RHETORICAL AND DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF NEWFOUNDLAND REGIONALITY

by

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ABSTRACT

Newfoundland and Labrador regionality is a textual event. Broadly speaking, this means that we know place through the myriad semiotic instances that construct it, maintain it, and transform it. Regionality comes out of the seemingly insignificant (yet intensely consequential) choices in everyday regional texts. The clause organization of a national ode, the vocabulary choices in a local novel, the colour saturation of a T.V. advertisement, and even the physical size and weight of a highschool textbook about Atlantic Canada narrate regionality both to local residents and to those outside the region. With the goal of understanding recent textual constructions of Newfoundland and Labrador regionality, this study examines five different texts and, always, considers them within some context of use. These texts include the following: Sir Cavendish Boyle's "Ode to Newfoundland"; Bernice Morgan's novel Random Passage; E. Annie Proulx's Pulitzer Prize-winning The Shipping News; the grade nine textbook Atlantic Canada in the Global Community; and the *Imagine That* Newfoundland and Labrador tourism campaign, which has appeared both on television and in print form.

To discuss these texts, I draw upon three methodological approaches: the discursive, the rhetorical, and the social. Discourse analysis, as this dissertation understands it, means close examination of grammatical resources and their effects in constructing and maintaining communities. Michael Halliday's work in systemic

functional linguistics forms the basis of my grammatical study, while Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen's recent research into visual grammars informs my discussion of visual semiosis. My second theoretical approach, rhetorical analysis, considers how symbols form regional attitudes, induce regional action, and bring about regional identification and divisions. Kenneth Burke's insights concerning symbolic action, identification, and consubstantiation lend strength to my rhetorical examinations. Of course, all discursive and rhetorical acts are also social acts. For example, Random Passage, with its repetition, simple syntax, and clause arrangement constructs a mundane outport history that has been read as "authentic." The Shipping News constructs region as a tourist space, Atlantic Canada in the Global Community as a co-operative and harmonious one. I draw upon the sociological thinking of Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens to understand how textual patterns connect with the social world.

Ultimately, the objective of this dissertation is to demonstrate how focussed and delicate textual analysis provides an important means of understanding regional narratives and their appeal. In a province where local resources are facing crisis, one resource, discourse, is more powerful and valuable than ever. In this context, particularly, discursive, rhetorical, and social analyses are invaluable.

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And then there are my dear friends and colleagues. I cannot thank all the individuals who helped me think through this project, but some deserve special note. Among them are Karen Simons, who spent many a sunny kitchen morning with me talking "spectral realms" and "discourse communities," and Cameron Reid, a tremendous editor and friend. Jacqueline Howse, a fellow Newfoundlander and fellow spirit, deserves special thanks for being the best listener I have ever met. Rachel Nash warrants more thanks than I can express here; Rachel was always there for me: unceasingly, expansively, and lovingly.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: Addressing the "How" of Regionality

Gut: 1. *verb* to take out the guts of (fish); to eviscerate

2. *noun* the contents of the abdominal cavity; the bowels, entrails. Formerly, but not now, in dignified use with reference to man.

3. *fig.* Used, chiefly attrib., of an issue, question, etc.: basic, fundamental, also of a reaction: instinctive and emotional rather than rational.

4. A narrow passage. A channel or run of water, a branch of a stream; a sound or strait.

Newfoundland, one might say, has guts. The communities of Famished Gut and Cat Gut sit in the fractal folds of the Newfoundland coast. Floating fish guts used to be a familiar sight around most stageheads where fishers gutted cod for their fillets and tongues. And when "gut-foundered," or starving, these fishers returned home for a hot meal. The imaginative and physical senses of the word *gut* speak to something essential in outport experience, a fact not lost on Michael Cook, a playwright who came to Newfoundland during the "Newf-cult" of the sixties. His 1974 play, "The Head, Guts and Soundbone Dance," centres on two damaged men who spill their guts, both figuratively and literally, as they sit on a stagehead. A small hard word, *gut* scrapes against the palate and gets to the harsh centre of things, to the seemingly indisputable and certainly unglamorous.

Many of my thoughts about Newfoundland, my place of birth, occur first at the gut level. My heart jumps when I spot a Newfoundland license plate on Portage Avenue in Winnipeg, where I now live. I feel a slight twinge of impatience when a mainlander mispronounces "Newfoundland," or when I am told, with some reassurance I suspect, that I "don't have an accent." I salivate at the smell of Jigg's dinner. I feel a rush of the familiar when I see a tin of carnation milk on the supper table and holy pictures in someone's front room. Hearing a Newfie joke on an Ontario radio station one morning last year, I felt my heart race, my face tighten, and my breath quicken. Attachments to place can manifest themselves at a very immediate and bodily level.

In fact, I have experienced strong, embodied responses to all the texts I study in this dissertation. My critical stance is not entirely disinterested. I remember, for instance, the first time that I saw an *Imagine That* tourism advertisement on television. This was about two months after I had moved to Ontario, where I was feeling decidedly displaced. The dramatic percussion, the swooping angles over rocks and bays, and the expanse of water held me transfixed. I was proud. I was homesick. I was intrigued. And when the commercial was over, I felt compelled to study the script and its semiotic choices. I needed to know why I was falling hook, line, and sinker (to use a fishing metaphor) for this version of place. In the concluding chapter of this thesis, I discuss how the tools of discourse analysis and visual semiosis have enabled me to understand this tourism campaign beyond my initial intuitions and gut reactions.

Many critics in Canadian literature have advanced the *what* of regionalism and seem focused on defining what regionalism is. For instance, Frank Davey in his article, "Toward the Ends of Regionalism," asks: "What is twentieth-century Canadian regionalism?" (1). Marjorie Pryse, in "Writing out of the Gap: Regionalism, Resistance, and Relational Writing," defines regionalism as "a tension between region and nation" (19). Others point to the trend in Canadian criticism to explore and question "what region and regionalism themselves mean" (A Sense of Place x). Definitions of region, regionality, and regionalism have been frequently, and I think, thoroughly explicated.[1]

I move away from defining the *what* of regionality, but I should still mention at the outset of this dissertation some of my working assumptions concerning region and regional identity. First, regions do not simply exist, objectively. They are socially constructed and maintained by politicians, residents, tourists, artists, novelists, and others. After all, regional borders are slippery, and definitions of region change depending on what distinctions seem appropriate in a given communicative context. One might speak of Atlantic Canada as a region when dividing Canada into general regional sections, yet one might distinguish even further between Nova Scotia and Newfoundland in contexts where those distinctions bring profits, whether these profits come in the form of tourism subsidies, natural resource protection, or local patriotism.

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[1] In addition to those sources listed above, David Jordan's New World Regionalism, W. J. Keith's Regions of the Imagination and many of the essays in a recent collection, A Sense of Place: Re-evaluating Regionalism in Canadian and American Writing begin with definitions of these terms.

Second, one cannot dismiss the critic who selects her or his own regional demarcations. James Overton, in his essay, "Rethinking Regionalism," points to the practices of regional distinction we enact in our own research:

> Regions have also been constructed by people interested in analysing natural and human phenomena. Geographers, linguists, folklorists, and others identify regions. An area in which characteristic A is found is distinguished from an area in which characteristic B is found. This kind of regionalization is undertaken in order to analyze language patterns, the distribution and movement of folktales or other traits, land use, etc. (95-96)

For the purposes of this study, I take Newfoundland and Labrador as a region, but acknowledge the provisional and contextually driven status of any regional definition. Regional and provincial divisions do not always coincide. Labradorians, for instance, have not always been happy with our provincial union, so yoking the two territories comes with tensions. While I am aware of these tensions, I use the title "Newfoundland and Labrador" when discussing regionality in chapter two, in large part because this is the geopolitical marker of the region. Readers might notice, however, that I do not discuss Labrador at any length (except when I analyze the representations of the Labrador Inuit in the textbook Atlantic Canada in the Global Community). Given the Newfoundland-centric nature of my material, I often use the

term "Newfoundland" or the "Island" instead of "Newfoundland and Labrador" as my discussion progresses. With this choice, I do not intend to erase Labrador in a shorthand move, nor do I wish to deny its significance in the region. Rather, I want to acknowledge the uneasy place that Labrador occupies in Newfoundland and Labrador regionality (and in my work). The complexities of Labrador identity, the history of its settlement, and the contentiousness of its borders deserve treatment of their own. In the meantime, I use the yoked term (Newfoundland and Labrador) to underline some of the *similarities* shared by the region (marginality, demographics, occupation, resources, and geography). Yet, I do acknowledge that important differences remain. (Labrador has a greater aboriginal population, a closer relationship with Québec, and a position of alienation from the government in St. John's.) Because of these differences, I often focus on Newfoundland (the Island) alone.

The final working assumption I outline here is my contention that in order to understand practices of distinction and identity, the regional scholar must attend to the everyday textual practices that create a sense of regionality. Further, this attention requires close discursive, rhetorical and social analysis. My project, then, does not set out to define regionality, but rather to explore *how* current Newfoundland texts narrate place. With this focus, I look to patterns in discourse to study the *how* of regionality more so than the *what*: how regionality is made mundane, how regionality is narrated through a tourist gaze, and how it constitutes an act of inculcation. And, of course, given the power structures inherent in discourse, we have to interrogate the *why* of

existing practices. Why do local readers of Random Passage perceive the book to be an authentic historical telling? Why is The Shipping News, a narrative of improvement, such a big hit on the Canadian mainland and internationally? Why might a social studies textbook use Before and After pictures in sections which narrate negative social change? To answer these questions, I approach texts with a more focussed, delicate analysis of language than I have found in other literary interpretations. My main objective in this dissertation is to demonstrate how close language analysis provides an important means of understanding regional narratives and their appeal.

My critical approach is timely: according to Norman Fairclough, in his book Discourse and Social Change,

> [b]oundaries between social sciences are weakening, and a greater diversity of theory and practice is developing within the disciplines. And these changes have been accompanied by a 'linguistic turn' in social theory, which has resulted in language being accorded a more central role within social phenomena. (2)

Important to note, a critic can take a "linguistic turn" and still consider the ideological dimensions of discourse. In order to balance the linguistic and the ideological, however, the analyst must not only study language, but also understand its social and

political consequences. Below, I lay out my approaches for a discursive, rhetorical, and social conceptualization of regionality that addresses its complexity.

The Complexity of Regionality

> So little is known about the true history of Newfoundland, and indeed about the character and motivation of many of those who have tried to influence or describe it, that any writer who summarily reduces the complexity of Newfoundland's past or present to a ready formula must be regarded with great suspicion. (O' Flaherty 186)

To avoid the reader's "great suspicion" right from the start, I wish to point to the complexity of studying regionality--that of Newfoundland and Labrador, or any other--and the necessity for various viewpoints and approaches. This thesis, one critical perspective among many, explores *discursive constructions of regionality, specifically representations of Newfoundland and Labrador.*

Discursive is the first term in this statement that requires clarification. Discourse, a flexible and accommodating term, can certainly mean many things. Jay Lemke, in Textual Politics writes that

> [discourse] can be used to mean something as specific as spoken language, or something as general as the social process of communication. It can refer to a

> general phenomenon, the fact that we communicate with language and other symbolic systems, or to particular kinds of things we say (e.g. the discourse of love, or the discourse of political science). (6)

Briefly, a focus on the discursive, for me, means close examination of textual patterns in some context of use. How do textual practices--the novel, the advertisement, the textbook--reflect, reproduce, and problematize how one knows place? These questions can be approached through a discourse analysis of these texts, an examination of the resources these texts instantiate. These resources include the syntactic organization of a clause in a novel, the visual selections in a textbook, and the word choices in a tourism advertisement. The term discursive also involves the social *consequences* of those selections. Why might one novel repeat the same syntactic structure over and over again, and what does that say about the construction of outport life? What kind of audience is hailed by a novel's elliptical style, and what kind of place is created through fragmented syntax? How do visual choices in a schoolbook inculcate a particular kind of regionality? All of these questions can be attended to using theories of discourse.

The second phrase that needs some explanation here is "the *construction* of regionality." By construction, I mean, in basic terms, that regionality is not a natural, geographically determined, or apolitical label. Such a point might seem obvious but often regional affiliation and regional designations are regarded as natural divisions.

For instance, Janine Brodie, in The Political Economy of Canadian Regionalism, writes that

> references to region are so familiar and pervasive that we have accepted these divisions as natural and self-evident without ever questioning why we have come to think of the country in these terms or what meanings these spatial abstractions actually convey. (6)

Davey, again in his essay, "Towards the Ends of Regionalism," argues that much Canadian literary criticism has viewed region as "the product of intuitive regional self-recognition" (2). Not only is regional affiliation viewed as the consequence of regional divisions, but these divisions are usually tied unproblematically to the land. Alison Calder, in her Ph. D. Dissertation, The Lie of the Land: Regionalism, Environmental Determinism, and the Criticism of Canadian Prairie Writing, points to the geographical determinism behind definitions of prairie regionalism. She writes that

> theorizations of region frequently assume that it is the determinative power of landscape that makes a region unique. Regions are distinguished by particular spirits of place which are rooted in landscape and permeate the environment. (54)

This kind of attitude towards regionality views regional divides as natural ones, and sustains centre-region hierarchies. Rob Shields, in his book Places on the Margin, argues that

> imaginative divisions become causative sources of further divisions because they are institutionalized or rendered as natural division. In this process of misrecognition the geographic distinction becomes a new origin for further distinctions and more importantly, economic divisions and social segregations. (261)

Misrecognition of the social basis of regional divisions can lead to naturalized assumptions about the value of the different regions. Many assume, for instance, that "have-not" provinces are somehow deficient in resources or social know-how, instead of acknowledging that the construction of "have" and "have not" regions comes as the result of political decisions in the nation state.

Finally, I speak in terms of *regionality* in this dissertation as opposed to *regionalism* (and sometimes I speak in terms of "place" when I want to emphasize the sense of place or *genus loci* of regionality). This switch to regionality instead of regionalism comes out of a call for change in theorizations of region by Davey:

> Earlier literary and cultural criticisms, in their frequently uncritical acceptance of *regionalism* as a critical category, have contributed to the politically oppressive functioning of the term. Even when constructed as resistances to nation-state ideological dominants, successful Canadian regionalisms--presenting themselves as inherently natural--have become new dominants, serving particular class, race, and gender interests, and constraining social/textual dissent and change. Criticism would be well advised to treat regionalism with the same skepticism it directs towards other ideologies--substituting in its own discursive practices "regional" for "regionalist" and "regionality" for "regionalism." (16)

Regionality, then, emphasizes its status as one way of dividing the world--as one means of cultural definition--and highlights its position as one ideology among others. The suffix *-ity* in regionality, I hope, underlines my position that one's sense of place is not a set-in-stone category, but is, rather, manifested in attitudes and practices. Further, regionality allows for different degrees of involvement or participation in that regionality. One can love place, enjoy its manifestations, and take part in its community, but still maintain a wary distance from the homogenizing and politically disempowering tendencies that sometimes accompany regional representations.

Having defined, if provisionally, all the terms in my opening statement, I now point to the fact that this "discursive construction of regionality" is complex,

multifaceted, and operates on a number of different levels. First, we have discourse at the level of language. For example, in terms of language practice we find core vocabulary choices (simple, general words) used in Bernice Morgan's Random Passage to construct fictionalized outport life as ordinary, mundane, and authentic. Word choices in E. Annie Proulx's The Shipping News, specifically her love of obscure and exotic "Newfi-isms," points to another way of constructing regionality: as a tourist site. The vocabulary in a current high-school textbook (for example, verbs which suggest that negative changes like the fishing moratorium simply happen) reinforces the idea that change occurs beyond agents' control; and, further, that one does not interrogate those power structures that contributed to mass unemployment and resettlement in the first place.

We also have discourse at the level of narrative. Regionality is a storied activity. Narrative theory provides the critic with useful resources with which to understand how books "story" place. The organization of narrative events in Random Passage, which is comprised primarily of what narrative theorists call satellite events (information not central to plot), appeals to a desire for the routine and predictable. Narrative events in The Shipping News do not allow so easily for a reading through the lens of realism, and hence pose some difficulties for the reader who is trying to make sense of this carnivalesque extravaganza using familiar reading strategies for traditional Newfoundland texts. Social Studies textbooks constitute important narratives, as well. In my analysis of educational materials, I study the narrative

capacity of the visual. That is to say, I investigate how the organization and sequencing of pictures naturalize understandings of political change in a region.

Additionally, we know that these discursive narrative acts are also *rhetorical* acts. In my understanding of rhetoric, I draw primarily on the work of Kenneth Burke, who in his book A Rhetoric of Motives designates the basic function of rhetoric: "the use of words by human agents to form attitudes or to induce actions in other human agents" (41). In this same book, he argues that rhetoric "*is rooted in an essential function of language itself, a function that is wholly realistic, and is continually born anew; the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols*" (43, emphasis in original). In texts that narrate regionality, this cooperation can take many forms: the shared understanding of place as authentic through stylistic techniques, the shared reading of Newfoundland as romantically Celtic in the name choices of a tourism advertisement, or the shared construction of Newfoundland as comic and liminal through the grotesque.

Texts invite co-operation (what Burke calls **consubstantiation**, a term I will develop later) by creating **identification**. Briefly, to identify with another person means that one believes (or is persuaded to believe) that both speaker and addressee understand the world in the same terms. If regionality is a means of identification, which I think it is, then there are different forms of seeing in similar terms, of sharing substance. That is to say, texts will invite a particular kind of "*acting together*; and in

acting together, men have common sensations, concepts, images, ideas, attitudes that make them consubstantial" (A Rhetoric of Motives 21). One can share a view of regionality through vocabularies of heritage, vocabularies of progress, or vocabularies of stereotype. Not only do I consider the lexical and narrative components of regionality, but I also understand them, ultimately, as rhetorical acts.

Discursive construction is not only a linguistic phenomenon, however. It operates, as well, in modes that accompany linguistic resources. For example, the marketing and distribution of a text speak of its position in social hierarchies. The Pulitzer-prize winning The Shipping News boasts a considerably larger circulation and, it seems, international appeal, than regional books like Bernice Morgan's Random Passage or Percy Janes' House of Hate. The availability of a book in the marketplace suggests its desirability, its ability to satisfy some constructed lack in a reading consumer. Hence, circulation relates to the constructed value of a text. Not only circulation, but also the materiality of a book (the quality of its paper, its size, its font) says something about a text's status. Atlantic Canada in the Global Community, the textbook currently used by grade nine students in the Atlantic provinces, is large, colourful, and multimodal. Its physical weight alone suggests that it was an expensive book to produce. Its materiality also speaks to the presence of the multinational publishing corporation that helped it come into being. This version of regionality is endorsed, in all likelihood, by rich and powerful groups. In addition to the circulation and materiality of a text, selections in the visual mode (photographs, charts, and the

selection of poses, angles, and colour in these visuals) realize meanings. And these visual selections are consequential. For instance, a televised Newfoundland tourism campaign manages the differences, incongruities, and clashes of its viewing audience by encoding contrasting messages in its different modes. The spoken script, with its static verbs and measured pace, produces a solid, stable world. At the same time, the remarkable angles and frenetic pace of the images construct a dynamic and extraordinary one. In this way, the advertisement effectively performs the both/and space of fantasy, a construction of region appropriate to tourist desire.

All these discursive acts--linguistic, narrative, material, and visual--are social acts and have social consequences. For example, Random Passage, in its use of repetition, simple syntax, and core vocabulary, constructs a fictionalized history of Newfoundland outport life that reproduces antimodernist sentiments in the province. The Shipping News, with its fragmented syntax and highly metaphorical writing, constructs region, for people all over the world, as a tourist space, one that has been airbrushed with language. The textual resources in the textbook Atlantic Canada in the Global Community play a pivotal role in the inculcation, or naturalization, of regionality and the narration of social change. As I point out in the conclusion to this thesis, linguistic and visual selections in the *Imagine That* tourism campaign replicate stereotypes that are not entirely to be dismissed but rather to be studied for their role in promoting regional solidarity.

Regionality also involves narration from different perspectives. Regionality can be storied from within its borders. Local writer Bernice Morgan, for instance, incorporates her family's histories in Newfoundland into her novel. Yet regionality can also be storied from outside. In a recent issue of Architectural Digest, E. Annie Proulx, who hails from the United States, speaks of being a rapt visitor to Newfoundland:

> Sometimes in the course of our lives we enter unknown territory for the first time and recognize with a jolt that at last we have come to the true place. On my first trip to Newfoundland more than ten years ago, within half an hour of setting foot on the island I knew the Great Northern Peninsula was a place of deepest personal significance to me. . . . I wanted to live in this place, if only for a few months of the year. (48)

These different positions relative to place result in many different regional gazes: the nostalgic gaze, the tourist gaze, the carnivalesque gaze, and the naturalized gaze, to name a few.

Given the complexity that surrounds issues of regionality, particularly the discursive aspects and the social aspects of it, we will need a framework for marking differences and exploring the consequences of these constructions. To this end, this opening chapter introduces a series of theoretical approaches to explore the

discursive/social aspects of regionality. Chapter two develops and illustrates these terms in more detail.

Introducing the Terms

In outlining a set of theoretical approaches that is diverse enough to respond to this complexity, I first outline some key concepts from M.A.K. Halliday's functional theory of language. J. L. Lemke, in his essay, "Semantics and Social Values," elegantly encapsulates the foundational principles of functional linguistics:

> One of the most basic principles of functional linguistics is that the resources of language have evolved in relation to their social uses in human communities. In Systemic-Functional linguistics this means that the semantic and lexicogrammatical choices a language makes available to us corresponds to the kinds of meaning-making that occur in a society (cf. Halliday 1978). Linguistic analysis can begin from the question, *What is it possible to mean?* in a language, and proceed to specify how each possible variation in meaning can be realized with the linguistic resources of that language. (37)

The "linguistic resources of . . . language" can be divided into three fundamental and simultaneous modes of meaning in a clause: what Halliday terms the **ideational**, the **interpersonal**, and the **textual** metafunctions of language. The ideational

metafunction (which includes transitivity and circumstance types in a text) enables me to discuss how the language choices in a piece of writing construct some representation of the material and social world (here, Newfoundland). The interpersonal metafunction (realized through such linguistic resources as modality and mood) gives me an entrance point into how texts constitute an act of *exchange*; that is to say, linguistic selections construct positionality between addressee and speaker and an attitude towards the content of a particular text. Finally, the textual resources (conjunctions, lexical reference, repetition) contribute to the cohesion of texts, and can tell us something about what "goes together" in regional texts.

The metafunctional approach extends beyond the linguistic text, however. To address the complexity of different semiotic modes in the construction of regionality, I also study visual selections in regional texts. The metafunctional model in functional linguistics, according to Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen in their book Reading Images, is helpful for studying visual semiosis, because visual selections also perform ideational, interpersonal, and textual roles. In chapter five, I include in my analysis some speculation about the consequences of visual selection and organization. With attention to the ideational function, I study **narrative participants**, **narrative processes**, and **conceptual processes** in order to understand how visuals represent actors and activities in the region and what relationships inhere between participants. To analyze the interpersonal function, I study such elements of the gaze as **offers** and **demands** as well as **modality markers** in order to explain how regional texts perform

a delicate dance in positioning the viewer relative to attractive and controversial information about place. And to discuss the textual function, I examine how page layout and composition influence the way that students read regional information as more or less salient in a textbook. I study textual resources in order to determine what book publishers consider to be significant, new, and valuable in a region, and this we can deduce according to where they position visual information on the page.

Language and visuals ultimately tell stories. Narratives, however, do not occur in isolation but anticipate and construct audiences. Hence they are *rhetorical*. To understand how these texts act rhetorically, I turn to the work of Kenneth Burke. I ground my rhetorical study in the pentadic ratios of these texts. Pentadic ratios, briefly, constitute a means of understanding how motive is constructed in a text, and are drawn from five terms Burke takes from a dramatic model (act, agent, scene, agency and purpose). For example, a purpose:agent ratio would understand the qualities of an agent as determined by his/her purpose (in these terms, a priest would be characterized by his purpose to serve God or change society). I study ratios in order to understand how some of the regional texts I study construct motive (why agents do what they do). Then we might ask: what are the consequences of defining regional motive in terms of scene? Or in terms of act?

Still in keeping with the rhetorical level of my analysis, I introduce in this chapter a second, and connected, Burkean notion I make use of in my discussion: his idea of substance, the means through which a text invites an audience to share being

and community. I study substance in order to point out that regional substance (the sharing of geography, or family ties, or food and drink) which may seem natural to residents of region, are socially selected means of symbolic definition and are therefore sites for political commentary and debate.

The final rhetorical term I will explain below is Burke's notion of identification (the act of sharing substance), a transcending of difference, which as Glenn Stillar makes clear in his book Analyzing Everyday Texts, is the goal of rhetorical activity:

> Rhetoric is always addressed: a primary requirement to identification is addressing one's audience in appropriate terms and constructing one's own subjectivity in terms that make congregation possible. The rhetorical act is also a transaction that seeks to bring about a change in the exigencies inherent to the particular social order it takes place in. To initiate identification (to overcome a division) is to initiate transformation in the hierarchy, to change *what* is seen *in terms of what*. (70)

Regionality, then, is one means of sharing terms so that congregation overcomes the division inherent in place. Studying the mechanisms of identification in a regional text offers some insights into what terms texts use to construct Newfoundland regionality, and what kind of community is established through symbols.

The study of language, narrative, and rhetoric will only take us so far, however. These enable me to *describe* the text; in other words, to speculate about how and why a text means what it does. The next step involves *evaluation* of that text. I am interested in how a text helps us understand regionality and how it functions socially. This requires an interpretation not only of the text itself but also of its context (the context of the immediate reading situation, or, more largely, the context of culture) and of the relationship between context and text. To undertake the evaluative dimension of my analyses, I draw upon social theories which help me explain how these rhetorical acts perform regionality, and what social consequences these texts have.

For instance, to talk about Random Passage and the construction of the mundane in chapter three, I draw upon the work of sociologists Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens. Bourdieu's notion of the **popular aesthetic** sheds some light on why Morgan's brand of stylization has been so successful locally. Giddens' understanding of ***durée*** and **ontological security** enables me to talk about how style is a persuasive act in Random Passage and how it comes out of a desire for stability and groundedness in the region. Further, his notion of **duality of structure** lends some insight into the life of social structures (like region) through agents' adherence to rules and their reproduction of familiar practices. When discussing The Shipping News and its reproduction of the tourist gaze in chapter four, I draw upon the work of critics who discuss the social complexities of tourism: specifically, John Urry, Erik Cohen,

James Overton, Dean McCannell, and Maxine Feifer. In particular, terms like **staged authenticity**, **translation**, and **the grotesque** will guide my understanding of how The Shipping News invites through its style a tourist gaze towards a liminal Newfoundland. Bourdieu's notion of **habitus** and **practical sense** guide my speculations about the inculcation of region in chapter five, where I endeavour to make connections between patterns in a text and embodied patterns of knowing region. I explain some of these terms (like **habitus**, **practical sense**, and **duality of structure**) in chapter two, my theory chapter, whereas others I develop later in their relevant application chapter.

In chapter two, I explain in more detail the grammatical, the rhetorical, and the social levels of textual analysis. To illustrate these methods, I study the words of Sir Cavendish Boyle's song, "The Ode to Newfoundland," the former colony's national anthem. To develop some of the concepts of visual rhetoric, I discuss the organization of an "Ode to Newfoundland" web page I recently found on the internet. I not only show how one might perform discursive, rhetorical, and social analysis, but I also consider how each of these three approaches addresses the complexity of regionality in closely considered and original ways.

I have already touched upon the work I have done in chapters three, four, and five, the three application chapters of this study. Yet, the organziation of this dissertation bears repeating here. In chapter three, which is entitled, "Constructing Regionality as Mundane: Bernice Morgan's Random Passage," I analyze the style of

Morgan's first novel, and speculate that choices at the levels of vocabulary, syntax, and narrative organization play a role in making this fictionalized history of nineteenth-century Newfoundland seem authentic. In much Canadian literary criticism, realist fiction has been criticized as reductive and unexperimental. I, however, explore how realist literature serves a real purpose for Newfoundland readers. More to the point, the style of Random Passage provides ontological security for Newfoundlanders, especially in a time of regional anxiety surrounding depopulation and widespread unemployment in the province.

In chapter four, "Constructing Regionality through a Tourist Gaze: E. Annie Proulx's The Shipping News," I study the grammatical and lexical choices in this Pulitzer Prize-winning novel. I argue that The Shipping News' widespread success comes out of its rhetorical flexibility. That is to say, Proulx's narrative and stylistic choices appeal to a variety of disparate and conflicting gazes towards a foreign place. All these gazes, however, can be understood as tourist ones. Proulx constructs the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland in terms that make life there extraordinary, translated, reified, and staged, all of which make sense to the present-day tourist. I conclude chapter four by contending that any act of aestheticization constitutes an act of improvement, and that The Shipping News is ultimately a narrative of improvement on another's place.

In chapter five, "The Inculcation of Regionality: a Highschool Textbook and the Teaching of Place," I analyze the linguistic and visual resources in Atlantic Canada

in the Global Community, a book currently used in all grade nine classes in the Atlantic provinces. Close textual analysis reveals interesting contradictions about regional agency and responsibility. The book articulates regional success to the student in terms of successful individuals who appear in case studies. Yet, the more provocative sections of the book, which narrate negative change or political irresponsibility, draw upon grammatical and visual resources which deflect attention from the negative, and distance students from the consequences of hurtful regional decisions. Students learn, through discursive choices, how they should position themselves relative to regional issues. In this way, textbooks play powerful interpersonal roles in regional identity.

Finally, the concluding chapter of this study underlines the usefulness of a discursive and rhetorical approach. There, I trace my responses to a recent series of advertisements, the *Imagine That* tourism campaign, and demonstrate how my critical methods enabled me to reconsider the role of stereotype in regional identity and competence (that is to say, an embodied familiarity with reading the nuances of regional texts). All of these chapters, together, demonstrate the value of close textual reading for understanding the process of regionality.

CHAPTER TWO

Discourse, Rhetoric, and Social Theories

In this chapter, I develop and apply the critical and analytical frameworks I introduced in the previous one. First, I discuss my method of grammar and discourse analysis, one approach in a large and diverse field of study. My method of discourse analysis draws heavily upon Michael Halliday's work in functional linguistics, from which I take his metafunctional model of language. Using "The Ode to Newfoundland" (the colony's former national anthem) as a demonstration text, I define and illustrate how one might use the metafunctional model to understand how a text constructs reality, how it positions various readers, and how it connects its parts into a cohesive text. Not only do I perform a textual analysis using these concepts, but I also consider how discourse analysis addresses the complexity of regionality. Discourse analysis helps us designate meaningful practices in a community. It effectively denaturalizes the concept of region. Finally, it allows for a social method of understanding style, one that departs from traditional understandings of style that are centred on cognition or individualism.

Halliday's metafunctional model applies to visual modes as well as linguistic ones, and I illustrate how one might study the visual resources of a text, as well. Following the lead of social semiotians Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, who outline ways of reading pictures grammatically, I study the visual selections of a

current "Ode to Newfoundland" web page. Once again, I discuss the significance of this method of inquiry to studies of regionality. Mine is one of the few studies (if not the only study) of visual grammar and constructions of Canadian regionality. This lack of visual analysis has to be addressed, because graphics play a huge role in maintaining or transforming regional narratives and effecting regional identification.

I study discourse, however, within the larger framework of rhetorical theory because rhetoric helps me understand how patterns in a text invite readers to share terms for knowing regionality. Using Kenneth Burke's work to talk about rhetoric, I demonstrate how "The Ode" encourages identification amongst singers, and how its language enacts what Burke calls "consubstantiation" (briefly, an acting-together amongst community members). To understand consubstantion, however, we need to begin with Burke's pentad, a set of five terms which, when organized into ratios, construct motivation in a text. Terms of the pentad provide us with reasons for acting (in the case of "The Ode," why we should love Newfoundland). These ratios encourage attitudes towards the world, and these attitudes prepare us to act in that world. Words, then, are important to knowing region, because to know it is to act in it.

Informing my discursive and rhetorical work is the sociological thought of theorists like Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens. The insights of these critics have helped me bridge textual analysis and the social reproduction of texts. For example, Bourdieu's understanding of "habitus" and "inculcation," which emphasizes the

relationship between habitual actions and bodily dispositions, have prompted me to view region as a social and embodied practice. Giddens' notion of "duality of structure," a concept I describe in more detail below, offers insights into how rules and routine ensure ontological security; and, further, how actors sustain regional practices over space and time. His ideas of routinization and ontological security are central to my analysis of Random Passage in chapter three, and inform my conclusions concerning the novel's appeal for local readers. Of course, my study of Random Passage, and indeed *all* of my analyses, incorporate all three levels listed above (the discursive, the rhetorical, and the social). I develop these levels here.

Before doing so, however, I need to address a slippage in this commentary. I study in this chapter a *national* ode, and use a theorist who discusses the emergence of the *nation state* (Benedict Anderson). Anderson discusses "imagined communities," but means national--and not regional--ones. Nation, in fact, is often the opposing term against which region is defined. That said, I think the imagined regionality in Newfoundland and Labrador distinguishes itself from that of prairie regionality or that of Maritime regionality because many residents (still remembering pre-Confederate Newfoundland) think in regional *and* national terms. After all, the colony identified as a nation--albeit one dependent on Britain--until 1949. On Remembrance Day, Newfoundland soldiers remember fighting in the Royal Newfoundland Regiment (and not as Canadians). In history classes, students learn Canadian history as a thing apart from Newfoundland history. Regionality in Newfoundland certainly shares regional

qualities with other Canadian provinces, but a sense of sovereignty still remains and is evident on such occasions as the 50th anniversary of Confederation when some St. John's families flew the Union Jack at half mast.

This slippage between regional and national imagination in Newfoundland comes to the fore with "The Ode to Newfoundland." When sung along with "O Canada," the piece highlights the opposition of the region to the larger nation state. However, when "The Ode" is sung alone (without "O Canada"), it harks back to days when this was the national anthem and when Newfoundland railways and currency had national and not regional status. A hybrid "imagined community," then, characterizes Newfoundland regionality. This hybridity spills over into "The Ode": it was a *national* anthem now sung as a *regional* hymn. Because of this hybridity, I feel it is appropriate to bring theories of the nation state to this study of regionality, so long as these are supplemented with discussions of Canadian regionality. This theoretical mixture does justice, I think, to the complicated status of Newfoundland identification.

Grammar and Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysts and social semioticians begin their analyses with considerations of how a text is *used*. In Language as Social Semiotic, Halliday studies language in use partly to understand how ordinary, everyday language transmits the essential patterns of the culture: for example, its structures of knowledge, mannerisms, and beliefs. We can try to understand language in use by viewing text as choice.

Choice, here, it should be noted, is not necessarily conscious decision but rather intuitive selection. According to Halliday, "a text is 'what is meant' selected from the total set of options that constitute what *can* be meant, given a particular situation" (109, italics in original). He also outlines three general metafunctions, functions that have evolved to fulfill our needs as communicants. Language must interpret the whole of experience, express our status as participants, and allow us to make logical relations in a text. In every utterance or written sentence, we can trace a complex polyphony of these three functions: the ideational, the interpersonal, and the textual.

To help me illustrate these three metafunctions, I draw upon the script of Newfoundland's national anthem, "The Ode to Newfoundland," the words of which were written by Sir Cavendish Boyle, who was Britain's governor to Newfoundland from 1901-1904. This anthem, while no longer a national one, gets played at all manner of political and cultural events, including university convocations, church services, sporting events, and official government occasions. Many Newfoundlanders, if asked, could sing at least one verse by heart, if not more. Almost all would recognize the tune.[1] The textual analysis I perform below is hardly exhaustive, but rather is designed to clarify and demonstrate the theories I am introducing.

Turning again to the metafunctions, we can understand the semantic resources of texts, first, in terms of their ideational function. The "content" function of language (Halliday 48), this component includes what the text selects as relevant

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[1]An audio version of "The Ode" can be heard on the web site www.ucs.mun.ca/~hrollman/ode.html

participants, processes, places, and manners. In An Introduction to Functional Grammar, Halliday makes clear that when we study language ideationally we are understanding

> the clause in . . . its guise as a way of representing patterns of experience. Language enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of what goes on around them and inside them. Here again the clause plays a central role, because it embodies a general principle for modelling experience--namely, the principle that reality is made up of PROCESSES. (106)

As language users, we understand processes--thinking, having, being, doing, sensing--through clause organization. The grammatical system that performs this ordering of activities is called **transitivity**. This transitivity system enables us to understand a plethora of experiences by arranging them into participants and process types. To demonstrate the different types of participants and process types one might find in language use, I quote the first verse (of four) from "The Ode" (which, as one musical arrangement directs, should be sung *Spiritoso*, or with tremendous feeling--which it usually is!):

> When sun rays crown thy pine-clad hills,
>
> And Summer spreads her hand

When silvern voices tune thy rills

We love thee, smiling land

We love thee; We love thee,

We love thee smiling land.

Many of the process types in this verse--*crown*, *spreads*, and *tune*--are **action** processes, and as such they have accompanying **agents** or participants which perform that action, and in this case, participants which are the **patients** (or goals) of that action. All of the process types in this verse are **action:affective** ones. For example, the *sun rays* (Agent) *crown* (Active Process) *pine-clad hills* (Patient). *Summer* (Agent) *spreads* (Active Process) *her hand* (Patient). *Voices* (Agent) *tune* (Active Process) *thy rills* (Patient). The agents (*sun rays*, *summer*, and *voices*) are, for the most part, inanimate objects (a pattern that continues throughout almost all of the verses). This personification, one emphasized by the capitalization of the *S* in *Summer*, romanticizes the landscape by making it sentient. More important, grammatically speaking, is the fact that the Agent in this song (the participant that acts) is usually a season, or an external natural power (*Summer*, *sun rays*) and the Patient position is realized by some landscape feature of Newfoundland (*the pine-clad hills*, and *rills*).

This grammatical patterning, when all is said and done, makes Newfoundland a place that is *acted upon*. The land, ultimately, is solid and immovable, timeless and

steady. (This pattern and effect continue in lines like: ***When blinding storm gusts fret thy shore/And wild winds lash thy strand.***) The worst of atmospheric conditions can prey upon the place yet it remains, like a reliable constant. Presumably, this stateliness, this steadfastness, motivates the final process type, a **mental:reactive** one: *We love thee, smiling land.* This Ode, like other anthems,[2] returns to the land as its object of affection. The land serves as an essential geographic means of anchoring the singers. Much work on regionalism stresses the prominence of geography in definitions of region, and its role in eliding class, race, and gender divisions.[3]

One might notice that the lines, "we love thee . . . " conclude three of the four verses. This predictability, on a practical level, allows for a congregation to easily join in the singing. On a theoretical level, this predictability (especially in conjunction with the stable Newfoundland and Labrador constructed through transitivity organization, explained above) lends an orderliness and regimentation, not only to the chorus, but also to the nation/region being narrated. Anthems, which are regimented structures (one does not freely improvise the words or tune of a national anthem), suggest national order in the face of any chaos, division, or contingency.

Having discussed transitivity features and their role in realizing the ideational metafunction, I now turn to the function of **circumstance types**, a textual element that

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[2]In "O Canada," we salute "our home and native *land*," while Americans celebrate the "*land* of the brave."

[3] For example, Alison Calder's dissertation, "The Lie of the Land: Regionalism, Environmental Determinism, and the Criticism of Canadian Prairie Writing," Frank Davey's article, "Towards the Ends of Regionalism," and David Jordan's book New World Regionalism.

I discuss in many of the upcoming chapters. Circumstance types can offer information about time, place, manner, reason, purpose, or role (see Stillar, Analyzing Everyday Texts 24). Each of the four verses of "The Ode," interestingly, begins with a circumstance type:

> When sun rays crown thy pine-clad hills/And Summer spreads her hand . . .
>
> When spreads thy cloak of shimm'ring white/At Winter's stern command . . .
>
> When blinding storm gusts fret thy shore/And wild waves lash thy strand . . .
>
> As loved our fathers, so we love/Where once they stood we stand . . .

Notably, many of these circumstance types give temporal information (*When spreads thy cloak of shimm'ring white/When blinding storm gusts fret thy shore*). Further, this temporal information expresses extent or duration as opposed to time. That is to say, we do not simply love Newfoundland at 2:00 p.m., March 17th, but in [every] summer, in [every] winter, and during the storms of [every] season in between. While the process types express present tense, the perspective of the action is *ongoing* as opposed to finished. In other words, the actions narrated in this lyric (where *gusts fret the shore*, *wild waves lash thy strand*, and *tempests roar*) are timeless and eternal. These temporal references, moreover, are vague enough to include both the World War II soldier singing "The Ode" after the armistice and the present-day Memorial University student standing at convocation. The final circumstance types, one of

manner (*As loved our fathers*) and one of place (*where once they stood we stand*) effectively unite Newfoundlanders in terms of *how* they love and *where* they live. In short, these circumstance types foreground *continuity* and, as I will explain below when discussing Burke's terminology, **consubstantiality**. Love of place, one emphasized through circumstance types, joins those who sing the song in what Benedict Anderson would call the "imagined community" of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Language functions not only ideationally, but also **interpersonally**. In other words, texts construct social relationships among the participants in an exchange. The interpersonal metafunction also includes the attitude a speaker takes towards his/her subject matter. Stillar, for instance, writes:

> Interpersonal linguistic resources construct two main types of inter-active meaning potential. One is associated with the constructed speaking/writing subject and concerns the expression of attitudes, intentions, and evaluations. The second type concerns the linguistic resources that construct relations between speakers/writers and listeners/readers. I will use two terms to identify these different dimensions of interpersonal meaning: **positional** and **relational**. (30)

With reference to "The Ode," I will first point out some of the **positional** resources; that is to say, those patterns that express the singers' attitude towards this land. Attitude, in this song, is expressed primarily through qualitative adjectives (like *wild* or *windswept*) which are interpersonal because they are evaluative and come from a particular point of view. Generally, qualitative adjectives can be preceded by an intensifier like *very* or *really*, and can form the comparative and superlative (for example, *more*, or *most intriguing* argument). Given that odes celebrate the grandeur of their subject, it seems appropriate that many of the adjectives in these verses express information about the praiseworthy qualities of Newfoundland: ***pine-clad hills, silvern voices, shimm'ring white, Winter's stern command, blinding storm gusts, wild waves, smiling land***, etc. (*Winter's*, in *Winter's command*, is a possessive adjective, and *storm* in *storm gusts* is a classifying one, neither of which play a strong role, interpersonally). Perhaps the most significant effect of positional resources (or more specifically, qualitative adjectives) in an ode is their simple infectiousness. They inspire pride and love. And, indeed, most discussions of regionality consider the ardent affection people have for place.

But that is not all. Adjectives also contribute to the style in which this place is imagined, and for that reason they play an important role in constructions of the "real" or what linguists and social semioticians call **modality**. Modality, according to Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress in Social Semiotics, "refers to the status, authority and reliability of a message, to its ontological status, or to its value as truth or fact" (124).

We can read modality in the wording of a clause or the colour saturation of a picture. For instance, ***it might rain*** expresses some doubt about the reliability of the utterance (low modality), while ***it will rain*** indicates some confidence in the assertion (high modality). Intense colour saturation, in the case of television animation, tends to carry low modality relative to naturalistic representations of reality, yet high colour saturation in fast food commercials tends to carry high modality (it accords with our socialized readings and expectations of a Technicolor® hamburger). Obviously, we cannot abstract a characteristic from its context of reception and claim that it, alone, carries high or low modality.

The adjectives in "The Ode" (***pine-clad hills***, ***silvern voices***, ***shimm'ring white***, ***spindrift swirl***) seem to indicate a fictional, romanticized text. The style is unrealistic, given documentary or factual writing. The adjectives, along with such archaic markers as ***thy*** and the personification of nature, mark a gap between "The Ode" and the world that most Newfoundlanders actually experience. This argument finds support in Paul O'Neill's book, The Oldest City: the Story of St. John's, Newfoundland, where he describes Sir Cavendish Boyle, the governor who wrote the words:

> Described as being "more Irish than the Irish," the whimsical and sentimental Cavendish Boyle, Knight Commander of the British Empire, arrived to take up his duties in Newfoundland, a year after the turn of the century. He was

> looked upon as a man of fervid imagination, flowery rhetoric, and poetic genius. Though much of what he wrote would now be considered doggerel he has gained immortality by a piece of verse in which he raptured about sun rays crowning the pine-clad hills. One must allow poetic license, for few pine-clad hills exist in Newfoundland. (150)

For those who do not relate to "The Ode," (the visitor from away, for instance), this lack of affinity with the "real" signals that they were not, in all likelihood, the intended participants for this anthem. They will not share affinity with the group that does hold this value (i.e., a devotion to a romanticized Newfoundland). While readers at large are likely to judge the whole set of modality markers (of which the adjectives are one) as signifying lack of realism, the specific addressees of this text are equally likely to assert their affinity with the text and its modality markers. The world created in the song exists as a beautiful and regal alternative to the realistic world of bogs, barrens, and stunted spruce trees. Singers of "The Ode" do, indeed, judge both the modality markers of the song and the distance signalled by them from the realistic world (where the land is not always "smiling"). They are not dupes. Yet, "The Ode" permits Newfoundlanders to revel in mistruths and share a common orientation to a common reality, even if it is a mythological, romantic one. So while the first lines of each verse carry low modality, they have the very real effect of establishing solidarity. Modality, then, functions very much as an interpersonal device.

