various nations and ethnic groups which later on have constructed the Malay ethnic group with its pluralities. Marriage belongs to both social and political aspects. War, diplomacy and agreement belong to the political aspect, while trade belongs to the economic aspect.

Those three aspects showed the migration and diasporas, and how various kinds of society have mingled and integrated. In the history of Malay, several places were mentioned, such as Macedonia, Hindi, China, Siam (Thailand), Keling, Portuguese, Arab and Jedah, Malacca, Tumasik (now Singapore), Perak, Semerluki, Bukit Siguntang, Majapahit, Bintan, Pahang, and Pasai. Some of those names have changed into popular names we know nowadays, such as Palembang for Bukit Siguntang, India for Keling, Aceh for Pasai and Macassar for Semerluki. A number of names of locations was also mentioned in the history of Malay (*Sejarah Melayu*), but they are not included in this essay.

The names of locations implied how vast the diaspora dispersion was. The dispersions were based on several reasons, such as power expansion, trade, and religious teachings. Several names were identified as centers of power. Macedonia was the greatest Islamic state at that moment. This area belonged to the Greek authority with its borders to Kosovo, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Albania. Macedonia

reached its golden era during the authority of Alexander the Great (Soeratno 1991). Indi or India/Keling, and China had strong influence in the international trade. The Portuguese also did the expansion for trade. Arabs and Jeddah migrated for religious reasons. Religion of Islam got its popularity along with the development in international trade to Aceh, Ternate, and other coastal areas in Java. Aceh, whose name was Samudra Pasai at that era, was Malacca Ally. Malacca was taken over by the Portuguese after they defeated Samudra Pasai.

Malacca, Perak, and Pahang now belong to the territory of Malaysia. Tumasik has become Singapore, and Siam has become Thailand. In the history of Malay, Siam or Thailand invaded the Malay kingdoms several times. Terengganu and Kelantan were once Siam's dominions. Other regions in Southeast Asia mentioned in the history of Malay were Majapahit (in East Java), Palembang, and Pasai (Aceh).

Malacca with its strong trade dominated several parts of the Malacca Straits during that era. Clove became the best commodity from Malacca. Spices, such as pepper, were also in trade. The route was globally known as the silk-road ranging from China and India to Southeast Asia. Among other commodities were gold, camphor, and sandalwoods.

The migration and diaspora in Malay started around the 14<sup>th</sup> century. According to Kleden (2017), this era was known as the period of international migration. Diaspora among many people in the world happened because of power expansion and trade. During the migration, assimilation among different cultures took place to create a new identity known as the origin of new ethnic groups. Eventually those ethnic groups represented by the kingdoms united to create the new ethnic group known nowadays as the Malay people.

## Conclusion

Based on the traces in traditional historiography, it is evident that historiography may function as a social document that mirrors the lifestyle of people in the past. In other words, it is an authentic record of how ancient people lived to form a nation. The Malay people in the past lived in independent territories within separate kingdoms. In those locations, the Malay communities lived and grew to create their own family trees. The studies of family tree have shown that the Malay communities were constructed of plural communities.

The plural communities in Malay were bound by a unitary language known as the Malay language. This language had important roles in the development of the Indonesian people. The language which was once the *lingua franca* was then adopted as the national language among various kinds of local languages in Indonesia. This language became bahasa Indonesia when the Malay people became part of Indonesia.

In four historiographies in Riau, it was evident that the formation of the Malay people was influenced by the interaction of multicultural and multi-ethnic groups in Riau island. Riau was a significant place for trade and advancement compared to other regions because of its close proximity to Malacca as the center

of trade, and became the capital city of the Malay imperium instead of Johor and Lingga. Riau was also considered as the center of maritime because of its land features. Riau consists of several islands with abundant natural resources from land and from the sea. It is understandable that Riau at that moment attracted many visitors from various regions and nations.

As an advanced territory, Riau became a popular place for intercultural communication in the world. During these encounters, some competition might have occurred in trade, politics. There were also social changes. Those three aspects have influence the plural characteristics among the Malay people. Those three aspects appeared in three motives in the historiography—the marriage, the war, and trade.

Marriage is a social aspect which influences the political aspect. According to the myth, the kinship of the Malay people began with the marriage of Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnain from Macedonia and an Indian princess. The King also married a sea goddess, and a divine princess named Putri Junjung Buih. Malay people in Palembang, Pagarruyung, and Tanjung Pura were believed to be the descendants of that royal couple. Macedonia and India at that moment were great and powerful countries; therefore, the marriage would legitimize the power of the Malay people among other ethnic groups. The divine marriage also symbolizes the harmonious unity between the microcosm and the macrocosm.

Marriage is the most powerful knot in kinship based on the social aspect. Through marriage the biological traits are inherited to create a new offspring. Marriage is also a good means for unifying power in politics. The marriage of the Sultans to princesses from other powerful countries or kingdom can also be considered as a political bound. Through marriage, those two nations will become stronger and closer to each other which later on will construct the emergence of the Malay people.

Malay people have been widely known as famous traders because of their richness in natural resources. Due to their location within maritime region, many people from other countries came to Riau to negotiate during the reign of Sultan Sulaiman. Those people were the Portuguese (known in the manuscript as Peringgi), English, Dutch, Indians, Arabs, and Chinese. There was no detailed description about international trade in the region. The manuscript only mentioned that during the reign of Sultan Sulaiman, trade and business in Riau, Johor, and Lingga were enormous. It became more lucrative with the arrival of the Bugis people.

In addition to marriage as social aspect, there was war that played an important role in the multi-cultural migration. The wars mentioned in the manuscript happened between the Malay people and the Dutch colonies, and between the Malay people and the Bugis and the Minangkabau. During these tribal wars, the stronger would occupy wider areas and procured more power in the regions. Therefore, the expansion for unitary mission of power grew wider.

Along with those motives and social aspects, the Malay people became a plural nation in their development. Both origins and kinships are important as reminders for the Malay people who have become part of Indonesia to protect the unity among people and to prevent the country from disintegration. These efforts

are worth noted as important lessons from the past of the formation of the Indonesian people.

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## Anthony Carlisle and Mary Shelley – Finding Form in a *Frankenstein* Fog

Donald C. Shelton\*

*In 1831 Mary Shelley claimed a dream of fifteen years earlier was inspiration for her 1818 novel, Frankenstein. Despite Mary having made no earlier reference to a dream, the romantic nature of her 1831 claim has prompted its ready and unchallenged acceptance. But can Mary's claim stand up to methodical, detailed, and logical scrutiny? As Albert Einstein stated, "Unthinking respect for authority is the greatest enemy of truth". Here a careful search for the truth, reveals her claim as failing prudent scrutiny. The paper draws on multiple contemporary sources to reveal Mary's 1818 inspiration for Frankenstein was the life and works of Anthony Carlisle, a close friend of William Godwin, and the leading anatomist of his generation. The paper explains that Mary's 1831 claim of a dream was a subterfuge; in simple terms, a lie, invented due to her fear that the truth about her source of inspiration might ignite the prevailing civil unrest; resulting in Britain and its monarchy, together with Sir Timothy Shelley and William Godwin, succumbing to riot and disorder; as had precipitated the 1830 fall of the French monarchy.*

**Keywords:** Anthony Carlisle, Mrs Carver, Frankenstein, Mary Shelley, Muscular Motion, Oakendale Abbey

### Introduction

Conventional wisdom holds the inspiration for Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* was a visionary dream supplemented by anatomical and chemical knowledge gained from Percy Shelley<sup>1</sup>. But such a view avoids Mary's categorical 1831 denial that she owed anything to Percy for suggesting any incident: "I certainly did not owe the suggestion of one incident, nor scarcely one train of feeling, to my husband". [F:10] Why such an emphatic, almost angry, disavowal? Which, if accepted, leaves her scientific knowledge unexplained? To date, scholars have failed to reconcile her denial to the source of the science within the novel, with many bypassing the conundrum to rely on the dream scenario.

So what was the source of Mary's inspiration and her medical knowledge? The answer to a conundrum is often simple, it just requires a new perspective. Here, that simple answer is a close friend of Mary's father, William Godwin, who was not only the foremost anatomist of his generation, but who had published several Gothic novels; including one focused on an anatomist and his resuscitation of an apparently dead body. That anatomist was Sir Anthony Carlisle, and evidence of his literary efforts was demonstrated in 2009 (Shelton 2009).

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<sup>1</sup>The author is grateful to Nora Crook, Stuart Curran, and Charles Robinson for their encouraging him to pursue his research on this subject; he takes full responsibility for his thesis, together with any remaining errors of interpretation or fact. Textual references to Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein* (London: Penguin, 1992) are as [F] and to Anthony Carlisle, *The Horrors of Oakendale Abbey* (London: Minerva, 1797; Zittaw Press, 2006), from the Zittaw edition as [O].

Although Carlisle was a friend, and prominent as an anatomist and chemist, hitherto he is largely absent from *Frankenstein* scholarship.

This paper seeks to sever the "Gordian (Godwinian!) Knot". The process was akin to an archaeological excavation where many surface layers, represented by a plethora of previous opinion, were peeled away, followed by methodical excavation to locate the nineteenth century sources representing Mary's inspiration. Laws of probability identify the prime influences on Mary, the literary sources for her storyline, and the models for her characters. Discussions in the Godwin home included research into Muscular Motion (euphemism for the Secret of Life, to avoid conflict with the Church tenet that only God could create life). The paper reveals how Mary's absorption of that research led her to consider the moral hazard of animation and her choice of *Frankenstein* as a title. The paper includes a textual analysis of her 1831 revision to show why the revisions became necessary, and then urgent; arising from her fear that the turbulent political and social events of 1826-1831 could spread the French July Revolution of 1830 to Britain.

### Mary's Science

*Frankenstein* is rightly regarded as a literary classic, but detail of its genesis is foggy. The commonly accepted version is well-known, with Mary realising a vision in a waking dream on 16 June 1816. An early niggling worry is that only days beforehand, on 25 May and prompted by Byron, Coleridge published his incomplete 1797 masterpiece *Kubla Khan*. The romanticism of Mary dreaming *Frankenstein* is appealing, but the link to the composition of *Kubla Khan* makes this claim slightly suspect.

Evidence tabled here supports Mary's waking dream as a subterfuge. In 1816 Mary and her companions knew of Coleridge's treatment for opium addiction by Anthony Carlisle, and discussion of that may have influenced the gestation of a dream. More likely, in 1831 Mary introduced the dream scenario to avoid questions as to her inspiration, and to deflect attention from Carlisle.

It would require an extensive list to cover all books, papers, and articles expressing opinions about Mary Shelley and *Frankenstein*, hence the following are tabled as representative. Scholars have exhaustively discussed theories of Mary's science in drawing together her references to anatomy, chemistry, chronology, geography, and literature, as well as canvassing Galvanism and body-snatching. Those scholars have included Mellor who discussed Francis Bacon, Humphry Davy, Erasmus Darwin, and Luigi Galvani, as well as Adam Walker, Percy Shelley, Laurence Sterne, and Rousseau (Mellor 1988). Followed by Hindle, then Butler and Hetherington who added John Abernethy and William Lawrence (Hindle 1990, Butler 1993, Hetherington 1997). Smith discussed, inter alia, Newton, Lavoisier, Linnaeus, Malthus, Priestley, de Rozier, Harvey, and de Condorcet (Smith 1994). More recently Nicholson was discussed by Curran and

the science by Ellis (Curran 2001)<sup>2</sup>. Suggestions as inspiration for Victor by yet more scholars have included; Benjamin Franklin, Cornelius Agrippa, Albertus Magnus, Paracelsus, Aldini, Johann Conrad Dippel, and James Lind.

The theories propounded are chronologically and geographically diverse, with any list of literary sources suggested as inspiration for Mary also extensive. To endorse them requires the assumption of dedicated study, or at least intense assimilation, by Mary in 1815-1817. At a time when she was deeply in love, travelling extensively, frequently changing her residence, three times pregnant, looking after, and grieving for, her babies and for her relatives. She had also to put pen to paper, leaving little time for the wide variety of reading proposed as necessary background for *Frankenstein*. As just one example, Robert LeCussan writes; "I think it is justified to conclude that Mary Shelley wrote her novel *Frankenstein* only after reading, re-reading, and consulting the play *Prometheus Bound* by Aeschylus" (LeCussan 2001: 116).

Academic interpretations of Mary's inspiration and the depth of her message vary widely; from men having babies without women, to Galvansim, and the vitalism debate between Abernethy and Lawrence. Aldini is often mentioned, as is Davy. Those views rely upon Mary absorbing literary, anatomical, and chemical knowledge from Percy, unmet by her before 1814, and despite her categorical 1831 denial.

