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CEAMAG Journal, the peer-reviewed journal of the College English Association-Middle Atlantic Group, appears once a year and publishes studies based on writing research, discussions of pedagogy, literary criticism, cultural criticism, and personal essays concerned with the teaching of English. We will also consider for publication book reviews and poems and short fiction related to literature or teaching. Submissions, preferably limited to between 3,000 and 5,000 words (except book reviews, which should be limited to 2,500 words or fewer) and prepared in accordance with the most recent MLA style manual, should be emailed as a Word document to David Kaloustian, Department of Languages, Literature, and Cultural Studies, Bowie State University, at ceamagjournal@gmail.com. Please include the Phrase "CEAMAG Journal" in the subject line of your email. The annual deadline for submissions for March publication is October 15.

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"Rights of Memory": Re-Valuing Fortinbras in Teaching and Casting *Hamlet*

by Abigail L. Sloan

"Who's there?" (1.1.1) is the question that famously opens *Hamlet*. The answer to the unasked counterpart to this question—"Who's not there?"—has often been Fortinbras. As Sylvan Barnet tersely puts it, ". . . most productions do without him" (255). Barnet's reference here is to contemporary productions, particularly late 20th century films, but many productions have indeed done without Fortinbras for centuries. Cynthia Marshall points us to various instances of Fortinbras exclusion, citing program notes from a 1997 Royal Shakespeare Company *Hamlet* for the claim that ". . . Fortinbras was eliminated from productions between 1732 and 1897, and the tradition was influentially extended in this century [the 20th] by Laurence Olivier's film version" (355). Michal Kobialka agrees that "it was common practice in nineteenth-century productions of the play to omit Fortinbras" (196); he goes on to suggest that this practice stemmed from ineffective analysis—"Rather than trying to understand the character, it was easier to ignore him entirely" (196-197). Franco Zeffirelli's 1990 *Hamlet* also omits Fortinbras, but other recent film productions—Kenneth Branagh's from 1996, Michael Almereyda's from 2000, Gregory Doran's from 2009, and Robin Lough's[1] from 2015—seem willing to make the effort to understand the Prince of Norway and have returned him to the cast.

This recent turn in casting practices offers an important reminder of just how vital Fortinbras is both thematically and structurally and just what kinds of complexity the long tradition of his exclusion kept away from the stage and screen in earlier eras. While Fortinbras's absence from "the pages of Saxo Grammaticus or Belleforest" (Lawrence 673) may seem like justification for removal, it is also the case that "[h]e is apparently a distinctively English and distinctively dramatic addition to the story" (Lawrence 673). If Shakespeare found

Fortinbras important enough to add, it seems foolish in the extreme—or at least a risk worth careful consideration—for a production to remove him. Fortinbras's background before and actions in *Hamlet* provide narrative depth and a useful complication of the audience's sympathy with Hamlet's motives and values. In productions that include Fortinbras, scholars and students have the opportunity to pursue productive questions about how he is portrayed, how much stage or screen time he receives, and—when applicable—what role or roles the Fortinbras actor doubles.

I have taught *Hamlet* in a British literature survey course for several years. In addition to being my favorite play, it serves as a useful bridge between the 16th- and 17th-century portions of the course, and I also structure the unit with attention to performance. We view key scenes from the Zeffirelli and Branagh productions, supplementing with other productions as time and resources allow. One particular point of contrast I ask students to attend to closely is the absence of Fortinbras from the Zeffirelli production set against his presence in the Branagh. In brief, I encourage them to consider how "[t]he background of foreign affairs gives realism and breadth to the action" (Lawrence 674). We also consider how the presence or absence of Fortinbras affects technical understandings of the play's genre.

We work with the classic M. H. Abrams genre definitions, which for tragedy state in part that

> [u]ntil the close of the seventeenth century almost all tragedies were written in verse and had as protagonists men of high rank whose fate affected the fortunes of a state. . . . it remained for eighteenth-century writers to popularize the **bourgeois** or **domestic tragedy**, which was written in prose and presented a protagonist from the middle or lower social ranks who suffers a commonplace or domestic disaster. (324; emphases original)

Lawrence comes to a similar genre-based conclusion that adumbrates the structural and thematic importance of Fortinbras: "a distinguished person is needed to succeed to the Danish throne, to close the action with a formal speech, and, as a matter of stage necessity, to see that Hamlet is borne honorably to his bier, and the dead bodies carried off" (673). Zeffirelli's film

features strong performances, a striking visual aesthetic, and a powerful Ennio Morricone score, but the absence of Fortinbras essentially leaves us with a domestic tragedy in medieval dress. The film begins with an added, initially dialogue-free scene depicting the burial of Old Hamlet, and the final tableau is the camera pulling away from a triangle formed by the corpses of Hamlet, Gertrude, and Claudius. Some students have commented that—even though they have read the play and understand the overall context—Zeffirelli's ending feels abruptly paced and unresolved. These opening and closing scenes direct the audience's focus inward, only on Elsinore, and ignore the Fortinbras-related social and geopolitical consequences for all the unseen, ordinary Danish citizens.

When we then view Branagh's finale, the contrast is particularly striking given the set-breaking[2] extravaganza and full military funeral that Branagh stages. There is merit to Barnet's criticism that Rufus Sewell's Fortinbras "is overemphasized, first near the beginning . . . and near the end" (255), but I have come to regard Branagh's treatment of Fortinbras as one of the stronger points in a film that can be a bit exhausting with its lavish visuals and constant parade of major celebrities in even the most minor roles. From very early on, Branagh reminds audiences of the huge military and political issues at hand. Barnet also takes exception to the various flashbacks and other visual additions in Branagh's film (254), but here again there is a Fortinbras-related strength. In Act 3, we see Nicholas Farrell's Horatio standing outside the castle, looking out rather than in, and reading a newspaper (in keeping with the film's 19th-century setting) that advises readers of Fortinbras's troop movements. Choices like this, along with the extensive screen time Sewell occupies, make sure that—unlike the central characters at Elsinore who should be taking responsibility for the national situation rather than betraying one another—the audience cannot forget the external threat aimed at the internally compromised Danish monarchy.

Another interesting service that Fortinbras's presence does the play is to complicate our investment in Hamlet's desire for revenge on at least two major levels. It is easy for an audience to sympathize with Hamlet's desire to avenge his beloved father against his murderous, usurping uncle and reclaim his rightful crown. Many productions essentially assume

audience sympathy with Hamlet and "invite viewer identification with the heroic main figure" (Marshall 356). Our sympathy for Hamlet must be tempered, however, when we consider that Fortinbras is also the son of a slain father who wishes to reclaim a territorial inheritance (1.1.86-105). Old Fortinbras dies in combat, while Old Hamlet is murdered, but both leave sons grieving their fathers and facing difficulty in claiming their expected places in the world. Polonius's accidental death at Hamlet's hands in Act 3 creates a third son desperate to avenge his father, so even productions without Fortinbras do address the theme of multiple grieving sons seeking vengeance. When Fortinbras is fully present, however, there is always more than one revenge-minded bereaved son in play, and his claim to what he wants is in many ways as strong as Hamlet's. Fortinbras also has a level of military and political power that Laertes—and, frankly, Hamlet—does not. I typically write all three sets of names on the board and invite students to notice and discuss the various connections among them.

Once those involved with a production decide that Fortinbras is a necessary as well as "distinctively English and distinctively dramatic addition to the story" (Lawrence 673), the questions of how to cast and stage him arise. The contemporary film productions that include him tend to use contemporary casting conventions: one actor, one role. Rufus Sewell, as discussed, appears as Fortinbras in Branagh's production; Casey Affleck takes the role in Almereyda's. If I may borrow Ralph Berry's argument that modern stage casting choices demonstrate "not exigencies but the director's wish to make a point" (207), Branagh and Almereyda clearly make quite different points. Like virtually everyone else Branagh cast, Sewell was already established as someone who played lead roles; Casey Affleck is best known as the brother of a more famous actor. Branagh's casting invites us to view Fortinbras as someone important in his own right, someone whose claims to revenge and power may be just as strong and interesting as Hamlet's. Almereyda's casting suggests that someone who is clearly a step down from Hamlet is the one left standing at the end of the story. The 2015 National Theatre Live production doubled some ancillary roles but largely followed the one actor, one role modern tradition. Here, the point falls somewhere in between Branagh's and Almereyda's—Fortinbras's role is important enough to be an actor's only

responsibility, yet Sergo Vares is not nearly as well-known as Benedict Cumberbatch, who plays Hamlet. The suggestion that Fortinbras is somehow a step down from Hamlet is thus echoed here.

Shakespeare's conventions, of course, called for the doubling of roles that Berry directly discusses in the remarks quoted above. Berry's 20th-century performance history overview records "the unlikely combination of Reynaldo, Third Player, and Fortinbras" (207), several instances of doubling Ghost and Fortinbras (207-208), and at least one doubling of Bernardo and Fortinbras (208). Doran's 2009 production doubles Francisco and Fortinbras. Both the Francisco/Fortinbras and Bernardo/Fortinbras doublings have appealing symmetry. In the Francisco/Fortinbras doubling, the same actor is the first and last to appear on stage. In the Bernardo/Fortinbras doubling, the same actor is the first and last to speak. These doublings offer a thematic symmetry as well. Bernardo and Francisco are charged with preserving the safe order of Elsinore; Fortinbras must restore that order after the previous royal line fails to uphold it.

Additionally, these doublings both return our attention to the play-opening question, "Who's there?" (1.1.1). For years, I have told students something like, "The play opens with the question 'Who's there?' and Hamlet spends four acts and change struggling to be able to answer, 'This is I / Hamlet the Dane' (5.1.259-260) and take his revenge." I expect to continue offering this lens for reading and viewing *Hamlet*, but I plan to offer it alongside the idea that another, equally valid, answer to this question is—by the end of Act 5—Fortinbras. In the Francisco/Fortinbras doubling, the same actor answers this question directly in Act 1 and through performance by Act 5. In the Bernardo/Fortinbras doubling, the same actor opens the play by asking this question and concludes the play by answering it. I always encourage students to observe plays and performances carefully with attention to questions like who quite literally gets the last word, and doubling actors adds layers of complexity and possibility to that question's answer in *Hamlet*.

Two recent American Shakespeare Center productions have continued the Fortinbras restoration. As part of the company's commitment to original practices, both triple-cast the Fortinbras actor in intriguing combinations. The Summer 2011 production featured Benjamin Curns as Fortinbras, Polonius, and

First Gravedigger. Polonius and the First Gravedigger, of course, provide nearly all of *Hamlet*'s comic relief. I cannot imagine Richard Briers returning as Fortinbras at the end of the Branagh film or Jim Norton doing so at the end of the National Theatre production. Both are fine Poloniuses; both would leave me very nervous about Denmark's future if they also played Fortinbras. Doubling Fortinbras with Polonius and Gravedigger risks diminishing the seriousness of his own goals and motives and reducing his gravitas as the ultimate leader of Denmark. It is also true that the Gravediggers are the only ordinary Danish people whom we hear from directly in *Hamlet*, with no royal interference. If the Fortinbras actor has also been a Gravedigger, the audience may be reassured by this connection that ordinary Danes are ending the play under better leadership than "Claudius's dissolute, half-rotten regime" (Hinds 61).

This production handled the Hamlet-Fortinbras transition in a striking way that mitigated any risk. Anselm Haverkamp forthrightly terms Fortinbras "the winner" (179) of *Hamlet*, noting that "Fortinbras receives in the 'dying voice' of Hamlet the *votum* that secures him the princely succession and his inheritance" (179; italics original). As Hamlet, John Harrell managed his collapse into poisoned death throes so that he could take the crown from Claudius's corpse, touch it to his own head for a brief moment, and then hold it out to the entering Fortinbras. These staging choices legitimized Fortinbras's succession and also—however fleetingly—restored Hamlet to his own inheritance, on his own terms. There was no question in this presentation of Act 5, Scene 2 that Hamlet and Fortinbras were met on equally serious terms and that Hamlet truly chose Fortinbras as his successor.