Out of this solidarity (a solidarity effected by the singers' shared position relative to this version of the real) come the final resounding lines: *we love thee, we love thee, we love thee, smiling land.* At this point, we might not be surprised to see that the text communicates *high* modality, or confidence, in the love that residents have, and will continue to have, for their country. Imagine if the verses read, instead: *we might love you; we claim to love you; if you bring back the cod, we will love you; we think we love you*, etc. Significantly, three of the four verses of "The Ode" begin with the word *when*. Imagine the difference in effect if each verse began with *if* (a signifier of conditional love), a marker of considerably lower modality. Modality plays a large role in chapter five, where I study this meaning potential in the visual mode of textbooks.

Having introduced the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions, I now turn to the **textual**, or organizational, choices. The organizational component of grammar allows us to make grammatical connections in a text, to relate one part to another. The **mode** of communication determines the choices made in a communication situation. A written text, which lacks some of the additional information of a face-to-face encounter, tends to require different cohesive structures to compensate for the lack of paralinguistic or contextually immediate communication cues. A spoken exchange, on the other hand, can be more elliptical because the surrounding material circumstances contribute to understanding.

The textual metafunction, according to Halliday, organizes the clause into two parts: the **theme and the rheme**. In his most cogent encapsulation of theme, he writes:

> [T]he theme is the starting-point for the message; it is the ground from which the clause is taking off. So part of the meaning of any clause lies in which element is chosen as its Theme. There is a difference in meaning between *a halfpenny is the smallest English coin*, where *a halfpenny* is Theme ('I'll tell you about a halfpenny'), and *the smallest English coin is a halfpenny*, where *the smallest English* coin is Theme (I'll tell you about the smallest English coin'). The difference may be characterized as 'thematic'; the two clauses differ in their choice of theme. By glossing them in this way, as 'I'll tell you about . . .', we can feel that they are two different messages. (An Introduction to Functional Grammar 38)

In "The Ode," many of the themes contain circumstance clauses (which I italicize here). *When sun rays crown thy pine-clad hills; When silvern voices tune thy rills; When spreads thy cloak of shimm'ring white; Thro' shortened day and starlit night; When blinding storm gusts fret thy shore; Thro' spindrift swirl and tempest roar* . . . we love thee, we love thee, we love thee [smiling/frozen/windswept/Newfound-] land. Important to note, each of the thematic elements above includes a relative pronoun

(like *when*). The label, relative, refers to the function of these words: they "relate the clause in which they occur to another clause, in a structural relationship" (An Introduction to Functional Grammar 50). Relative clauses like *when* and *thro'* set up a dependent relationship in that they need to be completed by an independent clause. Notice, then, how each line in the verse moves towards--depends upon--the final chorus. I italicize the thematic elements to clarify this movement:

> *When blinding storm gusts* fret they shore
> And *[when] wild waves* lash thy strand
> *Thro' sprindrift swirl and tempest roar*
> We love thee, windswept land,
> We love thee . . . (italics and insertion my own)

My contention is this: The script of the song is important, for sure, but offers somewhat shaky grounds for a united, national love. The rhetorical power of this song comes, in large part, from its impeccable cohesion. This cohesion is effected, in large part, through the thematic choices, choices which enact a logical progression from the first three lines of each verse to the final chorus of each, which crescendos into an affirmation of love. The tightness of the structure (the "when . . . then" logic) lends a logic or "rightness" to the work that the words might not necessarily achieve. In

short, the dependency structures set up in the theme make the final chorus seem logical and necessary. Structure, clearly, is persuasive and powerful.

How does discourse analysis address the complexity of regionality?

The question now is why bring discourse analysis to regional studies? How do these linguistic tools attend to the complexity of regionality? For starters, they allow us to study regionality as a process involving semiotic resource systems, a process Jay Lemke explains with the concept of "semiotic formations":

> The habitual ways in which we deploy [semiotic resources systems] are identifiable as *semiotic formations*: the regular and repeatable, recognizably meaningful, culturally and historically specific patterns of co-deployment of semiotic resources in a community. A particular literary genre of some historical period is a semiotic formation; so also is an architectural style and type of building, a religious ritual, a typical holiday meal, the making of a particular type of costume. All these formations are defined in terms of the regular patterning of *actions*, of *socially meaningful practices* in which members of a community are engaged when producing them. (Textual Politics 102, italics in text)

Newfoundland regionality comes out of many "socially meaningful practices": Second Empire construction characterizes downtown St. John's residences, while the saltbox vernacular typifies traditional houses of outport Newfoundland. Regional rituals like the annual St. John's regatta (on the first Wednesday of August, or any decently windless day thereafter!) and Christmas mummering also constitute regional semiotic acts. Jigg's dinner, figgy duff, and fish and brewis qualify as recognizable Newfoundland dishes. All of these count as semiotic formations, and certainly establish an important social context for the linguistic analyses which I perform. Language is as much a cultural practice as architecture, food, or social ritual, and as such can tell us something about the habits of the discourse communities that constitute region.

Further, discourse analysis enables the critic to talk about region in terms that address the intuitive or naturalized meanings that go without saying because we use these forms so often. In much writing about regionality, theorists come back to feelings about place--feelings of attachment, nostalgia, community, and so on--that characterize regionality. Or else, critics speak in terms of a "sense of place" or "consciousness." For instance, Janice Kulyk Keefer, in Under Eastern Eyes: a Critical Reading of Maritime Fiction expands upon Ronald Sutherland's use of the term "sphere of consciousness":

> In attempting to define for Canadians their distinctive literary voice or mind, Ronald Sutherland made use of the term 'sphere of consciousness,' which he described as the result of a writer's 'total cultural conditioning and especially of the dominant influence' within his or her particular background. Thus, what roots any writer within a given country, region, city, is not his (sic) place of birth or upbringing or his adult choice of address, but rather his shaping vision of the worlds his texts create. (Kulyk Keefer 5)

Discourse analysis allows the critic to take abstract phrases like "sphere of consciousness," "dominant influence," and "shaping vision," and, with a greater degree of delicacy in analysis, understand how a text reflects and reproduces what some view as common sense or, if you will, "consciousness." Understanding language as constructed and consequential helps one denaturalize regional narratives and problematize naturalized assumptions about regionality which sustain centre-region hierarchies, and support cultural hierarchies. Further, one can study, in close ways, what regional truths go without saying, and how perceptions of reality can be traced at the level of grammar.

Finally, discourse analysis can help the critic understand *style* (that is to say, patterns in the grammar) as a socially consequential means of knowing place or understanding one's regionality. Studies of style in Canadian literature, if we are to take books like W.J. Keith's A Sense of Style as representative, tend to focus on the

writing of particular authors and define style as an individual's voice, or unique manner of composition. Keith, for instance, devotes each chapter of his book to the style of such Canadian writers as Ethel Wilson, Robertson Davies, and Margaret Laurence. Not only does Keith reduce style to the individual, but he defines it in cognitive terms:

> But even more necessary--and I stress the point because in Canadian criticism it is too often neglected--is the capacity to recognize the manifold effects that a writer's basic attitude and cast of mind can have upon the material that is being presented. Here a committed attention to style becomes inescapable. (20)

My view of style and regionality, as one might gather, differs from Keith's. As I see it, all meanings are made within communities and we cannot take style to be some individualistic, mental phenomenon. Such phrases as "sphere of consciousness" and "cast of mind" exemplify what Lemke calls "mentalist" discourses, which he argues "[create] a separate mental realm and [locate] meaning there" (9) and effectively divert attention from the political, social, and historical dimensions of language selections. Often, texts, instead of being viewed as products of social structures and contexts, are attributed to individual talent or style, a trend evident in W. J. Keith's work. Pierre Bourdieu, in Language & Symbolic Power makes this observation:

> One may note, in passing, that the source of profit of distinction, procured by any use of the legitimate language, derives from the *totality* of the social universe and the relations of domination that give structure to it, although one of the most important constituents of this profit lies in the fact that it appears to be based on the qualities of the person alone. (73, italics mine)

As I will demonstrate, stylistic patterns are not the sole property of Bernice Morgan, E. Annie Proulx, or the editors of highschool textbooks. Rather, language is "an act-in-community, a material and social process that helps to constitute the community as a community" (Lemke 9). Like Lemke, I focus on the doings of regionality as opposed to the doers and concentrate on how semiotic features constitute meaning potentials for understanding regionality in specific and consequential ways.

Visual Grammar

In Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen argue that contemporary texts--advertisements, textbooks, fine art, children's books, etc.--require visual literacies. These authors contend that, traditionally, visual communication has been considered transparent: "colours and shapes were thought to have a direct, unmediated, 'psychological' impact, a non-semiotic capacity for stirring the emotions of the 'masses'" (27). In opposition to this view, they take a social semiotic approach. Social semiotics, as applied to the visual

mode, centres on the process of visual meaning-making in some socially mediated context of use. Kress and van Leeuwen articulate that project as follows:

> [W]e see representation as a process in which the makers of signs, whether child or adult, seek to make a representation of some object or entity, whether physical or semiotic, and in which their interest in the object, at the point of making the representation, is a complex one, arising out of the cultural, social and psychological history of the sign-maker, and focused by the specific context in which the sign is produced. (6)

In chapter five, I study the visual resources of a highschool textbook and in the conclusion to this thesis, I consider the visuals in a recent televised tourism advertisement. Underpinning all my analyses is this focus on both the contextual history of the sign-maker and the context of production. For instance, as individuals living in a Western semiotic culture, we have most likely encountered the before and after picture. The editors and writers of Atlantic Canada in the Global Community, who share those cultural and social resources, draw upon this form in the context of teaching students about negative regional events like resettlement and the cod moratorium. Further, as I explore in chapter five, these visual selections affect how students understand change, generally, and disruptive regional change, more specifically.

Kress and van Leeuwen borrow from Halliday's metafunctional model in order to understand sign-making in the visual mode. First, a visual text functions ideationally; that is to say, it possesses the capacity to represent experience outside of its own semiotic system. To demonstrate how a visual might work ideationally, I point to some of the visual resources in a rather rudimentary visual text: a web page that includes the musical arrangement and verses of "The Ode to Newfoundland," both of which are situated beneath the Newfoundland coat of arms (see Fig.1 on next page).[4]

A viewer's first response to this page might be one of geometrical pleasure. The coat of arms, the rectangular musical score, and the four symmetrical verses, together, produce a very square-like text. Our responses to squares come out of our social encounters with them: with buildings, newspaper columns, flags, frames, windows, and books. Hence, squares resonate for us in ways that circles, triangles, and ovals might not. I am not alone in thinking shapes significant in visual literacies. Kress and van Leeuwen argue that geometrical shapes carry representational or ideational value:

> The meanings of the basic geometrical shapes then, are motivated in two ways. First, they derive from the properties of the shapes, or rather from the values given to these properties in specific social and cultural contexts. . . . Second, these meanings derive from the common qualities we may detect in such

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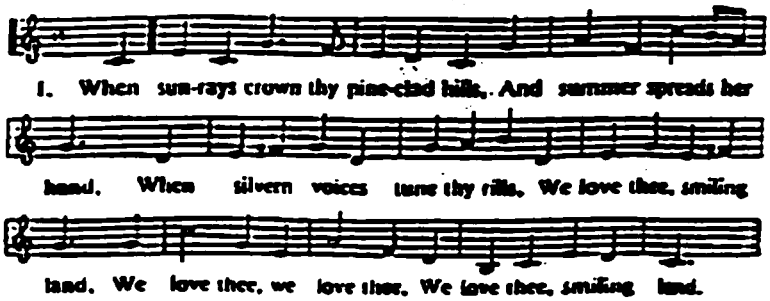
[4] See www.k12.nf.ca/beothuck/html/ode.htm for the original text.

"The Ode to Newfoundland"



Ode to Newfoundland



When sun-rays crown thy pine-clad hills
And Summer spreads her hand
When silvern voices tune thy rills
We love thee, smiling land.
We love thee, we love thee,
We love thee, smiling land.

When spreads thy cloak of shimm'ring white
At Winter's stern command
Thro' shortened day and starlit night,
We love thee, frozen land,
We love thee, we love thee.
We love thee, frozen land.

When blinding storm gusts fret thy shore
And wild waves lash thy strand
Thro' spindrift swirl and tempest roar
We love thee; windswept land,
We love thee, we love thee,
We love thee, windswept land.

As loved our fathers, so we love,
Where once they stood we stand
Their prayers we raise to heav'n above,
God guard thee, Newfoundland,
God guard thee, God guard thee,
God guard thee, Newfoundland.

[Go Back to Newfoundland Page]

Fig. 1. "The Ode to Newfoundland" web page

> objects in our environment as would be circular or rectangular when abstracted to their underlying basic shape, and from the values attached to these qualities in different social contexts. (54).

In many of our semiotic systems, squares communicate order, symmetry, equilibrium, and rationality. This web page replicates those qualities, qualities often associated with an official government document. The character of the page would have been quite different if, for instance, the verses curved down the page, or the lines in the musical score were drawn free-hand. Given our associations with government and other official bodies, the block layout and symmetry of this page seem representative of institutional solidity and are therefore registerially appropriate.

Visual semiosis goes beyond geometric satisfaction, however. Still within the range of the ideational metafunction, Kress and van Leeuwen discuss visual processes and participants (as functional linguistics do when discussing the ideational function of language). The nature of these components changes, depending on whether the visual representation is **narrative or conceptual**:

> [V]isual structures of representation can either be narrative, presenting unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements, or conceptual, representing participants in terms of their more

> generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence, in terms of class, or structure, or meaning. (79)

If a picture depicts a narrative of some kind (that is to say, it incorporates a vector of action, whether that vector be the angle of the participant's moving arm, or the direction of his or her gaze), then one would label as a **participant** the person or thing performing the action, as well as the recipient of that action. For instance, in a picture of a sales clerk helping a client, both sales clerk (the **actor**) and client (the **goal**) would constitute (in this case) animate participants. Yet, not all pictures depict narratives. Consider a diagram locating the different parts of a car, for instance. In this case, the nature of the visual is **conceptual** rather than narrative, and one would designate as participants the car (what Kress and van Leeuwen call the **carrier**) and its components (the **attributes**).

The "Ode to Newfoundland" web page conforms to the second of these two types: the conceptual. That is to say, the text tells us about the "essence" or meaning of "The Ode," as opposed to the action of singing it, or the response one might have upon hearing it. Even more specifically, this web page performs a **classificational** process, a sub-category of the conceptual type of visual representation. A classificational process, according to Kress and van Leeuwen,

> relate[s] participants to each other in terms of a 'kind of' relation, a taxonomy: at least one set of participants will play the role of Subordinates with respect to at least one other participant, the Superordinate. [Some structures display] a Covert Taxonomy, a taxonomy in which the Superordinate is either only indicated in the accompanying text, or inferred from such similarities as the viewer may perceive to exist between the Subordinates. (81)

In "The Ode to Newfoundland" text, the three participants (the coat of arms, the score, and the verses at the bottom of the page) constitute Subordinates with respect to the Superordinate title at the top of the page: "The Ode to Newfoundland." We might think it natural to bring together words, score, and insignia. Repeated visual representation, however, contributes to naturalization. For these participants to be considered as making sense together, we have to forge a relationship among them. The picture itself constitutes the relation. This visual makes it possible for the producers of images to classify crests and anthems in the same order, or to suggest that these participants keep natural company. One would not, in all likelihood, find a coat of arms heading up a Joni Mitchell tune. Nor would one choose a bottle of screech as one of the participants on this web page because that selection upsets the institutional status of this song. One does not sing "The Ode" at house parties, at bingo, or at mummering "times," but in highly regulated contexts.

Having demonstrated how a visual text can function ideationally, I now discuss the interpersonal potential of pictures. Visuals not only represent participants, but they also construct *interactive* participants. That is to say, pictures invite a given position relative to their representations. They address us. For example, a picture can perform a **demand** in which some animated object (a person, cartoon figure, or animal, for instance) gazes out at the viewer or even points in his/her direction. In **offers**, however, the visual contains no such connection between depicted figure and the viewer. This web page exemplifies the second of these two types: the offer. The lack of participants that could actually look out at you, or communicate sentiment (no furry Newfoundland dogs, no puffins, no smiling musicians) suggests that the sentiments expressed by words like ***We love thee, smiling land*** are harnessed and dignified by a more or less objective and impersonal presence: government and bureaucratic nationhood. The interpersonal choices on this page communicate a seemingly dispassionate attitude that contrasts with the sentimental lyrics at the bottom of the page. Whereas a demand, here, might summon emotive involvement on the part of the viewer, the choice of an offer invites a distanced position, a more highly valued stance in the context of official discourse. The love of one's nation here transcends nostalgia or melodrama; instead, the discipline of its organization and ideational cues gives this ode, and the place it describes, a status above and beyond people.

Finally, visual texts come together to comprise a whole, their parts fitting together on the page, computer screen, billboard, or other medium. The compositional choices of a text realize the textual or organizational metafunction, the third of the three levels. Kress and van Leeuwen concentrate on the placement of elements on the page (and argue that their position--whether on top/bottom, or left/right--endows particular visual elements with more or less value). For instance, in many advertisements, enticing and fantastical depictions of models, food, or possible happiness at the top of the page represent the "ideal," whereas the script, coupons, or ingredients (which tend to appear at the bottom) signify the "real." Working horizontally, they argue that given, or already known, information is generally placed at the left-hand side of the page, whereas the new information is organized on the right. While these observations hold for some texts, I find these generalizations somewhat reductive, and the readings that come out of these generalizations at times interventionist and overly neat.

However, studying layout and organization can be helpful insofar as it lends some insight into (primarily Western) reading trajectories and the accompanying significance of layout. In terms of visual salience, "The Ode to Newfoundland" text sets up a system of egalitarianism amongst its three components. Classificational processes (of which this text is an example) often organize participants in such a way that the depicted elements all seem equivalent to each other. On this web page, a democracy of images is realized by compositional balance. All of the participants in

this text, for instance, take up an equal amount of space, and are balanced on the horizontal and vertical axes. The coat of arms at the top of the page might have a slight edge if we read this as a hierarchical text: the crest sits at the very top (a prominent position) and, as a social sign, it carries a great deal of cultural significance. Yet, one might argue, with equal validity, that the musical score in the middle of the page is the most significant participant. In this triptych, one might view music as the visual intermediary between government/official discourse (as represented by the crest above) and sentimental versifying (as represented by the words below). But, of course, one also needs the words to make the song: in fact, Boyle composed the poem first, for which, historians claim, Sir C. Hubert Parry wrote the music in 1904. (In fact, in all the web pages I looked at, the words proved to be the consistently necessary element, whereas the coat of arms and the musical score were optional.)

All this is to say that we have a very balanced text here, one which suggests that all three participants are equally necessary ingredients for understanding what "The Ode" is all about: words, music, and institutional authority. This balance in the textual function, coupled with the ideational geometry of the square, and the interpersonal choice of the offer, result in a highly disciplined, ordered representation. The visual design contains and makes rational the "flowery rhetoric" of Boyle's poem, and legitimizes its sentiment. Further, the visual choices suggest that this classification of elements (crest, score, and words) is timeless and stable. The text achieves this message in large part because it situates its words and images against a

decontextualized, neutral background. These attributes, together, naturalize this essential and grand representation of region: one that (for the most part) transcends time, context, and the people who sing it.[5]

Once again, I ask: how might a study of the visual contribute to our understanding of regionality? I focus, in this thesis, on how regional identity comes out of and reproduces meaningful texts. Visual semiosis plays a significant role in regional identification (a term I develop below). Flags, advertisements, web pages, bookcovers, tourist brochures, and provincial license plates make use of visual resources. Visuals are everywhere. Yet, critics theorizing regionalism is Canada rarely, if ever, interrogate patterns of visual representation, and the role they play in naturalizing place.

Regionality, many theorists argue, is a social construction. To a certain extent, visual interpretation is still viewed as a transparent, trustworthy means of knowing place. We often hear people saying "I saw it with my own eyes," in order to affirm their trust in the authenticity of an event. And visual texts are ubiquitous. So many of our everyday encounters with ideology occur in modes that supplement (and sometimes contradict) linguistic modes. Visual representation, address, and organization constitute socially meaningful practices. Why, for instance, are many renovators in downtown St. John's choosing to paint their attached home "heritage

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[5] Time is not transcended entirely, however. The archaic construction of a word like "thy" (reminiscent of Shakespeare and other valued bards) lends historical legitimation to the song and to the place being sung about. That which sounds old (or historical) has cultural value, here.

blue"? Why do pictures of The Narrows (as seen from downtown St. John's) abound at craft fairs? What is the significance of an upward angle in tourism advertising? Why does a textbook use painting and animation rather than "realistic" photographs to depict provocative subjects? As I demonstrated in my speculations about "The Ode," visual structures carry ideological weight. In that case, selections in the visual grammar naturalized juxtapositions and performed a regimentation we might consider appropriate to the institutional framing of the song.

Rhetoric

Discourse or grammatical study (whether linguistic or visual) constitutes only one level of analysis, however. Patterns in language constitute the first step for understanding the terms a text uses to invite certain readers and readings. To understand the sharing of terms and the construction of what become commonsensical ways of understanding region, I turn now to the rhetorical function of text and its role in the construction of regionality. Texts hail audiences through their terms, terms that provide the means for seeing the world, but at the same time constrain possible interpretations. After all, one cannot say what Newfoundland and Labrador *are*; rather, we can only filter place through select terms that are *not* place. Kenneth Burke calls this definitional conundrum **paradox of substance** because, he argues, "to tell what a thing is, you place it in terms of something else" (A Grammar 24).

The terms we use to make sense of the world hail others. They encourage potential responses in a reader, and effect transformations from a state of division to a state of community through means of identification. For instance, when a Newfoundlander calls a visitor a "CFA," she signals, usually to a fellow Newfoundlander, not only that she possesses in-group knowledge of what the initials CFA stand for, but also that she is poking fun at those from outside the province while establishing insider camaraderie. In A Rhetoric of Motives, Burke introduces this notion of **identification** and argues that rhetorical terms constitute an attempt to transcend disunity. He writes (in an oft-quoted passage):

> A is not identical with his colleague, B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is *identified* with B. Or he may identify himself with B even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so.
>
> Here are ambiguities of substance. In being identified with B, A is "substantially one" with a person other than himself. Yet at the same time he remains unique, an individual locus of motives. Thus he is both joined and separate, at once a distinct substance and consubstantial with another. (A Rhetoric 20-21)

Consubstantiality is "an *acting-together*; and in acting-together, men (sic) have common sensations, concepts, images, ideas, attitudes that make them consubstantial" (A Rhetoric 21). Because of the inescapable separation that divides symbol users, language has to work hard as a socially cohesive device.

So how do we study the means through which texts invite consubstantiation? In order to study texts closely, Burke provides a pentad of terms--Act, Scene, Agent, Agency, Purpose--which we can apply to a text. These terms enable us to see how a piece of writing constructs motives or reasons for acting: why we should buy and believe a novel, why we should be captivated by a place, why we should pay the extra ferry costs to visit Newfoundland, or why we should love Newfoundland at all (this last motive is applicable with respect to "The Ode to Newfoundland"). Ratios are not merely textual games. Rather, they contribute to the formation of some attitude towards place. Important to note, attitude, according to Burke, "is the preparation for an act, which would make it a kind of symbolic act, or incipient act" (A Grammar 20). Hence, ratios can construct Newfoundland as primitive, simple, beautiful, or progressive, and as a result, can prompt a reader to visit it, laugh at it, paint it, or set up a first business there.

How one might use the terms of the pentad to talk about motive can be clarified with a couple of examples. A recent "right at home" advertisement campaign in the expatriate magazine The Downhomer beckons the wayward Newfoundlander back home with such lines as: *When it's Father's Day in Witless Bay, it feels right at*

home. Dad's not getting any younger and neither are you. So get right home. Another tells the (in all likelihood, homesick) reader: *When it's Mother's Day in Trinity Bay it feels right at home. You know she misses you. Even more than you miss her.* In these cases, the text enacts a **purpose:act** ratio. One is to come home (act) to see Dad for the last time and to reassure your mother of your love (purpose). In the case of "The Ode," we find a very strong **scene:agent** ratio at work. The script constructs Newfoundland as an agent--a personality--one characterized in terms of its scene (for instance, it is *a smiling land, a windswept land*). Newfoundland--and by extension, Newfoundlanders--are strong, resilient, and proud because of the conditions in which the Island survives.

Very often, when a text defines agent in terms of scene, it encourages consubstantiation through **contextual** (or geometric) **substance**. Geometric substance Burke defines, briefly, as "an object placed in its setting, existing both in itself and as part of its background. Participation in a context" (A Grammar 29). When we define a building, for instance, in terms of its spatial context (as located on The Brow) or in terms of its temporal context (as an example of Second Empire architecture), we are defining the object geometrically or contextually. "The Ode," which I have been using to exemplify these theories, constitutes an interesting case rhetorically, because it seems to define Newfoundland in terms of geometric substance, but at the same time offers quite a decontextualized representation. On the one hand, Newfoundland is awesome because of its location in the middle of atmospheric turmoil. On the other

hand, "The Ode" effectively unites its singers in large part because it does not locate Newfoundland in terms of spatial or temporal context. For instance, nowhere do we find overt reference to surrounding political or geographical bodies--to America, to Canada, or to Britain.[6] Nor does the song situate Newfoundland historically, in terms of its past narratives: through a migratory fishery, troubled settlement, devastating city fires, etc. This absence effectively removes Newfoundland from any locatable context, making it an abstract, almost mythical, rock battered by wind and crowned by sun. Newfoundland, it seems, transcends spatial and temporal limitations. I discuss this rhetorical strategy in upcoming application chapters, where other texts about Newfoundland decontextualize place, with the effect that this place can be reinserted, unproblematically, into all kinds of imaginative contexts.

Having argued this, I need to make the point that the contextual substance of this piece has much to do with the context in which "The Ode" is actually sung. The status of this ode has changed measurably since Newfoundland's Confederation with Canada, when its status as a national anthem was usurped by "O Canada." The very act of choosing to sing this piece at an official function (in addition to or instead of "O Canada") is political. When one sings "The Ode," one is acutely aware of Newfoundland's current position within Canada. The vehemence with which it is sung points, in part, to that fact that the singers are opposing themselves to a larger world

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[6]Compare this lack of contextual or temporal definition with Nova Scotia's license plate: "Canada's Ocean Playground."

(i.e. Canada) beyond its borders. This marginal status, David Jordan writes, is central to regionalism:

> Traditional definitions ignore a crucial aspect of regionalism: its marginality. Because a region is by definition a small part of a larger whole, regionalism necessarily proceeds from a de-centred world-view, and this decentred world-view distinguishes regionalism from other place-based literature, such as nature writing or travel writing. (8)

Newfoundland is a marginal space, both physically and culturally, and as such "[evokes] both nostalgia and fascination" (Shields 3).

Still in keeping with the topic of substance, I move to the final verse of "The Ode" which crescendos into the most dramatic and nationalistic verse of all, in large part because more than one means of consubstantiation come to the fore. Before discussing this point, I quote the verse in full:

> As loved our fathers, so we love,
> Where once they stood we stand.
> Their prayers we raise to heav'n above,
> God guard thee, Newfoundland.

God guard thee, God guard thee,

God guard thee, Newfoundland.

This verse continues the **contextual substance** established in the preceding three verses. In other words, the singer loves Newfoundland because he or she is part of the temporal context (historical scene) of preceding generations who shared that love. Yet, the thematized phrase *As loved our fathers* also relies on regional definition in terms of **familial** substance, which Burke explains:

> In its purity, this concept stresses common ancestry in the strictly biological sense, as literal descent from maternal or paternal sources. But the concept of family is usually "spiritualized," so that it includes merely social groups, comprising persons of the same nationality or beliefs. (A Grammar 29)

Those singing "The Ode" are all children of the same "fathers." The terms, here, construct regionality in terms of shared parentage and deflect attention from such divisions as race, class, and particularly gender. The choice of *fathers* (not *mothers*, or more inclusive *parents*) and the presumably natural move to include a masculine God at the end, reinforce the patriarchal structures that pervade nationalism in general, and Newfoundland regionality in particular.[7] In keeping with this discussion of

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[7]For a discussion of segregated gender roles in the domestic sphere, for instance, see the chapter, "Everyone Does It: Unpaid Work and Household Reproduction" in Lawrence F. Felt and Peter

sub*stance*, I might underline the significance of a line like ***Where once they stood we stand***. Newfoundlanders, past and present, literally share sub*stance*, because, as Burke points out, the very word "substance" derives from "a set of words comprising what we might call the Stance family" and in "the Indo-Germanic languages the root for this family is *sta*, to stand" (A Grammar 21). And, it is ***de rigueur*** to stand for national anthems; the act of standing together performs an embodied act of communion.

As if these two consubstantial elements were not enough, the verse also draws upon **directional** substance, a means of definition that characterizes a person or thing according to the direction in which it is moving. Hence, we have expressions like "*down* and out" or "down in the dumps" for those who are experiencing a "slump." Those who do not conform to social norms might be labelled as "backwards." Meanwhile, one tends to be proud of moving up or moving right along. The final line of "The Ode" raises the eyes to heaven (***their prayers we raise to heav'n above***). The singers invoke God in the final lines (***God guard thee, Newfoundland***) with a blessing upon Newfoundland. "The Ode," in effect, becomes a hymn. And, as in many hymns, those singing "The Ode" usually "raise" their voices and the volume. (While this song does not generally modulate in pitch, many final verses in popular songs do. In our society, changes to a higher key, mid-song, is desirably dramatic and emotionally

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Sinclair's 1995 book Living on the Edge: the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland. Here, these authors, along with Kathleen Murphy, study domestic responsibilities on the Great Northern Peninsula and conclude that few men do much housework, in keeping with a sexual division of labour based on traditional conceptions of men's and women's work (91).

uplifting. One could, I think, apply the principle of directional substance to musical composition, modulation, and even crescendo). To summarize the point at hand, the logic of "The Ode" is such that it concludes with an upwards-looking gaze, and the song does this by making God the ultimate Agent of the clause (the one who ultimately can "guard" Newfoundland). Because of this hymn logic, "The Ode" always includes and concludes with this verse, even when only two verses are sung.

Benedict Anderson, in his book, Imagined Communities, argues that nations inspire love and that, while one can find all kinds of fiction, songs, poetry and plastic arts devoted to expressing that love, one cannot so easily name "three Hymns of Hate" (129). Further, he argues that political love

> can be deciphered from the ways in which languages describe its object: either in the vocabulary of kinship . . . or that of home . . . Both idioms denote something to which one is naturally tied. As we have seen earlier, in everything 'natural' there is always something unchosen. In this way, nation-ness is assimilated to skin-colour, gender, parentage, and birth-era--all those things one cannot help. And in these 'natural ties' one senses what one might call 'the beauty of *gemeinschaft*.' To put it another way, precisely because such ties are not chosen, they have about them a halo of disinterestedness. (131)

Part of the illusion of regionality consists in the belief in geographical fatalism or inevitability (one that generally feels real and concrete). According to this logic, landscape and geography have an inescapable effect on regional sensibilities and artistic creations, a logic at work in Newfoundland artist Christopher Pratt's comment in a recent public interview: "I had to paint the landscape that existed inside of me."[8] The connection between regionality and environmental determinism seems, as Anderson argues, a "natural tie" which makes invisible the ideological conflicts associates with class, race, and gender.

In summary, then, "The Ode" patterns grammatically and rhetorically so that singers will see Newfoundland in the same terms and therefore feel proud to live in Newfoundland. Symbolically, "The Ode" works to bring about and to sustain congregation through this combination of resources, particularly in the face of threatened division: depopulation, confederation with Canada, and internal strife. The song assigns motive to the singer by suggesting that he or she should love Newfoundland because of its distinctive scene, one of environmental combat and geographical tenacity. To sing the song (to know the tune and the words) is to perform an embodied act of regionality, and to replicate place in these ways rather than others.

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[8] This quotation is taken from a public interview sponsored by the Irish Newfoundland Association on March 10, 1999. In this interview, television journalist Anne Budgell interviewed two Newfoundland artists, Christopher Pratt and Gerald Squires. Worth noting, here, is the fact that regional motivation springs to Pratt's mind when he speaks of painting, whereas he fails to mention the role of gender in his artistic career. Christopher painted while his wife, Mary Pratt, looked after the children and only later in life became a recognized painter in her own right.

How does rhetoric address the complexity of regionality?

Again, I ask the question that concludes each of these theoretical sections: why might we use rhetoric to understand regionality? Rhetorical analyses of texts address the complexity of regionality because they allow the literary critic to understand exactly *in what terms* communities imagine themselves as meaningful places. I quote, once again, Benedict Anderson, who points to the centrality of the imagination when he defines the nation as "an imagined political community" (15):

> [The nation] is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. . . . In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but *by the style in which they are imagined.* (15, italics mine)

Rhetorical resources like the pentad and definitions of substance enable me to show how regional texts invite particular shared imaginings. For instance, a seemingly small change in the nature of familial substance in "The Ode" (to, say, *As loved our Mothers*, or *As loved our Native Peoples*) would change, substantially (so to speak),

the terms in which regionality makes sense to its members, inducing either congregation or segregation.

Not many analyses in Canadian literary criticism undertake a linguistic and rhetorical approach for understanding the effects of subtle transformations in a text.[9] Few approach novels as addressed symbolic action, and apply the same level of delicacy I undertake in this thesis. For example, Burkean rhetoric allows for a more detailed unpacking of the term "identification," which frequently appears in articles about regionalism. In the introduction to A Sense of Place, the editors write that:

> Regionalism, as a prevalent term in public and institutional discourses in North America, has played a significant role in giving expression to that sense of identification, though attitudes towards regionalism in those discourses have been at best ambivalent. (Wyile, Riegel, Overbye, and Perkins ix)

Identification, as I have suggested, does not mean simply sharing a sense of place, but constitutes a symbolic activity in which texts function to construct limited kinds of regional identity. Further, Burke's formulation of identification (which I then use to study regional identification) enables me to analyze style beyond individual intention or consciousness. Unlike some definitions of rhetoric which focus on the persuasive techniques of a particular speaker, or individual designs, Burke's rhetoric includes

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[9] Mary Louise Pratt, in Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation performs close textual analysis, but not specifically within a Canadian context.

those symbolic activities which are unconscious but nonetheless part of acts of consubstantiation. Hence, when I speak of the grammatical and visual resources in Atlantic Canada in the Global Community, at no point do I suggest that the editors set out to affect students. Nor do I argue that Morgan intended to replicate the mundane in her novel. The myriad acts of identification--paper type, cover design, syntax, and narrative events--often occur beyond conscious choice as social "acts-in-community," as Lemke calls them (Textual Politics 9).

Social Theories

Each of the three theoretical perspectives I have touched upon above--the grammatical, the visual, and the rhetorical--are driven by social considerations, particularly considerations of context, audience, and socially mediated methods of reading. I draw upon the work of other social theorists to enrich my discursive and rhetorical readings and to help link patterns of text to patterns of social practice, particularly as they relate to regionality. For instance, I am interested in how patterns in grammar (both linguistic and visual) are acts of inculcation (or repeated institutional practice), and how these instantial acts help form the regional disposition, or sense of place, often explored by regionalist critics.[10] I draw upon the work of Pierre Bourdieu in Language and Symbolic Power and Anthony Giddens in The Constitution of Society

[10] For instance, see Christian Riegel and Herb Wyile's collection A Sense of Place: Re-Evaluating Regionality in Canadian and American Writing. These papers come out of a similarly-named 1995 conference at the University of Alberta. The "sense" of regionality was the guiding question in all of these investigations.

to understand how inculcated practices structure, in this case, *regionalist* dispositions. To understand inculcation, however, one has to first situate it within Bourdieu's notion of habitus, a term that serves as the foundation of my analysis of Atlantic Canada in the Global Community in chapter five. Because the terms inculcation, habitus, practical sense, and duality of structure are central and necessary to my close reading of that textbook, in particular, and my understanding of regionality, generally, I discuss them at some length in this section, providing examples of these concepts from various Newfoundland works.

Bourdieu does not forget the role of bodies in identity, in practices of distinction, and in the very real effects of domination. One of his most useful concepts in understanding the body is **habitus**, a term that Bourdieu borrows from Aristotle, yet uses somewhat differently. The habitus, he writes,

> is a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are regular without being consciously coordinated by any rule. The dispositions which constitute the habitus are inculcated, structured, durable, generative and transposable. (12)

To say that our bodily dispositions are inculcated is to suggest that our postures, movements, and responses are shaped through a variety of everyday practices,

particularly those of our childhood years. We sit and stand a certain way, for instance, because of the admonitions of parents and teachers or because of the powerfully silent environments that work upon us. Again, Bourdieu argues that

> [t]here is every reason to think that the factors which are the most influential in the formation of the habitus are transmitted without passing through language and consciousness but through suggestions inscribed in the most apparently insignificant aspects of the things, situations, and practices of everyday life. (51)

Selections in the grammar and visuals of Atlantic Canada in the Global Community are similarly transmitted "without passing through . . . consciousness," but are consequential, nonetheless, for how regional agents share terms for understanding place. After repeated inculcated performances (i.e. unpacking a before and after picture, or reading and understanding a series of relational processes in the grammar) certain bodily dispositions begin to feel natural to us. We hardly think of the way we eat, breathe, walk, or talk; that is, until we find ourselves in a context where we feel nervous about our gestures and ill-equipped to perform in that economy (having to figure out flatware and unusual delicacies in front of a dignitary, for instance, or having to produce a French *r*). Rarely do we think about the practices of place, until

we see an outsider look puzzled at the mention of "jigg's dinner" or watch as a visitor struggles to pronounce "b'y" because her mouth has not moved quite that way before.

According to Bourdieu, the habitus is not only inculcated, but it is also *structured* insofar as our dispositions are affected by the environment in which they were acquired. Bourdieu contends that those of a certain class who share social conditions may, as a result, exhibit similar bodily dispositions. Those from a lower-class background would tend toward different ways of acting than those of a middle-class upbringing. To demonstrate the environmental basis of the habitus, I quote from Newfoundland writer Percy Janes' novel House of Hate. In this novel, all the children of the impoverished, mostly ill-educated, and abused Stone family share a similar facial expression, and a similar way of standing in the world. When Ju Ju, the narrator, comes back to the hell-hole that is pre-Confederation Milltown (a fictionalized Corner Brook) after thirteen years away, he sees his youngest brother, whom he has never met before:

> I spotted him as soon as the train came into the station, but as a matter of fact I would not have needed any previous knowledge of him in order to recognize him instantly as my brother and one of our family. He had the very same, almost-perpendicular forehead that we had all inherited from Mom, although there was not much of it, and in his young eyes there was already that yearning look--a look as of one staring into eternity and not seeing much of anything

> there, certainly nothing of a heartening nature. It was the mark that sooner or later came to brand us all like a crowd of Ishmaels. When I spotted him he was looking up at the train with his mouth wide open (ketchin' flies). (166)

The parenthetical remark (ketchin' flies) could represent the words of parental scolding or the taunting of peers, both of which are designed to point out the undesirability of the posture. Presumably, the environment of the Stone domicile, with its emotional abuse and lack of cognitive stimulation, institutes an inculcating force (prompts, over time and with unconscious effect, an open-mouthed, phlegmatic, lost-looking posture) more powerfully than any verbal admonition to keep the mouth politely closed. Further, as the passage suggests (with its reference to the inevitable and permanent "brand" all the Stone children displayed), these dispositions of the habitus are also *durable*: they last the duration of an individual's life (unless one, like Eliza Doolittle in My Fair Lady, undergoes the regime of social orthodontia). The habitus is durable because these dispositions come about through repetition and are pre-conscious, and hence are not easily accessible to conscious reflection and change. Bourdieu's work on inculcation concentrates, as does much of his work, on the role of class in the production and reproduction of bodily comportment.

I, however, can see value in this concept for explaining a regional habitus or regional disposition, one that is not reduced to bodily comportment alone. Indeed, it is tempting, when speaking of habitus, to concentrate on bodily gestures. But then

one would be talking about what Bourdieu calls **bodily hexis**. The habitus, while certainly an embodied disposition, does not simply refer to the manner in which we move our body, or act in that body. While an accent (a way of moving the mouth) might suggest East Coast status, one cannot identify a person as a Newfoundlander just on the basis of how she moves or looks (despite the attempt made by stereotypes to crystallize those slippery and arbitrary distinctions). Rather, habitus refers to our tendency *to be disposed* to move, speak, or stand in a certain way. It describes the state of being inclined. In this regard, habitus is similar to Burke's definition of attitude, which as Stillar points out, is not simply a psychological stance, but also an inclination: "an implicit program of action" or "the preparation for an act" (Stillar 59). Atlantic Canada in the Global Community draws upon and reproduces symbols that come to seem natural, and continue to seem so, to the student. The dispositions that constitute the habitus come out of a history of doings and mimicking and learning. And these doings constitute the sense of how one is to conduct oneself--reproduce one's attitudes--in the future.

Of particular importance to regionality is the relationship between habitus and the phrase "practical sense" that Bourdieu also uses, a phrase that allows me to talk about one's practical sense of place, that goes-without-saying recognition that we often associate with regionality. To make that connection, I provide the following quotation which attempts to work out that relationship between habitus (the

dispositions) and the related, yet not identical, idea of practical sense. In Language and Symbolic Power, Bourdieu writes that the habitus

> provides individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives. It orients their actions and inclinations without strictly determining them. It gives them a feel for the game, a sense of what is appropriate in the circumstances and what is not, a practical sense (*le sens practique*). The practical sense is not so much a state of mind as a state of the body, a state of being. (13)

The habitus, or embodied inclination to act, provides one with a source of orientation in the world: in other words, practical sense. Bourdieu is saying that practical sense is the naturalized "feel for the game" that comes out of these dispositions to act. A sense of place is a regional "sense of what is appropriate" (Bourdieu 13). It constitutes a seemingly natural sense of what feels right about home, what feels genuine. Clearly, my discussion argues that this sense of place, no matter how natural it may seem, is ideological and symbolic and socially inculcated.

Without an inculcated history, without a structured way of acting in a new environment, we feel out of place, even panicked. Inculcated practices are enabling, in fact necessary. For instance, consider the following excerpt from Random Passage that describes Lavinia Andrews' dislocation and consequent dismay:

> Dropping her face onto her knees and wrapping her arms around her head, she weeps like a child. Eventually her crying gives way to small gulps, then stops. But she stays, hunched against the rock, face hidden in the tweed of her old skirt . . . They are town people, how can they possibly make a living out of sea and rock? She reviews the possessions her family has brought: crockery, a few blackened and dented pots, a collection of old clothing and one or two coins, probably even now being bartered for a place to sleep. Not a cow nor a horse, not a seed nor tool among them all. How pitiful their belongings look piled on the wharf. How soft they look compared to the people who'd stood silently watching them come ashore. (13, 15)

Given her habitus, Lavinia Andrews has been predisposed to act in different ways, to pursue different goals, and to perform activities that are useless in this sterile, hard environment. Lavinia is the product of a history that is disjunctive with the demands of this new place.