One way to evaluate Mary's denial is to consider the probability of influence from those favoured by scholars. William Godwin's daily diary includes records of those he visited, as well as visitors to his home. Diary references include: Abernethy 1, Aldini 0, Lawrence 5, Davy 10, Galvani 0, Sterne 0, Erasmus Darwin 2, Lind 0, Byron 6, Polidori 9, Beddoes 2, Radcliffe 0, Baillie 1, Faraday 1, John Hunter 2, Keats 4, Banks 8, Adam Walker 1, Priestley 20, Eldon 1, Malthus 26; a total of 97 mentions for the favourites. Infrequent mentions imply a low probability of influence on Mary; this is why some scholars believe *Frankenstein's* science was beyond Mary, and needed Percy's hand.

Before accepting that proposition, it is prudent to cast the net wider and consider other influences on Mary. Barry, Carlisle, Coleridge, Holcroft, Nicholson, Hazlitt, Montagu, Thelwall, Opie, Wedgwood, Fuseli, and the Lambs are mentioned 5,352 times by Godwin, over fifty times as many as the 97 of the earlier list. These figures imply the larger group had fifty times the influence. That second group is well researched with one exception, Anthony Carlisle, an anatomist and chemist, who alone has 298 mentions, three times as many as for all the "favourites" combined. Critically, almost all mentions of Carlisle in Godwin's diary were recorded before Mary eloped with Percy.

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<sup>2</sup>Markman Ellis, *Fictions of Science in Mary Shelley's Frankenstein*. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/2TbEyvC>.

### Give Me the Child Until She Is (Twice) Seven...

The adage, "give me the child until he is seven and I will show you the man", implies a conduit to Mary's knowledge of anatomy and chemistry. The only anatomist fitting that mould is polymath Sir Anthony Carlisle (1768-1840) FRS, PRCS, FSA, FLS, anatomist, biologist, chemist, surgeon, inventor, art lecturer, author, courtier, and social activist. He was surgeon at Westminster Hospital from 1793 to 1840, from c1795 a close friend of Godwin, in attendance at Mary Wollstonecraft's death, in 1808-1824 Royal Academy Professor of Anatomy, in 1817 Professor of Surgery and Anatomy at the Royal College of Surgeons, and also Surgeon Extraordinary to both the Prince Regent and the Duke of Gloucester (Carlisle 1817).

**Figure 1.** *Carlisle, by Henry Bone after Shee – author*



Carlisle's portrait (Figure 1) shows his clothing as friend and author, but Bewick noted Carlisle as an eccentric lecturer, "in full court dress, with bagwig, curled and powdered, his cocked hat, and lace ruffles to his wrists" (Bewick 1871: 140). The anatomist in *Hugh Trevor* is Carlisle as Holcroft saw him, "a man with an apron tied round him, having a kind of bib up to his chin, and linen sleeves drawn over his coat" (Holcroft 1973: 289-297).

In early 1800 Carlisle became famous as a chemist after his discovery of electrolysis; "Mr Carlisle has lately made some interesting experiments which prove the identity of the electric and galvanic fluid. ...an uninterrupted stream of the electric fluid, which being passed through water, decomposes it completely" (Tilloch 1800: 372). The experiments were repeated with Nicholson. As a result Carlisle was appointed to the influential Royal Institution Chemistry Committee and elected to the Royal Society. He presented many scientific lectures to the Linnaean Society, the Royal College of Surgeons, the Royal Society, and the

Royal Academy, where he gave an annual series of public lectures on anatomy between 1808-1824. On various occasions the lectures featured Chinese jugglers, soldiers performing sword exercises, invisible writing, and Gregson the pugilist. The crowds attending resembled those at modern "rock-star" concerts; "There were times when the anatomy lectures at the RA drew such crowds that people fought to get in, and officers from Bow Street had to be stationed at the door to keep out the disorderly element. Those were the addresses of Carlisle, when he was Professor of Anatomy at the RA" (Bewick 1871: 142).

Carlisle was related by marriage to Byron, as the step-mother of his wife, Martha Symmons, was Ann Trevanion, widow of Byron's great-uncle William Trevanion. Ann married John Symmons at Bath on 24 March 1773, shortly after Martha's mother, died in childbirth. Martha's father, John Symmons FRS, FLS, a noted botanist and bibliophile with a library of 40,000 volumes, was a founder of the Literary Fund, a manager of the Royal Institution, a Dilettanti, and a member of the Nobleman's and Gentleman's Catch Club, of which the royal Dukes were also members. Martha's uncles were Manasseh Dawes, author and barrister who defended both Rev William Dodd and Rev James Hackman, and Charles Symmons, author of a *Life of Milton* and later a *Life of Shakespeare*. Martha's cousins included Aeschylus translator, John Symmons AM and Milton devotee, Caroline Symmons, whose 1812 *Poems*, especially *Zelida and the Faded Rose-bush Which Grew Near Her Tomb*, represented appropriate reading for Mary at her mother's grave (Symmons 1824, Wrangham 1804: 25, Symmons and Symmons 1812: 37).

The friends, colleagues, and patients of Carlisle included Holcroft, Opie, Nollekens, and Turner, also the actor Edmund Kean and scientists Banks, Davy, and Gurney. Carlisle curated the RCS Museum and undertook notable autopsies including those of John Opie in 1807, Thomas Holcroft in 1809, and Chevalier d'Eon in 1810. He was feted at society dinners for his anatomical experiments, with his servant answering a query from Lady Cork; "Oh! This is not the place where we bottle the children, that's at master's workshop" (Fitzpatrick 1860: 259).

In 1814 John Davy paid tribute to Carlisle's anatomical knowledge; "the observations that have been collected are very few in number and with the exception of those of Messrs Hunter and Carlisle are scarcely perhaps deserving of confidence" (J. Davy 1814: 590). Abernethy also acknowledged the importance of; "Mr Carlisle in whose talents and accuracy we are all disposed to place confidence" (Abernethy 1814: 26). In 1816 Mary read *Elements of Chemical Philosophy*, where Carlisle's research with an air pump and Volta's battery is discussed by Humphry Davy who, in his 1826 Bakerian Lecture, described Carlisle's discovery of electrolysis as the true origin of electrochemical science (H. Davy 1812: 54). In 1825 Carlisle's knowledge of the human body was bracketed by Alexander Monro with the greatest; "the proportions of its several component parts from Leonardo da Vinci, Soemmering, and Sir Anthony Carlyle [sic]" (Monro 1825: xxviii).

Mary Wollstonecraft had intended that Carlisle revise her proposed new book and in 1823 he was described by Charles Lamb as "the best story teller I ever heard" (Lamb 1905: 602), with Robert William Elliston reminiscing; "O! it was a

rich scene - but Sir Antony [sic] Carlisle, the best of story tellers and surgeons, who mends a lame narrative almost as well as he sets a fracture, alone could do justice to it" (Robert Elliston, quoted in *The Annual Biography* 1832: 6). William Clarke recorded; "We have found [Carlisle] even more agreeable as a private talker than as a lecturer; he is rich in the old lore of England, - he will hunt a phrase through several reigns, - propose derivations for words which are equally ingenious and learned, - follow a proverb for generations back, and discuss on the origin of language as though he had never studied aught beside" (Clarke 1827: 170). Carlisle authored novels under the pseudonym, Mrs Carver, which were likely available at Godwin's bookshop.

As family friend and respected anatomist, but with a showman-like reputation, Gothic novelist Carlisle was better placed than any other to inspire Mary to author a novel featuring an anatomist.

### "In the Gloomy Month of November"

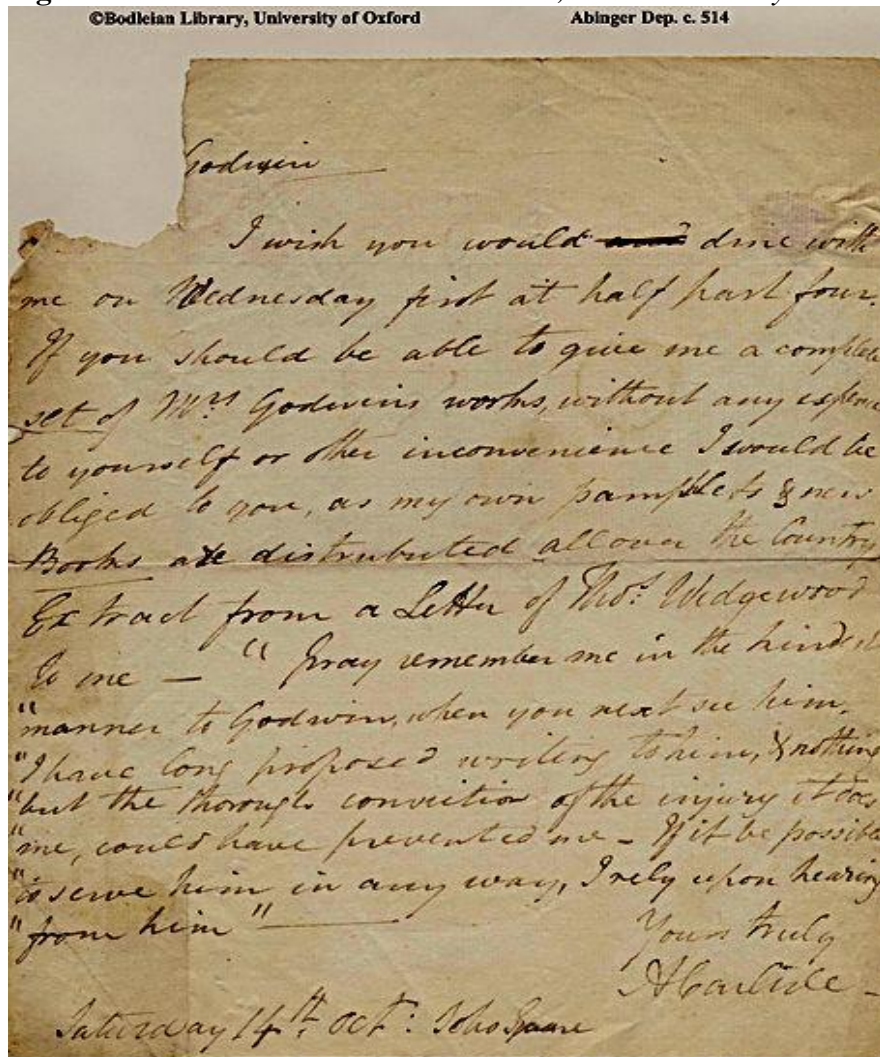
Mary's pre-1815 reading list is lost and her *Journals* of May 1815 to July 1816 are missing. In addition Charles Robinson records; "the 'transcript of ...[her] waking dream' ...does not survive. Nor do we have any of the discarded 'foul papers' or early drafts of the novel that she continued to write during July and August 1816" (Shelley 2008: 16). These gaps in an otherwise comprehensive archive, invite a question as to whether Mary deliberately purged her files in 1831, as they contradicted her dream scenario?

Another logical question is whether books on Mary's pre-1815 reading list had influenced her? That is addressable by identifying elements of plot or style which re-emerge within her novel. A recent paper in *Romantic Textualities* demonstrated *The Horrors of Oakendale Abbey* and *The Old Woman*, Gothic novels previously attributed to Mrs Carver, were actually written by Carlisle (Shelton 2009). Analysis of two further Mrs Carver novels, *Elizabeth*, and *The Legacy* reveals more Carlisle "fingerprints". For example in paralleling his selection of the city of Carlisle as a setting in *Oakendale*, a key setting in *Elizabeth* is the city of Lisle (now Lille) in France, as a word-play on Car-Lisle (Carlisle 1797: 129).

Carlisle authored various academic papers and in 1797 published two novels, *Oakendale* and *Elizabeth* (3 vol). The Bodleian Library contains a Carlisle letter (Figure 2) to Godwin of 14 October 1797 referring to this; "my own pamphlets and new Books are distributed all over the Country"<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup>Anthony Carlisle. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/2BQH2Wp>.

**Figure 2.** Carlisle's 1797 "new Books" letter, Bodleian Library

The reanimation of an executed felon in *Oakendale* was Mary's inspiration for *Frankenstein*, but attempts at reanimation are traceable back to the eighteenth century. They include a failed attempt by John Hunter, on 27 June 1777, to revive Rev. William Dodd after his removal from the Tyburn gallows. As a favourite student of Hunter, Carlisle was familiar with his theories and in *Oakendale* a like attempt to revive a felon is successful, but the consequences are not discussed. The consequences of such a revival without a memory became the subject of Mary's *Frankenstein*, and in her *Roger Dodsworth* she considered the consequences of revival with a restored memory.

