Frauke Reitemeier (Hg.)

Von Puritanern, Relativsätzen und wandelbaren Frauengestalten

Ausgewählte BA-Abschlussarbeiten im Fach Englisch

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Seminar für Englische Philologie

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Frauke Reitemeier

Einleitung

1. Die Entstehungsbedingungen

Im Wintersemester 2005/2006 schrieben sich erstmalig Studierende in den lehramtsbezogenen Zwei-Fächer-Bachelorstudiengang der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen ein. Dieser Studiengang löste den herkömmlichen Studiengang Lehramt an Gymnasien ab, der mit dem 1. Staatsexamen abschloss. Studierende im lehramtsbezogenen Zwei-Fächer-Bachelorstudiengang, die nach Abschluss des Bachelors erfolgreich den konsekutiv angelegten Master of Education absolvieren, erhalten damit die Lehrbefähigung für das Fach Englisch im Lehramt an Gymnasien.

Die Einführung des Zwei-Fächer-Bachelorstudiengangs wurde von Studierenden wie von vielen Dozenten mit Argwohn begleitet. Das neue, noch unerprobte Studienprogramm, das von vielen als von der Politik aufgezwungen und vornehmlich der 'Nivellierung nach unten' dienend empfunden wurde, brachte vor allem für die erste Kohorte der Studierenden erhebliche Veränderungen im Vergleich mit vorangegangenen Studentengenerationen mit. Auch das Studienprogramm des Seminars für Englische Philologie blieb von kritischen Nachfragen und kurzfristigen Anpassungen nicht verschont.

Die in diesem ersten Band der "Göttinger Schriften zur Englischen Philologie" zusammengestellten Arbeiten sind Abschlussarbeiten der ersten Kohorte. Sie zeigen nicht nur, dass sich die Studierenden des Fachs Englisch im Zwei-Fächer-Bachelorstudiengang höchst erfolgreich mit den verschiedenen Fachinhalten auseinandersetzen, sondern zeugen auch von der hohen Qualität der Ausbildung am Seminar für Englische Philologie im literatur- und kulturwissenschaftlichen wie im sprachwissenschaftlichen Bereich: Die Einführung des Bachelorstudiengangs hat ausweislich dieser Arbeiten nicht zu einer generellen 'Verdummung' der Studierenden geführt.

Die Abschlussarbeiten im Zwei-Fächer-Bachelorstudiengang können im Fach Englisch in einer der vier fachwissenschaftlich arbeitenden Abteilungen des Seminars verfasst werden; auf Wunsch kann die Themenstellung auch fachdidaktische Anteile enthalten. Die hier vorgelegten Arbeiten repräsentieren drei der vier Abteilungen. Alexander-Arthur Niedziolkas "From Troy to the New World" beschäftigt sich mit *New English Canaan* des amerikanischen Autors Thomas Morton. Niedziolkas Arbeit ging aus einem Seminar über "Captivity Narratives" der Abteilung für Nordamerikastudien hervor, das eine Vorlesung zu "Exploration and Settlement, Invasion and Interculturality: American Literature and Culture from the Sixteenth Century to the Revolution" vertiefend begleitete. Thilo Weber untersucht den Status von *that* als relativsatzeinleitendem Element; diese Arbeit entstand aus dem Interesse Webers heraus, die syntaktische Funktion von *that* genauer zu untersuchen; dies ist eine Fragestellung, die in den in Syntaxtheorien einführenden Lehrveranstaltungen der Abteilung für Neuere Englische Sprache stets angesprochen, aber nicht umfassend diskutiert wird. Franziska Fromes Arbeit über indigene Frauenfiguren in einem Roman des kanadischen Gegenwartsautors Thomas King schließlich zeigt einerseits, dass Abschlussarbeiten nicht notwendig aus einer Lehrveranstaltung hervorgehen müssen: Kings *Green Grass, Running Water* wurde zwar durchaus in einer Überblicksveranstaltung zur kanadischen Literatur gelesen und diskutiert, an der Frome jedoch nicht teilnahm. Sie steht andererseits stellvertretend für die Ausbildung im Bereich der postkolonialen Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaft, die neben der Vermittlung anglozentrischer Literatur(en) im Mittelpunkt der Abteilung für Anglistische Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaft steht.

2. Die Arbeiten

Die hier vorgelegten Arbeiten sollen nicht nur die hohe Qualität der Ausbildung zeigen, sondern auch ausdrücklich Folgegenerationen von Studierenden als Muster und Ansporn dienen. Daher wurden die Texte bis auf kleinere Rechtschreibkorrekturen in genau der Form abgedruckt, wie sie von den Studierenden eingereicht wurden. Alle drei Arbeiten sind auf Englisch verfasst. Das ist zwar keine

Pflicht, aber die meisten Studierenden entscheiden sich dafür, da die Lehrveranstaltungen ohnehin fast ausschließlich in englischer Sprache abgehalten werden.

Abschlussarbeiten im Fach Englisch des Zwei-Fächer-Bachelorstudiengang sollten einen Umfang von ca. 40-50 Seiten haben; da der Zeilenabstand durch das Buchformat geändert werden mußte, ist die Druckfassung der Arbeiten etwas kürzer. Bachelor-Abschlussarbeiten sollen zeigen, dass sich der Autor weitgehend selbständig – wenn auch unter Betreuung – mit einem Thema auseinandersetzen und dies wissenschaftlich fundiert bearbeiten kann. Daraus ergeben sich die zentralen Kriterien für die Beurteilung einer solchen Arbeit: Neben der formalen und stilistischen Angemessenheit der Arbeit sind vor allem die aufgebaute Argumentationslinie und der Umgang mit Primär- und Sekundärliteratur für die Beurteilung relevant.

ALEXANDER-ARTHUR NIEDZIOLKAS Arbeit über Mortons *New English Canaan* zielt darauf ab, die in der Literaturgeschichtsschreibung vorherrschende Meinung über Morton zu korrigieren. Martin Schulze etwa bezeichnet Morton als "eigenwillig" (28) und kommentiert sein Hauptwerk lediglich im Hinblick auf die Auseinandersetzung des Autors mit angesehenen Puritanern der Zeit: "Als Oberhaupt der Siedlung Ma-re-Mount [...] war er mit den Puritanerführern zwischen Boston und Plymouth in Konflikt geraten und gibt so eine Darstellung der neuenglischen Wirklichkeit, die sich von der konformistischen puritanischen Chronistik unterscheidet." (28) Niedziolka betrachtet vornehmlich Mortons Umgang mit dem *Indian discourse*. In Anlehnung an Foucaults Diskursanalyse beginnt er zunächst mit einer komprimierten Untersuchung der Situation in England und in Amerika. Religiöse Spannungen, der im 17. Jahrhundert aufkommende Pragmatismus und das immer stärker werdende Interesse Englands am Überseehandel stehen im Mittelpunkt seines Abrisses zu England; diese Kategorien sind auch im Hinblick auf die *native American communities* von Bedeutung. Abschließend beleuchtet Niedziolka die historische wie textuelle Geschichte von Kontakten zwischen Engländern und Amerikanern. Die folgenden beiden Kapitel enthalten die eigentliche Analyse von *New English Canaan*, die zwei Leitgedanken folgt. Zum einen untersucht Niedziolka die sprachliche und formale Gestaltung seines Grundlagentextes (Kap. 3), zum anderen beleuchtet er den Zweck der Darstellung, indem er die verschiedenen indianischen und englischen Traditionen in unterschiedlichen sozialen Bereichen einander gegenüberstellt (Kap. 4). Abschließend geht er der Frage nach, aufgrund welcher Motivation Morton sich so ganz anders über die indianischen Lebensgewohnheiten äußert. Er diskutiert die in der Sekundärliteratur vorherrschenden Ansichten und kommt zum Schluss, dass es sich ganz offensichtlich um eine "strategy of appropriation that heavily relied on the concepts of family and love" (43) handelt: Er zeichnet Mortons *New English Canaan* als Versuch "to provide an ideological basis for colonization that sought to integrate all parties in a non-violent manner" (43).

THILO WEBER beschäftigt sich in seiner Arbeit zum "Proform/Conjunction Interface" mit der Einordnung des relativsatzeinleitenden *that* im Hinblick auf seinen syntaktischen Status und die grammatische Kategorie. Syntaxtheorien spielen in der linguistischen Ausbildung am Seminar für Englische Philologie eine nicht unwesentliche Rolle. Studierende werden mit unterschiedlichen theoretischen Ansätzen - beispielsweise der *Government and Binding Theory* und der Theorie der *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar* - vertraut gemacht und lernen, diese anhand von grammatischen und syntaktischen Satzanalysen sinnbringend einzusetzen. Relativsätze sind deutschen Muttersprachlern aus der eigenen Sprache sehr vertraut. Die syntaktischen Regeln für Relativsätze im Englischen sind jedoch anders; bestimmte Relativsätze werden mit *which* oder *who* eingeleitet, andere mit *that*. Weber geht der Frage nach, ob dieses *that* als Variante zu *which*/*what* aufzufassen ist oder eher den Status einer Konjunktion hat. Nach einer einleitenden Darstellung des derzeitigen theoretischen Erkenntnisstands untersucht Weber Relativsätze gemäß der *Government and Binding Theory* und nimmt in einem weiteren Kapitel besonders diejenigen grammatischen Elemente in den Blick, die die Relativsätze einleiten. Das darauf folgende Kapitel analysiert anhand der gängigen Tests und Nachweisverfahren die syntaktische Rolle von *that* in Relativsätzen. Eine Besonderheit stellt die sprachhistorische Entwicklung von *that* und die Untersuchung regionaler Varianten dar. Studierende haben in ihrem Studium die Wahl, ob sie sich mit Sprachwissenschaft im Hinblick auf die neuere englische Sprache oder im Hinblick auf die Entwicklung der Sprache beschäftigen wollen. In der Regel wählen Studierende die eine oder die andere Richtung und studieren nicht beide Bereiche nebeneinander. Insofern ist der fundierte und überzeugend ausgeführte Blick auf die Entwicklung des relativsatzeinleitenden *that* eher als ungewöhnlich zu betrachten und besonders hervorzuheben. Weber schlussfolgert aus seinen Ergebnissen, dass das relativsatzeinleitende "*that* and complementiser *that* may share the same phonological (and orthographical) shape but they are two different lexical items. Relative *that* is a *wh*-operator but it shows a number of peculiarities." (89) Insgesamt hält Weber *that* für eine *wh*-Proform.

FRANZISKA FROME untersucht die Darstellung und Funktionalisierung von Frauenfiguren der Blackfoot-Indianer in einem nicht nur sehr unterhaltsamen, sondern auch kompositorisch sehr interessanten Roman des kanadischen Schriftstellers Thomas King. Sie steckt dabei einerseits rein literaturwissenschaftliche Bereiche ab – Figurencharakterisierung, das Verhältnis zu anderen Figuren, Kommunikationsweisen, die Funktionalisierung von Figuren innerhalb der fiktionalen Welt – , andererseits ist sie darum bemüht, ihre Ergebnisse in einen größeren Kontext zu stellen und versucht Konzepte anzuwenden, die aus dem Bereich der *postcolonial theory* stammen. Von hauptsächlichem Interesse ist für sie die Identitätsbildung und die Identität der Frauengestalten.

Nach einem einleitenden Theorie-Kapitel, in dem Frome die zugrunde gelegten Begrifflichkeiten definiert und die Grenzen ihrer Anwendbarkeit aufzeigt,

beschäftigt sie sich mit den drei Frauenfiguren, die im Mittelpunkt des Romans stehen. Sie weist ihnen dabei verschiedene Funktionen und Ideen-'Bilder' zu, die mit der Blackfoot-Tradition in Zusammenhang stehen. Abschließend bespricht sie in einem Überblickskapitel andere Frauenfiguren und berücksichtigt hier auch die in den Roman eingearbeitete Neuerzählung der Schöpfungsgeschichte. In der Zusammenschau zeigt sie, dass die Frauenfiguren als Entwicklungsstadien gelesen werden können und Charakteristika der westlichen wie der indianischen Welt vereinen: "It can be said that all three Native female protagonists qualify as 'changing women'. Furthermore, they show some of the characteristics, associated with the Blackfoot tradition of ninauposkitzipxpe." (134) Gleichzeitig weist Frome jedoch auch nach, dass die derzeit gängigen theoretischen Konstrukte aus dem Bereich des *Postcolonialism* in der Analyse von *Green Grass, Running Water* nur bedingt anwendbar sind.

Alle Arbeiten sind gleichermaßen gut strukturiert und sinnvoll aufgebaut. Die Autoren zeigen eine überzeugende Beherrschung ihres Stoffs wie ihrer Aufgabenstellung und vermögen nicht nur, dem Leser die eigene Herangehensweise zu verdeutlichen, sondern auch diese in den theoretisch-kritischen Kontext einzuordnen. Die Sekundärliteratur in den einzelnen Arbeiten spiegelt den Stand der Wissenschaft wieder; sie ist sorgfältig recherchiert und klug ausgewählt, was beispielsweise im Fall von Fromes Untersuchung von *Green Grass, Running Water* aufgrund der fehlenden Nationalbibliographie für kanadische Literatur vergleichsweise aufwendig ist und hervorgehoben zu werden verdient. Formal wie stilistisch sind die Arbeiten durchweg auf hohem Niveau. Entsprechend wurden alle Arbeiten mit 'sehr gut' benotet.

3. Die Buchfassung

Die Formatierungsvorgaben für die Einbindung von Zitaten und Verweisen sind bei den drei Arbeiten hingegen unterschiedlich; während Weber und Niedziolka Varianten des MLA-Handbuchs verwenden, indem die Verweise in Klammern im Haupttext stehen und lediglich weiterführende, aber nicht zum Haupttext gehörige Diskussionen in den Fußnoten zu finden sind, nutzt Frome Fußnoten als vorrangiges Mittel für Verweise, Zitatangaben und weiterführende Bemerkungen. Diese Pluralität ist durchaus akzeptabel. Auch in der Wissenschaftswelt werden unterschiedliche Konventionen nebeneinander verwendet; lediglich innerhalb derselben Arbeit ist die Einheitlichkeit vorgeschrieben. Das sollte auch für diesen Sammelband gelten. Hier wurde allerdings darauf verzichtet, nicht zuletzt um damit zu zeigen, dass das verwendete *style sheet* kein Qualitätskriterium darstellt.

Das Druckbild der Arbeiten weicht in Teilen von demjenigen der Ausgangsfassungen ab. Das hängt im wesentlichen mit den Vorgaben des Universitätsverlags zusammen, die ein einheitliches Druckbild für alle im Verlag produzierten Bücher ermöglichen. Veränderungen im Druckbild betreffen die Schriftart und

den Zeilenabstand, aber auch die Formatierung von Überschriften: Studierende, die sich an der Formatierung der Arbeiten ausrichten möchten, können diese Vorgaben selbstverständlich übernehmen, sind jedoch wie bei der Wahl des zugrunde gelegten *style sheet* nicht daran gebunden.

Literatur

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Alexander-Arthur Niedziolka

From Troy to the New World: Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan* and the Question of Indian Discourse

1. Introduction

"It is always possible that one might speak the truth in the space of a wild exteriority, but one is 'in the true' only by obeying the rules of a discursive 'policing' which one has to reactivate in each of one's discourses" (Foucault 61). This Foucauldian quote nicely sums up the dilemma of analyzing Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan*:[1] most of what Morton says, albeit in a highly heterogeneous and complex way, sounds "true" to modern day readers. However, as Foucault has correctly observed, not even a "wild exteriority," be it a discursive or a regional one like early colonial America, provides the possibility to speak freely. Due to Puritan predominance in New England, Morton's discourses have been characterized mainly in comparison to the Puritans' political, social, and, above all, religious ideas. The result is a bipartite critical reception of Morton: one side sees him as a

[1] In the following referred to as *NEC*.

licentious libertine, as a direct attack on early American core values as represented by the Puritans; the other side tries to be more sympathetic and portrays Morton as the more humane counterpart to Bradford's and Winthrop's followers.

This work will attempt to overcome such narrow approaches to *NEC*. To do so, one of Morton's most fascinating and complex discourses will be analyzed, his Indian discourse.[2] First, a "genealogical" (Foucault 70) analysis will be done so as to reconstruct how Morton's Indian discourse emerged. Here, the historical situations in Old and New England will be presented, with a special emphasis on similarities between both cultural spheres. Then, several English travel accounts which were published prior to Morton's voyages will be scrutinized and their influence upon Morton's Indian discourse discussed. Second, a "critical" (Foucault 70) analysis will be done in the third and fourth part of this work. It will be guided by two major questions: How does Morton talk about the Indians? To what ends does he employ such talk? It will be tried to show that Morton took existing similarities between Old and New England, enlarged on them, and thus tried to depict Native Americans and the English as two similar peoples with the same cultural origins and ancestry. By doing so, Morton sought to create a unique strategy of appropriating the land: by reason of the shared origin, only the English and especially Anglican gentlemen like Morton are fit and legally allowed to colonize New England.

2. Genealogical Analysis

In many ways, it is remarkable that Thomas Morton and his *New English Canaan* form part of the contemporary US-American literary canon. This is so because even a superficial analysis of his work reveals that Morton is an almost prototypical English gentleman of his time, "a classical humanist, and a follower of the Church of England's *via media*" (Galinsky 33). Thus, in order to understand the forming of Morton's Indian discourse, it makes sense to begin this work with a somewhat brief historiographical analysis of England in the late 16th and early 17th century. Special emphasis will be put on political practices and world views. Subsequently, with the help of historiographical sources, a similar overview of Native American life in New England will be given. Both analyses will show that there were certain similarities between Old and New England that served Morton as an important basis for his Indian discourse. In a third step, actual encounters between English voyagers and Native American tribes which took place before Mor-

[2] When the word "discourse" is used in this work, it specifically refers to the Foucauldian understanding of the term. Thus, discourse is understood "as a violence which we do to things, or in any case as a practice which we impose on them; and it is in this practice that the events of discourse find the principle of their regularity" (Foucault 67). Moreover, discourses will be treated as "discontinuous practices, which cross each other, are sometimes juxtaposed with one another, but can just as well exclude or be unaware of each other" (Foucault 67).

ton's first arrival in New England will be analyzed, with a close look at their concepts of intercultural contact.

2.1. Elizabethan and Early Stuart England

When Elizabeth I ascended the English throne in 1558, the country faced a deep religious crisis manifesting itself in the ongoing conflicts between Catholics, Anglicans, and Protestants. Besides these internal quarrels, there were external problems as well, in particular with France, Scotland, and Spain. In this situation, Elizabeth tried to draw up a political program which should "find a religious settlement acceptable to the overwhelming majority of her subjects and [that should] keep England out of war" (Viault 118).

Yet, the search for such a "religious settlement" was problematic. Henry VIII had broken with the Pope and created the Anglican Church; Edward VI had installed Protestant reforms, whereas his successor Mary returned to a pure Catholic doctrine. Since both Edward's and Mary's reigns were relatively short, they failed to achieve national religious unity. The result was a country that "remained prone to factionalism and disorder" (Manning, "Elizabeth" 40). To fight these developments, Elizabeth tried to reverse Mary's Catholic legacy by enforcing the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity, both in 1559. The former established Elizabeth as the "supreme governor" of the Church of England, whereas the latter introduced a modified 1552 Book of Common Prayer and "decreed its use in the country's churches" (Viault 119). Although both acts look like straight anti-Catholic proceedings, Elizabeth did not pursue an entirely Protestant course either. In reality, the program of the Anglican Church was a curious mixture of Protestant and Catholic rituals. The 1559 Book of Common Prayer, for example, was largely based on the one issued under Edward VI and thus chiefly Protestant in character. Nevertheless, many Catholic liturgical practices were retained, e.g. "using the sign of the cross" or "requiring clergymen to wear the surplice when ministering the sacraments" (Manning, "Elizabeth" 44). Therefore, it can be said that Elizabeth's religious policy fostered a certain form of syncretism by consciously intermingling Protestant and Catholic doctrines. Naturally, radical Catholics as well as Protestants were not satisfied with these tendencies. However, the vast majority did not care too much, went to parish church every Sunday, and simply "conformed" (Picard 275). Especially villagers and poor, illiterate people rejected Protestantism, for it relied too much on educated preaching and the study of the Bible. Most of these people adhered to the "oral traditions and symbolic ritualism of medieval England" (Morgan 303). This is something one must take into account when discussing Morton's raising of a maypole. With this ancient English fertility ritual and the revels, Morton did not represent the ideas of the social elite but the convictions of the majority of the English population.

On the whole, the attempt of a comprehensive religious settlement shows a crucial idea of Elizabethan England's way of doing politics, the idea of a "*via media*" (Cannon, "Elizabeth" 340). With regard to the religious question, it tried to reinforce Protestantism without directly fighting Catholicism. Yet, as Lee has shown, the notion of the *via media* as a "consciously imposed" policy is erroneous (42). Rather, it was "a delicate operation to balance a variety of forces" (Sheils qtd. in Lee 42). In other words, the *via media* was an extremely pragmatic, yet cautious way of doing politics.

The religious question, however, did not only have domestic but also foreign policy ramifications, most notably the conflicts with Catholic France and Spain during Elizabeth's reign. Yet, even in these disputes, the queen showed no fixed "ideology" but once again a strong political "pragmatism" (Lee 93). This attitude is pointedly exemplified in the conflict with Spain. Obviously, this struggle mirrored the ubiquitous fight between Protestantism and Catholicism in Europe. Nevertheless, there were political and commercial reasons for this conflict that played an equally important role. The Protestant Dutch were revolting against Spanish rule and Elizabeth supported this uprising by sending troops in 1585. Thus, she hoped to establish a "strong Dutch bulwark against the tide of Spanish aggression" (Andrews 197). Furthermore, the queen was interested in keeping the Netherlands open for English trade. The factor which finally led to the outbreak of war was England's growing interest in the New World trade. By investing in two of the voyages undertaken by John Hawkins and by supporting Sir Francis Drake, Elizabeth directly tried "to break into the Spanish monopoly in the Caribbean" (Lee 95) and America. Needless to say, this aroused the opposition of Spain's Philip II. Overall, given the gradual decline of English economy in the 16th century combined with a substantial growth in population, it seems probable that the economic and political reasons for the war were far more pressing than the religious ones. This strong focus on free trade possibilities and a pronounced political pragmatism are features that will eventually play a major role in Morton's New England agendas, too.

In 1603, the ascension of James I to the English throne marked a clear turning point in English politics. "The very reverse of Queen Elizabeth" (Morgan 350), he was a staunch monarch and convinced of his unfettered royal authority. Even so, he acknowledged the fact that he could only govern together with Parliament and that his legal decisions were subject to "judicial review" (Morgan 351). Moreover, he constantly tried to avoid direct confrontations. In this context, it is indicative that immediately after the beginning of his reign he signed a truce and ended the war with Spain. This search for harmony can also be found in his religious policy. Although his Protestantism was "unquestionable" (Lockyer, "James" 528), he showed a good deal of tolerance towards Catholics. Consequently, he also pursued a *via media* in his religious policy, albeit for different reasons than his precursor. With regard to Morton's doings in the New World, the reign of James I was im-

portant for two reasons: the continuation of the religious settlement and James's emphasis on law and its strict enforcement.

The last era which is of significance for an analysis of Morton is the reign of Charles I from 1625 to 1649. Whereas his peaceful forerunner had avoided confrontations, Charles engaged in wars against Spain and France (Morgan 354). In 1629, he broke with Parliament because the delegates were not willing to pay for the king's costly and aggressive foreign policy. Furthermore, Charles irritated Parliament with his religious agenda. Above all, it was his support of the Arminians and of Archbishop William Laud that scandalized the public. The Arminians did not believe in the Calvinist concept of predestination (which had been adopted by the Church of England) and adhered to numerous rituals that closely resembled Catholic ones. In general, this movement consisted of high churchmen like Charles, whereas the "members of Parliament were predominantly low church" (Lockyer, "Charles" 190). Both factors led to a complete break between king and Parliament. As a result, Charles governed the country without Parliament from 1629 to 1640. The situation was further aggravated by the 1633 appointment of William Laud as archbishop. This growing religious alienation between the king and his subjects was one of the major reasons for the outbreak of the civil war in 1642.

To summarize, the reigns of Elizabeth and James were important for Morton's formation. The notion of a *via media* was omnipresent, political pragmatism played a significant role, and England's trading rights, especially in the New World, were brought into public focus. All these aspects left their mark on Morton's character and world view as expressed in *NEC*. Charles's reign provided the immediate background for Morton's voyages to New England and the subsequent legal actions against the Puritans. Here, the turning to high church religious doctrine, embodied in the person of William Laud, had a momentous impact on the composition of *NEC* and explains the weight Morton attaches to Anglicanism in his argumentation.

2.2. Native American New England

Discussing Native American cultures in a short manner is a rather difficult and risky thing to do. First, due to the lack of authentic Indian documents, it is impossible to reliably reconstruct cultural and social Indian practices before and during the early colonial period. Second, one runs the risk of suggesting the existence of a generic Native American, an error committed by many colonial writers. In the following, only the tribes most likely to be in contact with Morton will be discussed. Given the location of Ma-re Mount, it seems very probable that those were the Massachusetts, the Narragansetts, and the Wampanoags.[3] A focus on

[3] Sometimes also referred to as Pokanoket (Manning, "Wampanoag" 661).

only these three neighboring tribes makes it easier to determine common features and avoid the risk of artificially yoking together highly diverse cultural communities.