The 2014/2015 American Shakespeare Center touring production cast Josh Innerst as Fortinbras, Ghost, and Player King. Ghost/Player King is of course a common pairing; it also lends Fortinbras the gravitas that the Polonius/First Gravedigger connection might take away. If the same actor guides Hamlet to revenge as the Ghost, helps in the pursuit of that revenge as the Player King, and ultimately restores order as Fortinbras, we may be inclined to trust him though Barnet (254) and Hogan (51) warn against automatically trusting the Ghost. The Ghost/Fortinbras pairing also introduces a certain hopeful note to *Hamlet* that is not without its own risks. If the actor who begins

as the Ghost ends as Fortinbras, alive and taking up the mantle of rule in Denmark, we have a strikingly visual example of the revenge tragedy scale-balancing trope. Jane Wall Hinds points out that this is not precisely balance in any case: "direct and complete revenge is never possible. . . . King Hamlet cannot himself regain what he has lost" (61)–but his actor can return to Denmark's throne as Fortinbras. For Herbert Blau, Fortinbras is aware of this kind of dynamic and inclined to be responsible in authority because of it: "He knows that the theatre is a memory place. He is temperate because he knows how tenuous that is, how dependent on what you're seeing" (21). If what we are seeing is the face of Old King Hamlet, we are perhaps more likely to accept, even celebrate, Fortinbras's assumption of the Danish throne.

This Ghost/Fortinbras-fostered balance risks tipping over into sentimentality; I am not sure what we would do with a happily ending *Hamlet*. Doubling Ghost and Fortinbras also risks smoothing over Fortinbras's desire to avenge Old Fortinbras. While Horatio describes the original Hamlet-Fortinbras fight as "ratified by law and heraldry" (1.1.87), the Norwegian view may be that "old Hamlet, in the prehistory of the play, ha[s] the treacherous murder of Fortinbras' [sic] father on his conscience" (Haverkamp 180). This perspective returns an important tension to the Ghost/Fortinbras doubling. Haverkamp goes even further, arguing that "[t]he ghost of old Hamlet, who makes his entrance at exactly the same time as Fortinbras, and who thereby accompanies the danger embodied by him, could just as well be the ghost of old Fortinbras" (181). Bearing all this in mind makes the Ghost/Fortinbras doubling a complex and challenging one indeed and certainly forestalls the impulse to simplify anyone's motives.

Patrick Colm Hogan similarly doubts[3] Horatio's account of Old Fortinbras's death (51) and also finds *Hamlet*'s revenge narrative "insistently ambivalent. It systematically disaligns values and feelings. It indicates that heroic violence is an unending cycle with no absolute origin in unmotivated individual evil . . . and no ultimate end in providential resolution" (53). Haverkamp and Hogan encourage us to see both dead kings as culpable in the events before *Hamlet*, both bereaved princes as properly motivated toward revenge, and both of those princes with legitimate claims on the positions they seek. This play and

its revenge impulse may even belong more to Fortinbras than to Hamlet in many ways (Haverkamp 180-181). It is worth noting that Fortinbras is the only major character in *Hamlet* who ends the play both alive and in possession of anything he sought at the beginning of the play.

The Ghost/Fortinbras doubling, beyond the risks, benefits, and complications discussed above, gives us at least one more play-parting gift of analytical challenge, even if we resume a fairly conventional pro-Hamlet, pro-Denmark stance. If the Ghost actor is also Fortinbras, then in some way it is Old King Hamlet who uses the royal we: "Let us haste" (5.2.387); feels "sorrow" (5.2.389) on a deep level explained in Act I; and takes the crown by "rights of memory" (5.2.390) that the audience also remembers, having shared them with the same actor in Act 1. Even the play's final line, "Go, bid the soldiers shoot" (5.2.404), may hold more emotional weight than a signal to applaud and go home to an audience hearing those lines from the same actor they first saw as a ghost king dressed to lead his nation in war.

If we adopt the more ambivalent stance encouraged by the Ghost/Fortinbras doubling and arguments like Hinds's, Haverkamp's and Hogan's, the conclusion becomes even more interesting. Hogan suggests that Hamlet's dying support of Fortinbras does not indicate a grand scale-balancing but rather "a simple recognition that peace is better than war and that, without a peaceful ceding to Fortinbras, a war would follow" (54). The dying prince and the conquering prince are, in this moment, pragmatic politicians. If they have learned nothing else in the course of the play, Hamlet and Fortinbras have at least achieved one moment in which—unlike their fathers and uncles—they can make an agreement that does not risk the lives of thousands in service of their own power (Hogan 54). Hamlet's own best friend moves remarkably easily from closeness with Hamlet to cooperation with Fortinbras, rhetorically and metrically. In the 359 lines of Act 5, Scene 2 for which they are both alive, Hamlet and Horatio share 8 iambic lines. In the final 45 lines, Horatio shares 3 iambic lines with Fortinbras and 1 with the Norwegian ambassador. Horatio may be a grieving best friend, but he is also a courtier, and Fortinbras is now his sovereign. He adjusts his performance accordingly.

Beyond even this cynical ambivalence, the Ghost/Fortinbras doubling opens yet another, darker interpretive possibility for the play's conclusion. When Hamlet meets the Ghost in Act 1, we learn that the Ghost is in purgatory and "forbid / To tell the secrets of my prison house" (1.5.13-14). Two scenes later, we have this exchange:

> **HAMLET** Denmark's a prison.
> **ROSENCRANTZ** Then is the world one.
> **HAMLET** A goodly one, in which there are many confines, wards, and dungeons, Denmark being one o' th' worst. (2.2.247-251)

Hamlet's second remark is a depressing parody of one of Jesus's descriptions of Heaven: "In my Father's house are many mansions" (John 14:2). If the world in general and Denmark in particular are purgatorial prisons, places of punishment and struggle, perhaps Fortinbras does not win any great prize in Act 5. Perhaps a Ghost/Fortinbras actor, already collapsing the father-son pairs whose "names are identical in the two generations—Hamlet and Fortinbras" (Hogan 51) into one body, indicates that there is no true escape, victory, or success for anyone from or in Elsinore.

The Fortinbras exclusion tradition and recent turns away from it offer fertile ground for teaching, performance, and analysis. Particularly since most students are frustrated by Zeffirelli's deletion of Fortinbras and comfortable with Branagh's sustained attention to him, various Fortinbras questions serve as wonderful paths for discussing performance history and interpretative instability with students. How could such a thematically and structurally important character have been absent from so many productions of the play? Is Hamlet really a hero? Who in *Hamlet*—if anyone—has the most justified claim on revenge? The right to rule? How do these answers and others change from production to production, and what casting and performance choices make those changes happen? If the most famous play in the English language is open to this much reinterpretation, what similar possibilities exist in other texts? Fortinbras himself and decisions about who plays him and how they do so offer acting companies, audiences, and scholars many chances to explore when and how the lines between victim and villain, friend and foe, love and hate, inheritance and usurpation, governance and conquest, and life

and death may be thinner, more ever-shifting, and more permeable than is dreamt of in our philosophy.

Acknowledgment

I am grateful to the American Shakespeare Center for years of entertainment, education, and inspiration, and specifically for the opportunity to experiment onstage with the Ghost/Fortinbras doubling during the 2017 Blackfriars Conference.

Notes

[1]Lyndsey Jones directed this stage run, starring Benedict Cumberbatch; Lough directed the film version distributed in the United States.

[2] I typically pause the film at this point and make sure students are familiar with the term "set-breaking" and can appreciate how Fortinbras's army smashing Elsinore's windows and mirrors parallels what happens after a live stage production closes. I encourage them to notice the metatheatrical fun that Branagh has throughout Act 5. From his re-creation of the iconic Olivier skull-gazing scene in the graveyard to the exuberant swashbuckling of his final fights with Laertes and Claudius, I point out that Branagh does a lot of rather indulgent things that we might all do if we were directing ourselves in *Hamlet*.

[3] Even Lawrence, writing in 1946, raises some of these questions about the Old Hamlet-Old Fortinbras fight and its consequent revenge quests (673-674) though he does not push as far as either Haverkamp or Hogan.

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Oedipus

By Gary Beck

Everyone blames Oedipus
for the terrible things
that happened to his family,
but it started before him.

When his daddy, Laius,
was chased out of Thebes,
he took refuge with Pelops,
a welcoming king.
He repaid his hospitality
by kidnapping his son
and raping him,
a no-no then, as well as now.

There were no cops or law courts
in ancient times,
and Laius might have gotten away with it,
but Apollo cursed him for his crimes,
and, in those days,
it wasn't dirty words.

The Oracle of Delphi
was a thriving retail establishment
known far and wide
for the fine art of prophecy
for a reasonable fee,
albeit frequently obscure,
which sometimes led to confusion,
followed by disaster.
The Oracle warned Laius if he had a son
he would kill his father
and marry his mother,
a delicate way for the Oracle
to describe hot sex, begetting, death.

Laius was already suspected
of not being the brightest of mortals
and married Princess Jocasta
without revealing
what was in store for her, if . . .
But he refrained from sex,
until he got drunk one night,
forgot the prophecy,
and visited Jocasta
with the usual result,
before pregnancy prevention
avoided unwanted offspring.

They didn't have orphanages,
so they couldn't leave the kid on a doorstep
in a comfy basket.
Instead they exposed him on a mountain
where it was expected he would die,
thus avoiding the curse.
But a shepherd wandered by,
found the squalling brat,
couldn't afford to keep him
and dumped him on the king and queen of Corinth,
kind recipients for some reason,
who raised Oedipus to young manhood.

One night at a banquet
a drunken gent told Oedipus
that the king and queen weren't his parents.
He went to the Oracle of Delphi,
still a booming business,
to find out who his parents were,
if they weren't the Corinth royals.
In the usual misleading way,
the Oracle told him not to go home,
or he would kill dad, bed mom.

Being a good son
and not wanting to go home and . . .
He went toward Thebes
to avoid you know what.

He met an arrogant stranger
who was traveling to Delphi,
who turned out to be Laius
and in one of the earliest road-rage incidents
they argued, fought, and Oedipus killed him,
fulfilling the first part of the prophecy.

In those days, as well as gods,
there were monsters, like the Sphinx,
with the head and breasts of a woman,
the body of a lion,
wings of a bird and a snake's tail.
The Sphinx, another historical bully,
hulked before the gates of Thebes
and killed anyone coming or going
who couldn't answer the riddle:
What walks on four legs in the morning,
two in the afternoon, three at night?

Oedipus must have been pretty smart
because he answered the riddle, "Man"
and vanquished the Sphinx.
A good thing too, or a lot more
dumb Thebans would have bit the dust.
He was proclaimed King of Thebes
married Queen Jocasta, yes, mommy,
and they had four children.
Just in case you like Greek names,
Eteocles, Polyneices, Antigone and Ismene.

So things were pretty good for Oedipus
for a couple of years;
then plague swept Thebes.
Oedipus sent for Tiresias,
the blind prophet,
who reluctantly revealed
that Oedy killed Dad and _____ Ma.
Poor Jocasta, who hadn't done anything wrong,
hanged herself in shame.
Oedipus blinded himself,
then renounced the throne.

To this day Thebans still can't figure out
why he didn't kill himself,
or go somewhere far away
where they never heard of him.
Shrug. The victims of curses
often do peculiar things.

Eteocles and Polyneices
disputed the rulership,
then agreed to alternate
(We didn't need the Oracle
to know it would end badly),
and Eteocles ruled first.
When it was time to give up the throne,
Eteocles refused, banished Polyneices,
who came back with an army
and besieged Thebes.

They fought in single combat,
killed each other, and Creon,
brother of Jocasta, became king.
He issued a proclamation:
Eteocles, defender of the city,
would get honorable burial rites.
Polyneices would be exposed to the wild beasts,
maybe on the same mountain
where baby Oedipus once hung out.