Mary records herself as imitating the style of others, "As a child I scribbled; and my favourite pastime...was to 'write stories'. My dreams were at once more fantastic and agreeable than my writings. In the latter I was a close imitator — rather doing as others had done than putting down the suggestions of my own mind". [F:5] As "close imitator" Mary drew key incidents from two books, *Oakendale* by Carlisle and *The Adventures of Hugh Trevor*, by his close friend Thomas Holcroft, the latter recorded as read by her in 1816. Anatomists who

body-snatch are central to both novels, as with "those wretches, and pests of society, called Resurrection men, who brought numbers of bodies to Oakendale Abbey". [O:179] Her initial tale was too short and she was encouraged to expand it, resulting in a "Russian dolls" structure of letters, narrative, and monologue. Following Carlisle's lead Mary elected to wrap the epistolary style of his *Old Woman* around his *Oakendale* narrative, itself enveloping a 24 page monologue of Laura Carleton's history (Carl-isle begat Carle-to(w)n).

*Oakendale* opens with the words "In the gloomy month of November...". [O:25] Mary echoes this with, "It was on a dreary night of November...". [F:56] Mary also borrows a key element from *Oakendale*, where a tall, mute, "creature" reanimates from the apparently dead and escapes the anatomist. That "creature" was a hanged felon revived after a hangman's noose at Carlisle had failed its task. [O:180]

Laura gave a fearful shriek, when a tall figure, dressed only in a checked shirt, staggered towards her. The face was almost black; the eyes seemed starting from the head; the mouth was widely extended, and made a kind of hollow guttural sound in attempting to articulate. [O:73]

For Mary, as a young reader of *Oakendale* identifying with Laura, that fearful encounter was deeply imprinted on her mind; to be recalled when she wrote *Frankenstein*. Mary used images and words clearly linked to this passage in presenting her Creature; "his eyes, if eyes they may be called, were fixed on me. His jaws opened, and he muttered some inarticulate sounds". [F:57]

Although written twenty years apart, *Oakendale* and *Frankenstein* include almost identical long monologues. Laura's monologue in *Oakendale* reveals her mother, Zelima as a Greek lady originally captured by Algerian Corsairs. Laura is captured and cast by the French into a Paris prison. Laura is rescued from the prison by M du Frene who looks after her. While in Paris Laura meets and falls in love with Eugene, but his guardian recalls him to England. "Eugene at first declared he would not obey the mandate, and that he had long enough submitted to the control and caprice of those whom he really believed had no right to direct, or take any part in his conduct". [O:95] Nevertheless Eugene leaves for England. When du Frene is executed during the French Revolution, Laura flees from Paris to England with her attendant to be reunited with her lover, Eugene. [O:83-106, 144]

The Creature's parallel monologue in *Frankenstein* reveals Safie's mother as a Christian Arab originally captured by Turks. Safie's father is captured and cast by the French into a Paris prison. He is rescued from the prison by Felix De Lacey, who escorts the Turk and Safie from Paris to Leghorn. While in Paris Safie meets and falls in love with Felix, but her father commands her to think no more of him. "The generous nature of Safie was outraged by this command; she attempted to expostulate with her father, but he left her angrily, reiterating his tyrannical mandate". [F:122] When her father tells Safie she must then leave for Constantinople, Safie flees from Leghorn to Germany with her attendant to be reunited with her lover, Felix. [F:99-139]

In fleeing France, Laura lands at Milford Haven, Wales in late 1792; close to



Slebech where Carlisle's father-in-law, John Symmons, resided. [O:97] Arriving at the Abbey, Laura finds evidence of body-snatching, without meeting the anatomist. In 1792 Carlisle was aged 24 and modelled his unnamed anatomist on himself. Descriptions in *Oakendale* and *Hugh Trevor* prompt Victor's experiments in *Frankenstein*, all three novels drawing on Carlisle's own research.

[Laura] was struck with horror and astonishment when the skeleton of a human body presented itself to her affrighted view! ...her eye endeavoured to scrutinize and investigate every object it could through a space so narrow; when, after a slight noise, and a shade of something darkening the view, a large rolling eye-ball met her own, and she instantly sunk down... The dead body of a woman hung against the wall opposite to the door she had entered, with a coarse cloth pinned over all but the face; the ghastly and putrefied appearance of which bespoke her to have been sometime dead... There were evident marks of blood upon many parts of the floor, and in one corner lay a human skull! [*Oakendale*: 47, 63, 73, 152]

[W]e found ourselves assaulted with a smell, or rather stench, so intolerable as almost to drive us back, and left us, not only with the dead hand, not only with the dead body, but in the most dismal human slaughterhouse that murder and horror ever constructed, or ever conceived. ...by the light of the lanthorn, we beheld limbs, and bones, and human skeletons, on every side of us. I repeat: horror had nothing to add. ...Here preparations of arms, pendent in rows, with the vessels injected. There legs, feet, and other limbs. In this place the intestines: in that membranes, cartilages, muscles, with the bones and all their varieties of clothing, in every imaginary mangled form. [*Hugh Trevor*] (Holcroft 1973: 293)

In *Oakendale* Carlisle leaves detail of the re-animation off-stage, and instead casts himself as Eugene. Mary deserves credit for developing the risks associated with revival of the felon, perhaps asking, "Mr Carlisle, what happened to the fleeing felon? - and did the anatomist also flee?" In *Frankenstein* Mary speculates on the fate of the anatomist, and of the fleeing felon.

Aspects of *Oakendale* and *Frankenstein* meld inversely as positive and negative images. Laura is the gentle antithesis of Mary's Creature, as is Eugene the antithesis of Victor. In *Oakendale*, Carlisle as Eugene regains Laura, a title, and riches, but in *Frankenstein* Carlisle, as Victor, loses the Creature, his happiness, and his life.

### Character Inspiration

Events in *Frankenstein* echo the life and works of Carlisle. Popular culture has accepted the appellation Dr Frankenstein. However, apart from physician, Dr Erasmus Darwin, Mary makes no use of the word doctor; being conscious from Carlisle the term applied only to those practising as a physician. As a surgeon-anatomist, Carlisle merited the courtesy title Mr; hence references to Victor the anatomist should properly be Mr Frankenstein.

For his novels "Mr Carlisle" adopted the pen-name "Mrs Carver", a pun on his occupation of a surgeon "carving meat". Carlisle had a predilection for similar word-plays. Apart from those in *Oakendale*, his *Old Woman* includes Mr

Goodworth, a clergyman, for Godwin, who had trained as a clergyman. Also letters written to Mrs Elinor Safforey, drawing on letters written to Mrs Edith Southey by Robert Southey during visits to Carlisle's home; one letter even complaining about the poor quality of Carlisle's writing materials.

Ingolstadt in *Frankenstein* can be accepted literally, but *Oakendale* offers a model for a different interpretation. *Oakendale* is based on actual people and events in London and Wales. To protect their identities, Carlisle "transports" events to the northern English city of Carlisle and places Oakendale abbey in the adjacent region of Annandale, with Oak-endale as a play on Ann-andale.

To protect identities, Mary follows Carlisle's *Oakendale* example, in transporting London events to the Continent and blurring relationships. So why choose a university in Ingolstadt? Scholars have advanced esoteric theories rationalising her choice, but the simplest explanation is the linguistic bridge to the colloquialism, "London Town". "Anglia" is Latin for England and German "stadt" means town, with Ingolstadt then a word-play on Ingol-town as Anglo-town, i.e. London Town.

Mary imitates the epistolary style of *Old Woman* with letters to Mrs Saville [cf. Mrs Safforey and Mrs Southey]. Also the drowning of Clerval, whose body is recovered by fishermen between Ireland and Wales, the same area as a body recovered in *Old Woman*. Elizabeth Lavenza's name, description, and character draw on Elizabeth Spencer in Carlisle's *Elizabeth*. In *Frankenstein* professor M Krempe is a play on Peter Camper, the famous Dutch anatomist. Early in *Frankenstein*, Walton states, "Twice I actually hired myself as an under-mate in a Greenland whaler". [F:15] Carlisle's predecessor as RA Professor of Anatomy, John Sheldon, did sail on a Greenland whaler to experiment with a poisoned harpoon to kill whales (Thornton 1809: 197).

Some scholars have identified doppelgängers in *Frankenstein*; a view paralleling Carlisle's symptoms of Asperger's Syndrome and resultant complex personality. Other historical figures afflicted with Asperger's include Leonardo da Vinci, Isaac Newton, Benjamin Franklin, Charles Darwin, and Albert Einstein. Mary sensed the differing personalities in Carlisle; with her perception of his inner conflicts, together with the spectre of his female alter ego, Mrs Carver, assisting in developing her characters.

- Firstly, Carlisle, her father's friend who tried to save her mother at the time of Mary's birth. He is represented by Henry Clerval.
- Secondly, Carlisle, Professor of Anatomy. Waldman's words echo views expressed by Carlisle, with Waldman's description matching a Henry Bone portrait of Carlisle, who turned fifty in 1818; He appeared about fifty years of age, but with an aspect expressive of the greatest benevolence, a few grey hairs covered his temples, but those at the back of his head were nearly black. His person was short, but remarkably erect... [F:46]
- Thirdly, an experimental anatomist of c1792 seeking the secret of muscular motion. This 25 year younger Carlisle becomes Victor, but with Mary playing the character in the first person as her own male alter ego,

interspersed with blurred references to her family and life experiences. In *Frankenstein*, Waldman refers to modern philosophers where the attributes describe Carlisle. [F:47] As an anatomist he researched "*the recesses of nature*", from tapeworms to humans. As natural philosopher he had made a model hot air balloon to "*ascend into the heavens*", he presented papers describing "*how the blood circulates*" and his splitting of water into oxygen and hydrogen, shows his understanding of "*the nature of the air that we breathe*". The "*thunders of heaven*" refers to the electricity of lightning, and "*earthquakes*" to how mild electric current made people jump and their muscles move, a key element of Carlisle's research. The last, to "*mock the invisible world with its own shadows*" is less obvious, but refers to the chemistry in Carlisle's c1800 silver-nitrate photographic experiments with Thomas Wedgwood, wherein they were unable to fix their photographic images, which faded into shadows and thence invisibility (Carlisle 1839: 329).

### **Muscular Motion and Reanimation**

Many famous anatomists have delivered Croonian lectures on Muscular Motion. Carlisle's Croonian lectures of 1804, 1805, and 1807 reveal he was seeking to reanimate life by using electricity to reverse the coagulation of blood. Carlisle had been a favourite student of John Hunter and followed his lead in theorising blood contained the life force to power muscles; so answering Victor's question; "Whence, I often asked myself, did the principle of life proceed?" [F:50] Carlisle coined the term hibernate, but John Hunter earlier considered reanimation from a frozen state; "I fancied that if a man would give up the last ten years of his life to this alternate oblivion and action, I might prolong it for a thousand years, by thawing him every hundredth anniversary, when he might learn what had happened during his frozen condition" (Adams 1818: 88).

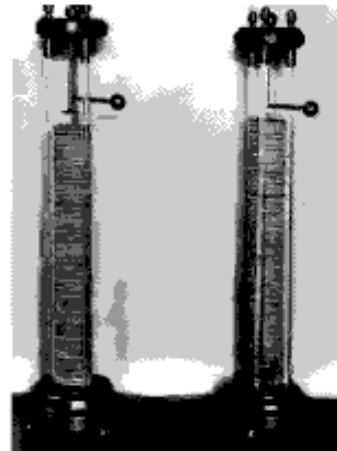
Hunter's theme re-emerges in *Roger Dodsworth, the Reanimated Englishman*, Mary's 1826 tale of a man unfrozen after 200 years. Mary revises "a thousand years" to "some ten centuries", with plays on Mount St Gothard, as "got frozen", Mr Dodsworth, for Rev William Dodd, hanged after an unsuccessful defence by Martha Carlisle's uncle; and Dr Hotham, "hot ham" [i.e. thawed], for Dr Hunter, whose 1777 attempt to reanimate Dodd had failed.

Carlisle commissioned his portrait in 1824, midway between the two *Frankenstein* editions. The iconography invites the title, *The Discovery of Muscular Motion*, to celebrate Carlisle's anticipated ability to raise a body from premature death. As RA Professor of Anatomy for the previous 16 years, no man was better placed to devise the iconographic "anatomy" of his portrait. There are two inkwells, an iconographic hint that he wrote as Anthony Carlisle and Mrs Carver. His research objective is seen through a door to the future. A model with muscles more clearly delineated than was normal for art models of the time, implies a man rising from the recently dead, with a shroud in his left hand, and a raised right arm beckoning the viewer (Figure 3).

**Figure 3.** *Detail – Human Reanimation*

In a pun on "the human fabric", the knowledge of Carlisle, as his hand on the skull, converts dry blood coloured fabric on the left, or evil side, to the upright, healthy, right-hand fabric, the colour of fresh blood. The light on the 1543 anatomical text by Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica*, the leg muscles, and shroud, implies Carlisle's belief his anticipated revival of the recently dead would ensure his lasting fame. An aim paralleling Clerval, whose "dream was to become one among those whose names are recorded in story, as the gallant and adventurous benefactors of our species". [F:37]

Mary replicated Carlisle's 1824 iconography in her 1831 frontispiece (Figure 4) and, contrary to modern interpretations, elected to depict a tall, naked, well-built, male cadaver, rising from the dead, with a shroud and one raised arm, together with an anatomist, a human skull, an open book, and an open door. Plus a pump (Figure 5) connected to a Volta battery (Figure 6), for machines Mary saw at Carlisle's home.