Nevertheless, there were two characteristics which not only the Massachusetts, Narragansetts and Wampanoags, but, in fact, nearly all Native American cultures shared. First, Indian societies were structured around "multigenerational families" rather than around individuals (Boyer 2). Second, Native Americans believed in a complex system of reciprocity in order to regulate relations between different tribes (Boyer 2). As Salisbury has pointed out, this notion of reciprocity can be seen as the most defining Indian "ethos" and was not only confined to the social or political sphere, but played the predominant role in natural and religious practices as well (*Manitou* 10).

Focusing on the three Southern New England Indian cultures, one can safely state that all of them pursued a rather traditional way of life upon European arrival. Agriculture was only a recent development; hence, hunting and gathering still played a crucial role. This also explains the semisedentary life of all three tribes. Their villages were no "fixed geographical units" (Cronon 38), but highly mobile communities. Thus, New England Indians could flexibly react to seasonally changing food availability. Looking at this practice, one can see that these native tribes understood New England as an ecosystem of "periodicity" (Cronon 37) and adapted their way of life accordingly.[4]

This notion of life, however, was not only a mere continuation of traditional practices or a reaction to the ecological situation but also had "important social and cultural implications by providing the basis for a rudimentary but regular annual cycle" (Salisbury, *Manitou* 10). The Narragansetts' year, for instance, was marked by "a series of seasonal moves, and by festivals, games, and rituals" (Bragdon, "Narragansett" 417). In general, these Indian rituals fulfilled several religious and communal functions and thus were very similar to medieval traditions still practiced in England at that time (Slotkin 57-8).[5] In addition, the already mentioned adherence to oral traditions by much of the 16th/17th century English population can also be found in (pre-)colonial Native American cultures. There, the spoken word was designed "to preserve important cultural information" (Franklin, "Literature" 6) and rituals were used to pass on knowledge.

In this context, the Native American notion of trade becomes important as well. On the one hand, Indians traded in order to profit economically. Thus, besides hunting and gathering for subsistence, New England Indians engaged in "local and long-distance" trade to acquire goods that were not available in their

4 Morton himself compared this behavior to the customs "of the gentry of Civilized natives" (22). He probably refers to the English upper class and its extensive hunting traditions (Morton 22n81).

5 For the various types and functions of Native American ritual in Southern New England see Bragdon (*People* 217-30).

immediate environment (Bragdon, *People* 91-2). On the other hand, trade was seen as a means to extend the "social, cultural, and spiritual horizons" of each society (Salisbury, "Old World" 452). This implies that Native American tribes constantly exchanged information and thus had no entirely fixed social or cultural system. Instead, they showed a considerable degree of flexibility and could reconcile competing world views by integrating new ideas into existing notions. This compromising was something an Englishman of the time just knew too well from his *via media*-dominated home country. Taking this idea one step further, one can assume certain "compatibility" (Canup 109) between both cultures and their ways of thinking. The Indians and the English shared a scheme of moderation and adhered to traditional ritualistic practices in order to share knowledge. This partial compatibility explains the ease with which neighboring Indians tribes joined Morton's May Day revels.

A last important feature of New England Indian cultures was the notion of hierarchy. Especially due to the influential topos of the noble savage, there still exists the idea of a highly egalitarian Indian culture. At first glance, the ethos of reciprocity with its deliberate avoidance of extremes seems to support this argument. However, with reference to the three tribes in question, this is an entirely false assumption. In reality, the Massachusetts, Narragansetts, and Wampanoags were highly structured and hierarchical societies. First, all three tribes were organized into "local polit[ies]" known as sachemships (Bragdon, *People* 140). The Narragansetts, for example, had a very strict social hierarchy: on top was the sachem followed by his advisers; only then came the common people, followed by servants and slaves (Bragdon, "Narragansett" 417). Second, gender roles were clearly distributed. Men were responsible for hunting, warfare, diplomacy, and trade, whereas women had to prepare food, take care of the housing, cultivate the fields, and, most importantly, raise and educate the children (Salisbury, *Manitou* 39). Both observations allow for the following conclusions: first, the English as well as the New England Indian cultures were highly structured and, consequently, compatible to a certain extent. Second, a social division based on gender was known on both sides of the Atlantic.

To summarize, Native American life in New England was far more complex than most Englishmen of the time assumed. Yet, it showed certain characteristics that resembled English traditions and culture: the reliance on the ethos of reciprocity, an enormous interest in trade, the considerable importance of ritual, and strict social and political hierarchies. Morton consciously used these similarities, integrated them into his Elizabethan notions, and, by doing so, produced an Indian discourse which sought to conflate English and Indian culture.

2.3. Indian-English Contact Prior to Morton

The two preceding paragraphs have established the historical roots of Morton's perception of the Indians. But how did English colonizers prior to Morton or his contemporaries experience Native American life in the New World? And in how far did these observations and interpretations influence the formation of Morton's Indian discourse? These are the two central questions which will be dealt with in this section.

Morton's most influential English forerunners in visiting and attempting to colonize the New World were certainly Sir Walter Raleigh, Thomas Harriot, and John Smith. All three stemmed from the same culture as Morton, yet they provided very different discourses of the New World and Indian life.

Of these three, Raleigh was the one most similar to Morton in character. First, he was a typical Elizabethan gentleman, an adventurous type with a classical education and poetic aspirations.[6] Second, he undertook repeated voyages to the New World, one in 1584 and another one in 1595. Third, and certainly most significantly, he shared Morton's deep economic interest in America. This can be seen in his well-known work *The Discovery of Guiana*. There, Raleigh displays in detail the excellent natural resources available in the New World and the advanced state of Native American cultures. Especially the former aspect is very similarly treated by Morton (53-5). Still, even if both authors had a lot in common, their conclusions were very different. This becomes evident in their use of the image of America as a woman: Guiana is depicted as a land that "hath yet her maidenhead" (Raleigh) and thus only waits to be raped by English settlers. In *NEC*, one initially finds a similar image describing New England as a "fair virgin" (Morton 7). However, Morton further develops this metaphor and finally portrays America as a widow in need of a new husband (139).[7] Maybe due to Raleigh's outright failure in Roanoke, Morton departs from a system of violation and replaces it with a scheme of deliberate moderation.

Equally important for an understanding of Morton is Thomas Harriot's *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*. Harriot, who worked for Raleigh and wrote said work to promote the 1584 Roanoke expedition, has a very positive and optimistic perception of Native Americans. Just like Morton, he acknowledges the cultural diversity of Indian life, e.g. by noting linguistic differences between the tribes (Harriot 35). Far more consequential, however, is Harriot's notion of the Natives' intellect. In some moments, he manages to leave behind his English preconceptions and to judge the native population according to its own standards: "[I]n their proper manner […] they seeme very ingenious [and] shewe excellencie of wit" (Harriot 36). In other words, Harriot grants the Indians the

6 If one follows Dempsey's argumentation and accepts Devonshire as Morton's most likely place of origin (*Morton* 5-6), then Raleigh and Morton also had the same local background.

7 The implications of this strategy will be discussed in the fourth part of this work.

status of rational beings that will eventually recognize and accept the superiority of English knowledge and culture (36). This idea is clearly echoed in Morton's ideas for civilizing the Natives. Just like Harriot, he tries to convince Native Americans of the benefits of civility by appealing to their rationality (Morton 36-7). On the whole, Harriot envisions a colonization which is not based on coercion or suppression but on the Indians desire for the English's "friendships & loue" (Harriot 36). Again, Morton shares his ideas, for he also talks about the Natives' "[l]ove towards the English" (1) as an important prerequisite for non-violent intercultural contact. Thus, both authors were outspoken advocates of "gradualism" in the colonial encounter (Dempsey, "Riddle" 296).

Taking John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* from 1624, one also finds interesting parallels to Morton. Both authors share a similar understanding of Indian-English trade. Since Jamestown, as whose military adviser Smith acted, was explicitly founded as a trading colony, it is not surprising that Smith pursues a system of trade without many regulations. This is exemplified in his depiction of a trading agreement between himself and Powhatan: for "two great gunnes, and a gryndstone" the Indian chief would give him the Country of Capahowosick, and for ever esteeme him as his sonne Nantaquoud" (Smith, *Historie* 151). This little scene encapsulates many characteristics important for an understanding of Morton's eventual Indian policy. First, the significant relation between trade and the Native American concept of the extended family is stressed. A successful trade would make Smith part of Powhatan's family so as to strengthen economic and political ties between the Indians and the English. Second, Smith does not hesitate over trading guns with the Indians, a practice that would eventually cause Morton a lot of trouble with the Puritans. However, Smith and Morton both understood the political value New England Indians attached to guns and acted accordingly. In short, they accepted the Natives' notion of reciprocity in trade and thus maintained relatively good relations with them.

An earlier work by Smith, *A Description of New England*, first published in 1616 and later, with minor changes, included in the *Generall Historie*, is even more important for an understanding of Morton. What is especially remarkable about this book is the fact that Smith lists various Indian tribes for the different regions of New England. Thus, Smith manages to get away from the idea of a generic Indian and acknowledges Native American cultural diversity. Nevertheless, he is perceptive enough to note that the several New England tribes "differ little in language, fashion, or government" (Smith, *Description* 328). Keeping in mind the already discussed hierarchical structure of the Wampanoags, Narragansetts, and the Massachusetts, Smith's observation seems justified. Furthermore, his remark about the relative linguistic unity of the tribes is correct as well. In fact, it is assumed that all Eastern Algonquian are derived from a common "'Proto-Eastern Algonquian' language" (Salisbury, *Manitou* 20). Morton also talks about a single "language of

the Natives" (96), but at the same time acknowledges Indian cultural diversity and, although indirectly, makes regional distinctions (24). Furthermore, he is aware of intertribal trade (34-6) and conflict (37-40).

Yet, the most striking resemblance between Smith and Morton is their idea of civilizing New England. Smith uses comparisons to culturally developed nations like France, Italy, Persia, or China to state that their only advantage over New England is that "[t]hey are beautified by the long labour and diligence of industrious people and Art" (*Description* 333). Hence, only "art" and "industry" are needed in order to raise New England to the level of these nations. Morton uses "art" and "industry" twice in "The Author's Prologue" (7). He employs both words in exactly the same manner, namely as a strategy to improve, i.e. civilize, the land. However, whereas Smith seeks to "equalize" (*Description* 333) existing kingdoms, Morton tries to create a second Canaan, a biblical place (7).

In general, the three preceding authors were important since their writings reached a large readership; however, with the partial exception of Smith, they did not specifically write about New England. If one wants to get detailed accounts of New England Indian life prior to Morton, one has to turn to some less known authors. There were three expeditions to New England, undertaken by the English in the early seventeenth century, which are relevant for the present discussion: the ones of Bartholomew Gosnold (1602), Martin Pring (1603), and George Waymouth (1605) (Bragdon, *People* 5).

Gosnold's voyage is preserved in John Brereton's *A Briefe and True Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia*. It was published twice; first in 1602 and later in the fourth volume of Samuel Purchas's bestselling *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas his Pilgrimes* from 1625.[8] In Brereton's account, one finds many features crucial for an understanding of *NEC*. First, Brereton constantly compares his group's findings to English commodities, but never without mentioning the superiority of the New World products. So, strawberries are "bigger than […] in England" (Brereton 332), birds exist "in great plenty" (Brereton 332) and are also "bigger than […] in England" (Brereton 335), and finally the tobacco is "much better than any I have tasted in England" (Brereton 333). These comparisons culminate in a revealing summary statement: "[I]n comparison […], the most fertil part of al England is (of it selfe) but barren" (Brereton 335). This unparalleled fertility of the soil is a very prominent feature in *NEC* as well (Morton 3, 12, 54, 92). Second, Brereton provides an interesting account of a successful trade with the Natives (336-7). After sitting together for some time, the Indians give the English a beaver skin. The English accept and signal that they want to "enter league" with the Natives, whereupon the Natives make "signes of joy." However,

8 When describing "Lake Erocoise," Morton provides the following statement: "It is ten years since the first relation of these things came to the ears of the English" (96). Given the probable date of composition of *NEC* (1635-7), Dempsey considers this an allusion to Purchas's influential work (Morton 96n316).

before the actual trade starts, both groups eat together and are "merry." In this context, it is important that the English provide the food. It seems as if Morton remembered this scene several years later when he tried to promote his beaver trade through his revels. Just like the Gosnold group, Morton understood that the English had to provide a positive stimulus to achieve stable trade relations. In general, this casual and ritualistic style of doing business was very common in early English travel accounts and often referred to as "faire meanes" (Dempsey, "Glossary" 201).

Only one year after Gosnold, in 1603, Martin Pring undertook a voyage to the coast of New England. His account was also included in Purchas's *Pilgrims* and closely resembles the one by Brereton. Still, it offers several illuminating observations, especially with regard to the crucial moment of the fist Indian-English encounter. The initial response of the English is "to make a small baricado to keepe diligent watch and ward in" (Pring 347) and thus a reaction of isolation. However, when the English voyagers move freely on the land, the Natives actively try to make contact (Pring 347). After this is successfully done, Pring provides the following observations:

> We had a youth in our company that could play upon a Gitterne, in whose homely Music they tooke great delight, and would give him many things, as Tobacco, Tobacco-pipes, Snakes skinnes of sixe foot long, which they use for Girdles, Fawnes skinnes, and such like, and danced twentie in a Ring, and the Gitterne in the middest of them, using many Savage gestures, singing lo, la, lo, la, la, lo […] (347)

Thus, the initial isolation and cautious approaching is replaced by an unexpected cultural intermixture. "[H]omely music" played on a European instrument is easily integrated into an Indian ritual. This notion of integration is even strengthened by the syntax. The clause "and the Gitterne in the middest of them" is embedded in the lively depiction of a Native American dance. Overall, this is a clear example of the already mentioned Indian flexibility to adapt new ideas into their cultural practices. Yet, for a reader like Morton this scene was certainly not only significant for the mere idea of cultural compatibility between the two peoples, but also for its economic results. In this harmonious scene, the Natives freely give some of their goods to the English, including valuable tobacco. Although this giving away of goods was probably part of the ritual, it showed that shared cultural experiences could facilitate trade relations and further improve the "faire meanes" strategy. All in all, this incident reads like a miniature version of Morton's May Day revels, celebrated 24 years later.

Still, the relation between Pring and the Natives did not remain harmonious. When a group of armed Indians approaches the English "baricado," the voyagers suspect an attack and give warning shots, whereupon the Natives withdraw in a "friendly manner" (Pring 351). Shortly afterwards, the Natives "set fire on the

Woods" (Pring 351), which is interpreted as a threat to the English. In large part due to Morton's more accurate observations (45-6), it is known today that this was not a hostile act but actually a common procedure among New England Indian tribes in order to clear the land (Cronon 49-50).

Another important English voyage to New England was undertaken by George Waymouth in 1605. It was preserved by James Rosier in his *A True Relation of the Voyage of Captaine George Waymouth, 1605*, published by Purchas in 1625 as well. This account is vital for the present discussion not only because it is the most detailed and nuanced of the three, but also because Waymouth came from Devon and thus probably shared his origin with Morton.

The first thing that sets Rosier's account apart is the fact that it does not show an exclusively optimistic attitude towards New England from the start. Instead, Rosier describes one of the group's first sightings of land as follows: "Thursday, the 16 of May, we stood in directly with the land, and much marvelled we descried it not […]" (362). Nevertheless, Waymouth and his companions continue their investigations and the account becomes more and more positive. Rosier notes: "We stayed the longer in this place, not only because of our good Harbour, (which is an excellent comfort) but because every day we did more and more discover the pleasant fruitfulnesse" (366). Here, one has an obvious clash between an "*a priori* hypothesis" and "*a posteriori* evidence" (O'Gorman 79). The first glimpse of the New World is to a certain degree disappointing for the Waymouth group because they had erroneous expectations due to earlier travel accounts. Only through their own careful observations they manage to fully grasp the natural wonders of New England. This is an important change in the way of writing about America, for it shows that one has to make a conscious effort so as to understand the richness of the land. It is true that Rosier later also gives in to the demands of promotional literature and praises New England in superlative ways (381-4); yet, the development from a rather negative to an entirely positive perception of the New World renders his promotion more effective than the ones by Brereton and Pring. Furthermore, this strategy prefigures an important epistemological paradigm shift, the emergence of empiricism. Not classical knowledge helped Rosier to understand the land, but the conscious use of his senses. This proto-empiricist approach is also to be found in Morton. Already on the title page he states that his writing is based "upon ten years' knowledge and experiment of the Country" (Morton 1). Moreover, Morton also portrays his positive attitude towards New England as the product of deliberate observation. He goes out into the land, observes and "endeavor[s] to take a survey of the country" (Morton 53). All in all, Morton summarized his and Rosier's tactic to the point in the following, much quoted statement: "The more I looked, the more I liked it" (53). The "liking" is presented as the direct result of the "looking," or, in other words, the use of the senses. The syntactic parallelism further strengthens this effect.

Sensual experience also provides the basis for Rosier's way of depicting the Indians. He leaves no doubt that his group's only interest in the New World is an economic one (369) and that their chief strategy for achieving this end is to treat the Natives "with as much kindnes as [they] could" (368). After several successful trade experiences with the Indians, Rosier notes that they found "civility […] in a people where [they] little expected any sparke of humanity" and even talks about "our Salvages" (369-70). However, this positive appraisal does not keep the Waymouth group from kidnapping five Native Americans to bring them back to England. Rosier talks about the necessity of Natives learning the English language so that the English can find out more about Native American culture and society and thus obtain all the information he and his group cannot "by any observation of [themselves] learne in a long time" (388). Hence, by combining sensual experience with linguistic exchange, the Waymouth group tried to maximize its "profits" (393). These "profits" are systematically collected in a catalog at the end of Rosier's *Relation* and it is worthy of note that besides plants and animals the names of the five abducted Indians are also included in this list (394). Thus, in the end there is a certain reification of Native Americans that qualifies the complaisant depiction before. Still, this implicit strategy of reifying is somewhat necessary because it would be impossible for the English to exploit the Indians if they were characterized as an entirely civilized and humane people. Again, one notes the influence of the *via media:* Rosier tries to reconcile his sensual experience, which has shown him the New England Indians as a witty and civilized culture, with his prefabricated English ideas and interests. The result is a highly ambivalent depiction of Indian life in New England.

Not surprisingly, Rosier's rendering of the Native American attitude towards the English lacks such complexity. Above all, this becomes evident in his description of the kidnapped Indians' behavior. As Rosier writes, they resist at first, but gradually, due to the "kinde usage" of the English, they become "tractable, loving, and willing by their best meanes to satisfie [the English] in any [they] demand of them" (391). Moreover, Rosier states that he never saw "them angry, but merry" (391). Taking this into consideration, one has the impression that Rosier tried to construct a cultural compatibility between the two peoples that was based upon natural submission and domination. It seems as if he feared that "kinde usage" and peaceful trade relations were not enough to promote the land effectively. So, in the end, he loses some of his respect for the Indians and presents them as a naïve, but good-hearted people.

Morton seems to have learned two important lessons from Rosier's depiction of Native American life. First, as it has already been discussed with regard to Harriot, he adapted the idea of Native American "love" for the English. In fact, Morton uses the same words as Rosier, i.e. "tractable" and "[l]ove" (Morton 1, 8). Second, Morton seems to have internalized the idea of "kinde usage" in order to

establish harmonious trade relations. Yet, in direct contrast to Rosier, Morton does without reifying and artificially simplifying Native Americans.

To summarize, all texts discussed are vital for a genealogical analysis of Morton's Indian discourse. Due to the lack of information about Morton and his life, it is not sure if he has actually read all of them. Yet, the clear parallels with many of the works suggest that Morton was aware of some of them. In addition, even a superficial reading of *NEC* shows Morton's affection for books and their profound influence upon his perception of the world. Hence, an extensive examination of possible literary precursors in order to reconstruct the foundations of Morton's Indian discourse seems justified.

3. Critical Analysis

Having established the formative features of Morton's Indian discourse, it will now be tried to illustrate how Morton combined and altered them. A close reading of *NEC* with a special emphasis on language and form will clarify the book's difficult communicative framework as well as Morton's strategies of portraying Native Americans. In a second step, the most consequential part of Morton's Indian discourse will be analyzed, namely his strategy of paralleling Indian and English traditions.

3.1. Language, Form, and Function

In order to reliably reconstruct and interpret Morton's Indian discourse, it is essential to have a closer look at the literary features of *NEC*. As in nearly all literary works, form is content in *NEC* as well. However, such an analysis seems all the more important in this case, for Morton's book is a kaleidoscope of literary genres, registers, and intertextual allusions. In fact, this highly complex form did not only trouble Morton's contemporary Puritan readers, but even led a distinguished historian like Charles Francis Adams to characterize Morton's writing as "very bad and very dull" and marked by a general "incomprehensibility" (19). In order to be able to fully appreciate Morton's multifaceted treatment of Indian discourse, it will be tried to give a clear outline of the structure and style of *NEC* and its functions.

3.1.1. Paratext

NEC starts with a title page, followed by two dedications.[9] The first one is addressed to "the Lords and others of His Majesty's most honorable Privy Council, Commissioners for the Government of all His Majesty's Foreign Provinces" (Morton 2); the second one is directed to the reader (Morton 3). Here, one finds a first clue to the stylistic heterogeneity of *NEC*. On the one hand, Morton seeks to render his book a legal attack on the Puritan way of doing politics in New England.[10] On the other hand, he attempts to satisfy the demands of the public. He tries to attract future settlers (those that "are desirous to be made partakers of the blessings of God in that fertile soile") and entertain those that are just "inquisitive after novelties" (Morton 3). Such a complex communicative framework, however, makes successful communication difficult. So, David Read is in many ways right when he calls *NEC* "a case study of poor communication" (72). Interestingly enough, Morton himself seems to have been aware of the unfeasibility of his project. In the poem "In laudem Authoris," following immediately after the dedication to the reader and written by an anonymous "R.O. Gen.," the difficulties are expressed thus: "So diverse are the opinions of this age, / […] / That hard his task is, that must please in all: / Example have we from great Caesar's fall" (Morton 4). Albeit the argument is to some extent qualified in the following lines, it is remarkable that Morton included this poem in his book, for it shows that he was conscious of his difficult role as an author.

"In laudem Authoris" is followed by the poems of Sir Christoffer Gardiner and an anonymous "F.C. Armiger," both of which display a pronounced skepticism towards Puritanism. Whereas Gardiner, who had been arrested by the Massachusetts Bay Puritans just like Morton (Dempsey, *Morton* 263), blatantly criticizes Puritan New England, "F.C." provides a more intricate argument. In his poem, there is a noteworthy play with colonial concepts: "Why, in an air so mild, / Are they [the Puritans] so monstrous grown up, and so wild / That salvages can of themselves espy / Their errors, brand their names with infamy" (Morton 6). The word "wild," understood as an antonym to civilized and implying "savage," "ferocious," and "violent" behavior ("Wild"), suggests that the Puritans lack civility, while the New England Indians show signs of it. With this "paradoxical inversion of orthodox rhetoric" (Franklin, *Discoverers* 186), the Natives are put into a closer relationship with the implied reader, who would certainly consider himself a

[9] The paratextual conception of *NEC* shows clear references to Smith's *Description*. Smith attached three dedications and seven introductory poems to his book. Although Barbour states that such "commendatory verses […] were often prefixed to published works in Smith's days" (1: 295), there are many clear parallels between both books. Like Morton, Smith first addresses the king, then the lords and knights and finally the reader. In his dedication, he uses "ants" and "bees" and compares them to future settlers of New England. Morton employs the same metaphors for describing prospective settlers of the "Zona Temperata" (10), i.e. New England.

[10] At the time of publication, Morton was engaged in a *quo warranto* suit and tried to "get the royal Privy Council to revoke the patent for the Massachusetts Bay Colony" (Cohen 3).

civilized, or non-"wild" person. To strengthen this effect, Morton repeatedly calls the Puritans a "tribe" (18, 129, 160, 169). Conversely, he never uses "tribe" to refer to Native American societies. By further stating that the Natives are able to detect "infamy" in the Puritans, this argument is even taken a step further. Infamy, defined as an "evil fame or reputation" and a "quality of character of being infamous or of shameful vileness" ("Infamy") is assigned to the Puritans. Consequently, if the Natives are able to spot evilness in other people, they have to have high moral standards.

The following and last introductory poem, "The Author's Prologue," written by Morton himself, gives the reader a lot of information about Morton's ideological background. Clearly, it contains "several of the dominant (indeed, rampant) motifs of early propaganda concerning the New World" (Seelye 172). Yet, Morton does not simply list these stereotypes, but modifies them significantly. The following statement illustrates this idea: "So would our Canaan be, / If well-employed by art and industry, / Whose offspring now shows that her fruitful womb, / Not being enjoyed, is like a glorious tomb" (Morton 7). First, one notes the mentioning of "art" and "industry," both of which were already called for in John Smith, as a prerequisite for the creation of a second Canaan. Second, with regard to the Natives, the argument is somewhat more complex. At first glance, this observation almost reads like a *vacuum domicilium* argument. The Natives ("offspring") are not able to properly use the land; consequently, the land is nothing more than a "tomb," although a glorious one. At closer inspection, however, the argument turns out to be far more intricate. The key to fully grasp Morton's idea is the word "enjoy." The Natives cannot "enjoy" their land because they lack "art" and "industry," both of which, according to Morton, are concepts of civilized cultures. Morton repeatedly mentions that the Indians are uncivilized but that they might be brought to civility in the near future (Morton 28, 36). Conversely, Morton paints a much darker picture of the Puritans by maintaining that they not only lack civility, but also humanity (Morton 113, 128, 147, 148). In this regard, the concept of "art" becomes especially meaningful. Morton's "[e]nigmattically composed" poems (135-6) should not only mock the Puritans, but also show their lack of art.[11] To make this lack even more visible to the reader, Morton provides him with an explanation of the poem (139-40). Simultaneously, the Indians do not completely lack "art," for they join the revels at Ma-re Mount, which in itself might be seen as a performative art event. Moreover, Morton speculates that the Indians might "have had some literature amongst them" at some earlier point in time (16).