Antigone asked Creon
for burial rites for her brother
according to law and custom.
Creon refused.
Antigone said it was her duty
to give her brother burial rites.
Again Creon refused,
this time proclaiming death
to anyone giving Polyneices
burial rites.

Antigone left defiantly,
claiming it was her duty to the Gods
to give her brother burial rites.

Creon's son, Haemon,
betrothed to Antigone,
tried to intercede,
knowing how stubborn they both were,
but Creon refused to listen.
Antigone gave Polyneices
burial rites.
Creon found out,
had her buried alive,
Haemon killed himself,
Ismene went mad,
ending the House of Laius.
The moral is . . .?

The Great Pronoun Shift

By Helene Seltzer Krauthamer

In the beginning . . .

Once upon a time (the early 1960s?), in a land far away (the Bronx, NYC), a little girl learned to dutifully write sentences such as "Everyone should lay his head on his desk during naptime," knowing that (1) "lay" and "lie" were going to be problematic, and (2) the edict applied to her. Yes, dear reader who may be too young to know the value of white-out, people in that era used "he" without any thoughts of sex (which, for third graders and TV sitcoms, didn't yet exist).

Back in that simpler time (prior to 1969), writers used generic "he" without incurring accusations of sexism, without fears of violating rules of grammatical agreement, without pluralizing antecedents so that they could use "they." While generic "he" may be responsible for my lack of ambition to become a surgeon, it nevertheless enhanced my writing ability.

In fact, even as waves of feminism swept over English, wiping out gendered terms like "waitress" and "chairman," generic "he" held his ground. One of the most influential books propelling this language shift was *Language and Woman's Place* by Robin Lakoff, written in 1975, raising awareness of sexist language, its causes and effects. Lakoff unveiled the differences between terms such as "master" and "mistress" that should be semantically equivalent but, in our culture, were and are anything but. Even this book, however, uses generic "he" throughout, including its defense with the example, "Everyone takes his seat" (Lakoff 70) and then launching into a linguistic explanation of how the masculine pronoun is unmarked, ending with this quote (that Lakoff may have later come to regret though it is quite linguistically accurate):

> My feeling is that this area of pronominal neutralization is both less in need of changing and less open to change than many of the other disparities that have been discussed earlier, and we should perhaps concentrate our efforts where they will be most fruitful. (71)

Ah, the linguist trying to explain language change to those trying to change the world.

It recalls an earlier episode, known as the "Pronoun Envy" affair (Livia 3), where when, in 1971, women students at the Harvard Divinity School decided to raise consciousness about the use of “He” to refer to the Divinity by blowing a party horn each time a male reference sounded in their classes. It drew a lot of attention, particularly from members of the Harvard Department of Linguistics who wrote a letter to the *Harvard Crimson.* The letter said that there is no need for concern or "pronoun envy" since pronouns are unmarked parts of speech:

> The fact that the masculine is the unmarked gender in English (or that the feminine is unmarked in the language of the Tunica Indians) is simply a feature of grammar. It is unlikely to be an impediment to any change in the patterns of the sexual division of labor toward which our society may wish to evolve. There is really no cause for anxiety or pronoun-envy on the part of those seeking such changes. ("Pronoun Envy" Letter to the Editor, *Harvard Crimson*, Nov. 1971)

Apparently, such attempts to elucidate language for the public do not make linguists more endearing.

In the 2004 reissue of *Language and Woman's Place*, Lakoff re-defends her 1975 use of the generic “he” although stating that language has progressed to the point where the generic “he” is no longer acceptable, perhaps regrettably (“Progress, Like Penicillin, Has Side Effects”):

> Those of us who remember those times have lived through what we may now call the Great Pronoun Shift (GPS). Beginning in the early 1970s, GPS can be defined as the following three phases: (1) the loss of generic *he*, (2) the “workarounds” that included the adoption of strategies to avoid using a singular generic pronoun, and (3) the eventual acceptance, even in formal academic writing, of singular *they*. As Konnelly and Cowper propose, it may also include an additional phase where *they* is acceptable when referring to a person whose gender is known. (103)

Lex Konnelly and Elizabeth Cowper postulate three stages of the change in pronouns as people adjust to this change. The authors follow a morpho-syntactic model of Morris Halle

and Alec Marantz from their 1993 study and provide a linguistic explanation for how this change is taking place. Their Stage I refers to the acceptance of "they" for indefinite antecedents, such as "Anybody can get their paper published"; this has been around for a while though not really acceptable in formal academic contexts since the 18th century owing to the lack of agreement between singular indefinite antecedents and the plural "they." Prescriptionists (i.e., English teachers and editors) have upheld this principle even though there is a long record of established writers such as Dickens, Shakespeare, and Austen using singular "they" and its widespread use in spoken English. Lots of corpus data are showing that it is creeping into the written language through newspapers. Konnelly and Cowper's Stage II refers to the acceptance of "they" when referring to individuals who do not want others to specify their gender. This is currently the stage where colleges and the media are grappling with the language to use with non-binary individuals. An example would be the acceptance of a sentence such as "Pat wants their paper to be published in a good journal" where "their" is replacing "Pat's." Finally, Stage III refers to the acceptance of "they" to refer to any singular animate being, and gender is no longer relevant, such as "A mother should always be with their child." They make the analogy to the changing honorifics from "Miss" and "Mrs." to the now unmarked form "Ms." and mention a newer form "Mx." (pronounced "mix") that may replace all gendered forms.

Stage I or Phase I has also been referred to as the "Great *He/She* Battle." Alleen P. Nilsen attributes this phrase to Richard Dubois and Jan Crouch, who introduced it at the WHIM (Western Humor and Irony Membership) 1982 Humor Conference, in which writers who no longer had access to a generic "he" experimented with "he/she," "s/he," "he or she," as well as alternating between a generic "he" and a generic "she." Elisabetta Adami presents corpus data of academic writing over time and across different Englishes, showing the decline of generic "he," the rise of other strategies including the use of generic "she," and the increase of singular "they/them/their." Adami suggests that future research should examine the guidelines that style books provide to writers, resulting in these changes.

I taught my very first composition class in 1990 with an excellent textbook, *College Writing Skills with Readings*. It clearly states, "A pronoun must agree in number with the word or words it replaces" (Langan 258). It goes on to acknowledge that "Some writers follow the traditional practice of using *his* to refer to both men and women," though it also offers alternative solutions such as “his or her,” as well as rewriting antecedents in the plural (Langan 258).

I have faithfully followed that rule since 1990. I am personally responsible for drowning countless (let's see, 28 years x two semesters x four classes x ~20 students x 8 essays = ~35,800) student essays in red ink--and with more recent technologies in red inserted comments--with the admonition "MAKE PRONOUNS AGREE WITH THEIR ANTECEDENTS" whenever I saw “everyone” followed by “their.”

I am somewhat conflicted. The English teacher in me is holding dearly to the standards that others follow—MLA, APA, and old Mrs. Grundy. The linguist in me sees a change coming but also sees resistance to that change.

As any linguist will try to tell you (remember what happens to linguists who try to explain language change to people trying to change the world), pronouns belong to the category of words known as structure, style, or function words. These carry no meaning, unlike content words such as nouns and verbs. Let me repeat that, a bit more loudly and boldly: FUNCTION WORDS CARRY NO MEANING. Pronouns are words that replace nouns to improve the coherence of a sentence, avoid repetition, and keep the discourse moving. Every pronoun has an antecedent, the noun that precedes it. Generally, pronouns are small, unaccented words that speed through speech. They are not open to change. There is even some evidence suggesting that structure words are processed differently in the brain than content words (See Diaz and McCarthy.) We rarely think about them. They are inconspicuous.

On the other hand**,** some psycholinguistic research shows that pronouns do carry meaning. James W. Pennebaker presents evidence that pronouns provide insight into personality types, even revealing when someone is dishonest. Wendy Martyna makes the convincing argument that if pronouns carry no meaning, then generic “she” should be as acceptable as

generic "he" but apparently is not (27). Martyna's research as reported by Donald MacKay (39-40) also indicates that generic "he" is used differently by men and women and that "he" often elicits images of men rather than being neutral.

Perhaps, as Katie Wales says, ". . . pronouns, traditionally labelled a 'closed' class of lexical items in the word-store of English, are not as stable and as non-resistant to influences as might appear" (xii).

So what's the problem?

People today want to choose their pronouns. People today want you to use specific pronouns when referring to them.

People today have email signatures letting you know which pronouns are "preferred." (Even the term "preferred" is disputed since it suggests a choice—see Konnelly and Cowper.) Many have convincingly argued that our system of binary pronouns does not give a choice to non-binary individuals, whose population has been increasing. A recent study of Minnesota teens (Rider et al.) revealed that a much higher percentage (2.7%) identified as neither male nor female than had been disclosed in prior studies.

Pronouns, as the burgeoning literature attests, are no longer inconspicuous. In truth, pronouns have always caused problems.

The Pronoun Problem

Dennis Baron, in his highly engaging and readable book *Grammar and Gender* (1986), provides a detailed account of the pronoun problem: how for centuries people have observed that generic "he" was in fact exclusive of women, despite claims to the contrary, particularly in politics and property. He traces the problem back to early grammar books, ever emulating Latin, declaring that (from Lily's *A Short Introduction of Grammar* [1567]): "The Masculine gendre is more worthy than the Feminine, and the Feminine more worthy then the Neuter" (qtd. in Baron, *Grammar* 98). This philosophy led to far more than just grammatical superiority.

Anne Curzan illustrates the history of confusion around the use of pronouns, showing past documents of the varied attempts to deal with the lack of a singular generic pronoun:

> Examples of generic pronoun use in Old English, Middle English, and Early Modern English included *he, he or she,* and *they* (from Curzan 70-72):
>
> (Old English translation) "If an ox gores a man or a woman, so that they be dead, may he [the ox] be killed with stones."
>
> (Middle English translation) "Such a person is very lazy, be he high or be he low."
>
> "Therefore, every lettered man and woman should read each day the orisons of my bitter Passion for his own medicine."
>
> "If a man or woman takes sickness that day, they should soon recover."
>
> (Early Modern English) "or whose Husband or Wife shall absent hym or her selfe the one from the other by the space of seaven yeares together . . . ."

Interestingly, since the generic "he" was supposed to be inclusive of all human-kind, at least one suffragette, Anna Johnson, in 1888 tried to argue for women's right to vote saying,

> The English language is destitute of a singular personal pronoun, third person, of common gender; but usage sanctions the employment of "he," "him" and "his" as of common gender. Therefore under "he" women can certainly register. (qtd. in Baron, "Gender Politics")

Baron offers three pages of past attempts to create new, singular, generic pronouns, referring to them as "the pronouns that failed," among which you will find neologisms such as "E" and "zee" among many others. Here is a sampling from Baron:

> *ne* (1850); *thon, hi, le, hiser, ip* (1884); *ir* (1888); *e* (1890); *hizer* (1891); *ha, hesh* (1927); *ta* (1971 borrowed from Mandarin); *tey, shis, ze* (1972); *na, shem, se* (1973); *ne, en, hisorher* (1974); *hir, hesh, ey* (1975); *ho, (s)he* (1976); *po, E,* (1977); *ae, hir, hesh, heesh* (1978); *et, shey* (1979); *it* (1980); *heshe* (1981); *shey, E* (1982); *hisser, hes, hann* (1984); *herm* (1985). (*Grammar* 205-209)

Anne Bodine, in her classic article "Androcentrism in Prescriptive Grammar: Singular 'They,' Sex-Indefinite 'He,' a 'He or She,'" also discusses this and raises the point that the most common historical solution has been the use of singular "they." Though language purists point out that "they" is plural

and therefore leads to all sorts of grammatical improprieties when used in the singular sense (such as this computer's recognition), Bodine provides a chart (127) illustrating how "they" can have both a plural sense and a singular sense, just like our current use of "you."

In fact, "you" provides a historical precedent of how this seemingly closed class of words can change. English once had both a singular second-person pronoun—"thee"—and a plural second-person pronoun—"you." Our verb agreement (as well as the grammar checker on my computer, which is indicating an error in the use of "provides" in the above sentence), still reflects the underlying plural nature of "you." For some reason, we lost "thee/ thou/thy." So pronouns can change.