**Figure 4.** *1831 Frontispiece***Figure 5.** *Detail of Machine***Figure 6.** *Early Volta Battery*

An aspect unclear in *Frankenstein* is the source of the Creature but there is logical reason. Mary must have heard alarming reports of body-snatching near her mother's St Pancras grave, as multiple instances occurred, with at least 46 bodies snatched there in 1812 alone (Bailey 1896: 154-160, 176). In 1816 a gang of disgruntled body-snatchers broke into St Thomas's dissecting room, terrorised the students, and hacked the corpses into useless fragments. For Mary to promote Victor as reviving a body-snatched subject was untenable.

### Sarah Stone's Mummy and Mary's Creature

Carlisle's RA lectures included displays of body parts, as when William Hazlitt had a struggle to keep from fainting when Carlisle passed round platters containing a human head and a human heart; while discoursing on art inspired from the head and from the heart (*The Burlington Magazine* 1913: 257). Discussion of this at Godwin's home led to Mary's initial inclination for the assembly of body parts into a human, but she revised this after discussion with Carlisle; "On this occasion a man of great research in natural philosophy was with us...he entered on the explanation of a theory which he had formed on the subject of electricity and galvanism, which was at once new and astonishing to me". [F:40]

Mary's reaction alludes to Carlisle's well-attended anatomy lecture of 13 November, 1815 where he announced the arrival 11 weeks earlier, of a second modern mummy for public display (*The New Monthly Magazine* 1815: 439). The earlier mummy had arrived at the RCS in 1808 and led to speculation among Carlisle's friends about reanimating a modern mummy as a means of reviving life. This concept, together with reviving a body from freezing, drowning, or asphyxiation, was seen as publicly acceptable. Mummification was discussed by Matthew Baillie in 1804 and republished in 1812; "According to Dr Hunter's method, embalming is begun as soon after death as decency will permit. ...the operation should take place after a very short interval, viz. of not more than two or three hours after death" (Baillie 1812: 13).

The two modern mummies were prepared by Carlisle's predecessors as RA Professors of Anatomy, William Hunter and John Sheldon, the latter embalming and keeping the mummy of his mistress in his home for thirty years. Although often described as Miss Johnson (a gender word-play on "Miss John's son"), Sheldon never lied to his friends about the mummy; said to be Sarah Stone, a medical artist who worked for Sheldon and William Hunter's assistant, Cruikshank (Litten 1991: 50). Sarah Stone's mummy arrived at RCS in 1808 (Figure 7) and was earlier described as;

[U]nder a glass frame I saw the body of a young woman, of nineteen or twenty, entirely naked. She had fine brown hair, and lay extended as on a bed. The glass was lifted up, and Sheldon made me admire the flexibility of the arms, a kind of elasticity in the bosom, and even in the cheeks and the perfect preservation of the other parts of the body. ...to imitate the natural tint of the skin of the face, a coloured injection was introduced through the carotid artery (Faujas de St Fond 1799: 43).

**Figure 7.** Sarah Stone resembled this Life-sized Wax Effigy in the Specola Collection (<http://individual.utoronto.ca/twix/anatomy/images/bellareclined.jpg>)



Sheldon and Hunter also embalmed, after her 14 January 1775 death, Maria, wife of Martin van Butchell; who then exhibited her mummy in his home. Maria's mummy was described; "The face is completely preserved; and it is justly considered a curious specimen of what art can accomplish" (Leigh 1824: 339). Her mummy arrived at the RCS Museum on 24 August 1815 and, as RCS Curator, Carlisle arranged display of both mummies.

Previous writers reject Mary's Creature as a mummy, as Egyptian mummies were dark brown in colour. But Mary contemplated revival of a mummy; "A mummy again endued with animation could not be as hideous as that wretch" and she later describes its hand as "like that of a mummy". [F:57, 211] With a female/male gender switch, Mary's references to yellow skin and dun-white sockets reveal she had viewed Maria van Butchell and Sarah Stone as modern mummies, one more attractive than the other.

[Her] yellow skin scarcely covered the work of muscles and arteries beneath; [her] hair was of a lustrous black, and flowing; [her] teeth of a pearly whiteness; but these luxuriances only formed a more horrid contrast with [her] watery eyes that seemed almost of the same colour as the dun-white sockets in which they were set, [her] shrivelled complexion and straight black lips. [F:56]

A woman was sleeping on some straw; she was young, not indeed so beautiful as her whose portrait I held; but of an agreeable aspect and blooming in the loveliness of youth and health... And then I bent over her, and whispered, "Awake, fairest, thy lover is near"... The sleeper stirred... [F:139]

Mary's plot shies away from her Creature kissing Sarah Stone's mummy in the manner of Sleeping Beauty; instead he demands, "My companion must be of the same species, and have the same defects. This being you must create". [F:139]

In assessing Carlisle/Mrs Carver and *Frankenstein* hints of literary gender switching were set amid a real life parallel. In 1810 Carlisle autopsied Chevalier d'Eon, after years of debate about d'Eon's gender; even a 1778 landmark court case, *Da Costa v Jones*, wagering d'Eon was female. The autopsy revealed as a

man, what many believed a woman; in effect Carlisle converted a woman into a man (Taylor 1858: 660).

At the RCS museum Mary also saw the skeleton, still on display, of eight foot, Irish Giant, Charles Byrne whose skeleton Carlisle had worked on with John Hunter. It took little for Mary to convert one mummy into a male who, on reanimation, lacks a memory. She was inspired by the giant in *Oakendale*; "God preserve us! Here is a dead man, bigger than a giant. With saucer eyes, and huge limbs!". [O:112]

As depicted in her frontispiece, he was an amalgam of Charles Byrne, coupled with the bodily perfection of pugilist Bob Gregson. Farington recorded attending a breakfast given by Carlisle at his Soho Square home in 1808, where Gregson was displayed in the drawing room striking poses, while Carlisle's friends wandered around for half an hour admiring his muscle groups.

A fair question is why did Mary choose *Frankenstein* as a title ahead of any other place name, and why apply it to a person, instead of a location? In learning of Castle Frankenstein she realised a basic translation of Frankenstein was ideal for her hero. One mummy curated by Carlisle was Sarah Stone, and Frankenstein translates as Franc/Frank (Fr-free/G-open), en/an (Fr-out of/G-up), stein (G-stone), i.e. "free out of stone". A play on Carlisle/Mrs Carver as a "carver of stone" re-animating Sarah Stone; the reverse of the mummification applied to Maria van Butchell, "turned to stone" by Hunter and Sheldon.

To do his wife's dead Corps peculiar honour,  
Van Butchell wish'd to have it turned to stone,  
Hunter just cast his Gorgon looks upon her,  
And in a twinkling see the thing is done  
(Richard Jebb, quoted in Stephenson Payne 2007: 112).

In anatomical terms "to prepare a frame" describes arriving at a specimen for display, including injecting coloured wax into the blood vessels. Or, in *Frankenstein* using Carlisle's proposed electrical machine to revive blood, and pump it into the blood vessels, muscles, and fibres of an executed felon or mummy; "I saw the hideous phantasm of a man stretched out, and then, on the working of some powerful engine, show signs if life, and stir with an uneasy, half-vital motion". [F.9]

Although in good condition in 1815, by 1899 one mummy no longer had "any semblance of life but was shrunken and hard as a board, the skin of the arms, neck and chest quite white but the face, where apparently the colour injected remained, a dull red, all the more ghastly for its colour, and the long brown hair is beautiful no more" (Anon 1899: 1342). The mummies were destroyed by bombs in World War II.

### **Reanimation as a Moral Hazard**

In 1804 James Barry completed his famous work *Birth of Pandora* (Figure 8) and around that time fell ill. Barry had just strength enough left to crawl to his own

front door, open it, and lay himself down with a paper in his hand, on which he had written his wish to be carried to the house of his close friend Carlisle. Barry died in 1806 and his painting links Carlisle's search for muscular motion to Mary's recording of the risks, seen by her as equivalent to opening Pandora's Box.

**Figure 8.** *Birth of Pandora*, James Barry, © Manchester City Galleries



Carlisle was concerned about the practice and ethics of Galvanism and, in 1815, "deprecated the cruel experiments of some late and present anatomists; conjured the students never to lend themselves to such tortures for the discovery of the hidden principles of vitality, which he declared to be worse than useless, as this principle was one of those wisely concealed from our present view" (*The New Monthly Magazine* 1815: 439). Significantly Carlisle referred to "concealed from our present view", and repeated his warning in 1816, "he even ventured to reprobate in strong terms the horrid tortures which some modern physiologists practise and a distinguished society make public" (*The New Monthly Magazine* 1816: 59). But in an era when the word "disease" had the wider meaning of "dis-ease", Carlisle hinted at his own research into a theory of life;

Desperate operators should be reminded, that it is not uncommon for persons to recover from diseases, which are generally supposed to be mortal; but I must reserve the further observations upon that grave and momentous subject, until I am enabled to lay before the Public the particular evidences of my own practice, and my special deliberations upon Surgical Ethics (Carlisle 1817: 109).

Mary has Victor echo Carlisle, "what glory would attend the discovery, if I could banish disease from the human frame and render man invulnerable to any but a violent death!". [F:39] Carlisle believed he was close to reviving life in his letter of 5 August 1823, as written to Samuel Parr. The timing is significant, around the time Carlisle was sitting for his oil portrait and hopeful of success.



I feel an interested vanity in wishing you to see the ultimate work of my cogitations. A work so wide in its moral and physical bearings that I dare not say what it is, excepting that the same has been contemplated by many of the first Philosophers, of all ages and countries, and that it embraces a great number of natural facts which conspire to effect a most important practical result (Antony Carlisle, quoted in Johnstone 1828: 188).

The terms "my special deliberations upon Surgical Ethics" and "wide in its moral and physical bearings", show Carlisle pondering the implications of revival; touching on views discussed in Godwin's *Essay on Sepulchres* and Montagu's *The Opinions of different Authors upon the Punishment of Death*, both published in 1809.

If an executed felon or mummy was revived, and its mind was blank, could it be claimed as a new species? Or if a felon was revived along with its memory, would it have the same personality as before death? If so, had it been punished enough for its crime? Should a felon be executed again? If so, how many times? Would execution become an ineffectual punishment? Who, and how should a revived mind be taught? How would it learn? Then who would be responsible for any subsequent crimes, the revived human or its teacher?

These themes appear in *Frankenstein*, as where the Creature notes, "all my past life was a blot, a blind vacancy in which I distinguished nothing". [F:117] They were widely canvassed; Fessenden's epic, satirical, poem of 1803, *Terrible Tractoration*, scorned Aldini's attempt to revive the executed Forster;

And as he can (no doubt of that)  
Give rogues the nine lives of a cat;  
Why then, to expiate their crimes,  
These rogues must all be hung nine times  
(Green Fessenden 1803: 65).

That possibility of reviving an evil dead rogue "nine times" was Mary's reason for her Creature to disappear into the snow and ice, to "ascend my funeral pyre triumphantly and exult in the agony of the torturing flames". [F:215] If merely drowned or frozen, he could be revived and be a threat anew.

Letters show Carlisle wished his research objectives to be kept secret. Wilkinson recorded of his research into flight, "His [Carlisle's] own opinion was, that the publication, during his life, would injure his practice as a physician" (Wilkinson 1851: 251). In 1817 Carlisle wrote to Cayley; "I have not ventured to speak to any man about these very probable discoveries which may give new physical powers to the human race. I am myself too dependent on my vocation to hazard the abuse and ridicule which a public avowal of such hopes would inevitably afford to my rivals and enemies...there is not one of them you can trust" (Pritchard 1961: 59).

Despite his 1817 preference for literary anonymity, by 1823 Carlisle was knighted, felt more secure, and commissioned Shee to paint his portrait. Shee began the portrait around the time Godwin advertised a new printing of *Frankenstein* on 16 August 1823. With hindsight, the Parr letter of 5 August 1823,

the reprinting of *Frankenstein*, and the Shee portrait were foundations for an orchestrated publicity campaign, to climax when Carlisle revealed his discovery.

### **Political and Social Pressures on Carlisle, and hence on Mary, in 1826-1831**

Mary had drawn a veil over Carlisle in 1818, but by 1831 his increased prominence threatened to penetrate that veil. He had not achieved his research objective, and social pressures were causing concern. Mary became increasingly fearful of him being linked to Victor. An example of Carlisle's prominence was a 1826 suggestion his portrait be hung in a proposed national portrait gallery;

Here should we behold Wellington, Nelson, and Abercrombie; Pitt, Sheridan, Burke, and Fox; Wyatt, Arkwright, Rennie, and Watt; the faithful image of the illustrious living and the illustrious dead. Would that in a gallery like this were placed, side by side, Marlborough and the Hero of Waterloo, Sydenham next to Bailey, and on the same line Reynolds's John Hunter, Lawrence's Abernethy, Shee's Sir Anthony Carlisle; Newton the philosopher, and the friend of philosophy in Phillipps's Sir Joseph Banks. Garrick should occupy a conspicuous space; whilst beauty, talent, and virtue, should personate the three graces of the histrionic art in Siddons, Farren, and O'Neil (*The London Literary Gazette* 1826: 636).