[11] As Greenblatt has pointed out, most European colonizers "saw writing as a decisive mark of superiority" (10). Usually, this argument was employed with regard to native populations. Morton, however, by denying the Puritans literary knowledge and depicting the Indians as "proto-literate" (Cohen 6), turns around this argument. He uses the symbolic power of writing not to subjugate the Natives but to overpower a fellow European contestant.

All in all, a presumably anti-Indian argument is turned around and transformed into a display of Indian rationality.

The last important aspect of "The Author's Prologue" is its deliberate *via media* rhetoric. The speaker of the poem describes the land "as if the elements had here / Been reconciled" (Morton 7). The emphasis on reconciliation is a clear product of Morton's Elizabethan background and a prominent feature in *NEC*. As Dempsey has noted, even the symbol on the front page with its merging male and female figures represents this ubiquitous attempt of reconciliation (Morton 7n2). Morton grants this specifically English quality to the Native Americans as well by maintaining that they are "not apt to quarrel one with another" (31). However, if a disagreement arises between two individuals it is tried to be "reconciled" (31) by all means possible, the last one being a duel between the two opponents.[12] This wish for reconciliation is, according to Morton, not only to be found on the individual, but also on the political level. When there are disagreements between two "princes," one sends the other a "black wolf's skin […] and the acceptance of such a present is an assurance of reconciliation between them" (75).

To summarize, the paratext of *NEC* lays the groundwork for the following three books. It establishes the communicative framework, shows first attempts to reverse colonial stereotypes, and introduces Morton's idea of reconciliation.

3.1.2. Book I

After these rich and complex introductory pieces, *NEC*'s main part finally starts. Since the communicative framework of the work has already been clarified, one now has to ask oneself the question of genre. What sort of text is *NEC*? Unfortunately, there is no straight answer to that question. Instead, one must define each of the three books individually.

NEC's first book is best described as a "proto-ethnographic" (Burnham 407) account. The first chapter is primarily designed to present New England as the place most suitable for English colonization. Still, it also provides the basic principle for Morton's following observations on Indian life and New England's nature, a "principle of balance" (Connors, *Morton* 75) based once again on the *via media*. Numerous expressions such as "golden mean" (Morton 8, 9, 11, 12), "middle zone" (Morton 9), and the avoidance of "extremes" (Morton 8, 9, 11) sustain this argument. Today's readers might even feel tempted to attest Morton a modern concept of intercultural encounters; especially the term "middle zone" recalls contemporary notions of interculturality like "contact zone" (Pratt 1-11) or "middle ground" (White 50-93). Yet, such a perception of Morton would be as anachronistic as erroneous. Instead, as it has been shown in the genealogical analysis of this work, Morton's colonial gaze was heavily influenced by his upbringing and his

[12] Dueling as a way to settle personal disputes and defending one's honor was also known in Britain. There, it was practiced up until 1843 (Cannon, "Duelling" 308).

cultural roots. Consequently, his concept of interculturality might be best described as a humanist and proto-Enlightened one. Basically, Enlightened interculturality aims at overcoming cultural differences by emphasizing universal human traits (Sommer 295). By showing parallels between Old and New England, enlarging on them, and by repeatedly mentioning the Natives' humanity, Morton tries to achieve exactly this in Book I.

3.1.3. Book II

The second book of *NEC* is a detailed catalogue of New England's flora and fauna. The "Beauty of the Country," mentioned in the book's subtitle, is described in great detail and with very scenic vocabulary. Morton talks about "dainty fine rising hillocks, delicate fair plains […] sweet crystal fountains and clear-running streams […] making so sweet a murmuring noise to hear as would even lull the senses with delight asleep" (54). Notwithstanding this almost Romantic-sounding wallowing in nature's wonders, Morton's senses are wide awake. In the last sentence of the first chapter of Book II, he finally reveals his motives for showing his readers the country's "natural endowments" in such an exceedingly positive manner: he seeks to illustrate "what profitable use may be made of them by industry" (55). With this focus on profit it comes as no surprise that one finds a constant reiteration of the land's richness throughout Book II. This aspect becomes visible in Morton's almost inflationary use of the word "abundance" (Morton 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 70, 71, 79, 81, 85, 86, 94). To dismiss allegations of lacking credibility, Morton constantly emphasizes that he has actually "seen" everything he talks about (63, 65, 68, 84, 85, 87, 88). This stress on personal sensual experience clearly echoes the writings of Smith, Harriot, Brereton, and Rosier.

After observing the land's natural resources, Morton always tries to evaluate them using two main strategies. First, he often compares things in the New World to things in the Old World and, simultaneously, states the superiority of the New World commodities. Morton expresses this superiority by a constant use of the comparative degree: things in the New World are "better" (70), "sweeter" (64, 71), "finer" (60), or "bigger" (62, 63, 70) than in England. This strategy, which was quite conventional in early colonial writing and was also used by Brereton, mainly aims at familiarizing the unfamiliar (via the constant comparisons to Old England) and at arousing further colonial interest in New England (by maintaining its economic benefits). The latter aspect also plays a major role in Morton's second evaluation strategy. Frequently, he illustrates how Native Americans use certain commodities (58-9, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 81, 86, 87). The reader learns what value they attach to specific goods, a knowledge that might help him with future trading. Still, this strategy does not only have an economic dimension, for it also portrays the Natives as highly experienced users of the land and its resources. Thus, they are put in the position of potential role models for future English colonizers.

An analysis of the last chapter of Book II (94-8) shows that an intensified colonization was Morton's major reason for composing it. Here, he develops the idea of a "Metropolis of New Canaan" (95), situated at "Lake Erocoise" (94).[13] Morton elaborates on the strategic advantages of the lake, dreams of "very many brave Towns and Cities […] which may have intercourse one with another by water" (95) and even hints at "the ever-elusive Northwest Passage" (Heath 164). "New Canaan's Genius," the poem that serves as epilog to Book II, then summarizes Morton's central aims of colonization. The text's genre is already a lucid hint at its importance. Morton places it immediately after the last prose paragraph of Book II, in which he calls for immediate colonization of the Erocoise region, for otherwise the Dutch would anticipate the English (98). Since Morton uses a poem to present his summary argument, it becomes clear that he attributed "considerable heuristic power" (Read 88) to poetry. The second stanza sums up the central aspects of Morton's colonial vision:

> See what multitudes of fish
> She presents to fit thy dish:
> If rich furs thou dost adore,
> And of Beaver Fleeces, store,
> See the Lake where they abound,
> And what pleasures else are found. (Morton 99)

One instantly notes the use of the female pronoun "[s]he" to refer to the lake, which constitutes a direct appeal to the masculinity of potential colonizers. Moreover, Morton's major colonial aims "pleasure and profit" (94) become visible. "[M]ultitudes of fish," "rich furs" and "Beaver Fleeces," according to Morton "the best merchantable commodity that can be found" (73), all promise a lot of "profit." Besides, Morton does not forget to mention the "pleasures." By doing so, he specifies his prior concept of "art" and "industry." Whereas in Smith constant hard work is needed to enjoy the land, Morton offers a somewhat less work-intensive perspective. Since the land "abound[s]" with profitable commodities, only a little work is needed in order to make profit. Michelle Burnham even goes a step further and calls Morton's program an "economics of laborless abundance" (414). Yet, this notion is not entirely tenable. In fact, Morton does something rather remarkable: he questions his own cultural conceptions of wealth. He ponders: "[S]ince it is but food and raiment that men that live needeth (though not all alike), why should not the Natives of New England be said to live richly, having no want of either?" (49). He describes Native American economy as marked by subsistence. Things that are needed "by necessity" are then obtained "with industry" (50). Again, the Indians and in particular their economic ideas serve as guidelines for future English settlers. Morton summarizes that food and clothing, for

[13] As Heath has pointed out, Morton is possibly referring to Lake Champlain, Lake Ontario, or the Saint Lawrence River (164).

him the two central human needs, will be provided "with a little industry […] in a very comfortable measure, without overmuch carking" (48). Hence, Morton was one of the very few authors of his time to notice that Native American economy was not based on the "accumulation of capital," a misconception even held by Locke (Cronon 79-80).

To summarize, Book II of *NEC* presents the core ideas of Morton's economic program for New England. The reader is provided with useful information about diverse trading goods, the Indians are portrayed as economic role models, and Morton makes an urgent call for an intensified English colonization of New England. If one tries to combine the ideas of the first and the second book regarding the Indians, one can support Murphy's characterization of Morton as "a sincere advocate of the importance of Indians to England's success in the New World" (768).

3.1.4. Book III

In direct opposition to the predominantly factual tone of Book II, *NEC*'s third book is a firework display of narrative perspectives, intertextual allusions, irony and humor. It is the best known of the three books, for it offers a historical view different from the Puritan one.[14] Still, it will be tried to show that it is much more than just a historical countertext.

The third book is the longest of *NEC* and has the size of books one and two combined. The text is interrupted by six poems and one song. The size of the book, Morton's reliance on poetic insertions, and the prominent placement at the end of *NEC* show that it was the most important one for Morton.

With regard to the narrative conception of Book III, two things are remarkable. First, there is a shift from a homodiegetic to a heterodiegetic narrative situation. Throughout the entire third book, the narrator Morton refers to the character Morton by using the third person singular. Such a striking change immediately signals an elevated literary character of the passage in question. Consequently, the reader, or at least Morton's implied reader, knows he has to change his reading strategy for Book III. Second, Morton introduces an Indian speaker, which constitutes "one of the very earliest attempts by Europeans to catch the metaphors and rhythms of Indian oratory" (Drinnon 397). After some of the Plymouth Puritans have "defaced the monument of the dead at Passonagessit" (Morton 106), the Neponset sachem Chikatawbak delivers a speech to his followers. As Major has observed, this speech is "certainly distinct from Morton's normal style and indicates some feeling for Indian mannerisms" (qtd. in Morton 106n335). On the level of content, it describes a nightly vision of the Neponset chief in which a spirit calls him to take action against the Puritans. Morton's "feeling" for the Native American mind shows itself in the insightful treatment of nature and spirituality.

14 On Morton's value as a historiographical source see Ordahl Kuppermann.

The beginning of the speech exemplifies this: "When last the glorious light of all the sky was underneath this globe, and birds grew silent, I began to settle (as my custom is) to take repose" (Morton 106). Morton seems to have understood the intimate relations of the Natives' collective and individual lifestyles with nature. The choice of the adjective "glorious" suggests a profound reverence for light on the Indian side. In addition, light is the decisive factor in the sachem's daily life, for it directly influences his "custom[s]". Interestingly enough, Morton himself uses light as a guiding principle in another place of *NEC*. When he maintains that the Native Americans lead a "contented life," he bases his notion upon "human reason, guided only by the light of nature" (50). Once again, although in an indirect fashion, the Indians are portrayed as reasonable beings. Following the initial depiction of nature, the sachem closes his eyes and glides from the natural into the spiritual world. This transition is emphasized by yet another change of speakers, for now the spirit itself starts talking. This enormous narrative distance allows for a direct attack on the Puritans: the spirit calls them "wild people," an "ignoble race," and a "theevish people" (107). The mentioning of "wild people" echoes F.C.'s dedicatory poem, in particular the reversal of the wild-civilized dichotomy. This time, however, the reader is not confronted with a second-hand account of an English armiger, but with a first-hand relation of the Puritans' incivility by an Indian speaker. Moreover, the careful structuring and high register of the passage clearly underlines Morton's idea of Native American civility or, at least, potential for civility.

Besides these narratological questions, a reflection on the genre of Book III is equally important for an understanding of the same. It has been noted by different critics that Morton was almost the only colonial author to employ humor and irony in his writings (Jehlen 93; Galinsky 26-34). But does that make the third book of *NEC* really a "satire" (Franklin, *Discoverers* 186) or a "mock epic" (Seelye 176)? Both classifications are highly unlikely and do not meet the book's literary and communicative complexity. Rather, *NEC*'s third book might be considered the literary version of an English court masque.[15] The masque genre was at its height during the reigns of James I and Charles I, with an "allegorical or mythological plot symbolizing the monarch's political power and wealth" (Cross 627). During this period, a typical masque contained the following elements: "a poetic induction or prologue," "antimasque(s)," "main masque," "revels," "epilogue," and "costuming" (Hull/Pearson/Sadlack). A scrutiny of *NEC*'s third book reveals that it includes all important parts. Besides their individual characters and functions, Books I and II might be read as an extended prologue to Book III. They prepare the stage by introducing Morton's most important topics: Native Americans, the beauty and richness of New England, how the land is used by the Indi-

[15] Shea (58) and Burnham (409) have discussed *NEC* in its entirety as a masque. Yet, keeping in mind the styles and individual functions of the first two books, this argument seems too generalized. Hence, the term masque will only be used with regard to Book III in this work.

ans, and how future English settlers might utilize the land. The ironic portrayals of the Puritans can be seen as antimasques, for they constitute highly "grotesque and comic scenes" (Cross 627). Moreover, the Puritans' misuse of the land and their moral misbehavior "act as foils to the main masque" (Hull/Pearson/Sadlack). This allows Morton to portray himself, other Englishmen, and Native Americans as positive characters. The main masque, then, is the depiction of New England's riches. As Shea has observed, Morton tried to write "New England *as* masque" (58; Shea's italics). Thus, Morton's masque does something rather extraordinary: on the one hand, it celebrates the present richness of the land; on the other hand, by giving examples on how to properly use and colonize the land, it celebrates potential future "power and wealth" for the monarch. The revels are explicitly described by Morton and even referred to as "Revels" (134-41). Although there is no designated epilogue to *NEC*, the entire last chapter (196-99) might be read as a summary statement. Here, Morton repeatedly asks the Puritans to "repent" (198, 199) their inhumane behavior and misuse of the land. The last important feature, costuming, is represented by Morton's naming strategies. He deliberately disguises himself as "Mine Host" throughout the entire third book (124, 135, 141-8, 155-7). The same strategy is employed with regard to the Puritans: William Bradford is presented as "Minos," William Brewster as "Radamant," Samuel Fuller as "Eacus" (Morton 152), Miles Standish as "Captain Shrimp" (Morton 143), and John Winthrop as "Joshua Temperwell" (Morton 169).

Still, not only these internal clues suggest a reading of book three as a masque. Especially Morton's Inns of Court education makes an influence of the masque genre highly likely. Dempsey has noted that *NEC* "is very much constructed out of all the Inns could teach" (*Morton* 49). Hence, Morton's cultural formation at the Inns of Court was at least as important for his writing as the legal training he received there. Furthermore, Morton probably took part in one of the most important cultural events ever to take place at the Inns, the *Gesta Grayorum* of 1594. This Christmas celebration in honor of Elizabeth I included speeches, lyrical recitations, plays, and a masque (Dempsey, *Morton* 52). It looks as if Morton has learned two valuable lessons from this event: the appreciation of a certain "pastoral idealism" (Dempsey, *Morton* 53) and the importance of ritual for the consolidation of a community. The pastoral idealism is most visible in Morton's descriptions of New England as "Nature's Masterpiece" (54) and his perception of the Natives, who, according to Morton, "live a contented life" (48). The ritualistic ending performances of the *Gesta Grayorum* also had a lasting influence on Morton. First, some songs were sung, then a maypole was raised, and finally all participants performed "fertility-related" dances around the maypole (Dempsey, *Morton* 55). The parallels to Morton's own New England revels, celebrated 33 years later, are more than obvious. Morton noticed the applicability of ritualistic modes like dance or song

so as to produce communal cohesion and to facilitate political relations.[16] These ideas were certainly still with him when he read the first published English travel accounts about the New World. As it has already been illustrated, these accounts showed the attentive reader the importance of ritual for successful Indian-English relations. Thus, in order to meet the demands of the New World, Morton simply combined the notions of his Elizabethan education with the Indians' wish for "entertainment to accompany any business transaction" (Heath 150).

To summarize, Book III is not only Morton's charge against the Puritans, but also a witty summary of English colonial presence in New England. To read it only as an anti-Puritan attack would ignore a lot of its complex literary character. Moreover, it seems unlikely that a well-trained lawyer like Morton would run the risk of rendering his indictment less effective by the constant use of figurative language and intertextual allusions. Consequently, Book III can be seen as Morton's definitive statement about New England, its history, its present condition, and its future possibilities.

3.2. Paralleling Indian and English Traditions

Up until now, the basic features of Morton's Indian discourse have been established. In this part, the most striking aspect of these will be analyzed, the parallels Morton draws between Indian and English culture. It has already been illustrated that there were some undeniable similarities between both cultural spheres. A careful reading of *NEC* shows that Morton was aware of them and consciously integrated them into his discourses. In fact, the elaboration on these parallels constitutes the most important part of Morton's Indian discourse, for it formed the basis for a unique strategy of appropriation.

3.2.1. Law and Justice

Being a trained lawyer, Morton put high emphasis on English law and its careful observance, even in the colonies. Thus, when Morton is asked by the Puritans to sign several articles which should establish the Bible as the only guiding principle for religious and political questions, he refuses (Morton 165). He insists on the following amendment: "*So as nothing be done contrary or repugnant to the Laws of the Kingdom of England*" (Morton 165; Morton's italics). For Morton, the existence of a fixed set of laws is a prerequisite for a humane and civilized society. As a result, he criticizes the Puritans in a twofold manner. First, because they "take the Law in their own hands," even though they are "natural-born [English] Subjects" (Morton 147). Second, Morton perceives Puritan jurisdiction as unfair and arbitrary.

[16] The use for "political purposes and 'diplomatic occasions'" was a genuine feature of Ben Jonson's masques (Hull/Pearson/Sadlack). Since several critics have observed that Jonson was a formative influence on Morton (Read 83, Shea 57), Morton certainly attributed substantial political power to the masque.

When a certain "Mr. Innocence Fairecloath" (Morton 177) arrives at the colonies and lends money to some of the Massachusetts Bay Puritans, they take legal action against him in order not to repay their debts. Morton criticizes the subsequent trial because "no defense would serve his [Fairecloath's] turn, yet was there none to be seen to accuse him save the Court alone" (Morton 178). Next, Morton describes the severe and disproportionate punishment Fairecloath receives. The reason for this unusually cruel judgment is, according to Morton, that Fairecloath is "a member of the Church of England, and therefore (in their account) an enemy to their Church and state" (177). In brief, Morton criticizes the abuse of jurisdiction for political ends.

The way Morton depicts the Indian legal system stands in stark contrast to the Puritan one and thus is much closer to his own notions of a fair jurisdiction. Morton maintains that there are only two capital crimes in Native American societies, lying and stealing (43). In the eleventh chapter of Book III–a chapter remarkable in many ways–he depicts how a neighboring Wampanoag tribe deals with theft. Morton, who refers to himself in this chapter as the "owner of Passonagessit" (125), leaves his plantation in winter. During his absence, some Indians, "accustomed to buy food" (125) from him, come to Ma-re Mount in order to trade. Since Morton is absent, they simply take some of his corn, but leave "enough behind" (125). When the Wampanoag sachem is informed about this incident, he immediately sends ten beaver skins as compensation and Morton accepts. Later, Morton depicts a similar scene, in which the Puritans sequestrate "all his corn, with some other of his goods" (168). Morton does not receive any recompense and criticizes that this behavior is "contrary to the laws of hospitality" (168), laws Morton certainly has learned in England and which were essential for his world view and notions of communalism (Dempsey, *Morton* 20). The Native Americans, conversely, seem to share Morton's love for hospitality and fairness. The sachem takes responsibility for the deeds of his followers and tries to maintain harmonious relations with Morton. Again, this proceeding is clearly based on reciprocity: a negative action like theft is immediately balanced with a positive reaction.

All in all, the Indians in *NEC* deal with legal questions in a way similar to Morton, for all their decisions are based on fairness and respect. This leads Morton to summarize the Indians' treatment of law and justice thus: "[T]he uncivilized people are more just than the civilized" (126).

3.2.2. Politics and Economy

Just like most other English voyagers, Morton had a primarily economic interest in the New World. His dream of a trading metropolis near "Lake Erocoise" has already been illustrated. However, Morton was one of the first colonial authors to note that the Indians also had a heightened political and economic interest in the settlers.

Already in the second chapter of Book I, Morton talks about the Natives' "coveteous desire […] to commerce" with the English (17). Simultaneously, Morton states that the English share this desire (17). Thus, a reciprocal wish for colonial and transatlantic commerce is established very early in *NEC*. Yet, before Morton can elaborate on this notion, he has to persuade his readership that the Indians are actually capable of trading in a way acceptable to the English. Consequently, Morton acknowledges that there is "Commerce and Trade" (24) between the different Indian tribes and later even dedicates an entire chapter to further display how exactly this trade works (34-6). He introduces the Native Americans' monetary system based upon "*Wampampeak*" (34) and alludes to their wish for "novelt[ies]" (35). This depiction implicitly seeks to render Native American economy compatible with English economy by stating that it is also based on money and a system of supply and demand. In one aspect, Indian economy is even superior to the English, for it has not been corrupted by a desire for "pomp" (Morton 50). This leads Morton to argue that the Indians live in a manner closely resembling "Plato's Commonwealth" (49).

Here, Morton's discourse seems contradictory: If the Indians live in an almost ideal society and are not interested in superfluous commodities, why should they be interested in trading with the English? Morton provides a twofold answer to this dilemma. On the one hand, the Indians are "very ingenious […] and very subtle" (Morton 37). This intelligence, as indicated by Morton, will lead them to accept the superiority of an already civilized nation like the English. In this context, Morton mentions the introduction of salt as a means to "bring them to civility" (36) and make them permanent trading partners. On the other hand, Morton's idea that the Indians "love" (8) the English helps to overcome this contradiction. Thus, the rational argument about the Indians' intelligence is complemented by a highly emotional line of reasoning.

Closely related to the economic program is the political one. On the English side, it is clear that colonizing the New World was an important economic undertaking which should open up new markets and provide urgently required resources. However, it also meant a huge expansion of political influence and power. Again, Morton was one of the first to note that Native Americans shared the wish to extend their political power and that they consciously used the colonial situation to achieve this aim. In the very tellingly entitled chapter "Of Their Subtlety" (37-40), Morton describes how Neponset sachem Chickatawbak makes use of his loose connection with the English to trick the militarily superior Narragansetts into retreat. The depiction of Native Americans as political power players is also exemplified in the beginning of Book III (Morton 103-5). Here, an anonymous sachem establishes diplomatic ties with the English. Shortly afterwards, he asks the English to "let out the plague and destroy" (Morton 104) a rivaling sachem and his tribe.

To summarize, Morton tries to portray New England Indians as economically and politically comparable to the English. In his view, both peoples desire to enlarge their spheres of influence in the two areas; thus, an important prerequisite for successful trade and political relations between both cultures is established.

3.2.3. Religion

The question of Indian religion has already been partly discussed in one of the preceding paragraphs. However, Morton elaborates much more on the ostensible parallels between English and Indian religion.

Morton's early and unusually undifferentiated remark that "the Natives of New England have no worship nor [sic] religion at all" (Morton 24) overshadows the entire rest of *NEC*. Yet, later in his work, Morton concedes several important religious characteristics to the Natives. He acknowledges that they have a history of creation, that they accept the immortality of the soul, and that they bury their dead (Morton 42-3). Especially Morton's portrayal of the two former aspects shows clear parallels to (English) Christianity. The Indian history of creation reported by Morton talks about a god making "one man and one woman" (42). These first two human beings procreated and lived in a carefree manner. This angered the Indian god and he decided to drown the "greatest part of them that were naughty men" (Morton 42). The parallels to the Christian history of creation are obvious: a man and a woman in the beginning, a paradisiacal life, the Fall, and God's subsequent punishment. In fact, the Indian narrative parallels the Christian one in such a manner that Morton at one point even calls the Indian god "Lord" (Morton 42).

Besides establishing such general similarities to Christianity, Morton specifically tries to parallel Anglican and Native American religion. When he talks about Indian afterlife, he states: "The other […] increased the world; and when they died (because they were good) went to the house of Kytan" (42). Here, Morton insinuates that New England Indians, just like the Anglicans, believe in a system of good works. Only those that are "good" go to Kytan; those that are "naughty" go to "Sanaconquam," who lives in the earth and "feeds upon" the dead (Morton 42). Hence, Indians and Anglicans have a shared path to redemption. Needless to say, the Puritans, who did not believe in good works, are excluded from this union.

All these formal religious similarities are designed to support one of Morton's major aims, namely Christianizing the Natives. According to Morton, this would help the Indians to not only lead a "contented," but a truly "happy" life (48). Still, Morton is not primarily interested in the Natives' personal happiness; rather, a comprehensive Christianization of New England would strengthen the social and economic ties between Native Americans and the English.