Why change now?

I have friends who call it political correctness run amok. I also have friends with children who are deeply reconsidering their genders. I have tried to explain to all that pronouns cannot change so easily. I suspect that it may be deep within our brains that pronouns are processed differently than nouns. After considerable effort, most of us learned to call the person in the restaurant taking so long to attend to our table the "server" and the person on the plane spraying us with ginger ale the "flight attendant," and all of us use *Ms.* though that term was once considered problematic. Lakoff in 1975 said, "The change to *Ms.* will not be generally adopted until a woman's status in society changes to assure her an identity based on her own accomplishments" (68).

When, however, was the last time we accepted a new preposition or conjunction (also, like pronouns, function words)? Function words are different. But let's return to why people want to change our pronouns.

Pronouns in Print

My awakening came when I was reading a *New Yorker* article (October 2, 2017) about a poet, Danez Smith, who, as the article says, "goes by plural pronouns," and the next sentence begins "Their poems" (Chiasson). The *New Yorker*! Not long after, the *Washington Post* (February 5, 2018) had an article about an erotica artist known as Alphachanneling "who uses gender-neutral pronouns" with all references to this artist also in

the plural (Raczka). (The commercial website for Alphachanneling, if you can focus for just a second on searching for pronouns, doesn't use any, perhaps to reinforce the gender fluidity of the artist.)

Pronouns in Science Fiction

If you have not yet seen any new pronouns in print, you may not be a fan of science fiction. Among the innovations in science-fiction novels, particularly those involving androgynous beings, are invented pronouns. Anna Livia, in *Pronoun Envy*, provides many illustrations of generic singular pronouns used in science-fiction novels. An interesting example of the power of generic "he" is Livia's reference to Ursula Le Guin, who in 1979 defends her use of it in her novel *The Left Hand of Darkness* in which the genders of the characters change with the seasons. Le Guin subsequently rewrote the novel to use gender-neutral pronouns of her own invention. In 1979, Le Guin says about the use of generic "he" in *Left Hand of Darkness,* "I utterly refuse to mangle English by inventing a pronoun for 'he/she.' 'He' is the generic pronoun, damn it" (qtd. in Livia 134). By 1987, she has crossed over: "I dislike the so-called generic pronouns he/him/his which exclude women from discourse . . . . they/them/their/ should be restored . . . and let the pedants and pundits squeak and gibber in the streets" (qtd. in Livia 134).

Livia claims that the neologisms for pronouns have not in fact failed, at least not in literary genres, since they are successfully used in many works of science fiction, with their readers reporting eventual accommodation. For example, Livia presents a sentence from June Arnold's *The Cook and the Carpenter*, written in 1973: "'Na sat astride Three, nan hands on nan throat'" (qtd. in Livia 138). Such a sentence indeed seems grammatical, though a reader would have to make many inferences as to the gender, or even the species, of the antecedent for these neologistic pronouns when read out of context. Livia goes on to illustrate other neologisms, such as "person" and "per," in Marge Piercy's 1976 novel *Woman on the Edge of Time.*

This is a science-fiction novel about a contemporary woman, Connie, who can time travel into a utopian future by connecting with a person, Luciente, who lives in that period. At first encounter, Luciente appears to Connie to be male, and all

the pronoun references are "he/his/him." By page 58, Connie brushes against Luciente, who is discovered to have breasts, prompting Connie to state, "'You're a woman!'" The next pronoun reference comes in the following sentence: "Now she could begin to see him/her as a woman" (59). Pronouns in the future have changed, as Luciente hints in an earlier encounter: "'You plural—excuse me. A weakness that remains in our language, though we've reformed pronouns'" (34). The reform is the loss of gendered pronouns "he/she," "him/her," "his/hers" when Luciente and others in her community speak, replacing them with "per" and "person." For example, when Connie comes into Luciente's world during a celebration, Connie sees Luciente wearing a dress that Luciente calls a "flimsy," which she then defines for Connie: "'A flimsy is a once-garment for festivals'" (163) and later says

> "You put on Red Star's flimsy. Red Star ordered it but that person had an accident picking cherries and is healing at Cranberry. We'll get *per* flimsy from the presser for you." (163; emphasis added)

Note that the pronoun "per" is not explained to Connie, though the noun "flimsy" is.

In another chapter, Connie makes a wrong turn into a dystopian world of the future, where she connects with a Barbie-doll-like being, a sex worker, Gildina. Her language is filled with slang-like words such as "lesby" and "trans," and the pronouns in this world are exactly the same as ours.

The narrator and Connie, though, still use the traditional pronouns of our time, resorting to "her/him" and "his/her" (173) when describing a scene of two androgynes passing in and out of one another, ultimately using "they/them/their" for their pronoun reference.

The effect of the pronoun "per" on the reader is not as unsettling as some of the other futurisms, such as "fasure" for "surely," and the language has not changed as much as linguists would tell you it would, fasure. In literature (but not as easily in life, alas) pronouns can be invented.

Respect my Pronoun!

"Respect my Pronoun!" is displayed on several t-shirts advertised on websites catering to an audience, who want to be referred to as "they/them/their/theirself." Declaring that "they" is

the preferred pronoun is a statement of identity and pride. It is an "outing" of sorts, a person openly declaring that the binary male/female distinction does not apply "to them" and that people need to recognize this. In a way, this trend reflects a sort of maturation of the public mind. William Perry postulated that there were stages of cognitive development: dualism, multiplicity, and commitment.

Seeing gender as binary is clearly a dualism, but now, perhaps, society has entered the phase of multiplicity, recognizing gender as a spectrum. Our language has added multiple gender terms, taking advantage of the openness of the content word category, giving us morphemes such as cis-, trans, bi-, and even a-gender. These terms are not problems for users. Inventing new pronouns for each category, however, is problematic, but, fortunately, most have accepted "they" as the most optimal choice for all these categories. Accepting singular "they" is a problem just for us old-school English teachers.

Grammatical agreement has always been on my radar. With "everyone" and "anyone," my advice to students was to replace them with "people" or something specific and plural, e.g. "students," and then be free to use "their" with my grammatical blessing. I still feel this way even though I have read countless arguments favoring singular "they." Bodine provides a persuasive chart showing that there can be two ways to understand "they": plural and singular. We have long accepted a plural and singular "you," the argument goes, so why not accept a dual status for "they"? We have also accepted a singular sense for "we," as well as the plural, when we write articles such as this one, even though only one person is sitting here and composing these words.

Where art *thee*?

What ever happened to "thee/thou/thy"? Some have speculated that since these forms were used when addressing lower-status individuals, they were dropped out of respect when people either no longer wanted to imply this lower status or when it was no longer possible to detect the status of strangers from their forms of dress. Walker performed quantitative and qualitative analyses of second-person singular pronouns "thou" and "you" in corpus studies of Early Modern English texts, finding that extra-linguistic factors, such as relative social status,

based on sex, age, and rank, as well as the context (formal/informal), played a role. “Thou” would be used with intimates, whereas “you” was the pronoun of prestige. To err on the side of hypercorrectness was most likely safer than to insult a listener by presuming intimacy, so “thee” was lost.

Similarly, today, as gender has taken on a multiplicity of categories, people may, out of respect for the gender of others, choose non-gendered “they” when referring to individuals whose gender identity is unknown. This is an easy choice since we have been doing this relentlessly in our spoken language forever.

SLIPs Aside

Which brings me to an earlier topic of my own—SLIPs, or Spoken Language Interference Patterns (Krauthamer). SLIPs are aspects of spoken language that emerge in written language, sometimes, though not always, errors. For example, run-ons and fragments occur frequently in spoken language, and they would be regarded as errors in writing. Similarly, omitting "-ed" or "-s" for past tense or plural, respectively, occurs in speech all the time, even for Standard English speakers, but are clearly errors if omitted in writing. A phonological SLIP is the spelling of words as they are pronounced, writing "wanna" for "want to" or "gonna" for "going to." A morphological SLIP is the use of commonly spoken words that may be regarded as wordy in written language, such as "well" and "you know."

The use of pronouns is another example. Pronouns are more common in speech than in writing. Pronouns are very useful in creating coherence, avoiding repetition, and allowing the focus to be on the more essential part of the sentence. They become a problem in writing when there is vague reference and when there is a lack of pronoun agreement.

Vague reference is one of those errors that writers often overlook, and even writing teachers do not always spot. For example, the pronoun "it" is often used in speech without reference to anything but appears wordy in writing. Let's consider these sentences:

a. <u>The pronoun "it"</u> is often used in spoken language, but **it** is wordy in written language.
b. **It** is a problem we have often encountered.

Sentence *a* shows an example where “it” has a clear antecedent, underlined. Sentence *b* is an example of a pronoun with no

specific antecedent, yet the sentence is perfectly clear; to avoid wordiness, a purist would say that the sentence should be rewritten as "We have often encountered this problem," but another argument by those of us familiar with rhetorical grammar would say that sentence *b* provides a rhetorical focus to the sentence by allowing the emphasis to fall on the word "problem."

Pronoun agreement is a big topic when considering singular “they,” rampant in spoken language, almost unavoidable, even when the gender of the referent is known. Meyers presents research showing examples where speakers and writers used “they” for a known, single, animate referent. As Konnelly and Cowper predicted, this is Stage III.

Singular “they” is a SLIP working its way into acceptability in the written language. It is already there and almost unavoidable when using indefinite pronouns such as “everyone” and “nobody” as has been discussed in numerous blogs and academic articles. Even back in Maxine Hairston’s 1981 study of the acceptability of written errors to professional business people, use of “they/their/them” was regarded as acceptable. Here are Hairston’s findings:

> People couldn't seem to make up their mind about sentences that used the "everybody-they" construction or its equivalent. I included four sentences that used a plural pronoun with an indefinite singular antecedent; two brought only mild objections, one brought a moderately strong objection, and one a strong objection. I have to conclude that most of the time readers do not regard the construction as a terribly serious error. However, combining "everyone" with the verb "are" brought fifty percent strong negative replies. (797)

As Kolln has pointed out, tag questions are acceptable only with “they” as we see in this example: “Everybody can sing, can’t *they* (*he)?” In the formal written context, I know that I have my “they” radar running whenever grading student papers. Yes, for perhaps three or four renditions, students can write “his or her/he or she,” but by the end of the paragraph, they have usually resorted to “they/them/their.” This is SLIPs in action. The force of the spoken word is just too powerful.

There is ample evidence of the explosion of singular “they” in corpus data as well, showing its prominent use in

spoken language and its growing use in written language. Baranowski uses corpus data to demonstrate that singular "they" has become the generic third-person pronoun with the decline in generic "he," stating that generic "he" is reserved only for formal contexts, also finding this shift to be more prominent in British newspapers than in American. This is corroborated by Patterson who finds similar results for British newspapers.

Acceptance?

When will English teachers accept this Great Pronoun Shift? As many have pointed out (such as Whitley), we have accepted as grammatical both singular and plural forms for other pronouns, so why the reluctance with "they"? I predict that future English teachers will let pronoun agreement rules wither away, and we will see so many occurrences of singular "they" that we will no longer need the marker "singular" to describe them.

As I heard a server say in passing, "To each their own."

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My World

By Albert Kapikian

Just like everyone else,
I like to watch the world
come together on my screen.
And I like to prove that I care,
not searching for the truth,
but for how I am seen.
Whatever I make of it,
Rest Assured, I always post what I mean.

I was never worthy, only wise.
(Truth is not to be confused with enterprise.)
Since I live for myself,
I like to shift with the tides. *Now* I lecture
that the gift doesn't come without the thorny crown,
insist only Philoctetes can aim the arrow,
never letting on that *I* am crippled, too,
measuring myself by my renown.

Still I speed up to snatch up its music,
still I speed up to step into its charm,
still I stay there long as my star is lit . . .
then see a *thumbs down*, and surf into the harm.
I fall back as my lines post on Twitter,
I fall back as they create alarm.
My conscience gives me a scare—
am I just sprinkling more sand into the swarm?