The notion of habitus can be enriched with a second theoretical approach I bring to this discussion of inculcation: Anthony Giddens' notion of **duality of structure**. Developed in his book The Constitution of Society, this theory, like Bourdieu's work, moves towards the question of the mutual knowledge incorporated into episodes and encounters, a knowledge that is practical in character. Giddens' central question is: what is it we know when we know how to go on? In answering

this question, he considers both social actor and social structure. Giddens wishes to put an end to earlier social theories that are founded on what he calls an "imperialism" either of the social subject (hermeneutics) or the social object (structuralism). The basic domain of his social study is "social practices ordered across space and time" (89). Giddens' work acknowledges a hermeneutic subject insofar as it allows him to understand social action as a reflexive endeavour. Yet, unlike the traditional hermeneutic subject, Giddens' social actor is not removed from the material world, but through everyday practice follows its rules and reproduces those rules. In his introduction to The Giddens Reader, Philip Cassell writes:

> Of singular importance to Giddens . . . is the insight that in order to enact a social practice, participants must necessarily draw on a set of rules; these rules can be seen to structure, to give shape to, the practices that they help to organise. A simple example: the laying of a house of bricks requires knowledge of how to lay them; without this knowledge, which can be rendered as a set of rules, the action cannot be 'brought off'. (10)

Clearly, structure, for Giddens, does not involve architectonic jungle gyms or similar metaphors of external, rigid structures. A virtual structure of sorts, only apparent as structural *properties*, it has no reality except insofar as it is internalized "in the form of memory traces; it is agents who bring structure into being, and it is 'structure' which

produces the possibility of agency" (12). Duality of structure, then, involves a system where the resources we draw upon are both medium and unintended outcome of action.

To clarify this idea, I compare social practice to a path. We follow beaten-down grass or footprints in the snow and use these as navigational tools. At the same time, we participate in the making or reproducing of that path even as we follow it. These paths guide spatial practice, and in a sense, restrain them (one would not likely walk through someone's house, across the boggier parts of the shore, or over dangerous rocks). Without these paths, rules, and resources we would be hard pressed to act.

The patterns of language in The Shipping News and Random Passage, and the choice of visuals and pentadic ratios in Atlantic Canada in the Global Community and the tourism campaign are symbolic paths that enable readers to make meanings. As "the symbol-making, symbol-using, symbol-misusing animal" (The Legacy of Kenneth Burke 263, qtd. in Stillar 76), we depend on symbolic resources to communicate and make sense of the world. These symbols will never be perfect. That said, we still need to cultivate a meta-discourse to understand how discoursal resources make constructed truths seem natural. It is hard to argue with gut feelings of place. Yet gut feelings are produced and reproduced though such materials as novels, social studies textbooks, and advertisements, especially since they draw upon the same selections time and time again. When teachers and students, book reviewers, and television

watchers perform the same practices, without making them visible and thereby up for debate, they maintain the same structural properties of regionality. These properties are political. While, in the case of regionality, the existing *status quo* can resist the larger nation state (singing "The Ode," for instance, is often an act of resistance against Confederation), regional texts often support the larger nation state. For example, choices in Atlantic Canada in the Global Community encourage students to see region as a homogenous, unproblematic whole, to view regional motivation in terms of scene, and not to interrogate structures of power in critical ways.

Conclusion: Summary of Theoretical Models

By way of summary, in this theoretical chapter I have pointed to the complexity of studying textual constructions of regionality in Canada and have outlined the levels of analysis I engage with in order to address that complexity. In all of the upcoming application chapters, I perform, first, a discursive reading, where I study patterns in the ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions. These patterns, I argue, orchestrate semiotic formations, or predictable and regular social practices. These practices, as I explained with reference to Anthony Giddens' notion of duality of structure, come out of and reproduce what we know as a particular brand of regionality. "The Ode to Newfoundland," for instance, draws upon ideational resources that construct a solid, static nation, one which endures. Further, circumstance types (adverbial or prepositional clusters which offer information about

time, place, manner, and other exigencies) emphasize an *ongoing duration* of national devotion and a shared manner of loving, both of which join Newfoundlanders across the ages on the basis of time and manner of national devotion. Regional hymns of praise, then, can realize continuity through grammar.

Interpersonally, qualitative adjectives like those in ***pine-clad hills*** and ***smiling land*** not only communicate how the singers feel about their home, but also provide the terms for imagining a "real" version of regional experience, as sung in an ode (what linguists and social semioticians call modality). Those who share in this version of the world, no matter how far it may be from their "actual" experience, share this kind of "imagined community" as opposed to another. Someone from the outside, however, might consider this version of Newfoundland utter garbage, and hence mark themselves as one for whom this version of the world was not intended. Finally, "The Ode" realizes organizational or textual potentials. The thematic structure of the text (where the themes almost always begin with *when* or *thro'*) sets up each verse so that we are waiting for grammatical completion at the end of each line (when . . . then what?). The dependent relationship between the beginning and the end of each verse results in a forward-moving, tightly structured grammatical structure. This structure is rhetorically powerful because, no matter what the words might be, the verse feels inevitable and complete because of the theme/rheme organization. The textual metafunction achieves order, regiment and narrative direction, all of which effectively

harness the flighty sentiment of the poem, and keep it within the bounds of institutional discourse.

Discourse analysis is not a decontexualized or structuralist game. Instead, it provides the critic with a delicate method for understanding regional texts in their social contexts. Discourse analysis, I argued, enables the critic to understand, in close ways, such abstract terms as "sense of place." Further, it can take notions like "sphere of consciousness" out of the mind and into the realm of social practice. Notions of style, to the discourse analyst, differ from those which circulate in some Canadian work in stylistics. I do not study style as an individual phenomenon, but rather as a consequence of social relations which include structures of profit and distinction.

I have argued, too, that studies of language in regional texts can be enriched with analyses of visual grammar. Visual grammar, I pointed out, functions like linguistic grammar, in that it realizes meaning potential on the ideational, interpersonal, and textual levels. Again, with reference to a web page that displayed "The Ode" (with coat of arms, musical score, and words), I have contended that such ideational cues as geometrical symmetry and squareness appeal to the disciplined and regimented nature of government texts. Interpersonally, the web page enacts an offer rather than a demand: no figures look out to address the viewer and possibly evoke emotional involvement. The resulting "objective" and distanced perspective speaks, again, of the controlled and ordered personality of this page, and the powerful ordering mechanism that dilutes the sentiment of the verses. Finally, the textual or organizational cues of

the text establish balance amongst the three participants on the page, a balance which, again, communicates a sense of balance, proportion, and evenness. The study of visual components, then, contributes to studies of regionality because it reveals interesting methods by which the visual mode supports (and in some cases, contests) the ideologies of the linguistic mode. Visuals play no less a part in the constructed practices of regionality.

Linguistic and visual grammar provide a crucial first step for understanding how texts work rhetorically. To theorize regionality, I bring rhetoric to my discursive work in order to understand how these texts hail some participants (and not others). Drawing upon such terms as identification and consubstantiation, I study the means by which texts contribute to the formation of shared attitudes towards place. Attitudes, I emphasize, mean more than thoughts or stances; they constitute, according to Kenneth Burke, "preparations for an act." Region, to my mind, is comprised of various acts, whether these be physical, mental, or communicative. Again, drawing upon "The Ode," I have demonstrated how a text can invite community through contextual, familial, and directional substance, all of which are realized through grammatical resources. Not surprisingly, "The Ode" draws upon such elements as shared fathers and shared landscape to effectively join a community that in many ways is divided and heterogeneous.

Rhetorical analysis of texts addresses the complexity of regionality because it enables me to speak of *identification*, a term tossed around in much regional work, in

specific ways. Further, it allows me to understand exactly in what terms communities imagine themselves as meaningful places. The most interesting insights occur, I think, when we substitute terms in a given text, and consider what terms were not chosen in that regional context, and *why*.

Finally, each chapter of this dissertation engages the social. I draw upon the work of tourism scholars, textbook analysts, and Canadian literary critics in the upcoming chapters to support and texture my analyses. I orchestrate what I think is an eclectic conversation amongst different approaches. Yet, more than any other critics, Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens influence this work. I bring Bourdieu into my discussion because he acknowledges the role the *body* plays in identity. Discourse and rhetoric address bodies, after all. Regionality involves tears, homesickness, gut feelings, accents, paralinguistic gestures, and emotional responses to certain texts. Therefore, we need to consider the very real presence of desire and bodily disposition when speaking about regionality. Bourdieu's work on habitus and inculcation, as described above, inform my discussions of textbooks and regional responses.

Anthony Giddens' notion of duality of structure informs, in a large way, my understanding of regionality as a social event. That is to say, the everyday practices we enact and the rules we follow are both the means and outcome of regionality. Given our dispositions, we respond to grammatical, visual, and rhetorical patterns in a text (the means) and thereby replicate region (the outcome). Some rules are highly

resistant to change. Imagine what kind of uproar a Newfoundlander would face if she wanted to change the word *fathers* to *parents* in "The Ode." Imagine what disgust and fury would ensue if the *Imagine That* tourism campaign featured a blood-splattered sealer or impoverished resident of Davis Inlet. Imagine how many copies of Random Passage would hit the trashcan if the plot centred on aliens coming to Newfoundland from Jupiter. Imagine what kind of text The Shipping News would have been if co-written by Proulx and a resident of the Great Northern Peninsula. These are the paths less travelled by, and the versions of regionality unlikely to occur outside of the space of satire or irreverent dissertations.

Having outlined my theoretical approaches and my reason for using them, I turn to my first application chapter: a reading of Bernice Morgan's Random Passage. There, I argue that books can construct region as beautiful, desirable, and comfortingly predictable depending on the grammatical and rhetorical devices writers select.

CHAPTER THREE

Constructing Regionality as Mundane: Bernice Morgan's Random Passage

> "'Tis like the bible," Vinnie had said and Mary had believed her, had expected stories of giants and floods, of storms and bolts of lightning coming out of heaven, yarns with great ringing phrases, rolling words like those that leapt from Ned's mouth when he was happy or excited. Instead Lavinia has written of women clearing gardens, of making fish, or hay, or candle--mundane things Mary would not have given the time of day to.
>
> "Whenever is she goin' to get around to somethin' happenin'?" the old woman would ask peevishly after Rachel has been reading about berry-picking or boat building for an hour. (Random Passage 92-93)

Region, as I have discussed in chapter two, is a constructed process. One way to construct region is to represent it as special, distinctive, and palpable. A writer can make region distinctive by making it beautiful. One obvious place to look at the beautiful is the literary text. Exactly how region can be made beautiful in literary novels--how a text stylizes or aestheticizes place--is the focus of the following two chapters.

Two recent literary texts about Newfoundland have attracted attention, interest

and debate. The first of these is Bernice Morgan's novel Random Passage, which documents the development of community and kinship ties in nineteenth-century outport Newfoundland. The second is E. Annie Proulx's novel The Shipping News, which narrates one man's growing love for a strange yet alluring place. This chapter sets out to demonstrate how a resident Newfoundlander, Bernice Morgan, aestheticizes place for fellow Newfoundlanders. In chapter four, I concentrate on Proulx's Pulitzer prize-winning novel, The Shipping News, and speculate that her style appeals to those who are not residents in the province. Proulx's book, which celebrates losers, marginal figures, and the hardy residents of inhospitable places, ultimately sets out to improve upon Newfoundland through an intensely aesthetic prose that reproduces a tourist gaze towards place.

Bernice Morgan, I argue, represents Newfoundland by aestheticizing the mundane. She accomplishes this task, first, through particular lexical choices. With attention to lexical selections, I study core and non-core vocabulary choices and the delicate balance between the two that constructs historical outport life as ordinary and "authentic." Second, I look at some of Morgan's grammatical choices, and speculate that the organization of clause information contributes further to her narrative of the mundane. Third, I consider Morgan's narrative organization, and demonstrate how satellite events (events that are *not* crucial to the plot) establish a simple, and ultimately predictable, world. All of these stylistic resources, together, produce a fairly representative example of realist Canadian historical fiction, one which does not

threaten romanticized and nostalgic perceptions of Newfoundland.

Writing a novel is a social act, and Morgan is a cultural producer, one who has aestheticized place in a way that is decidedly traditional. Her brand of cultural work certainly has precedent in Canadian history and company in current literature. Ian McKay, for example, in his essay, "Helen Creighton and the Politics of Antimodernism," argues that much Maritime writing constituted a contradictory task of "modernizing antimodernism." He writes that such people as radio producers, advertisers and novelists in Nova Scotia--often residents of Halifax--gave their region a cultural boost by highlighting in their various works of art those aspects of Nova Scotia they knew would be popular in the international marketplace. What was popular was also profoundly anti-modern, an attitude which, he argues,

> included a new way of evaluating regional landscape (the picturesque sublime) that esteemed those rockbound areas which previously had been maligned; a new way of seeing regional history (as a series of frozen moments from a distant golden Age) . . . All of these interconnected networks of words and things spoke of *essence*, the final perfect state towards which existents are striving or, more relevantly in this case, from which they have tragically diverged . . . Nova Scotia's heart, its true essence, resided in the primitive, the rustic, the unspoiled, the picturesque, the quaint, the unchanging. (2)

Random Passage, I set out to demonstrate, makes Newfoundland beautiful by removing it from current exigencies and complexities. To understand *one* current brand of beautification, I draw upon discursive and narrative resources. These enable me to explain how certain stylistic patterns ultimately invite an anti-modern interpretation of Newfoundland. Rather than dismiss this representation entirely, however, I conclude this chapter by considering how this style of telling addresses the needs of contemporary readers, and serves as an ordering principle that is ultimately enabling as well as limiting.

Bernice Morgan's *Random Passage:* Summary and Background

Bernice Morgan, a resident of St. John's and a prolific short story writer, published her first novel, Random Passage, in 1992, and its sequel, Waiting for Time, in 1994. Her first book, the focus of this discussion, garnered much positive press across Canada and was nominated for Ireland's top literary prize. In fact, an eight-hour film adaptation of Random Passage is currently being packaged by Montreal-based, Newfoundland-born, Barbara Doran (Macdonald 46).

Random Passage opens with a Prologue, in which we witness the beginnings of crisis in the Beothuk community. An old woman with a baby asleep between her legs notices, with some sadness, that fewer of her people have come to the Cape to catch the plentiful Spring seals. The sense of depopulation and the undercurrent of anxiety that pervade this beginning (a fear caused by the *widdum* or white men) set the mood

for what is to be one of the more prevalent fears running through Morgan's two books: the possibility of extinction, whether it be that of an indigenous Newfoundland tribe, a fish stock, or of present-day Newfoundlanders, themselves. In a place that is currently haemorrhaging, population-wise, this last anxiety is not ill- founded.

The following section of the book, entitled "Lavinia Andrews," begins around 1824, with Lavinia crying on the shores of Cape Random, a place that, before their arrival, was occupied by only one family, the Vincents, and the fish merchant's representative, the solitary Thomas Hutchings. Once a house maid for the wealthy Ellsworth family in Weymouth, England, Lavinia has been forced to flee her comfortable routines and surroundings after her brother, Ned, commits a minor infraction against his powerful employer. Leaning against a rock after a cross-Atlantic journey, she opens an old shipping ledger and then and there begins a diary that will serve as her rendering of life on the Cape:

> Lavinia pulls her cold hands back into the sleeves of her jacket, folds them under her armpits and thinks. Where to begin? With Ned making a thief of himself? With the moment young Lizzie called to her down the coal chute? When that terrible ship pulled away from the docks in Weymouth? Or just now, coming ashore in the Newfound Land, stiff and pale, their poor things piled all around on that rickety wharf? . . . She cannot remember the first fearful words of the Saints and Martyrs but she knows how the Bible begins.

She turns the book upside down and begins to write. She begins on the last page, writing toward the front of the book-toward a future she does not dare to imagine.

"In the beginning we all lived in Monk Street in Weymouth, in England, and we were all happy. . ." she writes. (17)

After Lavinia recounts the family's leave-taking from Weymouth, the book follows, for the most part, the day-to-day activities on the Cape: feisty Mary Bundle and her baby coming ashore one day, the Norris family coming to the Cape and building a house with a staircase and no fewer than six glass windows, the women learning how to split fish, pick berries, gather eggs, and stretch provisions throughout the winter. She writes of harsh times when the children would not even leave their beds to urinate during the long and hungry winter days, and of joyous times when the men returned from the seal hunt with hard candies for the children and tales of the hunt for their loved ones. The novel is, by turns, tragic and joyous.

The second part of the novel, entitled "Thomas Hutchings," recounts Thomas' reasons for leaving Ireland and landing on the Cape. We discover that the silent, mysterious man of part one is actually a Roman Catholic priest who fled Ireland after he was involved in a disastrous clashing between Protestant landowners and Catholic farmers that ended in the murder of one of the powerful elite. Thomas' tale, one that is a third the length of Lavinia's, is a rewriting of life on the Cape, one that deals with

tasks of record keeping, men's work and misunderstandings, misunderstandings that wreak havoc on the Cape and force Thomas, once again, to flee, this time to St. John's. Nineteenth-century St. John's, we find out, is a dirty, corrupt, noisy port. In the middle of this poverty, Bishop Fleming is busy overseeing the building of his extravagant Roman Catholic cathedral, the building of which constitutes a central event towards the novel's end. (And this basilica still stands, tall and prominent, in any picture one sees of downtown St. John's.) After spending some time in St. John's and once again donning the "Roman collar," (249) Thomas finds himself at book's end, quite unexpectedly, on the deck of a boat drifting back towards the Cape. There we are left, also somewhat adrift, until Morgan fills in some narrative gaps in her sequel, Waiting for Time.

Book reviewers of home-grown Random Passage tend to read this novel against the Pulitzer Prize-winning giant, The Shipping News. One reviewer in the New Maritimes, for example, writes that "Random Passage is all that E. Annie Proulx's best-seller The Shipping News could have been but isn't" (25). Those reviewers most enthusiastic about Morgan's work praise it for its groundedness and realism. Unlike Proulx's book which has been derided for its over-the-top artistry, Random Passage is applauded by the Globe and Mail's Susan Sutton because it "has the ring of truth to it" (qtd. in Porter), because it is "bent on the need to set history straight" (New Maritimes 24), because "it seems artistically exact" (Fiddlehead 182). Bernice Morgan, herself, claims that her narrative is a portrait of the way things *were:*

"No one ever told us what we were really like, how we created a society out of nothing . . . I had to write it so I could read it" (Maclean's 19). Critics, like the one from New Maritimes, are confident that Random Passage is not a romantic tale, but is instead a "stark compelling novel" that "[hungers] for an accurate 'true' recording of the past" (25).

These claims to authenticity and truth make sense when we consider that Morgan is working within the cultural convention of a popular aesthetic. A popular aesthetic considers narrative content to be more important than form, linear narrative more attractive than experimentation, and clear characterization more popular than symbolic representation. The popular aesthetic involves an unproblematic connection between art and life, and satisfies a desire for participation. In his book Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, sociologist Pierre Bourdieu discusses the notions of taste and its connection with class. Here, he discusses the intolerance towards experimentation that marks working-class response:

> The hostility of the working class and of the middle-class fractions least rich in cultural capital towards every kind of formal experimentation asserts itself both in the theatre and in painting, or still more clearly. . .in photography and the cinema. In the theatre as in the cinema, the popular audience delights in plots that proceed logically and chronologically towards a happy end, and 'identifies' better with simply

> drawn situations and characters than with ambiguous and symbolic figures and actions . . . Their reluctance or refusal springs not just from lack of familiarity but from a deep-rooted demand for participation, which formal experiment systematically disappoints. (32-33)

The "deep-rooted demand for participation" that Bourdieu writes of here is key to understanding the apparent desire for Random Passage to be a "true" telling. Morgan's book is written and received in a province where the literary tradition (what is canonized, at least)[1] is comprised of realist fiction or historical documentary. Realist fiction, in particular, adheres to most of Bourdieu's criteria of the popular aesthetic outlined above. While, admittedly, realist novels do not necessarily end happily--and many popular Newfoundland tales certainly do not--they *do* proceed chronologically (or are at least temporally coherent), they contain clearly drawn characters, and they allow for participation as opposed to alienation.

No one, to date, has spoken of Random Passage as a stylized (that is to say, constructed, aestheticizing, and ultimately, fictional) novel. Perhaps, when read against Proulx's highly aesthetic creation (with outport women named *Wavy*, chapters beginning with knot metaphors, and towns called *Killick-Claw*), Morgan's novel seems unremarkable, mundane. Perhaps, when read with a desire for participation

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[1] One recent short story collection, for instance, that departs from the canonical norms in Newfoundland and Labrador fiction is Extremities: Fiction from the Burning Rock. The local journal TickleAce is also a space where more current and diverse work gets published.

rather than critical distance, Morgan's novel seems familiar and true. Whatever the reasons, Morgan's Newfoundland--in the eyes of many, at least--takes on the flavour of roasted caplin and hard candies brought home from the seal hunt whereas Proulx's "Newfoundland" takes on the flavour of Narnia. Morgan's representation of place is a grounded, material and embodied one. Or so one is to believe, if one does not recognize the particular brand of aesthetisization in Morgan's novel.

The Aestheticization of the Mundane in *Random Passage*

Unlike E. Annie Proulx, who indulges in figurative language and stylistic triple axles, Bernice Morgan, the local favourite with Newfoundland readers,[2] makes Newfoundland attractive by writing in a simple style, and concentrating on such mundane activities as fishing, sealing, building and gathering eggs. The word 'mundane' is an adjective which comes from the Latin word ***mundus***, which means *world*. The mundane, then, involves the banal activities and unremarkable things of this world. It refers to the concrete as opposed to the abstract, to physical doing instead of cerebral pondering, to the material and not the ethereal. The word smacks of the routine, the everyday, and the boring. Washing the dishes, brushing your teeth, or getting dressed--all mundane activities--hardly make for exciting reading. Yet, communicating the ordinary seems to be Morgan's project. Her book attempts to

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[2] See Bernice Morgan's web site (www3.nf.sympatico.ca/nf/bernice.morgan/books.htm), where Newfoundland Premier Brian Tobin recommends both of her books "to anyone who wants to get a slice of this province."

recreate the pacing of a journal that meanders through the kinds of things that we (to quote this chapter's epigraph) "would not . . . [give] the time of day to" within a novel.

Perhaps it was this sense of the unremarkable, the everyday, that prompted me to search detailed maps of Newfoundland, looking for a Cape Random that seemed quite real. It was not there. The model for Morgan's Cape Random is her mother's birthplace, Cape Island, a stark point of land that juts out from Cape Freels into the north Atlantic waters of Bonavista Bay, a point which, over time, has fallen into the sea. The fictional point (and the name of the book) gets its name from Random Island, located further south in Trinity Bay, the birthplace of Morgan's father. That the book's geography should mingle fact and fiction seems appropriate; the novel's spare writing, similarly, combines exacting detail and fanciful events. Not only place names, but character names, too, are hybrid creations of historical accuracy and imaginative license. The Newfoundland archives mention an actual Thomas Hutchings who lived in Newfoundland in 1848 (O'Flaherty 69); unlike Morgan's character, however, this man was a merchant (*not* a priest) and lived in Bay de Verde, which is in Conception Bay *not* Bonavista Bay.

In a recent interview with Helen Porter, a fellow Newfoundland writer, Morgan communicates her desire to "record details of landscape, of time, of place, and the endlessly intriguing lives of people considered ordinary" (Books in Canada 23). For the ordinary to be "endlessly intriguing," however, it needs a little aesthetic

airbrushing. Put simply, it needs to be *stylised*. By stylising, I mean that Morgan draws upon particular lexical, grammatical, and narrative resources in her novel in order to *construct* region in a way that is desirable, attractive, and "intriguing." Her stylistic choices carefully present the mundane in a way that is still engaging--and, above all, marketable--to many audiences. Morgan's construction of the routine (through her style) has convinced many local reviewers and readers of the "worldly" or authentic status of her novel. They may *hint* at the mundane, but they actually give us a highly metonymic, moving tale (one that is anything *but* boring!).

Lexical Selections in *Random Passage*

As I have already articulated, Bernice Morgan, in Random Passage, represents Newfoundland by aestheticizing the mundane or everyday. To demonstrate how she achieves this, I first examine particular lexical choices in the novel. I show how the ordinary is constructed through the delicate balancing of core and non-core vocabulary, the core choices constituting an unremarkable backdrop in the telling, and the non-core (or specialized) language constructing a specifically 'Newfoundland' experience. Second, I move to an investigation of some of the *grammatical* patterns in the text, and consider how circumstance types (phrases of time, place, and manner) and thematic organization (salient information in a clause) also construct the ordinary. Third, I use the tools of narrative theory to study how the satellite events in the novel construct an unremarkable *durée*, against which kernel events rise. I also examine

how satellite information slows the pace of reading, emphasizes mundane objects, and contributes to a predictable style of telling. Finally, I close the discussion by reflecting on why this book has been so well-received in Newfoundland and why Newfoundlanders, given their current economic and cultural anxieties, might desire the authentic or real in literature.

This textual analysis turns, first, to the lexical selections in Morgan's text. Much of this novel draws upon core vocabulary. The term **core vocabulary** is treated at some length by stylisticians Ronald Carter and Walter Nash, who use the concept to study the rhetoric of newspaper articles. They write that core vocabulary is used, generally,

> to describe those elements in the lexical network of a language which are unmarked. That is, they usually constitute the most normal, basic and simple words available to a language user. Psycholinguists would probably argue that core words are those which are most perceptually salient; that is, they mark dominant areas of core sensory perception such as size (large/small), weight (heavy/light), colour (red/green) (but not mauve or scarlet or fawn). And so on. Sociolinguistically, they might be isolated as the items to which we have most natural and regular recourse in contexts such as talking to foreigners, or to young children. (63)

In addition to being unmarked and frequently used across many speaking situations, a core word will often display **collocational frequency**. That is to say, it will co-occur with many other words. For example, Morgan frequently uses the word *fish*, a word that can appear in such combinations as *fish* cake, *fish* net, *fish* hook, *fish* bait, *fish* face, *fish* quota, and many others. Words from the same lexical set (like halibut, sole, or even "denizen of the deep," a selection from my wordprocessing thesaurus) do not collocate as often with other words. As well, core selections are "more neutral or unmarked" and "can be pressed into service to define the meanings of the related words."(Carter and Nash 63) For example, of the lexical set *granite, boulder, slab, flint, rock*, only the word *rock* can be used to define the others in the set. For instance, we can define boulder as a large *rock*, slab as a broad, flat *rock*. (Imagine if, instead of *The Rock*, Newfoundland were called *The Shale* or *The Granite*!) My point here is that core words are flexible and serviceable. And ordinary.

The final point about core vocabulary that has relevance to my exploration is the fact that these choices are generally thought to be neutral or unmarked. Obviously, within the muddle and mess of social use, words can never claim to be completely neutral. But some are less loaded than others. As I will point out in the following analysis, neutral terms contribute to a rendering of Newfoundland that seems straightforward and unmitigated by interpretation and methods of representation.

Equally important to this discussion, however, are Morgan's **non-core** selections, highly specific or particularly eloquent interlopers like *puncheon* or

liniment. My analysis will consider these vocabulary choices, as well. The non-core selections comprise those more marked selections that construct a particular lexical field, that of a specifically "Newfoundland" experience. While the core selections lend themselves to a general narrative, the non-core ones contribute, I suspect, to the belief that this book is real and true.

Before going into a specific application using these tools, I want to add a qualification to the binary I have just established between core and non-core vocabulary. These designations allow me to perform a more systematic analysis of lexical choice, but they are not stone-solid classifications. Lexical choices are always used in particular contexts and some words are core to particular practitioners. The term *jigger* might be core for a Newfoundland fisher but not for a mainland brainsurgeon (one would hope!). It is more fitting, as Carter and Nash do, to think in terms of *degrees* of coreness or non-coreness.

Having set out my terms for analysis, I will now analyse Morgan's use of core and non-core vocabulary. I take a representative excerpt from Random Passage, one which narrates the ritual cleaning that must take place when the men come home from the annual seal hunt:

> It is the eighth year men from the Cape have gone to the ice. By now, everyone knows that the rest of the day will be spent hauling water, scouring bodies, scrubbing clothing and delousing hair. The wooden wash tubs, cut

> down from puncheons, will be dragged in from back porches and the women, in a rage to be rid of all that dirt, will scrub the men down. Clothing so worn and filthy that it cannot be washed will be burned on a bonfire the big boys build outdoors. A pungent mixture of turpentine, vinegar and liniment, warmed in cracked saucers, will be rubbed into the men's scalps and their heads will be tied around with rags. Only when every louse and nit is guaranteed to have expired will the rags be unwound and burned and the hair scrubbed with soap made from lye ashes and blubber. This treatment, Ned maintains, is why so many men along the coast have heads as hairless as eggs. He, however, has kept his own fuzz of curls. Each year Mary threatens to shave his head before he leaves for the ice. (101)

To begin with some general observations about Morgan's style, I point out that this passage contains a great number of monosyllabic words. In fact, all the words in the first sentence are one-syllable lexemes. For whatever reason, one-syllable words acquire the status of strength, truth and almost intuitive knowledge. This attitude is communicated in some composition articles, as in Richard Lederer's "The Case for Short Words," where he writes: "Small words are the ones we seem to have known from the time we were born, like the hearth fire that warms the home" (56). Appropriate it is, then, that Morgan uses short words--supposedly ingrained, intuitively familiar language--the effect being that they make us feel as if we have

known this place, too, "from the time we were born."

In addition, many of the process types or actions are material ones (that is to say, processes of doing as opposed to having, being, or thinking). The women *will scrub down* the men; boys *will build* a bonfire; men *leave for the ice*. Significantly, most of the processes are communicated in the passive voice: Wooden wash tubs *are dragged in*; clothes *will be burned*; a lye mixture *will be rubbed* into the men's skin and *will be tied around with rags*. The effect of passive voice, in this context, is to emphasize the activity as opposed to the actor. The dragging, burning, rubbing and tying are more central here than those who are doing those activities. The result of these processes is an activity-centred narrative, one which centres on doing, and not on more abstract activities of thinking and feeling. This place seems solid and material, in large part because the repetition of material processes emphasizes the physical, which we equate with the palpable and solid.

More relevant to our immediate discussion of core and non-core vocabulary, however, is the fact that these words are almost all core lexemes, the nucleus or central mass of our everyday usage. Choices like *man, boys, dirt, coast, year, day, bodies* constitute core choices. As I have argued, core terms are more "neutral" than non-core ones. A lexical selection like *dirt* in the passage above is less marked than *grime, filth*, or *abject waste*. *Man*, the choice in this excerpt, is less emotionally charged than *martyrs, heroes*, or even *sealers*. *Ice* in the phrase *to the ice* is considerably less loaded than *sealhunt* or *annual slaughter*. Strangely, in this passage

that centres on a return from the hunt, neither *seal* nor *hunt* appears even once. Morgan's choice of unmarked, neutral terms constructs this event, this place, as one that is not evaluated, but one that simply exists.

Further, neutral terms, like *boy*, *hair*, and *head*, are supposedly un-marked. And the mundane, ultimately, is comprised of the unre-*mark*able. Cape Random is not supposed to be shocking or catastrophic: it is a place that simply *is*. In keeping with this "simply-is" world, are Morgan's adjectival selections: they are not evaluative ones. Instead, they are material or possessive ones, which foreground the *materiality* of this place. In the above excerpt, we have *wooden wash* tubs, *back* porches, *cracked* saucers, and *men's* scalps. Morgan, with her repeated core choices and material adjectives, sets up an expectation for a dispassionate presentation, one that seems to belie the presence of a mitigating and stylizing interpreter.

We might ask ourselves why a material object like a cracked saucer becomes attractive--even quaint--in a regional book when normally it would cause us some dismay. Here, we witness a moment of stylization; in short, cracked saucers and wooden tubs appeal to a certain aesthetic consciousness. In Distinction, Bourdieu defines the aesthetic disposition as "the capacity to valorize the trivial" (39). Removed from the exigencies of poverty and economic necessity, the middlebrow reader forms a relationship with place (here, Cape Random) akin to that of the petite bourgeoisie's relationship to, of all things, folkdancing. According to Bourdieu:

> [folkdancing] is an opportunity to experience the relationship of distant proximity, in the form of the idealized vision purveyed by aesthetic realism and populist nostalgia which is a basic element in the relationship of the petite bourgeoisie to the working or peasant classes and their traditions. (58)

The "distant proximity" Bourdieu mentions above constitutes an important interpersonal component of this novel, too. The novel's details--the lists of concrete nouns, the material adjectives--and a Newfoundland reader's nostalgic view of the most mundane article (be it an oil lamp or tea cup) encourage proximity. This representation of place as simple and quaint does not threaten popular yearnings for what is perceived to have been lost. Yet the readers' necessary remove in time and circumstance from the narrative action encourages an aesthetic disposition, "a generalized capacity to neutralize ordinary urgencies and to bracket off practical ends" (54). Hence, in Random Passage, the ordinary, abstracted from everyday life, is attractive. Within a market economy, the novel functions very nicely as a regional possession, one attractive to what sociologist Arthur Frank calls a *mirroring* body.

A critic who formulates a systematic theory of the body and articulates the link between social structures and embodiment, Frank designates four different kinds of bodies: the disciplined, the dominating, the communicative, and the mirroring body. This last type, the mirroring body, is the one most relevant here. A body manic for consumption, it knows itself by that which it consumes:

> based on consumption, the [mirroring] body becomes as predictable as the objects made available for it. It is predictable in the way fast food is; its epigram might be that of the American hotel chain which advertised the cross-country homogeneity of its rooms with the slogan, 'No surprises.' (61)

Random Passage does not surprise or upset. Rather, its success comes in large part because the novel does not question common sense or familiar images but instead reproduces comfortable stereotypes, whether these be of the hardy fisherman and sealer, or the loveable songster and storyteller. To a certain extent, the mirroring Newfoundland reader reflects--and assimilates--the objects around it: tourism ads, realist nostalgia, documentaries of sealing disasters and local heroics, and Cream of the West flour commercials with Nanny baking bread.

To this point, the discussion has been developing how core vocabulary grounds a narrative. Yet core selections also effectively *remove* a story from any locatable time and place. Core vocabulary, after all, is quite abstract in large part because it is often *hypernymic*. That is to say, it is comprised of overarching terms that can stand in for more specific selections. *Car*, for instance, is the more general, core term for words like *fourdoor*, *convertible*, or *hatchback* (or any brand name of car) and *fruit* the overarching term for *banana*, *apple*, and *pear*. Core words, then, effectively generalize a field or, in this case, a narrative. While, on the one hand, we are zooming

in on the minutiae of cracked saucers and "turpentine, vinegar and liniment" mixtures (which communicate a materiality, a thing-ness, about the story), we are also kept at some distance from particulars by regulating hypernyms. *Men*, *women* and *boys*, for example, constitute overarching terms that could refer to anybody; the noun selections take on the status of indefinite pronouns (*anybody*, *somebody*, or *nobody*).[3]

Equally important in this discussion are the non-core selections, and how they contribute to the attractiveness (or distinctive status) of this mundane story. Non-core selections are more marked. They are generally thought to be less neutral, and more specific than their core counterparts. Words like *pungent* in *a pungent mixture*, *puncheons* in *cut down from puncheons*, and *expired* in *only when every louse and nit is guaranteed to have expired* are most likely not core terms in the repertoire of late twentieth-century readers. Nor are verbs such as *maintains*, in "This treatment, Ned maintains." (In speech we might be more inclined to say "feels" or "believes.") What effect do these non-core words have? I will explore two answers to this question: first they lend specificity to the novel; second, they contribute to the literariness of the narrative.

First, non-core vocabulary constructs a specific lexical field. An example

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[3] Incidentally, one of the most traumatic events in the story involves the killing of a Beothuk Indian, but the name of the Band is never mentioned in the novel. This kind of generalization makes the Band seem unreal--mythical--and the later killing of Toma, presumably the last of his tribe, seem tragic, yet not connected with *us*, somehow. Politically troubling, too, is the fact that Toma's killer, Peter, has been "othered" (constructed as unlikeable and as a misfit) throughout the book. The novel effectively assuages our possible guilt, by making the Band seem unreal and by making his killer someone who is "not us."

might clarify this assertion. Core words like *head, boy, man, hair* do not offer any indication of the activity being described, or reveal what is going on. Non-core words, on the other hand, tend to be more field-specific. Words like *pungent, liniment* and *turpentine* provide some sense that we are discussing the application of a salve or lotion. These selections make the book quite specific and activity-centred. More important, they insert a split between the world of the text and the world of the reader, a split that underlines the necessary defamiliarization that defines historical fiction. Dennis Duffy, in his study of historical fiction, Sounding The Iceberg: An Essay on Canadian Historical Novels, argues that

> the reader's initial impression from a work of historical fiction ought to be that of discontinuity. The reader is somewhere different, stepping out of a time machine. The point of the novel may be to teach readers that what they thought was temporally distant is morally contiguous, but that message begins in remoteness. (iv)

While arguably core words to the nineteenth-century outport characters in the book, *liniment* and *puncheon* are not wide-spread words in Newfoundland today. Like most historical novels, Random Passage "emphasizes overtly or implicitly, the otherness of that past" (Duffy iv). Not only do these words provide a sense of an activity, but given the defamiliarization implicit in the choices, they also make the world remote and exotic.

While the core choices potentially communicate a vernacular "realness," the non-core words lend a specificity that suggests intimate knowledge of place on the part of the narrator, one that also hints at authenticity (the writer has access to the particular word for the given Newfoundland context). The non-core vocabulary serves more than an informative purpose, however. Working interpersonally, it alerts the reader to the fact that she can trust the truth of this fiction as she might trust a well-researched narrative of historical fact, because the writer is clearly familiar with her subject and can be assumed to have more than a general knowledge with the world depicted in the text.

Carter and Nash might consider Morgan's book to partake in what they call "the realism game": a generous sprinkling of detail mingled with fantasy, action, or romance, depending on the form of popular fiction in question. According to these two theorists,

> [m]ost works of popular fiction are characterized by a paradox of realistic unrealism, in many cases so mixed as to amount to a game played with the reader. They are often elaborately 'researched', in historical, technical, topographical, institutional and sartorial detail, documenting reality with overwhelming care; at the same time, however, they are doggedly stereotyped, with well-tried and uncomplicated moral recipes, with actors who present conventional appearances (no heroes afflicted with warts, no heroines

> burdened with unsightly fat), who think and act predictably, who undergo helter-skelter changes of violent fortune but are seldom more than transiently affected by their doings and sufferings. (99)

Morgan's novel does present a world of characters who are "transiently affected by their doings and their sufferings." Members of the community who die, like young Hazel who dies shortly after coming to Newfoundland, are never mentioned again:

> From this day, Hazel's name will rarely be mentioned. Her children will forget her. After a year or so the words, which Ned will cut tomorrow on a wooden marker, will disappear, the marker will crack, fall over and blow out to sea. But by then there will be other graves on the point. (51)

While the book contains many awkward examples of narrative prolepsis, like the one above, it performs little analepsis or reflection. The forward-moving flow of the writing places emphasis on transience rather than reflection or reminiscence. Also, along the lines of the romantic elements in the realist writing, readers are not treated to the more abject details of nineteenth-century life. The women smell of sweat and fish, but these are mingled with the fragrance of baking bread. Lavinia, the romantic heroine, "exudes a scent like apples or burning rosewood, a soft tang like the fragrance caught inside the pink swirls of small sea shells" (234). In fact, Morgan's text, in

keeping with the character of the realism game, juxtaposes documentary detail (through non-core choices) and the "conventional appearances" of the popular romance.

Indeed, a commentary about this novel would be remiss if it did not point out that Random Passage is, above all, a romance, one that draws upon many of the conventions of the supermarket Harlequin. In fact, some of its details are startlingly similar to those in Colleen McCullough's The Thorn Birds. Both include a priest torn between God and carnal love, a red-haired beauty, a colonial setting, and love-making by the sea (in this case, the not-so-cozy North Atlantic). The combination of core and non-core selections, in short, come together to fulfil the formula for the popular romance with hybrid status as realistic novel and romance fantasy.

This mingling of realism and romance puts Random Passage firmly in the tradition of Canadian historical fiction, although Morgan might not appreciate this designation. In an interview with her friend, Helen Porter, Morgan communicates some ambivalence about her book being thought of as an historical novel because she feels "there are negative connotations for that kind of book-bodice-ripper with a castle in the background, all that" (Books in Canada 22). Dennis Duffy, in the aforementioned Sounding the Iceberg, traces the course of the Canadian historical novel from the nineteenth-century to present-day works. The patterns he designates as central to this genre are evident, as well, in Morgan's fiction.

First of all, we encounter quite a few romantic heros in Random Passage.

Duffy observes this theme in French Canadian nineteenth-century historical novels: "survival remains a passive concept. Men and women of endurance and stoicism triumph through travail"(7). In Morgan's book, women toil in rocky soil for vegetables, break their backs to "make fish," scrounge through the winter, and carry babies for nine months only to have them die in childbirth. Women work day and night only to get absorbed into the patriarch's share of the profits. Sickness swoops down on the outport and carries away beloved personages. Boys go to the sealhunt, and are thought lost on drifting ice. Despite these tragedies--tragedies often caused by forces larger than the heros' agency--the community continues to work and survive. And for this reason, they are admired, and become part of the present day readers' ancestry, made consubstantial through familial substance, a concept defined in chapter two.

Along lines similar to Burke's notion of familial substance, Duffy argues that part of the appeal of the historical novel is its *continuity*; that is to say, "the assertion of a moral continuity between audience and characters" (iv). Readers are invited to relate to Mary, Thomas, Lavinia, and Ned and view them as the ancestors of all Newfoundlanders. In addition, readers are invited to connect with tradition and venerate past ways:

> Historical fiction need not always be conservative in its political implications; many novels examined later bear that out. Yet the genre seems generally

> conservationist in that it preserves in print the memory of bygone customs and habits. (6)

Random Passage is a conservative, antimodern novel that represents "a recoil from an 'overcivilized' modern existence to more intense forms of physical or spiritual experience" (Lears xv). As I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, antimodern texts place themselves in opposition to the troubling, uprooted, and scattered realities of twentieth-century Newfoundland existence. And, as I have demonstrated, this antimodernist attitude can be traced in the very core lexical choices in the text. When all is said and done, lexical selections like Morgan's naturalize an *essential* Newfoundland history, a phenomenon that Ian McKay sees at work in Nova Scotia folkloric projects:

> The call of the blood and the racial memories of the Folk, the timeless traditions of the fishing coves, the unceasing battles of male adventurers against the raging sea, the pull of strong families bound together by tight knots of tradition: these were the new truths of regional antimodernism, whether one encountered them in travel brochures, in advertisements for factory-made bread, or in *The Nymph and the Lamp* by Thomas Raddall. The antimodern

> formula was remarkably resilient and impervious to the (abundant) empirical evidence of a thoroughly modern province undergoing a crisis of capitalist development. (2)

Morgan's book, similarly, takes place outside of any current Newfoundland experience. In fact, when Morgan jumps to the 1970s and 1980s in her second book, Waiting for Time, her writing loses its rigour and its stride, as if her narrative could only sustain this kind of style in a removed past or a removed future. (Waiting for Time concludes in the year 2024.)

Grammatical Selections in *Random Passage*

Lexical choices do not function alone, however. They only make sense in given syntactical arrangement. And the selections drawn upon, grammatically, have particular consequences. That is to say, certain resources will construct this Newfoundland region in a particular way, and will hail particular kinds of readers in particular ways. The following analysis looks at the manifestations and consequences of two particular grammatical patterns introduced in chapter two: ideationally, circumstance types and the construction of a utopic space; and textually, thematic arrangement and the highlighting of mundane information in the clause.

I begin my grammatical analysis by studying circumstance types in Random Passage and how they represent nineteenth-century outport life. To repeat the

definition given in chapter two, circumstance types are most often adverbial groups or prepositional phrases that give us extra information about the processes in a clause: when, where, how, why and under what conditions did the action occur? Morgan's narration seems detailed and specific because we are supplied with a generous number of phrases which *locate* processes and the novel's participants. If we look at the sealing excerpt quoted above, for instance, we read that ***Men from the Cape go to the Ice; the buckets are dragged in from back porches; the clothes will be burned on a bonfire; men along the coast have heads hairless as eggs***. Similarly, we get a lot of extra information about how things are done: women clean ***in a rage***, ***with soap***, and *with rags*. These domestic activities are quite carefully placed in this world. And, to iterate, the etymology of the word mundane suggests a connection to the concept of *world*.