After having established the formal resemblances of both religions, Morton tries to depict the Natives as actually being capable of becoming good Christians, primarily by highlighting their humanity (14, 22, 113, 129, 148). If one looks at

Morton's critique of Puritan religion, one notes that his most salient objection is its lack of humanity: "[T]hey [the Puritans] had learned to work all to their own ends, and make a great show of religion, but no humanity" (Morton 147). Conversely, this means that the Indians may not possess an acceptable form of religion yet, but at least they provide the necessary requirements. In a second step, Morton shows that the Indians are already instruments of the Christian God. When the Plymouth group banishes Morton and burns his house, a group of Indians approaches the scene. Morton describes their reaction thus:

> [A]nd [the Indians] did reprove these Eliphants of Witt for their inhumane deed. The Lord above did open their mouths like Balaam's Ass, and made them speak in his behalf sentences of unexpected divinity, besides morality; and told them that God would not love them that burned this good man's house. (171)

This incident is highly remarkable, for here Native Americans criticize the doings of the Puritans on a religious basis. According to the Indians, this deed is wrong because it is "inhumane" and against the will of God. This exceptionally moral behavior from a group of Native Americans was even for an Indian-friendly man like Morton too much to bear. Thus, his strategy of portraying the Indians as God's instruments is also a strategy of self-protection. Such a moral superiority without having an established Christian church would have seriously damaged Morton's religious world view.

3.2.4. Genealogy

By far, the most outstanding feature of Morton's Indian discourse is his idea of a common Indian-English ancestry. In order to illustrate this notion, Morton draws on a well-known and extremely popular English founding myth, the myth of Brutus the Trojan. According to this narrative, Brutus, a descendant of Aeneas, came to Britain, conquered the land, gave it its name, and founded London (Cannon, "Brutus" 134). This legend had been preserved in numerous literary works, among them Geoffrey of Monmouth's influential *Historia Regum Britanniae*, and was readily embraced by Tudor historians (Cannon, "Brutus" 134). Thus, it still played a vital role when Morton was being born and educated.

In *NEC*, Morton tries to integrate Native Americans into Britain's founding history. He argues that after Brutus's departure from Troy, he and his followers "were dispersed" and that several persons possibly got lost at sea (Morton 17). According to Morton, it is highly probable that some of these lost people arrived at the New World and, consequently, are the ancestors of the Native Americans. To strengthen his argument, Morton cites various linguistic observations. He asserts that the New England Indians "use very many words both of Greek and Latin, to the same signification that the Latins and Greeks have done" (Morton 14). The fact that Morton places these interpretations right in the beginning of his

book shows that the common genealogy played a major role in his argument. Hence, it comes as no surprise that he continues to pass on "classical authority" to the Natives throughout *NEC* (Jehlen 94). The already mentioned emphasis on Indian humanity and the reference to "Plato's Commonwealth" can be seen in this context as well.

The strategy of conveying classical authority to the Native Americans is best exemplified in the imagery of the poem "Carmen Elegiacum" (Morton 132-3). Written for the "Barren Doe of Virginia," it employs a plethora of classical allusions. However, one suddenly finds the following lines: "A great Squa Sachem, she can point to go / Before grim Minos" (Morton 132). In just two lines of verse, two temporarily and culturally different spheres are yoked together: the colonial present, here represented by the "Barren Doe," an Englishwoman tellingly portrayed as a "great Squa Sachem," and the classical past, embodied in the figure of Minos, "king of Crete's 'Labyrinth' and, later, a 'judge of the dead' in the Underworld" (Morton 132n439).

All things considered, "Carmen Elegiacum" and the general outline of Book III typify Morton's most important discursive strategy with regard to the Indians. By describing the New World and its inhabitants through the use of classical allusions and traditional English forms, Morton writes the Indians into England's cultural canon.

4. Morton's Indian Discourse and Its Implications for America

Having discussed the genealogical and critical parts of the present discourse analysis, one last problem remains: Why does Morton talk about the Indians the way he does?

Up until now, few critics have tried to answer that question. Jehlen considers Morton's treatment of Indian discourse, especially the strong emphasis on a common genealogy, a direct attack on the Puritans because "it demoted [them] from the first rank of heirs of an ancient legitimacy by claiming for England (and its deputy-cavaliers like Morton) descent from the yet more ancient Troy" (95). Canup argues that Morton's depiction of the Indian-English encounter "as a long delayed family reunion" aimed at damaging the Puritans' wish for exceptionalism (123).

Both views have obviously accepted Puritan superiority in early American history and judge the Indian discourse in *NEC* accordingly. Still, Jehlen and Canup, like most other critics, have failed to observe that Morton is not entirely anti-Puritan, that he does not want to make the Puritans "exiles in their own kingdom" (Shea 58). To a certain degree, Morton even appreciates Puritan settlement in New England. He writes:

> Howsoever, they [the Puritans] have deserved (in mine opinion) some commendations, in that they have furnished the country so commodiously in so short a time, although it hath been but for their own profit. Yet posterity will taste the sweetness of it, and that very suddenly. (Morton 55)

Furthermore, directly attacking New England Puritans would not have been in agreement with Morton's omnipresent *via media* background. If one tries to understand the implications of his Indian discourse from this perspective, a whole new picture emerges. It is the idea of a colonial society consisting of Native Americans, Englishmen like Morton, and Puritans, all united by a common origin and, at least in the case of Indians and Englishmen, similar cultural notions and values. To put it bluntly, one could even borrow Canup's words and call the entire colonial encounter a "family reunion" (123).

Yet, this notion of "a community that integrates native-born and European-born" (Bumas 3) is not the mere product of humanist thinking, but is designed as a means to facilitate present and future Indian-English relations. Morton's use of ritual to consolidate colonial society has already been hinted at and has thus been discussed by several critics (Heath 150-1, Zuckerman 273). Still, Morton goes a lot further. A closer look at his May Day revels, especially at the "Rise Oedipus" poem and "The Song," perspicuously reveals his Native American and New England agendas.[17]

The most outstanding feature of "Rise Oedipus" is Morton's depiction of America as a "widow" (139), according to Dempsey "an almost singular metaphor in colonial texts" ("Riddle" 295). He does not explicitly mention the word "widow" in the poem, but in the following explanations. In the poem itself, he uses two female figures to refer to America, "Scilla" and "Niobe" (135-6). Scilla is used throughout the entire poem; only in the beginning Morton tells his readers that she sits "in forme of Niobe" (135). The reference to Niobe, whose children God killed for her pride (Dempsey, "Glossary" 204), together with the assertion that Scilla is "solitary" (135) and "unfortunate" (136), establish the picture of a sad, abandoned woman. Later in the poem, the reader gets to know that a lack of "virtue masculine" (136) is the reason for Scilla's dolor. She once had a husband, namely the Indians, that was able to satisfy her demands. Moreover, it is insinuated that the current manly presence in New England, i.e. the Puritans, is not able to please her in any way. All in all, Morton changes the omnipresent stereotypical concept of America as a "virgin" and portrays the land as a grown-up, sexually experienced female figure. This transformation of a dominant colonial metaphor also produces a new appellative dimension. Whereas former colonizers like Ra-

[17] The following observations are indebted to the excellent close readings of "Rise Oedipus" by Arner, Murphy, and Dempsey ("Riddle"). All three have helped to untangle the dense imagery and cornucopia of classical figures and thus made this highly complex poem understandable for modern day readers.

leigh used the "virgin" metaphor as an appeal to masculinity and a request for raping the land, Morton uses the "widow" metaphor to call for a more responsible and caring masculine presence in New England.

The subsequent "Song" (137-8) and the raising of a maypole might be seen as Morton's attempt to answer this call for a new "husband." The sexual character of "Rise Oedipus" is taken up again in "The Song." The celebration of "Hymen" and the often quoted invitation to the "Lasses in beaver coats" to accompany Morton's colonists "night and day" clearly go in this direction (Morton 137-8). However, the strong sexual rhetoric is not an expression of transient lasciviousness, but part of Morton's "formula for successful colonizing" (Dempsey, "Riddle" 283). On the one hand, given the fact that in all regions of English settlement there were more men than women (D'Emilio/Freedman 9), it can be seen as sexual *realpolitik*, as a way to pragmatically enhance the demographic situation in the colonies. In this context, Morton's earlier statement that children are the greatest "of all riches" (120) gets a whole new meaning as well. On the other hand, this formula would have had important social and economic consequences. It is true that Morton and "most English settlers had a conservative vision: the reestablishment of traditional patterns of family and community in the colonies" (D'Emilio/Freedman 6). Still, intermarriage and the resultant racial intermixture would have also helped to reconcile America's old and new "husband" and brought about a society that combined the Indians' expertise in using the land with the benefits of English civilization.[18] Without doubt, such a skilled society would have been able to satisfy the grieving "widow" America and could have strengthened the ties between Old and New England.

However, two immediate problems remain: who is in power in this intermixture of Native Americans and English settlers and who owns the land? Morton's concept for the encounter of two nations is unambiguously stated: "one must rule, and the other be ruled, before a peace can be hoped for" (113). Morton never clearly states which nation should rule in New England; yet, there is one detail in *NEC* that renders an English supremacy likely. The Indian mass mortality has created a power vacuum, which makes the land "more fit" (Morton 20) for English colonization. In Morton's view, the few remaining Indians cannot refill this void and the Puritans lack the intimate understanding necessary for a successful role as America's new "husband." Consequently, only Englishmen like Morton have a legal claim on the land and on governing its inhabitants. This scheme of appropriation is fairly remarkable. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Morton neither uses *vacuum domicilium* rhetoric to support his claim, nor does he draw on religious or racist arguments. Instead, his idea of appropriation is the logical continuation of his Indian discourse: since the main owner of the land is dead, it now belongs to the closest "family member," the English. This strategy has far-

[18] Bumas argues that the question of racial intermixture was in fact the most important point of conflict between Morton and the Puritans (5).

reaching consequences for the colonization of America. First, Morton cleverly excludes other foreign colonial powers like France and the Netherlands. Second, he renders the colonization of New England a continuation of English history. Third, he gives the whole process of appropriation a semblance of legitimacy.

All things considered, it looks as if this strategy of appropriation was the main reason for Morton's unique Indian discourse. His detailed attempt to portray Indians and English as descendants of the same culture, sharing numerous social and cultural values, should support the legal claim on the land. Thus, Morton hoped for extensive English colonization in New England, but without unnecessary coercion or suppression. Rather, he envisioned a model of colonization that was based on a twofold concept of "love." With regard to the past and present, it was seen as family love and used so as to justify English appropriation of New England. With regard to the future, it referred to physical love between Indians and the English. Intermarriage and procreation should generate a powerful colonial society and further strengthen the bonds between Old and New England.

5. Conclusion

From a European perspective, the discovery of America really was the discovery of a "wild exteriority," the unearthing of a discursive *tabula rasa*. Hence, the subsequent attempt of colonization can be considered a European competition for imposing conflicting discourses on the New World. Among these, the opposing Indian discourses certainly produced most of the problems which arose during the colonial period. In this work, it has been tried to show that Thomas Morton provided a highly unique Indian discourse, for he not only based it on his English *a priori* assumptions but also integrated parts of the Indians' discursive policing into it. The result was a discourse that paralleled Indian and English cultures, indeed portrayed both peoples as related by ties of kindred. This allowed for a strategy of appropriation that heavily relied on the concepts of family and love. Unfortunately, Morton was not aware that at the time of his arrival New England had already ceased to be a discursive exteriority and was being influenced by Puritan ideas. As a result, *NEC* really became an unsuccessful "knowledge project" (Read 6) during the consolidation of a colonial New England society; however, it is a project worth remembering, not only for its quality as a countertext to Puritan-dominated historiography but also for its attempt to provide an ideological basis for colonization that sought to integrate all parties in a non-violent manner. Moreover, it showed that an individual could respect his cultural roots without demoting the cultural other. Morton was certainly no altruistic philanthropist and most of his actions aimed at advancing the state of his home country. Yet, due to his heart-felt affection for the New World and its inhabitants, he tried to find a compromise, a *via media* that allowed for a peaceful colonization and an equitable use of the land. Overall, John Seelye succinctly summarized Morton's character

and ideas: "Morton was what was not wanted in the Puritan utopia, yet for all that, indeed, perhaps because of it, he is very much in the American grain, albeit cut from English oak." (165) Without a doubt, the fact that a complex and challenging book like *NEC*, the literary legacy of a historical underdog, is still read today shows that Morton's ideas have touched certain feelings which are deeply rooted in American culture.

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Thilo Weber

The Proform/Conjunction Interface: A Study of the Syntax of Relative *That*

1. Introduction and Survey of Previous Studies

> "'THAT' is evidently regarded by many writers as nothing more than an ornamental variation for 'who' and 'which', to be used, not indeed immoderately, but quite without discrimination. The opinion is excusable; it is not easy to draw any distinction that is at all consistently supported by usage" (Fowler:1908).

This paper is concerned with the syntactic status of the English word *that* in sentences such as *I read the book that you gave me*, *He knew the woman that came to him*, and *I'll tell you the reason that I went home*. In descriptions of the word, relative *that* has long been treated in two ways: One group of scholars has classified it as a subordinating conjunction or complementiser[1], standing outside the functional structure of its clause and merely serving as a marker of subordination. According

[1] For a discussion of terminology see section 3.

to that view, relative *that* is the same lexical item as the word *that* in sentences such as *I know that you are right,* where it serves to introduce a complement clause. On the other hand, *that* has been analysed as a pronoun basically comparable to the *wh*-pronouns. The latter view is the traditional analysis, to be found for example in Sweet (1898:80) and Wendt (1911:213). In the 1920s, the traditional view was first challenged, most prominently by Otto Jespersen, who in his 1927 work *A Modern English grammar on historical principles* argued that it seemed best "not to call the relative *that* […] a pronoun at all", but a "conjunction" (1927:165). Most transformationalists have followed Jespersen's line of thought and regarded the complementiser and the relative marker the same word. In the transformational approaches by Klima (1964), Stahlke (1976), Dekeyser (1988), and Radford (1988; 2006), relative *that* is considered identical with the complementiser. Non-transformationalists, too, have shared that view. In his diachronic study, Smith (1982:78-81) agrees with Jespersen's proposal that the word originated as a pronoun but is now a complementiser. The complementiser analysis is also present in descriptive grammar: Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1056) consider *that* a conjunction. So does Miller (1988; 1993) in his grammar of Scots.

Nonetheless, the complementiser analysis has not eliminated the traditional pronoun analysis. In the descriptive grammar by Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik (henceforth Quirk et al.) *that* is treated as a relative pronoun (1985:366). Seppänen and Kjellmer (1995:396), Trotta and Seppänen (1998), and most explicitly Seppänen (1993; 2000) reject the complementiser analysis in favour of the pronoun analysis. Kim and Sells (2008), too, treat *that* as a relative pronoun in their very recent introduction to English syntax mainly based on the feature structure system of Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar.

Between the complementiser and the pronoun analysis, various in-between positions have emerged. Zandvoort considers *that* a "relative particle", being "intermediate between a relative pronoun and a conjunction" (1957:163). Van der Auwera argues that relative *that* is "not fully pronominal, but highly pronominal" (1985:171).

In addition, more recent transformationalists, such as Pesetsky (1982:306) and Haegeman (1991:424-425; 1999,193-194) have to some extent reviewed the analysis that relative *that* and complementiser *that* are identical and adjusted it to "the intuition that the element *that* […] is not quite the ordinary complementizer but that it also acts like a relative pronoun" (Haegeman 1991:424). And while Stahlke promotes the complementiser analysis in his 1976 paper "which that", he reconsiders his position in a contribution to an internet forum in 1991: "I think there is much less stability in the use of "that" and "wh-" relatives than most published

studies would suggest. That "that" would be used pronominally in relatives is not surprising, given its history."[2]

In this paper I will compare those various positions and review their validity. After giving a brief summary of the formation of bound relative clauses within government and binding theory, I will define the terms *conjunction*, including the subcategories of *subordinator* and *complementiser*, and contrast them with the terms *relative word/wh-word*, and with term *relative particle*. Subsequently, I will turn to the properties of relative *that* in present-day English and investigate its syntactic status in comparison to words from the categories previously examined.

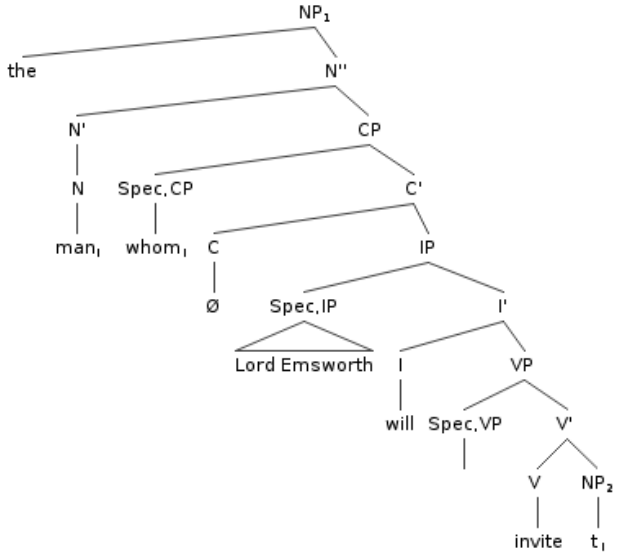
I will argue that relative *that* is a *wh*-operator and thus not the same word as the complement-clause introducing conjunction *that*. I will show that its distribution is nearly identical to that of other *wh*-operators. In several respects, *that* differs from *who*, *whom*, *whose*, *what*, and *which*. That fact, however, will be shown not be detrimental to a *wh*-analysis of relative *that* because the undisputed *wh*-operators themselves differ considerably from one another with regard to characteristics that have been considered to discriminate *that* from *wh*.

2. Formation of Bound Relative Clauses within Government and Binding Theory

Within the framework of GB, the formation of bound relative clauses is a process that involves deletion of the relativised constituent, insertion of a *wh*-constituent, and movement from its logical D-structure position into clause-initial position, where it appears in S-structure. The movement is known as *wh*-movement, but has also been called *wh*-topicalisation or *wh*-fronting. The moved constituent is considered to leave a "gap" or "trace" in its original position. The following illustration is primarily based on Haegeman's *Introduction to Government and Binding Theory* (1991).

[2] Stahlke, Herbert. "Message 3: That's." The LINGUIST LIST, 16 September 1991, http://listserv.linguistlist.org/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind9109c&L=linguist&P=524, accessed on 29 January 2008.

(1) the man whom Lord Emsworth will invite

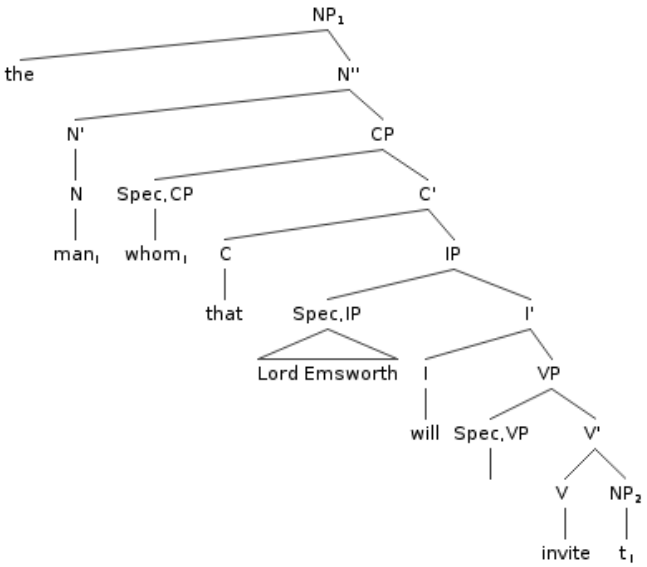


The example shows the most frequent type of relative clause: The CP functions as a sentential modifier within an NP. It is controversial what syntactic constituent makes up the antecedent, i.e., the element that is modified by the clause.[3] For example, it is disputed whether it is a noun or an NP. For Haegeman, the antecedent in (1) consists of the "head noun *man*" (1991:370). The antecedent is coreferential with an element in the relative clause, which is called the *relativised element*. In (1), that element is in the position of the internal argument of *invite*, i.e. in direct object position. The coreferentiality is indicated by the index *i*. The relativised element in the clause is substituted with a *wh*-constituent and by means of *wh*-movement, it is moved from the direct object position into a position to the left of the IP, leaving a coreferential trace *t* in its original postverbal position. Since the *wh*-constituent is regarded a maximal projection, of the two positions C^0 and [SpecCP] to the left of the IP it can only be moved into [SpecCP] because C^0 is reserved for heads. The head of the CP is an element from the closed class of complementisers, one of which is *that*. Although *wh*-operators and complemen-

[3] For Haegeman, the antecedent consists of a head noun (1991:370). Others have suggested that the antecedent consists of the entire NP or the NP excluding the determiner. See Hermann (2003:17) for a survey of different analyses. Baker (1995:334-335) proposes that the antecedents of restrictive relative clauses are nouns and the antecedents of nonrestrictives are NPs. The question of what makes up the antecedent is further complicated if the NP contains a prepositional attribute (e.g. *of*-genitives) or an AP. Hermann (2003:12) says that what constitutes the antecedent depends on the individual case. Both semantics (e.g. restrictiveness) and morphosyntactic properties (e.g. number congruence between the antecedent and the finite verb) help to identify the antecedent.

tisers thus do not compete for the same syntactic position, their co-occurrence in English is ungrammatical due to a language-specific constraint. In relative clauses such as (1), which contain an overt *wh*-operator in [SpecCP], C^0 cannot be occupied by an overt complementiser. (2) is ungrammatical in modern Standard English:

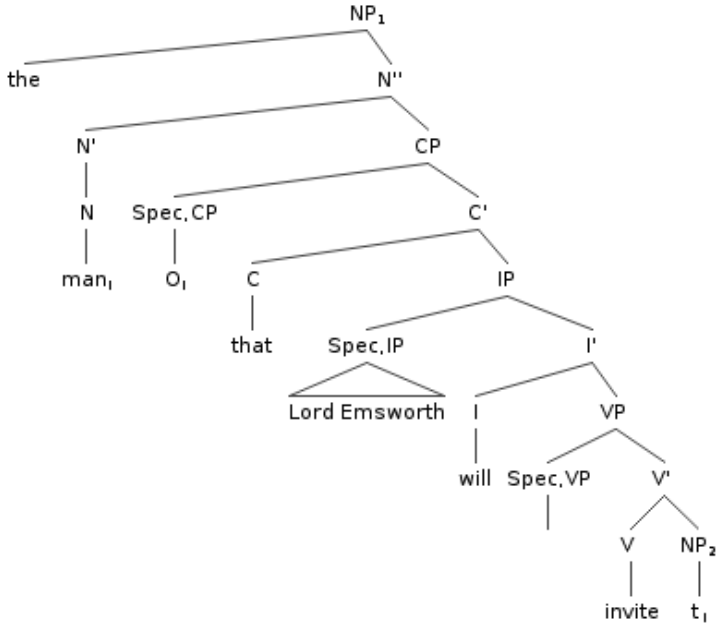
(2) *the man whom that Lord Emsworth will invite



This phenomenon has been captured with the Doubly Filled COMP Filter first formulated by Chomsky and Lasnik (1977) and taken up by Haegeman (1991). It states that "when an overt *wh*-phrase occupies the Spec of some CP the head of that CP must not dominate an overt complementiser" (Haegeman 1991:349).

As the formulation "overt *wh*-phrase" suggests, apart from overt *wh*-phrases, Haegeman also assumes the existence of a non-overt *wh*-phrase, an "empty operator" (1991:422). Radford (1988:485) proposes the same, using the term "empty *wh*-operator". Apart from being invisible, this empty operator behaves like its overt counterparts. It is coreferential with its antecedent, moves into [SpecCP], and leaves a coindexed trace. Since the Doubly Filled COMP Filter applies to *overt wh*-operators only, the non-overt operator can co-occur with an overt complementiser. The sequence of the empty *wh*-operator, represented by the symbol *O* in [SpecCP], followed by the overt complementiser *that* in C^0 is Haegeman's and Radford's analysis of the *that*-relative, i.e. the construction being the topic of this paper:

(3) the man that Lord Emsworth will invite



According to Radford (1988:491) and Haegeman (1991:423), contact-relatives involve an empty *wh*-operator as well as an empty complementiser, with complementiser-omission being "a possibility generally available in English" (Haegeman 1991:423). This is illustrated in (4):

(4) the man i O i Ø Lord Emsworth will invite t i

In sum then, relative clauses within GB theory are derived from an underlying structure that corresponds to that of a declarative clause. The relativised constituent is deleted, replaced with a *wh*-operator and moved into clause-initial position to the left of the complementiser-position. *That* is believed not to be one of those *wh*-operators but to be a complementiser. However, according to Haegeman and Radford, *that* relatives as well as contact relatives, too, begin with a *wh*-operator, namely with a non-overt one.

3. The Syntax of Clauses Introduced by Conjunctions, Relative Words, and Relative Particles

In this section, I will deal with the various labels that have been introduced to refer to relative *that*. First I will define the terms *conjunction, subordinating conjunction/subordinator*, and *complementiser*, which have appeared in the conjunction analysis. In a next step, I will contrast those terms with the terms *wh-word/relative word* and *wh-pronoun/relative pronoun,* which have been used in the pronoun analysis. Lastly, I will consider the term *relative particle* and contrast it with the other terms. In the first subsection I will investigate their syntactic status within their own clause. In the second subsection I will compare the external syntax of clauses introduced by conjunctions, relative words, and particles.