The selection reveals Carlisle, then Surgeon Extraordinary to the King, as far more eminent than any other in the Godwin circle. While conscious public opinion might not endorse his own research, Carlisle did condemn mesmerism, phrenology, and man-midwifery, thus fuelling the ire of Thomas Wakley on issues he was promoting in *The Lancet*. In 1826 Wakley ridiculed Carlisle as "Sir Anthony Oyster", therein commencing a 15 year character assassination. Attacks by *The Lancet* and problems with Carlisle's own research paralleled increasing pressure on anatomists. In early 1828 Baron Hullock shocked anatomists when he ruled surgeons in possession of resurrected corpses were acting illegally. The Anatomy Committee met in 1828 and the year climaxed with the infamous trial of Burke and Hare.

These events were set amid social unrest. In 1828, the Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister. He was conservative, fearing the anarchy of the French Revolution would spread to England. Although Wellington had always opposed Catholic Emancipation he reconsidered his views when he became aware of a possible Irish rebellion. Wellington had great difficulty in persuading George IV to accept Emancipation. When Wellington threatened to resign, the King reluctantly agreed. As Surgeon Extraordinary to the King, Carlisle was close to events and helped convince the King. After the Act was passed, Wellington's windows were smashed and iron shutters then installed.

During the upheaval Carlisle was elected President of the Royal College of Surgeons. He presided over the College, with his aim to try to restore public confidence in the profession. In early 1829, Mary moved to 33 Somerset Street, ten minutes walk from Carlisle's home. Early 1829 also saw the famous libel case when Bransby Cooper sought damages from Wakley over claims of surgical

incompetence. In late 1829 there was a sensational Old Bailey trial of surgeon, Edwin van Butchell, for malpractice and manslaughter, arising from his insertion of an ivory rod into a patient's rectum. Bizarrely, van Butchell's mother was still displayed as a mummy at the RCS. Open season was confirmed on surgeons in 1829, when Mr Heaviside, a surgeon was committed to Newgate on a charge of murder by Mr Forde, the Magistrate, although he had attended a duel between opponents in his professional capacity.

Debate on body-snatching and the Anatomy Bill continued in 1829-1831. The Bill failed in one attempt to pass the House of Lords on 5 June, 1829 as a result of opposition from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chief Justice. A week later, on 13 June 1829, *The Lancet* accused Carlisle and the RCS of moral complicity in the Edinburgh murders by Burke and Hare; "The members of the Council, morally, are scarcely less guilty than the atrocious Burke, and at a public meeting in the autumn, they may, probably, have an opportunity of learning the opinion of their professional brethren on this subject" (*The Lancet* 1829: 338).

In 1829 the child-bed death of Princess Charlotte and suicide of her man-midwife were fresh in public memory when Carlisle became embroiled in the man-midwifery debate, as President of The British Ladies' Lying-in Institution, a group seeking to protect the role of midwives against man-midwifery. The risk of Carlisle's enemies identifying him as Victor increased in a public letter linking Carlisle as President and Mary Shelley as author of *The Last Man*; "Sir, The account of the British Ladies Lying-in Institution caused me immediately to conceive, and had not my phreno-gestation been interrupted professionally, I should have brought forth some days ago. ...I know a lady, Mr Editor, who proposes to increase the world without our sex. The author of the *Last Man* never dreamt of such a crisis" (*Medical Gazette* 1829: 256).

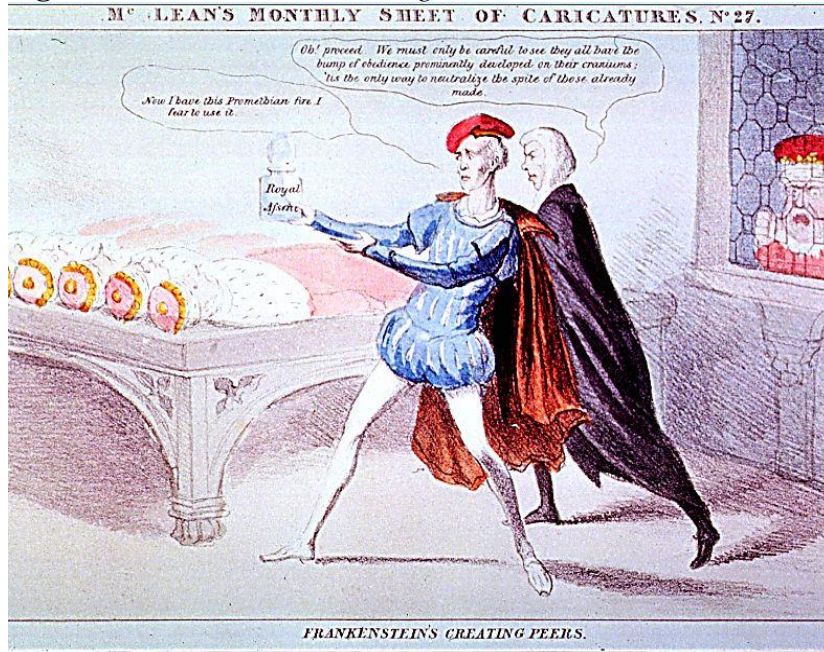
On 5 September Wakley added more insult, referring to "that anile philosopher, Sir Tabby [sic] Carlisle". Pressures on Carlisle seemed unbearable, but worse was to come. King George IV died on 26 June 1830. A month later, the French Revolution of July 1830 saw the overthrow of King Charles X who fled to England. Carlisle now feared public unrest could arise from public knowledge of his research into reviving the recently dead. Mob hotheads, or even Wakley, might coin the term "Sir Anthony Frankenstein" and spread rumours that he, as Surgeon Extraordinary to George IV, was attempting a *Frankenstein* type resurrection of the late King.

As political and social tensions increased, particularly those associated with public abhorrence of body-snatching, Mary feared publicity connecting Carlisle with Victor. Mary voiced political concerns in a letter of 11 November 1830 to Lafayette. Four days later, there were alarming reports from the town of Carlisle; "On Monday se'nnight, his Grace the Duke of Wellington, the saviour of his country, was burnt in effigy at the Market Cross, Carlisle; and on Tuesday se'nnight his Majesty's late Principal Secretary of State, Sir Robert Peel, met a similar fate" (Carpenter 1831: 8). On 18 November 1830 the mob threatened Sir Timothy Shelley with violence in his own home.

The risk of Carlisle being linked with *Frankenstein* is seen in a cartoon from *McLean's Monthly Sheet of Caricatures* of 1 March 1832, titled *Frankenstein's*

*Creating Peers* (Figure 9). Prime Minister Grey holds a paper labelled "Royal Assent" over a table of new peers and says, "Now I have this Promethean Fire I fear to use it", while an angry Duke of Wellington peers through a window.

**Figure 9.** *Frankenstein's Creating Peers*



Cartoons in *Figaro* of 28 April 1832 and 16 March 1833 (Figures 10 and 11) also perceived Victor as evil; "We on a former occasion had to compare Earl Grey to Frankenstein, and he appears again in that character, but in a more objectionable manner [The Coercive Monster], for in the present instance he is fully sensible of the nature of the monster he has produced, and he knows what will be the effect of letting it loose" (*Figaro in London 1833: Vol. I, 81, Vol. II, 41*).

**Figure 10.** *The Political Frankenstein - Figaro*



**Figure 11.** *The Coercive Monster - Figaro*



## Sanitising Victor

During 1831 Carlisle and his family remained vulnerable due to the on-going Anatomy Act debates. With her authorship known and remembering Mr Platt, a neighbour of Godwin wounded in 1816 by rioters demanding firearms, Mary registered a need to protect the aged Godwin (75), Sir Timothy (78) and Carlisle (63). She expressed her concern about the risk of revolution when writing to Trelawny.

Mary sensed that if Wakley were to coin "Sir Anthony Frankenstein" to add to his previous corrosive epithets, "Sir Anthony Oyster" and "Sir Tabby Carlisle", public reaction might lead to the mob rioting at their homes; with any scandal linking the Monarchy and Carlisle potentially culminating in a British version of the French July Revolution. On 23 June 1831 *The Times* published Carlisle's concern about a forged letter;

Sir, I feel much obliged by your judicious doubts as to the authenticity of a letter signed "Sir Anthony Carlisle". I have not written that letter, and I am unaware of its tendency; but as it is a forgery, the probability is that it issues from a malignant source. ...Anthony Carlisle.

**Table 1.** Summary of Editorial Revisions from 1818 to 1831

Page and lines	1818	1831	Character	Key elements	Impact
p18.21-32	4	11	Captain	Early life	*
p19.31-20.5	0	12	Walton	Acknowledges Coleridge's Ancient Mariner	*
p21.25-22	0	7	Walton	His objective	*
p27.3-28.1	17	33	Victor	Introducing Victor	**
p28.18-28	4	11	Victor	Introducing Victor	**
p29.1-12	4	10	Victor	Readying his tale	**
p29.35-30.3	0	6	Victor	Readying his tale	**
p32.24-36.18	58	127	Victor	Childhood of Elizabeth, mainly romanticising her origin	**
p36.19-38.4	33	55	Victor	Childhood and character of Clerval	***
p38.35-37	2	0	Victor	Deletes modern chemistry discoveries	***
p39.8-40.12	29	43	Victor	Deletes steam and air pump	***
p40.27-41.22	41	34	Victor	Deletes electrical machine, kite, chemistry	***
p47.9-26	0	17	Victor	Will pioneer new ways	***
p55.5-10	4	7	Victor	Minor rewording	*
p71.25-26	6	2	William	Softens reference to William's death	*
p77.17-21	10	3	Elizabeth	Revises the description of Elizabeth	*
p84.32-37	24	11	Justine	Deletes reference to execution and retribution	**
p92.8-93.21	33	51	Victor	Rewording of visit to Alps	*
p149.3-11	6	9	Victor	Links Clerval to the trip	*
p153.25-31	0	6	Clerval	Widens Clerval's interests	**
p176.34-177.11	13	16	Victor	Deletes responsibility for deaths of William, Justine, and Clerval	**
p185.29-34	5	6	Victor	Minor rewording	*
p205.24-27	2	3	Walton	Minor rewording	*

It was imperative for Mary to act to diminish the perceived evilness of Victor. Only seven days later, on 30 June 1831, Mary wrote to her publisher, "You made me an offer...concerning the publication of *Frankenstein*...you would oblige me by communicating about it as soon as you can - You promised me to do so early this week - It is of consequence to both parties that there should be no further delay" (Bennet 1995: 241).

Mary then deleted, muted, or moderated all implicit references to Carlisle, to make them more generic. Table 1 indicates the magnitude of changes, by comparing line counts for the revisions from 1818 to 1831, wherein the key changes cluster on pages 36-47 of the 1992 Penguin edition.