But no one stops me. The lectors have nothing to read,
no one who will listen. Now discourse demands a threshold,
and staying across it long as you can,

then leaving a placeholder
(this poem is part plan)
in which you've only constructed your own (monk's) cell,
instructed your students (inadvertently) how to show and not tell,
(not to mention) how to achieve their own rightful place (in this hell),

this priory that concentrates and renews our thirst,
this office (our commons),
only hospitable to the worst,
for it cannot be conquered, even in verse.
Once we had a muse, or muses to study, to respect,
ones on Sinai, or on Oreb, or Olympus,
but *likes* only ask for, never answer prayers,
likes force *likes*, *likes* that reject,

likes that lead us
into the desert
of trading friends
for *friends*, of treating forebears like fleas,
only to earn us a place in this monastery,
this hermitage of sleaze,
where we drink from nothing,
but to the lees.

Cultural Appropriation, Acculturation, and Fatherhood: A Reading of "Indian Camp"

By Daniel Robinson

"Indian Camp" is one of those stories written by Ernest Hemingway in the time between mid-February through April of 1924 when Hemingway, like the century he wrote about, was in his early 20s. Written while he was a student in the greatest ever MFA program—Paris during the Crazy Years while he was under the mentorship of people such as Pound and Stein—"Indian Camp" continues to interest scholars and writers for its prose and thematic complexities and ambiguities. One of those ambiguous elements in the story is that of the paternity of the child born in the story, whether Uncle George or the Indian in the upper bunk is the father. In 1965, Kenneth Bernard appears to have been the first to question the child's paternity, noting that the child's birth illustrates "the violent way in which [an] older culture . . . fused in the newer" and calling Doctor Adams's operation a "cultural Caesarian" (291). In a letter answering Bernard's claims, Philip Young sarcastically admits that he, Young, is the actual father (ii). While Bernard may have begun the debate, Young certainly did not end it, for over the intervening fifty years, scholars have continued to consider this question.

Recently, in the Spring 2016 *Hemingway Review*, Donald Daiker argues that George is not the father primarily because of geographical and language issues. However, a close reading of the story, including its original opening pages (titled "Three Shots" in the Phillip Young edited *The Nick Adams Stories)*, indicates that Uncle George may, in fact, be the child's father. For whatever reason, Hemingway removed "Three Shots" in the 1920s and never returned it to "Indian Camp." That, however, does not mean that we should also discard "Three Shots" when we read "Indian Camp," for "Three Shots" may help clarify Hemingway's greater concerns in "Indian Camp."[1]

Paul Smith, in his *A Reader's Guide to the Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway*, writes that, through all of the critical commentary on "Indian Camp," little work has been done that draws "on the traditions and history of the Indians in Michigan as they retreated before the white farmers and vacationers" (41). In consideration of Smith's assertion, one can look at Hemingway's story as a work exploring cultural appropriation and acculturation (and Uncle George's parentage of the child as an element of such).[2] One of the criticisms of Hemingway is his perceived presentation of Native Americans as drunken, indolent, and shiftless. However, what Hemingway often does in his portrayals of Native Americans (specifically the Ojibway of Northern Michigan from his earlier writing) is to explore the causes that have formed the stereotypes. As with anything that Hemingway writes, he is interested in how the modern world of early twentieth century America has formed those who live in it. This is evident in "Indian Camp" as much as in any other story. Ostensibly a story about Nick Adams's initiation as he accompanies his father to help a pregnant woman giving birth, the story is so much more—a consideration of acculturation and cultural appropriation.

Over the past few years, scholarship has begun to look at Hemingway's stories, and "Indian Camp" specifically, through the lens that Smith called for, expanding consideration of "Indian Camp" beyond the idea of Nick's initiation to birth and death and blood to include that of racial conflict. Thomas Strychacz, in "*In Our Time, Out of Season*," parallels the archetypal movement of Nick's initiation with another narrative—"The scene of whites arriving in the New World" with the "beached boats, Indians waiting, whites debarking" and the resulting reenactment of "a subsequent history of dispossession, annexation, betrayal, and death." Thus, for Strychacz, the original mission of mercy becomes an "opportunity for revisiting a form of Manifest Destiny upon the Indian camp" (61-62).

In *Hemingway, Race, and Art*, Marc Dudley writes that Hemingway "shows us the pure invention of race as identity marker" in "Indian Camp" (29). He quotes Dorothy Lamothe in an essay on Jean Toomer's *Cane* that "the most unsettling example of racial transgression proves to be the mulatto, whose existence acts as proof of miscegenation, the emblem of subversion of racial categories" (qtd. in Dudley 29). While

Dudley states that there is a lack of mixed-race figures in Hemingway's stories (characters found most notably in "Indian Camp" and "The Doctor & the Doctor's Wife"), he states that "the threat of racial transgression looms large" (29) in Hemingway's stories. Dudley further writes that "Indian Camp" initiates young Nick Adams into "the adult world of sex, violence, and death" (30). To this well-established paradigm Dudley adds "the variables of race and difference," going on to place the story within the lens of colonial and post-colonial interpretations (30). While Dudley does not see Hemingway presenting a story of the "commingling of the races," he states that Hemingway presents a "very modern statement about the tenuous nature of America's racial divide: the lines that separate white from nonwhite are forged and—most importantly—they are quite erasable" (29).

Furthermore, in *Racial Formation in the United States*, Michael Omi and Howard Winant present race as an "unstable and 'decentered' complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle" (55). Relying upon Omi and Winant, Amy Strong, in *Race & Identity in Hemingway's Fiction*, sees in "Indian Camp" an "unwavering success for power relations that rely on white male dominance (25)." Strong sees this dominance primarily in Dr. Adams's operation, his cutting open the Indian woman and treating the "woman's body as a territory under complete control of white men" (19). She writes that the doctor envisions the woman's body "as a territory without agency or voice, a kind of uninhabited land he takes possession of and must get under control," an analysis that echoes Stephen Greenblatt in his book, *Marvelous Possessions*, when he extends the idea of *terra nullius* from land to people (19-20). Possibly because her focus is on the doctor and not on Uncle George and his actions nine months previous to the fictional present of "Indian Camp," Strong writes that "we cannot say that 'Indian Camp' here depicts a rape" (19) and she does not enter into the larger question of the child's parentage. The question of parentage, however, is not necessarily inclusive of rape, and Uncle George's presence as the child's father is the final cultural bleaching in a story that most certainly does present the idea of cultural appropriation and acculturation.

Racial conflict is quite apparent in other Hemingway stories written in the early 1920s—e.g., "The Doctor and the

Doctor's Wife," "Ten Indians," "The Battler"—and cultural appropriation and acculturation are very much a part of "Indian Camp," as the above critical works argue; the question, however, becomes whether this appropriation extends to George's parentage of the child.[3]

Through previous acculturation, the Ojibway of Hemingway's story have lost their land, their economy, and their traditions. They travel by rowboat instead of birch-bark canoes, and they live on logged land where they once subsisted independently as seasonally nomadic hunter/gatherers. They no longer live in waginogans (traditional wigwam structures constructed primarily from birch bark) but live in the bunkhouses of an abandoned logging camp. As the story opens, little of their traditional ways of life remain for the process of civilizing "them off the face of the earth," as Charles Dickens calls for in his essay "The Noble Savage," which process had long been in effect through cultural and political avenues (the Dawes Act of 1877 most notably).[4]

The historical process of acculturation is intensified and made even more nefarious through the actions of Uncle George as he immediately appropriates a traditional Ojibway greeting. The Ojibway of the story should be greeting their guests by the giving/sharing of tobacco through a process that begins with the preparation of kinnickinnic (as opposed to the acculturated tobacco) to even the dispersal of the smoked ashes (as the ashes are considered a sacrament). Uncle George, however, simply steps from the boat and hands out cigars.

These elements support the idea that "Indian Camp" concerns cultural appropriation and acculturation at least to some level. At first, Uncle George's actions may simply present him as an arrogant fool and "powerful foil for" Doctor Adams, as Daiker asserts in his essay (60). However, Uncle George's initially assumed thoughtless action on the beach takes on more suggestive possibilities as the story proceeds, for, following these initial glimpses, Hemingway may suggest the greatest element of cultural appropriation—Lamothe's "subversion of racial categories"—and Hemingway provides enough possibilities that we must consider that aspect.

In his reading of Hemingway's story, Robert Lamb writes that "aspects of an action sequence . . . force even the dullest of readers to participate in the construction of the story."

Lamb invites a consideration of Barthe's "hermeneutic code" that "includes those elements by which the enigma in a story 'can be distinguished, suggested, formulated, held in suspense, and finally disclosed.'" He further presents Eudora Welty's wonderful observation on the writer's role as something of an "obstructionist," one who presents just enough information to foster the reader's immersion into the story. Lamb observes that the reader is thus teased "into reading the story by sustaining the expectation of an answer, and simultaneously, paradoxically, delay[ing] that answer" (35-37). In consideration of the story's cultural concerns, many such hermeneutic questions arise in "Indian Camp."

Why does Uncle George hand out cigars?

He's just the Shakespearian fool, or maybe he's callous or ignorant of Ojibway traditions? Fool or not, there is more to George's sharing of tobacco than simply that. Joseph M. Flora points out that George's gifting of the cigars "hints at the changed position of the Indian in the white world" (24). It may, in fact, be even more of a hint than Flora asserts; it may be a not-so-subtle assertion of fatherhood. George might be following the traditional celebration of gifting cigars upon the birth of his child. Ironically, the gifting of tobacco as a celebration of birth was, as well, a tradition among many Native-American tribes, although more ritualized than George's apparent offhand sharing.

How do the Indians know Doctor Adams is a doctor and where he is camped?

This question is among those elements that help to present ambiguities in the story and allow us to question assumed certainties. The Indians obviously know who Doctor Adams is and that he is a doctor of medicine; otherwise, they would not be coming for him. They also obviously know that the doctor is camping along the shore, for they are not rowing blindly around the lake in the hope of stumbling across a doctor. These points show that a previous personal relationship exists between Doctor Adams and the Indian camp.

In addition, much of what one might consider relatively minor action instills Uncle George with greater significance than simply as a boorish hanger-on. Until they arrive, the Indians may

not know of George's presence at the camp nor of his apparent interest in going to the Indian camp; thus, as was pointed out by a previous reader of this essay, they must use the "camp rowboat" to bring George across the lake on this mission of mercy. George is not fond of either his brother or nephew; the action of both "Three Shots" and "Indian Camp" make that amply apparent as he insults both, sarcastically referring to Dr. Adams as "a great man, all right" and calling Nick an "awful liar" and stating that he "can't stand" Nick. He further condemns Nick for ending the night's fishing early; why, then, does George go along to the Indian camp and not remain behind to fish? Neither the Indians nor Doctor Adams needs George along, so the choice is his; something motivates him to spend the night at the Indian camp. To assume that George is little more than a character foil is to assume that Hemingway has few concerns in his story beyond the obvious tip of the iceberg.

Why does the Indian kill himself?

He most likely has gangrene from his wound and knows that he will die from that. But why does he kill himself in the fictional presence of the story immediately following or in conjunction with the child's birth? That Hemingway has placed the suicide at such a critical time in the story indicates some aspect of causality, for the husband in the upper bunk knows no more about his condition near the end of the story than he knew at the story's opening. So why would he choose now to commit suicide? He can't stand the pain his wife is going through? His own pain? Neither his nor his wife's pain has increased since the coming of the white doctor—in fact, his wife's pain is eventually lessened—so these possibilities seem disingenuous. He may recognize that his old ways—midwives and traditional medicines, including the use of tobacco—are being replaced by modern medicines and rituals as everything else in his life has been replaced by the ways of the whites. Or maybe, even, he cannot stand his wife giving birth to Uncle George's child.