Yet, when we look more closely at these locating circumstances, we can see that they are anything but concrete: what Cape? Exactly where is "to the Ice"? Along what coast? Lexical selections like *ice*, *cape*, *outdoors*, and *coast* might be locating phrases but they do not orient a reader very well. These grammatical circumstances, in conjunction with the hypernymic lexical choices already discussed, simply establish a maritime thematic field that allows a reader to imagine, *some* coast, *some* Cape, *some* ocean. It does not really have to be in Newfoundland, so long as it is marine and coastal. Similarly, the numerous temporal phrases locate the narrative events relative to each other (that is to say, they indicate sequence) but they do not really tell the

reader *when* this narrative is taking place. Consider this excerpt which opens chapter twelve:

> *For years* Meg, Sarah and Annie have taken turns going to the Norris house to change the filthy quilts, wash the mad woman and dress her in clean clothing. *Between times* Frank and Rose do for her. Annie Vincent, who goes most often to the Norris house, has *never* been heard to mention Frank Norris' wife. But according to Sarah and Meg, Ida is not completely silent. Her only occupation is stripping wallpaper from all the upstairs rooms. *Hour after hour*, Ida picks at the flowered patterns with her dirty fingernails . . . Then *one morning* Frank Norris pulls on his boots and finds that *during the night* they have been filled with molasses. *The next day* he and Rose come in at suppertime to discover two goats barred in the kitchen. *The following day* Frank's tobacco, his only luxury, is mixed into the flour barrel. The tricks continue; *each day* Rose whispers a new story of her mother's malevolence into Willie's ear. *In time*, everyone knows that Ida's sickness has taken a strange turn. It is unsettling, virulent, as if someone long dead had risen and was demanding attention. (152, italics mine)

The temporal information in this passage seems specific (in the second part of this excerpt, we are given markers of sequence); in fact, *the next day, the following day,*

each day, and *in time* are located in the thematic, or "what this clause is about" position of the clause. Upon consideration, however, we realize that referents like *day*, *morning*, *year*, and *time* are vague. We do not encounter specific days of the week, or calendar years. The narrative could have taken place any time in the nineteenth century. This heavily adjunctivized style, which runs throughout the whole book, constructs a fictional world that seems placed, but when observed more closely is not located very specifically. In short, it constructs a utopic space: the space of no place.

The utopic representation of outport Newfoundland in Random Passage prompts a reader's nostalgic response. Nostalgia, a painful desire for homecoming, "acquires its widest and deepest possible meaning as the primeval and ever-present dream of a known but *not specifically geographic* homeland" (Nakjavani 98, italics mine). A vague geographical setting opens itself up to many readers who can claim to recognize it, to desire it. This world of vague nouns does not defamiliarize or upset; rather, this lack of locating makes Newfoundland a tidy, take-out package for those who wish to transport it to their own soil.

To this point, I have focussed on Morgan's use of **circumstance adjuncts** (which instantiate the ideational metafunction) and how they contribute to a construction of the mundane. Here, I study the kinds of information found in the theme position of Morgan's clauses. Again, to iterate my definition in chapter two, the theme, according to Halliday, constitutes "the element which serves as the point of

departure of the message; it is that which the clause is concerned" (An Introduction to Functional Grammar 35). The theme realizes the textual, or organizational, metafunction. In terms of grammatical arrangement, Morgan often places ordinary or negligible information in the thematic, or initial, position of the sentence. In some sentences, this theme, or fore-grounding point, is comprised of quite ordinary information, while a marriage and the birth of a baby (both new and comparatively big events to the reader) get sidelined in short, adverbial phrases. The men, home from sealing, "are halfway down the path when Lizzie, *now Young Joe 's wife*, comes hurrying towards them *with the baby on her hip*" (101, italics mine). To this point, we know nothing of this marriage, nor do we know about the baby. These demographic details, in the economy of Morgan's stylistics, constitute secondary information; both marriage and birth are communicated in unmarked (and presumably omittable) phrases of time and manner. The syntax, instead, foregrounds the unremarkable: the theme communicates that the men coming home from the hunt meet Lizzie halfway down the path. In one sense, this lexical arrangement contributes to a world of the mundane. The selected syntax upsets one's expectation of what constitutes important information. A sentence like "Ned's oldest child, Jane, grown now to a pretty young woman , with a round face and pouting mouth, is in the other door holding *Moses, her newest step-brother* (102, italics mine) produces a similar effect: "Ned's oldest child, Jane, grown now to a pretty young woman, with a round face and pouting mouth" constitutes a long, adjective-heavy theme; meanwhile, the new child, Isaac, the patient

of the process, is relegated to direct object status. He is embedded, or tucked in the folds of the less prominent rheme, or remainder of the clause.

The couching of information in the direct object position, or in the offhand adverbial phrase, does not hide this news, but rather *draws attention* to the new member of the community or the new marriage. Morgan's syntax communicates this birth and marriage with dramatic and deliberate offhandedness. These sentences pretend to tell us about the ordinary but pull a fast one (and literally a *fast* one, because the narrative accelerates here, a point I will discuss in my narrative analysis). The thematic element only serves as a backdrop or setting for the noteworthy passing remark to come. This strategy is one way to give the mundane a jump-start. After all, one of the primary purposes of narration is to tell stories about events and actions that are (made) *interesting* for the audience. This pragmatic interestingness is usually obtained by the account of events or actions that are unexpected, deviant, extra-ordinary, or unpredictable, given the knowledge and beliefs of the audience.[4]

We would not have a very interesting story on our hands if we had a repeated narrative of the details of splitting a fish, or building a boat. In fact, it is worthwhile to stop to consider whether or not we could actually have a mundane tale about the nineteenth century in the first place. Any action, given its historical status, would be

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[4] See Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson's Politeness: some universals in language usage. They list "telling a good story" among their *positive* politeness strategies (strategies for enhancing relations between speakers and strengthening community).

"deviant" or "extra-ordinary" merely by virtue of its historical distance. The narrative cohabitation of mundane and historical is doomed from the start. As readers of this story, we feel like we have some access to the everyday and boring in a story set one hundred and fifty years ago. The motivations behind familiarizing one's past like this will be considered later, but now the analysis turns to the construction of narrative events in Random Passage, and examines how narrative organization, too, works to construct a world of the mundane in a not-so-mundane way.

Narrative Structure of *Random Passage*

> "Just tell 'em the bones of the tale, lad, or we'll be here all week." (Random Passage 71)

Narrative (not unlike other forms of communication like prayer, political speeches, or academic arguments) is a stylised, often highly-choreographed event. As Michael Toolan points out in Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction, the whole concept of narrative, itself, (as opposed to, say, spontaneous conversation) involves "a degree of artificial fabrication or constructedness" especially as concerns "sequence, emphasis and pace" (4). Narrative, then, is a fitting area of study in this examination of style.

Having discussed lexical and grammatical resources, I argue in this section that Morgan's book stylizes the mundane through narrative devices, as well. Morgan achieves what I, borrowing from sociologist Anthony Giddens, term narrative *durée*:

> Human action occurs as a *durée*, a continuous flow of conduct, as does cognition. Purposive action is not composed of an aggregate or series of separate intentions, reasons, and motives. Thus it is useful to speak of relexivity as grounded in the continuing monitoring of action which human beings display and expect others to display. (The Constitution of Society 3)

The structure of Morgan's story mimics the ongoing flow of ordinary life; each episode in the book seems absorbed into the larger rhythm of the narrative. This *durée* is achieved, primarily, in two ways. First, the book suggests the predictable and routine flow of life because, to a large extent, the story is comprised of what narrative theorists call *satellite events*. These satellite events (narrative filler of sorts) are so persuasive and pervasive that the most dramatic events seem to get cushioned in that overwhelming and lulling *durée* of seemingly negligible activities. Second, the novel achieves a sense of the routine by establishing predictable clause structures. These clause structures set up a sense of expectancy in the reader, and a sense of "at-homeness" in the rhythms of the text.

In Random Passage we encounter events of soap-operatic proportions: romantic desire, extramarital intrigue, stabbing, religious conversion, and polar bear attacks. Mysterious dead men (possibly pirates) are found in a cave. A filial conflict concludes when one little boy's finger is chopped off with an axe. One of the last of

the Beothuk Indians has his skull crushed by an iron rod, after having fathered a child with mysterious Fanny Bundle. How, given this dramatic series of events, could readers read this as a tale of the ordinary?

Despite the fact that she creates a startling array of kernel events, Morgan spends much more time unpacking the less central, satellite information in this novel. A satellite, according to narrative theorist Seymour Chatman, is

> [a] minor plot event . . . It can be deleted without disturbing the logic of the plot, though its omission will, of course, impoverish the narrative aesthetically. Satellites entail no choice, but are solely the workings-out of the choices made at the kernels . . . Their function is that of filling in, elaborating, completing the kernel; they form the flesh on the skeleton. (54)

Surrounding more important events like killings, seal-spottings, and sexual encounters, are "minor plot events" like gardening, fishing, and gossiping. The less glamorous instances of domestic and maritime life (setting a table or sitting next to a rock) make up the majority of these satellites, satellites that comprise much of Morgan's narrative space. The kernel, or dramatic, events of the text stand out as if in relief against a *durée* of habitual actions that comprise the background of this narrative.

To demonstrate how Morgan's structure successfully highlights the *routine*, I turn to the opening paragraph of chapter twelve:

> *For years*, Meg, Sarah and Annie *have taken* turns *going* to the Norris house *to change* the filthy quilts, *wash* the mad woman and *dress* her in clean clothing. *Between times* Frank and Rose do for her. Annie Vincent, who *goes most often* to the Norris house, has *never* been heard to mention Frank Norris' wife. But according to Sarah and Meg, Ida is now completely silent. Her only occupation *is stripping* wallpaper from all the upstairs rooms. *Hour after hour*, Ida *picks* at the flowered patterns with her dirty fingernails, carefully peeling the paper back in long ribbons, leaving it to flutter so that the dusty, unused rooms look as if they are ravelling away. (152, italics mine)

We do not, in all likelihood, consider this material central or kernel. Instead, we might be disposed to regard it as backdrop, with its emphasis on habitual and repeated events, as opposed to current, dynamic ones. Chronological markers like *for years*, *never*, *between times*, *hour after hour*, and *most often* hint at the fact that Morgan is setting a scene, offering context. We do not find *sequence* here (the marker of kernel events) but rather duration, in the sense that this passage is telling us *how long* this caregiving has been going on. The entire paragraph functions like a stative verb (like the verb *to be*): it is offering information on some state of affairs. These events do not open up alternatives for action, or provide crucial plot material (and hence are not central to a paraphrase of events).

Surrounding dramatic kernel events we have many narrative sequences that

one might consider to be narrative filler. Here, we find the static verbs; that is to say, these passages narrate processes of thinking or contemplating or talking or feeling. For instance, the women are gossiping when, in chapter twelve, Annie runs out of the Norris house, stabbed. The women are gutting fish when Meg doubles over with the first pains of labour (a pregnancy the reader knows nothing about until this point). Lavinia and her student Isaac are having an ordinary conversation when they hear the "inhuman noise ris[ing] from the beach below" (174) and realize that the sound is the roar of a polar bear that is in the process of killing one of our favourite characters, Ned. In short, the kernel events seem to rise from the *durée* of habitual--and seemingly secondary--events. They make a superficially mundane narrative riveting.

In the previous few paragraphs, I have discussed how the text enacts *durée* through satellite events. Now I consider how *durée*--and, associated with that, the predictable--is achieved through repetitive clause structure. In Random Passage, process types not only construct an activity-centred text, but they also pattern in a way that is both simple and predictable. We can run our eyes down the page and trace the uncomplicated sequence of Actor + Process + Goal (or, alternatively, subject + verb + object) with the movable circumstance types (adverbial or prepositional phrases) scattered randomly and generously. Drawing from the sealing excerpt given above, I have charted many repeated process/participant constructions:

Actor	Process	Goal or Circumstance
Everyone	knows	That the rest of the day will be spent hauling water (goal)

Men from the Cape	have gone	to the ice (circ.)
The women	will scrub . . . down	the men (goal)
He	has kept	his own fuzz of red curls (goal)
Mary	threatens to shave	his head (goal) before he leaves for the ice (circ.)

Fig. 2. Patterns of Actor, Process, and Goal in the "sealing" excerpt from Random Passage

While not intending to be exhausting or repetitive, I turn to a *second* example, to give some indication of the ubiquitous appearance of this repetitive syntactic pattern. The following, a typical passage, describes how the women have established a routine of tending to a vegetable garden:

> **The women** *have established* a routine from which they seldom vary.[5] Each morning, when the most necessary household chores are done, the babies fed, the day's water hauled from the pond, the pot of salt fish set to simmer over the banked fire, **they** *pack* Sarah's wooden chest.
>
> This container, half the size of a coffin, a seaman's trunk for generations of Gill men, was taken by Sarah as a blanket box when she left Pinchards Island to marry Josh. Into the bottom of this chest **the women** *fold* a thick quilt, on top of which **they** *put* an iron pot filled with hot coals, a kettle, food, extra clothing

[5] In this font convention, the bolded text indicates Agent, the italicized text indicates Process, and the Underlined text, Goal or Circumstance.

and whatever else they can fit in.

They *have scrounged* an unlikely collection of tools, things the men can spare from more important work: a blunt axe, a pick, the long iron rod Josh found tangled in his net last summer, a shovel, a length of rope and several brin bags. Meg *carries* as many tools as she can, Jennie and Mary *carry* the chest between them by its rope handles, and Annie *trails* behind with a baby in each arm. Meg's two-year-old Willie usually *runs ahead* of the women, who *make* slow *progress* up the twisting path to the clearing. (57)

Morgan's style above is characterized by a simple patterning of actor + process + goal (Subject + Verb + Object):

Actor	Process	Goal or Circumstance
The women	have established	a routine from which they seldom vary (goal)
They	pack	Sarah's wooden chest
The women	fold	a thick quilt (goal)
They	put	an iron pot . . . (goal)
They	have scrounged	an unlikely collection of tools (goal)
Meg	carries	as many tools as she can
Jennie and Mary	carry	the chest (goal)
Annie	trails behind	with a baby in each arm (circ.)
Meg's two-year-old Willie	runs	ahead of the women (circ.)
Who	make . . . progress	up the twisting path (circ.)

Fig. 3. Patterns of Actor, Process and Goal in the "packing" excerpt from Random Passage

The process types, which pattern throughout the book in much the same way as they do above, function to construct life in Newfoundland as simple and repetitive. We do, occasionally find compound sentences (clauses joined by such conjunctions as *and*), and some subordinate clauses. Most of the sentences, however, are comprised of simple agent + goal clauses. The simple, here suggested in clause structure, is often associated with the pure and the authentic.

Again, this rendering of Newfoundland life (in terms of agent, process, goal) quickly becomes predictable. Morgan stylizes the patterned and the routine by writing in clauses that lull and that become easy to anticipate. Consider the repetition of structure in such phrases as: *household chores are done, babies [are] fed, the day's water [is] hauled from the pond, the pot of salt fish set to simmer.* Similarly, we find repetition in word class (nouns) in the list of things that the women put in the seaman's trunk: *an iron pot . . . a kettle, food, extra clothing and whatever else they can fit in.* Almost every sentence--even if it does not contain a list--*does* perform some kind of repetitious phrase or clause structure. The writing sets up an economy of predictable sentence structure, one that makes this world safe, simple, and neat.

To make an additional point about the predictability of Morgan's style, I turn to one of the notable features of her writing: the patterning of repetitive noun phrases or adjectival phrases which describe or (in the case of a trunk below) literally unpack a

participant in the clause. The following two sentences, taken from the passage above, nicely demonstrate this pattern:

> This container, ***half the size of a coffin(1), a seaman's trunk for generations of Gill men*** (2), was taken by Sarah as a blanket box when she left Pinchard's Island to marry Josh.
>
> They have scrounged an unlikely collection of tools, ***things the men can spare from more important work(1)***: ***a blunt axe, a pick, the long iron rod Josh found tangled in his net last summer, a shovel, a length of rope and several brin bags. (2)***

The "container" and the "unlikely collection of tools" are elaborated upon in repetitive phrases. While we *do* get new information about the object in question (we receive some clarification of or more hypotactic information about the participant), we do not encounter a new event, or a new participant. The grammar--which gives us more detail, more information--situates us in the space of descriptive pause rather than event-centred plot. These chains of descriptive phrases are another example of how satellite events are stylized in this narrative.

Not surprisingly, satellite information, in the form of paratactic phrases, slows the pace of reading, and emphasizes the mundane object. This is a world of containers, rods, axes, and trunks. Not a lot seems to ***happen*** in this place; rather, the place simply

exists in the ordinary collection of domestic and marine objects that characterize ordinary living in this novel. The slowed pace makes the reader feel *as if* she were participating in mundane activities. This telling is not really supposed to be boring, however: as already suggested, these mundane objects, in the world of the historically distant and the exoticized mundane, reek of mothballs and shine like polished museum artefacts. The reader can contain this place, can understand it, in the objects that stand in for, and represent, a whole way of life. Needless to say, this is a simple way of understanding the workings of a community or a historical period. Moreover, while our attention is focused on the selection of specific objects, it is deflected from the strategies of euphemization in her telling: drama, intrigue, exoticization, and carefully crafted prose.

Consequences for Regionality

The question now is--how can a lexical, grammatical, and narrative analysis like the one above address the complexity of regionality? What can it tell us about how a region is made meaningful to a reading audience? At this point in the discussion, I might logically conclude with a statement about the ubiquity of realist regional texts, and a word or two about how regional books are considered referential and authentic. I might then maintain that realist and nostalgic stories maintain the politically disempowered status of regions within the nation-state. Alison Calder takes this approach in her article, "Reassessing Prairie Realism," where she writes of the narrow

definition of prairie regionalism, one that applies in the case of Random Passage, as well:

> [T]he majority of critical articles written about these and other works of prairie realism fail to recognize both that these writings present fictionalized, not photographic, landscapes, and that the empirical conditions of life represented in those fictions no longer necessarily exist. Narrow definitions of regionalism . . . contribute to these misrepresentations: if a novel is regional, which is what we are told prairie realism is, then it *must* by definition, be "true." (55)

These "narrow definitions of regionalism," she concludes, tend to make certain regions (like the prairies or the Maritimes) seem unlivable, and absolve governments of responsibility when they plunder and devastate forests and fisheries, or fail to address farmers' concerns in times of crisis. After all, how can a government be responsible for a region's decline if it were so darn desolate in the first place? Or, when a region identifies closely with the land and sea, or the whims of climate and water temperature (an attitude sustained by the geographical essentialism foregrounded in realist texts), governments can blame environmental tragedy, rather than local and foreign policy, for cod moratoria and the accompanying closure of fish plants.

I acknowledge these concerns and share them. That said, my reflections move in a different direction. Realist novels provide, symbolically, a means through which

regional residents can know themselves at all; they prepare residents for the various situations they will face, and enable them to go on. In his essay, "Literature as Equipment for Living," Burke writes:

> there is no "realism for its own sake." There is realism for promise, admonition, solace, vengeance, foretelling, instruction, charting, all for the direct bearing that such acts have upon matters of welfare. (Contemporary Literary Criticism 169)

Realist novels appeal to populations for reasons that extend beyond nostalgia, recognition, or popular aesthetic. They are, to use Burke's words, "proverbs writ large," and as such constitute "strategies for dealing with situations" (170). Random Passage provides consolation, yes; but more important, the book offers a means of social organization (social strategies) in a time of seemingly uncontrolled demographic disorder. The book, in its very rhythms and repetitions, orders life in a way that enables the resident in a region to manoeuvre through battles yet to come. So, while the book does appeal to nostalgia (and is, to an extent, backward-looking), it also provides terms that teach continuity, and *durée*. Realism, then, is more than solace--it is a form of foretelling how one might adopt an attitude in order to act in a changing world.

Random Passage does not provide easy consolation, but invites an embodied

sense of place. Recursive action--even at the level of sentence structure--is important in terms of region because routine is central to what Anthony Giddens calls *ontological security* (The Constitution of Society 62). In his work on routinization and motivation, Giddens draws upon psychologist Erik Erikson's ideas concerning bodily autonomy and trust. Both theorists concentrate on the specifiable connections between the individual agent and the social contexts through which that agent moves in the course of daily life. To understand the importance of predictability, psychological autonomy, and the "futural" sense that we all assume in our everyday activities, Giddens focusses on what he calls "critical situations," times of radical disruption in the everyday routines of agents. In particular, he studies the rapid deterioration of those who were imprisoned in the concentration camps of Dachau and Buchenwald. Guards exerted authority over all activities: they wielded erratic but strategic control over toilet facilities and relentlessly threatened floggings and torture, and effectively forced prisoners to concentrate on the here-and-now. Giddens writes that:

> The 'futural' sense in which the *durée* of social life ordinarily occurs was destroyed by the manifestly contingent character of even the hope that the next day would arrive. The prisoners, in other words, lived in circumstances of radical ontological insecurity . . . They no longer behaved as though they were human agents, avoiding eye contact with others, making only gross movements of the body and shuffling their legs when they walked. . .only prisoners who

> managed to maintain some small sphere of control in their daily lives, which they still regarded as their 'own', were able to survive. (62-63)

I would never argue that Newfoundlanders have the same status as victims of Dachau and Buchenwald. The extent of bodily and psychological destruction in concentration camps is unspeakably greater than that of Newfoundlanders' sense of disruption in the wake of a destroyed economy. That point decidedly made, I argue that Newfoundlanders' love of this novel points to a desire for routine and predictability, a response by those who feel that their place is in jeopardy and their occupational routines permanently disrupted. The repetition and recursivity in Morgan's syntax communicate a feeling of at-homeness or location within the mini-context of the novel Random Passage. Between the covers of her book, at least, the Newfoundlander or Atlantic Canadian can indulge a feeling of ontological security; this style appeals to and has the potential to satisfy that primary need of its audience.

The equation of form and desire is hardly groundbreaking news. Form, according to Burke, is "an arousing and fulfilment of desires" (Counter Statement 124). Repetitive form, according to Burke, sets up and gratifies

> a constancy of expectations; the reader 'comes to rely' upon the rhythmic design after sufficient 'co-ordinates of direction' have been received by him; the regularity of the design establishes conditions of response in the body, and the

> continuance of the design becomes an 'obedience' to these same conditions. (Counter Statement 124)

Here, Burke refers to verse rhythm, but indicates that the same applies--if to a less immediate and apparent extent--in prose rhythm and repetition. He writes that "the rhythm of a page, in setting up a corresponding rhythm in the body, creates marked degrees of expectancy, or acquiescence" (125). Repetition in style and in the patterns of lexical resources address a desire for predictability and redundancy.

Ultimately, the novel controls the internal contingency of the action: this world is a safe one, style-wise. Ursula Kelly, in Marketing Place, writes:

> While Newfoundland books do collectively express, at present, a preoccupation with the past, such a focus is understandable, especially in the face of what is proving to be a tenuous and arbitrary present. Further, without a viable vision of the future, the past beckons with its familiarity. However terrible the terrain once was, one has already coped. Such inclinations are the very means through which romanticism thrives; however, romanticism, rather than being dismissed, needs to be examined for the urges out of which it arises. For at least some Newfoundland readers, the past holds a valuing of themselves they seem not to have secured in the present. (80)

In a Newfoundland context of depopulation[6] and anxiety about the future, a local reader might be attracted to a novel that dispels the unpredictable, that sets up a mini-context of language pattern that is secure, especially if the world of the Newfoundland reader is not. The consumption of popular, nostalgic texts is particularly desirable in this time of provincial anxiety. Bourdieu argues that "individuals or groups in decline":

> endlessly reinvent. . .essentialist faith in the eternity of natures, celebration of tradition and the past, the cult of history and its rituals, because the best that they can expect from the future is the return of the old order, from which they expect the restoration of their social being. (Distinction 111)

Random Passage and its sequel Waiting for Time both appeal to this sense of eternity and ritual in syntax and in structure. The end of Waiting for Time and the beginning of Random Passage, in keeping with ritual and repetition, could be put end to end to form one complete narrative circle. Random Passage opens on a cold Spring morning when the Beothuk Indians come to the ocean for their annual seal hunt: "*It is spring and in the great pit at the centre of the sacred hill a fire burns as it has for a thousand springs . . .*" (Prologue). At the end of Waiting for Time, an elderly Lav Andrew,

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[6] According to an online article in The Evening Telegram (26 Sept. 1998), Newfoundland experienced its largest ever decline that year, its population falling by almost 10,000 between July 1997 and July 1998.

distant ancestor of the original Lavinia,

> *will do something she has been thinking about for a long, long time. She will go into the old house and find Lavinia's journal. Walking all alone she will slowly cross the marsh, carry the book out to the Cape. Sitting in the weak spring sunshine, with her back against the black rock she will open the ledger and begin to write.*
>
> *She will write, "It is Spring and in the great pit at the centre of the sacred hill a fire burns as it has for a thousand springs . . ."* (230, italics in original)

Redemption and hope seem to spring from the act of reading and writing, the ultimate connective acts. Ultimately, sharing place through symbols--whether it be Lavinia's journal or Morgan's style--constitutes the practice of regionality. Random Passage performs a pattern of experience in its very grammar, and these patterns allow different Newfoundlanders to adopt an attitude towards place. This attitude might vary from complete participation in this style, to rejection, to a response somewhere in between, where an attraction to the "real" mingles with a wariness towards identifying wholeheartedly with the brand of regionality. Whether we like the book or not, we cannot ignore the fact that it constitutes a symbolic interaction with one's region and enables readers to monitor their place in the world. This ability takes place through language, in what is, when we come down to it, a very human and practical activity.

Conclusion: Style and Social Context

By way of conclusion, I will summarize some of the most salient arguments of this chapter. I noted, with some interest, that Bernice Morgan's Random Passage has been read as a tale of the mundane and the ordinary, and that, as a consequence, the narrative has been received as authentic. I argued that the book enacts this mundane aesthetic through lexical, grammatical, and narrative selections. I take the notion of novelistic style beyond one vector of literary criticism that equates style with the voice of a particular writer, or as ornamentation. Instead, I argue that style, which draws upon and replicates larger social patterns, provides the means by which a book enacts a socially desirable telling to a socially situated audience.

Lexically, I noted a prevalence of what stylisticians Ronald Carter and Walter Nash call "core-vocabulary," which constructs a seemingly simple, ordinary, and unremarkable narrative. I argued, however, that this core vocabulary, which tends to be hypernymic, also effectively removes Morgan's story from any specific time or place, and makes nineteenth-century Newfoundland feel mythical and abstract. This combination of the ordinary and the extraordinary, performed through lexical choices, results in what Carter and Nash term "the realism game," a juxtaposition of documentary detail with romantic elements. In terms of grammatical features, I noticed that Morgan's style was saturated with circumstance types, which appear to position the setting quite carefully in time and place. Yet, when examined closely, these circumstance types (like the core vocabulary) ultimately slip out from under any

specific location, and are instead vague and timeless. In addition, grammatically, I observed that Random Passage positions ordinary or negligible information in the significant thematic position of the clause, while tucking more interesting news in subordinate clauses or short adverbial phrases. Finally, in narrative terms, I concentrated on two strategies that created, in the reading time, a sense of *durée* or "continuous flow of conduct" of life, the feeling that time was simply moving day-by-day. The story, I suggested, is comprised primarily of satellite events, descriptive passages that cushion and reduce the drama of what is quite a riveting story. Further, the narrative sets up predictable and repetitive clause structures that suggest a routineness in both content and form. All of these stylistic factors, I feel, contribute to the effect the book has had on local audiences.

Of course, stylistic elements do not tell the whole story. As a rhetorical event, the style of the novel functions as a means of identification, an invitation to understand regionality in the same way. Many local readers, myself included, have responded enthusiastically to this invitation, yet one's love of a book like Morgan's needs to be considered politically. Sharing regionality through realist novels and nostalgic/romantic tales like Random Passage comes with decidedly problematic political consequences. Given the kinds of social script this novel provides, how do we make room for experimental fiction, or include in our regional narratives less homogenizing, alternative tales that privilege race, class, and/or gender?

Beyond these reflections, however, I have been interested in this chapter to

understand, ultimately, how the style of Random Passage performs a consolatory and enabling function, socially. Instead of criticizing realist fiction entirely we might ask: what kinds of meanings might a book like Morgan's, no matter how anti-modern, allow Newfoundlanders to make? Taking my cue from the idiosyncratic sociological literary criticism of Kenneth Burke, I wonder if we might read Random Passage as a strategy for dealing with the current economic and cultural exigencies of Newfoundland. The novel prioritizes the ritual, the repetitive, the simple, the ordered, the predictable, and the ordinary. In doing so, the book acts as "equipment for living," enabling many to find community and stability through symbols at a time of social exodus. Now, when natural resources find themselves at an all-time low, discursive and narrative resources play an even more crucial role in maintaining some sense of place, no matter how provisional.

CHAPTER FOUR

Constructing Regionality through a Tourist Gaze: E. Annie Proulx's The Shipping News

> When we 'go away' we look at the environment with interest and curiosity. It speaks to us in ways we appreciate, or at least we anticipate that it will do so. In other words, we gaze at what we encounter. And this gaze is as socially organised and systematised as is the gaze of the medic. Of course it is of a different order in that it is not confined to professionals 'supported and justified by an institution'. And yet even in the production of 'unnecessary' pleasure there are in fact many professional experts who help to construct and develop our gaze as tourists. (Urry 1)

The previous chapter explored how region can be constructed as mundane by a writer from *within* the region. After studying Bernice Morgan's writing in Random Passage, I concluded that the book, through its lexical choices, syntax, and narrative strategies, produces a telling that seems authentic and real to local readers. This "just right" response occurs, in part, I think, because the book reproduces familiar representations. It continues a tradition of antimodern representation in Newfoundland, with its attendant valorization of the past and its celebration of simplicity. This antimodern style finds an eager audience in present-day Newfoundland readers, I concluded,

because of current economic, demographic, and social insecurities in the province. Morgan's brand of fiction does not only appeal to Newfoundlanders, however, but finds place in a tradition of Canadian historical fiction, with its heroes, its romance, its conservative realism, and its emphasis on the community. A reader might view Morgan's antimodern discourse as conservative and her quest for historical authenticity a contradictory and impossible task. Both are valid criticisms. However, in terms of the book's status as social act, the style is ultimately an act of shared anchorage--from one Newfoundlander to other Newfoundlanders--that appeals to the needs of a disrupted people with an uncertain future.

This chapter studies the representation of regionality by someone from *outside* the province.[1] One way we can understand regionality is through the eyes--and symbols--of the visitor. As I have argued, no genuine Newfoundland and Labrador exists, no essential place that can be known absolutely and completely, even by the

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[1] Of course, speaking in terms of an insider/outsider binary poses problems of regional designation. Who warrants insider status, and when does one actually become qualified to speak of region? This dilemma is taken up by Calder:

> Opposing insider to outsider to determine a text's regional qualities is deeply problematic, however, for the problem then arises of determining who, exactly, can represent what region. The simplest criteria (sic) is birthplace or childhood home--if an author is born in a particular region, he or she may call that region, and no other, his or his home. Northrop Frye demonstrates this approach in The Bush Garden (1971), asserting that if an artist is brought up in one region and moves to another, he will always be "an imaginative foreigner" in it (ii). (16)

Other critics, Calder continues, disregard such an extreme viewpoint, and argue that those who show a strong commitment to place are equally qualified to claim familiarity. My approach in this discussion sidesteps this insider/outsider problem somewhat because it concentrates on *how* place is represented instead of focussing on *by whom?*

native-born resident. Instead, regionality consists of different stories, each of which draws upon select terms of definition. We can speculate that an outsider will provide different terms for articulating place than the resident. Some non-Newfoundlanders draw upon terms that construct Newfoundlanders as culturally deficient: the Newfie joke, when exchanged between non-Newfoundlanders, functions to portray Newfoundanders as caricatures of inordinate stupidity. Other stories draw upon terms that define Newfoundland as lacking in other ways. For instance, Claire Mowat, mainland writer and wife of Farley Mowat, begins her book The Outport People by listing what 1960s outport Newfoundland did not have: tall trees, cars, good weather, fine food, or finishing nails.

Alternatively, a text can draw upon resources that represent place in desirable terms for certain readers. E. Annie Proulx's The Shipping News constitutes one non-Newfoundlander's attempt to make region desirable. The novel makes Newfoundland desirable, I argue, because its language draws upon the registers and narratives of tourism and its close cousin, anthropology.[2] John Urry, a sociologist who studies the effects of tourism, predicts that "by the year 2000 [tourism] will be the largest industry in the world, in terms of employment and trade" (173). James Overton, in his book Making a World of Difference: Essays on Tourism, Culture and Development in

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[2] In his essay, "'Regionalist' Fiction and the Problem of Cultural Knowledge," David Martin distinguishes between the tourist and the anthropological attitude when he studies the late-nineteenth century works of "local colour" artists in the United States. Tourism, as I see it, often incorporates elements of ethnography and anthropology, especially given that tourist expectations are varied and numerous.

Newfoundland, writes that "in the twentieth century space has increasingly been conquered for leisure. Tourism is transforming space and social relations on a world scale" (4). One cannot underestimate, therefore, the extent to which tourism affects our construction of other places and our readings of texts, both linguistic and visual. Novels, films, advertisements, and visual art all contribute to this transformation of space into a potential tourist site.

I began to consider the connection between tourism and Proulx's novel when a professor at Memorial suggested that The Shipping News had done more for Newfoundland tourism than any book about Newfoundland and Labrador to date. The Shipping News, widely distributed and marketed by its multinational publisher, Simon and Schuster, has given Newfoundland international exposure. The book's literary success has boosted both the circulation of the novel and the appeal of its locale, Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula. Yet exposure and literary acclaim do not entirely explain why the book has encouraged so many to both imaginatively and literally visit Newfoundland.

I suggest that in addition to international popularity and distribution, we consider how the *style* of a novel (simply, its narrative, grammatical, and lexical instantiation) invite tourist interpretations. Features of Proulx's language speak to the many kinds of tourist expectations and attitudes that exist amongst readers. Whether a reader desires authenticity, play, the extraordinary, the carnivalesque, or the quaint, The Shipping News makes room for the diverse desires of a visiting readership. The

relationship between contemporary novels and tourism has been acknowledged, but not explored at any length in recent criticism. Instead, many studies of tourism concentrate on brochures, pamphlets, slogans, and television advertising. This chapter, however, takes on the difficult task of connecting literary style with social reception, a task made more difficult by the many different positions a reader might take relative to the style and to the story.

Looking to the tourist strategies (strategies I explain below) in The Shipping News helps me understand the extraordinary success this book has received internationally. The novel won, among other commendations, the 1994 Pulitzer Prize, the 1993 National Book Award for Fiction, and the Irish Times International Fiction Award. A movie version starring John Travolta is currently being produced by the large American film company TriStar. On the front tables in large-chain bookstores, the novel has been widely-read, much-reviewed, and highly praised. Proulx's ability to make place exotic and beautiful through symbols has catapulted the book beyond the parochial or local limitations of the traditionally regional book. Moreover, taking the tourist gaze as my framing theory prompts me to consider an important question: what are the consequences for the region that is the object of the outsider's tourist gaze? I take up this question at the end of the chapter.

Tourist Features and The Shipping News

I have posited the idea that The Shipping News invites a tourist reading. What might that mean? I have selected four ways of reading the novel, all of which are amenable to the tourist gaze. First, I read The Shipping News as a tale of the *extraordinary*. Whether it be Disneyland, Canterbury Cathedral, or the diary of an eco-tourist in the Arctic, the tourist text draws upon the extraordinary, and beckons the reader towards a literal and imaginative departure from everyday life. The tourist experience promises, above all, leisure and restoration. Ancient Roman ruins, the world's largest apple, or three weeks in a snow house mark for the tourist discontinuity from the everyday. In this respect, The Shipping News is markedly different from the apparently ordinary Random Passage. It does not purport to be mundane, but performs the extraordinary mainly through its carnivalesque narrative.

Second, I read The Shipping News as an act of *staged authenticity*: the artificial framing of real landscapes, occupations, or ways of life. St. Jacob's, Ontario provides a striking example of this staged authenticity. "Real" Mennonite practices (riding buggies, making quilts and handcrafting furniture) are open to tourist view, but are framed by antique shops, murals, and guided tours. The language of The Shipping News, I argue, replicates this staged authenticity. Proulx makes great use of what she believes is non-core vocabulary for outport Newfoundlanders (what I call Proulx's "Newfi-isms"), a vocabulary that appeals to some visitors' desire for the authentic Newfoundland experience. Her often clumsy use of non-core vocabulary establishes

community with other out-of-province readers who view these choices as having a high correlation, or modality, with real Newfoundland experience. Newfoundland readers and reviewers, on the other hand, have viewed these words differently: as constructing a highly aestheticized, dictionary-pillaged narrative that falls flat to the practised ear of the Newfoundland reader.

Third, I read The Shipping News as act of *translation* for the fellow tourist. Tourist excursions often necessitate translation, whether this rendering be translated languages or interpreted cultural practices. Multilingual translators and park interpretation guides help describe a different culture or setting in terms that the visitor can understand. Translation performs an interpersonal function because it addresses a reader's or listener's desire to participate with or enter into a vocabulary or activity. I argue that Proulx's book achieves this act of translation with other outsiders through *metaphor*, where an unfamiliar place (with its terrain, sea, and characters) is articulated in more recognizable terms. Metaphor, then, constitutes more than a literary device or aesthetic move. It performs a means of introducing and tempering the unknown with the known.

Finally, I read The Shipping News as an act of *reification*. Tourist representations effectively package and objectify local practices. Inuit experience, for instance, becomes as frozen as the soapstone carvings that sell in expensive art galleries or tourist shopping districts. To speculate about how reification occurs in grammatical terms, I select one passage from The Shipping News and consider how its

language choices create a timeless and placeless place, one removed from current exigencies. Another syntactic pattern that contributes to this reification is Proulx's extensive use of *asyndeton*. Asyndeton is a form of syntactic ellipsis that results in a highly paratactic style which, I argue, is reminiscent of Imagist poetry. Like Imagist verse, Proulx's style emphasizes fragments of experience, each fragment carrying substantial significance and import because of its status as a syntactic island in the middle of noticeable ellipsis. Proulx's style often presents a string of objects and chops experience into discrete units for examination and appreciation, a process not unlike a collection of photographs or discrete museum displays.

Before embarking on my textual analysis, however, I provide some context for my exploration. First, I sketch a brief yet representative history of American tourism in Newfoundland. Then, I speculate about the different kinds of tourist gazes readers might bring to Proulx's book. These considerations frame the textual analysis that follows, where I analyze The Shipping News and its potential tourist appeal.

A Brief History of American Tourism in Newfoundland

Quoyle (and his creator, Proulx) are not the first to fall in love with the landscape and the imagined possibilities of Newfoundland and Labrador. Americans, historically, have made Newfoundland a site of escape and intrigue. In The Rock Observed, a study of Newfoundland writing, Patrick O'Flaherty points to the interest in the colony of Newfoundland in the second half of the nineteenth century:

> While the increased British attention to Newfoundland might have been expected, of particular interest in this period was the involvement of American writers with the colony. It may not be an exaggeration to say that the Island and Labrador became in some sense an imaginative outpost of the Eastern United States, with authors recreating in this sparsely populated and primitive territory an image of their own diminishing frontier. (83)

The romanticized projection of Newfoundland as an American frontier drew many "literary and artistic visitors to its shores and inspired others to write about it. The Island had the appeal of singularity" (O'Flaherty 83). Newfoundland and Labrador's status as an ancient possession of Britain, perched so close to the North American continent, yet so different from either place, made the colony fascinating, mysterious and romantic. O' Flaherty lists many romances written during this period, romances that had as their backdrop a Newfoundland setting where fantastic adventures took place. Among these novels were R.M. Ballantyne's The Crew of the Water Wagtail: A Story of Newfoundland (1889); Joseph Hatton's Under the Great Seal (1893); and Kirk Munroe's Dorymates: A Tale of the Fishing Banks (1889) (81-84).

Americans were fascinated not only with the creative possibilities of Newfoundland but also with the romantic mythologies of its larger neighbour: nineteenth century Canada. Nova Scotia, for example, served as the romantic backdrop for Longfellow's long poem Evangeline (1847), a romantic story about a

young girl who is parted from her sweetheart during the dispersal of the Acadians, and only after many years finds him sick in a hospital, when both are in old age. Like The Shipping News, Evangeline met with fabulous market success. David Staines, in his published lecture, "The Dispassionate Witness" in Beyond the Provinces: Literary Criticism at Century's End writes of Evangeline's reception:

> The poem was an immediate success: in its first year, it sold out 5 editions, and in its first hundred years, it went through 270 editions and at least 130 translations, including--within the first decade of its publication--German, Polish, French, Danish, Swedish, Dutch, and Italian . . . *Evangeline* created a new tourist boom for Nova Scotia and a protracted debate about the poem's historical accuracy. More importantly, it gave Canada a romantic literary image, which provided an alternative, albeit an elegiac one, to Longfellow's own country. (45)

Not only Nova Scotia, but Ontario and Québec became the focus of tourist depiction in nineteenth-century American novels. William Dean Howells, for instance, published in 1872 Their Wedding Journey (about a Boston couple's honeymoon through Niagara, Kingston, Montreal and Québec City) and in 1873 A Chance Acquaintance (about Old World Québec City). These books mingled envy and condescension towards Loyalist Canada. In Their Wedding Journey, Canada is solid and romantic yet

also reminds the narrator of "an overgrown, unmanly boy" (qtd. in Staines 40). Staines argues, ultimately, that Howells' novels constructed "a living anachronism catering to American tourists in search of an old and discarded European world on their own continent" (39).

Old World charm did not initially draw tourists to Newfoundland and Labrador, however. Gerald Pocius, in his essay "Tourists, Health Seekers and Sportsmen: Luring Americans to Newfoundland in the Early Twentieth Century," explores the connection between the construction of the Reid Newfoundland Company railway and the active campaign between 1885 and 1920 to lure wealthy Americans to the colony. These campaigns, which targeted primarily the north-eastern United States, centred on a consistent set of images that promoted what were perceived to be Newfoundland's selling points: scenery, invigorating climate, and wildlife (48). As one might gather from these marketed attributes, Newfoundland tourism did not begin as *cultural* tourism. That is to say, Newfoundlanders themselves were not on display as a distinctive cultural attraction. Instead, campaigns centred on *natural* tourism: wilderness spaces that provided bear and caribou hunts and fine fresh-water fishing. Like O'Flaherty, Pocius speculates that Americans, living in increasingly crowded spaces and industrialized centres, were looking for the untouched and primitive:

> At the beginning of the twentieth century, Americans increasingly felt that their frontier had vanished, that no longer were there vast unconquered spaces in

> their own country left to explore. As in other countries, the perceived disappearance of the frontier led to a developing cult of the wilderness . . . With increasing urbanization and industrialization, stimulated by the writings of wilderness lovers such as Frederick Jackson Turner, Americans more and more turned to the primitive for inspiration and rejuvenation, be it primitive man (sic) or primitive land . . . It was not long before Americans realized that while their wilderness was becoming increasingly endangered, Canada and Newfoundland had plenty to spare. (49-50)

This attitude at the beginning of the century persists to its end. Some Americans still view Newfoundland as a primitive land. This attitude is gently made fun of in Newfoundland writer Michael Crummey's short story collection, Flesh & Blood, when an American character, Jade, comes to Newfoundland:

> In St. John's, Kim fell in love with Jade, a Fine Arts student who had come to Newfoundland from New York to study after she'd read *Death on the Ice*. She thought it would bring her closer to a world where nature still reigned, like Job's God, both provident and pitiless. She was disappointed to find herself in a real city, a small one granted, but a city nonetheless, with cinemas, theatres, public transit. Her only real consolation, she claims, was meeting Kim. (195)

The emphasis on the primitive natural environment took a back seat, however, as the number of visitors to Newfoundland increased, and attention began to settle on the customs and speech habits of the local residents. Folklore was born. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, local intelligentsia and those from outside the colony wrote about what they felt was distinctive about Newfoundlanders. These speculations led to the construction of the hardy Newfoundlander, an image propagated by local entrepreneurs to market a simple, uncorrupted people (Pocius 66). This romanticized and ultimately infantilizing construction came out of and reproduced the inequitable power relationship between American visitors and locals. And this imbalance of power set fertile ground for tourism, as tourism frequently occurs in situations where groups of people from more affluent places travel to destinations where the economies are much less developed. To millionaire hunters, anglers, and health-seekers, Newfoundlanders were seen as poor, simple, and child-like. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Pocius speculates, wealthy Americans came to Newfoundland to find invaluable and quaint antiques, seduced by the rumour that ingenuous Newfoundlanders were oblivious to the value of their possessions.

The power division--one between an economic heavy-weight and a colonial scrap--is underlined in Wayne Johnston's recent novel The Colony of Unrequited Dreams in which the narrator, a fictional first-person Joey Smallwood, observes the disparaging manner of American servicemen stationed in St. John's during World War Two:

> "Someone ought to tell you people what century this is," an American soldier whom I was interviewing said in the fall of 1943.
>
> I knew in theory that things were better in America than when I had been there, but I still thought of "America" as the New York of the 1920s.
>
> It was the casual, staggering largesse of the Americans that impressed us the most. Once they entered the war, it seemed that army bases, airports, roads and drydocks popped up in Newfoundland overnight. St. John's was crawling with free-spending Americans, with their stories of how much better off their people back home were than Newfoundlanders. (394)

This chapter in Johnston's novel describes how "tall, lanky, pimply-faced young" Americans (396) could walk right into the movie theatre at Fort Peperrell, Pleasantville, an American base in St. John's. Meanwhile, the local residents had to wait out in the cold mid-October rain. To add insult to injury, many of these desirable American servicemen had Newfoundland women on their arms.