The key 1818 statements alluding to Carlisle, together with Mary's 1831 editing, are:

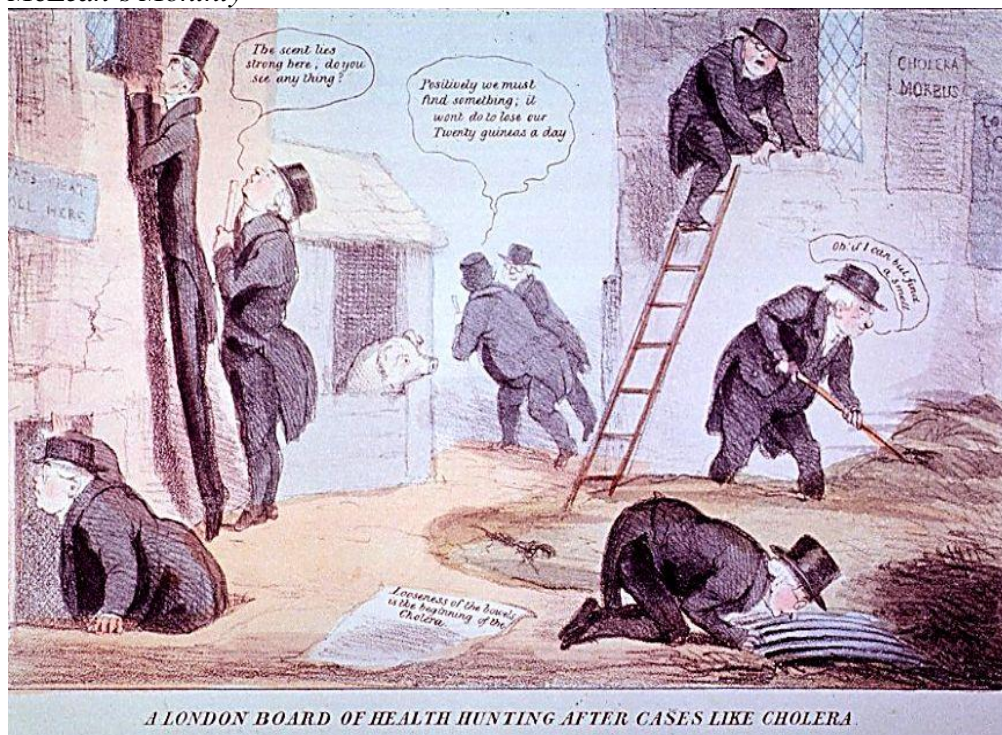
- **P 36.19-38.4:** Mary had bridged the 1792 to 1818 generation gap with a father/son relationship and in 1831 deleted a reference of concern; "Henry Clerval was the son of...an intimate friend of my father...he wrote a fairy tale [*Oakendale*], which was the delight and amazement of all his companions".
- **P 38.35-37:** In 1831 Mary deleted, "should probably have applied myself to the more rational theory of chemistry which has resulted from modern discoveries". This had alluded to Carlisle's discovery of electrolysis, and his silver-nitrate photographic experiments with Thomas Wedgwood.
- **P 39.8-40.12:** In 1818 Mary mentioned visiting Carlisle; "my utmost wonder was engaged by some experiments on an air pump, which I saw employed by a gentleman whom we were in the habit of visiting". This was replaced by a weak and unconvincing argument as Mary needed to avoid any link to Carlisle's 1804 experiment with an air pump and cadaver's arm, as recalled by Brewster in 1830 (Brewster 1830: 535).
- **P 40.27-41.22:** A description removed in 1831 is; "He constructed a small electrical machine, and exhibited a few experiments". By 1792 Carlisle was using electricity in experiments and in 1800 he made the first Voltaic battery in England, a "small electrical machine", thence discovering electrolysis.
- **P 40.27-41.22:** In 1831 Mary added generic wording; "On this occasion a man of great research in natural philosophy was with us". She revised the next sentence to; "All that he said threw greatly into the shade Cornelius Agrippa, Albertus Magnus, and Paracelsus, the lords of my imagination". This was absorbed from Carlisle as implicit in later Select Committee evidence; "For the reading of Hippocrates, Galen, Celsus, and many other of the Roman and Greek medical classics...is perfectly absurd" (Carlisle 1834: 149).
- **P 47.9-26:** Mary added in 1831; "I will pioneer a new way, explore unknown powers, and unfold to the world the deepest mysteries of creation". More generic in nature, but still similar to Carlisle's 1823 letter to Parr; "The ignorance of the early philosophers on these and several other points".
- **P 176.34-177.11:** To aid in sanitising Victor, in 1831 Mary deleted; "A bad conscience! Yes, surely I had one. William, Justine, and Clerval, had died through my infernal machinations".

### On the Cusp of Revolution

Yet more social pressure on Carlisle resulted from his fear of a cholera pandemic; as presciently foreshadowed in Mary's 1826 novel, *The Last Man*. In July 1831 Carlisle expressed concern in his role as Commissioner of Sewers, but he was ridiculed for his perceptive view cholera was communicated by saliva being contaminated and swallowed.

We perceive that the College of Physicians has decided on the *extreme* contagious character of cholera, and has recommended quarantine regulations, as strict as if the plague were the disease in question. ...We need scarcely allude to the inane or rather insane speculations of Sir Anthony Carlisle. A more direct puff was never sent forth from Warrens manufactory or Ely Place! It is contemptible in the highest degree (*The Medico-chirurgical Review* 1831: 286).

**Figure 12.** A London Board of Health Hunting after Cases like Cholera – *McLean's Monthly*



Mary recognised further scorn would harm Carlisle's imperative. On 16 November 1831, when it was realised the pandemic would reach London, Carlisle gave a further lecture on cholera, but his views were ridiculed in *The Lancet* where Wakley strongly opposed the contagiousness of cholera. The degree of medical confusion is seen in a cartoon from *McLean's Monthly* of 1832 (Figure 12). One of those depicted, likely Carlisle, says; "The scent lies strong, do you see anything?" It was not until after the 1832 pandemic when 6500 people died that it was conceded; "It is no more than justice to remark that all the statements and predictions of Sir A Carlisle in November last have been completely fulfilled" (Hebert 1832: 41).

The torrent of events buffeting Carlisle and feeding Mary's fear of revolution fuelled her editorial revision; climaxing on 13 October 1831 when Lord Eldon wrote to Lady Frances of rioting in London;

Our day here yesterday was tremendously alarming... Londonderry has been very seriously hurt. We hear that the mob (but I cannot answer for the truth of it) hanged in effigy the Duke of Wellington and the Duke of Cumberland at Tyburn. The Duke of Newcastle's house, Lord Bristol's, &c &c, and all other anti-reforming lords, have been visited and left without glass in their windows. ...I heard last night that the King was frightened by the appearance of people on the outside of St James's (Campbell 1847: 549).

Mary's introduction is dated 15 October 1831, only two days later, but an otherwise puzzling three and a half months after her request for urgency. The 1831 edition was published on 31 October, with the introduction an eleventh-hour inclusion; firmly denying Percy's influence to appease Sir Timothy and insulate him from further mob threats; "I certainly did not owe the suggestion of one incident, nor scarcely one train of feeling, to my husband". [F:10]; and promulgating a mythical dream to deflect attention from Godwin and Carlisle.

Mary's scientific knowledge instead arose as a by-product of Anthony Carlisle's friendship with her father, particularly during discussions in the Godwin home in the impressionable period between her birth and her elopement. Key influences on her were the anatomist's experiments in *Oakendale*, research by Carlisle into reviving the apparently dead, and his RCS curatorship of the mummies. In 1818 Mary's adolescent immaturity had hinted at Carlisle, but in 1831 that was tempered by her adult acuity and fear of revolution

Methodical, detailed, and logical scrutiny of the 1831 edition of *Frankenstein* reveals Mary's claim of a dream as being a subterfuge, in simple terms, a lie, invented due to her fear that the truth about her source of inspiration might ignite the prevailing civil unrest; resulting in Britain and its monarchy, together with Sir Timothy Shelley and William Godwin, succumbing to riot and disorder; as had precipitated the 1830 July Revolution in France. Mary floated a mythical legend as her back-story to *Frankenstein*, but careful analysis suggests it could be described as "the lie that saved the monarchy".

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## Language Contact in Colombia: A Pilot Study of *Criollo Sanandresano*<sup>1</sup>

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*The present linguistic situation of Colombia counts with more than 68 indigenous languages from different languages families. These indigenous languages are mostly spoken in bordering regions of the country, as well as in settlements located in diverse ecological regions. One of these indigenous languages is the Criollo Sanandresano (SAC) spoken in the islands of San Andrés, Providencia and Santa Catalina, located on the north-west Atlantic coast of Colombia, with the status of official language since 1991 (Article 10, Constitution of Colombia). Criollo Sanandresano, the vehicular language here in informal conversations, is an English-based creole that developed in the seventeenth century and emerged after a process of language contact with English (superstrate), West African languages (from the Atlantic slave trade) and Spanish (substrate languages). Following Thomason (2001: 63), we assume that in situations of language contact all language levels can be affected and "anything" can be adopted from the languages in contact. Our aim in this paper is to describe the current situation of Criollo Sanandresano and to analyze it from a linguistic point of view, in order to see whether the acknowledged view that creoles have a simpler grammar (e.g. lack of inflectional morphological markers, development of analytical particles, etc.) and more internal variability than older, more established languages holds (McWhorter 2005, Thomason 2001). This analysis will be based on a selection of texts available at the Instituto Caro y Cuervo and it will pay special attention to a selection of morphosyntactic variables in the light of contact linguistics and creolization processes.*

**Keywords:** *Caribbean creoles, Language contact, Language attitudes, Morphosyntactic variation, Spoken language*

### Introduction

The present linguistic situation of Colombia counts with more than 68 indigenous languages from different languages families, 2 creole languages, *Romaní* and Spanish, divided into two main varieties: *Español Costeño* (regions of the Pacific and Atlantic coasts) and *Español Andino* (rest of the country). These indigenous languages are mostly spoken in bordering regions of the country, as well as in settlements located in diverse ecological regions. One of these indigenous languages is the *Criollo Sanandresano* (henceforth SAC) spoken in the islands of San Andrés, Providencia and Santa Catalina, located on the north-west Atlantic coast of Colombia. Together with Spanish, SAC has been the official language of these territories since 1991 (Article 10, Constitution of Colombia). The dominant language spoken here nowadays is Spanish, spoken by 98% of the population, irrespective of context and age (Andrade Arbeláez 2012), although SAC remains the vehicular language in informal conversations.

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SAC is an English-based creole that developed in these islands in the seventeenth century and emerged after a process of language contact with English (superstrate), West African languages (from the Atlantic slave trade) and Spanish (substrate languages). Following Thomason (2001: 63, Bolton 2006) we assume that in situations of language contact all language levels can be affected and "anything" can be adopted from the languages in contact, vocabulary, phonological or structural features.

Our aim in this paper is to describe the current situation of *Criollo Sanandresano* and to analyze it from a linguistic point of view, in order to see whether the acknowledged view that creoles have a simpler grammar (e.g. lack of inflectional morphological markers, development of analytical particles, etc.) and more internal variability than older, more established languages holds (McWhorter 2005, Thomason 2001). The analysis will be based on a selection of texts available at the Instituto Caro y Cuervo and it will pay special attention to morphosyntactic variables in the light of contact linguistics and creolization processes, in particular, to the pronominal system, the pluralization of nouns, and to the system of clausal negation, all of them features frequently analyzed in English-based creoles.

The paper is structured as follows. Next sections give an overview of creolization and language contact processes and the history and current status of SAC is provided. Following, we describe the corpus used for the analysis and the analysis itself is presented and discussed. Finally, we provide a summary of the main conclusions.

## **Creolization and Language Contact**

The term 'creole' is frequently used in combination with 'pidgin'. Both terms make reference to linguistic systems and the most important difference between both is the absence of native speakers in "pidgin" languages as opposed to their existence in creoles. A creole has been defined as "a language that has come into existence at a point in time that can be established fairly precisely" (Muysken & Smiths 1995: 3), and as a language that develops in "contact situations that typically involve more than two languages" (Thomason 2001: 159). Creoles developed for purposes of communication (e.g. context of slavery and/or trade) between groups of people from different linguistic backgrounds (Thomason 2001: 158) and very often also different social backgrounds. Creoles are languages that emerge out of a specific type of language contact. According to Thomason (2001: 60), creoles, together with pidgins and bilingual mixed languages, are classified as a case of "extreme language mixture" in the classification of language contact typologies: there is lexifier—or superstrate, very often the language of the powerful groups (commonly English, Spanish or Portuguese) and the substrate(s), the languages of the indigenous population (in cases of colonization) and also of the less powerful groups (slaves, labourers, etc.).

Research on specific creoles discovered the existence of different varieties within the same creole, which gave place to what is known as the creole continuum (DeCamp 1977). It makes reference to the different varieties which can be distinguished within a creole and are classified in terms of their degree of closeness to the lexifier language. The emergence of these varieties is justified by the coexistence of the creole with its lexical source language. In such context, "there is a social motivation for the creole speaker to acquire the standard, so that the speech of individuals takes on features of the latter -and avoid features of the former- to varying degrees" (Holm 1988: 52, Winford 1993: 7-8). At one end of the continuum, there is the acrolect, the closest one to the standard and therefore the most prestigious variety, "generally used by the society's elite: the well-educated, well-off professionals" (Singh 2000: 74); at the opposite end, the basilect, the least prestigious variety, "the variety that is most creole-like, typically spoken by those who are at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder and so have the least access to institutions such as education and therefore to the standard" (Singh 2000: 74). In between, we find the mesolect, with speakers "more or less creole- or standard-like, depending on their individual access to, and identification with, the basilect or acrolect", and combine features from both the creole and the standard (Singh 2000: 75). The selection of one of these varieties is determined by social prestige (normally it is the language of education, administration, religion, etc.), education, age, and also factors such as degree of formality. But not all speakers are affected by this 'corrective pressure' of adopting the standard and the continuum emerges according to a certain degree of acculturation, which "varies with such factors as age, poverty, and isolation from urban centres" (DeCamp 1971: 351).