3.1 Internal Syntax: The Status of the Word within its Clause

3.1.1 Conjunction

Within the category of conjunction, the big division is that between *coordinating conjunctions* and *subordinating conjunctions*, which are also known as *subordinators*. *Coordinate conjunctions* link two elements that are syntactically the same without making one of them dependent on the other. The elements conjoined need not be clauses but may also be phrases or only parts of phrases. By contrast, subordinators always link clauses:

(5) She was early *although* she had missed the bus.

The subordinator marks the clause it introduces as subordinate and incorporates it into a matrix clause. *That* always introduces subordinate clauses so that if it is a conjunction, it can only be a subordinator.

The term *complementiser* is ambiguous. As Van der Auwera (1985:163) argues, there are at least three different ways of using the term *complementiser*. According to him, the term was first introduced by Rosenbaum (1967) in order to distinguish the subordinator *that* from other subordinators, such as *although* in (5). In his original definition, a complementiser is a subordinator that serves to introduce complement clauses only, as illustrated in the examples in (6):

(6) a I know *that* the world is flat.
b The idea *that* the world is flat proves to be correct

In Rosenbaum's usage, the term *complementiser* does not apply to *that* when it is used to introduce relative clauses. There are crucial differences between complement clauses and relative clauses: A complement clause does not contain a relativised element. Neither is there an overt *wh*-operator, nor are there a covert *wh*-operator and a gap. Moreover, complement clauses, as the name suggests, take the syntactic position of complements. In (6a), the clause is the obligatory complement of the verb *know*. In (6b) the clause is the complement of the noun *idea*. Noun complement clauses are restricted to a small number of nouns, such as *idea*, which C-select for a sentential complement, whereas relative clauses are modifiers and can modify innumerable most heterogeneous nouns such as *cat, energy, health, boy* etc. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:1039). Van der Auwera adopts Rosenbaum's narrow meaning of complementiser defined as the type of subordinator that introduces complement clauses.

Rosenbaum's definition of *complementiser* was widened considerably by Bresnan (1970). She argues that every clause has a complementiser node. A complementiser may now introduce subordinate clauses other than complement clauses and, as main clauses, too, have a complementiser node, a complementiser does not even need to be a subordinator (van der Auwera 1985:163-164). Haegeman (1991:111-112), too, considers every clause to be headed by a complementiser node. That way, not only complement clauses, but also relative clauses may be introduced by a *complementiser*, as shown above.

Between the narrow Rosenbaum/Van der Auwera definition and the broad Bresnan definition, there is an in-between position with complementiser being used as a synonym to subordinator. Stahlke does not restrict the term to elements that introduce complement clauses, but he does restrict it to elements introducing embedded clauses. Similarly, for Smith the term complementiser refers to "morphemes marking subordinate clauses" (1982:35).4 In the same way, Miller calls that both a "complementiser" (1988:118) and a "conjunction: in relative clauses, but also in complement clauses" (1993:113). That means he uses the term in the same way as Stahlke and Smith do.

3.1.2 Relative Word

A *subordinator* or a *complementiser* in the usage last mentioned is an element that marks a clause as subordinate and incorporates it into a matrix clause. In that respect, it does not differ from those elements that are generally referred to as *wh*-

4 Smith's usage of the terms, however, is confusing. He says that *complementiser* and *subordinator* are alternative terms for morphemes marking clauses as subordinate. He chooses not to use the term *subordinator* because he says that it is important to distinguish between types of subordinate clauses, such as complement clauses and relative clauses. But then he uses the term *complementiser* to refer to *that* in complement clauses and in relative clauses alike. Thereby he neutralises the distinction, cf. Smith (1982:36-37).

words or *relative words*. However, apart from those shared properties, there are crucial differences between the two types of elements. Within transformational grammar, the terms *wh-word* or *relative word* refer to words that replace the relativised constituent in the relative clause and undergo *wh*-movement. They may either be moved as a phrase in their own right, or they may be part of a larger phrase, which is called a "relative phrase" (Trotta and Seppänen 1998:352; Huddleston and Pullum 2002:1039). (7a-b) are examples of simple relative phrases; (7c-d) show complex ones. The relative phrase is in italics, the relative word is in bold type. The examples are taken from Trotta and Seppänen (1998:352):

(7) a I couldn't identify the player ***who*** *t* incurred the penalty
b He was born in London, ***where*** he also spent most of his life *t*
c He really loved that old song, *the name of* ***which*** I can't recall *t* right now
d She won't wake up till around three o'clock, *by* ***which*** *time* I'll be in Phoenix *t*

Huddleston and Pullum present six types of upward perlocation forming complex relative phrases out of a relative word and other material (2002:1039). By contrast, conjunctions do not constitute a phrase within their clause, nor can they enter into a complex phrase within their clause.

The sentences in (7) illustrate a number of other characteristics distinguishing relative words and conjunctions. Although relative words are often found in clause-initial position, they do not necessarily have to be the first word of their clause. As it is the relative phrase that introduces the clause rather than the individual relative word, "the relative word is in absolute initial position necessarily only if it is co-extensive with the RelP, but need not be the first word in a complex RelP" (Trotta and Seppänen 1998:353). This can be seen in (7c-d). By contrast, conjunctions have to be in clause-initial position.

In D-structure the relative phrase occupies a position within the functional structure of the IP and is *wh*-moved into clause-initial position. In S-structure, the relative phrase retains its functional role, which is indicated by a coreferential trace left in the logical D-structure position. In (7a) the relative phrase is in subject position, in (7c) it is the direct object, and in (7b+d) it is in adverbial function. Apart from the trace in the original position, nominal relative phrases may also indicate their functional role by means of case-marking. In (7a), the relative phrase *who* is in subject position and is thus in nominative case. In sharp contrast to this, subordinators occupy a position outside the functional structure of their own clause without having been moved there from a position inside the functional structure (ibid: 353). In (5), the entire subordinate clause may function as an adverbial within the matrix clause, but the conjunction itself stands outside the functional

structure of its own clause. Of course, that also applies to the complementiser *that* in (6).

Semantically, too, the relative phrase has a role within its own clause. It has referential quality and identifies a participant (7a+c) or a circumstantial element, such as place (7b) or time (7c), involved in the action or process described (Trotta and Seppänen 1998:355).

Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1039) observe that when an antecedent is modified by a relative clause, there are two coreferential pairs of different extents: Firstly, the gap in the original position of the relative phrase is coreferential with the moved relative phrase. E.g. in (7c), the entire italicised relative phrase *the name of* ***which*** is coreferential with the gap/trace *t*. Secondly, the relative word within the relative phrase is tied to its antecedent by a relationship of coreferentiality. E.g. in (7c), ***which*** is coreferential with its antecedent *song*. When the relative word and the relative phrase are coextensive, as in (7a+b) and the following examples in (8), no such distinction between the two coreferential pairs is necessary. Coreferentiality often causes the relative word to show semantic concord with its antecedent (Trotta and Seppänen 1998:354; 2000:36; Radford 1988:483). This accounts for the patterns of grammaticality and ungrammaticality in (8):

(8) a The man i *who* i / **which* i went home
b The book i *which* i / **who* i I am interested
c The reason i *why* i / **where* i I went home
d The place i *where* i / **why* i I had a cup of coffee

(8a+b) shows that relative pronouns show animacy concord with their antecedent. The contrast between *who* for animate nouns and *which* for inanimate ones is an example of semantic agreement. The examples in (8c+d) show that semantic concord is a feature also shared by relative adverbs. Trotta and Seppänen argue that subordinating conjunctions are not referential items (1998:354). Consequently, they cannot be coreferential with any other element and are thus not subject to semantic concord. By contrast, Smith analyses relative *that* as a complementiser that "retains the deictic aspect of OE demonstrative *þæt* because it refers to an antecedent" (1982:154). Thus, referential quality is a disputed criterion to distinguish relative words and conjunctions.

What is more, the sentences in (7) show that the relative word may take different positions within its relative phrase, which indicates a general difference between conjunctions and relative words: "'Subordinator' is a term for a word-class, whereas 'relative' does not name a class of words but a certain set of syntactic (and semantic) properties that are not tied to any particular word-class but cut right across several such classes", as Trotta and Seppänen observe (1998:353). In English, there are relative pronouns, as in (7a+c), relative adverbs, as in (7b), and relative determiners, as in (7d). Therefore, the terms *wh-word/relative word* are not to be

used as synonyms to the terms *wh-pronoun/relative pronoun.* A relative pronoun is a certain type of relative word. Huddleston and Pullum use the term "proform" to refer to the group of words that Seppänen and Trotta consider to share the set of properties that make them *relative* (2002:1056).

Morphological invariance is not considered criterial to identify a complementiser in contrast to a relative word. According to Smith, it has been suggested to regard the alternation of *that, for,* and Ø under the C^0 node a case of "complementizer allomorphy" or "suppletion". Moreover, he argues that there are cases of inflected complementisers in other languages, such as *a* and *ar* in Irish, which alternate according to the tense of the verb in the clause they introduce (1982:10). Since the term *relative* has been shown to apply to words from various word classes, they should not be expected to show inflectional similarities as the inflectional properties depend on the respective word class. However, individual types of relative words may be identified by looking at their inflection. E.g., inflection for case and gender/animacy is a typical characteristic of English pronouns but not of complementisers and can thus help to distinguish a relative pronoun from a complementiser.

3.1.3 Relative Particle

The terms *particle* and *relative* particle are the most controversial ones and the ones creating the most definitional confusion. Smith disapproves of the term saying that "to call a word a 'particle' is to indicate that it is a member of a minor category; little else is revealed" (1982:36). The term *relative particle* is commonly understood to refer to an element intermediate between a relative word, in particular a relative pronoun, and a conjunction. That view is advocated by Zandvoort (1957:163). For Van der Auwera, a relative particle is "a non-pronominal, invariant, clause-introductory relativiser. The difference with a conjunction is that the latter simply isn't a relativizer. Otherwise, a conjunction and a relative particle are the same" (1985:158). Using the term *relativiser*, Van der Auwera does not refer to an element undergoing *wh*-movement as in the transformationalist approaches; the term rather describes a word serving the function of introducing a clause that postmodifies an antecedent, thus referring to the external syntax of the clause. This broader definition of *relativiser* will be addressed in more detail in the next section.

In Hermann's usage, relative particles are not as similar to conjunctions as they are in van der Auwera's view. She uses the term *particle* to refer to those relative markers that cannot be governed by a preposition and are indeclinable (ibid: 50; 195). Even though she may use the term *relative particle* synonymously to the terms *conjunction/complementiser* (2003:113), she also says that "REL pronouns, REL particles, and the zero marker Ø have to surrender their normal (postverbal) clause position in the clause (i.e., the position they would occupy in a

simple declarative clause) and move to initial position" (ibid: 49-50). Following Hermann, a relative particle thus has a functional role in its clause. She considers relative *that* a "particle" (ibid: 50), which e.g. may function as "subject" (ibid: 160). Fulfilling a functional role within the clause has overwhelmingly been considered a characteristic of *wh*-words/relative words rather than of conjunctions.

3.1.4 Summary

In sum, both subordinators and relative words have been shown to be words that introduce clauses, mark those clauses as subordinate, and incorporate them into a matrix clause. However, while the term *subordinator* refers to a word class, the term *relative word* or *wh-word* refers to a set of properties which are not tied to a specific word class. Words from the word class of subordinator have been shown to lack those properties: While relative words form potentially complex relative phrases, conjunctions do not. The relative phrase is in a fronted position, leaving a gap in its original position that indicates its functional role. By contrast, conjunctions stand outside the functional structure of the clause they introduce. In addition, the relative word and the relative phrase have referential quality whereas conjunctions do not, which, however, has been seen to be a controversial criterion. Morphological variance is not a valid criterion to distinguish relative words and conjunctions.

The term *relative particle* refers to words which in their function of introducing a clause that postmodifies an antecedent resemble *wh*-words, but which lack at least some of the properties that have been considered criterial to *wh*-words. The label *relative* has thus been expanded beyond the group of *wh*-words. This broader usage of the term will be presented in the following section.

3.2 External Syntax: The clause as a Post-Modifier of an Antecedent Head

So far, the term *relative word* has generally been used with a narrow definition synonymous to the term *wh-word*. The terms have been shown to refer to words from across different word classes sharing certain properties. Since words from the category of conjunction lack those properties, the terms *relative* and *conjunction* are contrastive.

On the other hand, the term *relativisation* has been used in another way. Apart from the narrow definition closely associated with *wh*-movement, there is a broad definition with *relativisation* referring to any clause construction that serves to postmodify an antecedent. Referring to the external syntax of the clause, it is non-committal to its internal syntax. It does not determine whether *wh*-movement is involved, nor does it determine the category of the word introducing the clause. The terms *relative* and *relativiser* in the broad usage subsume conjunctions, *wh*-words, and particles when they serve to introduce a clause that postmodifies an

antecedent. That definition of the term has already been mentioned briefly in connection with relative particles. Relative particles carry the label *relative* due to the similarity between the external syntax of clauses introduced by *wh*-words and clauses introduced by relative particles rather than due to any formal similarity between *wh*-words and particles themselves.

Examples of the broad usage of the term can be found throughout the discourse: Stahlke argues that the speaker has the choice between "relativization by copying and deletion, or relativization by *that*-insertion and deletion" (1976:595). Radford calls relative *that* a "relative clause complementiser" (2006:146) and consequently speaks of "[c]omplementizer [r]elatives" and "wh-relatives" (1988:490). Smith points out that "*wh*-words and *that* belong to different categories but have identical functions in relative clauses, i.e. introducing relative clauses" (1982:35-36). Therefore, the two "belong to a general category of relative marker, which includes pronouns and complementizers" (ibid: 79-80). Similarly, Van der Auwera uses the term *relativiser* not only to refer to relative pronouns and relative adverbs (1985:151) but also includes relative particles, which in his view resemble conjunctions: "The difference with a conjunction is that the latter simply isn't a relativiser. Otherwise, a conjunction and a relative particle are the same" (ibid: 158). Thus, what is criterial to a relativiser, once more, is the function of introducing a relative clause.

Since there is no doubt that *that* is a relativiser in the broad sense of the word, the question I will address in this paper is *what type* of relativiser *that* is. I will consider whether it is a relative in the narrow sense of the word, i.e. a *wh*-word, whether it is a subordinator, or whether neither characterisation is appropriate.

4. The Syntactic Status of Relative *That* in Present-day English

4.1 Inflection and Agreement

A major argument to support the thesis that *that* is not a relative pronoun centres on the inflection of the relative. English relative pronouns can inflect for case, animacy, and number (with collective nouns). Their case is determined by their position within the relative clause while inflection for number and animacy is determined by agreement with their antecedent, to which they are tied by a relationship of coreferentiality.

4.1.1 Case

In Standard English, the *wh*-pronouns *who* and *which* have case-marked forms. *Who* and *which* have a genitive *whose*; *who* has a (formal style) accusative *whom*. By con-

trast, *that* does not have any oblique case forms. Radford argues that the absence of those variant case-forms in standard language supports the thesis that the word is not a pronoun but a complementiser (1988:483; 2006:146).

However, there are a number of arguments that diminish Radford's thesis. Huddleston and Pullum note that a number of speakers "are inclined to think that [*whose*] is restricted to personal antecedents" (2002:1050). For those speakers, *which* lacks a synthetic genitive, too. Having no accusative form either, *which* is morphologically invariant in the usage of those speakers. Besides, *whose*, when used as a genitive of *which*, is not a morphological but a suppletive genitive, which opens the possibility for saying that relative *that* has a suppletive genitive *whose*, too, as van der Auwera argues (1985:154).

More importantly, what needs to be considered with regard to case-marked relative pronouns is the considerable discrepancy between prescriptive grammar and actual spoken English: Hermann, who analysed relative clauses in traditional English dialects, found out that "[c]ase-marked *wh*-pronouns (whose; whom) […] are (still) hardly found in dialectal speech (0.28 % altogether)" (2003:192). Thus, at least in spoken English, *that* and *wh*-pronouns in the vast majority of cases do not contrast as far as their case-marking is concerned.

Moreover, the dissimilarity between *that* and *wh* is further diminished by the fact that *that* does have an oblique form in a number of dialects: The following example comes from Seppänen and Kjellmer (1995:394):

(9) The dog *that's* leg is broken

The genitive *that's*, according to Seppänen, is well attested from many varieties of English such as Scottish, Irish, American and English,[5] "including even its use in fully standard language" (1993:371):

(10) It delivers a VHS picture the like of which the world has never seen. A picture *that's* quality of detail, colour and resolution is unrivalled (The Observer)

However, the form *that's* is controversial. Firstly, its frequency and distribution is disputed: While Seppänen and Kjellmer argue that it "shows signs of spreading in present-day usage" (1995:397), Miller says that at least in Scots "*that's* no longer occurs" (1988:118).

Secondly, the status of the form as a morphological genitive pronoun is not accepted by all scholars. Huddleston and Pullum state that the form does not "necessitate a pronoun analysis for the dialects concerned" (2002:1057). Miller argues that the form is a coalescence of the complementiser *that* followed by the

5 See Hermann (2003: 135) for a survey of dialectologists citing *that's*.

possessive pronoun *his* or *its* (1988:118). A lot of spoken dialects, among them Scots, do not have any *wh*-pronouns. That way, *whose* is not available to the speakers and "the place of *a boy whose name* is taken by *a boy that his name* or its wakened form *a boy that's name*" (Seppänen and Kjellmer 1995:397). However, *that's* is also used where a sequence of *that their* (11a) or *that her* (11b) would be appropriate. In addition, Seppänen and Kjellmer found out that *that's* + noun is also accepted in non-subject position (11c), which shows that there must have been *wh*-movement: *That's* cannot be a contraction of *that* and *his* because in the uncontracted form, *his* would follow the verb:

(11) a the *people that's* houses were demolished
(Seppänen and Kjellmer 1995: 391)
b The *woman that's* sister marriet the postie
(Seppänen and Kjellmer 1995: 389)
c The dog *that's owner* I told [*t*] to leave is lying over there.
(Seppänen and Kjellmer 1995: 394)

The sentences in (11) show that the *s* is not a clicicised possessive pronoun but that it has been reinterpreted as a genitive marker. That re-interpretation, however, is crucial on the assumption that *that* is an NP and not a complementiser, since the normal genitive structure is *NP's* (Seppänen 1993:371). Seppänen proves that a reinterpretation with a complementiser analysis of *that* is not possible:

(12) a I didn't know that *his* (> *that's*) brother was at home
b I didn't know that *their* (> **that's*) brother was at home
c I didn't know that *her* (> **that's*) brother was at home

Seppänen argues that the complex NP containing *that's* "can only occupy the same Spec-CP position which is the normal landing site of fronted *wh*-elements" (Seppänen 2000:47).

That's is a morphological genitive of that and the case-marked form is a strong argument in favour of the pronoun analysis. The only English constituents that inflect for case are NPs. However, the relation between case-marking and (pro)nominal status is not a biconditional one because not all *wh*-pronouns inflect for case. Therefore, even if one does not accept the oblique form *that's*, the absence of that form is not sufficient to disprove the pronoun analysis, nor does it favour the complementiser analysis.

4.1.2 Agreement

4.1.2.1 Animacy

English relative pronouns have a two-partite system of gender marking, distinguishing animate/personal and inanimate/nonpersonal antecedents. In Standard English, *whose* is insensitive to animacy (e.g. Huddleston and Pullum 2002:1050), *who/whom* is used to refer to animate antecedents, and *which* is used to denote inanimate ones. *That* is avoided in favour of *who* when it functions as an animate subject (Quirk et al 1985: 1250).[6] Thus, while *wh*-pronouns and relative *that* differ with respect to case-marking, they do not contrast with respect to inflection for animacy in standard language.

However, as in the case of case-marking, there is a difference between prescriptive grammar and non-standard language. According to Miller, many spoken varieties of English do not have any *wh*-pronouns so that the relativiser *that* is used "[r]egardless of whether the relative clause modifies a human or non-human, animate or inanimate noun" (1988:114). Miller and van Gelderen argue that the *who/that* dichotomy is a result of prescriptive rules and mostly a characteristic of educated English (ibid; van Gelderen 2004:70). Hermann agrees that in traditional English dialects "personal *that* functioning as subject occurs frequently and freely" (2003:117). Yet, she notes that there is a *who/that* contrast in spoken American (ibid).

The varying degree of gender-marking which relative *that* shows in spoken English, however, does not clearly discriminate it from the *wh*-pronouns. Hermann argues that "which is NOT confined to nonpersonal antecedents in dialects", either (ibid: 122). She cites occurrences of personal *which* in examples such as the following:

(13) a [...] And the boy which I was at school with [...]

Van der Auwera argues that in earlier stages of English, both relative *that* and *which* could freely have animate antecedents and then underwent a process of "dehumanization" (1985: 153), i.e. they started to become sensitive to gender/animacy.[7] He argues that the dehumanisation of *which* is completed and that of *that* is not.

Besides, *whose* is not consistent with regard to gender-marking, either. It is insensitive to gender in Standard English though for a number of speakers it tends

6 In object position, *that* is more accepted with personal antecedents because it helps speakers to avoid the choice between the very formal *whom* and the prescriptively incorrect *who* (Quirk et al 1985:367).

7 See Smith (1982:66-67) for a survey of the historical development of *which* and Hermann (2003:118) for a survey of the historical development of *that* with respect to gender sensitivity.

to be confined to animate antecedents (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:1050). However, Miller notes that many spoken varieties totally lack *whose* (1988:118).

Similar to case-marking, gender-marking has been shown not to be a necessary condition for pronominal status. The *wh*-pronouns *which* and *whose* as well as relative *that* show gender-marking in some varieties whereas they lack gender-marking in other varieties.

By comparison with other relative markers, however, *that* is the relative marker that can occur most freely with both animate and inanimate antecedents.

4.1.2.2 Number

Stahlke states that relative *that*, unlike the demonstrative pronoun *that*, fails to undergo number agreement, which challenges its pronominal status (1976:592). He gives the following example:

(14) *What happened to the books those were on the table?

Stahlke's argument is odd. In (14), neither *which* nor vernacular *what* would show number agreement, nor would *who* in a corresponding structure with an animate antecedent. (14) merely shows that relative *that* is different from the demonstrative pronoun *that*.[8] Smith notes that etymologically *those* would be an unlikely plural form of relative *that* anyway (1982:75).

The only case in which English relative pronouns inflect for number is with collective nouns. Levin argues that "[t]here is great consistency in the use of *which* + singular verb, on the one hand, and *who* + plural verb on the other. […] The distribution of verbs with relative pronouns indicates that it is reasonable to treat *which* as a singular form and *who* as a plural form when referring to collective nouns" (1999:2). He provides the following examples:

(15) a (…) it was a threat to the *government which* under Ne Win *has* steadfastly fought against his country's ethnic groups.
b So collectors will want some of the figures from the past of their favourite regiments, 'wiped out' by their own *Government*, *who have* accomplished what the Chinese army just failed to do in the Korean War.

Relevant to the current discussion is Levin's observation that "*that* was also used with only singular verbs" (1999:2). Consider (16):

[8] It is uncontroversial that relative *that* is different from the demonstrative pronoun *that*. The demonstrative can be the complement of a preposition while the relativiser cannot. In addition, the demonstrative is neuter whereas the relativiser can take masculine, feminine and neuter antecedents (van der Auwera 1985: 592).

(16) The deal is another example of a *company that stubs its* toe – but has a decent franchise – selling out at what appears to be a reasonable price (…)

In her diachronic analysis, van Gelderen argues that relative *that* is no longer a relative phrase in [SpecCP] but a complementiser head in C^0 and is thus generally no longer subject to agreement. Nonetheless, she observes that *that* sometimes shows reflexes of its ancestor, the Old English relative pronoun *þæt*, which was originally confined to singular antecedents, in that it takes a singular verb even though the antecedent is plural (van Gelderen 2004:76):

(17) There are other *things* you talked about *that is* not on the tape

Number agreement is a typical feature that is checked between the finite verb and its subject. It favours the pronoun analysis over the complementiser analysis.

4.1.3 Summary

As far as inflection is concerned, there is no clear-cut difference between relative *that* and *wh*-pronouns. Lack of inflection cannot disprove the analysis of *that* as a pronoun since typical *wh*-pronouns do not consistently inflect for case, number, and animacy, either. While inflection for those three categories is thus not a necessary condition for pronominal status, it may be considered a sufficient condition to favour the pronoun analysis over the complementiser analysis. However, it is controversial, whether *that* fulfils that condition. *That* has a genitive *that's*, but the form is restricted to certain dialects. Its gender-marking is restricted to Standard English and certain varieties, too. Lastly, *that* may be assumed to be marked for singular when referring to collective nouns but more data seems to be necessary to decide if *that* + plural verb is really uncommon.

The examination of the inflection of *that* has brought to light a lot of geographic variation as well as a significant discrepancy between standard and non-standard language. In varieties that use *that's*, the pronoun theory is strongly favoured. In varieties such as Standard English, in which there is no such genitive but where *wh*-pronouns are in use and *that* suppletively alternates with *who* to indicate animacy (and number), the pronoun analysis is supported, too. In dialects that do not have a genitive *that's* and also lack *wh*-pronouns, *that* is indeclinable so that no positive evidence in support of the pronoun analysis is provided. Nonetheless, as stated above, the absence of morphological variance is not sufficient to disprove the pronoun analysis.

4.2 Upward Perlocation

As presented above, relative proforms form relative phrases. They either constitute a relative phrase in their own right, or they are part of a complex relative phrase. By contrast, conjunctions do not constitute a phrasal constituent or part of a phrasal constituent within their own clause.