The Shipping News picks up the thread of a long tradition of American interactions with and constructions of Newfoundland, and weaves a new tale with old themes. The novel begins with a series of mishaps that befall the sad and passive

protagonist, Quoyle. Quoyle, a failure in life, marriage, and "general appearance," slumps through a dreary life in New York state until hit by a series of tragedies. At the beginning of the novel, we are launched into what Sandra Gwynn of The Toronto Star termed, "a speedboat of a plot" (G13). Quoyle's parents commit a double suicide by swallowing barbiturates with *Silent Nite* herbal tea. Quoyle's wife, Petal Bear, a sexual equation "that attracted many mathematicians"(15), is killed in a car crash while running off with a real estate agent. In this tragic tangle, Quoyle almost loses his two children, Bunny and Sunshine, to a child pornographer. Looking for anchorage in rocky times, Quoyle moves to Newfoundland with his aunt Agnis and his daughters. Here, in the outport community of Killick-Claw, the land of Quoyle's ancestors, our sense of movement continues. We roll with waves, tilt with dilapidated houses, and dance with the cadences of local speech. Above all, we trace the cadences and rhythms of Proulx's prose as her American character falls in love with a place that fascinates him and warms him in the same way, it seems, as his wife once did: "as a hot mouth warms a cold spoon" (13).

Like those nineteenth-century novels listed above, Proulx's novel makes Newfoundland a place of intrigue. Agnis Hamm, Quoyle's aunt, remembers stories like the one about "the father who shot his oldest children and himself that the rest might live on flour scrapings" (33). The Gammy Bird, the paper where Quoyle writes the shipping news (hence, the title of the book) prints three or four sexual abuse stories in every issue (61). Quoyle finds a suitcase washed up on the shore, whose

contents include the decapitated head of a murdered mariner: "under the light he saw the ruined eye, the flattened face and blood-stiff mustache of Bayonet Melville on a bed of seaweed. The gelatinous horror slid out onto the wharf" (178). Like previous tales, Proulx's book constructs Newfoundland as primitive: hers is a land of Basque whalers and Vikings, a land of hotels like the Tickle Motel, Bar & Restaurant where doorknobs come off, walls shake with noise, and lights from highway vehicles slide "over the walls of the room like raw eggs in oil" (52).

Most important, like Longfellow's Evangeline and William Howell's Their Wedding Journey, Proulx's The Shipping News has boosted Newfoundland's stature in the tourist imagination. Writers like Bernice Morgan claim that Proulx has increased the sales of their books outside the province.[3] Canadian publishing companies like Harper Collins now view Newfoundland fiction as "hot,"[4] a possible consequence of the success of Proulx's representation of the place. The critic who speaks about the tourist *imagination* must exercise caution, however, because speaking of one tourist gaze simplifies what is a complex situation. Tourists travel for different reasons and have different expectations of place. Before moving to my textual analysis, then, I consider some of the various tourists that Proulx's book might address.

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[3] From email communication with Stanley Dragland, whose students in his course on Newfoundland literature spoke to various Newfoundland artists.
[4] From personal communication with Nicole Langlois, editor with Harper Collins.

Tourist Gazes and Attitudes

Chances are, people's experiences and expectations of the tourist experience vary. Some look for the eco-tourist experience, while others desire the pastiche and kitsch of Niagara Falls or Las Vegas. Some wish to immerse themselves in another culture and make it their new centre, while others simply want to sit by the pool. Erik Cohen, in a paper entitled "Toward a Sociology of International Tourism," observes that tourists ultimately value strangeness and novelty, which are "valued for their own sake" (165). However, he continues, since not every tourist can withstand the shock that comes with difference in another place (indeed, some seek refuge in the package tour or the familiarity of the Holiday Inn) it is useful, theoretically, to understand tourists as placed along a continuum which ranges from low tolerance for the unfamiliar to high tolerance for the strange and unusual.

At the extreme left of this continuum, he argues, one finds the "organized mass tourist." This person desires to take in unfamiliar surroundings from within the protective bubble of a tour bus or hotel room, surrounded by compatriots and tourists from the same place of origin. Moving along the continuum, one finds the "individual mass tourist," who may not be travelling with a package tour, yet still has most of his/her arrangements made with a travel agent prior to leaving. This tourist, a little more autonomous, risks encounters with the strange and unfamiliar in a way that the organized mass tourist does not. Both of these types of tourist, however, draw upon institutionalized tourism. Further along the continuum, one finds the "explorer" and

then the "drifter." Explorers take care of their own arrangements, yet still desire transportation, comfort, and accommodation. Drifters, on the other hand, take their chances, either hitchhiking or staying in hostels along the way.

In a later article, "A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences," Cohen develops this analysis even more, and designates five categories of tourist, all of which are predicated on different positions relative to two things: one, their position relative to the "Centre" of their own societies (their central values) and those of the "Other"; and two, their attitude towards the *authentic*. Dean MacCannell, in his book The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class, argues that authenticity is important to all tourists. Tourists flock to see the *real* Mona Lisa, the *very* place where Kennedy was shot, the *actual* Roman ruins, the *touchable* logs of a Saxon church and the *genuine* crown jewels. In fact, he writes that the quest for authenticity in other times and places characterizes the modern condition:

> For moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be *elsewhere*: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler life-styles. In other words, the concern of moderns for "naturalness," their nostalgia and their search for authenticity are not merely casual and somewhat decadent, though harmless, attachments to the souvenirs of destroyed cultures and dead epochs. They are also components of the conquering spirit of modernity--the grounds of its unifying consciousness. (3, italics mine)

Cohen takes issue with this point, arguing that while some tourists look for this authenticity in the other, not all of them care about the pure, uncommodifiable, and pre-Western experience.

The first kind of tourist Cohen labels the "recreational" tourist, a category that resonates closely with his previously categorized "organized mass tourist." This tourist does not look for authenticity in the travelling experience, but rather takes delight in television- or film-like recreation (in both senses of the term). This kind of tourist, deeply committed to the Centre of his/her own culture, is not bothered by the blatantly inauthentic or staged, but happily integrates these signs into his/her own cultural centre. The second kind of tourist, one that Cohen terms the "diversionary" tourist, finds his/her centre in neither the home society nor the foreign one, but simply travels to find diversion from the boredom and ritual of everyday life. In a later article, Cohen writes that "'diversionary' tourists who seek mere diversion and oblivion on their trip will remain totally in equanimity and unconcerned with the problem of authenticity of their experiences" ("Authenticity and Commoditization" 377).

The final three types of tourist *do* look for meaning in the authentic Other. The "experiential" tourist, for example, looks for authentic experiences in the lives of others, only to have this desire thwarted by the manipulative tourism industry. This interpretation of the tourist recalls Dean MacCannell's traveller, one who can only experience different cultures vicariously or through staged presentations. MacCannell

argues that tourists rarely get beyond *staged authenticity*, a contradiction he feels is inherent in modern tourist experience. As I mentioned above, this staged authenticity occurs when "real" activities are framed and orchestrated for the tourist gaze. The viewing galleries of the New York Stock Exchange or the Canadian parliament are two examples of real work being framed and commodified.

The fourth type of tourist described by Cohen is the "experimental" tourist, one who is not deeply tied strongly to her/his cultural centre, but instead, as the term suggests, experiments with different ways of living, and finding temporary meaning in other places. As far as authenticity is concerned, the experimental tourist shares many attitudes with Cohen's final category, that of the "existential" tourist, the one who "goes native":

> [E]xistential tourists, who tend spiritually to abandon modernity and embrace the Other as their elective centre and, as it were, "switch worlds" or "go native" will be the most "purist" of tourists. They will strive to move furthest away from the beaten track and to get in most closely with the natives. In that, they resemble the anthropologist, curator, and ethnographer. However, unlike the latter, they do not take up the attitude of subjective detachment to the cultural products they encounter. (378)

Cohen writes that these tourists are particularly susceptible to falling prey to displays of staged authenticity. The tourism establishment may stage those very attributes most prized by the experiential tourist, whether those be forms of cooking, nuances of dialect, or spiritual rituals. Many authenticity-seeking individuals idealize the foreign place, and are the most devastated of all these tourists when their prized truths prove to be make believe.

Having addressed the complexity of tourist experience and having discarded the idea that there exists one tourist gaze, I move to The Shipping News and explore its status as an act of addressivity. Each of the categorical tourists identified above--the recreational, the diversional, the experiential, the experimental, and the existential--can find place in the style of telling. In addition, I explore how The Shipping News might also appeal to what John Urry calls the "post-tourist," one who finds pleasure in games and inauthenticity. This rhetorical flexibility and ability to address different desires, I think, speaks to the novel's success (outside of Newfoundland, anyway).

The Shipping News and the Extraordinary

> Tourism results from a basic binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary. Tourist experiences involve some aspect or element which induces pleasurable experiences which are, by comparison with the everyday,

> out of the ordinary . . . potential objects of the tourist gaze must be different in some way or other. They must be out of the ordinary. (Urry 12)

The Shipping News does not lend itself to a reading of everyday experience as Morgan's novel does. In fact, the book achieves just the opposite. Proulx's narrative appeals to the general tourist curiosity and desire for the spectacular. The Shipping News represents departure from one's real life, a breaking with established routines. Within the two-week duration of a holiday, or between the covers of a 337-page book, the reader can abdicate, to a certain extent, the reliable consistencies of recognisable activities. Proulx's style does not concern itself with predictability, or routine, or comfort, but instead indulges in the dramatic, the extraordinary, and the contrived. Like leisure travelling, reading a popular book (unless one is a critic!) is designed to represent a departure from *work*. It is intended to engage, beguile, and entertain. The act of reading a book about a different place is pleasurable and undeniably less expensive than actual travel. One does not incur the travel costs of planes, hotels, or ferries, but merely has to pick up The Shipping News to visit Newfoundland.

One of the means by which Proulx's novel celebrates the extraordinary is through her use of the *grotesque*. Whereas Morgan's book offers order, predictability and reassurance, Proulx's celebrates--until its tidy, comic ending, at least--lack of proportion. In fact, this lack of proportion defines the grotesque, which, within literary criticism, usually denotes "the ridiculous, bizarre, extravagant, freakish and

unnatural; in short, aberrations from the desirable norms of harmony, balance, and proportion" (Cuddon 393). The grotesque, used for comic effect (benign or black), often incorporates elements of caricature, a form of ridicule that involves exaggeration and distortion of one's prominent features.

The first few pages of The Shipping News introduce Quoyle, the protagonist of the book, in grotesque terms:

> A great damp loaf of a body. At six he weighed eighty pounds. At sixteen he was buried under a casement of flesh. Head shaped like a crenshaw, no neck, reddish hair brushed back. Features as bunched as kissed fingertips. Eyes the colour of plastic. The monstrous chin, a freakish shelf jutting from the lower face.
>
> Some anomalous gene had fired up at the moment of his begetting as a single spark sometimes leaps from banked coals, had given him a giant's chin. As a child he invented stratagems to deflect stares; a smile, downcast gaze, the right hand darting up to cover the chin. (2)

The chin of protagonist Quoyle is "monstrous. . .a freakish shelf jutting from the lower face" (2), a metaphor that suggests Newfoundland and Labrador topography, with its rock shelves jutting from cliff faces. Quoyle thus becomes a terra novian version of

Mount Rushmore. Apart from linking Quoyle to his ancestral home of Newfoundland, the description marks him as an unequivocally ludicrous figure, one who continually puts his hand over his chin when socially perplexed or uncomfortable, which is often.

The grotesque, as I have suggested, is an integral element of black comedy. Proulx's self-conscious art--her heavily figurative language, and fragmented prose--puts her in the company of other black humorists who share, with Proulx, the same

> detachment, the same irony, the same mocking apocalyptic tone, the same parodic undercutting of all systems, the same one-dimensional characters, wasteland settings, disjunctive structure, and self-conscious delight in artistry. (O' Neill 148)

In keeping with this definition, Proulx's story takes place in the "wasteland setting" of Killick-Claw, with its attendant cold weather, unrelenting Atlantic waters, ratty hotel rooms, and rocky barrens. In addition, many of her secondary characters are one-dimensional and stereotyped Newfoundland figures: unsophisticated, coarse, and low on symbolic, or intellectual, capital. Take, for instance, Benny Fudge and Adonis Collard, two of the newspaper writers for The Gammy Bird (61). Their newspaper review begins:

> Trying to decide where to munch up some fast food? You could do worse than try Grudge's Cod Hop. The interior is booths with a big window in front. Watch the trucks on the highway! We did. We ordered the Fish Strip Basket which contained three fried fish Strips, coleslaw and a generous helping of fried chips for $5.70. The beverage was separate. (62)

Their last names, Fudge and Collard, punfully suggest that they "fudge" up their restaurant review and are "green" at newspaper writing, particularly when their clumsy review is juxtaposed with the competent prose of Proulx. Along with these two dupes, we find Jack Buggit, the newspaper editor wearing "scale-spattered coveralls" and "rubber boots with red soles" (63). Petal, Quoyle's first wife, flits in and out of the pages of the book, representing all that is selfish and shallow.

Further, Proulx's prose exhibits qualities in keeping with the "self-conscious delight in artistry" included in the definition of black comedy above. This delight in artistry comes through in Proulx's various puns and intertextual references. For instance, after Aunt Agnis dumps her abusive uncle's ashes down the outhouse in an unusual yet fitting burial, the text reads: "The thought that she, that his own son and grandchildren, would daily void their bodily wastes on his *remains* a thing that only she would know" (100, italics mine). *Remains*, in this syntactic context, could function as a noun where *remains* means "bodily ashes" or, just as convincingly, it

could be functioning as a verb where *remains* could be substituted with the phrase "continues to be."

Proulx's language is not only polysemic but it is also heavily figurative. For example, at the beginning of the novel she communicates the precarious and slippery nature of life by incorporating slants, tilts, ups, and downs into the metaphors of her narrative. Quoyle's friend Partridge was a "restless traveller across the *slope* of life" (4). The Mockingburg Record, the first paper that Quoyle works for, runs "upbeat stories with a community *slant*"(5). Partridge, two pages later, shows Quoyle how to find his "angle" in this writing (7). In his filthy apartment, Quoyle's dishes "tilted" in the sink, as he yearns for the days when his adulterous wife, Petal, "leaned" into his arms (15). Closely related to these metaphors are Proulx's prepositional phrases which mimic the action of rising and falling: whether of fate, of breath, and or of the ocean. The following passage, which narrates the latter days of Quoyle's marriage, enacts this up and down motion:

> Into the bathroom through a tangle of towels and electric cords, into the children's room where he *pulled down* shades against the streetlight, *pulled up* covers against the night. Two cribs jammed close like bird cages. Yawning, Quoyle would swipe through some of the dishes to *fall*, finally, into the grey sheets and sleep. But did housework secretly, because Petal *flared up* if she

> caught him mopping and wiping as if he had accused her of something. Or other. (15, italics mine)

One might argue that all novels use figurative language, and that The Shipping News is not particularly remarkable in this respect. Yet, Proulx's style is particularly excessive and playful, a rendering of the ordinary that is quite different from Morgan's. Quoyle, for instance, wakes one night "swimming up from *aubergine* nightmare" (29). Bunny, Quoyle's daughter, stands in front of an ice cream freezer where "*papillose* frost crowds the ice cream tubs" (137). When Quoyle and his Aunt Agnis find the road leading to their old ancestral home, the lane is "a *ruvid* strip tilting away into the sky" (37). Lexical selections like these, perhaps, prompted John Whitworth, in his Spectator review of The Shipping News to complain that he had "to wade through 337 pages of Annie Proulx getting stuck in Art" (40-41). In short, Proulx's lexical excess is, at times, a mark of the ludicrous in and of itself.

One might argue, now, that many books draw upon the ludicrous and the grotesque, and do not necessarily appeal to tourist desire. This is true. Yet, The Shipping News is so much about place, about Newfoundland, that its carnivalesque style does more than signal, "This is Play." The book quite clearly connects the grotesque with a particular locale (just as one associates the carnivalesque of Mardi Gras with New Orleans). As a result of the clear connection between place and the carnivalesque, the style and the plot of The Shipping News speak to some of the

tourist desires I described above. The style will appeal to those tourist types not looking for the authentic experience: most clearly, Cohen's "diversionary" tourist. The diversionary reader, seeking distraction, will find pleasure in the novel's twists of plot, marital intrigue, sexually lascivious characters, and socially taboo subjects. This diversionary reader, not caring about authenticity of place, will enjoy the tall tales, the occasional murder, and the resurrection that punctuates the novel. In short, this diversionary tourist/reader will appreciate the playfulness of the book, and will not be bothered by the excessive figurative language, and artifice of the images.

In many ways, Cohen's diversionary tourist is like John Urry's description of the *post-tourist*, a concept he borrows from Maxine Feifer. This tourist

> almost delight[s] in inauthenticity. The post-tourist finds pleasure in the multitude of games that can be played and knows that there is no authentic tourist experience. They know that the apparently authentic fishing village could not exist without the income from tourism or that the glossy brochure is a piece of pop culture. It is merely another game to be played at, another pastiched surface feature of postmodern experience. (Consuming Places 140)

The post-tourist/diversionary reader will enjoy the phonetic relationship between Quoyle's name and the "coils" of rope that begin each chapter. She will recognize that the language is a constructing and playful medium, and that "authenticity" is a game in

the first place. Because the tourist site is not one's home, the element of play is attractive and non-threatening. One's centre or anchorage does not lie there in the first place, and the visitor can return home when the play is over.

The Shipping News and Staged Authenticity

I have argued thus far that the carnivalesque and excessively aesthetic style of The Shipping News appeal to the expectations of the post-tourist or diversionary visitor, visitors who do not care about the authenticity of the tourist experience. Yet, Proulx's novel also makes room for those readers looking for authenticity. A book with diverse appeal is an astute marketing tool. Urry, this time in his book The Tourist Gaze, explains how the new western middle-class is a large, diverse, and mixed group with contradictory desires. Social classes, of course, are not static, pre-existent categories, but only come into being through textual readings and responses. The Shipping News, a contradictory and mixed text, invites a kind of reading that we might associate with the middle-class which is a kind of:

> stylistic melting pot, of the old and the new, of the nostalgic and futuristic, of the 'natural' and the 'artificial' of the youthful and the mature, of high culture and of low, and of modernism and the postmodern. (Urry 90)

The Shipping News, too, combines authenticity *and* contrivedness, the old *and* the new, the postmodern *and* the realist, the elitist *and* the "popular." The text's ability to invite different tourist gazes is part of its widespread non-local appeal. To demonstrate the attraction the book might have for the experiential tourist (one who can only experience other cultures vicariously or through staged presentations), I describe a phenomenon called "staged authenticity." To do so, I offer two stories.

The first story: One foggy summer afternoon, a few orientation guides huddled in Cape Spear lighthouse, located at the most easterly point in North America. They were reluctant to go outside because it was a particularly cold day. A visitor was standing by the railing, looking out at the ocean. The orientation guides watched to see if the person would take a brief glimpse out over the Atlantic waters, and then run for the warmth of the car. But no. This visitor waited and waited. And waited. The guides asked each other: "Should we go out? Should we offer to tell the visitor about the area and its history?" After a while, during which the visitor did not move, one of the guides went out to speak with the man, asking if he could offer any information.

"Yes," said the visitor looking out over the cold Atlantic, "I was wondering: *what time are the whales on?*"

The second story: At this same tourism site, a man was speaking with his son about the view of the Atlantic ocean in front of them. It was June, a time when the waters of Newfoundland are scattered with ice bergs floating south. Having never seen such a sight before, the overwhelmed child asked his father if the ice bergs were

real. "No," replied his father, with complete seriousness, "They're made of styro-foam and put out there for the tourists."[5]

In each of these stories, the visitors expected a combination of the authentic and the contrived. They wished to see real whales and an actual North Atlantic setting, but expected that this would be packaged into three o'clock shows and styro-foam ice. Proulx's book is similarly an act of translation for the American who might want to visit Newfoundland. Daniel Boorstin, in his book The Image, argues that contemporary Americans cannot experience "reality" directly but instead thrive on what he calls *pseudo-events*:

> Isolated from the host environment and the local people, the mass tourist travels in guided groups and finds pleasure in inauthentic contrived attractions, gullibly enjoying the 'pseudo-events' and disregarding the 'real' world outside. As a result tourist entrepreneurs and the indigenous populations are induced to produce ever-more extravagant displays for the gullible observer. (7)

Boorstin, clearly, reduces all tourists to the role of "gullible observer," a position that I do not share. That said, many tourist sites *do* cater to a desire for display, but this desire is often mingled with an expectation of authenticity, as well.

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[5] I wish to thank Jacqueline Howse for telling me these stories. They have not only served my project, but have provided a good laugh.

Proulx's vocabulary choices, an interesting mix of the authentic and the staged, enacts this same contradiction. Her style, then, appeals to a reader/tourist who wants the authentic, but expects it to be worked upon. How does Proulx accomplish this task, exactly? On the one hand, Proulx's non-core vocabulary in The Shipping News ("exotic," Newfoundland-specific words) offers an "authentic" rendering of Newfoundland. But Proulx's, at times, mechanical rendering of dialect, and the obvious archival work behind her representation, make this world somewhat *contrived* at the same time. In his review of the novel in Newfoundland Studies, Stuart Pierson writes that

> the book that one meets with on every page (though never cited) is Story, Kirwin and Widdowson--The Dictionary of Newfoundland English. Proulx loves words, and especially she loves archaic words with abrupt consonants in them--*stookawn, scuddy, taggled, peckled, squiddy, komatik, slindeer, sishy, glutch*--all carefully gleaned from the DNE. . .but she does this rather mechanically, without taking into account the nature of the DNE how it was compiled or how it stands in relation to how people speak. It is as though everyone who lives in Killick-Claw has all entries in the DNE ready to hand. (152-53)

To demonstrate how vocabulary performs staged authenticity, I examine one representative passage. This dialogue occurs shortly after Quoyle's arrival in Newfoundland, when he shows up at The Gammy Bird, a near-libelous gossip rag of a paper that "looked life right in its shifty, bloodshot eye" (63). When he arrives on the first day, Quoyle meets seventy-year-old Billy Pretty, who is responsible for the Home News Page. During this meeting, Billy speaks of the various treasures he receives in the mail from local readers:

> "Ar," said Billy Pretty. "Remember the omaloor that brought me some decorated turr's eggs? Hand painted with scenic views. Bust in the night all over the desk. A stink in here for a year afterward." Wiped his fingers on his diamond-pattern gansey, mended in the elbows and spotted with white nobs of glue and paper specks. "'Omaloor?' As in Omaloor Bay?"
>
> "Oh yes. An omaloor--big, stun, clumsy, witless, simple-minded type of a fellow. There used to be crowds of them on the other side of the bay," he gestured toward Quoyle's Point, "so they named it after them." Winked at Quoyle. Who wondered if he should smile. Did smile. (58)

We can look to non-core choices to understand how this text is supposed to represent authentic Newfoundland experience. The opening *Ar* and words like *omaloor*, *turr*, *stun* (short, presumably, for *stunned*, a common Newfoundland insult) *crowds*, and

witless (*Witless Bay* is a Newfoundland community) are used, in greater or lesser extents, in Newfoundland vernacular. *Ar* is a ubiquitous phoneme associated with sea captains, whether they be found in popular fiction or commercials for Highliner fish sticks. The Shipping News is generously sprinkled with exotic lexical tidbits: *screech in and carouse* (62), *guffies* (77) *scuddy weather* (86), *dumb stookawn* (88), *cunny kin* (162), *glutch* (273) and *scruncheons* (68).

As I explained in the previous chapter about Random Passage, non-core vocabulary is field-specific and hyponymic. That is to say, words like *Omaloor Bay*, *turr* and *point* construct a marine environment, a lexical field that encapsulates outport Newfoundland. An "exotic" sign carries a lot of metonymic weight, particularly in tourist contexts, when a couple kissing is a sign for the Paris experience, the statue of liberty is a sign for New York, and a breaching humpback whale is a symbol for Newfoundland life. These words construct an authentic and *specific* Newfoundland outport experience. *Turr*, for instance, could have been *gull* or the even more ubiquitous *bird*. *Crowds* could have been replaced by "*lots* of them" or "*a number* of them." Most remarkable is the word *omaloor*, which might have confused many readers had the narrative not provided them with a compact definition. Proulx often couches definitions in character dialogue with varying degrees of success. One fisherman, while naming the sunkers and rocks he and Quoyle pass in their dory, pauses after naming Shag Rock, to clarify: "The shag, y'know is the cormorant, the black goose, a stinking black thing that the old people used to say built its nest with

dead fish. That's what they called you if you come from Grand Banks" (163). Presumably designed to dispel any sexual connotations associated with the word *shag*, the definition itself seems a denotative rock in the middle of the otherwise flowing conversational discourse.

Rhetorically, Proulx's definitions and her choice of an American protagonist mark her gesture of addressivity to a middle-class non-Newfoundland audience. To address the issue of an American protagonist first, much of The Shipping News (like the passage above) is focalized, in crucial sentences, through the American, Quoyle ("Who wondered if he should smile. Did smile."). This shared perspective and a position of staged confusion locates non-local readers in a displaced, unfamiliar--perhaps even titillating--position. Like Quoyle, they do not possess the competence to navigate this social discourse. Like Quoyle, this new world could possibly give them "an uneasy feeling, the feeling of standing on a playground watching others play games whose rules he didn't know" (63). This confusion is comfortingly superficial, however, because the narrator functions as a more than adequate translator, an argument I develop below.

The Shipping News as Act of Translation

So far, I have argued that the style of The Shipping News offers an attractive narrative for the post-tourist and the experiential tourist. Yet, what about that recreational tourist on the bus or in the packaged tour who is looking for a sheltered

trip and even mediation between himself and the foreign culture he finds himself in? This tourist (and other kinds) will desire that foreign experience be translated for them. Elements of Proulx's style translate Newfoundland experience for non-Newfoundland readers so that they do not feel alienated or lost in the novel. Proulx translates Newfoundland culture, in part, by providing definitions for terms and practices. The explicitness of Proulx's meanings is characteristic of what sociologist Basil Bernstein terms an *elaborated code*. Elaborated code is

> associated with high-status speakers on formal occasions. . .among the markers of elaborated code are complex syntax, subordination of clauses, elaborate noun phrases and verb phrases . . . differentiated vocabularies, various types of transformation and above all, explicitness of meanings. (qtd. in Hodge and Kress 108)

Proulx's prose certainly makes its unfamiliar terms explicit. That her text speaks to a non-Newfoundland readership is evident in clarifying phrases like the following: "Brian Mulroney, *the Prime Minister*, slept in it last year when he come by here" (52, italics mine). Newfoundland and Canadian readers would not require the accompanying classification, but an American reader might.

Proulx offers many clarifying definitions for non-local readers and these could be easily listed, but in this section I am more interested in explaining how Proulx

translates outport experience through *metaphor*. I argue that metaphor is not simply an aesthetic choice, but is also an interpersonal act that allows outside readers entry to this culture, and does so in a way that is considered "literary," or high in symbolic capital.

The Newfoundlander's lexicon and rapid speech seem to pose problems for outside, particularly American, audiences. A case in point occurs in one segment of The Story of English, a nine-part televised documentary hosted by journalist Robert MacNeil. The series covers such linguistic issues as dialect, varieties of usage, and the history of the English language for a mainstream viewing audience. The film about dialect takes the popular viewer to a Newfoundland outport to encounter the unique variety of Newfoundland outport speech. The camera focuses on a foggy cove, where a fisherman in his boat begins to speak to the interviewer. Suddenly, clarifying subtitles appear at the bottom of the screen. Facilitated by the act of translation, Newfoundland English is made clear and accessible to non-local listeners.

Proulx, herself, faces some difficulty with the subtleties of Newfoundland speech, because she lacks an embodied sense of place. Her contrived, overly quaint place names betray a crisis in translation. She names towns *Bloody Banks*, *Flour Sack Cove*, *Killick-Claw*, or *No Name Cove*. She calls shops and restaurants *Fisherman's Chance*, *The Flying Squid Gift and Lunchstop*, *Grudge Cod Hop*, or *The Sea Anchor*. Newspapers are The Gammy Bird or The Sea Lion. A fish n' chip shop in today's

outport would more likely be called P.K.'s, Hong's, or Murphy's, much less glamorous (and more diverse) renderings than Proulx's fictional choices.[6]

Sylvia Söderlind, in her book, Margins/Alias: Language and Colonization in Canadian and Quebecois Fiction, discusses the difficulty of translating the vernacular, a mother tongue that often incorporates proper names:

> Territoriality [is] a measure of the closeness between a literary text and the culture and language to which it belongs. A text that is deeply rooted in a particular language and culture is not easily accessible to an outsider; like a name, which has no meaning unless we know to whom it refers, a cultural allusion has no significance outside its context. (11)

Place names resist paraphrase. The more territorial a word is, the less translatable it is. Clearly, then, Proulx's novel is not closely related to the territory, to the vernacular.

To pick up on Söderlind's discussion of the vernacular or mother tongue, and the outsider's difficulty with its translation, I turn to Bourdieu's construction of the similarly outside status of the anthropologist in Outline of a Theory of Practice :

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[6] See Jones and Goodwin, Feminism, Utopia, and Narrative, for a discussion of diversity and utopic spaces. They write that, "Dreamers of utopia have a particular problem of diversity, since every utopia must account for the disorder, the conflicts and fissures, that it wants to resolve into some orderly harmony" (ix).

> Charles Bally remarked that linguistic research takes different directions according to whether it deals with the researcher's mother tongue or with a foreign language, emphasising in particular the tendency to *intellectualism* implied in observing language from the standpoint of the listening subject rather than that of the speaking subject, that is, as a "means of action and expression." (1)

Proulx's aesthetic representation of Killick-Claw is that of the impartial spectator, one who stands apart from the region she writes and, through aestheticization, makes place an object of analysis, rather than a lived event or embodied history.

This crisis in translation (specifically, in naming) seems to have prompted Proulx to use another linguistic act of translation: metaphor. A reader can open to any page and find Newfoundland experience or landscape translated through metaphor and simile. To give some indication of the density of figurative language, I take the following metaphors randomly from three consecutive pages. One night Quoyle goes for a walk and watches "the lighthouses on the points *stuttering*" (208). During this same walk, he looks to the sea: "These waters, thought Quoyle, haunted by lost ships, fishermen, explorers gurgled down into *sea holes as black as a dog's throat*" (209). While on this walk, he discovers the body of a dead man, and climbs into his boat to get help, during which "the swells came at him broadside from the mouth of the bay, crests *like cruel smiles*" (210). Metaphor constitutes an interpersonal or rhetorical

act, one of translation. The unfamiliar (here, the Newfoundland landscape) is articulated in terms of the more recognizable: stuttering, dog's throats, and cruel smiles. It is a means of entry to an unfamiliar place.

The Shipping News and Reification

John Urry, a critic who studies tourism at great length, introduces the importance of the *frame* in the experience of viewing an object as a tourist. He argues that this frame can be replicated equally well at home:

> The typical tourist experience is anyway to see named scenes through a frame, such as the hotel window, the car windscreen or the window of the coach. But this can now be experienced in one's own living room, at the flick of a switch; and it can be repeated time and time again. There is much less of the sense of the authentic, the one-in-a-lifetime gaze, and much more of the endless availability of gazes through a frame at the flick of a switch. (The Tourist Gaze 100)

The syntactic style of The Shipping News, as I illustrate here, breaks experience into a series of short, choppy fragments (a technique called *asyndeton*). The result of this stylistic choice? The story comes to the reader packaged in noun phrases that "frame"

different images as if they were a series of photographs or slides that could be flicked through with a remote control. We have an image, then another image, then another. This grammatical organization results in a static world, one comprised of *things*.

In keeping with this theme of "framing," I quote a passage from the novel below in order to demonstrate two things: first, to show how Proulx's narrative frames nature for a middle-class tourist gaze; and second, to illustrate how Proulx's language frames images, as if they were photographs. This passage occurs about two thirds of the way through the novel. Quoyle is going out for a walk to take a break from the report he is writing for The Gammy Bird:

> He began to work down the slant of rock. Wet and slippery. He went cautiously, excited by the violence, wondering what it would be like in a storm. The tide still on the ebb in that complex swell and fall of water against land, as though a great heart in the center of the earth beat but twice a day.
>
> These waters, thought Quoyle, haunted by lost ships, fishermen, explorers gurgled down into sea holes as black as a dog's throat. Bawling into sea broth. Vikings down the cracking winds, steering through fog by the polarized light of sun-stones. The Inuit in skin boats, breathing, breathing, rhythmic suck of frigid air, iced paddles dipping, spray freezing, sleek back rising, jostle, the boat torn, spiraling down. Millennial bergs from the glaciers,

> morbid, silent except for waves breaking on their flanks, the deceiving sound of shoreline where there was no shore. Foghorns, smothered gun reports along the coast. Ice welding land to sea. Frost smoke. Clouds mottled by reflections of water holes in the plains of ice. The glare of ice erasing dimension, distance, subjecting senses to mirage and illusion. A rare place. (209)

How does Proulx frame experience for a middle-class, tourist gaze? This description, I argue, appeals to the *romantic* tourist gaze as opposed to the *collective* gaze often associated with working class tourists. Urry writes of the romantic form of the tourist gaze "in which the emphasis is upon solitude, privacy and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze" (45). Unlike the collective traveller, who finds satisfaction in such crowded places as Disney World, Niagara Falls, or the crowded British seaside resort,[7] the romantic visitor looks for the self in solitudinous contemplation of nature. Other people (especially other tourists) must not clutter or spoil this solace; society is not to intrude on the undisturbed natural beauty, the object of this gaze. Urry argues that this kind of gaze, which originates in the upper middle classes, is clearly "signposted" in contemporary literature (47), as tourists find markers

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[7] For a detailed description of the collective gaze, see John Urry's chapter, "The Changing Economics of the Tourist Industry," in The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies. Here, he writes that, "It is the presence of other *tourists*, people just like oneself, that is actually necessary for the success of such places, which depend upon the collective tourist gaze" (46).

which highlight what is worthy of being gazed upon (here, "millennial bergs" and "Inuit in skin boats"). This passage does not make room for the working class enjoyment of being part of a large crowd, an attitude often looked down upon by eco-tourists and romantic gazers upon untouched nature. This attitude of exultation towards the solitary and disdain for the collective functions to valorize a tourist gaze that is unavailable to many.

The style of The Shipping News appeals to a middle-class readership in other ways, as well. The novel is an arty yet accessible book. It performs just enough of a literary rendering (with its figurative language, fragmented clauses, and witty intertextual references) to hint at legitimate intellectual culture, yet the book is still accessible (it hooks the reader with an active plot, and "adapts" local dialect so that it is understandable). Pierre Bourdieu capsulizes quite nicely the desires evident in readers of middle brow literature:

> This middle brow culture (culture moyenne) owes some of its charm, in the eyes of the middle classes who are its main consumers, to the references to legitimate culture it contains and which encourage and justify confusion of the two---accessible versions of *avant-garde* experiments, film 'adaptations' of classic drama and literature, 'popular arrangements' of classical music or 'orchestral versions' of popular tunes, vocal interpretations of classics in a style evocative of scout choruses or angelic choirs; in short, everything that goes to

> make up 'quality' weeklies and 'quality' shows, which are entirely organized to give the impression of bringing legitimate culture within the reach of all, by combining two normally exclusive characteristics, immediate accessibility and the outward signs of cultural legitimacy. (Distinction 323)

That The Shipping News won the Pulitzer Prize strengthens my argument that the novel is successfully middle brow. The Pulitzer targets just this kind of book: one that appeals to the popular market, yet can be considered "literary," as well. Many of the tourist strategies, as I have argued, speak to this middle-class tourist gaze.

Proulx goes to some lengths to "signpost" (to use Urry's word) exactly what images within this scenery we should rest our eyes on. She breaks experience into pieces and frames them, as if they were slides. The passage quoted above reads like a series of framed images because Proulx often omits the verb in the clause; more specifically, she omits verbs with tense. The lack of a verb constitutes a central syntactic synapse not only in this passage, but also in most of the novel. Here, the pattern is manifested in such phrases as: *Vikings down the cracking winds, The Inuit in skin boats, Foghorn, smothered gun reports along the coast.* Agents are given more visibility and emphasis than acts. Yet the "agents" in this passage are made into mere elements of the scene. Both the Vikings and The Inuit are not defined in terms of their agency or purpose or action, but in terms of their *location (down the cracking winds; in skin boats)*. Kenneth Burke calls this type of definition *geometric* substance (and, in

other places, he also calls it "contextual" or "positional" definition or "definition by location"): "an object placed in its setting, existing both in itself and as part of its background. Participation in a context" (A Grammar of Motives 29). Because the Inuit are defined in terms of scene and not action, the description is *spatial* rather than temporal. This sense of spatialization is also effected by the passages's organization where one image sits next to another. What results is an object-centred, static text: the linguistic rendering of a photograph collection.

The process types or verbs we *do* get in this passage do not communicate action but rather function adjectivally. The verbs are not finite, but primarily take the participle form (-ing type). For example, ***bawling into sea broth*** describes the "explorers"; ***steering through the fog*** describes the "Vikings"; and ***breaking on their flanks*** describes the waves against the icebergs. Even though these participles function like adjectives, they also function to suggest progressive aspect (that the action is frozen even as it is ongoing). The explorers are petrified as they continue to bawl into the ocean. The Vikings are frozen in a moment of steering through the fog. The Inuit, too, are caught, mid-paddle, mid-inhale, mid-spiral. Each image or clause fragment functions like a wax museum display: each figure, each action, stays put for observation at the moment of greatest drama. The grammar of the text enacts a moment of staged "authenticity" (Newfoundland has seen Vikings, does include Inuit, and has icebergs, yet these are all worked upon for display).

This ongoing perspective carries great appeal in tourist contexts, it seems, because such constructions suggest continuity between elements of the past and elements of the present. In other words, the present-day visitor can connect with the past, because the waves, wind, and waters of pre-history are the same ones the tourist can touch today. Hence, the waves *breaking* on the flanks of icebergs and the ice *welding* land to sea never end. This melding of past into present occurs, for instance, in a Newfoundland tourist ad that invites us to "feel *the breeze* that lifted Alcock and Brown aloft in 1919 on the first successful non-stop flight across the Atlantic Ocean" (Newfoundland and Labrador 500th Anniversary Travel Guide 5, italics mine). Significantly, this breeze, these waters, and these icebergs have to be the same ones in order to preserve the *pristine* wilderness which the romantic tourist expects to encounter. So much of the romantic tourist experience depends upon the subjective quality of the tourist experience, and upon the landscape's ability to signify the untouched and ideal.

A quick glance at any page of The Shipping News reveals the elliptical style I have discussed above. One might, in fact, get irritated, as Janette Turner Hospital did, by the chains of fragmented noun phrases that sit, elliptically, side by side in this text. In her review in The London Review of Books Hospital communicates some irritation with Proulx's syntactic lacunae:

> Jack Buggit talks "like a rivet gun" and that is how Annie Proulx writes. One could argue, I suppose, for organic necessity, for an intentional echoing of laconic outport speech and the rhythms of tabloid headlines, but ultimately the staccato rhythms and stylistic tics prove irritating. (17)

These "staccato rhythms" result from Proulx's fragmented prose, which makes great use of a stylistic feature called *asyndeton*. Asyndeton, which derives from the Greek for *unconnected* is:

> A rhetorical device where conjunctions, articles, and even pronouns are omitted for the sake of speed and economy. Puttenham in The Arte of English Poesie (1589), calls it 'loose language,' but it has been particularly popular in modern poetry. . .as a means of achieving compact expression. (Cuddon 64)

As the definition makes clear, asyndeton is a form of "compact expression," because it omits connecting words. The most common form of asyndeton, and one that Proulx performs frequently, is the omission of the word "and." The result is disjunctive prose.

Michel de Certeau discusses the stylistic figure of asyndeton in his essay "Walking in the City," where he develops what he calls a "walking rhetoric" (100), a comparison between ways of walking and styles of everyday expression. Within his spatial narrative, asyndeton

> selects and fragments the space traversed; it skips over links and whole parts that it omits. From this point of view, every walk constantly leaps, or skips like a child, hopping on one foot. It practices the ellipsis of conjunctive *loci*." (101)

Proulx, similarly, divides, cuts, pieces, and fragments. What is the effect of this kind of ellipsis? According to de Certeau, asyndeton (in the pedestrian acts of speaking or walking) "creates a 'less,' opens gaps in the spatial continuum, and retains only selected parts of it that amount almost to relics." Asyndeton "cuts out: it undoes continuity and undercuts its plausibility. A space treated in this way and shaped by practices is transformed into enlarged singularities and separate islands" (101).

To demonstrate how style in The Shipping News enlarges each sensation and makes "separate islands" of images, I repeat part of the passage I used in my grammatical reading:

> These waters, thought Quoyle, haunted by lost ships, fishermen, explorers gurgled down into sea holes as black as a dog's throat. Bawling into sea broth. Vikings down the cracking winds, steering through fog by the polarized light of sun-stones. The Inuit in skin boats, breathing, breathing, rhythmic suck of frigid air, iced paddles dipping, spray freezing, sleek back rising, jostle, the

> boat torn, spiraling down. Millennial bergs from the glaciers, morbid, silent except for waves breaking on their flanks, the deceiving sound of shoreline where there was no shore. Foghorns, smothered gun reports along the coast. Ice welding land to sea. Frost smoke. Clouds mottled by reflections of water holes in the plains of ice. The glare of ice erasing dimension, distance, subjecting senses to mirage and illusion. A rare place. (209)

The proliferation of noun phrases results in an object-centred text. We encounter many fragmented noun phrases: *rhythmic suck of frigid air, iced paddles dipping, sleek back rising, millennial bergs from the glaciers, the deceiving sound of shoreline where there was no shore*. In addition, actions and events often find themselves compressed into nominalizations. Take, for example, the clause *The tide still on the ebb in the complex swell and fall of water*. Actions (ebbing, and swelling, and falling) are compressed into nouns. *The ebb* is a *thing* as opposed to an action; the swell and fall of water, similarly, is a noun phrase. Because the text lacks process type, Proulx does not have to give this activity tense. These actions, then, occur atemporally. As a result, they take on the grandeur of myth or legend.

Proulx's quite self-conscious technique of nominalization and her noun-heavy style display startling similarities to the object-centred style of Imagism. A short-lived moment in literary history, Imagism spanned the years between 1912 and 1917. Influenced by Japanese haiku, Greek lyrics and the work of T.E. Hulme, Imagism

aimed for clarity and purity in expression and attempted to communicate the essence of a response. Susan Stanford Friedman, drawing upon the work of one of the strongest Imagist poets, Hilda Doolittle, summarizes their poetic task:

> [H.D.'s] poems avoided the vague moralizing and sentimental mythologizing that the imagist deplored in much of the "cosmic" poetry of the late nineteenth century. They were crisp, precise, and absolutely without excess. The imagist emphasis on hard, classical lines, however, did not mean that the poems were without emotion. Most imagist poems rely heavily on *precisely delineated objects from nature to embody subjective experience.* (2, italics mine)

Imagists, as the title suggests, built their poems around a central object or *image*. Movement was suspended or purified because experience was transmuted into a solid clean object. Take, for example, this excerpt from H.D.'s poem, "Sea Poppies,"

> Amber Husk
> fluted with gold
> fruit on the sand
> marked with a rich grain,
> treasure spilled near the shrub-pines
> to bleach on the boulders:

H.D.'s text, like Proulx's, performs a fragmented, elliptical style and essentially elaborates on one object: here, "the amber husk." Every phrase thereafter describes that husk. The phrases are primarily noun or adjectival ones, and the simple structure is pruned all the more because it is mostly comprised of mono-syllabic words. Like Proulx's style (and Morgan's), the circumstances in this poem are general: "on the sand," "on the boulders," and "near the shrub-pines" aim to communicate a classic and mythical simplicity of expression.

Keeping these general attributes in mind, I turn to Proulx's prose. Hers is like a prose-form Imagism, because her style provides one image (or other sensory detail packaged in a noun phrase) after another. To accentuate the similarites between The Shipping News and Imagist poetry, I have changed the layout of Proulx's text to make it look like a poem:

> The stranger.
>
> He lifted his hand a few inches
>
> but she had already dropped her gaze.
>
> The child's flat face.
>
> Red boots.
>
> And he was past. (56)

> Quoyle woke in the empty room.