As in "Ten Indians," another story with the initiation of Nick as its center and featuring another disquieting vision of Ojibway Indians, there is more here than simply Nick's story in "Indian Camp." Both short stories, one with physically suffering Indians and the other with dissolute and drunken Indians, beg for a consideration of why these Indians do what they do—commit

suicide or drink themselves into a stupor. Even though the actions of the nine Indians passed by Nick and the Garners along the road in "Ten Indians" is secondary to Nick's heartbreak from Prudence's unfaithfulness, the reason for their drinking seems clear and intertextually supportive of Hemingway's presentation of cultural appropriation and acculturation in "Indian Camp." "Ten Indians" takes place on the Fourth of July, and, as Nick's father tells him, all of "[t]he Indians were in town getting drunk" that day. They are not drinking to celebrate Independence Day; they are drinking to mourn that the country's independence reminds them as well of the loss of their nation, their culture. We see in "Ten Indians" the effects of a loss of cultural heritage, just as we see the same in more focused detail in "Indian Camp." The Indian in the upper bunk lacks any escape from the loss of his land, traditions, and culture other than through suicide, especially since he knows he will soon die anyway.

Why does Uncle George stay behind?

This is important since Nick asks the question, and his question concerning George's staying forces the reader to consider the action as well, action similar to Welty's presentation of the author as obstructionist. There is no logical reason for George staying, especially since all his camping equipment is back at the fishing camp across the lake from which he and the others left the previous night. George may be something of a fool, but he isn't suicidal enough to simply disappear and wander off into the Michigan wilderness alone and with no provisions. If this camp is set far in the wilderness and the inhabitants speak no English, as Daiker and others assert, then George's staying behind is, at best, unreasonable. If he is not the father, then there is no reason for him to remain.

Daiker, however, argues that the geographical location of "Indian Camp" is somewhere quite secluded, placing this Indian camp in the wilderness of Michigan's Upper Peninsula and far away from Walloon Lake where most young Nick Adams stories take place; Daiker also argues that these Ojibway have no relationship with the doctor and his family and that they live so far removed that they may not even speak English. The dialogue and action of the story, however, especially when "Three Shots" is returned as its exposition, argue otherwise. As stated above, the Indians who row over from the Indian camp to

the fishing camp obviously know who Dr. Adams is and where he is camping. That they have purposefully retrieved him indicates both a past relationship between the doctor and the people and the fact that they must speak English.

This consideration of geography, however, is where the above ambiguities may become somewhat muddled. Walloon Lake, where we might expect Nick and his father to be camping, is quite far away from St. Ignace. If the story is placed near St. Ignace, then how do these particular Ojibway know Dr. Adams, who lives in the Petosky area? If the story is placed near Petosky, then how will a nurse arrive from St. Ignace the next morning? Neither setting of the story—near Petosky or near St. Ignace—adequately answers resulting questions, for St. Ignace and Petosky are about fifty miles apart and on different sides of the Straits of Mackinac. It is a conundrum, one befitting Barthe's hermeneutic code, unless one considers that Hemingway may simply have moved geographical realities to fit his purpose, as he does in other stories. For one, it is the Fox River and not the Big Two-Hearted River that runs through Seney, which is nearly twenty miles from the headwaters of the Big Two-Hearted River. In addition, Seney was never burned to the ground by a wildfire. As he transposes rivers, Hemingway may have transferred the devastating wildfires of 1918 that burned a number of Minnesota towns to the ground onto Seney in "Big-Two Hearted River." A further example of Hemingway's willingness to move geography to suit his purposes is found in "The Gambler, the Nun, and the Radio," which takes place in Hailey, Montana, a town that doesn't exist. Hemingway either made up the little town in the shadow of the "the Dawson mountains" (which also do not exist), or he transferred Hailey, Idaho, across the border into neighboring Montana. Hemingway, apparently, was quite willing to fictionalize or reconstruct geography to meet his story goals in other stories, and he simply did so in "Indian Camp" as well.

A second of Daiker's arguments not supported by a close examination of the story(ies) is that the Ojibway of this Indian camp are so removed that they may not even speak English. Daiker argues that "there is no dialogue in 'Indian Camp' that involves an Indian. Indians neither speak nor are spoken to. All communication takes place through signs and symbols" (59). However, in "Three Shots," as he prepares for sleep in the tent, Nick hears "his father talking with someone";

Hemingway's use of the indefinite "someone" indicates that the doctor isn't talking to George but to someone else—one of the Indians who has rowed across to retrieve the doctor. Either Dr. Adams is conversant in Ojibway, of which there is no indication, or the Indians are conversant in English, which is more likely and another example of acculturation that fills "Indian Camp" (the traditional language replaced by the modern English). Later, in "Indian Camp," as they are rowed across the lake, Dr. Adams tells Nick the reason for their nocturnal visit—that "[t]here is an Indian lady very sick"—a reason he would only know if he had been told so by the Indians since he has yet to reach the camp and see the woman. In the same exchange between father and son, when Nick asks where they are going that night, Dr. Adams answers, "Over to *the* Indian camp" (my emphasis). The definite "the" as opposed to an indefinite "an" indicates that Nick already knows what camp his father means, further supporting the argument that this is not a secluded camp but one that the doctor and Nick have visited before. In addition, once inside the shanty, the doctor tells a woman in the kitchen that his instruments must be sterilized: "Nick's father ordered some water to be put on the stove." Had Hemingway wanted us to see the doctor's use of "signs and symbols," he most likely would not have chosen the verb "ordered" for this exchange, maybe "signed" or "motioned" or "indicated." She apparently understands the doctor's "order," for the doctor turns away to continue his preparations without further discussion. Thus, the action of the two stories indicate that dialogue does occur between the two groups and that they understand each other. These are obviously not people who live secluded in some wilderness domain; they know Doctor Adams and speak English (their new language).

Finally, the most embedded item for consideration further supports the idea that George may be the father: Hemingway's narrative point of view suggests that there is more to the story's iceberg than we may initially see. Some might argue that, like the story's center being Nick, the story's narration is found through Nick's perspective. For the most part, that is accurate. However, Hemingway is not above breaking with a united point of view when doing so presents necessary information. In that wonderfully redolent paragraph when Nick and the others enter the shanty, we are told how long the woman has been in labor, who has been helping her, and where most of

the camp's men have gone and what they are doing—all information beyond Nick's limited knowledge. In the same paragraph, we are told the crucial information about the husband in the upper bunk: that he "had cut his foot very badly with an ax three days before." Nick cannot know this information; only an omniscient narrator knows it. This presentation of information that neither Nick nor the doctor knows indicates a disconnect between what the characters in the story know and what a more omniscient narrator can tell us. This disconnect is important and is further developed in how the wounded Indian in the upper bunk is referenced. Throughout the story, only Dr. Adams, who may not know any better, calls the Indian in the upper bunk "the father." However, in the story's narration, the Indian is called either "the husband" or "the Indian," never "the father." Such a difference in identification is subtle but quite telling, indicating that the man in the upper bunk is not the father of the child.

"Indian Camp" is about Nick, as Phillip Young and many others have asserted—Nick's father's failed initiation of him into manhood (indicated by the doctor's use of the infantile nickname "Nickie" following the suicide discovery), Nick's initiation to bloody birth and bloody death, and, as well, Nick's introduction to the destructive elements of the modern world. Hemingway's stories, however, contain multitudes. These Ojibway, like so many of Hemingway's lost characters, have been set afloat rudderless in the modern world. They are, also, like so many of Hemingway's other characters in *In Our Time*, stuck between the past and the present, no longer part of one world but unable to fully enter the other, both between ancient and modern as well as between traditional and Anglo. Their world has irrevocably changed from what it was just a generation earlier. Every aspect of their heritage has been altered through appropriation and acculturation; their method of transportation (from canoe to rowboat), livelihood (from subsistence hunter/gatherers to bark peelers), homes (from waginogans to bunkhouses), traditions (both cultural and medical), and language (from Algonquin/Ojibway to English) have all been replaced. They have, again as Dickens argued for, been effectively "civilized out of existence." Is it then so difficult to consider that the final act of forced acculturation is the bleaching of their bloodlines, represented in George's fatherhood of the child?

Notes

[1]All quotations and references to "Three Shots" come from Phillip Young's *Nick Adams Stories* pages 13-15. All quotations and references to "Indian Camp" come from *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* pages 67-70, and all quotations and references to "Ten Indians" come from *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* pages 253-257.

[2]The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines cultural appropriation as "the unacknowledged or inappropriate adoption of the practices, customs, or aesthetics of one social or ethnic group by members of another (typically dominant) community or society" and acculturation as "adoption of or adaptation to a different culture, esp. that of a colonizing, conquering, or majority group." Acculturation can also be defined as an assimilative process of individuals adopting the cultural norms of a dominant culture over their original culture.

[3]I was privileged to take part in a discussion of Uncle George's possible parentage in "Indian Camp" at the 17th biennial International Hemingway Society Conference in Oak Park, Illinois, in 2016, along with David Anderson, Peter Hayes, and Jonathan Austad. From that discussion comes this reading.

[4]Dickens's essay, "The Noble Savage," was originally published in the 6 November 1853 edition of *Household Words* in partial response to "Mr. [George] Catlin [the American painter], some few years ago, with his Ojibbeway (sic) Indians," the same tribal group that populates Hemingway's Nick Adams stories set in Upper Michigan.

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Political Twittoric: Understanding the Landscape of Twitter's Political Rhetoric Set by the Obama 2012 Presidential Campaign

By Kainat A. Puetz

For better or worse, United States politics have started accommodating the Internet and social media communication trends over the past few decades. The use of social media by politicians has raised incredible concerns since Donald Trump took presidential office. Trump, while having revolutionized the use of the popular social network Twitter by a President, was not the first to use the social media site for political gains. In order to understand the changes and impact of Trump's Twitter rhetoric, we must first understand the genre he is entering. Twitter is a social media network that encourages users to communicate through multiple modes of composition in succinct 140-character tweets. President Barack Obama accessed the multimodal quality of Twitter while running for reelection in 2012 against Mitt Romney to benefit and, ultimately, achieve his goal of maintaining his seat in the White House for another term. The Obama Twitter page used all modalities of writing, pictures, and videos, as well as links to outside sources, to convey the message to other Twitter users to vote for Obama in the 2012 election. It is not within the scope of this essay to assess the extent to which Twitter aided the Obama campaign; rather, this study analyzes the rhetorical devices employed by Obama's campaign team in order to understand the landscape of political rhetoric created on Twitter, into which Trump entered and has been reshaping since his 2016 run for election.

The campaign team running Obama's Twitter page incorporated traditional rhetorical practices in their compositions online. Some rhetorical considerations maintain applicability across technologies, such as audience, rhetorical constraints (Bitzer 6), creating persona, and building meaning (Flower and Hayes 21). Other considerations adapted in the digital realm. Delivery, a cornerstone of political rhetoric, functioned for the

campaign team beyond the tradition of oral rhetoric (Covino and Joliffe 24), where technological aspects of delivery now added compositional impact (Banks 108; Sheridan et al. 63). Visual rhetoric also played an important role for Obama's Twitter page, as almost every text online requires visual decision-making. On social media sites like Twitter, visual and written rhetoric consistently combine to create hybrid texts to influence meaning and affect audience (Hocks 631), which calls for an organization that does not directly transfer from the print realm. The reframing of how multimodal messages (print, visual, auditory) were delivered online was only part of the balancing act the Obama campaign team executed; they also had to balance a political message on a public, digital forum (Losh 47). This balancing act of technology, modality, and genre, however, results in a powerful and inventive use of media that ultimately furthers a composer's message and reaches an incredibly wide audience (Dubisar and Palmeri 80; Palmeri 96; Vegh 84).

The data for this qualitative study was collected from Barack Obama's Twitter feed between 1 September 2012 and 30 September 2012. Screenshots were taken of every tweet, retweet, picture with accompanying comments, videos, and links to outside sources posted during this timeframe. Each screenshot was coded into three categories determined by the collected data: epideictic (praise for Obama, blame for Romney); a call to follow the Obama campaign through various avenues; or a call to perform an action. Each category was explored individually to see how the modalities within it functioned and furthered the overall message. Tweets and retweets were analyzed in terms of their wording and phrases, while pictures were evaluated in terms of layout and emphasis. Links to outside websites and videos were assessed in a similar manner, in order to investigate the rhetorical strategy and benefits of bringing in an outside source.