In contrast to *wh*-pronouns, relative *that* cannot enter into a complex phrase. The following examples are taken from Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1057); the relative phrase is in italics:

(18) a the woman *whose turn* it was
b *the woman *that's turn* it was

(19) a the knife *with which* he cut it
b *the knife *with that* he cut it

In the section on the inflection of *that* it has been shown that (18b) does occur in certain varieties. The genitive *that's*, when it occurs, is always contained within a complex NP. What makes the sentence ungrammatical is thus not the complex NP consisting of *that's* and *turn*. It is rather the unacceptability of the oblique form *that's* itself in Standard English.

(19b), however, seems not to be grammatical in any variety. *That* cannot be preceded by a preposition. For a number of linguists, that phenomenon is the central argument to support the thesis that *that* is not a relative pronoun (Jespersen 1927:161; Klima 1964:9; Stahlke 1976:588; Radford 1988: 482; Huddleston and Pullum 2002:1057; Hermann 2003:123-124). While *wh*-relatives allow both pied-piping and preposition stranding, *that* can only strand its preposition. Compare (19) and (20):

(20) a the knife *which* he cut it with
b the knife *that* he cut it with

For van Gelderen, the ungrammaticality of (18b) and (19b) indicates that *that* does not occupy [SpecCP], the landing site for relative phrases after undergoing *wh*-movement, but that it is the head of the CP (2004:70).

Van der Auwera argues that if it is criterial to a relative pronoun that it allows both stranding and pied piping, *who* and *which* are not pronominal in infinitival relatives, where only pied piping is allowed (1985:152):

(21) a I found an usher from whom to buy tickets
b *I found an usher whom to buy tickets from

Miller objects that there is no such contrast simply because he doubts that (21a) really exists: (21a), "if it occurs at all, belongs to a highly formal variety which nobody learns from their parents' spoken language and which is not regularly used even in written English" (1988:116). According to him, infinitival relatives in spoken English do not have any *wh*-constituent at all: *I found an usher to buy tickets from.* Miller's sociolinguistic objection diminishes van der Auwera's argument that typical *wh*-pronouns, too, are sometimes confined to one type of preposition placement, as *that* always is. At the same time, however, data from spoken informal English provides a much stronger argument to alleviate the contrast between *that* and *wh*-pronouns: In her typological study of relative clause formation in traditional English dialects, Hermann found out that of "38 REL pronouns (i.e., the prepositional complements **who**, **which**, and **whom** taken together), 12 (31.58 %) show preposition fronting while 26 (68.42 %) show preposition stranding. In other words, even where preposition fronting is permitted, preposition stranding is preferred in dialectal speech" (2003:124). That means, in 68.42 % of the occurrences of relative *wh*-pronouns, they do not behave differently from *that*.

Seppänen and Bergh argue that all English relative pronouns, including *that*, have undergone a syntactic change in their preposition placement since medieval times, first obligatorily fronting their prepositions, then coming to admit stranding as an alternative pattern and then showing stranding as the prevailing structure. They say that the drop in the incidence of stranding in the (written) language of today is due to prescriptive grammar rather than due to genuine grammatical change (200:295). Van Gelderen agrees that there is a historical trend towards preposition stranding, which is counteracted by prescriptive grammar only (2004:70). However, while Seppänen argues that the shifting behaviour towards preposition stranding is a change affecting the morphosyntax of the pronouns but not their status as pronouns (2000:37), van Gelderen assumes that the change in preposition placement does indicate that the *wh*-pronouns are loosing their pronominal status and developing into complementiser heads (2004:70).

However, the change in preposition placement has not changed the fact that *who, whose, whom, which,* and *what* refer to nominal constituents. In other words, it does not change their *pro*-nominal referential quality. Synchronically, too, *who* and *which* are no less pronominal with stranded prepositions than they are with pied piped ones.

In treating precedability by a preposition as the defining property of relative pronouns the classification of relative markers becomes counterintuitive. Hermann argues that *what*, in non-standard language used as a relative marker in bound relatives, is not a pronoun because it cannot follow a preposition (2003:124):

(22) a the book what I talked about
b *the book about what I talked

Thus, she has to assume a structural difference between (23a) containing a non-pronominal relative marker and (23b) containing a pronominal one:

(23) a the book what I talked about
b the book which I talked about

Although *what* can occur with personal/animate antecedents more freely than *which*, both elements are overwhelmingly nonpersonal/inanimate (Hermann 2003:112; 115), which means that they show agreement with their antecedent, which has been shown to be a characteristic of pronouns. The vagueness of the argument becomes even more apparent when looking at the behaviour of *who*: Sag notices that *who*, too, parallels *that* in that it cannot be preceded by a preposition (1997:461):

(24) *the people *in who/that* we placed our trust

Kim and Sells assume that *that* and *who*, unlike *whom,* and *which*, which can be preceded by a preposition, have no accusative case (2008:234). However, that argument leaves questions unanswered. As far as *that* is concerned, Seppänen objects that "the lack of formal distinction between the different case forms makes it possible to use the non-distinct forms in certain types of coordinated structures where one occurrence of the form represents the nominative in one clause and the accusative in the other" (2000:45):

(25) At last another date was suggested *which/that* Gregson said he was not too happy about [*t*] but all the others felt [*t*] suited them perfectly

Who, too, can be used as accusative. As long as the preposition that assigns accusative case to the pronoun is stranded, *who* will be acceptable. Compare (24) and (26):

(26) the people *who* we placed our trust in

Sag concludes that "the behavior of relative *that* and relative *who* appear to be identical. Thus there appears to be little obstacle to the analysis of relative *that* as a *wh*-pronoun" (1997:32).

Its inability to follow a preposition marks a clear difference between *that* and some other *wh*-forms used to relativise NPs. It is a definitional question whether the word cannot be a pronoun for that reason. However, the examination has also shown that pied piped prepositions with *wh*-pronouns are scarce and that pied piping is historically on the decline, counteracted only by prescriptive grammar.

Moreover, *who* and *what* do not allow preposition fronting, either, without at the same time loosing such pronominal characteristics as referential quality and pronoun antecedent agreement. Therefore, in treating precedability as criterial to pronouns, their status cannot be captured satisfactorily.[9]

4.3 *Wh*-Movement and Syntactic Position

As stated above, within the framework of GB, a relative phrase is considered to occupy the [SpecCP] position in S-Structure after having undergone *wh*-movement into that position from its logical D-Structure position within the IP. In so doing, the relative phrase leaves a coreferential *wh*-trace in its original position. By contrast, complementisers occupy the IP-external C^0 position without having undergone any movement. In the following I will analyse the behaviour of *that* with regard to *wh*-movement and its syntactic position.

4.3.1 Resumptive Pronouns

A feature that has been examined in order to determine the functional role of the relative marker within its clause is the occurrence of resumptive pronouns, also known as shadow pronouns. A resumptive pronoun represents the relativised NP within the relative clause on top of a clause-initial relative marker. It surfaces in the logical position of the relativised constituent, i.e. it is in the same position as a *wh*-trace. The following example is taken from Hermann (2003:48):

(27) Well, it's what they fed, you used to put it [i.e. treacle, T.H.] on hay *that it* was mouldy […]

Radford states that resumptives only occur with the relative marker *that* but not with *wh*-pronouns. He provides the following examples (1988:484). The grammaticality judgements are his:

(28) a *He is someone i *whom* i you never know whether to trust *him* i or not
b %He is someone i *that* you never know whether to trust *him* i or not

[9] The vagueness of the argument is also supported by some cross-linguistic evidence. As Seppänen observes, the German indefinite pronoun *man* is not only unable to be preceded by a preposition (Ia); it cannot even be the object of a verb (Ib) (2004:77). Still, the word's pronominal status is unchallenged:

(I) a Was kann man tun, wenn die anderen *mit man / mit einem nicht reden wollen?
b Was kann man tun, wenn die anderen *man / einen nicht mögen?

Radford argues that when a *wh*-pronoun is preposed, the gap/trace it leaves cannot be refilled with a pronoun. He concludes that if in a *that*-relative a pronoun is acceptable in the original position of the relativised element, then there cannot have been movement. In other words, *that* cannot be a preposed NP but must be a complementiser.

However, Radford's analysis leaves a number of important factors unconsidered. It may be true that (28a) is not found in English but that need not be due to any derivational difference between *that*-relatives and *wh*-relatives. Resumptive pronouns are typical of non-standard English while the case-marked *wh*-pronoun *whom*, which we find in his particular example, is a characteristic of very formal English. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (28a) is likely to be due to the non-occurrence of the combination of these two styles. One might even expand that argument to *wh*-pronouns in general, which in many varieties are confined to formal speech, which is very carefully monitored and thus less likely to allow for non-standard phenomena such as resumptives (Miller 1988:116). Nonetheless, grammaticality judgements on relatives combining a *wh*-pronoun and a resumptive differ. For van der Auwera, (29) is no less grammatical than a *that*-relative containing a resumptive (1985:156):

(29) I have to type the footnotes and the bibliography *which* I don't know how long *they*'re going to be

The syntactic status of *which* in sentences such as (29), on the other hand, is subject of a discussion similar to that of relative *that*. While for van der Auwera and Hermann (2003:168ff) *which* is clearly pronominal here, Miller argues that these occurrences of *which* indicate that the word has developed a second function as a conjunction, not representing any antecedent but merely linking two clauses (Miller 1988:116; 1993:113).

In contradistinction to Radford, Hermann states that resumptives occur even more frequently with *wh*-pronouns than with *that*. In her view, the distribution of resumptive pronouns in *that*-relatives and *wh*-relatives has nothing to do with any derivational differences between the two types of relative clauses. She argues that dialect speakers seek the support of a resumptive primarily in unfamiliar and difficult syntactic environments, such as non-restrictive relative clauses. Since non-restrictives are usually introduced by a *wh*-pronoun while most restrictives are introduced by a particle, one of which is *that*, the overall number of *wh*-pronouns is higher than the number of *thats* in clauses containing a resumptive. Leaving non-restrictives aside, Hermann's results are closer to Radford's thesis because in restrictive clauses, resumptives occur more frequently with *that* than with *wh*-pronouns. However, her explanation is totally different from Radford's: She argues that resumptive pronouns combine more often with particles than with *wh*-pronouns because *wh*-pronouns are more explicit than particles. In other words,

while *wh*-pronouns can inflect for case, animacy, and number, particles are sometimes felt to be in need of a resumptive to create an adequate link between antecedent and relativised element (ibid: 158).

Similarly to Radford, Stahlke (1976:599) tries to prove that there is a structural difference between *wh*-relatives, which involve *wh*-movement, and *that*-relatives, which do not involve *wh*-movement, by showing that the former are subject to the coordinate construction constraint while the latter are not. He compares (30a) and (30b):

(30) a The cops finally caught the man i that Harry accused him i and Pete of robbing the bank
b *The cops finally caught the man i who i Harry accused and Pete of robbing the bank

However, the contrast between these two sentences does not prove anything about *that*. The *that*-relative in (30a) contains the resumptive pronoun *him*, whereas the *wh*-relative in (30b) does not contain a resumptive. Without the resumptive, however, (30a) will be as ungrammatical as (30b). Reciprocally, after insertion of the resumptive pronoun *him* in (30b), its grammaticality will be close to that of (30a). In short, it is the resumptive pronoun that is responsible for the asymmetry between the two sentences, not the relative marker.

Haegeman states that a *wh*-pronoun, when it co-occurs with a resumptive, "must be base-generated in [Spec,CP], i.e. it does not move into that position" (1991:373). She concludes that if no movement is involved, the subjacency condition should not come into play. Haegeman observes that many speakers of English use resumptives to avoid violations of the constraints on *wh*-movement. (31a) shows a violation of the complex NP constraint; (31b) shows how it can be overcome using the resumptive pronoun strategy (ibid:370;373):

(31) a *This is the man whom i Emsworth made the claim that he will invite
b This is the man i whom i Emsworth made the claim that he will invite him i

Considering Haegeman's theory on base-generated relative pronouns, it is valid to assume that in (30a) relativisation is grammatical because *that* is a base-generated pronoun while in (30b) relativisation is ungrammatical because the movement of *who* violates the coordinate structure constraint. In any case, Stahlke's sentences fail to prove any structural difference between *that* and *who*.

Smith only mentions the combination of *that* plus resumptive and says that it also occurs in standard language in constructions of the form *such that*, which shows that relative *that* is a conjunction (Smith 1982:80):

(32) This is a problem i such that nobody can solve it i

That in (32) is clearly not a pronoun but a conjunction. The trouble is, however, that the subordinate clause is not necessarily a relative clause. *Such* is not necessarily a noun here. According to the OED[10] there is a usage of *such* followed by a dependent clause introduced by *that* where "*such* tends to be intensive = so great, etc". It is reasonable to assume that meaning for the occurrence of *such* in (32) and to treat *that* as a consecutive conjunction introducing the sentence that denotes the effect produced by the "greatness" of the problem. In short, the occurrence of *that* in (32) is not an example of relative *that*.

Seppänen illustrates the structural and perceptual difference between a relative clause and a consecutive clause by providing some diachronic data. He argues that during the Early Modern English period there was a drop in the use of resumptive pronouns, which affected sentences such as (33):

(33) They presented some facts *that* only Peter could understand *them* (> *Ø*)

By contrast, constructions such as (34) remained unchanged:

(34) They presented such facts *that* only Peter could understand *them* *(>*Ø)*

Seppänen argues that *that* in (34) was taken to be a conjunction so that the pronoun was not a resumptive one and was thus retained. By contrast, in (33) *that* was perceived as a pronoun, exactly as *which* would be, making the pronoun *them* a resumptive pronoun and thus redundant (1993:71).

4.3.2 Coordination of Which *and* That

A synchronic argument in support of the structural likeness of *that* and *which* comes from Sag, who observes that *that*-relatives, unlike bare relatives, freely coordinate with *which*-relatives (Sag 1997:32; see also Kim and Sells 2008:234):

(35) a *Every essay she's written and that/which I've read is on that pile.
b Every essay which she's written and that I've read is on that pile.
c Every essay that she's written and which I've read is on that pile.

The coordination rule requires two identical phrases to be conjoined. In (35b) and (35c) coordination is grammatical, whereas in the unacceptable example (35a), two

10 Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1970, vol. 10, p.86.

different constituents, one with a gap value and one with no gap value, are conjoined (ibid). Thus, coordination data indicates that *that* and *which* are syntactically identical.

4.3.3 The Doubly Filled COMP Filter Revisited

The doubly filled COMP filter states that the sequence of an overt *wh*-element under [SpecCP] and an overt complementiser under C^0 is ungrammatical. However, the filter does not always apply. In the following sentence, *that* takes the C^0 position and the [SpecCP] position is occupied by an overt a *wh*-element. The example is taken from Seppänen and Trotta (2000:171):

(36) You would be more inclined to say that this is the outfit *who that* could live more easily with its second string

The sentence in (36) is an example of what has become known as the "*wh*+*that* Pattern" (ibid:161). The pattern was a prominent feature in earlier stages of the language when *that* was a general marker of subordination and optionally followed subordinating conjunctions, interrogative words in indirect questions, and relative pronouns. Smith says that *wh*+*that*-relatives appeared in the 14th century and had generally disappeared by the end of the 15th century (1982:60-61).[11] He presents a Middle English Example of the pattern:

(37) And gladly heare good sawes,
Which that good men us shawes

The *wh*+*that* pattern has been influential on transformationalist descriptions of subordinate clauses: Klima assumes that in their D-structure representation all relative clauses begin with *wh*+*that*, which "has historical justification" (1964:6). Radford, too, supports his analysis of *that*-relatives as a sequence of an empty *wh*-operator followed by the overt complementiser *that* by referring to Middle English *wh*+*that*-patterns (2006:146). Yet, in present day English the *wh*+*that* pattern only plays a very marginal role in bound relative clauses (Seppänen and Trotta 2000:172).

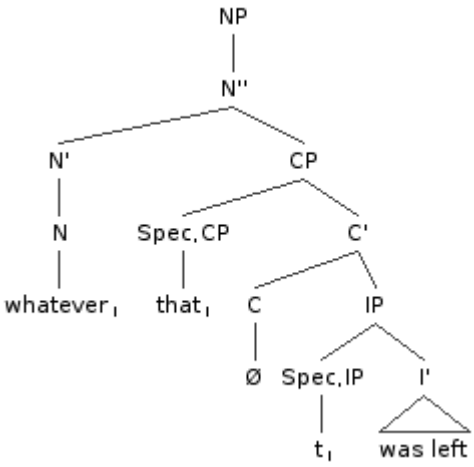
However, an environment in which it is still (or again) frequently found is free relative clauses and Seppänen argues that this contrast supports the analysis of *that* as a pronoun (2000:44). Free relatives are also known as fused relatives because instead of having a sequence of two distinct elements, antecedent and relative word are "fused" into one element:

11 See section 5 for more information on the history of relative *that*.

(38) I ate *whatever* was left

In (38), *whatever* combines the functions of the antecedent within the matrix clause and the function of the relative pronoun serving as subject within the relative clause. Seppänen argues that *that* appears in structures like these more frequently and naturally because the sequence *whatever that* can be interpreted as the sequence of an antecedent head in a matrix clause followed by a relative pronoun introducing a relative clause, making the free relative structurally identical to a bound relative (ibid):

(39) whatever that was left



He supports his theory by presenting the following examples in which *that* is replaced by a *wh*-pronoun (ibid):

(40) a […] the husband the wife the children *whoever who* was involved in that family living in a house should earn money.
b […] *whatever ordeal into which* she had to lead the rest … was always rewarded by authority's approval

Consequently, the examples in (39) and (40) are not to be treated as examples of doubly filled complementisers.

In sum, then, the *wh+that* pattern in present day English does not justify an identification of relative *that* with the complementiser. On the contrary, it supports the existence of two lexical items, a complementiser *that* and a relativiser *that*. In bound relatives, where *that* can only be a complementiser under C^0, the occurrence of the pattern is scarce, the doubly filled COMP filter proves valid in the majority of cases. By contrast, *that* frequently occurs after *wh* in free relatives,

which sequence can be taken to be that of an antecedent head in a matrix clause followed by the relative proform *that* in [SpecCP]. That analysis is supported by the fact that *that* in these structures is in the same distribution as undisputed relative proforms.

The validity of the assumption that relative *that* occupies [SpecCP] is further supported by the existence of a different type of doubly filled COMP: Seppänen argues that in the following *if*-clauses the word *if* occupies the C^0 node (2000:46). In (41a) it is preceded by *which*, which occupies the [SpecCP] position. In the structurally analogous (41b), it is preceded by relative *that*, which must consequently occupy the same position (2000:46):

(41) a This standard figure is called Bogey, *which if* you have beaten [*t*] you are a good player
b Write a list down of all the animals *that if* you ran over [*t*] you'd have to report to the police

4.4 Sentential Distribution

4.4.1 Tenseness

It is a typical feature of complementisers to subcategorise for either finite or non-finite clauses. In English, the subordinator *that* selects finite clauses as its complement, while the complementiser *for* selects infinitival clauses. The following examples come from Haegeman (1991:107):

(42)	a	I think *that* Poirot	*abandoned*	the investigation
	b		**to abandon*	
(43)	a	I expect *for* Poirot	*to abandon*	the investigation
	b		**abandoned*	

By contrast, *wh*-pronouns occur in both finite and infinitival clauses.

(44) a He had no one on whom to rely
b He had no one on whom he could rely

It is often argued that *that* occurs in finite relative clauses only, which dismisses the pronoun analysis and supports the identity of relative *that* and complementiser *that* (Radford 1988:483; Stahlke 1976:592; Huddleston and Pullum 2002:1057). The following example is taken from Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1057):

(45) *a knife *that* to cut it with

The force of the argument is diminished by the fact that in (45), *which* cannot appear, either. Infinitival relatives do not allow for preposition stranding but require the preposition to be preposed (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:1057; van der Auwera 1985:166). Van der Auwera states that *that* cannot appear in structures such as (45) because it does not allow pied piping and not because they are infinitival (van der Auwera 1985:166).

The difference between *that* and *wh*-words, as far as their distribution in finite and infinitival clauses is concerned, is not as clear-cut as it first appears. As noted earlier in the section on upward perlocation, Miller observes that in natural spoken language "infinitive relatives have no *wh*-relativiser" (1988:115). Moreover, Seppänen presents examples where *that* does occur in infinitival relative clauses (2003:269-370):

(46) a old Arthur Gride and dark eyes and eyelashes, and lips *that to look at* is long to kiss (Dickens: *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby,* Chapter 47)
b That is a paper *which / that to be seen with* I am afraid might brand you as politically suspect
c There are things in it *which / that to repeat* might be considered inappropriate.

The sentences in (46) may not be accepted by all speakers, but in any case they are considerably more acceptable than (42b). This shows that there is a difference between the complementiser *that* and the relativiser *that*. In fact, the existence of sentences such as (46) is detrimental to the complementiser analysis of relative *that*. For Haegeman, it is criterial to a complementiser that it imposes selectional restrictions on the finiteness of its complement IP. In her view, for example, "*whether* is not the head of CP but is a *wh*-phrase in the specifier of CP. Like other *wh*-phrases in [Spec,CP] it is compatible with both finite and non-finite clauses" (1999:175). Considering the sentences in (46), relative *that*, too, has to be treated as a *wh*-phrase in the specifier of CP rather than as a head of CP.

4.4.2 Restrictiveness / Nonrestrictiveness

Stahlke says that if that were a pronoun, it should parallel the behaviour of undisputedly pronominal *wh*-elements. However, while *who* and *which* can occur both in restrictive and appositive relative clauses, *that* can only appear in restrictive clauses (1976:588):

(47) a *The vice president, that was appointed by Ford, has placed the State of New York under trusteeship

b The vice president, who was appointed by Ford, has placed the State of New York under trusteeship

Yet, that argument does not prove any structural difference between *wh*-pronouns and *that*. It is not true that *that* only introduces restrictives (Hermann 2003:104; van der Auwera 1985:155; Smith 1982:75). Smith supposes that *that* is less likely to occur in appositives because they more often involve human antecedents and *that* is marked for non-humans for a number of speakers (1982:71). Markedness for animacy contradicts rather than supports the complementiser analysis. Another argument for the misbalanced distribution of *that* is that appositives are connected more loosely to their antecedent, which requires the relative marker to be more explicit, e.g. to be clearly gender-marked and/or case-marked (Hermann 2003:52; van der Auwera 1985:155). Lastly, it is controversial in how far any limitation of *that* to restrictives should be related to its status as a complementiser.

4.5 Omissibility

4.5.1 Subject Relatives: EPP vs. Ambiguity Avoidance

Proponents of the complementiser analysis have argued that relative *that* deletes under the same conditions as the complementiser *that*. By contrast, supporters of the pronoun analysis have argued that the word deletes under the same conditions as *who*(*m*) and *which* do.

An argument often put forward to promote the pronoun analysis is that if *that* were a conjunction, *that*-relatives with a relativised subject would lack an overt subject and thus violate the Extended Projection Principle. Van der Auwera argues that zero-subjects in English are highly restricted and usually limited to existential constructions and topicalisation structures, such as it-clefts (1985:160):

(48) a There's a man wants to talk to you
b It's Peter wants to talk to you

On the other hand, proponents of the complementiser analysis have argued that subject-less clauses are not as restricted as van der Auwera argues, that "subjectless verbs are not the syntactic catastrophe that they might seem to be" (Smith 1982:78).

Stahlke states that the following sentences are acceptable in non-standard English (1976:597):

(49) a The man married my sister is a lawyer
b Any man believes such a thing must be a fool

Moreover, there are subject-less relative clauses introduced by the conjunctions *as* and *but* (van der Auwera 1985:161; Smith 1982: 86; Jespersen 1927:168-182):

(50) a He's a man *as* likes his beer
b There was not one *but* had been guilty of some act of oppression

The above examples show that finite relative clauses do not need to have an overt subject. Moreover, they indicate that conjunctions may be a structural means of introducing relative clauses.[12] The observation that finite relative clauses need not always have a subject clearly invalidates the thesis that *that* must be pronominal for the simple reason that if it were a conjunction, *that*-relatives would be subject-less and their grammaticality would be inexplicable.

Nevertheless, the existence of bare subject relatives does not provide any positive evidence supporting the conjunction analysis because there is no reason why zero-subject-relatives are any more an absence of *that* than of a *wh*-pronoun (van der Auwera 1985:160). The existence of other relative conjunctions may show that conjunctions are a structural means of relativisation in English but it does not prove anything about the syntactic status of relative *that*. Lastly, at least in Standard English, subject relatives are not bare so that *that* deletes under the same conditions as *who*(*m*) and *which*.

Stahlke's overall claim is that "[t]he deletion of the conjunction *that* is subject to the same perceptual and semantic conditions, whether it introduces a relative clause or a complement" (1976:609). One of these perceptual and semantic conditions is ambiguity avoidance. Huddleston and Pullum state that both relative *that* and complementiser *that* are more likely to be omitted in short structures than in long ones (2002:1053). However, this does not prove anything about the relativiser because the absence of relative *that* could as well be the absence of a *wh*-pronoun

They also argue that the prohibition on deleting *that* has nothing to do with its grammatical function as subject but that it is associated with the need to distinguish the subordinate clause from the matrix clause, i.e. with the need to avoid "misconstruals" (ibid: 1055). Their argument is that sentences such as (50) are ungrammatical or at least clearly non-standard because there is nothing to prevent the listener from construing the relative clause predicate as the main clause predicate (ibid).