Grey light.

A sound of hammering.

His heart.

He lay in his sleeping bag in the middle of the floor.

The candle on its side.

Could smell the wax,

smell the pages of the book that lay open beside him,

the dust in the floor cracks.

Neutral light illumined the window.

The hammering again and a beating shadow in the highest panes.

A bird. (103)

As in H.D.'s poem, the reader is treated to a continual inventory of impressions without many verbs. The sequence of verbless phrases (*Grey light. A sound of hammering. His heart.*) seem, as it were, to leave the pattern of linguistic impressions unanchored to anything. They do not involve a dynamic of relation, process, or action. Like the Imagist style, Proulx's phrases often elaborate on a noun phrase (*A sound of hammering/his heart; The hammering again and a beating shadow in the highest panes. A bird.*) Both Proulx and H.D. draw upon simple, core vocabulary in these descriptive passages, yet Proulx's choices (unlike Morgan's) communicate the dramatic. The elliptical style draws attention to itself as an intensely aesthetic act.

This Imagist/noun style lends itself well to the *gaze*, tourist or otherwise. It offers the reader a series of pictures or sensations, and lets place stand still to be contemplated (a quality attractive to the pondering personality of the romantic tourist). The style has appeal not only for the romantic, but also for the other tourist gazes I have discussed in this chapter. The "existential" tourist who wishes to immerse herself in the visited culture (to "go native"), can feel one with an *essential* experience, because this place is communicated in crystallized images. The "experiential" tourist, who looks for authenticity in the visited place yet is still deeply committed to the centre of his own culture, can dabble in the mythical images of Vikings and explorers that speak to an "authentic" and meaningful past. The post-tourist or "experimental" tourist will appreciate the aesthetics of the style, even while he understands that the construction of purity and the rendering of this place is just that: a construction that is one of many literary constructions. Finally, the "diversionary" tourist who is looking for a good time can revel in this dramatic narrative and this carnivalesque place, where men urinate in the chip bowl after a particularly raucous party, and women urinate on the ashes of their abusive uncles. The book offers murder, sex, and all manner of taboo subjects. There is something for everyone in Proulx's book.

Some Consequences of Tourist/Photographic Representation

"'Fix me up,' I says. "'I needs another job.'" (Proulx 65)

All of the elements I have studied in this chapter--the carnivalesque, the staged authenticity, translation, metaphor, and beautification--entail transformations from one state to another state. Translation, for example, means that an original dialect or language is worked upon or changed into a more accessible or, in this case, appealing form. Staged authenticity involves the transformation of mundane practices into an exotic, quaint, or distinctive way of life. Metaphor involves defining such things as fog, food, or roads in more surprising or invigorating terms. In all these cases, the initial stage is somehow inadequate to the task of representing region. In fact, all these transformations are about *improvement*. This desire to improve upon place--in this case, Newfoundland and Labrador--a desire evident in Proulx's narrative events and style, is problematic. Her stylistic moves presuppose the misrecognition that this place was somehow flawed or inadequate, or needed to be made beautiful in the first place. To imply that someone other than yourself or your community needs to be improved upon constitutes a form of trespass. Further, these strategies of improvement form the terms of identification such that readers see place in the same terms as the text does: in this case, as beautiful and made over.

Interestingly, The Shipping News narrative is all about improvement and renovation. At the very beginning of the novel when the action still takes place in New York, Quoyle's friend Partridge edits his impenetrable newspaper prose:

> "It's like reading cement. Too long. Way, way, way too long. Confused. No human interest. No quotes. Stale." His pencil roved among Quoyle's sentences, stirring and shifting. "Short words. Short sentences. Break it up. Look at this, look at this. Here's your angle down here. That's news. Move it up." (7)

After they move to Newfoundland, Quoyle, his Aunt Agnis, and his two children face the dilapidated mess that was once the Quoyle home, a decaying place lashed to the rocks. The first three months after they arrive see its restoration until it becomes a place with "smooth walls and ceilings, the joint compound still showing trowel marks, the fresh window sills, price stickers still on the smudgy window glass" (101). In keeping with the theme of renovation, we soon discover that Aunt Agnis upholsters and refurbishes yacht interiors, and adds to these boats "scrolled and rolled edges, gathers and pleats" (125-126). Not only houses and boats, but Quoyle, himself, undergoes considerable improvement in the novel, a change, the novel suggests, that comes about because of Killick Claw and its residents. When the novel begins, Quoyle is "hive-spangled, gut roaring with gas and cramp" in large part, we might guess, because he eats "prodigiously, liked a ham knuckle, buttered spuds" (1). By the end of the novel, Quoyle is no longer "stumbling" through life (1). Instead,

> Quoyle experienced moments in all colours, uttered brilliancies, paid attention to the rich sound of waves counting stones, he laughed and wept, noticed sunsets, heard music in rain, said I do. (336)

The improvement projects in the book parallel, to some extent, Proulx's experiences of restoring a house on the Great Northern Peninsula in Newfoundland. In an Architectural Digest story of two years ago, Proulx offers a narrative of improvement about a house she fell in love with, and after a series of twists of fate, managed to buy. She writes:

> For three summers my sons and daughter-in-law and I hauled trash and broken metal from the house and property. There were nineteen layers of wallpaper in the kitchen, the bottom a hand-blocked design of green acanthus leaves imported from England in the last century. The floors were an inch deep in worn layers of linoleum, locally called canvas, held down with hundreds of stout nails. The attic disgorged photographs, postcards, calendars--a fifty-year old love letter to one of the brothers from the lighthouse keeper's daughter . . . (60)

Even the trash, it seems, is improved upon, in that the purification practices yield romantic letters and rare imports.

I see the dominating impulse behind this spirit of improvement replicated in Proulx's *photographic* linguistic style: the series of images which sit, paratactically, one after the other in this book. Susan Sontag, Roland Barthes, and John Urry have written about photography, and Urry has concentrated on its role in the tourist industry, specifically. Concerning the dominating status of photography, Urry writes that:

> to photograph is in some way to appropriate the object being photographed. It is a power/knowledge relationship. To have visual knowledge of an object is in part to have power, even if only momentarily, over it. Photography tames the object of the gaze, the most striking examples being of exotic cultures. In the USA the railway companies did much to create 'Indian' attractions to be photographed, carefully selecting those tribes with a particularly 'picturesque and ancient' appearance. (138-39)

In the passage where the "Inuit in skin boats" paddle, for instance, the nominalized and verbless style "tames" or freezes the people in time, and makes them objects of observation. One cannot forget, too, that Proulx's image-centred linguistic style, like process of taking photographs, involves a *selection* of what is represented and how it is represented. The Inuit, for instance, are in *skin* boats, and this choice (as opposed to *wood* or *steel* boats) is exotic and attractive in this context because it speaks of a

natural world and a natural people living within it. This choice not only locates Inuit in the past (defining them contextually or geometically), but it also places them narrowly within a *boat*.[8] This representation of Inuit could have been complicated or enriched, but Proulx's paratactic style moves on to yet another image as if her narrative were operated by a remote control switch. In this example, I draw upon the representation of the Inuit, but Proulx's representation of many groups and landscapes in Newfoundland follow the same logic: the style cuts and selects, and this is an act of editorial and representational power.

Further, photography is the medium of the instant, of the miniature slice of reality. As such, it appears not to be a shaped and biased statement about the world, but rather a little piece of it. Like a photograph, Proulx's imagistic style suggests an indisputable materiality about this rendering of Newfoundland. Hers is a physical, documented world of details: "grey light/A sound of hammering/His heart" or "the candle on its side/The dust in the floor cracks" (103). In a sense, this photographic style neutralizes experience by aestheticizing it. For those living in outport Newfoundland, and experiencing the many emotions that this place inspires, this neutralizing stance is an unfamiliar and not, I would imagine, an entirely attractive one.

Finally, photography makes everything art-worthy. In keeping with this quality, all objects are equally photogenic in Proulx's text: Atlantic cliffs, the sliding of

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[8] A similar "placing" of Inuit people occurs in the textbook Atlantic Canada in the Global Community which I study in chapter five.

carlights on a hotel wall, red boots, eggs on a plate, a decapitated head in a suitcase, or a lover's hands. Every image carries the weight of cultural document, especially since Proulx's asyndeton divides the narrated experience into discrete, and therefore significant, islands of information. These intense, loaded fragments structure readers' anticipation and imaginings of Newfoundland. They make the viewing experience extraordinary, and hence prepare a world of readers around the globe to see Newfoundland through the tourist gaze.

Conclusion: The Spectacle of Place

By way of conclusion, I emphasize my thesis that the tourist gaze is a systematized and social phenomenon, one that is produced and reproduced through signs; moreover, literature is not exempt from this process. When the critic talks of the tourist gaze, however, she cannot forget that the desires of tourists are multitudinous: some look for distraction, some for authenticity, others for complete immersion, and yet others for the ludic play and transparent kitsch of the liminal space. The widespread success of The Shipping News, I argue, comes out of its rhetorical flexibility, its appeal to a diverse range of gazes. This appeal arises, in part, from Proulx's ability to replicate familiar tourist forms, and these can be traced in her stylistic choices. First, Proulx's polysemic, black comic style produces a carnivalesque rendering of place that speaks to the desire of the post-tourist or experimental tourist who revels in postmodern spectacle and play. Second, her combination of

documentary details and figurative language creates a linguistic environment not unlike the tourist expectation of "staged authenticity," the packaging of "real" practices for tourist consumption. Third, Proulx's excessive use of metaphor speaks to another tourist desire: to have place translated and interpreted so that the foreigner can navigate without getting disoriented or alienated. Metaphor describes an unfamiliar concept in familiar terms, and hence makes Newfoundland accessible to the outsider. Finally, various grammatical selections (asyndeton, nominalization, and the lack of verbs with tense) break this story about Newfoundland into a series of images. Reading the novel is like flipping through slides or moving through an endless series of photographs.

That Proulx's book has been written for the non-Newfoundlander seems to play out in its reception. The book has garnered much international acclaim, but has not been particularly popular within Newfoundland. Some of the reason for this tepid local reception, I suspect, is because the book is ultimately an improvement narrative about outport Newfoundland. Not only that, the dominating impulse that guides Proulx's renovation is equally at work in Proulx's "photographic" style. This style keeps objects still so that they can be admired and consumed. Finally, many people claim that Proulx's portrayal of Newfoundland (her place names, her vocabulary choices, and her characters) is inauthentic.

Proulx, perhaps, would be surprised at this analysis. In a December 31, 1995 interview on CBC Radio's "Sunday Morning" program, she lamented the fact that

rural living had become a "collectible experience" that could be packaged as a farm weekend or a reproduction village:

> It's putting a whole different--almost foppish--aesthetic value on landscape when you begin getting things . . . like the ship museum in Lunenburg, in Nova Scotia
>
> . . . there is a period, an era, that is no longer extant, just the illusion of it, or the tools of it, the artefacts of it. So you have whole towns that are museums. This certainly hasn't happened in Newfoundland yet, but it *could*. There could be "Ye Olde Fishing Village" with plastic cod being tossed into plastic bins. This hasn't happened yet, but I suppose it could.

I have argued that The Shipping News does, in fact, put "aesthetic value" on place; narrative stylization does not remain between the covers of a book, but gives rise to very real and tangible conceptions of region. Region is not only a physical landscape, but is also a combatative site of various powerful discourses: tourist advertisements, political speeches, jokes, news broadcasts, and literature. We cannot forget that writing a novel is a social act that constructs regionality, and Proulx a social agent who contributes to its portrayal and treatment. Indeed, while she may not identify as such, Proulx is part of an array of tourist professionals who are reproducing ever-new

objects for the tourist gaze, and who are contributing to the ubiquitous spectacle of place.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Inculcation of Regionality: A Highschool Textbook and the Teaching of Place

> Books, as the mainstay of educational fare, have a vital role in this cultural project [to rethink our history and our culture]. However, how we look at our books--what books we read, how we read them, and what we demand of ourselves and others in our reading--requires redefinition as we begin the renegotiation of desire. Books work on reader subjects, but books can also work with reader subjects. This work we do, to a large degree, can determine as we deconstruct what is and reconstruct what may be . . . (Kelly 81)

In the previous application chapters, I studied discursive patterns in novels and demonstrated that regionality is a constructed, symbolic, and complex act, one that is performed in literary and non-literary texts. I explored the various methods through which region can be constructed--through discourse--as beautiful, mundane, romantic, and even grotesque. In this chapter, I examine yet another variety of regional discourse: the textbook.

Textbooks constitute an interesting and consequential site of analysis for the regional critic. Most people at some time or other will use a Social Studies textbook, whereas not everyone will necessarily read a regional novel. Considerable effort, money, and resources are drawn upon to create curriculum materials, some indication

of the importance school boards and government bodies place on this kind of text. Textbooks are valourized for their representations of reality, and the "truth" value of their knowledge. Despite changes in the curriculum and idiosyncrasies of teachers' approaches, textbooks continue to exert a powerful influence on what subjects are taught and how they are taught. In classroom use, the text is to be treated kindly: students, on strict orders, cover their borrowed books in plastic and paper, underline (in pencil only) the important sections, answer the questions selected for them to explore, and memorize definitions *verbatim* for equally valourized exams.

Textbooks are significant to study with respect to regional identity because they constitute an act of *inculcation*. Inculcate, which comes from the Latin word *calcare*, literally means "to tread in." Inculcated knowledge, in other words, is that which is naturalized--knowledge that goes without saying--because it has been trodden into one's mind and body through repeated and habitual practice. The language patterns and visual selections in textbooks function, similarly, to naturalize information by presenting it in persistent and regular ways. In the case of Social Studies texts, this inculcation involves the naturalization of a sense of place. We are not born with a sense of regional identity. Nor do we acquire an embodied knowledge of place through osmosis, although many consider regionality to be a natural sense of place. Instead, we gain regional competence through the most mundane everyday texts and interactions. School textbooks constitute an institutionally powerful and legitimized means of acquiring regional literacy. They teach students more than the concept of longitude, the sealife of the Atlantic ocean, or the architecture of Lunenburg. They

also encourage students to read their region using certain terms and not others, and to interact with their place and its history with varying degrees of critical engagement.

Inculcated acts, as I will explain with reference to the textbook, are never univocal or straightforward practices. We might not be surprised, then, to find that complexity evident in the discursive structures of a textbook. The inculcation of regionality--or sense of place--is one marked by ambivalence, an ambivalence that serves as the focus of this chapter.

This chapter includes various selected passages from the highschool textbook Atlantic Canada in the Global Community, which is used by grade nine students in the Atlantic provinces. Published in 1998 by Prentice-Hall and the smaller Newfoundland company Breakwater Books, this textbook is designed to rectify (within the Newfoundland school system, at least) outdated representations in previous books, books that did not consider Newfoundland in a contemporary setting, and did not place enough emphasis on the urban realities of the province, a problem given that half of Newfoundland's population lives in the twin cities of St. John's and Mount Pearl. The student will not find yaffles of fish or pictures of anchored dories in Atlantic Canada in the Global Community. The glossy, expensive-looking production jettisons the student into the twenty-first century with narratives about oil rigs, computer technology, women's hockey teams, and companies that make world-famous cymbals. In terms of content, the text differs from previous school materials. It does not devote as much space to such historical matters as the migratory fishery or patterns of

settlement, but instead concentrates on the future of the region, particularly in matters of communication, business, and technology.

In short, the book smacks of the new and improved. Students are treated to a multi-media extravaganza. Colourful and multitudinous boxes of information overlap on the page as if the student were engaged with hypertext. Cartoons mingle with trivia boxes that provide juicy tidbits of knowledge. Poems, pieces of artwork, advertisements for McCains Superfries™, passages from regional novels, and archival material make for an eclectic and engaging compilation. The text is energized with pictures of such current media makers as the cast of "This Hour has 22 Minutes," popular fiddler Natalie MacMaster, and Dolly the cloned sheep.

Despite the "movin' and groovin'" feel of the text and its apparent diversity, the book also stabilizes oppositions and controls regional heterogeneity in its visuals and its linguistic text. This ambivalence constitutes one of the three different tensions I explore in this chapter, all of which occur in passages that narrate regional change and regional agency. First, the text seems to invite students to read region as motivated by various successful agents, yet a closer analysis suggests an alternative message, one in which *place* is the motivating (and ultimately, stabilizing) term to understand the regional agent. Second, the person-centred text encourages students to view change as effected by individual agents, yet when the text narrates politically contentious change, it draws upon symbolic resources that delete agents and processes altogether. Third, students are supposedly encouraged to enter into and participate as learning agents with the book. They are invited to explore issues, to analyze poems,

and to take care of the environment--all laudable aims. But, when the book has to deal with trickier issues (resettlement, White domination, or resource mismanagement) it closes the door on crucial acts of critical literacy, and I argue, potentially produces students who do not engage political responsibility, difference, processes of change, or power relationships. My argument, then, centres on three important messages: that scene is the dominant term in understanding regionality, that negative change simply happens, and that students need not critically engage with issues of political injustice. Further, I maintain that these constitute inculcated messages that come out of and reproduce students' sense of place.

Language and Inculcation

I have chosen two passages to focus on, with a view to understanding how regional change is played out rhetorically and discoursally. The first passage I analyze, which is entitled "A Focus on Fine Art" (Appendix A), introduces the student to Newfoundland artist Gerald Squires. This section draws upon the theme of one Squires' paintings, Resettlement, in order to explain the government resettlement program in 1950s Newfoundland. The second excerpt, this one a case study called "The Labrador Inuit" (Appendix B), describes the traditional economy and shelter of the Labrador Inuit, and the changes they have faced since European settlement. I supplement these passages with others: "Technology and the Northern Cod" (Appendix C), which narrates the collapse of the cod fishery; "Africville" (Appendix D),

which describes the deterioration of a Nova Scotian town; and a more general section entitled "Cultures Change" (Appendix E).

I chose these passages because they all nicely illustrate the inculcation of place. Together, they reveal surprising redundancies in grammar and visual strategies, a consistency that supports my contention that certain symbolic resources are habitual in this book, especially in sections concerning social upheaval. Linguistic and visual patterns become naturalized through sustained use, and constitute the terms students will share to understand change and agency in Newfoundland. Not only do these passages enable me to discuss, with close attention to text, the inculcation of regionality, but they also allow me to pinpoint the tensions around regional social change. All faced with the task of narrating contentious issues, these passages allow for a rich study of the inculcated attitude towards change.

M.A.K. Halliday, in his book Language as Social Semiotic (1978), writes of the way the young child learns patterns of living through language. Of the child, Halliday writes that:

> language is the main channel through which the patterns of living are transmitted to him, through which he learns to act as a member of a 'society'--in and through the various social groups, the family, the neighbourhood, and so on--and adopt its 'culture' its modes of thought and action, its beliefs and values. . . . [This] happens indirectly, through the accumulated experience of numerous small events, insignificant in themselves,

> in which his behaviour is guided and controlled, and in the course of which he contracts and develops personal relationships of all kinds. All this takes place through the medium of language . . . The striking fact is that it is the most ordinary everyday uses of language . . . that serve to transmit, to the child, the essential qualities of society and the nature of social being. (9)

This quotation underlines some of the basic assumptions of this chapter. I also contend that a relationship adheres between patterns in a Social Studies text and cultural "patterns of living." In addition, I underline the importance of the mundane and everyday in the acquisition of regionality. The textbook serves as one example of regional literacy.

To understand exactly how the book narrates regional change and agency, I draw upon four critical methods. First, the overarching theory for this explication is Pierre Bourdieu's work on inculcation, as introduced in chapter two, and its role in the acquisition of dispositions which incline an agent to act and react in certain ways. The second theoretical model I engage with is Kenneth Burke's pentadic model, a method which, as I explained in chapter two, uses five terms (**act**, **scene**, **agent**, **agency**, and **purpose**) to generate some statement about motive in a text. This pentadic model enables me to explain the first tension I have located in Atlantic Canada in the Global Community: how, despite its parade of different people, the text quiets diversity by describing agents as motivated by geographical or environmental *scene*. The third resource I use is M.A.K. Halliday's functional grammar, insofar as it

helps me explain the second, and certainly related, tension: alongside the message that people *do* things in the world, the book's selections in the grammar (ergatives, nominalizations, and process types) construct an agentless world when describing crisis. Finally, I draw upon Robert Hodge's and Theo Van Leeuwen's book Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design to unpack the visual cues in the text. I conclude that the textbook does not encourage student involvement with difficult issues, but instead habituates a passive and distanced stance to social issues through repeated visual strategies. Kress and Van Leeuwen's work provides me with the means to explain how visuals in Atlantic Canada in the Global Community distance students from the potentially unsettling responses they might have concerning regional change. Certainly, these four critical methods do not operate in isolation but speak to each other. Together, they help me perform a close reading of texts so that I can demonstrate what symbolic practices inculcate a regional sense of place.

"A Focus on Fine Art": Ambivalent Constructions of Regionality

> Certainly ambivalence, if not overt contradiction, remains central in perspectives on the regional in Canadian culture. . . . Neo-regionalist movements like the Gaelic renaissance in Cape Breton thrive at the same time as *The Globe & Mail* offers, as it recently did in its ad section, a costly course promising to eradicate one's accent--in effect, to neuter geographical specificity. Small regional presses continue to produce some of the most

> interesting work in the country; yet the rhetoric of globalization holds considerable sway in the academy lately, as the proliferation of conference themes and calls for papers around 'globalization' attest. (Lynes and Wyile 126)

To understand some manifestations of regional ambivalence, I perform a close analysis of "A Focus on Fine Art" (Appendix A), a segment that introduces students to Gerald Squires, a Newfoundland painter, and moves from one of his paintings to a lesson about Resettlement, the theme of both the painting and the section. Resettlement was a Newfoundland government initiative of the 1960s and 70s which saw the emptying of outports and the moving of residents (often against their volition) to more economically lucrative and demographically dense areas in the province. This passage about Resettlement enables me to demonstrate and discuss three of the tensions I have observed in the book, tensions that involve regional agency in times of change. First, by focusing on pentadic ratios in "A Focus on Fine Art"--the terms used to structure our perceptions of reality--I show that **scene** and not **agent** constitutes the defining feature of region in this textbook. This scene-centred description runs counter to the book's superficially dominant message that Atlantic Canada is defined, not so much by place, but by the people who make it what it is. Second, I study patterns in the grammar that produce an agentless world. This reality is juxtaposed with contradictory messages like pictures of active agents, and tips for what students can do to change their world. Finally, I analyze the visuals of this

section and speculate that the extent to which the student can engage with the topic of resettlement is controlled by the textbook editors' choice of pictures. Students are not encouraged, I believe, to be active agents in understanding the role of powerful individuals to do hurtful and negative things to people and to the environment.

Before jumping into my pentadic analysis, the first of the three critical approaches I take, I offer some crucial information about the textbook from which this passage is taken. Only then can one appreciate the tensions that this passage enacts when describing the role of agents in their region. For the most part, Atlantic Canada in the Global Community focuses upon individuals from the Atlantic region: visual artists, marine biologists, aerobic instructors, musicians, and media figures. For example, in the "career focus" sections, students "meet" Captain Rosemary Lundrigan, a coast guard captain (6), Charlie Kennedy, a meteorological technician (45), Alice Foley-Keats, an ESL teacher (84), Ian Hanomansing, a journalist (137) and others. In addition to the career focus sections, the textbook includes case studies like that describing Wayne Adams, an African Canadian MLA, and another about Janet Connors, an AIDS activist in Nova Scotia. Personages like Natalie MacMaster and Emile Benoit (well-known fiddlers), Rob Cohn (the organizer of the East Coast Music Awards), and Gordon Sobey (a potato farmer in Prince Edward Island) add to the overwhelming succession of influential co-habitants of place. Given the multitude of smiling faces, one is inclined to understand Eastern Canada as a place where agents define the scene. According to Burke's pentadic heuristic (which I outlined in chapter

two) this perspective constitutes an **agent:scene** ratio. That is to say, scene is a function of agents.

Ratios constitute rhetorical acts, and the foregrounding of individuals in this textbook is no exception. By peppering the pages with Gordons, Alices, and Geralds (and other successful people) the text establishes identification between reader and textbook figures in terms of **familial substance**, a type of definition that joins a group in common lineage or descent. I have already discussed this term in previous chapters but offer another definition here for clarity:

> This is the "tribal" or "familial" sort, the definition of a substance in terms of ancestral cause. Under the head of "tribal" definition would fall any variant of the idea of biological descent, with the substance of the offspring being derived from the substance of the parents or family. (Burke, A Grammar of Motives 26)

While the textbook does not overtly suggest that the student is directly related to or derived from Rosemary, Alice, or Ian, it does suggest that these geographically connected people comprise an *environment* of diversity and success, and that, by living in Atlantic Canada, the student is a proud member of an achieving Atlantic Canadian family. The student is related contextually. **Contextual definition** (definition in terms of placement) and familial definition, Burke explains, often blend together: "contextual definition stresses placement, ancestral definition stresses derivation. But in any

sustained discussion of motives, the two become interwoven" (A Grammar of Motives).

The definition of place in terms of familial substance, a means of identification suggested by the case studies and focus sections, does not function alone. The larger, overarching definition of Atlantic Canada in Atlantic Canada in the Global Community is articulated in terms of **directional substance**, whereby something or someone is defined in terms of where they are headed. Burke writes that definitions in terms of directional substance are:

> biologically derived from the experience of free motion, since man is an organism that lives by locomotion. Frequently, with metaphors of "the way," the directional stresses the sense of motivation from within. Often strongly futuristic, purposive, its slogan might be: Not "Who are you?" or "Where are you from?" but "Where are you going?" (A Grammar of Motives 31)

According to Atlantic Canada in the Global Community, the Canadian east coast is moving ahead, is forward-looking, is "up and coming," instead of "down and out." The cover of the book establishes this directional attitude right from the start, with pictures of the Canada space arm, the base of the Hibernia oil rig, the Lunenburg shipping dock, and the newly constructed Confederation Bridge between Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. All of these pictures emphasize technology, communication, resource development and global connection. Between the covers of

the textbook, the directional impetus continues. The book concentrates on technological development, and looks to the future instead of the past. This emphasis seems, in part, to be in reaction to books like the formerly used highschool text, Our Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, which provided more conservative, geographically determined means of definition.

Given the context of school textbook publishing, one can understand the emphasis on business and technology as a function of the multinational book publishers and their interests. Rowland Lorimer and Patrick Keeny, in their article "Defining the Curriculum: The Role of the Multinational Textbook in Canada," write that in the multinational text

> Canada is portrayed as a nation on a 'path to destiny', boiled down to its basics and with little interest in diversity, dissenting voices or alternative paths. A recognition of our growing ethnic plurality, with its new internal richness and tensions . . . is quite absent . . . we suggest that the reason such events are omitted or treated as dated events is that such phenomena run against the central focus on nation-building and 'progress' and thus disturb rather than enrich the overall picture being painted. (174)

Atlantic Canada, the student learns, is valuable insofar as it can keep up with the global marketplace and function as an economically viable place. In case studies like "A Financial Fable" (152-54), students are taught how they can save money and

become "young entrepreneurs" (153). In "Career Focus: Meet an Entrepreneur" (176-77), they find out how Adeline Misener, President of a Job Oriented Training company, started her business and developed her markets. True to the directional vector of the book, Adeline advises students to "look *ahead*" and "gear [themselves] *towards*" the big markets. Alongside such sections, we find politicians on the "road" to success (171), and lessons about economic progress and advancement. Always, this version of directional substance begins with the consumer, entrepreneur, or technologist. This emphasis on progress, I think, provides a means of transcending what are perceived, nationally, to be the parochial concerns of Atlantic Canada. Regionalist works have been accused of being too particular to one area and of not transcending parochial themes.[1] Atlantic Canada in the Global Community proposes, instead, a vision of regionality that incorporates both the local and the global.

Having established the dominant defining mechanisms in the book, I now move to the section "A Focus on Fine Art" to demonstrate that alongside these messages about successful and diverse individuals, action is ultimately motivated by scene rather than by personal agency. To this end, I begin my analysis with an exploration of ratios: that is to say, an analysis of the terms through which action is defined and motive provided. The very first sentence of "A Focus on Fine Art" reads: *Artists of the Atlantic provinces have often painted the dramatic landscapes of the region.* It

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[1] See Jeanette Lynes and Herb Wyile's "Regionality and Ambivalence in Canadian Literary History" and Frank Davey's "Toward the Ends of Regionality" for a discussion of this "occupational hazard" (Lynes and Wyile 120) of regionality.

enacts a **scene:act** ratio. In other words, artists paint local landscapes (act) *because* they are "dramatic" ones (a quality of scene). The landscape serves as the inspiration for the act of painting. Alternatively, the excerpt could have performed a **purpose:act** ratio, artists painting not because of scenic landscape but for a *reason* (to make political statements about environmental pollution or mass exodus, for instance). Such is not the case here. I mention the alternative simply to point to an equally valid, yet quite different, construction of motives and to show that ratios direct how we understand actions.

After this beginning sentence, we move from the general category of artists to one particular artist, Gerald Squires (*One such artist is Gerald Squires*), and to a sentence that locates him as Newfoundland born: *Squires was born in Change Islands on Newfoundland's northeast coast in 1937, and spent much of his childhood on the island of Exploits*. Scene continues to constitute the framing element, this time in a **scene:agent** ratio. Squires (agent) is described in terms of his scene (marked by numerous circumstances like *in Change Islands, on Newfoundland's northeast coast, on the island of Exploits*). Again, to offer an alternative, I point to the possibility of an **agent:act** ratio, in which the act of painting would have been defined in terms of Squires' inherent qualities. The text would have represented the world differently if, for instance, Squires' credentials, previous works, and artistic accolades were included in the biography. Instead, Squires' value as an artist is established in terms of his geographic origins.

The sentence, *He worked for a Toronto newspaper, but in 1969, he decided to return to Newfoundland to be an artist* seems to signal a transformation in ratios. That is to say, scene no longer functions as the dominant motivation for action. Instead, the text assigns a purpose:act ratio to the return: Squires returns home (act) in order to be an artist (purpose). Stillar points to the importance of points of transformation in ratios because "these points indicate shifts in how symbolic action both constrains and enables (by directing the attention with particular ratios) interpretation by transforming *what* is being said in terms of *what*" (62). The sentence above encourages a reader to view Squires as a purposeful agent, one who does things for a reason. However, the persistent pull of the scene:agent motivation constitutes a strong undertow beneath the surface of this purpose:act ratio. Squires *does* come home for a reason, but the sentence suggests that he could not have been an artist anywhere else but Newfoundland. The verbs in this clause substantiate this claim: Squires *worked* in Toronto, but only in Newfoundland could he *be* an artist. *Be*, a relational process—in this example, one that assigns classification—suggests more than simply doing. The verb connects Squires' personhood or artistic vocation with Newfoundland. Not until the final paragraph of the section—after Squires has been firmly defined in terms of his environment—is he defined in terms of his talent as an artist. Only then is the quality of his painting (act) a product of his personal attributes (agent): *He is now recognized as one of Newfoundland's finest artists/In 1992, he was awarded an honorary doctorate from Memorial University.*

I have established that the ratio patterns in the linguistic text provide motivation in terms of **scene**. Figure 7.8 repeats this ratio, visually. In this picture, Squires stands next to his painting and his daughter, Esther, stands behind him. Like other photographs in the book, this one encourages students to see their region as a place made up of striking people, to think of their world in terms of an **agent:scene** ratio. This photograph does, indeed, focus on the central personality, Gerald Squires. In the caption that accompanies the photo (*Gerald Squires working on his painting*) *Gerald Squires* occupies the thematic position in the clause, the position that tells the reader who or what the message is about. Visually, Squires occupies a position in the centre and foreground of the photograph and (in large part because of the prominence of his body) is the most salient figure in the picture. All the other participants in the photograph (his daughter, Esther; his painting; his rags and brushes) are defined in relation to him, the central participant.

Kress and van Leeuwen call relational connections like these **conceptual** patterns as opposed to **narrative ones**:

> Where conceptual patterns represent participants in terms of their class, structure or meaning, in other words, in terms of their generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence, narrative patterns serve to present unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements. (56)

If this picture of Squires were a narrative one, we might have seen Squires actually painting (and the brush and his hand would have provided the vectors which serve as the markers of narrative in the visual mode). Yet, in the chosen picture, Squires simply stands. The photograph, therefore, says more about who this person is (and offers a sense of timeless essence) than it does about the artistic activity as such. A conceptual process, this picture visually represents a state of affairs, a general truth, or category. This photograph does, in fact, tell the student about a class or category: the category called Newfoundland artist.

Yet, Squires is defined as an artist in terms of his surrounding attributes or parts: his painting, his brushes and rags, his similarly artistic daughter in the background. The photograph is, in effect, saying: *Because he is associated with these attributes, Gerald Squires is a Newfoundland artist.* Of course, the biggest defining attribute of scene (what Kress and van Leeuwen call the **symbolic attribute**) is his painting. Squires is meaningful in this picture insofar as he occupies a place in the larger scene: in his studio with a *landscape picture of Newfoundland* next to him. The painting is salient in terms of its relative size (it takes up almost half the photo) and in terms of its detail. We can make out the objects in the *Resettlement* painting and can detect some of the nuances in shading. Part of Squires' body is behind the picture and his right knee is subtly leaning towards it, both of which lead the eye to the painting. *Resettlement* functions as a symbol for Newfoundland art, and all that might entail in the minds of students (rugged landscapes, swirling oils, elite representations, artsy types in downtown St. John's, etc.). Gerald Squires, as the current saying goes, "is all

that" because the visuals make him the carrier of all these symbolic attributes. The picture would have provided different motivations for painting and for the painter had it nothing whatsoever to do with the Newfoundland environment.

I have argued that scene plays a prominent role in both the linguistic text and the accompanying visuals. Now the question is: what consequences do **scene:act** and **scene:agent** ratios have in "A Focus on Fine Art," particularly as these ratios affect regional identity? First, grounding motivation in scene constitutes an inculcated act of **identification**. As I have discussed in previous chapters, knowing oneself as a member of a community—whether it be familial, regional, or professional—entails sharing a view of the world, and this is accomplished in part through the terms used for defining **motive** and **substance**. In other words, members of a community are invited to define the world using the same terms and to interpret the world according to the same ratios (for instance, to regard one's **actions** in terms of one's **scene**). Motives do not simply exist, but have to be constructed for agents through symbols.

Significantly, in Atlantic Canada in the Global Community motives are ascribed to some unproblematic environment or place. Canadian literature critic Frank Davey writes that:

> the individual called to by regionality is invited to hold certain restraining and shaping beliefs not because of difference, but because such beliefs are perceived as "true" or "natural" to the inhabiting of a specific geography. In turn, geography acts as a metonym for social identification.(3)

The "true" or "natural" perceptions, I argue, result from the inculcation of regionality. That occurs, in part, in such institutional settings as Social Studies classes. In this case, scene-centred ratios are subjected to a process of normalization which makes them assimilable and easily reproducible. For instance, the geographical essence, "The Rock," is often put to use to describe the character of the people who live in Newfoundland: steadfast and hardy as a rock, down to earth, or even fun-loving (a quality suggested by one radio station's slogan "The Rock of the Rock, OZ FM").[2] Such environmental determinism reduces the complexities of Newfoundlanders, and makes it less possible to imagine them acting outside of Newfoundland (or outside of those pockets of Newfoundlanders in Cambridge, Ontario, or Fort McMurray, Alberta). For example, in a recent episode of CBC television's Thursday night drama *Traders*, a Newfoundland businessperson enters the highrolling Bay Street Bank of Cunningham, Ross. Even though a man in his position would presumably be adept at business transactions, the character was represented as naive, dialectally impenetrable, and incapable of performing the register of business negotiations. Burke points to the limited nature of defining character primarily in terms of scene when he writes that a "restricting of the scene calls in turn for a corresponding restriction upon personality or role" (A Grammar of Motives 9).

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[2] A very popular web site, www.newfoundland.com, continues the hardy Newfoundlander stereotype: "Newfoundlanders are historically known for their hardiness. The people lived a rugged life—working outdoors in all conditions, eating what was available when it was available, sleeping by the moon and rising with the sun, living a life where leisure wasn't a luxury, it was an unknown."

Textbooks impose norms; in this case, the primacy of environment. In so doing, they stabilize place and make it seem a geographical or material given instead of a constructed and arbitrary social boundary. Both Social Studies books about Newfoundland currently being used (one for grade five students, and this one for grade nines) begin with a chapter on "where we are," and anchor Social Studies in maps, explanations of latitude and longitude, and a description of Atlantic Canada's geographical position in the world. Jeanette Lynes and Herb Wyile, in their article "Regionality and Ambivalence in Canadian Literary History," articulate the desire for containment characteristic of regionalist literary history and criticism:

> The recognition of diversity, heterogeneity and discontinuity on a national scale, disrupting the assertion of a coherent narrative of Canadian literature, turns to a desire for homogeneity, containment and coherence at the regional or provincial level--a celebration and containment of region which is less ambivalent than region's position within a nationalist discourse, but ambivalent all the same. (123)

Scene ratios stabilize the messiness of region, with its competing interests and its conflicts. No matter how different we are, the text suggests, we all share contextual substance as cohabitants of place. Think how natural--how habitual--is the practice of having different sections in a textbook (one about the Inuit, one about the Black population in Halifax, one about the marine biologist, one about the political activist).

These sections perform segregation within unification: each section need not mingle or smudge into any other one, and hence potential conflicts and tensions are quieted in the book's very organization. Yet all of these discrete sections make sense to the student or teacher in Atlantic Canada, because ultimately, place and region constitute the terms of inclusion, no matter how precarious that criterion might be.

"A Focus on Fine Art": the Agent-filled/Agentless region

To this point, I have studied the pentadic ratios in "A Focus on Fine Art," and have commented on various consequences those selections have for students trying to understand their place. Accompanying pentadic ratios are grammatical selections which shed some light on the second tension I have observed at work in Atlantic Canada in the Global Community: the tension between an agent-filled and agentless world which occurs when the book explains regional change. Students learn that agents do good things, but bad things simply happen.

When we encounter a text that foregrounds a **scene:agent** ratio, we might not be surprised to see that the text favours certain resources in the grammar. For instance, as I have already mentioned, this excerpt draws upon many **circumstance** types of location. Yet circumstance types are not the only selections worth noting. The following analysis focuses on **ergative constructions** (grammatical choices in which action seems self-caused) and **nominalizations** (constructions in which processes are converted into nouns). I consider how these resources construct an agentless world that stands in opposition to the agent-filled barrage of busy,

productive people the student is encouraged to emulate. Again, to come back to the theme of inculcation that guides this chapter, the student treads through repeated ergatives, nominalizations, and process types until they become naturalized ways of reading region. Unless the classroom environment is conducive to questioning the very forms of the textbook, students might become habituated to speaking in terms of automatic, self-propelling models of change.

I begin, then, with the ergative construction, a pervasive form throughout the book. By way of definition, the ergative occurs when an actor is both the doer and the done to in a clause. For example, in the clause ***the sundae toppled, the sundae*** is the doer of the action (the toppling), and the recipient, as well (it was toppled). In functional grammar, the ergative clause is divided into what is called a **Medium** and a **Process**. The medium is "the key figure in that process; this is the one . . . without which there would be no process at all" (Halliday 163). In the clause *The sundae toppled*, *sundae* is that "figure," that medium. *Toppled* is the process.

Ergative constructions prove useful for understanding agency because they communicate information about the ***causation*** of an action. Halliday suggests, when looking for ergative verbs, that we ask the question: ***is the process brought about from within, or from outside?*** (162). This element of causation is central to my reading of the "Focus on Fine Art" passage. When read through an ergative lens, action can appear to be, as Halliday notes, "self-engendering":

> Either the process is represented as self-engendering, in which case there is no separate Agent; or it is represented as engendered from outside, in which case there is another participant functioning as Agent. Thus the clauses *the glass broke*, *the baby sat up*, *the boy ran* are all structured as Medium + Process. In the real world, there may well have been some external agency involved in the breaking of the glass; but in the semantics of English it is represented as having been self-caused. (Halliday 164)

Because of its frequent use of ergative constructions, change and crisis in Atlantic Canada in The Global Community do, in fact, seem self-caused. At the same time, however, human agents smile out at the student on almost every second page, and proclaim their efficacy.

An example of this pervasive ergative occurs in "A Focus on Fine Art": *When he had been away, **the fishery—on which the economy and culture of the area were built—had been changing.** The fishery* (Medium) seems to have both brought about its own change and been the recipient of it. By conferring agency onto an abstract inanimate activity, the text produces a world where people do not do anything, and where, instead, events do things to themselves. This construction is pervasive throughout the book, particularly in sections that concern negative social transition. The title of another section for example, "Cultures Change" (Appendix E) is expressed as an ergative, where *culture* is both the doer of the change and the recipient of it. As if setting precedent, this title unleashes a number of ergatives in the section it heralds:

cultures grow and change and *cultures appear and disappear.* The student is invited to read the world of technological change as an abstract and self-caused phenomenon.

What are the consequences of ergatives in the inculcation of region? Ergatives construct a self-driven world, one that can be understood critically with reference to Burke's definition of **motion** which he opposes to **action**:

> "Action" is a term for the kind of behaviour possible to a typically symbol-using animal (such as man [*sic*]) in contrast with the extrasymbolic or nonsymbolic operations of nature . . . language is primarily a species of action, or expression of attitudes, rather than an instrument of definition. (Gusfield 53)

Motion, the "extrasymbolic or nonsymbolic operations of nature," applies to the blossoming of buds, rotation of the planets, and the shooting of neurons in the brain. Joseph Gusfield, in his introduction to a collection of Burke essays, On Symbols and Society, writes that "motion is the animal side of human beings. Here human acts are determined. They are the summation of the forces and factors which impinge on people to produce behaviour"(9). Ergatives and nominalizations construct a world where unnamed forces cause change. Agents do not.

This consistent stylistic choice, the ergative construction, while seemingly inconsequential, is very political and in the end serves the interests of the larger-nation state. The ergative representation of regional change, with its suggestion of geographical or temporal inevitability, prevents residents and governments from

interrogating such activities as suspect fishery practices or inadequate punition against foreign fishing. In the following quotation from Frank Davey's article "Toward the Ends of Regionality," one can replace "geographic determinism" with "motion," the term I have been using, and the sense still stands:

> a regionalism should be perceived as a production of the nation-state and as partly serving the nation-state's interests. In economics, the myth of geographic determinism (*read: motion*) allows a national government to avoid responsibility for regional economic downturns, and to use the band-aid of equalization payments instead of investigating ways in which national economic practices create regional economic differentiations. (5, italicized insertion my own)

Ergatives extract responsibility from a text, and they allow for thinking in terms of compensation instead of investigation, fish moratoria instead of mobilized efforts to confront politicians, fisheries officials, and others who hold powerful positions.

The ideological power of educational materials should not be underestimated. Some outport Newfoundlanders have not-so-positive things to say about Newfoundland curricula. In his book Literacy for Living: A Study of Literacy and Cultural Context in Rural Canadian Communities, William Fagan writes that seniors in the community of Bridget's Harbour view literacy programs (like school learning) as a means of creating complacency in the younger generations of Newfoundlanders:

> They felt that the ingenuity, adaptability, and creativity of former generations were not only not recognized, but the younger generations were becoming "soft," and rather than displaying independence and strength, it seemed they were becoming pawns of the government, dependent and complacent. The seniors tired of the constant cry that the government was to blame for all, that the government must pay for all, an attitude they felt the government had promoted and was now being "locked into." That this mentality had taken "such a strong hold" on the younger generations bothered them. (107)

If anything, replacing ergatives with active process types will help students think through, in more sophisticated ways, the reasons behind change, and will encourage them to be discerning agents in reading their world (including the texts that teach them). Thinking through reasons for change does not mean blaming Ottawa or some abstract government. Instead, critical thinking means recognizing that symbols and narratives are motivated and ideologically loaded texts, and that textbooks do not represent neutral truths.