Table 1 presents a summary of the results from the Obama Twitter account from 1 September 2012 through 20 September 2012. (See Table 1.)

Table 1. Results from the Obama Twitter Account from 1 September 2012 through 30 September 2012.

Method of Communication	Epideictic	Call to Follow	Call to Action	Total
Tweets	200	172	156	528
Retweets	129	76	31	236
Pictures	45	20	21	86
Links	11	23	22	56
Total	385	291	230	906

Screenshots are included throughout this article under Fair Use copyright guidelines.[1]

The strategy most utilized by the Obama campaign team in September 2012 was epideictic rhetoric (385 total in all forms of communication allowed on Twitter). In their attempt to win votes, the campaign experts operating the Twitter site used the network not only to promote their candidate but also to disqualify Romney as a suitable future president for the United States. Further, the composers harnessed the sharing power of Twitter to connect epideictic messages originally delivered by their campaign through television, radio, newspapers, and so on, for a second delivery on Twitter. One of the first tweets of this data set on Obama's Twitter account from 1 September 2012 was meant to discourage the United States public from voting for Romney by reading, "POTUS: 'They have tried to sell us these tired, trickle down, you're-on-your-own policies before. They did not work. They've never worked'" ("POTUS: 'They have'"). This tweet was a resharing of a statement Obama delivered through another medium, a televised speech. By resharing this quote on Twitter, the Obama campaign team was using every outlet at their disposal to get their message out.

Read simply, the tweet made overarching comments about Romney's policies and how they are failures. With a closer look, however, there was quite a bit more going on that could have affected the audience. The campaign team posted a quote that tried to build a type of camaraderie between Obama and the United States public. By using words such as "us" and "they," Obama created two very distinct sides, with him on the same side as the United States public, the voters, "us." Romney, of course, belonged to the "them" in this situation, and, according

to Obama's words, he allegedly wanted to repeat a failed economic policy. Obama blamed Romney in this quote for what the history of Republican leaders did to Obama and the United States. By establishing the two sides of the "us" versus "them," Obama aimed to affect his audience (both those who heard the initial speech and those reading the quoted tweet) through diction that included inclusionary versus exclusionary rhetoric.

Immediately following this quote, the campaign team tweeted an epideictic message, praising Obama's policies. This next tweet was a quote, reading "POTUS: 'I will offer you what I believe is a path that grows this economy, creates more good jobs, and strengthens the middle class'" ("POTUS: 'I will'"). These two tweets were nicely juxtaposed. Right after blaming Romney for selling failed policies to the public, this tweet praised Obama by displaying his policies that would strengthen the public. In all his subtleties in the previous message, that quote never discussed any specifics of Romney's policies or why they were failures, yet this tweet did go into some specifics of Obama's policies. Again, the campaign workers highlighted certain aspects of the language for their intended audience, which was the middle class, the majority of voters. This quote emphasized exactly what the middle class wanted to hear—an expanding economy and more jobs. By juxtaposing Obama's promise to make the middle class stronger and increase employment against Romney's historically failed policies, the POTUS and the Twitter campaign team used the epideictic technique to gain as many voters as possible through repeated tweets.

Twitter lends itself to quite a few different types of redistribution techniques (Sheridan et al. 32). These two epideictic messages depict one layer of Twitter's redistribution outlets. These messages were initially composed and delivered in a speech given by Obama to a physical audience and a live television audience. Through television, his potential audience greatly multiplied from those limited few that sat on seats in front of him. The potential audience grew even greater when the limitation of time was taken off; through the Internet, audience members didn't have to watch the speech live; they could come back to it at any time through sites like YouTube. Through Twitter, the speech was not only *seen* and *heard* again but also re-presented in selective, *written* form. The Obama tweeters

emphasized certain areas of the speech, which they thought would have the most influence on their audience, and, by so doing, they increased the redistribution of the initial message delivered in the live speech. Even if the users heard the speech through any of the means available to them (live, television, the Internet), by redistributing and repeating parts of the message for them to read again, the composers made sure the audience heard the parts of the message the campaign wanted them to hear. The chosen quotes were, moreover, stand-alone tweets, which did not need the larger speech to make sense. As such, the campaign team balanced redistribution, impact, message, and media, while also anticipating further redistribution by creating posts that could easily be retweeted by their audience to reach more voters (Banks 14; Sheridan et al. 96).

The Obama campaign team went beyond the use of verbal communication and accessed Twitter's multimodal quality to discourage votes for Romney and encourage votes for Obama. One of the epideictic photos posted on the Twitter site to deter support for Romney was strategically captioned with a quote from Romney, reading "We can't afford a President who says 'my job is not to worry about' 47% of the American people." The picture displayed a map titled "Romney's Responsibility Map" with instructions to "Cut out the 47% of the country that doesn't matter." The states in the map were divided by a dotted line with a pair of scissors on the side, making "cutting out 47% of Americans" a visual act rather than just an idea said in a few words. This image combined auditory words with written words and imagery to drive a message home through the resulting hybrid text (Hocks 631). Without the caption, title, instructions, and quote from Romney, the image would hold little value, yet, with them, the audience was able to interact more with the piece. This interaction was made more powerful through the attached instructions, telling the audience to cut out 47% of Americans, triggering the questions, where to start and what to cut? (See Figure 1.)

Figure 1. "Romney's Responsibility Map." This image shows how the Obama team used visual rhetoric to discourage the American public from voting Romney into office. From @BarackObama. "We can't afford a President who says "my job is not to worry about" 47% of the American people: pic.twitter.com/q8oZjCHs." *Twitter*, 18 Sept. 2012, https://twitter.com/BarackObama.

Just as there were images discouraging voting for Romney, Obama's Twitter page also boasted images praising Obama. In an image meant to praise the President, the Obama team displayed another hybrid text with the caption "Stand with the candidate who is fighting for all Americans." The wording of "*the* candidate" in this composition is especially important; had the composers used the word "a," it would have implied one of multiple candidates fighting for the United States. With the use of "the," however, the writers implied that there was only *one* candidate taking on this fight. The image displayed a picture of Obama with a blue overlay, written over with the text "We leave no one behind; we don't turn back; we pull each other up." The interplay of words and images can take place in a variety of ways; one of those ways is when the picture explained the words. In this image posted by the Obama team, the "we" is defined not by the words, but rather by the image of Obama. His picture provides the necessary context and speaker of the superimposed words. (See Figure 2.)

Figure 2. "We Leave No One Behind." This image shows visual rhetoric posted on the Obama Twitter account with the aim of praising Obama. From @BarackObama. "Stand with the candidate who is fighting for all Americans: OFA.BO/rbRpab, pic.twitter.com/tyLXbJZO." *Twitter*, 18 Sept. 2012, https://twitter.com/BarackObama.

The visual decisions of this piece, as well, worked towards furthering the message. Obama was pictured in a close-up, so there was nothing else to distract from Obama's image, and with a blue overlay, a calming, as well as patriotic, color. His expression was fierce, strong, and unapologetic—a man who stands firm in his beliefs. And, of course, those beliefs were written upon the image. Each line of text was white, which draws the reader's attention more than black text on a color background. Each line of font was different, yet each one was capitalized and looked visually solid and strong, mirroring the image of Obama, demanding the reader's attention. The image was polished, professional, neat, and portrayed a strong and motivating message to the audience from a strong and motivating leader.

Twitter functioned in more ways than just blaming Romney and praising Obama in their rhetoric; they also used this form of media to publicize upcoming events, speeches, articles, and so on, while also providing links to these sources. Through

this method, moreover, the composers took the Twitter audience *outside* of Twitter and transferred their followers from the social network into their followers of the whole campaign. Obama was, thus, able to use Twitter as a call to follow the campaign through all the forms of media available. One essential component of this campaign was the support from Michelle Obama, the First Lady. Family members play an important part of any Presidential race; people want to hear from those who know the candidate best, while also learning about the family that will represent them in the White House. The campaign team used Twitter not only to gain attention for Obama's campaign trail and speeches but also for the speeches of those supporting him, like Michelle Obama. In one such tweet, the campaign team posted a message reading "Watch live: First Lady @MichelleObama speaks at #DNC2012 about the values that guide the President," which was followed by a link to the actual speech ("Watch Live"). The composers further balanced the attributes of Twitter in their message by tapping into the redistribution and communal forum aspects of this social media network (Banks 108; Losh 47; Sheridan et al. 63)—Michelle Obama's name was tagged in order to take the audience to her Twitter page; #DNC2012 was a hashtag that, by clicking it, would take the user to all tweets made by all users with the hashtag on this topic; and, lastly, there was a link to the live speech.

As has already been pointed out, the blend of media did not stop at the written word; the campaign team also employed visual rhetoric allowed by Twitter to gain audience members for the First Lady's speech, while also portraying President Obama as a family man, as well as a politician. A few posts after the live link to the speech, the campaign team posted a picture captioned "Michelle's biggest fans were watching from home." The image showed President Obama with his arms around his two daughters, all sitting together on a couch watching Michelle Obama give her speech. This image inspired positive, pro-Obama responses from the Twitter audience, including retweets. Retweets further the notion highlighted by multiple scholars where the line between author and audience becomes blurred (Hocks 632; Losh 48; Dubisar & Palmeri 78)—by retweeting someone else's post, the audience becomes the author and redistributes the message to an even wider audience (Sheridan et al. 63). The campaigners balanced the various technological and

rhetorical functions of Twitter to publicize this event and grow their audience. (See Figure 3.)

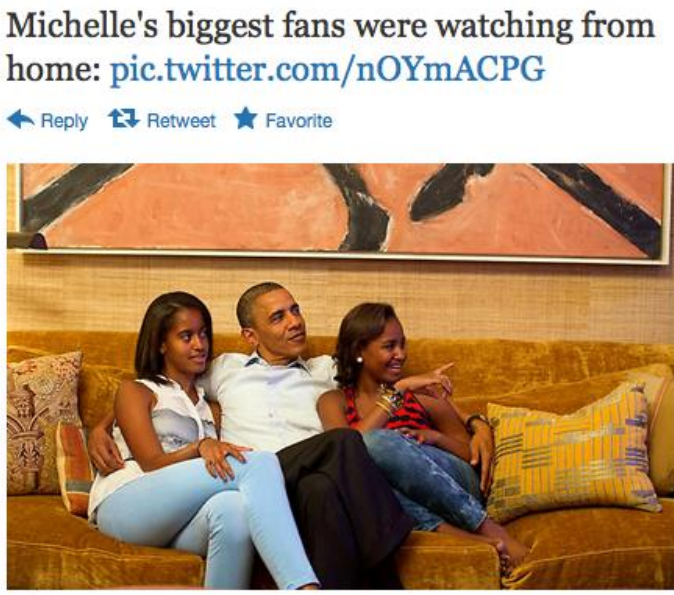

Figure 3. "Michelle's Biggest Fans." This image shows Obama and his two daughters watching Michelle Obama's speech. From @BarackObama. "Michelle's biggest fans were watching from home: pic.twitter.com/nOYmACPG." *Twitter*, 4 Sept. 2012, https://twitter.com/BarackObama.

Retweeting was an effective tool with which to gain more followers for Obama's campaign, such as when the team retweeted Forward Twitter account's tweet on 18 September 2012, promoting Obama's guest appearance on *The Late Show* that evening. Directly after, the Obama team tweeted with the same promotion with a link to a sneak preview of that interview. Sheridan et al.'s observation of the fluidity of a text is clearly in action here: "we're increasingly posting, publishing, and circulating our compositions in media conducive to composing for recomposition" (96). The original message by the Forward account was recomposed and redistributed on the Obama site with the add-in of another form of media through the sneak preview. The Obama team complicated the original message by adding a video with their own tweet to complement and further persuade that audience to watch Obama on *The Late Show* ("A Sneak").