[12] Their syntax, however, is subject of a discussion similar to the current discussion of relative *that* (e.g. see van der Auwera 1985:161).

That way, relative *that* parallels the complementiser *that*, whose deletion, too, is determined by ambiguity avoidance (Temperley 2003:464). In (52a) there is nothing to prevent the listener from construing the subordinate clause as the main clause:

(51) a *John is sick is quite evident.
b That John is sick is quite evident.

Nonetheless, for a lot of speakers the omission of *that* is not insensitive to its function as subject, with ambiguity avoidance being the decisive factor: Ambiguity does not arise in all kinds of bare subject-relatives. For example, when a bare subject-relative modifies the direct object of its matrix clause, there is no ambiguity at all:

(52) *I met the woman likes John

Temperley and Stahlke note that the difference in potential ambiguity does lead speakers to favour some types of bare subject relatives over others in non-standard language (Temperley 2003:483; Stahlke 1976:598) but for a lot of speakers, even the unambiguous (52) is unacceptable. That *that* does in fact function as subject is also supported by the observation mentioned above, that the word is only used with singular verbs when referring to collective nouns and sometimes occurs with a singular verb even when referring to a singular antecedent, which means that it shows subject-verb-agreement.

The theory that the deletion of *that* depends on the avoidance of structural ambiguity may explain the fact that relative markers are required in subject but not in object relatives. But within the group of subject relatives it is not quite appropriate for many speakers. Bare subject relatives are restricted irrespective of whether they are structurally ambiguous at some point in their interpretation. Of course, that does not *entail* that *that* itself functions as subject. To remain faithful to the conjunction analysis of *that* and to the principle of ambiguity avoidance it may be argued that subject relatives in general are more likely to be ambiguous and therefore always require the insertion of the subordinating conjunction *that*.

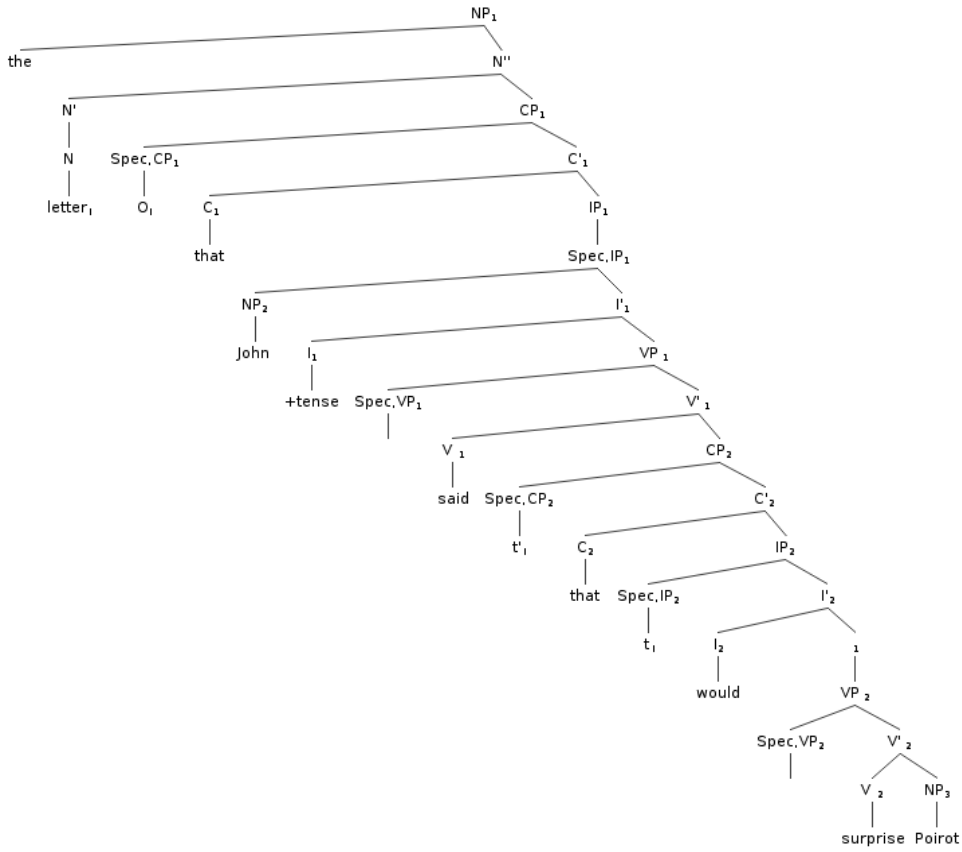
However, it will then still be true that *that* deletes under the same conditions as *who*(*m*) and *which* so that no formal difference between those *wh*-pronouns and *that* can be derived from the asymmetry in omissibility between subject and non-subject relatives.

4.5.3 The That-*Trace Effect*

While the deletion of *that* in relative clauses neither disproves the conjunction analysis nor the pronoun analysis, there is a rule governing its deletion in comple-

ment clauses which reveals a crucial difference between relative *that* and complementiser *that*. Haegeman illustrates the rule by comparing (53a) and (53b) (1991:362).

(53) a *the letter that John said that would surprise Poirot

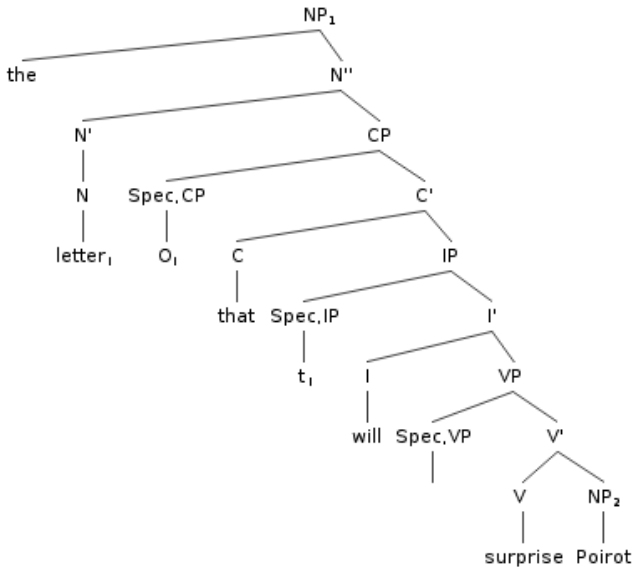


b the letter that John said Ø would surprise Poirot

In (53), the subject has been relativised using the empty operator, leaving the trace *t'* in its original position in [SpecIP2]. The ECP, which requires that all traces be properly governed, is not satisfied in (53a). The overtly realised complementiser in CP2 prevents the trace *t'* in IP2 from being properly governed. In (53b), where there is no overt complementiser, the subject can be extracted from the lower clause. Chomsky and Lasnik (1977) and Haegeman (1991) capture that obser-

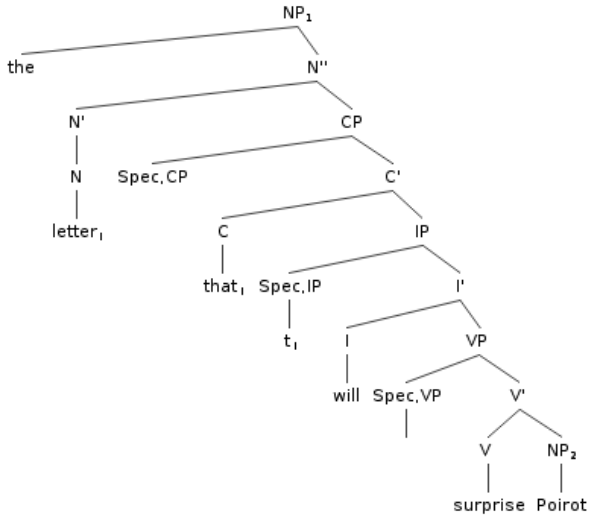
vation by means of the *That* Trace Filter stating that "[t]he sequence of an overt complementiser followed by a trace is ungrammatical" (Haegeman 1991:362). Thus, subject relatives introduced by *that*, too, should be ungrammatical if the element *that* were the same lexical item as the complementiser, as presented in (54):

(54) the letter that will surprise Poirot



To account for the grammaticality of (54), Haegeman uses a rule introduced by Pesetsky (1982:306). The rule merges the empty operator and the complementiser into one element when they are adjacent to each other. As a result, *that* is assigned the coreferential index of the operator and is thus able to antecedent-govern the trace instead of blocking antecedent-government. Nonetheless, the element is still different from the *wh*-pronouns in that it stays under C^0 (Seppänen 2000:40). After "complementizer contraction" (Haegeman 1991:424), the S-structure of (54) is as in (55):

(55) the letter that will surprise Poirot



According to Haegeman, in (53a) complementiser contraction can only apply to the complementiser that heads CP1. Relying on adjacency to the operator, it cannot apply to the complementiser heading CP2. Therefore it keeps on blocking government from the trace *t* and makes the sentence ungrammatical. The result of the contraction rule corresponds to the traditional distinction between the relative pronoun *that* and the complementiser *that*. The first *that* in (53a) is an occurrence of the pronoun, whereas the second *that* is an occurrence of the complementiser introducing the sentential complement of the verb *say*.

The *that*-trace effect is a phenomenon that is inconsistent with the analysis of *that* as being identical with the complementiser, and the phenomenon has widely been left unconsidered in the discussion of relative *that*. Haegeman's and Pesetsky's handling of the problem is not convincing. Seppänen sharply criticises "the blatantly ad hoc nature of the rule" (1993:372), calls it "theoretically awkward" (2000:40) and says it works "in a purely technical sense" (1993:372).

4.5.4 Illocutionary Force of the Clause

Stahlke argues that *that* is the subordinator for factive sentences so that the word cannot be deleted if the subordinate clause is the complement of a factive verb (1976:598):

(56) a It occurred *that* the captain had lost his orders
b *It occurred the captain had lost his orders
c It occurred to me the captain had lost his orders

He argues that the content of a relative clause is always presupposed to be true or at least declarative unless the head NP is generic or the clause contains a modal. He illustrates that observation e.g. by showing that the verb in the relative clause has to be in indicative mood (ibid: 608):

(57) a A person that *lives* in a grass house should not stow thrones
b *A person that *live* in a grass house should not stow thrones

He suspects that the insertion of *that* is to indicate the factive/declarative character of a relative clause (ibid). However, his argument is questionable. His examples in (56) illustrate that factive complement clauses are ungrammatical without *that*. By contrast, relative clauses that do not contain *that* will have the same illocutionary force (58b) and will still be grammatical (58a):

(58) a A person who *lives* in a grass house should not stow thrones
b *A person who *live* in a grass house should not stow thrones

Hence, Stahlke's observation reveals a difference in omissibility between relative *that* and complementiser *that* rather than a shared property. Moreover, as Smith observes, Stahlke's argument does not hold because complementiser *that* can also be used non-factively (1982:76):

(59) I demand that he *live* in a grass house

4.5.5 Enhanced Restrictiveness

Both *that* and Ø are used to introduce restrictive relative clauses. Stahlke observes that *that* will not be deleted "if there is some need to 'enhance' restrictiveness" (1976:607). In other words, *that*-relatives are more restrictive than Ø-relatives:

(60) a If we have any thought for the good of the company, the only man Ø we can assign to advertising is Smith.
b There are several interested, but the only man *that* we can assign to advertising is Smith; the others can't be spared from their present posts

The semantic concepts of restrictiveness and enhanced restrictiveness are specific to relative clauses so that there is no equivalent in the case of complementiser *that*.

4.5.6 Summary

Since both relative *that* and complementiser *that* function to indicate subordination, the omission of both is influenced by the need to distinguish the main clause from the subordinate clause; i.e. their omission is subject to the principle of ambiguity avoidance. Apart from that, relative *that* and complementiser *that* delete under different conditions. Factors influencing the omissibility of relative *that* and complementiser *that* are complex and numerous; the above examples do not cover the whole range.[13] However, they suffice to indicate that the conditions are specific to the different syntactic and semantic contexts in which *that* is used, i.e. they arise from its status as either relativiser or complementiser (in the narrow Rosenbaum sense). Syntactically, at least in Standard English, relative *that* cannot be deleted in subject relatives whereby it parallels *who*(*m*) and *which* rather than complementiser *that*. If despite that fact, *that* in subject relatives is considered to be a conjunction, it must be in the position before the subject gap, which is a position from which the complementiser *that* must be omitted. That way, relative *that* would be an exception to that rule if it were the same lexical item. Semantically, too, the two *thats* are different: Relative *that* cannot be deleted when there is a need to express a sense of enhanced restrictiveness, which is a concept that is not at issue in a complement clause. On the other hand, the deletion of the complementiser is sensitive to the illocutionary force of its clause, which is a piece of semantic information that is not at issue in a relative clause.

4.6 Proform for PPs and NPs

That does not only relativise nominal constituents but also represents constituents equivalent to a relative adverb or a sequence of a preposition and a relative pronoun:

(61) The place *where* / *to which* / *that* we went

It has been suggested to treat all occurrences of relative *that* as occurrences of a conjunction because "[*that*] would be the only pronoun capable of replacing either an NP or an adverb" (Stahlke 1976:590). Nonetheless, Van der Auwera observes that the particular example in (61) makes *that* less non-pronominal than appears at first sight. The noun *place*, unlike the noun *street*, can head a bare adverbial NP so that *that* does not necessarily represent a PP in (62) (1985:174):

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[13] Van der Auwera argues that the omission of the complementiser is influenced by the frequency of the main verb and by the presence of an indirect object. He also provides bibliographic details for further information on the omission of relative *that* and complementiser *that* (1985:160).

(62) You have been some *place/*street*

Larson (1983) argues that the use of *that* is restricted to nouns like that, which supports the pronominal quality of the word (van der Auwera 1985:175):

(63) a I saw the place *that / in which* John lived
b I saw the street **that / in which* John lived

Van der Auwera agrees to the extent that *that* may be particularly frequent with bare NP adverbials but he objects that there is no absolute restriction to those. He cites cases in which *that* does represent PPs (ibid):

(64) I saw Fred in the street *that / in which* John lived

Van der Auwera proposes that there are two different relative *thats*: a relative pronoun and a relative adverb (1985:157). However, relative *that* is very different from typical relative adverbs as far as the semantic concord with its antecedent is concerned. Relative *where* typically takes locative expressions as antecedents. *When* and *while* are confined to temporal expressions, and *why* only takes the antecedent *reason*. In sharp contrast to this, relative *that* covers the ground of all those words put together:

(65) a The reason *why/that/*where/*when/*while (for which)* I went home
b The time *while/when/that/%where/*why* (*during/in/at which*)[14] I stayed at home
c The place *where/that/*while/*when/*why* (*to which*) I went

Nonetheless, the above examples only show that relative *that* is not always used as a pro*noun*. They do not deny its status as a pro*form*, nor do they prove the complementiser analysis. Due to space constraints a more detailed analysis of *that* as a PP-relativiser cannot be done in this paper.

5 Diachronic Excursus: On the History of Relative *That*

Although diachronic data has little bearing on the status of present-day relative *that*, I will give a brief survey of the history of the word to shed some additional light on its peculiar syntactic properties. Overall, the history of relative *that* is as

[14] Relative *while* is not accepted by all speakers in bound relatives. Compared to relative *when*, it is more likely to be used to denote duration rather than a point in time. Considering that relative adverbs are sensitive to those refined semantic differences, the contrast between those adverbs and relative *that* becomes even bigger. For a comprehensive study of relative *while* see Trotta and Seppänen 1998.

controversial as its current syntactic status. Some scholars trace it back to the Old English pronoun *þæt*; others view it as going back to the subordinating conjunction *þæt*. As in the case of the synchronic analysis, there are also in-between positions considering the relativiser to go back to both sources.

Old English had a paradigm of relative pronouns *se*, *seo*, *þæt* (masc., fem., neut. nom. sing.) inflecting for nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, and instrumental case, inflecting for masculine, feminine, and neuter gender, and inflecting for singular and plural number. They could only occur with pied piped prepositions. The form *þæt* was nominative and accusative neuter singular (Smith 1982:44-46).

Apart from that paradigm of pronouns, Old English had the relativiser *þe*, which always stranded its preposition (Dekeyser 1988:164), which was indeclinable, and which is therefore generally considered non-pronominal.[15] There was also a rare type of relative clause combining a form of the relative pronoun with *þe* in the form of *sepe*, *seope*, *þætþe*.

From the 9th century on, *þæt* started to lack inflection (van Gelderen 2004:73). It started to violate gender and number concord, began to strand its preposition and appeared in the form *þæt* instead of taking the case required by the preposition (Smith 1982:46). Smith argues that this lack in concord marked the change from pronoun to complementiser, with *þæt* going through an intermediate stage in which it was sometimes a pronoun and sometimes a complementiser (ibid). Seppänen objects that the "deviant" use of *þæt* is not an indication of its transformation into a conjunction because it was still mainly confined to neuter heads, temporal heads and the antecedent *eall*, thus showing semantic concord (2000:35).

The general complementiser in Old English was *þæt*, used to introduce complement clauses like Modern English *that*. Smith argues that relative *þæt* merged with that complementiser when it became indeclinable and stopped preposition fronting (1982:46) whereas Seppänen says that the pronoun was preserved (200:48).

Either way, the invariant form *that* came to replace the entire paradigm *se*, *seo*, *þæt* by the Early Middle English period (1100-1250). The form was first confined to inanimate antecedents, alternating with *þe*, which occurred after animate antecedents. Ultimately *that* took over all functions of *þe* (Smith 1982:55) so that by the beginning of the Mid Middle English period (1250-1350), *that* was the only relative marker and was used after any antecedent (ibid:53).

From the 12th century on, *that* appeared after the conjunction *giff* (*if*) in conditional and indirect clauses and by the 14th century *that* had been generalised as a marker of subordination. It could follow subordinating conjunctions and *wh*-pronouns, which had entered the language in the Late Middle English period (1350-1500), in indirect questions, free relatives, and bound relatives. The

[15] Dekeyser (1988:163), Stahlke (1976:587), Van der Auwera (1985:172), van Gelderen (2004 :71) consider *þe* non-pronominal. Seppänen (2000:31) says that the word was also used pronominally.

wh+that pattern in bound relatives structurally corresponds to the Old English *sepe*, *seope*, *pætpe* relatives since both are considered a sequence of a pronoun in [SpecCP] followed by a complementiser in C^0.

Middle English *wh+that*-relatives strongly favour the complementiser analysis of relative *that*. Van Gelderen assumes that *that* moved from [SpecCP] into C^0, when it was taking over all functions of *þe*, which she considers to have occupied that position previously (2004:72).

On the other hand, Seppänen cites occurrences of a *that+that* pattern in Middle English as well as instances of *that* being preceded by a preposition, which indicates that the pronominal use of *that* was still preserved (2000:32-33) and that *that* did at least not in all cases move from [SpecCP] into C^0. In addition, although supporting the complementiser analysis, van Gelderen observes that Middle English rlative *that* sometimes triggered "wrong" agreement in that it took singular verb forms although having a plural antecedent. According to her, that was a reflex of the Old English Pronoun *þæt*, which was confined to singular heads (2004:76). As stated above, she argues that this phenomenon has been preserved until today. That observation encourages that *that* was not always a head in C^0 but sometimes a pronoun in [SpecCP] and thus subject to agreement. Seppänen argues that Middle English had a relative complementiser in C^0 and retained the Old English pronoun *that* in [SpecCP]. According to him, the former was then re-analysed as a pronoun so that all occurrences of modern English relative *that* are pronominal; however, with the peculiarity of being able to occur in either of the syntactic positions (2000:46).

The *wh+that* pattern had disappeared by the end of the 15th century (Smith 1982:60-61). Several reasons for its decline have been suggested. Van der Auwera argues that relative *that* does not go back to the Old English pronoun but to the coalescence of the Old English non-pronominal relativiser *þe* and the complementiser *þæt* and has since undergone a process of pronominalisation. That process eventually made the pattern redundant (1985:174). Smith, who promotes the opposite argument saying that the relative does go back to the Old English Pronoun but has become a complementiser, presents a number of possible reasons for the loss: He argues that *wh* and *that* may have semantically reinforced each other so that they were perceived as a compound-relative marker, which was later simplified into either *that* or *wh*. The pattern may also have conflicted with the emerging rule that *that* be the clause-initial complementiser. Another reason Smith mentions is word order: When subject-verb-inversion became restricted to interrogatives and thus no longer applied to relatives, the insertion of *that* was no longer necessary to distinguish interrogatives from relatives, which were introduced by the same set of *wh*-words (Smith 1982:64).

In sum then, there are numerous different positions: Van der Auwera and Stahlke doubt that relative *that* is historically a pronoun (Stahlke 1976:587; Van der Auwera 1985:174). However, while Stahlke argues that today it is still not a

pronoun, van der Auwera states that it has become "highly pronominal" (1985:171). Seppänen not only argues that the Old English pronoun is still preserved but he also argues that the Middle English relative conjunction *that* has been re-analysed as a pronoun, from which it inherits the peculiar characteristic of being unable to follow a preposition (200:48). Lastly, Smith and van Gelderen trace relative *that* back to the Old English pronoun and say it has changed into a complementiser (Smith 1982:46; van Gelderen 2004:72).

6 Conclusive Summary

Relative *that* and complementiser *that* may share the same phonological (and orthographical) shape but they are two different lexical items. Relative *that* is a *wh*-operator but it shows a number of peculiarities.

Proponents of the complementiser analysis have mainly based their view on the formal identity between the relativiser and the complementiser *that*, on the morphological invariance of relative *that*, on its non-occurrence in infinitival relatives, and above all on its inability to be the complement of a preposition. On the other hand, the traditional pronoun analysis has rested on the functional resemblance between relative *that* and *wh*-pronouns as well as on their great distributional similarity.

In this paper I have tried to consider various varieties of English, such as standard language, non-standard language, and different regional dialects. It has been shown that there is little stability in the use of relative *that* but the validity of all arguments in favour of the complementiser analysis has been challenged at some point: *That* has an oblique form *that's* in a number of dialects, *that* does occur in infinitival relatives, and its inability to follow a preposition does not consistently discriminate the word from other *wh*-operators.

In formal English, relative *that* shares the *wh*-typical characteristics of being gender-marked and being subject to the rule that it not be deleted in subject position. It cannot immediately follow a preposition, but neither can *who* and *what*. Data from spoken English further alleviates the contrast between *that* and *wh*-pronouns in that pied piping is less typical with *wh*-pronouns, *wh*-pronouns are less explicit, and *that* occurs in both restrictives and nonrestrictives. Very strong syntactic arguments in support of the *wh*-analysis of relative *that* are the fact that *that*-relatives freely coordinate with *which*-relatives, the fact that relative *that*, exactly like *which*, can precede the word *if* in a conditional relative, the occurrence of *that* in infinitivals, and the development of a genitive *that's* and connectedly the development of a complex relative phrase containing the relativiser as a genitive attribute.

A *wh*-proform in any case, it is doubtful whether it is always a *wh*-pro*noun*: There is a usage of the relativiser being equivalent to a relative adverb or a sequence of a preposition and a relative pronoun. Apart from its structural

versatility, the word is semantically very flexible, representing animate antecedents, inanimate antecedents and circumstantial elements, such as place, time, or reason.

Nonetheless, there is a clear difference between the relativiser and the complementiser *that*, which is closely associated with the different semantic and syntactic environments in which they occur, namely relative clauses and complement clauses.

Complement clauses do not contain a relativised element, they are not tied to any antecedent, and they are restricted to heads that C-select for it whereas a relative clause can modify nearly any antecedent head. Those who analyse relative *that* as being identical with the complementiser *that* do not deny the difference between those two types of clauses even though they may use the misleading term *complementiser* when referring to relative *that* (cf. e.g. Smith 1982:36-37). However, what they do believe is that it is the same lexical item *that* that is used to introduce those two very different types of subordinate clauses.

That claim, however, has been shown not to be without its difficulties. Strong arguments denying the identification of the relativiser with the complementiser are the fact that the complementiser selects for finite clauses while the relativiser is also found in infinitival relatives and the fact that the complementiser is subject to the *that*-trace-effect whereas the relativiser is not. The complementiser occupies C^0 while the relativiser moves into [SpecCP]. This becomes apparent from the occurrence of the sequence of relative *that* followed by *if* in a conditional relative and its occurrence as a genitive attribute within a complex relative phrase. Moreover, *that* frequently occurs after *wh* in free relatives, which may be interpreted to offer an available [SpecCP], while it rarely occurs after *wh* in bound relatives, where that position is not available.

Semantically, too, the complementiser and the relativiser differ. The complementiser does not have any referential quality while the relativiser is felt to refer back to an antecedent. Relative *that* cannot be deleted when there is a need to express a sense of enhanced restrictiveness, which cannot arise in a complement clause. On the other hand, the deletion of the complementiser is sensitive to the illocutionary force of its clause, which is a piece of semantic information that is not at issue in a restricive relative clause.

In sum then, relative *that* and complementiser *that* are two different lexical items. The relativiser *that* may both syntactically and semantically be the most versatile relativiser but still it is more similar to *wh* than it is to the complementiser.