Nominalization in "A Focus on Fine Art"

Not only ergatives, but nominalizations, too, remove agents from this narrative about Resettlement. When "A Focus on Fine Art" explains Resettlement, it draws heavily on **nominalization**, the second grammatical resource I discuss. A nominalization can be defined as:

> a process converted into a noun (or a multi-word compound noun . . .). It is reduced in the sense that some of the meaning one gets in a sentence is missing--tense, so there is no indication of the timing of the process; modality . . .; and often an agent and/or patient. (Fairclough 124)

The word *resettlement*, the topic of this section, is a central nominalization. This noun stands in for an agent, a process, and a tense: during the 1950s and 60s, government officials (even more specifically, Premier Joseph Smallwood) offered monetary payment to those who would leave their homes and move to larger areas. The word *resettlement* lacks participants; the passage never mentions the name of Premier Smallwood and his role in this demographic shake-up. Nor does it mention the patients of (or those affected by) the act: those who had to leave their homes, some with the curtains still in the windows, to reside in some new place. Further, *resettlement* is bubble-packed in the euphemism of doublespeak, and emphasizes *settlement* as opposed to disruption. *Resettlement* is the generally accepted term to explain this traumatic incident in Newfoundland history. Its currency attests to the inculcation of nominalizations, which with repetition, become categories to understand events.

Other words in "A Focus on Fine Art," while not technically nominalizations, nonetheless produce a passage heavy with inanimate nouns. For instance, as a result of changes in the fishery *the economy of the outports* (not people) *suffered*. Notably, the noun *the fishery* in the clause *the fishery had been changing* compresses the act of fishing by fishers into a noun. When one makes a process (people fishing) into a noun,

one can then make that noun the subject of a sentence, and can make it "do" things--in this case, *change*. Of course, a fishery does not have the capacity for conscious agency, but this is where the grammar places abstract responsibility. In yet another sentence, students read that ***off-shore trawlers had replaced small-boat operators.*** The agent (*off-shore trawlers*) serves as the reassuringly mechanical thing that replaces the more human ***small-boat operators.*** Often, events in this passage simply occur, as if inevitable, although lamentable, occurrences in a predetermined or mechanical world.

What are the consequences of nominalizations with respect to regionality? Nominalizations contribute, as I suggested with reference to the word *resettlement*, to inculcated and naturalized experiences of regionality. Nominalizations, the basis of those bolded definitions students memorize for quizzes, occupy a privileged position in the glossary of textbooks. The glossary in Atlantic Canada in the Global Community is heavy with weighty nominalizations that explain economic or demographic change. These are the terms that students equip themselves with in understanding events in their region:

WORD	DEFINITION
diversification	the process of making the economy more varied
downsizing	reducing the staff and services of a business
population distribution	patterns of settlement, including compact, clustered, loose-knit, and linear
outmigration	movement away from an area

Fig. 4. Nominalizations in the glossary of Atlantic Canada in the Global Community

One might question the power of nominalizations to affect a student's or teacher's means of understanding the world. After all, teachers emphasize different sections in books, and students are known, occasionally, to doodle instead of take notes. William Fagan argues that memorizing definitions and information from a text is "an arduous, meaningless task" (105). Memorization of definitions is not, however, completely meaningless. The nominalized form of highlighted terms carries rhetorical force: definitions engage students' interest because they mark themselves as big issues in the text (a message that is seconded by bold font and inclusion in the glossary). Yet like the classificatory nature of the glossary itself, these words provide categories for students and suggest a tidiness that does not exist. This freezing of events has visual support in the before/after picture, a phenomenon I will discuss in my analysis of visuals below.

Second, nominalizations effectively take a dynamic process and turn it into a static noun. They make regional controversies safe. Terms like *resettlement*, *diversification*, and *outmigration* freeze an event, and encourage students to think in terms of categories or exam definitions, and not in terms of political activities that are up for debate and protest. The classificational impetus can diffuse the questioning of this reality in the first place. Why do Newfoundlanders outmigrate? What powers make that happen? Why do some areas attract people and others lose them? What role do governmental decisions play in that movement?

The textbook, on the one hand, places before the student a dynamic world of change, technology, and connection, but on the other, it freezes events in nouns and

nominalizations. This static representation occurs when powerful bodies (the Canadian government, the premier of a province, foreign fishers) might be implicated. Harro Van Brummelen, in his article "The World Portrayed in Texts," studies the content of elementary school texts used in British Columbia. He iterates the claim made by many pedagogical theorists that textbooks are "blanded down" in an attempt to be noncontroversial (203). Atlantic Canada in the Global Community, for instance, defines "politics" as "the way in which we organize ourselves so that the members of our society can live together in peace and security" (124), and segregates "Janet Conners: Profile of a Political Activist" to her own case study (135). Students are not invited to consider power in the world or their own power to act. Nor does the book encourage them to think of political activism beyond the borders of a case study.

I have speculated about the representation of agents and region through language. Next, I examine the visuals in "Focus on Fine Art" to understand how these work interpersonally, how they potentially locate the student as agent/viewer. Again, a tension exists. On the one hand, questions in the "Explorations" section in the book, along with the cartoons and trivia sections, invite the student to take an active, inquisitive stance in relation to the material. This construction of the student is in keeping with the agent-centred side of the book, the one in which people do things, explore things, and make a difference. At the same time, however, visual choices--specifically, choices in **demand and offer** and **sequence**--distance students from the contentious event in question, deflecting their attention from the complexity

of the situation. This tension--on the level of the interpersonal--serves as the focus of the following discussion.

Visual Demand and Offer in "A Focus on Fine Art"

Before considering the visuals in "A Focus on Fine Art," I once again offer some background about the editorial aims outlined at the textbook's beginning so that I can better frame the tension that I detect concerning students' interaction with the material. Involvement and critical thinking seem to be primary goals of the editorial staff of Atlantic Canada in The Global Community: involvement with the resources of the text, and involvement with the world. For instance, in the Preface, the editors write:

> The text is designed to involve you in examining and reflecting on the major issues that affect you as individuals, as Atlantic Canadians, and as global citizens. In the five units, you will explore and appreciate the unique physical features of this region; the diverse cultural, ethnic, and historical backgrounds of the people who live here; the economic issues and challenges we all face; the role of technology in your past, present, and future; and the importance of effective global citizenship. (v)

Later in the Preface, the authors repeat the sentiment: "you are encouraged to analyze, evaluate, and think critically, to suggest solutions" (v). The editors, further, invite the students to think about current events, to use computers to aid their studies, and to

connect with students in other Atlantic provinces and around the globe. In keeping with the book's intention to involve the student, the Preface lists special features that invite students' participation. For instance, each chapter in the book introduces topics from a student's perspective, so that the material is more relevant to the reading student. Cartoons, trivia boxes, maps, graphs, charts, photographs, poems, and the like provide rich and dynamic resources. The text includes feature issues and engaging narratives to hook the student's attention and to engage his/her interest in place. In all these ways, Atlantic Canada in the Global Community is a politically and pedagogically savvy book.

These critical moves, however, seem to be encouraged only with respect to *positive* change. In this passage about resettlement, the visuals encourage distanced contemplation rather than empathetic interaction on the part of the student. Figure 7.9, a coloured representation of Squires' painting in the finished version, represents resettlement through a piece of art. This choice is significant. The modality of this painting (that is, its perceived resemblance to reality) is low when considered within naturalistic conventions. Its limited colour differentiation (the painting is confined to shades of beige and brown) and the significance of each element of the painting (the suitcase, the departing boat, the gravestones in the foreground) frame this picture as deep or important, but not necessarily as immediately relevant to the student. The colours, a range of sepia shades, place this event firmly in the past, at a remove from the present-day viewer.

Not only does this painting encourage contemplation because of its status as a piece of art, but also because this same picture constitutes what Kress and van Leeuwen call an **offer**, a visual representation that ultimately encourages contemplation rather than interaction. **Offers** are different from **demands**, where the depicted participant's gaze or bodily position "demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relation with him or her" (Kress and van Leeuwen 122). A smiling person, a pointing finger, a glare, or a seductive pout--if directed at the viewer--constitutes a **demand**. However, Kress and van Leeuwen introduce the visual **offer** in the following terms:

> Other pictures address us indirectly. Here the viewer is not object, but subject of the look, and the represented participant is the object of the viewer's dispassionate scrutiny. No contact is made. The viewer's role is that of an invisible onlooker. All images which do not contain human or quasi-human participants looking directly at the viewer are of this kind. For this reason we have called this kind of image an 'offer'--it 'offers' the represented participants to the viewer as items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case. (124)

The painting Resettlement is an "object of contemplation." The viewer can easily assume a position of aesthetic distance relative to the piece because it performs no

direct demand. Further, the government official in the painting has his back to the viewer. The man's turned back reduces any sense of interaction, and permits the viewer to scrutinize the represented scene as if it were an artifact. The student's approach to resettlement would be considerably different had the piece been accompanied by a photograph of displaced residents looking, at close distance, at the student.

A reader who glances through the textbook might notice that often, when controversial topics are the theme, the editors have chosen still-shots of communities, an offer that asks to be viewed as impersonal information. For example, in one focus called "Africville" (Appendix D), the student reads about a small community of predominantly African-Canadians north of Halifax that became a site for sewage and garbage disposal and was never provided with amenities like postal service, schools, street lights, water or sewers. In the 1960s the entire community was demolished, because politicians decided that this alternative was cheaper than providing the necessary services. This response to relocation, like that in "A Focus on Fine Art," is communicated through the distancing mechanism of *art* (this time in a poem called "Africville My Home"). The picture accompanying the text is of the community, and in the accompanying caption, the student is asked to locate the church (62). Similarly, in "The Labrador Inuit" case study, the student looks at a personless shot of wooden houses in Hopedale, Labrador (113). In a section that narrates the collapse of the cod fishery, the text includes a picture of Trinity, Newfoundland. This repeated pattern is important because it habituates a distanced response to change, one that objectifies

place, stabilizes the conflicts, and keeps students at arm's length from its consequences. It offers students comfortable, familiar images of place, instead of making them angered by, or at least engaged with, these events and their human component in their region.

Visual Sequence in "A Focus on Fine Art"

In "A Focus on Fine Art," the two pictures (labelled figures 7.8 and 7.9 in the textbook) together perform an interesting visual sequence, one that has the sense of narrative (this stage of the painting happened, then this stage happened . . .) but also involves an analytic breakdown of each stage (this stage of the painting carried these attributes, while the later stage carried these other ones). This combination of narrative impetus and analytical classification places this sequence in the realm of what Kress and van Leeuwen call a **temporal analytical process**, one best exemplified by the time line:

> [there] is also the category of the *time line*, a process which seems to occupy an intermediate position between the narrative and the analytical. Time lines involve the temporal dimension, and this suggests narrative. Yet they are not vectorial, and, rather than representing history as a gradual unfolding of events, they analyse it into successive stages with fixed and stable characteristics, stages which can then be treated as though they were things. (95)

The picture of Squires standing next to his painting might be thought of as a "before" frame, and the final draft of the portrait on the next page as the "after" frame. Before and After sequences (whether they be of improvement or deterioration) represent stages of transformation over time. They invite a particular kind of literacy when it comes to change. Specifically, they encourage students to view change in terms of stages, which, as Kress and van Leeuwen write above, possess "fixed and stable characteristics, stages which can then be treated as though they were things" (95). Gerald Squires represents the essential, timeless Newfoundland artist. The painting stands in for the act of resettlement. Both are static. Both are highly aesthetic--one posed, the other painted.

Temporal analytic processes do not invite interrogation into the process of that change, into the intervening increments of change, or into the people and institutions that caused it in the first place. The Before and After picture, which is a binary representation, tells students that events can be reduced to pairs, and that they occur in measurable extremes, instead of in increments. Before and After sequences are visual selections that lead us to work out a puzzle of comparison and contrast. They meantime deflect attention from the **act** of change, the **agents** of change, the **agency** of change and the **purpose** of change.

The script accompanying Figure 7.8 instructs students to perform just this kind of conversion analysis. It reads: "How did the painting change between this earlier version and the finished piece, shown on the next page? Which version do you think has more impact? Why?" (102). Before and After shots like this one invite our

comparative faculties. They encourage us to focus on the object, itself, instead of considering the agent behind the changes. In fashion magazines, for instance, a reader looks to the changes in a person's looks, and does not, in all likelihood, think of the make-up artist, stylist, or fashion consultant who effected those changes. In the jump between pictures, the agent disappears. The same holds true for Squires. The ergative world that the student has been reading about throughout the whole book is replicated, visually, in the sequence of Before and After. This is, in many ways, the photographic equivalent of the ergative status of "change happens." In "A Focus on Fine Art," the change involves stages in the development of a painting. The student sees one stage of the painting and then the finished product. While Squires, the agent, never entirely disappears in the process, he is certainly downplayed in the sequence.

Interestingly, Before and After shots occur in each of the three most provocative sections of the book: "A Focus on Fine Art," which introduces resettlement; "The Labrador Inuit," which describes the Moravian missionaries in Labrador; and "Technology and the Northern Cod," which explains "the closure of the cod fishery" (Appendices A, B, and C). In the Labrador Inuit section, the student is asked to compare the "traditional" Inuit shelter with the more modern house in Frobisher Bay. In the section entitled "Technology and the Northern Cod," a caption that reads "From this . . ." ". . . to this" is accompanied by two pictures: one of a net overflowing with fish (the Before shot), and the other of a boarded up boat on a deserted wharf (the After shot). The textbook, in this way, naturalizes elliptical methods to narrate politically suspect regional practices.

To summarize, regionality is a learned sense of place, and involves the inculcation of what really are arbitrary social divisions. With repetition, resources like the ones I have explored above become second nature to students. For instance, after reading time and time again that agents do things because of scene, students find it natural to define their place in terms of landscape or geographical features. They read ergative after ergative and become accustomed to brushing over the agents behind change. Further, politically fraught issues become topics for distanced speculation (through art or "offer" pictures), and are less defamiliarizing or upsetting than ones that demand the student's participation more directly. While these symbolic resources may not always register with students, they do become the norm for understanding what feels "right" about how regionality is represented. Atlantic Canada in the Global Community seems to press a lot of familiar buttons, which gives some indication that the text is drawing upon and reproducing those inculcated dispositions students already bring to the classroom.

"The Labrador Inuit": Constructions of Kinship and Division

Part of the goal of a Social Studies textbook like Atlantic Canada in the Global Community is to foster a sense of community amongst diverse students:

> Regionality . . . has come to be accepted as a discourse or form of identification or (following Benedict Anderson's view of nationalism) a kind of

> kinship--if not viewed as being as significant a component of identity as nationality, then at least not far off. (Wyile and Riegel ix)

This task of "kinship" becomes particularly difficult in sections where class, race, or sexual difference are marked: "The Labrador Inuit" passage I analyze here (Appendix B) represents one place in the book where rhetorical tensions suggest some social discomfort concerning the place of the Labrador Inuit in the regional community. A site of both consubstantiation and social othering, the passage performs this tension in its seemingly unremarkable (because naturalized) grammatical and visual resources. Once again, we see that inculcated acts of regionality are not straightforward, but are ambivalent practices with specific tensions.

In the section "The Labrador Inuit," the student finds some of the same strategies as in "A Focus on Fine Art": the scene-centred definition of place, the ergatives, nominalizations, artistic renderings of contentious issues, and Before and After pictures. I touch upon some of these resources (and introduce new ones) in order to show that repetition does indeed occur across these texts. Certain regional ways of being become second nature, so frequent is their use in Atlantic Canada in the Global Community. These textual traces constitute the rules and resources that enable students to understand their place. As Bourdieu makes clear, students not only follow these linguistic and visual choices but *reproduce* these structures by drawing upon these seemingly unimportant textual forms, upon "the most apparently insignificant aspects of the things, situations, and practices of everyday life" (Language and

Symbolic Power 51). For instance, the repetition of relational process types (like *is* or *seems*) and the lack of material processes (active verbs) may seem inconsequential to the teacher or the editor. But they construct a world where participants simply exist, and do not effect change. When you are talking about disenfranchised or dominated groups, this pattern of process type is telling of the agency afforded these people.

Having pointed to the similarities between passages, I emphasize that repeated symbolic resources also work *differently* in this passage about the Labrador Inuit. For example, as I will show, "The Labrador Inuit" section draws upon the same scene:agent ratios as "A Focus on Fine Art," yet the consequences that spring from this means of definition are not the same between the two excerpts. In the case of Gerald Squires, the scene ratio serves as a point of shared origin and residence between artist and student. In the case of the Labrador Inuit, however, the deluge of locational attributes and markers of scene locate what was traditionally a migratory people. It places the Labrador Inuit only in hinterland environments and traditional locations that do not necessary accord with the realities of contemporary aboriginal peoples.

To understand the rhetorical power of this passage, I again begin with Burke's pentadic ratios and notion of substance. Like the rest of the book, this passage defines the activities of the Inuit in terms of directional and familial substance. Hence, this group is framed and welcomed into the regional flock in terms of the dominant values of the book (place, economics, usefulness, food). In these terms, they fit nicely into the patterns of the larger project. Ultimately, however, the terms that construct

legitimacy and invite consubstantiality with the Labrador Inuit falter in the face of profound othering performed by many of the textual selections.

After applying a pentadic analysis, I turn to the resources in the grammar, specifically the participants and process types. As in "A Focus on Fine Art," the agents in this section (the Inuit and the missionaries) perform few, if any, affective actions. In addition, the student reads, once again, that in times of social upheaval agents disappear. The omission of agents and actions promotes a safe and peaceful representation of region, one that sidesteps trouble or conflict. In keeping with the interpersonal tensions that surround difference and regionality, the visuals in the passage both beckon and distance the reader. Despite the moves towards consubstantiation in the text, the student is ultimately distanced from Inuit history and ways of life, which are effectively frozen in diagrammatic pictures. The freezing of participants is a common feature of this book, and one that makes region and its residents solid, locatable things.

To what end do I study these symbolic resources? What do these say about the inculcation of regionality? I analyze symbolic selections in "The Labrador Inuit" passage in order to understand how racial others figure into discourses of regionality; specifically, how students learn to elide difference in the name of shared place. The inculcation of region means cultivating an attitude of homogenization towards those of different class, race, or ability, while consolidating other differences. For the sake of shared regionality, the text stabilizes the multiple meanings and possibilities of the Labrador Inuit, and erases the region's many internal conflicts. It does this primarily

by spatializing the Inuit experience. The text, through habitual and seemingly inconsequential textual choices, inculcates a stance of "polite" colonization relative to the Inuit, and reproduces a particularly Canadian form of benign racism.

"The Labrador Inuit": Substance and Pentadic Ratios

I begin my analysis of "The Labrador Inuit" by looking at the terms the text draws upon in order to bring about communion between the student and the Labrador Inuit. As I have suggested, Atlantic Canada in the Global Community performs a strong directional imperative: Atlantic Canadians must think economically to promote a *forward*-moving region. In Table 8.2, the student reads how the Labrador Inuit "now have a new range of economic activities" (113). Natural resources like meat, natural products, and "untouched" wilderness contribute to trade, artwork sales, and ecotourism. The Labrador Inuit are defined in the positive, dominant terms of the book, and in this way the non-Native student is invited to share directional substance with a racially different group. The passage attempts to foster congregation between reader and Inuit by defining the latter in socially dominant terms, and hence situating the Inuit peoples positively in a social hierarchy. Stillar highlights the power of symbols to structure social orders when he writes that symbols:

> are functional in that they instigate both congregation and separation among participants in the rhetorical act. Every rhetorical act bears relations both to hierarchies in the social order and to the symbol systems that are a major

> means through which social orders are structured and coordinated. Instances of rhetorical acts therefore have social consequences because they contribute to the production and reproduction of social orders. (101)

Drawing upon **directional substance**, the text does instigate "both congregation and separation." On the one hand, the Inuit are constructed as an economically productive group and hence a member of the inclusive regional community set up by the text. On the other hand, they are limited in the kind of participation they have in the Canadian economy. All of their occupations are connected with the land or with arts and crafts, a textual choice that suggests a primitive way of life. Interestingly, in this two-page section, some form of the word *traditional* appears twelve times in reference to the Inuit way of life. At all times, the text defines the life of the Inuit in a traditional/non-traditional binary, one that ultimately defines Inuit being, or substance, in terms of the past.

Grounding oneself by looking to one's past can serve as a means of knowing and asserting identity. In fact, some native writers have articulated the need to look to tribal history for a sense of their place in contemporary Euro-centric American society. For instance, Kimberly Blaeser writes that "traditional native literature has always entailed both performance and commentary" (59) and believes this to be a means for current native theorists to find "a critical centre." Writers like Thomas King and Jeannette Armstrong point to the sense of continuum that characterizes a native view

of connection between culture and environment, the present and the past. In Atlantic Canada in the Global Community, however, terms like *forward*, *future*, *progress*, and *improvement* are the valued terms. When framed by this message, the term *traditional* in "The Labrador Inuit"--already defined as the more devalued term in the pair--provides no room in which aboriginal peoples can favourably find place. Another means of identification in this passage occurs in the invitation to share food, a form of familial substance that Burke terms **nutritive substance**:

> Since the taking of nourishment involves a transubstantiation of external elements into elements within, we might treat nutritive substance as a combination of the contextual and familial sufficiently notable to deserve a separate designation. (A Grammar of Motives 30)

In other words, those who consume the same kinds of food comprise a community. The vegetarian, for instance, is part of a larger group that abstains from meat. Body builders share substance in their regulation of carbohydrates, protein and fat. The sacrament of the Eucharist represents both a physical and metaphysical act of sharing nutritive substance: by taking in the Eucharist, Roman Catholics share one social body by taking in the Body of Christ in the form of bread and wine.

Nutritive substance becomes the grounds for consubstantiation in "The Labrador Inuit" with the "*Did you Know . . .?*" trivia box which contains the following food information:

> Seal, caribou, narwhal, and walrus provide a much richer source of iron, magnesium, and calcium than beef. The harvest and use of these foods has an important economic value that is only now being recognized. (113)

The food of the Inuit--seal, caribou, narwhal, and walrus--becomes recognizably valuable because it is defined in terms, first of all, of nutrients ("iron, magnesium, and calcium") a quality that appeals to the health-conscious reader. Those readers interested in vitamin content (which many currently are) are invited to share, if not literally, then imaginatively, in the consumption of these meats. At the very least, they are encouraged to acknowledge the desirability of these foods in terms of economic value. Because these products are economically viable, they are much more palatable, so to speak.

Of course, the very mention of the diet distinguishes the Inuit as an exotic group, one divided from Western habits. The default Western diet would not be marked (and mark-eted) in a trivia box. Think how strange and inappropriate it would seem if the section about Gerald Squires included a trivia box that read: "Did you know toast and eggs, mainstays of the Newfoundland breakfast, provide a good source of carbohydrates and protein?" A paradigmatic exercise like this one points to the ludicrousness of these selections, and begs the question: why is this information, when applied to the Inuit, viewed as relevant? In the end, the move toward shared substance simply highlights exoticization of another racial practice.

I mention these attempts at consubstantiation (directional and nutritive) in the passage because they support my claim that this text attempts to naturalize bonds between non-Native and Native students in the name of regional solidarity. Many regionalist theorists write about the homogenizing impetus of regionality. Alison Calder, for instance, writes that:

> . . . regional writing lives a curious double life. On the one hand, it must convey the individual and the particular. On the other hand, it must be homogenizing, reporting on the general life of the region, smoothing over any internal conflicts to present a unified view of life . . . There is no point, after all, in regional writing if it takes apart the region it is supposed to be creating. (54)

Because of its peripheral status, the region mobilizes itself as a unified, distinctive whole against the homogenizing tendencies of the centre, the nation-state. This project is not without its problems, however. These I will develop below in my analysis of pentadic ratios.

In "The Labrador Inuit," scene provides the means for explaining the Inuit agent. The Inuit are displaced, cut-off from traditional occupations, and dispossessed of former resources (attributes of an agent) because of the *changing times*, the scene. The text also draws upon a scene:act ratio to explain the changes that came with European settlement: *As you will see, many found themselves living in a new*

environment. As a result, their occupations changed, as did their lifestyles. The scene (*a new environment*) brought about an implied act (the Inuit had to look to alternative sources of subsistence). Such ratios feed into a definition of the Inuit in terms of their place, in terms of **contextual** or **geometric substance**, which Burke defines as "an object placed in its setting, existing both in itself and as part of its background. Participation in a context" (A Grammar of Motives 29).

A quick glance at "The Labrador Inuit" reveals, however, that the Inuit do not really participate in this context, but are instead *replaced* by it. That is to say, the supposedly aboriginal art style in the representations of a seal and a Canada goose on these pages, the traditional shelters, and the unpeopled photograph of houses in Hopedale represent Inuit-ness without actually showing an Inuit person. These all stand in for Inuit experiences. Figure 8.6 does show Inuit working in their traditional community, but the people are too small for the viewer to really relate to them, or engage with them as individuals.

Further, the context that frames the Inuit does not stop with *the Canadian North* or *on the coast*. In the third paragraph of "The Labrador Inuit" section, the description places the aboriginal peoples in each of the three seasonal shelters they constructed: *Traditionally, the Inuit lived in three different types of shelters/In winter, they lived in houses made of stone and sod/In summer they lived in cone-shaped tents made of animal skins/On hunting trips, the Inuit built snow houses as temporary shelters*. Imagine being described within the limited terms of one's *house*. Such parameters for definition are reminiscent of the similarly oppressive confines of

patriarchal discourse which placed women in the home, or even more narrowly, in the kitchen. To return to the placement of the Inuit, not only is this frame of reference appallingly narrow, but it also depoliticizes the place of Inuit residents in Canadian society. This section of the book shares similarities with the other politically heated sections in Atlantic Canada in the Global Community, all of which revert to distanced shots of houses in the community (see section on "Africville," Appendix D, and "Technology and the Northern Cod, Appendix C). This scenic choice, one which patterns across the book, deflects attention from the people who live there, people who have been victimized by the decisions of governmental bodies. For instance, the text of "The Labrador Inuit" does not mention how NATO low-level flying in Northern Labrador has diminished caribou herds and polluted lakes, an ecological threat that has jeopardized the livelihood of the aboriginal people in the area. The text, by reverting to traditional shelters, avoids confronting the realities of such towns as Davis Inlet, where poverty traps adults and children in cycles of substance abuse and idleness.

What other consequences come out of a scene-centred definition? Clearly, the consequences in this passage are different from those in "A Focus on Fine Art." Here, scene does not establish connection between subject and reader, as they did in the case of Gerald Squires. Rather, scene freezes the Inuit experience. A heading like "Changing Times, Changing Lifestyles" (113) suggests that, until the missionaries arrived, Inuit life had been inert. In addition, the two tables, one listing the species hunted by the Inuit, the other listing their economic activities, suggest a neatness and

order that do not exist. Ultimately, the text contains difference and diversity by spatializing relations in both the lexical and visual description of these houses. To illustrate this spatialization, I extract the following passage:

> Traditionally, the Inuit lived in three different types of shelters. In winter, they lived in houses made of stone and sod, partially dug into the ground. The entrance was about 20 cm lower than the main part of the house. In this way, it trapped the cold, and protected the house from the wind. (112)

This description encourages the reader to break down Inuit experience into categories: first, there are three types of shelter; second, there are different parts of the house. The student is treated to empirical measurements of the layout of the entrance, and its function.

The visual in figure 8.7, a diagram of the "traditional Inuit winter house," replicates this spatial and classificatory practice. This picture exhibits what Kress and van Leeuwen call an "analytical" representation:

> Here, the participants have the roles not of 'Actor' and 'Goal' but of 'Carrier' and 'Attribute.' This picture is not about something which participants are doing to other participants, but about the way participants fit together to make up a larger whole. It has the structure of a map. (49)

In figure 8.7, the entire building is the Carrier with various possessive attributes (entrance passage, sleeping platform, tools, etc.). One might translate this picture, linguistically, as "The Inuit house *consists of* an entrance passage, a table, tools . . ." (Kress and van Leeuwen 49). Like nominalizations (a grammatical form which, I have argued, is prevalent throughout the book), diagrams turn activities into things; one might consider diagrams to be visual nouns. They deal with participants existing in space instead of processes, events, and actions. Further, as is the case with the visuals in "A Focus on Fine Art," the student is here asked to draw comparisons between two pictures, figure 8.7 and figure 8.8. Again, we have a Before and After picture, the Before being the traditional winter house and the After being the European-inspired wooden structures in Hopedale. A habitual move in the text, the Before and After model invites the student to carry out a spatial activity: what attributes differ between the two homes? What are the parts of each structure? Again, the visuals invite one to read the Labrador Inuit in static terms.

Marilyn Dumont, a Métis writer, writes of the consequences of static representations of culture:

> This prevalent 19th Century notion of culture as static which is founded on the belief that there exists in the evolution of cultures, a pristine culture which if it responds to change is no longer pure, and therefore, eroding and vanishing affects our collective 'self-images' as either: pure--*too Indian* or diluted--*not Indian enough*. (47-48)

"The Labrador Inuit" passage, by freezing Inuit in a narrow environment, suggests a purity of culture, and does not provide terms with which to imagine and articulate an Inuit outside of the stereotypes of a hinterland existence or a limestone-carving lifestyle (a representation that pegs these static people as *too Inuit*). The urban Inuit, the professional Inuit, the thinking and acting Inuit are all absent. With reference to the urban Native person, Dumont writes:

> But what is the experience of the urban native? Indians who grew up in urban centres, one or more generations removed from the subsistence economy that characterizes predominant images of "Native." The urban native who participates in all the trappings of a wage economy as best he/she is able to. The urban native who is increasingly becoming the majority. Why do popular images of us lag behind our reality? Images that portray us as rural, living a subsistence economy, traditional, when more and more natives are living the experience of an urban wage economy? (48)

Ultimately, Canadian regionalisms--presenting themselves as inherently natural through inculcated textbook practices, as well as other social practices--have become new dominants, serving particular class, race, and gender interests, and constrain social/textual dissent and change. Texts like Atlantic Canada in the Global Community

achieve this by speaking in terms of scene to define (and indeed, to replace) Inuit presence in Canada. Despite any moves towards inclusion, the regionality of Newfoundland or Atlantic Canada serves the interests of primarily white residents. The facade of regional homogeneity breaks when we study the pentadic ratios in the passage, and discover to what extent scene is a dominating factor in this description. Scene effectively makes the Labrador Inuit a function of the environment, one that is narrowly defined, at that.

"The Labrador Inuit": A Grammatical Analysis

When we have a text that makes a people static, then the resources in the grammar must be functioning, in some way, to contribute to this effect. In this section, I study **process types** and **participants** in order to show how the stabilizing practices I have introduced are achieved, in part, through the action-less syntactic choices. With regard to process types, I concentrate on **relational processes**, and **existential processes** both of which dominate in the passage. The **participants** in the grammar, as in the "Focus on Fine Art," are primarily inanimate and abstract nouns, the result being that the text communicates a world of things more so than actions. The choice in participants ultimately results in an abstract, distanced telling that, I will argue, inculcates a polite stance of othering.

Halliday distinguishes three general types of processes: material, mental, and relational. Describing this third category, he writes:

> We learn to generalize: to relate one fragment of experience to another: this is the same as that, this is a kind of the other. Here the grammar recognizes processes of a third type, those of classifying and identifying; we call these RELATIONAL processes. (An Introduction to Functional Grammar 107)

A **relational process** type, according to Halliday, is a verb phrase that allows us to connect (or relate) one part of the clause to another. For instance, in the clause *Joseph is a dancer*, the verb *is* classifies Joseph as a dancer as opposed to a chef or amateur taxidermist. A text that is heavy in relational processes will invite us to make connections and not to read a world of action. When reading relationals, we categorize (Jane is *a professor*) , identify (That car is *the one that hit me*), express possession (Samantha has *bright blue hair*) and articulate the attributes of a participant (That bread seems *stale*). A smaller category of relational processes, the **existential** ones, are those that, instead of identifying or classifying, simply express existence:

> These represent that something exists or happens, as in *there was a little guinea-pig, there seems to be a problem, has there been a phone call?, there isn't enough time* . . . Existential clauses typically have the verb be; in this respect also they resemble relational processes. But the

> other verbs that commonly occur are mainly different from either the attributive or the identifying. (Halliday, An Introduction to Functional Grammar 142)

Verbs like *exist, remain, arise, occur, come about, follow, prevail* and similar ones can function as existential ones. They all, essentially, communicate existence.

The reader encounters a good many relational, and even more existential, processes in "The Labrador Inuit" passage. For instance, in the opening sentence *The Labrador Inuit are one of 15 groups of Inuit who inhabit the Canadian North*, the relational verb, *are*, classifies this group as a particular kind. The Inuit are also allowed possession, in the relational clause: *The Inuit had cultural rules that regulated wildlife harvesting*. I point to these examples to show how the process types spatialize Inuit existence by focusing on the relations between syntactic parts. They do not communicate a world where the Inuit actually do things. The only material, active process type attributed to Inuit activity--*built*, in the clause, *the Inuit built houses*--still locates the Inuit in traditional activities and hence keeps them pinned in a non-threatening activity.

The saturation of existential process types in this passage supports this last assertion. For instance, in the sentence *many found themselves living in a new environment* we find a relational process. On the surface it seems like we have a mental:perceptive one (that is to say, that the Inuit literally *found*, or *saw*, themselves), but here this verb is being used metaphorically and could easily be

substituted with *were* or *lived*. In the third paragraph, the same existential verb, *lived*, is repeated three times: *Traditionally, the Inuit lived in three different types of shelters. In winter, they lived in houses made of stone and sod. In summer, they lived in cone-shaped tents*. Evidently, the Inuit existed, but did nothing. The subject of the sentence, *such rules* in *Such rules helped to reduce the chances of over-harvesting the animals on which they depended* takes agency from the Inuit themselves, and attributes affective action to inanimate *rules* instead.

The selection of inanimate nouns to explain change occurs here as it did in "A Focus on Fine Art." The Inuit face *cultural change*, an event that can be packaged as a noun and politically defused in the process. (We do not know what kind of cultural change? when it happened? who brought it about? is it still happening?, etc.) The passage tells us that it was *contact with European fishers* that *caused some conflict between the two groups*. Further, *the presence of full-time mission stations* (not missionaries) *altered the traditional Inuit lifestyle*. These noun phrases are abstract; they are general enough to not really say anything at all. The reader might want to know: What does the text mean, exactly, by *contact* and *conflict*? How invasive was this contact? What kinds of violence are wrapped up in a world like *conflict*? Was the conflict mutual? What does the *presence* of missionaries entail? Teaching? Food and shelter? Bribery? What is an Inuit *lifestyle*, anyway? This word suggests choice on the part of the Inuit. Would this actually have been the case?

What are the consequences of these selections in process types and participants, as far as the current theme of inculcated region is concerned? Given that

this textbook is used within the evaluative structures of the classroom, students and teachers are apt to concentrate on the facts and content of the textbook (for instance, the three kinds of traditional Inuit shelter, the name of the missionary group, the different types of economic activity). These facts will attract the student's attention because they are quantifiable, testable knowledge. The content-centred approach to education deflects attention from the form of these facts in the first place. By making this claim, I am not saying that teachers and students are dupes, or are completely unaware of their practices. Rather, I point out that the way that a textbook is used in the classroom will determine what information readers consider important, and will influence what kinds of spectacles students will wear when reading that text.

The overwhelming number of existential process types constructs a static representation of Inuit life and deprives them of any agency, or ability to effect change in the world. The Inuit ways of life, as a result, are offered for student perusal, an act that ultimately distances the non-Native student from the Inuit population narrated in the book. The student is further distanced by the visuals which, compared to naturalistic representation, carry low modality. The cartoon-like drawing of the shelter, for instance, tells the student: "This is not the 'real,'" and effectively removes the Inuit, again, from students' everyday lives.

Conclusion: Textbooks as Consequential Social Acts

In this chapter, I have argued that textbooks constitute an interesting and consequential site of analysis for the regional critic. Textbooks are significant because

they encourage inculcated practices, practices that influence, in deeply embodied ways, how students know region. Residents of a region acquire regional competence and literacies through the most mundane, everyday texts and interactions, of which the textbook is a major player. Regional texts, I explained, are never straightforward, but are marked by tensions and contradictions.

To explore the tensions in Atlantic Canada in the Global Community, a grade nine textbook, I studied the language and the visuals of select passages. These passages ("A Focus on Fine Art," "The Labrador Inuit," "Technology and the Northern Cod," "Africville," and "Cultures Change") allow for a rich commentary of inculcated attitudes towards negative regional change and regional diversity. Using Burke's pentadic model, I explained some of the tensions I observed in the textbook: despite the many photographs of dynamic, purposeful agents, the text quiets diversity and agency by defining motive in terms of *scene*. Defining the world in terms of scene effectively spatializes dynamic processes, a move that becomes highly problematic when one is describing less empowered groups like the Labrador Inuit. M.A.K. Halliday's functional grammar, the second theory I drew upon, enabled me to trace a second, quite related tension: on the one hand, students see Alice, George, and Gerald effecting regional change; on the other hand, sections that narrate negative change and involve government responsibility, or lack thereof (cod moratoria and substandard housing communities) draw upon nominalizations and ergatives in order to explain these not-so-nice topics in terms of a self-propelling system, or self-causing world.

Tensions abound in the visual mode, as well. First, the student finds many demand pictures in the photographs of happy and productive regional figures. Yet, the text consistently describes the world, visually, in terms of *offers* when the student might feel disturbed, upset, or angry with the topic at hand. An offer--whether it be a distanced shot of houses in Africville or Trinity or a picture of fish in a net-- distances the student from the impact of emotional participation. In short, at strategic points, the student is not invited into the picture. Modal selections distance the student even more: resettlement, the demise of the cod fishery, the governmentally sanctioned decay of Africville, and the place of Inuit residents in the region all include visual resources that carry low modality, or low reliability relative to the "real." These modality choices are manifested in art and in animation, and effectively tell the viewer: these are safe because they are not really part of the world as we know it. Finally, the Before and After picture provides an interesting site for studying how books elide agents and increments of change when they are faced with the task of describing the unpleasant (and possibly pointing to mismanagement, racism, or complete indifference on the part of goverment bodies).

All this said, I am not implying that textbooks could ever be perfect. Instead, I am advocating a critical stance towards the very forms through which we understand ourselves in our region. Critical discussions in the classroom will prompt regional change and contestation of existing regional practices, no matter how benign, inconsequential, or polite they may seem.

CHAPTER SIX

Learning from Discourse and Rhetorical Theory

I opened this dissertation with definitions of the word "gut," a word that not only calls up images of Newfoundland harbours and stageheads, but also speaks to the primacy of gut reactions when responding to Newfoundland in particular, or to region in general. Regionality, one cannot forget, is an embodied form of knowledge. Moreover, our bodies' responses come out of the symbolic environments they move through every day: radio jingles, novels, textbooks, news reports, advertisements, art exhibits, and conversations with neighbours. Words and symbols construct what one considers to be commonsensical and real about place. Given the centrality of symbols in maintaining regionality, I have argued in this dissertation that we must look at language and other symbolic modes like the visual in order to understand regional identity, regional narratives, and our gut responses.

To this end, the preceding chapters have explored the idea that region is the outcome of many discursive, rhetorical, and social acts. I have suggested that we can understand regionality by paying close, critical attention to the language and visuals of literary and non-literary texts, and by examining the social consequences of linguistic and visual choices. By investigating how regionality or regional identity "works" rather than what it "is," I have tried to emphasize that the manifestations of regionality

(its discursive patterns, its means of address, and its social effects) are ongoing and emergent in social process. Regionality, in short, is comprised of different stories, all of which can be read in light of other texts. And this intertexual environment is always changing. For example, Atlantic Canada in the Global Community draws upon currently popular models of business writing and case studies in order to teach students about regionality. This book is therefore quite different, in language and visuals, from Our Newfoundland and Labrador Cultural Heritage, an earlier textbook that drew more on traditional Newfoundland registers (with pictures of dories and lists of Newfoundland bays) and less on business and case study models.

My theoretical approach in this dissertation has provided a rigorous and generative method for me, and I suspect will do the same for other scholars interested in examining cultural practice and meaning. As I argued in chapter two, discourse analysis and rhetorical criticism allow one to interrogate the "goes without saying" habits of regionality. They enable the critic to bridge the grammatical and the social, and to understand how language constructs what seems natural and right to us. To illustrate how important the idea of "rightness" is to conceptualizations of Newfoundland regionality, I mention once again a recent advertising campaign in The Downhomer magazine, which ran a "Right at Home" campaign--the word "right" in this context connoting all that is good, proper, comfortable, aligned, exact, and even virtuous. In the context of this ad, the word "right" also carries the familiarity of dialect, because it performs an intensifying function in Newfoundland grammar (ex.

"right thick").[1] Against this privileging of all that is safe and familiar in regional narratives (and while still allowing for the value of feeling comfortable and placed), I propose that we occasionally step back to examine our own textual practices. Critical discourse analysis provides one means of doing this.

Of course, there are different ways of being critical. One cannot focus exclusively on the constraining or violating effects of linguistic and visual choice. After all, nominalizations, passive voice, relational process types, vague circumstance types, and other grammatical constructions are not *wrong*. Nor should we always come down on analytical diagrams, Before and After pictures, and artistic representations of conflict. We need language, in all its imperfect and beautiful patterns, to talk about and break up what is a messy flow of experience, to communicate with and construct relations with others, and to hold our thoughts together as best we can. We can, however, make sense of region, or nation, or smaller discourse communities by considering why their texts are written *this* way rather than some other way.

This task is not always easy. For instance, I found the project of linking discourse analysis and novels difficult because this necessitated connections between

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[1] This mention of the use of "right" as an intensifier reminds me of an interesting story about the flexibility of language. Dairy Queen sells an ice cream treat, the "Blizzard." I lived in Newfoundland when it first came out. To demonstrate how thick this concoction was, servers had to turn the cup upside down and say (what in Newfoundland came out as) "Upside down, *right* thick." I remember thinking to myself: "Boy, DQ has incorporated Newfoundland dialect into their marketing. That's great, but it's also unusual." When I moved to Ontario, I went to a Dairy Queen, and noticed a poster on the wall that proclaimed the same slogan, but this time the words all ran together: "upsidedownrightthick." I realized, with a jolt, that most Canadians read this as "upside *downright* thick," and not "upside down, right thick." Newfoundlanders had simply accommodated the phrase for their own use. There were two "right" ways, so to speak.

novelistic style and social constructions of regionality. Perhaps because this synapse is so difficult to jump, social semioticians and discourse analysts tend not to study fictional texts. Or, when they do, they often follow two roads I was not interested in pursuing: one, they focus on character dialogue in novels, stories, and plays; or two, they define style in terms of individual authorial choice or deliberate craft. When they study style, many discourse analysts turn to non-literary texts like letters, journals, speeches, advertisements, or handbooks. Explaining how clause structure in a novel affects regionality was a challenging and tasking enterprise.

Yet, this critical effort paid off. Critical textual analysis has allowed me to rethink some of my initial responses to regional texts, and to leash some of my galloping first impressions. This, to be honest, has not always been easy. The Shipping News was a particularly difficult book to distance myself from, in large part because I felt that a writer from outside the province was attracting international attention for her novel about Newfoundland. E. Annie Proulx was listened to and commended; meanwhile, many Newfoundland writers, like Wayne Johnston, Michael Crummey, and Bernice Morgan were not getting the same attention outside the region. By studying the style of Proulx's novel, however, I could temper my initial responses. Specifically, I could explore how her grammatical patterns functioned rhetorically; that is to say, how they appealed to a variety of tourist gazes towards an exotic, unfamiliar place.

Random Passage was also a difficult book to hold at arm's length. Like many other Newfoundlanders, I was falling under the spell of a utopic and familiar narrative

about place. Again, however, discourse analysis and rhetorical studies helped me understand what about the novel contributed to Newfoundlanders' interpretations of this book as historical, authentic, and real. My reading of the novel through the lens of core vocabulary, thematic organization, and narrative satellites only took me so far, however. As in all textual analyses, I needed to pay attention to the book's context of reception. Because Random Passage is a realist novel and a romance, it occupies a comfortable space in Canadian writing, and poses no difficulties for an audience that craves tradition and familiarity.

Another text that prompted strong reactions in me (and one that I mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, yet have not discussed at any length) was a recent *Imagine That* tourism campaign. These ads, which ran quite frequently a couple of years ago in Ontario and Atlantic Canada, offered familiar stereotyped images: Celtic-looking dancers, rocks, water, Newfoundland dogs, and quaint houses. These ads made me feel homesick and proud, yet oddly dismayed; I had to negotiate mixed feelings about regional stereotypes. However, equipped with the methods of discourse analysis, rhetorical criticism, and considerations of regional competence, I could move from confused gut reactions to a more satisfying and critical understanding of regional stereotype (in this text, anyway). Below, I outline how rhetorical, discourse, and social analysis have helped me understand my initial reactions to the *Imagine That* ads, a timely endeavour given how central language is right now to constructions of a province-in-flux.