The earliest theories dealing with the genesis of creoles were Eurocentric and gave emphasis to the superstrate language. Since pidgins and creoles were initially developed for purely functional purposes—as a mean of communication between peoples with different native languages unintelligible between themselves, creoles have traditionally been considered "maximally simple" linguistic systems, and "all alike" (Thomason 2001: 159, Mühlhäusler 1986: 135, Muysken & Smith 1995: 8-9, Singh 2000: 2, Thomason 2001: 167-174, Le Page 1977: 231). In fact, very often pidgins and creoles are described as 'broken' languages without structure or grammatical rules, mainly because they are conceived as simplified versions of their lexifier languages. This is the view adopted by the so-called 'Foreign Talk Theory', according to which language use is adapted when the speaker is speaking to a non-native speaker, with strategies of simplification and imitation dominating. Another theory is the 'Imperfect L2 Learning Hypothesis', which resorts to mechanisms of acquiring the superstratal target. This simplistic views, which took the language of the lexifier as the target (superstratal target hypothesis), considered creoles as the products of 'imperfect learning' and deviations from the model; they have been pejoratively described as "bastardized versions of the lexifier language" and the 'language of the slaves', because "most speakers of most

creoles are descendants from slaves, so the languages are seen as fit only for slaves" (Thomason 2001: 189).

Regarding the "they are all alike" characterization, this relies on the perceived similarities between creoles, especially at the level of phonology (e.g. lack of 'exotic' sounds and complex consonant clusters), morphology (e.g. lack of inflectional and derivational morphology), lexis (e.g. reduced stock of lexical vocabulary) or syntax (e.g. SVO word order or particular distribution of particles indicating TAM, more coordination than subordination, etc.). Most of these features shared by creoles are not necessarily poorer versions of the lexifier's grammar, but rather universal features observed in language acquisition processes (cf. 'vernacular universals' of non-standard varieties of English, Chambers (2004)). Furthermore, detailed studies of creoles demonstrate that creoles with different lexifiers (e.g. English-based creoles vs French-based creoles) are not so "all alike", as opposed to creoles which share a lexifier, which also share more features. Although historically they were viewed with contempt, they have become relevant objects of study for language evolution, official languages (language planning and educational policies), and languages their speakers are proud of. In fact, once a creole develops, it becomes the linguistic variety of a speech community, with native speakers (L1 of a community), used not only for purposes of communication between the groups of unintelligible languages, but also between members of the community (expansion phase), which identify themselves with this emerging variety (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). It is a language which acts as a marker of peer-group identity and of alienation from the dominant. It is at this moment when the creoles develop their own phonological, lexical, morphosyntactic, pragmatic and stylistic rules, in what has been labelled a creolization process.

Alternative views to the 'superstrate target' put emphasis on the substrate languages. Within these theories, the most popular one is the theory of the monogenesis, which states that all pidgins and creoles are ultimately descendants of a proto-pidgin formed on the West African coast (defended by Lefebvre 1993, 1998). This hypothesis would also justify the 'they are all alike' claim pointed before, especially in what refers to grammar and sounds. Following this hypothesis, all English-lexicon Caribbean creoles would be direct descendants of a pidgin that emerged on the coast of West Africa (Thomason 2001: 177). The differences among creoles are justified by 'relexification' (Thomason 2001: 176; Stewart 1962: 42). This gave place to the so-called 'Relexification Hypothesis', defended by Lefebvre (1993, 1998), according to which "creoles are created by adults who develop a new lexicon by combining the phonetic shapes of one language with the semantic and syntactic information of another language" (Thomason 2001: 179). Borrowing is a key process in this hypothesis and no process of negotiation between languages is contemplated (Thomason 2001: 180). For the Caribbean, Hancock (1986) proposed Guinea Coast Creole English as the proto-language from which relexification in the New World took place. For the superstratists, however, the similarities between creoles are "because they developed in

similar environments in similar circumstances, with dialectal forms of on superstratal language, English" (Singh 2000: 49).

Other hypotheses establish a parallelism between the genesis of creoles and processes of language acquisition. Here, the Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (LBH) proposed by Bickerton (1981, 1988 and references therein) is of special relevance. He compares the process of creolization with processes of L1 acquisition. Following this hypothesis, the grammar of a creole is developed in every infants' brain who are genetically programmed for such development (universal innate features, UG, or the language bioprogram). Creoles emerge in new contact situations where a new language is necessary for all communicative purposes and follow a three-step process: from macaronic prepidgin to unstable prepidgin which derives into the crystallization of a new creole's grammar in the one or even two subsequent generations (see Thomason 2001: 178 for a summary). This hypothesis would account for the shared features of creoles (and other vernacular linguistic systems), such as the widely referred TMA system. The most important criticism to the LBH is that it does not contemplate the social and historical background of creoles formation.

Thomason (2001), among others, also compares the genesis of creoles with a language acquisition processes, but she puts more emphasis in L2s (SLA hypothesis). In her opinion, creoles follow a learning process comparable to the acquisition of L2s "in which the people in the new contact situation learn to communicate with each other by deploying the new vocabulary with grammatical structures they hope will be understood by their interlocutors" (2001: 180). This process entails negotiation between the native languages and the lexifier language and therefore shift-induced interference; the resulting creole grammar "is a crosslanguage compromise among the languages of the pidgin/creole creators" (2001: 181). Following this hypothesis, shared features among creoles are accounted as universally unmarked features associated to learning processes and/or derivable from the native language(s).

Other hypothesis for the genesis of creoles resort to less abrupt contact-language genesis scenarios. The main tenet is that the development of creoles is progressive and the source is either (i) as fully crystallized pidgins (i.e. 'pidgin-turned-creoles') (Thomason 2001: 183; see also Chaudenson 1992) or (ii) as evolved creoles from those founded into small colony settings to large-scale plantations where ultimately the slave population rapidly outnumbered their masters (mostly based on demographic evidence) (Thomason 2001: 184, 188, Singler 1996). The gradualist view is defended by Chaudenson (1992), who accounts for French-lexifier creoles in the Indian Ocean as extensively modified French varieties, from the different waves of slaves arriving subsequently. These varieties would follow an ordinary L2 acquisition process, with ordinary contact-induced change, happening repeatedly up to the extent that the emergent varieties cannot longer be considered varieties of French. According to Singler (1996), the genesis of creoles in the Caribbean has to be found in the original sugar colonies present in these lands before the sugar boom, which had a demographic impact.

### **Criollo Sanandresano (SAC)**

The present linguistic situation of Colombia counts with more than 68 indigenous languages from different languages families, 2 creole languages, *Romaní* and Spanish, the latter divided into two main varieties: *Español Costeño*, spoken in the regions of the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, and *Español Andino*, spoken in the rest of the country. The two creole languages are *Palenquero*, a Spanish-based creole, spoken in San Basilio de Palenque, and *Criollo Sanandresano* (SAC), an English-based creole, spoken in the archipelago of San Andrés, Providencia and Santa Catalina.

SAC developed in the seventeenth century as a consequence of the British colonization, which brought slaves to the Caribbean from Africa who spoke typologically different languages (Patiño-Roselli 2002). It emerged after a process of language contact with English, the superstrate, and West African languages (from the Atlantic slave trade) and Spanish, as the substrate languages. As most creoles, SAC emerged for purposes of communication between peoples from different linguistic backgrounds (Thomason 2001: 158).

Linguistically speaking, the islands of San Andrés, Providencia y Santa Catalina, have a trilingual situation nowadays. SAC coexists with Spanish and English. In San Andrés, SAC is an official language since 1991. It is the native language of the local ethnic group known as *raizal*, who arrived in the seventeenth century to these islands from the migrations coming from Jamaica. Spanish, also an official language, is the dominant language in these territories, especially since the declaration of San Andrés as free port in 1953, which brought many Spanish-speaking Colombian people. As a consequence, the *raizal* community became a demographic and linguistic minority in San Andrés (Sanmiguel 2007). SAC is also an official language in the islands of Providencia and Santa Catalina, but here, unlike in San Andrés, it is also the dominant language. As to Standard English, it is daily used, but confined to religious services (Abouchaar et al. 2002).

The distribution of the available languages is mostly diglossic (Moya-Chaves 2010), as is often the case in communities where languages with different prestige coexist. Spanish is the language used by the government, in education and in the media, while SAC is the home language, selected in informal conversations. Although 79.5% of the *raizal* population speak SAC, there is an increasing use of Spanish as the only language, also derived from the touristic activity (Sanmiguel 2007, Moya-Chaves 2010). As to English, it is mostly kept in religious services, and is considered a prestigious language by the local population.

In education, the favoured language is Spanish. There have been attempts from the government to promote SAC, however these are restricted to primary school and only as a spoken language mainly to explain and clarify concepts (Abouchaar et al. 2002). In fact, in the last few years English has been given more importance at school and all proposals of a bilingual education include English and Spanish and leave SAC aside (Abouchaar et al. 2002, Moya-Chaves 2010). Generally, all the programs focus on promoting English, which



is usually associated with professional success. The only proposal which took into account SAC as a language of education was the trilingual project led by the Universidad Cristiana de San Andrés (Morren 2001, Bowie & Dittman 2007, Guerrero 2008), whose aim was to implement a trilingual educational curriculum, which included SAC in students between 6 to 10 years, English from 7 years onwards, Spanish from 8 years onwards, and having 50% Spanish and 50% English from the age of 11 onwards. This program was not successful mainly due to the lack of funding and support from the local authorities, as observed by Bowie and Dittman (2007: 72).

Regarding the promotion of SAC, it is important to highlight the efforts made by the Instituto Caro y Cuervo, an official institution depending on the Ministry of Culture which fosters research on linguistics, literature and philology of Spanish and the local languages of Colombia<sup>2</sup>.

Not many studies exist on SAC, with the exception of the descriptive studies carried out by Dittman (1992) and O'Flynn de Chaves (2002). In terms of vocabulary, it is basically derived from English, the lexifier, as usually happens with creoles (Thomason 2001: 160). Regarding the phonological system (Dittman 1992: chapter 2), SAC distinguishes from seven vowels in the basilect to twelve vocalic sounds in the more acrolectal variety, as also found in other Caribbean creoles. Morphosyntactically SAC is very similar to other Caribbean English-based creoles. Among the most relevant features reported by Dittman (1992), SAC resorts to the unmarked SVO clausal word-order, topicalization of structures for emphasis, the use of particles for TAM (e.g. *de* and *wen de* for the progressive or *go* and *gwain* for the future), lack of inflectional endings, as for instance to indicate the present-past tense distinction of lexical verbs, copula deletion in the present tense or the use of invariable negators *no* or *never* preceding the lexical verb.

## Corpus and Methodology

The data under analysis here come from a local project coordinated by Marcia Dittman and supported by the Instituto Caro y Cuervo to keep the local traditions alive. The data include the speech of three local women narrating their own lives, memories from their childhood, local stories and local traditions. Therefore, these texts represent spoken spontaneous language, the medium generally considered the most vernacular type of language.

A total of almost 5,000 words were included and the retrieval of examples proceeded in two steps. In order to ensure a maximally exhaustive search, we first retrieved examples automatically of the different variables under analysis using AntConc. Next these examples were analyzed manually in order to select the relevant examples and to discard invalid instances from the database. The manual analysis was also necessary in order to retrieve instances which

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<sup>2</sup>Portal de Lenguas de Colombia. Diversidad y contacto. Instituto Caro y Cuervo. <http://lenguasdecolombia.caroycuervo.gov.co/> (Accessed on 2017-11-30).

were not possible to extract automatically. This entailed the careful reading of the texts.

There are a few limitations of this study. For instance, the material that is investigated is not as extensive as was wished since it comes from only three female speakers who deal with a limited range of topics. We cannot discard that the tendencies that have been found in the analysis only exist in the sample from the texts used in this study.

The informants are three local women, permanent residents of San Andrés, who received a limited amount of education. They are strongly identified with the *raizal* community, that is, the community they represent. They are considered mesolectal speakers of SAC.

Despite these limitations, we carried out an analysis of a selection of morphosyntactic variables usually analyzed in Caribbean English-based creoles: (i) the pronominal system; (ii) nominal morphology, in particular the expression of plural in nouns; and (iii) the system of clausal negation.

## **Analysis**

This section contains a preliminary description of SAC, relying primarily on the analysis of the texts described in the section of corpus and methodology. This description is based on the analysis of clausal units in isolation, which has been found to be necessary in identifying variants within morpho-syntactic variables (Givón 1984: 10), although sometimes reliance on discourse is necessary to determine certain meanings.

As summarized before SAC has been described in some studies (Dittmann 1992, O'Flynn the Chaves 2002), mostly from a qualitative point of view. Although quantitative analyses cannot be thorough due to the limited number of data, our aim is to complete previous descriptions and studies, and provide some quantitative data which will help us get a finer picture of morphosyntax in SAC. Additionally, our intention is not simply to analyze SAC as a single creole, but also to compare SAC with other related creoles, in particular other Caribbean creoles such as Jamaican Creole and Trinidadian and Tobago Creole, and place it within the linguistic map of creoles.