The Obama campaign team utilized Twitter not only to gain greater audiences for events but also to gain followers of the campaign, overall, by connecting Twitter followers to the Obama Dashboard. This site pictured a computer with an image of the dashboard on it and a message to the left, saying in large, blue font, "[y]our window into the campaign." Underneath this was information on what this site included: "On Dashboard, you'll get the latest campaign news. You can join in the national conversation with campaign leadership and local supporters alike to see exactly what's going on in your state," which was followed by a green button to "get started." Twitter connected users to everything they needed to stay informed on Obama's campaign trail. Both Twitter and this Dashboard were digital communities for Obama supporters (Banks 45), but the difference was this Dashboard focused solely on the campaign, whereas Twitter has many different users with many different intentions. By connecting with users on Twitter, however, the Obama campaign potentially gained more members to join this digital Dashboard discourse community by taking information *to* the American public on *their own* forum (Banks 108; Losh 47; Vegh 71). (See Figure 4.)

Figure 4. Even more campaign information. This figure shows a screenshot of an outside link posted on Twitter for the user to connect to even more information on Obama and the campaign. From @BarackObama. "Your window into the campaign." *Twitter*, 2 Sept. 2012, https://twitter.com/BarackObama.

The final way Obama used Twitter for his campaign was to call on voters to produce some action that supported his

candidacy and helped him win the election. The type of actions Obama called upon ranged from asking his followers to retweet a post, to purchase Obama 2012 paraphernalia, to volunteer or donate money, or to commit to or even register to vote. The Obama campaign used the Twitter account quite aggressively to its fullest potential in multiple ways; however, in this category, the persistent use of Twitter was intended to cause an action either online or offline (Vegh 72). Moreover, if even one user performed any of the actions Obama requested on Twitter, they took the campaign one tiny step forward—and it is precisely these tiny steps that eventually win an election.

One of these tiny steps was the donation of money from the United States public. A main component of raising money for any type of organization or cause is giving donors *access* to that cause to make their donation. Through Twitter and the Internet, the Obama campaign brought the convenience of donating to the campaign into everyday lives of their followers. Moreover, in their tweets, the Obama campaign did not ask for an amount that would "break the bank"; they continuously asked for $5—a relatively small amount in the average person's life. "Pitch in $5 if you support the candidate in this race who's fighting for all Americans—President Obama" ("Pitch"). By phrasing the tweet in this way, the campaign team tried to make the United States public feel as if they were donating money to their own cause instead of just Obama's reelection. They would be putting the only man (implied again by the use of "the candidate" rather than "a candidate") back in office who actually worked towards a better future for each individual. With Obama in the White House, this tweet suggested, every donor would have a better life and future, just like the rest of the United States.

A key part of the tweet calling for donations was the link to lead users to the donation website. The first step on this website was to select the amount to donate, and, while the tweet started the donations at $5, the link shows prepopulated donation amounts starting at $15. If the contributor wanted to donate $5, they'd have to enter it in "other amount." (See Figure 5.)

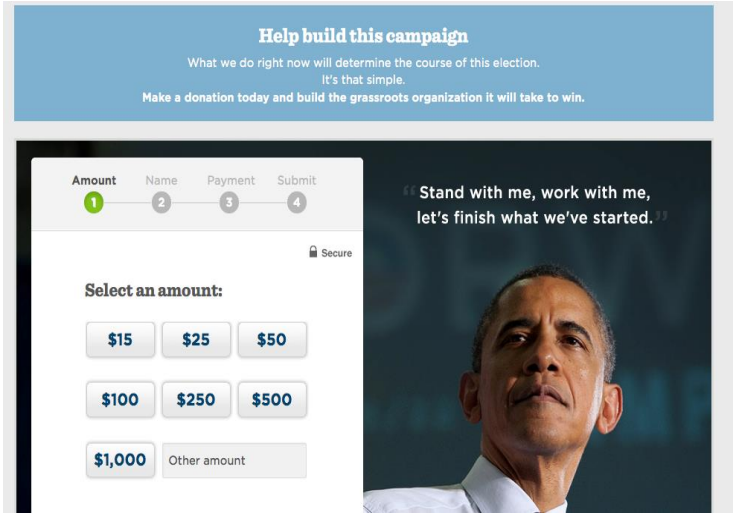

Figure 5. "Help Build This Campaign." This figure shows a screenshot of the outside link posted on Obama's Twitter account where users would donate money to the campaign. From @BarackObama. "Help build this campaign." *Twitter*, 17 Sept. 2012, https://twitter.com/BarackObama.

This site echoed the message of the tweet with an image of Obama underneath the words "Stand with me, work with me, let's finish what we've started." Again, these words reinforced the idea that the United States was working together with Obama to build a better future for everyone. The image of Obama looked strong, stoic, and proud, with his head held high. He looked the part of a leader, and the words reinforced the unifying rhetoric of the importance of public support for his campaign.

Another form of action the Twitter account called for was to either commit to or register to vote. This was, by far, the most insistent and imperative call to action since the whole point of the Twitter account and the campaign as a whole was to gain votes. Obama's Twitter account kept a countdown running until the election date, and, as the days progressed, the campaign managers kept repeating tweets or links in order to increase action from their users. One of these tweets read "49 days until Election Day—if you're not registered yet, start here" ("49 Days"), which was followed by a link to the site to register. With the advancement of technology, we see a normally offline action taking place online, and the Obama Twitter team used the

network to encourage action from their followers (Vegh 73). The campaign team was proactive in their Twitter usage, and the everyday countdown with the multiple connections to registering to vote, as well as other links, was a constant call from the Obama campaigners, pushing users to vote. (See Figure 6.)

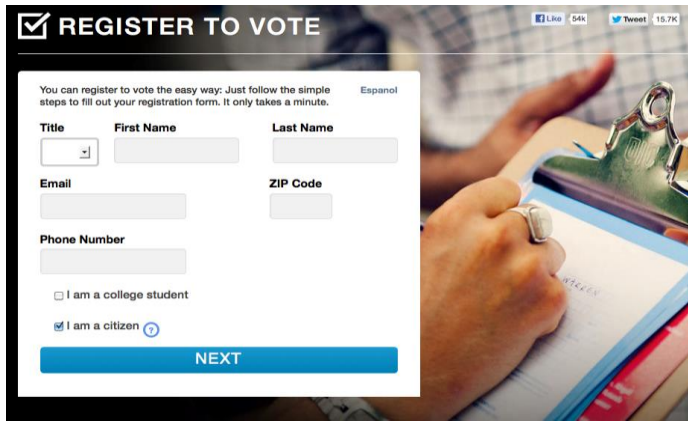

Figure 6. More voters for the 2012 election. This figure shows a screenshot of the outside link posted on Obama's Twitter account where users could register to vote in the 2012 election. From @BarackObama. "Register to vote." *Twitter*, 18 Sept. 2012, https://twitter.com/BarackObama.

The rhetorical devices that the campaign group employed while composing on Twitter balanced all of social network's functions at their disposal. The extent to which Twitter aided Obama's reelection campaign is a question that, unfortunately, cannot be answered here, but what can be rightfully assumed is that Twitter did have a considerable impact on the President's reelection. Twitter is a growing social network, used daily by more and more individuals, which affects the way people communicate with each other. Since Obama's breakthrough use of Twitter for presidential politics, social media has further grown in the political realm and continued to alter digital rhetoric and political rhetoric. Obama set the landscape of digital political rhetoric, where campaigns become accessible to a wider public on *their own forum* (Banks 108), while also keeping the public accessible to the campaign. Politicians can utilize language, photographs and images, videos, and more to communicate with their audience, call for action,

and gain attention. Yet, at its core, Obama's message on Twitter *updated* political rhetoric by moving traditional characteristics of this genre into the digital realm and using the digital to *enhance* political rhetoric, rather than change it.

This leads us precisely to the point in time in which we find ourselves now. Donald Trump's election as the President of the United States has had a profound effect in many ways, one of which being his impact on what it looks like to speak as a politician and to speak online from a position of power. Nearing the end of his first term, we have seen Twitter usage move away from the strategic vehicle for traditional political rhetoric to a new type of political rhetoric altogether with Trump at the helm. Obama seldom composed his own tweets; Trump, however, has been an active poster on his own account since the run for his election. Trump, moreover, does not have a political background. As his own composer for his Twitter account, he further removes the messages of the POTUS from the traditions of political rhetoric since he isn't as well versed in these strategies as life-long politicians or political rhetoricians. As an example, Obama's team used epideictic messages that blamed his opponent and praised Obama, yet they did so in the traditions of political rhetoric that have been used across time and media. Trump, on the other hand, forms more hostile and abrasive messages, causing considerable backlash and altering what it means to compose epideictic rhetoric. And Twitter is the key to his rhetorical influence. It is the root of the transformation we are witnessing in political digital rhetoric. The next step for this body of research is to perform a similar analysis of Trump's rhetoric on Twitter to detail what rhetorical shifts we are seeing from the core baseline Obama established in his Twitter usage for political purposes. Twitter, thus, is no longer simply a "game-changer" for the future of political rhetoric; we are in the midst of watching the game being changed before our very eyes.

Notes

[1]Screenshots are included throughout this article. This study falls under Fair Use as laid out in US Code 17, Section 107, by reproducing material for the purposes of "criticism, comment, news reporting, teaching, scholarship, or research"

("Copyright"). The law, further, lists four possible ways for Fair Use to apply, two of which are applicable to this study:

1. The purpose and character of the use, including whether such use is of commercial nature or is for nonprofit educational purposes
2. The amount and substantiality of the portion used in relation to the copyrighted work as a whole. ("Copyright")

The sole intention of this research is for noncommercial scholarship under Fair Use. In addition, only a small portion of the screenshots collected from 1 September 2012 to 30 September 2012 are used in this article. Screen captures, moreover, are a necessary component and have become commonplace in rhetoric and composition scholarship (e.g. Arola; Blair et al.; Grabill; McCaughey & Ayers; Nakamura).

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Getting through grading

By Cheryl Caesar

Stand up, we advise. Move around.
Stay light on your mental feet.

I remember a man in a swamp,
waist-deep, with a rope, saving an impala.

It's young and terrified, but it trusts him.
Or maybe it's in shock, and he's the last resort.

He knows the swamp: the sticky weight of words
that suck you down. You have to keep moving

till you find your feet. Don't worry
about how you look. Mud washes off.

He tugs on one leg, then another, hoists the back
end onto slightly firmer swamp. Then hauls

with his own life rope. The impala
permits this indignity and does not kick.

Now it's on solid ground. He pulls it upright,
one leg at a time. It blinks and bounds away.

I hope it will return some day, if only
for a letter of recommendation. The only way

to get through the swampy part of the semester:
get down in the mud and struggle
with your students. Share your own rope.

End-of-semester envoi

By Cheryl Caesar

It's a strange lightness when the weight is gone.
Like standing in a doorway, pressing the backs
of your hands to the doorjamb, then stepping out.
Your hands float free, unbidden. Like mine now,
saying, where shall I go, what shall I do,
now I am no longer writing to guide your writing hand?

It's a queer emptiness when classes end.
Full of space, like a mouth
when the braces come out, and the tongue
explores the new expanse. Demosthenes
with the pebbles gone. Wondering, what words
will come to fill me now?

It's a curious blankness now. The days,
no longer sliced in two-hour tranches,
seem borderless. Outlook Calendar
begins to show white rectangles. Tabs vanish
from the laptop. D2L sites close.
Emails thin. Sometimes even the announcement:
You have no events scheduled
for the rest of the day.

It's the moment of sudden falling
at the beginning of sleep. It's the cartoon Coyote
running in air before he sees
there's no more cliff. It's what Sartre said,
the fear of freedom. Mary Oliver asking,
what will you do with your one wild
and precious summer?

End-of-semester minimalist poem

By Cheryl Caesar

My crumpled tea packet

is an origami crane.