The *Imagine That* Advertising Campaign: Tracing my Responses

Each year, approximately 330,000 tourists and expatriate Islanders visit the province of Newfoundland and Labrador (Carter). In an effort to maintain, if not increase, this number the provincial Department of Tourism, after conducting visitor surveys, concluded that paid advertising was the chief means of grabbing potential tourists' attention, followed by editorials and word-of-mouth. Equipped with this information, the government in 1993 teamed up with a St. John's marketing company, Target Marketing and Communications Inc. From this union came the *Imagine That* campaign, an internationally acclaimed series of fifteen-second ads which bookend other commercials. These commercials were shown in Newfoundland and Labrador, in the Maritimes, and in Newfoundland's biggest tourist pool, Eastern Ontario. This series, according to one advertising officer involved in the project, was designed to "get through the clutter" of T.V. advertising and to sell "place" (Carter).

It need not be said, however, that advertising does more than entice us to buy a product or to pay the extra ferry costs to come to Newfoundland. We know that advertisements are ideologically loaded: they often propagate negative images, construct unattainable realities, reduce people to objects of desire, and contribute to a world defined in terms of consumer values. These were some of the thoughts going through my head as I watched these ads promise supersaturated blue Atlantic waters, an impeccably trained Newfoundland dog, and sunset lighting bouncing off the houses on the lower battery of St. John's.

Yet, as I thought about the ads, I realized that I might consider more carefully how advertising can be *enabling* as well as restraining insofar as it provides resources for making meaning in a community. Stereotypes, I realized, can prompt shared responses from members of a community in a form that excludes outsiders. I began to think about how we acquire regional knowledge indirectly through the accumulated experience of numerous small events, often insignificant to us, which nonetheless transmit ineffable rhythms, styles, and patterns of place. These patterns, I learned, can be traced in the structures of a text. Therefore, I set out to understand stereotype by paying close attention to the semiotic resources in these ads and to the attendant context of culture.

I wanted to demonstrate how the semiotic practices in a text, both visual and linguistic, materialize in recognizable ways, becoming, with use, discursive formations or registers. Yet to analyze the linguistic structures in the advertisements, I needed tools. I turned to the linguistic work of Michael Halliday, whose linguistic model I have outlined and used in this dissertation. I used the tools provided by discourse analysis to show how the stereotypical resources drawn upon in the *Imagine That* campaign contribute to regional identity. These methods helped me see that a regional perspective involves an orientation of double-positionality: the stereotypes in the discourse of tourist advertising positioned the Newfoundland reader as both outsider and insider relative to the text.

I began by considering the scripts of the texts. One of the more popular ads, entitled "The Far East," opened with a panoptic view over the North Atlantic, a

perspective that shifted suddenly as the camera shot down over the water so that we seemed to be flying precariously close over icy blue waters. This view just as quickly changed to a dizzying, early morning flight over the city of St. John's. Meanwhile, Henry Raimer's voice, measured against a racing percussion in the background, intoned:

> This is the place where the dawn breaks earliest.
>
> The New Year comes soonest.
>
> Where Atlantic meets the New World.
>
> The oldest city in North America.
>
> The Far East of the Western world.
>
> Imagine That.

At the bottom of the screen, the viewer read: Call Erin at 1-800-563-NFLD. Another ad, this one entitled "We'll sweep you off your feet," followed the carnivalesque pilgrimage of some frolicking players, and then traced a carefully choreographed demonstration of jigs and reels. The script for this particular advertisement read as follows:

> Come for a good time and we'll sweep you off your feet.
>
> With jigs and reels and festivals.
>
> And the world's most friendly folk.
>
> Dance your cares away.
>
> At the Kelligrew's Soiree.

This time, we were to call Kate, not Erin, at the given 1-800 number. Other fifteen-second commercials included a narrative about the "humpbacks of Notre Dame," where "you can't see icebergs for whales," and breathtaking footage of Gros Morne National Park where

> Still fjords run deep
> Hemmed in by giant granite walls
> Carved by volcanoes
> Tectonic upheaval.

Another ad offered an inventory of seabirds, inviting us to "see where the Eagle has landed," while yet another provided a shot of St. John's uninhibited architecture, with its "[h]ouses of yellow. Lime. Aqua and blue. And the world's most friendly folk." And, comfortingly, "Peggy," "Kelly," "Shawn," and "Connor" (all Irish folk, evidently) were waiting at the end of their respective 1-800 numbers to take our calls.

Using the tools that I have developed in this dissertation, I understood the semantic resources in these ads first in terms of their ideational function or "content" function of language (Halliday, Introduction to Functional Grammar 48). I first considered the patterns of processes, or verbs, in this text. Identifying selections of process types enabled me to get a picture of how this text constructed reality, how it divided a continuum of phenomena into processes which reflected and constructed certain perspectives on experience. I noticed that in these commercials, we got a host

of relational processes, or linking verbs like the verb "to be." For instance, the sentence, "This is the place where the dawn breaks earliest," communicated an identification process: the place was *this* particular entity. However, the line, "It's a land that lives by the sea," encoded a classification process and hence functioned differently; the clause "that lives by the sea" classified the land as being of a certain type. Finally, the sentence "There is an Island, of course, and over 10,000 miles of coastline" marked an existential construction: this place simply *is*. The lack of active verbs in the advertisements constructed a world that was stable, solid, and historically fixed. The language fed into images of the "Rock" and the desire for anchorage that I also observed in "The Ode to Newfoundland" and the textbook Atlantic Canada in the Global Community.

This stability was emphasized, further, by the fact that when we did get active verbs, the agents (or doers) were inanimate objects (as in "The Ode to Newfoundland"):

> This is the place
> Where *the dawn* breaks earliest
> The *new year* comes soonest
> Where *the Atlantic* meets the New World.

I noticed that the agents (the dawn, the New Year, and The Atlantic) were not simply doers, but, within the cycles of natural phenomena, were also the *done to*. One could,

albeit awkwardly, say "the dawn breaks unto itself." This grammatical form at first suggested to me some kind of transitive process, but this was not the case. Upon closer analysis I noted yet another similarity between these ads and "The Ode to Newfoundland": the land stayed in one place while natural cycles simply happened to it. So much, on the grammatical level at least, suggested stillness.

Such was not the case in the visuals! In contrast to the series of static verbs in the grammar, the camera work zoomed over whales, over water, over land. Moreover, the ad was compressed into a letter-box format with black bands on top and bottom of the screen (and compressed, temporally, into a fifteen-second slot). This presentation, I concluded, contributed to the *intensity* of the viewing experience. This was not the mundaneness of everyday life à la Random Passage, but was "living on the edge." Whereas the language constructed a place of "being," the visual text promised a world of "moving" and "doing." This duality was copied in the relationship between the music and the narrative. Henry Raimer's voice was measured and slow. The music, on the other hand, was fast and percussion-centred. The advertising register was enacting a place of both/and, a place of fantasy. For the Newfoundland viewer, this world would be both familiar and strangely alienating.

This double-response, I began to suspect, defined part of what it meant to participate as a regional resident. Regional identity involved double-positionality: that is to say, the Newfoundlander would recognize yet feel detached from the presentation of reality on the screen. For instance, many of the lexical choices in the text would be familiar to a local addressee. "Gut," "jigs and reels," and "turrs" find place in the local

repertoire of many Newfoundlanders. Yet these same words, spoken in the non-Newfoundland dialect of Henry Raimer, also carried the potential to alienate the local viewer.

I knew, however, that ideational resources did not function alone, and that my analysis would not be complete without some interpersonal considerations, as well. I paid particular attention to the modality of the text, as I did when studying the highschool textbook Atlantic Canada in the Global Community. This advertising script communicated quite a bit of confidence concerning the truth value of its utterances. It told us what one would be able to do there ("You *can* walk the streets of the oldest city in North America.") and what kind of time tourists would have ("We *will* sweep you off your feet."). In addition, the abundance of superlative adjectives ("the *oldest* city in North America, to name one) marked this speaker as one confident of his position, despite the fact that Roanoke Island, along North Carolina's outer banks, has contested St. John's' claim of being the oldest site in North America. The authoritative *ethos* co-patterned with the pronouns in the text, so that this speaker represented a local (and presumably trustworthy and proud) authority. For instance, one text read "*our* park" when referring to Gros Morne, and selected the first-person plural pronoun in the phrase "*We*'ll sweep you off your feet with jigs and reels."

Yet I noticed contradictions at the level of grammar because the qualitative adjectives, in other places, were those of the spectator. In the clip "A Land that Lives by the Sea," for instance, "coves, guts, and bays" had "a strange and startling" beauty. One might hazard a guess that a bay would be neither strange nor startling to the

fishers or outport dwellers of the province. Similarly, calling Newfoundlanders and Labradorians the "world's most friendly folk" involved an evaluative stance that a person actually acting in this space might not occupy. Newfoundlanders have access to other experiences that both support and contradict this claim. The adjectival and pronoun selections, then, ran the risk of alienating the Newfoundland viewer. However, I felt that a resident could recognize this kind of discourse; or, more accurately, would know when it would be brought out for show.

Again, I knew that the linguistic script was not the only semiotic resource upon which the ad depended. I noticed that the double-positionality invited by the script was replicated in the visuals. Visually, the viewer was positioned high above much of the action while participants moved in the city below. Interpersonally, then, one had an all-encompassing position relative to the setting. In "Our Park," one had a bird's eye view of stunning fjords. In "Some Colourful Characters," one viewed the Technicolour city-scape from a distanced position somewhere out on the water. The camera angle coming in over the city of St. John's in "The Far East" advertisement was not only shot from high above, but was also disorienting and unfamiliar, even to a long-time resident. This was an outside, exoticizing gaze. Meanwhile, I suspected that a Newfoundlander might also recognize a metrobus in one of the ads (I did!), might know one of the actors (I did!), or might live a block away from some of the depicted scenes (again, I did). Stage by stage in the critical process, I saw that this tourism text invited an insider/outsider position relative to the images and stereotypes in the discourse.

Finally, I turned to the textual metafunction, the function which, as I have explained, constructs relations between elements of the discourse itself, and involves the ordering and positioning of units in a sentence and between sentences. The thematic structure of a sentence, an element I studied closely in my Random Passage analysis, is one of the components of the textual metafunction. In the clause "The dawn breaks earliest," *the dawn* was thematic; in the clause "In a scene from pre-history, still fjords run deep," *in a scene from pre-history* was thematic. In this tourism script, I found that many of the themes were unmarked, uninformative ones like *this* ("This is the place"), *there* ("There's puffins"), and *it* ("It's a land that lives by the sea"). Given their taken-for-granted, unexciting content, it made sense to me that these words were also not stressed in Raimer's intonation patterns. In fact, many of the themes were left out altogether: in the phrase "Our Park," for instance, one would have to fill in the theme, "this is."

The entire *Imagine That* script, I concluded, was rheme-centred; that is, much of the information occurred in the residue of sentences. In these ads (although this is not always the case), we got the climax of new information within these highlighted rhemes. While the given information ("it," "this," and "there") fell within the theme structure, the rheme held the focus of the information. This pattern occurred in such passages as the following, one I have taken from the "It's for the Birds" advertisement:

There's puffins. And petrols.

Kittiwakes. And gulls.

Gillimonts. Merlins. And murrs.

Owls. And osprey. Auks. Razorbills.

The only theme in this excerpt was the initial "there." After that, the remaining list of birds constituted a rheme and, in this case, new information: a silent thematic "there are" could have been inserted before each of the elliptical bird names. The effect of this grammatical organization was to create a world of the *new*. This Newfoundland, in an advertising context, was original, dynamic, and exciting.

Further, an impersonal pronoun like "this" ("this is the place"), despite being an unmarked theme, was significant, I felt, because it functioned as an *exophoric* pronoun. In other words, it directed our attention outside the script to the visuals: the Atlantic, the cliffs, the sense of infinity. I imagined that the viewer would regard Newfoundland as *this* kind of place and this alone. This was the "Far East of the Western World," with colour saturation, fine weather, and infinite possibilities, instead of the far away East coast with its attendant marine climate, expensive vegetables, political marginality, and extra travel costs.

Like "The Ode to Newfoundland" and Atlantic Canada in the Global Community, these ads enacted a particular language genre. These genres, defined by the different probabilities of grammatical and semantic combinations, are called *registers* (Lemke 26). Depending on the activities we are engaged in, the systems of

choice and the structures of realization will be different. Advertising registers, textbook registers, national anthem registers, and after-dinner-at-the-kitchen-table registers all contribute to the way we recognize and conduct ourselves in social spaces.

This notion of registers, I felt, was important to understanding regionality, because they affect how we know region: what kind of processes take place there, what kinds of attitudes we might have towards it, what kinds of gaps are allowed in its narration. Registers are an important object of social analysis because they are a significant feature of the symbolic power that certain social agents have over others. Further, they are powerful stabilizing mechanisms for a community's social order. I tried to imagine what kind of regional desirability would survive if words like "seal hunt," "unemployment," "depopulation," or even "newfie" had appeared in the ideational material of these ads. I then tried to imagine the interpersonal difference if we had a woman with a strong dialect reading the script. Finally, I considered the possible modality changes if authority were replaced by a "might" clause: "you *might* have a sunny day." These were the missing registers, the things that would not be said and the voices that in all likelihood would not be chosen. Certain choices, I noticed, carry more capital in this advertising context (and in novels, and textbooks, and odes) than others. If we want to trace changes in regional texts, I concluded, we have to look at selections at the level of text and register.

This notion of textual resources and registers offered insights into alternative ways of reading regional stereotype, and shed light, too, on the other texts I have studied in this thesis. A linguistic analysis, as I have argued all along, must connect

each text with the larger patterns of social relationships. We have to be able to link the discourse of the instance to the general social habits of action and speech in a community. My examination of grammatical structures and the stereotyped resources I found in the *Imagine That* ads (the friendly Newfoundlander, the jigging and reeling life) constituted only the first step in studying regional identity, particularly as it involves reading stereotype.

Stereotypes have not been adequately theorized because they are often rejected as being inadequate and prejudicial. Stereotypes *are* powerful: they inflict symbolic and real pain. They constitute one means of policing the borders of dominant and subordinate, of constructing a world where it is acceptable to tell a newfie joke on an Ontario radio station. While my gut response had been to concentrate on the prejudicial aspects attached to stereotype, I went a step further in thinking about these ads and considered how the inadequacy of stereotype might be part of its social meaning in the first place. In order to deconstruct or understand a stereotype in discerning ways requires the reading competence to disambiguate the stereotype's status as both true and not true. In the case of the *Imagine That* ads, this is a competence that the resident of Newfoundland and Labrador, alone, possesses.

I thought it important that these advertisements were shown locally, as well as nationally. While the campaign was a means of creating internal revenue by inviting Newfoundlanders to spend money at home, more significantly, it was a means of building local identity, an identity that would underpin diversity and manage difference. Solidarity would come out of a common orientation to the metafunctional

resources in these ads. On an ideational level, Newfoundlanders would recognize the lexical choices (the names of birds, for example). Given the interpersonal resources, they would share the speaker's confidence about what one *can* and *might* do in the province. Because of the textual, or cohesive resources, they would share the text's thematic emphasis on a place that is new. After all, a local tourism campaign is successful only insofar as it can provide the glossiest, the freshest, the most dynamic products. These ads, then, would reinforce Newfoundlanders' sense of place.

But the stereotypes in these ads also contradicted that sense of place. For instance, when the script of "Some Colourful Characters" referred to the houses "as proud to show their colours as the folks you meet at every turn," the viewer saw shots of Julia Pickard, a well-known artist, and Allie O' Brien, a local St. John's musician. A Newfoundlander would *not* meet these people every day. And they would not call them "folks" if they did. Since the majority of Newfoundlanders would not know Newfoundland in this way, this Newfoundland (which was supposed to authenticate their social identity) lay outside their everyday experience.

Newfoundlanders, when viewing these ads, would most likely recognize a modality of unreality. This modality, further, would be more marked for Newfoundlanders than non-Newfoundlanders (although mainlanders, familiar with tourism registers, would expect a certain degree of stereotype, as well). Newfoundlanders, with their complex, lived interaction with local texts, would be able to distinguish the line between the "real" and the put on. For non-Newfoundlanders, words like "jigs," "reels," "guts," and "gillimonts," and images of Newfoundland dogs

and smiling faces would represent Newfoundland, since they conform to the regional stereotype. Bob Hodge, in an article entitled "National character and the discursive process: A study of transformations in popular metatexts," outlined the response of Australian residents to stereotypes of Australia, a response that applied equally well to Newfoundlanders:

> For Australians, the pleasure is precisely in the gap between this form of speech and the varieties of English they hear and produce. Australian identity consists in this specific position in relation to this kind of language: to know it and cherish it but not to speak it. (432)

Regional competence, I concluded, means that one can disambiguate a system of double meanings, can read nuances and contradictions in popular regional texts. Regional solidarity, as Hodge argued, comes not from sharing a stereotype, but rather from sharing a common *orientation* relative to a body of "myths, habits and forms of language, and not from any identification with these forms in themselves" (431). Newfoundland identity, like Australian identification in their tourism context, consists of a particular position relative to certain kinds of language. Specifically, it entails a double-positionality, an ability to deconstruct stereotypes in sophisticated, discriminating ways.

Looking Back, Looking Ahead

Throughout this dissertation, I have continually emphasized and argued for region's status as social process. Regionality is enacted through the production and reception of such intensely social texts as local anthems, novels, textbooks, and advertising. Indeed, I have found that analyzing these texts as social activities has made them worth studying in the first place. Clause organization and narrative structure hold little appeal or relevance if viewed as technical exercises alone. Yet, discourse and rhetorical analysis are imperative when we consider how language structures divide experience into familiar categories, situate speakers, and index power relations. To interrogate these consequences for regionality, I have asked such questions as the following in this study: How does the style of Random Passage classify Newfoundlanders for themselves? How does The Shipping News classify Newfoundlanders for others? How does Atlantic Canada in the Global Community reproduce and legitimate attitudes towards negative social change and students' responsibilities as regional agents? How does a televised campaign like the *Imagine That* series situate the Newfoundlander and Labradorian relative to regional stereotype, and what kind of competence comes with regional identity? Discursive and rhetorical methods have enabled me to explore these questions.

Using discourse analysis has helped me understand that language has evolved to fulfill human demands in varying contexts: to explain phenomena, to address others (to communicate attitude), and to articulate (that is to say, connect) thoughts in cohesive units. And language continues to respond to various human demands. These

demands, whether they be to narrate the mundane, to express the extraordinary, to communicate contentious issues happily, or to arouse pride and solidarity, determine the discursive patterns and grammatical choices of a text. Language must also respond to the social situation in which a text occurs. I argued, for instance, that Atlantic Canada in the Global Community deflected attention from contentious issues. I would imagine the political context of textbook publishing demanded a "safe" text, and this social situation shaped linguistic and visual resources: Before and After pictures, ergative grammatical constructions, and visuals that carried low modality and invited little interpersonal interaction with those who have suffered the consequences of dislocation and ill treatment in the region. Discourse analysis, as I have made clear throughout my analyses, also addresses the *effects* of semiotic choices in a text. The language of a text not only speaks to the demands of a situation or an audience, but it also has social consequences: making Newfoundland a tourist site for others, making "place" for those who feel dislocated and dispersed, or making one version of history the authentic one.

These consequences (especially solidarity and identification with books) come out of the rhetorical work that texts accomplish. As I studied the rhetorical effects of regional texts, I came to realize that so much rhetorical work is effectively an attempt to overcome the divisions inherent in social experience. Theme organization and satellite events in Random Passage, for example, invite Newfoundlanders to identify with *this* version of nineteenth-century Newfoundland: mundane, boring, and authentic. The book unites readers in a shaky present by giving them a persuasive

past, one expressed in a realist mode that continues a traditional regional genre. The Shipping News is rhetorical because it attempts to treat the division between those who have visited and loved Newfoundland (Proulx) and those who have not been there before (those from outside the region). Its language, which constructs place in tourist terms, constitutes an appeal to the reader to find both Newfoundland and Proulx's rendering of it attractive. Atlantic Canada in the Global Community offers students strong directional and familial means of sharing place (Newfoundland and Labrador is moving ahead, is up and coming), an act of community at a time when many young people are leaving the province to go to school or to find employment.

Yet the social effects of rhetoric extend beyond shared community or identification. Rhetorical texts, by maintaining or transforming people's attitudes, reproduce or problematize social orders or hierarchies. Looking back over my analyses, I realize that The Shipping News occupies an ambiguous place with respect to Newfoundland's social orders. In one sense, Proulx is pushing at borders: her style offers an alternative to much of the realist fiction produced in the region, and therefore requires different reading strategies and new narratives from Newfoundland readers. But at the same time, Proulx replicates familiar strategies, particularly when it comes to reproducing tourist attitudes towards a foreign place. This gaze, and the strategies of improvement that accompany it, creates a divide between Proulx's vision of Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders' vision of their place (and might explain why her book is popular outside the province and not that popular within it). Atlantic Canada in the Global Community, another text I studied in this dissertation, seems, on first

glance, to upset social hierarchies insofar as it narrates Newfoundland as an empowered, dynamic, and economically viable region in Canada and in the world. Yet, this move hardly disrupts power hierarchies. When it comes to institutional power, the book maintains and protects current social orders. Government bodies, for one, are not taken to task or made responsible for their agency in the region. The textbook also replicates structures in which the Inuit people are defined in the narrow spaces of their "traditional shelters" and not in terms of their various roles and places in society. To share terms with this book (and students are tested on how well they replicate terms), students have to identify with a version that maintains current power relationships unproblematically.

Regionality is very much a rhetorical achievement, and one that has to be kept up, especially in a messy world. After all, region is not one's only affiliation; agents participate in many communities, a fact that Lemke makes clear:

> We have multiple grounds of affiliation to multiple communities. We construct multiplex personal identities which combine elements of our lived experience in these different communities, our different social practices. We enact the moments of our lives with resources from the whole combined repertory of practices we acquire through participation in diverse social groups and categories. (150)

Given the diversity of individuals, communities can never be completely unified. Yet, texts can encourage provisional integration, can encourage residents to *imagine* community.

In this dissertation, I have limited my study to six texts and have speculated about how they work discursively and rhetorically. There remain, however, so many other texts that have "gone without saying." The goal now might be to apply the methods I have developed in this study to other regional discourses and texts. By doing so, we can interrogate further how texts mediate our understandings of the world, and therefore how they inspire us to *act*. The words to "The Ode to Newfoundland" and the characters in Random Passage might inspire love, but they can also prompt one to consider that love and its political implications. How does the love of region feed into a divided nation state and divided loyalties? How does definition in terms of regionality (*this* form of solidarity) exclude others? Books like Atlantic Canada in the Global Community inspire young readers to be agents in economic terms, but not to be agents who question and challenge abuses of power in the region. How, given this situation, can we use language in the classroom to challenge those narratives? What alternative narratives might we come up with? Books like The Shipping News and advertisements like the *Imagine That* campaign inspire visitors from all over the world to view the region of Newfoundland and Labrador in tourist terms. What implications does that role have for the province? In this sea of questions, one thing is for sure: in a province where local resources are facing crisis,

one resource, discourse, is more powerful and valuable than ever. Discursive and rhetorical analysis, particularly these days, is timely and indispensable.

APPENDIX A
A Focus on Fine Art

A Focus on Fine Art

Artists of the Atlantic provinces have often painted the dramatic landscapes of the region. One such artist is Gerald Squires. Squires was born in Change Islands on Newfoundland's northeast coast in 1937, and spent much of his childhood on the island of Exploits. In 1950, his family moved to Toronto, where Squires finished school and planned a career in commercial art. He worked for a Toronto newspaper, but in 1969, he decided to return to Newfoundland to be an artist.

When Squires returned to Exploits, he found a community on the brink of death. While he had been away, the fishery — on which the economy and culture of the area were built — had been changing. As you will see in Unit 4, off-shore trawlers had replaced small-boat operators. Instead of being salted or sun-cured, fish were now fresh frozen in modern plants. As a result, the economy of the outports suffered. The government decided to resettle many people from such communities, offering them $2000 to settle in more urban centres.

Gail Squires, Gerry's wife, describes their rea tion to the resettlement program that was unde way in Exploits in 1970:

> There was a lot of anger towards the governmer Word was that the school teacher and mailbc were to be taken away, forcing people to lea the island for these services.... [People were bei forced] out of their centuries-long homes a livelihoods.... It was heart-wrenching to wat those proud people...being loaded aboard boa pathetic and fearful, heading for an uncerta future amongst strangers. When we returned i a brief visit three years later, only three peo remained as permanent residents....

Source: D. Walsh and S. Jamieson, Gerald Squires: Newfoundland Artist *(St. John's: Breakwater, 1995) p. 14*

Figure 7.8 Gerald Squires working on his painting *Resettlement*. His daughter Esther is behind him. How did t painting change between this earlier version and the finish piece, shown on the next page? Which version do you thir has more impact? Why?



In response to what they saw, Squires began a series of paintings called *The Boatman*. Since then, he has painted a number of series presenting Newfoundland images. Many draw on his cultural and spiritual roots on the island. Squires is now recognized as one of Newfoundland's finest artists. In 1992, he was awarded an honorary doctorate from Memorial University.

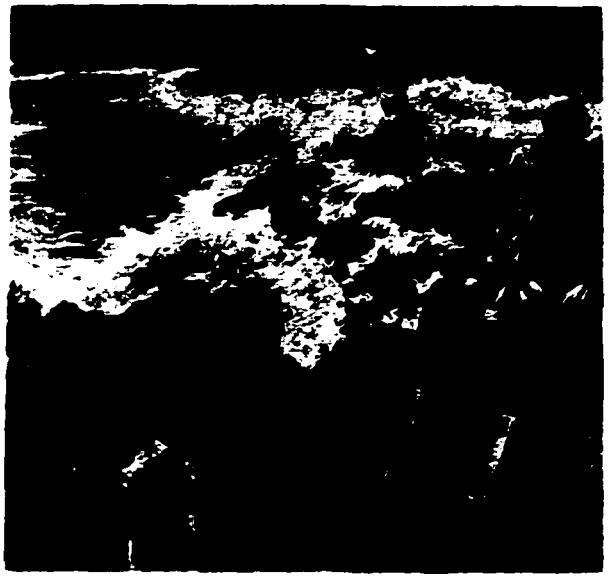

Figure 7.9 *Resettlement* was painted by Gerald Squires in 1975. What is the historical background to this painting? In what ways is the painting symbolic? In what ways does the painting reflect Squires' cultural roots?

REVIEWING THE IDEAS

1. Compare *Resettlement* with the painting by Maud Lewis on page 97. How would you describe the difference between folk painting and fine art?

APPLYING YOUR SKILLS

2. There are several paintings by Atlantic Canadian artists in this book. With a partner, analyze one of them, or any other painting by an Atlantic artist, by following these steps:

   a) Describe what you see in the foreground, middle ground, and background of the picture.

   b) What forms the focal point of the picture?

   c) What can you learn from the picture? Record three things.

   d) How does the picture make you feel? Explain.

   e) What is your opinion of the picture? Explain.

ANALYZING AND REFLECTING

3. Some artists are very successful, but most receive little financial benefit from their work. What do you think motivates them to paint? In pairs or small groups, role play an interview with any one of the artists whose work is included in this text. The interviewer should ask about the motivation and inspiration for the artist's work, and the artist should provide carefully considered answers. If possible, make a tape or video recording of your interview.

APPENDIX B
The Labrador Inuit

CASE STUDY

THE LABRADOR INUIT

The Labrador Inuit are one of 15 groups of Inuit who inhabit the Canadian North. Over a very short time, and especially since Newfoundland entered Confederation in 1949, they have faced tremendous cultural change. As you will see, many found themselves living in a new environment. As a result, their occupations changed, as did their lifestyles.

The economy of the Labrador Inuit was traditionally based on a close relationship between themselves, the land, the sea, and wild animals. The Inuit had cultural rules that regulated wildlife harvesting. For example, they did not kill animals during their breeding season.



Figure 8.6 What can you tell about traditional occupations and lifestyles from this painting?

Table 8.1 Species traditionally hunted by Inuit, and their main uses. In addition to the food sources shown here, other small game, cod, capelin, and berries supplemented the diet of the Labrador Inuit.

Animal	Uses
Seal	Main source of food, boots, clothing, covering for shelter, oil
Walrus	Supplemental food, blubber for fuel, tusks for harpoon heads and other implements
Whales	Supplemental food, blubber for fuel, bones for implements
Caribou	Main source of food, clothing
Bears	Supplemental food, clothing
Common Eider	Supplemental food, feathers for lining clothes
Geese	Supplemental food
Bird eggs	Supplemental food
Salmon	Main source of food
Char	Main source of food
Arctic hare	Supplemental food, hats, mitts, boots

Such rules helped to reduce the chances of over-harvesting the animals on which they depended.

Traditionally, the Inuit lived in three different types of shelters. In winter, they lived in houses made of stone and sod, partially dug into the ground. The entrance was about 20 cm lower than the main part of the house. In this way it trapped the cold, and protected the house from the wind. On hunting trips, the Inuit built snow houses as temporary shelters. In summer, they lived in cone-shaped tents made of animal skins. All clothing was made from animal skins and was designed to provide excellent protection from extreme cold.

Figure 8.7 A traditional Inuit winter house at Hebron earlier in the twentieth century.



Changing Times, Changing Lifestyles

The traditional Inuit way of life slowly began to change in the mid-1700s. Earlier contact with European fishers had caused some conflict between the two groups. The British government believed that the relationship between the Inuit and Europeans would be better if the Inuit were converted to Christianity. As a result, the government gave approval for the Moravian Church to establish missions in Labrador.

The first mission was established at Nain, with later missions at Hopedale, Makkovik, Okak, Killinek-Hebron, Zoar, and Ramah. The presence of full-time mission stations altered the traditional Inuit lifestyle. Rather than travelling inland in winter, some Inuit began to stay on the coast with the missionaries. Cut off from their traditional environment and source of food, they began to depend on government for support.



Figure 8.8 Wooden houses in Hopedale. These homes were sometimes referred to as "matchboxes." How does this house compare with the traditional home shown in Figure 8.7? Which home is better adapted to the environment? Explain.

Table 8.2 The Labrador Inuit now have a new range of economic activities. Which of these activities use traditional skills? Which use new skills? Which use both?

Natural resource	Economic activity
Wild meat	Meat from wild caribou is sold to domestic and international markets through the Labrador Inuit Development Corporation.
Fish	Like other Atlantic fishers, Labrador Inuit can no longer depend on traditional species such as cod, salmon, and char. They are experimenting with non-traditional species such as shrimp and turbot.
"Unspoiled" wilderness	Inuit hunters use their knowledge of the land and its animals to act as guides for tourists. Some visitors are interested in hunting, with a gun or a camera, and others are **ecotourists**, interested in learning about the sub-Arctic environment.
Animal products suitable for art and crafts	Many Inuit communities produce arts and crafts from bone, ivory, soapstone, grass and skins. This artwork sells around the world.
Soapstone	This stone is mined from Paul Island and exported to Europe for architectural use.
Tabor stone	This semiprecious stone is mined from Tabor Island for craft use.

DID YOU KNOW...?

Seal, narwhal, fish, and walrus provide a much richer source of iron, magnesium, and calcium than beef. The harvest and use of these foods has an important economic value that is only now being recognized.



APPENDIX C
Technology and the Northern Cod

Technology and the Northern Cod

In 1497, John Cabot returned to England from North America, proclaiming that cod were so plentiful off the Atlantic coast that the fish sometimes stopped the progress of his ships. Cabot may have been exaggerating, but it doesn't stretch the truth to say that, since that time, the cod fishery has shaped the lives of generations of Atlantic Canadians. It has been part of where we live, our economy, our culture, our diet, and even our songs.

Until the closure of the cod fishery in July 1992, cod had been the cultural and economic cornerstone of hundreds of communities in Atlantic Canada for over 400 years. Many factors may have contributed to the collapse of the northern cod fishery, but overfishing is seen as a major problem. Most people agree that it was technological change that allowed the overfishing.

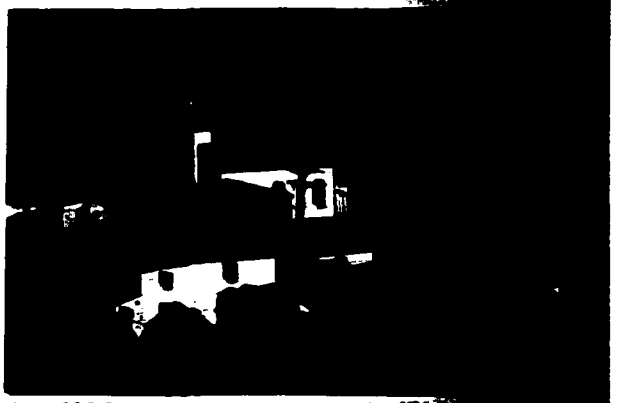

Figure 15.2 The Newfoundland outport community of Tr... a community like Trinity be affected by changes in the fis...

Some of the most significant changes were the advances in navigational aids, including radar, echo sounders, and Loran C. With these new tools, vessel operators could determine the exact location of fishing grounds and their own vessels. They could return to good fishing sites time and time again, and could go farther from shore to find new fish stocks.

Before the wide use of this kind of equipment, fishers navigated and found the best fish stocks by using skills they had built up through years of fishing. New technology meant fishers did not need the knowledge and skills gained by experience. They could use technology instead. This opened the door for new fishers, many of whom had less experience but could — with the right equipment — catch more fish.

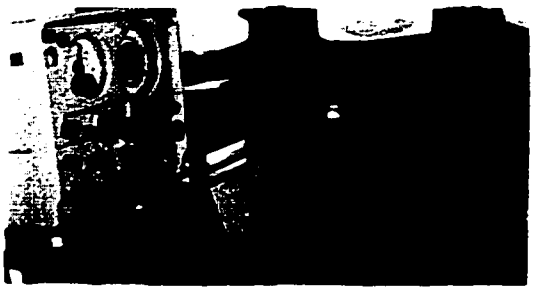

Figure 15.3 Even small in-shore fishing vessels were equipped with sophisticated equipment for locating schools of fish.

Technology and the Cod Fishery

1920s: Stern factory trawler introduced by Britain.

1950s: Sailing ships replaced by motorized vessels.

1960s: Fish finders (echo sounders) first used to locate fish electronically.

1970s: Cotton nets replaced by longer-lasting nylon nets.

1970s: Purse seine used to catch fish with handlines in offshore fisheries for the first time.

1970s: Stern trawlers become an important part of the Canadian fishing fleet.

1980s: Monofilament used to haul nets, bait hooks, and as gear.

1980s: The mesh size of nets decreases so that smaller fish can be caught.

1980s: Electronic navigation devices such as Loran C used to determine position and locate fishing gear.

1990s: Satellites allow the use of global positioning systems.

CHAPTER 15

Technology and Resources

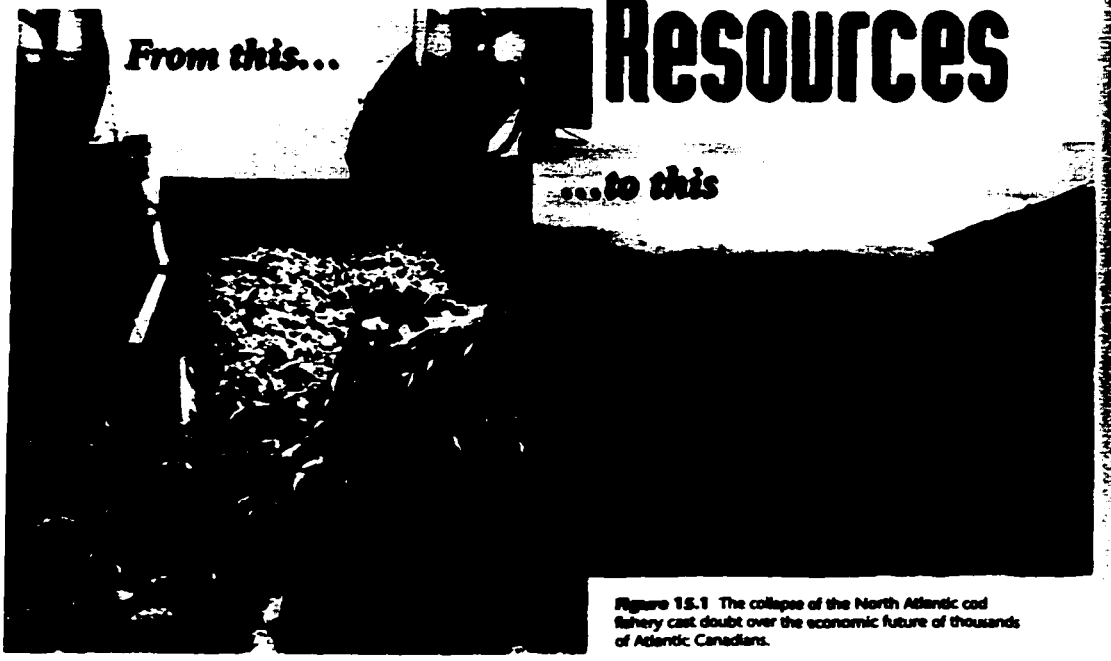

Figure 15.1 The collapse of the North Atlantic cod fishery cast doubt over the economic future of thousands of Atlantic Canadians.

It is July 1992. You are 15 years old. For five generations your family has made its living from the Atlantic fishery. Their "bread and butter" has always been the northern cod. You have fished a fair bit yourself and you think that your future, too, will be in the fishery. On Friday July 3, 1992, you are listening to the radio and hear government officials declare that the cod fishery has been stopped dead, because fish stocks have been drastically reduced. A complete moratorium is in place. Your parents, along with almost 19 000 others who make their living in the fishery, are out of work for at least two years, perhaps more.

- How did you get to this point? Who or what is to blame?
- How has technology affected the fishery and other natural resources in the Atlantic region?

APPENDIX D
Africville

Africville

In 1848, the small community of Africville was established north of Halifax on Bedford Basin. As the city of Halifax grew, it started using the land around Africville for sewage and garbage disposal, industry, and railroads. City services improved rapidly in Halifax, but Africville was excluded, even though it was within Halifax city boundaries. While physical conditions in the settlement were far from ideal, the people of Africville felt a strong sense of community and culture. Over the years, and after much petitioning of government, community members succeeded in getting services such as schools, street lights, and a post office. Basic amenities such as water and sewers, however, were not provided.

Through the 1950s, residents of Africville pushed for improved services. Government officials, however, favoured demolishing the community altogether and relocating its residents in other parts of Halifax. It was calculated that providing adequate services to Africville would cost $800 000, but that relocation would cost approximately $76 000. In 1964, the first home was demolished; by 1970 Africville had gone. It was announced that the total cost of removing the community had actually come to $765 000. The extract from the poem to the right records the sense of loss experienced by the Africville community.

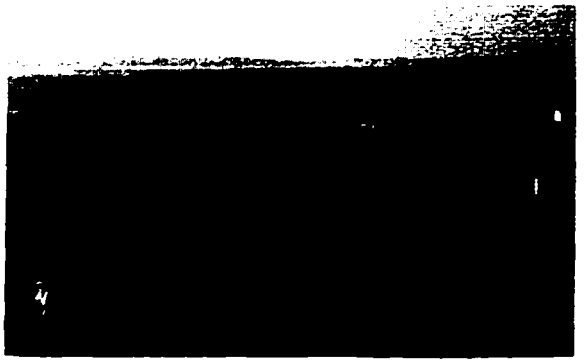

Figure 4.18 Africville, 1965. The church (centre left) played a large role in the community.

Africville My Home

Another time, another place
But the memories are vivid and strong.
From Big Town to Round the Turn,
We had a place to belong.

Remember the closeness of neighbours and friends,
Our elders so greatly respected.
And in our own small world, of that freedom and love,
Our unity kept us protected.

City living was fine for others,
But our haven out home reigned above,
Very true it is that we had our faults,
But our foundation was built on love.
In days gone by, our village stood strong,
City politics led us astray,
Let others learn from our misjudgments,
Trust never what they say.

Let the young ones learn what once was,
With pictures and tales of the land,
Each of us must teach them this,
Don't let go of what's yours, take a stand.

Terry Dixon

Source: The Spirit of Africville (Halifax: MarketPlace, 1992), p. 82.

ANALYZING THE ISSUE

Work in a group.

1. **a)** Find the phrases or lines in "Africville My Home" that describe the community spirit.

   b) Terry Dixon says, "Our unity kept us protected." Why do you think community members felt they needed protection?

2. **a)** Make a diagram to show causes and effects leading up to the demolition of Africville.

   b) Identify as many places as possible on your diagram at which alternative steps could have been taken that might have resulted in a different effect. On your diagram, mark these steps and their possible effects.

3. **a)** What do you think Terry Dixon means by "Don't let go of what's yours, take a stand"?

   b) Is this view reflected in your diagram in any way? If so, highlight these steps. If not, adjust your diagram by adding steps that do reflect this view.

APPENDIX E
Cultures Change

Cultures Change

If you could visit your own community 100 years ago, you would find you had a lot to learn — that the culture of your community was different then. That is because cultures vary from place to place, and over time. Cultures grow and change. Cultures appear and disappear.

Some cultural changes are caused by internal forces. Cultures change because attitudes change. One hundred years ago, for example, it was unusual for most children to get more than two or three years of schooling. Today, most Canadians receive at least 13 years of schooling, and many receive much more. Why did attitudes towards schooling change over time?

Other cultural changes result from outside influences. As you have already seen, cultures around the world are changing rapidly as new technologies increase communication between cultures, bringing many outside influences. Travel and communication technology have created a popular culture that stretches around the globe.

For many years, Atlantic Canada developed with input from three main groups: Aboriginal peoples, the French and the British. Then, many other groups started to arrive, especially after the 1960s (see page 63). These groups have all contributed to cultural change, influencing the politics, economy, and social life of the region.

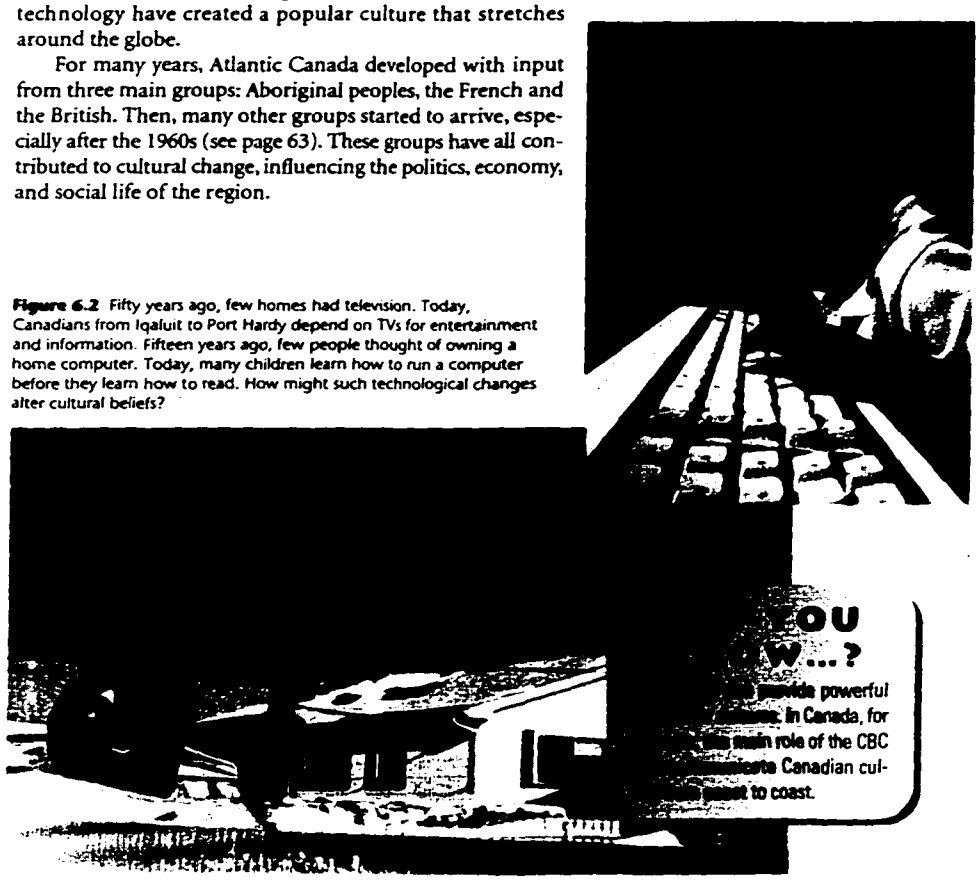

Figure 6.2 Fifty years ago, few homes had television. Today, Canadians from Iqaluit to Port Hardy depend on TVs for entertainment and information. Fifteen years ago, few people thought of owning a home computer. Today, many children learn how to run a computer before they learn how to read. How might such technological changes alter cultural beliefs?

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