This analysis has been carried out following a variationist approach, whereby linguistic variation is conceived to be orderly and shows "structured heterogeneity" (Labov 1972). Thus, we selected a number of linguistic variables which fulfilled the following requisites: (i) variables of relevance and repeatedly studied in creoles; (ii) variables which were included in previous studies of SAC, in order to allow comparison; and (iii) relatively frequent variables to facilitate not only a qualitative analysis but also a quantitative one in the reduced sample we are working with.

## Pronominal System

SAC pronominal system has been briefly described by Dittmann (1992) and O’Flynn de Chaves (2002). The latter mentions a pronominal system variable in terms of person and number (also animacy in the third person), but invariable in terms of case (2002: 21), as opposed to Dittmann, who mentions in passing the use of alternative forms.

In order to ensure a maximally exhaustive search, we first carried out a manual analysis which entailed the careful reading of the texts. Then, we retrieved examples automatically using AntConc of the different forms found in the manual analysis. A careful analysis of the corpus shows the pronominal system of Table 1 (only forms which appear at least four times have been included in the table).

**Table 1.** *Distribution of Pronominal Forms*

	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
First person	Subject: <u><i>ai</i></u>	Subject and object: <u><i>wi</i></u> <sup>3</sup>
	Object: <u><i>mi</i></u>	
	Possessive determiner: <u><i>mai</i></u> <sup>4</sup>	
Second person	Subject and determiner: <i>yu</i> , <u><i>yo</i></u> <sup>5</sup>	Not found in the corpus
	Object: <i>yu</i>	
Third person	Subject: <u><i>shi</i></u> , <i>hi(m)</i> <sup>6</sup>	Subject: <u><i>dem</i></u> , <i>dei</i> Object: <i>dem</i>
	Object: <i>har</i> , <u><i>him</i></u>	
	Subject and object: <i>it</i> , <i>ih</i>	

Note: \*those in boldface were found by O’Flynn de Chaves (2002); those underlined are variants listed by Dittman (1992).

Table 1 shows that personal pronouns in SAC may vary according to person, number, case and, in the third person singular, also gender and animacy, although syncretism occurs very often, as O’Flynn de Chaves points out. In fact, the pronominal system reflects in general terms what has been previously shown by O’Flynn de Chaves (2002: 21), although it brings to light pronominal forms that had not been previously mentioned. Both the forms and the system seem to be ultimately derived from English, unlike other creoles, such as Tok Pisin, where the pronominal morphemes are derived from English, but the system lacks the English gender and case distinction characteristic of English (Thomason 2001: 171), or Trinidadian Creole (Deuber 2014: 107-108), which shows invariable forms for case and gender in the basilect, but introduces alternative forms in the mesolect.

For the first person plural, *wi* is the form invariably used for the plural, irrespective of the syntactic function it plays (cf. Present-day English *we-us*), as opposed to the singular, where we find the availability of more forms, very

<sup>3</sup>One occurrence of the form *we* has been also found functioning as DO.

<sup>4</sup>The form *mi* has also been recorded once in the corpus.

<sup>5</sup>The form *you* as a subject form occurs in one occasion.

<sup>6</sup>The form *im* for the nominative has been also found once.

frequently distributed according to case: *ai*, invariably nominative, *mi*, invariably object, and *mai*, possessive determiner. For the second person, no form for the plural has been found in our corpus, although *unu* is the form mentioned by O'Flynn de Chaves (2002). For the singular, *yu* and *yo* are indistinctively used as subject and object (cf. Present-day English *you*). Finally, regarding the third person, *dem* and *dei* coexist for the plural; both forms are used as subject and as object, all the examples found resort to *dem*. As to the singular, different forms are used for the distinction non-human vs human. If the referent is human, there is a gender distinction: *shi* (nominative) and *har* (object) for human feminine referents and *him* (both as subject and object) and *hi* (nominative) for masculine referents. With non-human referents, the forms *it* and *ih* are selected. Example (1) shows a distribution conditioned by case: *it* used as subject, and *ih*, as object:

(1) *It foun wen yu put ih, it foun* ("It foams when you put it, it foams...")

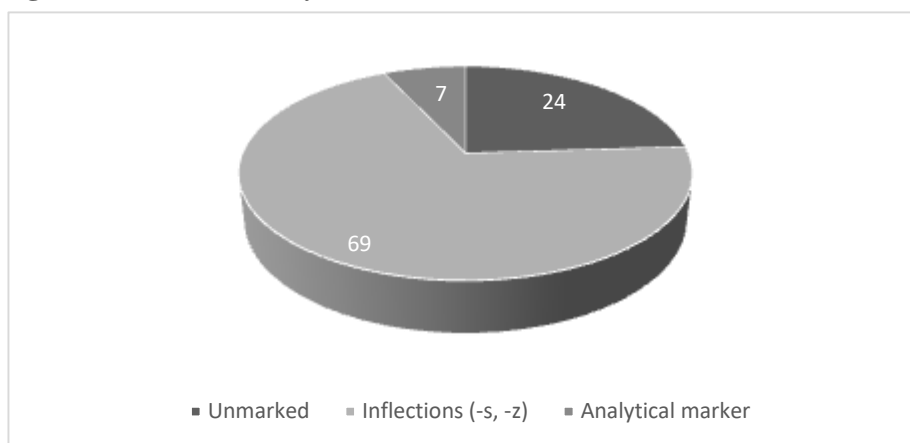
However, this conditioned distribution does not hold in all the examples of the corpus, as examples (2) illustrates:

(2) *Yu jos rob ih an di skin an ih born. Bot ih hiil ih quik, it hiil it* ("You just rub it on the skin and it burns. But it heals it quick, it heals it")

In example (2) case can no longer be used to justify the distribution of *it* and *ih*, as they are both indistinctively used as subject and object. A tentative hypothesis to justify their use is for emphasis (see the repetition of "it heals it") and also in compliance with the *horror aequi* principle (Rohdenburg 1996), which refers to the avoidance of formally (near-) identical adjacent elements.

### Noun Morphology

**Figure 1.** Distribution of Plural Markers



Nouns in SAC show a binary system in terms of number, which distinguished singular from plural nouns. As in Present-day English, singular

nouns are unmarked. As to plural nouns, a three-fold distinction was found in the corpus under analysis, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 shows that the most frequent way of pluralizing nouns in SAC is by adding the inflectional plural marker *-s/-z* (e.g. *deiz* 'days', *fruuts* 'fruits', *tingz* 'things', *(gran)pierenz/pierns* 'grandparents, parents', etc.); however this coexists with unmarked plural nouns (24%), that is, nouns used in the plural which do not add any marker, with a higher frequency than what has been reported by Deuber for other Caribbean creoles such as Jamaican Creole (2014: 107) or Trinidadian Creole (2014: 162). This is illustrated in examples (3) and (4):

(3) *In di fortiØ* ("In the forties")

(4) *Dei kil aut al di monkiØ waz in di haus* ("They killed all the monkeys who where in the house")

(5) *Fig trii liifØ dat gud. Yu kyan get liifØ an bail dem in waata, two ar three liifØ* ("Fig tree leaves are good. You can get leaves and boil them in water, two or three leaves")

Although inflectionally unmarked, and therefore formally similar to the singular, the context clearly avoids any possibility of confusion, as *al* ('all'), *two*, *three* in the examples above indicate plurality. Since in these examples there are other contextual markers of plurality, a tentative hypothesis to justify the availability of unmarked plural nouns is to favour isomorphism, a tendency in language to reflect a one-to-one correlation between form and meaning, and thus aim at maximizing transparency (see Leufkens (2015) for a thorough analysis of transparency in language).

Finally, pluralization of nouns in SAC is also expressed by analytical means, namely by placing the pronominal form *dem* postnominally, as in examples (6), (7) and (8):

(6) *Di paña dem sei "sana"* ("Spanish people (they) say 'healthy'")

(7) *Di man dem drink it* ("The men (they) drink it")

(8) *Yu bail di liif dem in waata an drink ih* ("You boil the leaves in water and drink it")

Examples (6) and (7) can also be argued as cases of left-dislocation to topicalize selected elements; however, this interpretation is not possible in example (8), where *dem* unambiguously acts as a plural marker.

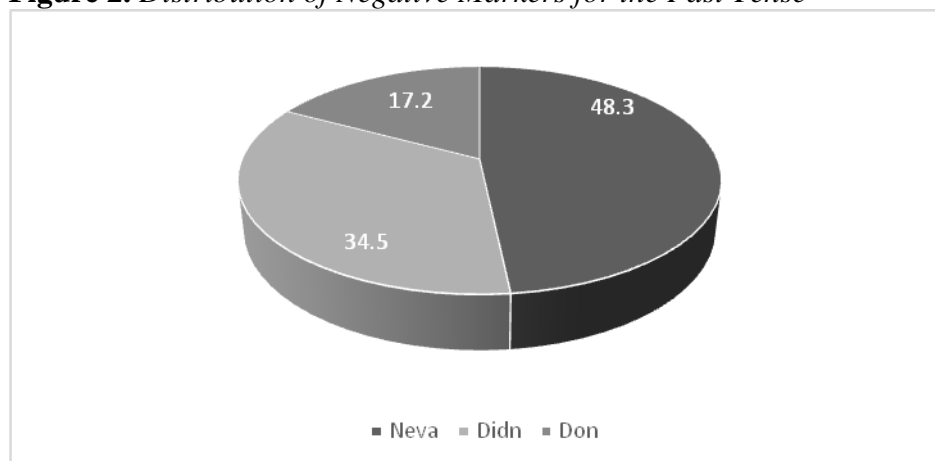
### *Clausal Negation*

In creoles, preverbal negators are frequently used, and SAC is not an exception in this respect; this is also cross-linguistically supported (Dryer 1988). O'Flynn de Chaves (2002: 21) include preverbal *no* and *neva* as the sentential negators of SAC. To these two, Dittman (1992: 71-72) adds *don* and *din(t)*. Examples (9)-(12) illustrate these four possibilities:

- (9) *An hel wen yu hav yur period, hel yu dat yu **no** have pein* ("And it helps when you have your period, it helps that you don't have pain")
- (10) *Wi **neva** nou wich piis a di klat waz di dress* ("We didn't know which piece of cloth was the dress")
- (11) *Shid sit daun with wi an shi **didn** haid wat shi now laik some pierenz* ("She would sit down with us and she didn't hide what she knew, like some parents (did)")
- (12) *Wen ai waz in San Andres, ai hav al mai children daun der. Afta ai **don** hav mai children, ai ritorn bak hir* ("When I was in San Andrés, I had all my children there. After I haven't had more children, I returned back here")

In the analysis of our corpus, we observed that the negators previously mentioned are also selected in our set of data, but they are not randomly used. Rather, they are distributed in terms of tense. For the present tense *no* and *nou* are the default makers (example (9)), with isolated cases of *don*. As to the past tense, there is more variation, and *neva*, *didn* and *don* coexist (see examples (10), (11) and (12), as Figure 2 shows.

**Figure 2.** Distribution of Negative Markers for the Past Tense



It can be argued that *neva* is used as an adverbial of time, rather than a negative polarity item, as in example (13), however examples (10) or (14) show *neva* used unambiguously as a negative marker, frequently used in other Caribbean creoles, as well as a preverbal clausal negator in English, as reported by Lucas and David (2012) and recently by Palacios-Martínez (2018).

- (13) *Wel rili wi **neva** hongri* ("Well we have never been hungry")
- (14) *Shi **neva** nou nonbadi* ("She didn't know anybody")

## Conclusion

This study presents a preliminary description of *Criollo Sanandresano*, an English-based creole spoken in the Colombian archipelago of San Andrés, Providencia and Santa Catalina. The analysis shows that SAC shares features with other Caribbean Creoles, especially in what refers to the pronominal system, the pluralization of nouns, and the system of clausal negation. Additionally, we have observed features which seem to be specific to SAC, or at least to the sample of data we have analyzed. Despite these limitations, our results allow us to confirm relevant tendencies which reinforce previous research and, most importantly, to discover tendencies of use in the case of coexisting variants:

1. The pronominal system shows variation in terms of number, case, gender and animacy, although very frequently we come across syncretism, especially with the variable case, as described in the analysis. Another factor which seems to condition the alternative form of pronominal forms is the *horror aequi* principle to avoid formally (near-) identical adjacent elements.
2. Pluralization of nouns is frequently marked by adding the inflection – *s/-z*, but it also coexists with uninflected nouns. As shown by the analysis, uninflected nouns are selected to express plural when there are other contextual features expressing this information. Uninflected nouns are therefore selected to avoid redundancy and foster isomorphism. Additionally, the analysis has revealed the use of the analytical plural marker *dem* to pluralize nouns, which would add another variant to the paradigm of pluralization of nouns in SAC.
3. Preverbal negators are the default option to mark clausal negation. The negators *no* and *neva* are the most frequently used negative polarity items in SAC, together with *didn* and *don*. The analysis shows that the distribution is conditioned by tense, since *no* is confined to the present tense, and *neva*, *didn* and *don* to the preterite.

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