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Franziska Frome

Changing Women: Thomas King's Depiction of Indigenous Female Characters in *Green Grass, Running Water*

1. Introduction and Focal Points of this Thesis

Thomas King has become more and more famous for his writings during the last two decades. His works have been included in nearly every anthology dealing with (Native) Canadian Literature.[1] Though born in the United States, in California, and of Cherokee, Greek, and German descent the author regards himself as a

[1] For example: Gerald Vizenor (ed.), *Native American Literature. A Brief Introduction and Anthology* (New York, 1995); Janet Witalec (ed.), *Smoke Rising. The Native North American Literary Companion* (Detroit & others, 1995); George Melnyk / Tamara Palmer Seiler (ed.), *The Wild Rose Anthology of Alberta Prose* (Calgary, 2003); Will Ferguson (ed.), *The Penguin Anthology of Canadian Humour* (Toronto, 2006); Daniel David Moses / Terry Goldie (ed.), *An Anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English*, 2nd edition (Toronto, 1998); John L. Purdy / James Ruppert (ed.), *Nothing but the Truth. An Anthology of Native American Literature* (Upper Saddle River, 2001).

Canadian.[2] He "grew up in a female-dominated household"[3] because his father left his mother and their two sons when King was still a child. This might explain why strong female characters often feature in King's writings. King engaged in an academic career and started writing novels as well as short fiction. *Green Grass, Running Water* is Thomas King's second novel, which was published in 1993. It was nominated for the Governor General's Award,[4] one of Canada's most important prizes.

A major topic of King's writing is the depiction of Native American life.[5] The quest for identity as a member of an ethnic minority in a postcolonial society, having to fight against prejudices and social stigma is a struggle that is central in *Green Grass, Running Water*.[6] In this context he often concentrates on borders "between Native and white people, between men and women, between urban Natives and Natives living on reserves".[7] These borders have to be negotiated and are not fixed in King's work. His novels and short fiction provide some striking examples of these different types of borders that play an important part in the creation of identity. The novel "aims to reclaim images of Native people from stereotyping by the dominant culture."[8]

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2 It is interesting to note that the *Dictionary of Literary Biography* includes him in two different categories: He is mentioned in the volume on *North American Writers of the United States*, (James Ruppert, "Thomas King", in: Kenneth M. Roemer (ed.), *Native American Writers of the United States*, Dictionary of Literary Biography, vol. 175 (Detroit & others, 1997), pp. 143-147.) but then again in the 2007 version of *Twenty-First-Century Canadian Writing* (Jennifer Andrews, "Thomas King", in: Christian Riegel (ed.), *Twenty-First-Century Canadian Writers*, Dictionary of Literary Biography, vol. 334, Detroit & others, 2007), pp. 118-126).

3 Arnold E. Davidson / Priscilla L. Walton / Jennifer Andrews, *Border Crossings. Thomas King's Cultural Inversions* (Toronto & others, 2003), p. 4.

4 Cf. Smaro Kamboureli (ed.), *Making a Difference. Canadian Multicultural Literature* (Toronto, 1996), p. 233.

5 Blanca Schorcht says that *Green Grass, Running Water* shows "the world of contemporary Native reality." Blanca Schorcht, *Storied Voices in Native American Texts. Harry Robinson, Thomas King, James Welch and Leslie Marmon Silko* (New York & London, 2003), p. 5.

6 This quest for identity for members of First Nation minorities is a central topic throughout King's writings. For example he devotes a chapter in *The Truth about Stories* to the discussion of stereotypes: "You're not the Indian I had in mind." There he discusses the picture drawn by authors and artists on Indian culture and personalities in the past and describes his own approaches to the topic. See: Thomas King, *The Truth About Stories. A Native Narrative* (Toronto, 2003), pp. 31-60.

7 Kamboureli, *Making a Difference Canadian Multicultural Literature*, p. 233.

8 Mark Shackleton, "Monique Mojica's 'Princess Pocahontas and the Blue Spots' and Thomas King's 'Green Grass, Running Water'. Countering Misrepresentations of 'Indianness' in Recent Native North American Writing", in: Peter H. Marsden / Geoffrey V. Davis, *Towards a Transcultural Future. Literature and Human Rights in a 'Post'-Colonial World*, ANSEL Papers 8 (Amsterdam & New York, 2004), p. 261.

The question of identity is "an important question in my fiction"[9], Thomas King states in an interview with Jeffrey Canton. Therefore, since identity is also a major topic where the female characters are concerned, some more general aspects of identity need to be considered. Identity is generated from different sources. It is usually not national but regional and is based on common history[10] or histories. History, in this case, is more a concept of communal ideas about the past and can involve legends. Therefore the term 'histories' can be used to indicate that one of the multiple constructs of history is meant. "Another pattern by which identity borders are negotiated may be seen in the availability of *public* images for group display."[11] Hence the process of 'being named' by others and 'being defined' by an outside perspective, following Edward Said's line of thought, also creates identity – be it in a positive sense or in a negative way. This could lead to statements such as "They say we are the bravest so we must be." or "They say we are stupid but we always prove them wrong." Stuart Hall says that the creation of identity is a process that is also influenced by the outside world. Furthermore, this view from the outside becomes internalised.[12] For a long time the Eurocentric reader was only given "three visions of the Indians […] the dissipated savage, the barbarous savage, and the heroic savage."[13] These images, also conveyed by movies, have to be fought – in real life as well as in King's novel. Stereotypes help us to understand the world in rough categories of good-and-bad, black-and-white, Indian-and-settler. For a deeper understanding, stereotypes have to be re-worked. There is neither "the Indian" nor "the European settler". "'Indian' becomes, in part, a construct"[14], emphasises King. Therefore it can be assumed that the "novel plays with oppositions and stereotypes, revealing essentialized identity as a social construction even – or especially – when the oppositions are used as tests of some inherent Native authenticity."[15]

Bearing all of this in mind, it has to be stressed that for "Native people, identity comes from community."[16] Though, of course, over-generalising statements like this have to be handled with care, it seems to be true that for Native peoples

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9 Jeffrey Canton, "Coyote Lives. Thomas King", in: Beverley Daurio (ed.), *The power to bend spoons. Interviews with Canadian Novelists* (Toronto, 1998), p. 90.

10 For the historical notion see: Laura Peters, "Thomas King and Contemporary Indigenous Identities", in: Deborah L. Madsen (ed.), *Beyond the Borders. American Literature and Post-colonial Theory* (London & others, 2003), p. 196.

11 Tad Tuleja (ed.), *Usable Pasts* (Logan, 1997), p. 10.

12 Cf. Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora" in: Padmini Mongia, *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory. A Reader* (London & others, 1996), p. 112.

13 Thomas King, "Introduction", in: Thomas King / Cherly Calver / Helen Hoy (ed.), *The Native in Literature* (Toronto, 1987), p. 8.

14 Canton, "Coyote Lives. Thomas King", p. 91.

15 Schorcht, *Storied Voices in Native American Texts*, p. 27.

16 Canton, "Coyote Lives. Thomas King ", p. 90.

their tribe is an important source of identity. Relations are vital.[17] The position within a specific group has also to be considered.[18]

Nevertheless communal identity is still just one aspect of the complex picture that makes an individual. Experiences shape a person just as well. For Native Americans the experience of being torn between a world dominated by western discourse on the one hand, and more traditional tribal values on the other hand is distinct.[19]

In (post-)colonial societies Homi K. Bhabha's concept of 'mimicry' can often be found and becomes a part of identity.[20] It means that the colonised mimics the actions and imitates the values of the oppressing power. The men in *Green Grass, Running Water* often seem to want to be white. These "mimic men" are opposed by the women who "not only refuse to assimilate but also subvert settler culture."[21] Applying Bhabha's terminology this would be a case of hybridity. Aspects of colonial power and Native structures are combined and create something new.[22] Dee Horne states that "King demonstrates that he 'knows the difference' between creative hybridity and colonial mimicry."[23]

It is, however, important to remember that Native terms of identity differ from Eurocentric standards. Such concepts of gender, race and nation are not part of Native philosophy. In King's novel they are therefore "repeatedly deconstructed through a trickster discourse that takes aim at the hierarchical constructions of gender, race and nation."[24]

But the question what *Green Grass, Running Water* is really about is more complex than simply concentrating on the border issue and identity struggles. It depends to a great extent on the reader and his or her focus. Some scholars have paid close attention to the trickster character, the literary references, the structural

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17 In his anthology *All My Relations* King ponders on the question who can be considered Canadian and who can be considered Native. It seems as if you can choose to a certain extent who you want to be as long as you have personal ties to one culture or the other. Cf. Thomas King, "Introduction", in: Thomas King (ed.), *All My Relations. An Anthology of Contemporary Canadian Native Fiction* (Toronto, 1990), pp. x-xi.

18 Cf. Tuleja (ed.), *Usable Pasts*, p. 9.

19 Cf. Canton, "Coyote Lives. Thomas King", p. 92.

20 The problems of using postcolonial concepts when analysing *Green Grass, Running Water* will be discussed in Chapter 1.1.

21 Dee Horne, *Contemporary American Indian Writing. Unsettling Literature* (New York & others, 2004), p. 45.

22 For the importance of the concept of hybridity in King's novel cf. Clare Archer-Lean, *Cross-Cultural Analysis of the Writings of Thomas King and Colin Johnson (Mudrooroo)* (New York & others, 2006), p. 312.

23 Horne, *Contemporary American Indian Writing*, p. 48. She goes on saying that King "subversively mimics aspects of the colonial discourse and its civilizing mission to re-present it in a hybrid American Indian context." ibid., p. 26.

24 Davidson, *Border Crossings. Thomas King's Cultural Inversions*, p. 156.

elements and the connection to the native tradition of oral story telling, or the use of humour as a literary device.

This thesis focuses on the depiction of the female characters, the "[s]trong, sassy women"[25] already advertised on the cover of the novel. Of course, it covers only a small fraction of what can be seen in the novel. Nevertheless, a closer examination of this topic is important because despite a vast variety of material available for analysis, the Native women are often neglected in favour of the mythical women or the men.

There are few studies dealing with the analysis of female characters in Native literature. There are, of course, chapters headed "'Decolonisation in the Feminine"'[26] and monographs like Helen Hoy's *How Shall I Read These?*[27] and Patrice E. M. Hollrah's *"The Old Lady Trill, the Victory Yell." The Power of Women in Native American Literature*,[28] but they usually only cover female authors and their works. The topic of women in *Green Grass, Running Water* is generally simply discussed peripherally in secondary literature. Very few authors have looked closely at the female characters, and if they do, then they often focus on the mythical women. There are only few exceptions. In their book *Border Crossings* Arnold E. Davidson, Priscilla L. Walton and Jennifer Andrews devote a whole chapter to "The Comic Dimensions of Gender, Race, and Nation". The only academic work that completely focuses on King's Native women is Christina McKay's Master's thesis *'And that one takes a big bite of one of those nice red apples': Portraits of Native Women in Thomas King's 'Green Grass, Running Water' and 'Medicine River'.*

In his "Introduction" to *Ethnopoetics of the minority voice* Jannetta considers that there are "two modes of escape from the colonial relationship for the colonised: assimilation on the one hand, and resistance or revolt on the other."[29] Thomas King's female characters take the third option: They bend the rules imposed on them until they fit their purpose. All three Blackfoot women, Norma, Alberta and Latisha, can hence be seen as Changing Women. They are able to adapt to the circumstances they live in and try to make the best of every situation. They also succeed in helping others to change: first and foremost this is Norma's aim when she helps her nephew, but it is also an element of Latisha's friendship to Alberta. All characters gain depth by interacting with one another. "Through the text, the women are validated to be transmitters of culture and they have an ability to trans-

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25 Thomas King, *Green Grass, Running Water*, (New York & others, 1994), cover.

26 Armando E. Jannetta, *Ethnopoetics of the minority voice: an introduction to the politics of dialogism and difference in Métis literature* (Augsburg, 2001), p. 95.

27 Helen Hoy, *How should I read these?: Native Women Writers in Canada* (Toronto, 2001).

28 Patrice E. M. Hollrah, 'The Old Lady Trill, the Victory Yell' *The Power of Women on Native American Literature* (New York & London, 2004).

29 Jannetta, *Ethnopoetics of the minority voice*, p. 14.

form others."[30], Hillers states in her Master's thesis. Thirdly the term 'Changing Women' relates to the mythical oral story tradition. The stories of Latisha, Alberta and Norma can be seen as part of an ever-repeating story cycle of Native women. The structure of the novel shows through its constantly changing perspective that there is not one but many stories told simultaneously and interwoven. Therefore this thesis contradicts Clare Archer-Lean's statement that "Despite all of this positivity […] King's women […] remain fixed."[31] In her book *Cross-Cultural Analysis of the Writings of Thomas King and Colin Johnson (Mudrooroo)* she recycles among others her sub-chapter "Positioning of women" from her Master's thesis. She argues furthermore that the female characters display "repeating similar forms of anti-male freedom […], rather than their own multiple and varied female experience."[32] She also denies that the women have to deal with "female angst" ("At no point is there a sense of female angst."[33]). Strongly disagreeing with these statements this thesis seeks to prove that "[t]hese Aboriginal women are presented as agents of their own lives: they are strong women who nevertheless have their share of problems."[34]

In contrast to the men in *Green Grass, Running Water* the women seem to know who they are. "The women in King's novel […] work to overthrow stereotypes about Indians and assert their identities from a Native point of view."[35] They seem to manage to develop their identities much more skilfully than their male counterparts. "King's Blackfoot woman displays heroic und unwavering exemplary strength of identity."[36] The whole book is not linear but has a circular structure[37] and thus can be seen as a female version of story in contrast to the western

30 Anita Hillers, *'Trickster Figures and Discourse': Negotiating the Liminal Space Between Cultures in Four Native American Novels*, Master's thesis (Universität Konstanz, 2005), pdf-file: http://www.ub.uni-konstanz.de/kops/volltexte/2006/1815/ (Konstanzer Online Publication System KOPS), p. 46.

31 Clare Archer-Lean, *Blurring Representation: the Writings of Thomas King and Mudrooroo*, Master's thesis (Queensland University, 2002), pdf-file: http://adt.library.qut.edu.au/adt-qut/public/adt-QUT20040513.120811/, p. 193.

32 Ibid., p.194.

33 Ibid., p. 194.

34 Gabriele Helms, "Critiquing the Choice That Is Not One: Jeannette Armstrong's 'Slash' and Thomas King's 'Green Grass, Running Water'" in: Gabriel Helms, *Challenging Canada. Dialogism and Narrative Techniques in Canadian Novels* (Montreal & others, 2003), p. 115.

35 Christina A.S. McKay, *'And that one takes a big bite of one of those nice red apples': Portraits of Native Women in Thomas King's 'Green Grass, Running Water' and 'Medicine River'*, Master's thesis (Dalhousie University, Halifax, 1998), pdf-file: http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk2/tape15/PQDD_0012/MQ36501.pdf, (Library and Archives Canada online), p. 15.

36 Monica Loeb, "Crossing the US/Canadian National Border. A Matter of Identity in Joyce Carol Oates, Thomas King and John Steinbeck", in: Monica Loeb / Gerald Potter (ed.), *Dangerous Crossing. Papers on Transgression in Literature and Culture* (Uppsala, 1999), p. 52. Though this remark is made about King's short story "Borders", it can be applied to the Blackfoot women in *Green Grass, Running Water* as well.

37 For example opening and ending of the novel.

white male linear structure of a narrative. Secondary literature basically agrees that King's women find their way to cope with the world they live in. In an interview King explained why his female characters are so "strong and independent"[38]:

> It's not so much that the women are smarter than the men […] My sense is that within society as a whole, men are simply more privileged and with that privilege comes a certain laziness.
> The women in my books don't take things for granted. They work pretty hard to get what they want and have to make specific decisions to make their lives come together.[39]

By refusing to allow themselves "to be marginalized"[40], as McKay puts it, the women gain strength and this strength helps them in future to cope with difficult new situations. The world is not all bad for them but a challenge. Two of the tactics for meeting this challenge and keeping up the motivation to fight on are "humour and irony."[41] Both are frequently present in the comments of all three women and will be taken into account during the analysis of the novel.

But first of all, the next two sub-chapters will provide some more background information to provide a deeper understanding of the female characters. First, there will be a brief discussion of Canadian postcolonialism and the difficulties emerging from these theories in connection with *Green Grass, Running Water*. Secondly, there will be a short introduction to Blackfoot women in general. The main body of this thesis focuses on the analysis of the Blackfoot women in the novel. First Norma, the oldest of the three, will be examined. Her attitude towards tradition as a source of her identity and actions is central and will be dealt with in detail. The next chapter will deal with Latisha, Norma's niece. An important part of her life are her former husband and her children. They will be analysed first, also to set the background for Latisha's way of creating her own identity. Then her work and the closely connected way of dealing with tradition will be focused on.

Chapter 4 is devoted to Alberta, who lives and works farthest away from the reserve and seems to be the youngest because she is still searching for the proper way to finally become who she wants to be. After a brief characterisation, her working life will then be examined because this is the part of her identity which she has already created to her own satisfaction. Then the topic of relationships and, more important, the issue of children will be looked at in greater detail. Lastly, her attitude to tradition and her function within the story will be discussed.

The last chapter is devoted to other female characters in the novel. Of course, the mythical women deserve to be mentioned because they do not only play an

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38 Archer-Lean, *Cross-Cultural Analysis of the Writings of Thomas King and Colin Johnson (Mudrooroo)*, p. 34.

39 Canton, "Coyote Lives. Thomas King", p. 93.

40 McKay, *'And that one takes a big bite of one of those nice red apples'*, p. 46.

41 Davidson, *Border Crossings. Thomas King's Cultural Inversions*, p. 163.

important part in the development of the plot and contribute to the reader's confusion and understanding at the same time but also add a religious dimension to the female characters. It is also important to note that King does not idealise his Native characters but depicts "human weaknesses, which he finds in Natives as well as in Whites."[42] He also rejects the "simplistic binary antagonism, which ultimately leaves Aboriginal peoples no choice because both options are forms of (self-) annihilation."[43] The characters are "neither demonized nor idealized."[44] For this reason and to emphasise some aspects of the depiction of women, female problems and the quest for identity, a last sub-chapter will deal with Babo Jones, the Afro-American janitor, and Karen, Norma's sister-in-law, a white Canadian woman who is fascinated by Indian traditions.

Finally this thesis wants to show that the indigenous women depicted in King's novel are neither stereotypical nor shallow and present a picture of people who consciously change their identities in a creative way. The women are the ones handing down and adapting traditions and building their own world and are effective as Changing Women.

1.1 Postcolonialism in Canada and in Thomas King's Writing

There are always problems when using the term 'postcolonial'. In Canada there is a huge debate on whether it can be classified as a postcolonial nation.

In one of her essays Laura Moss asks the vital question "Is Canada Postcolonial?"[45] She states that Canada cannot be put in the same category as Third World Nations though they might share the experience of being in the Commonwealth. The answer to her question is complex and she starts each explanation with "'it depends'".[46] In the end, "it all depends" on the focus chosen. Canada is a rich nation, a former colony, still suppresses First Nation people in some areas of social and political life and believes in multiculturalism.[47]

In recent publications there is the discussion to reconsider "the nature of the doubly colonized."[48] The double colonisation originates from the thought that Canada used to be a British colony. Therefore the subjects living in Canada were

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42 Dieter Petzold, "Thomas King's 'Green Grass, Running Water': A Postmodern Postcolonial Puzzle; or, Coyote Conquers the Campus", in: Bernhard Reitz /Eckart Voigts-Virchow (ed.), *Lineages of the Novel. Essays in Honour of Raimund Borgmeier* (Trier, 2000), p. 252.

43 Helms, "Critiquing the Choice That Is Not One Challenging Canada", p. 99.

44 Ibid., p. 114.

45 Laura Moss, "Is Canada Postcolonial? Introducing the Question", in: Laura Moss (ed.) *Is Canada Postcolonial? Unsettling Canadian Literature* (Waterloo, 2003), p. 1.

46 Ibid., p. 7.

47 Cf. Moss, "Is Canada Postcolonial? Introducing the Question", pp. 7-8.

48 Linda Hutcheon, "'Circling the Downspout of Empire': Post-Colonialism and Postmodernism" in: Cynthia Sugars (ed), *Unhomely States. Theorizing English-Canadian Postcolonialism* (Peterborough & others, 2004), p. 72.

under British colonial rule. The First Nation peoples were then again suppressed and in a way colonised by the colonised. Diana Brydon is of the opinion that the term postcolonial can only be applied to Third World Nations but not to the so-called Fourth World of the Indigenous population. Bydon further thinks that Canada is post-modern but questions the definition of the country as post-colonial.[49] Because of all the difficulties involving the use of the term 'postcolonial' she thinks it is more appropriate to talk of postcolonial theories in the plural.[50]

Brydon's argument also includes criticism of the way post-colonial theorists deal with Native culture. She sees that "some native writers in Canada resist what they see as a violating appropriation to insist on their ownership of their stories and their exclusive claim to an authenticity that should not be ventriloquised or parodied."[51]

This problem is also approached by Thomas King himself, though he stresses that he does not consider himself a theorist. King does not like the term post-colonialism for a variety of reasons. In his essay "Godzilla vs. Postcolonial" he argues that the only benefit this category implies for him is that it sets him and his writing apart from the masses. But otherwise the term itself bears more dangers than advantages. Like the proverbial Trojan horse it secretly carries unpleasant implications. King states that "[a]ssumptions are a dangerous thing."[52] The term postcolonial assumes various aspects. It strongly implies a sense of linear progression. There has to be pre-colonial and colonial literature to have post-colonial literature. This, of course, is no appropriate classification for Native literature because it would be defined only by its reaction to western power. It also implies that the experience of colonisation is one, if not the important influence in the writings classified as postcolonial.

The other assumption is that postcolonial literature must be written by Natives, another term that is even harder to define. The decision whether writers have to be native by birth, or by legal status, or even by choice is difficult if not impossible to make. King is therefore "quite unwilling to use these terms."[53]

Instead he introduces the terms: "tribal, interfusional, polemical, and associational"[54] when talking about Native literature. Literature is tribal when it "exists primarily within a tribe or a community […] and retained in a Native language"; it

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49 Diana Brydon, "The White Inuit Speaks: Contamination as Literary Strategy" in: Cynthia Sugars (ed), *Unhomely States. Theorizing English-Canadian Postcolonialism* (Peterborough & others, 2004), p. 94.

50 Diana Brydon, "Reading Postcoloniality, Reading Canada": Cynthia Sugars (ed), *Unhomely States. Theorizing English-Canadian Postcolonialism* (Peterborough & others, 2004), p. 166.

51 Brydon "The White Inuit Speaks: Contamination as Literary Strategy", p. 99.

52 Thomas King, "Godzilla vs. Post-Colonial", in: Ajay Heble, Donna Palmateer Pennee, J.R. (Tim) Struthers (ed.), *New Contexts of Canadian Criticism* (Peterborough, 1996), p. 241.

53 King, "Godzilla vs. Post-Colonial", p. 243.

54 Ibid., p. 243.

is polemic when it is written "either in a Native language or in English, French, etc. [and] that concerns itself with the clash of Native and non-Native cultures".[55] Interfusional literature is marked by the combination of oral and written literature. Lastly associational literature can be used for literature set in a Native communal setting but does not focus on the clash of cultures.[56]

It is therefore true to say that novels "like *Green Grass, Running Water* […] resist being read as post-colonial literature."[57] Kristine Smith uses King's terms "polemical" as well as "associational"[58] for classification. Though there is high tension between those two rather contradictory terms, one can argue that this is an inbuilt tension of the novel which cannot be solved by classification and very much depends on the reader's preferences. Horne additionally argues that *Green Grass, Running Water* can be read as "interfusional"[59] due to the structural mix of western written and Native oral tradition as far as storytelling is concerned.

Though it is clear that *Green Grass, Running Water* is more than a mere post-colonial novel, it is difficult not to apply postcolonial categories of interpretation when analysing the text.[60] Again one is caught within a specific discourse one cannot escape. At this point in time there seems to emerge the need for a new theoretical framework. Due to the complexity of this problem and the limited scope of this thesis it is not possible to develop such a theory *en passant*. Nevertheless one has to bear in mind that the discourse creates borders and provides only a limited variety of tools to use on literary texts. We should start thinking outside the 'new box' again, not beyond Eurocentrism[61] but even beyond postcolonialism. There are definitely many aspects that a conventional postcolonial analysis simply misses because it is not meant to detect them and one only sees what one already knows. And there are also some traces of new concepts that can be felt but have not been put explicitly into scientific jargon because the vocabulary is limited within the discourse. It is therefore important to question statements like "King's major concern in *Green Grass, Running Water* is with the ways and means of resis-

55 King, "Godzilla vs. Post-Colonial", p. 244.

56 Cf. ibid., pp. 244-245.

57 Schorcht, *Storied Voices in Native American Texts*, p. 16.

58 Cf. Kristine Smith, *Sacrifice and the 'Other': Oppression, Torture and Death in 'Alias Grace', 'Green Grass, Running Water' and 'News from a Foreign Country Came'*, Master's thesis (University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1999), pdf-file: http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk2/ftp01/MQ40017.pdf, (Library and Archives Canada online), p. 41.

59 Horne, *Contemporary American Indian Writing*, p. 30.

60 Like Homi Bhabha's terms 'mimicry' and 'hybridity' for instance, as seen in chapter 1. Most authors discussing the novel naturally apply these categories.

61 As Sebastian Conrad's and Shalini Randeria's Jenseits des Eurozentrismus (Sebastian Conrad / Shalini Randeria (ed.), *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus. Postkolonliane Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften* (Frankfurt & New York, 2002)).

tance to the mechanisms of colonial power."[62] and examine them critically. It is much safer to put it like Kröller: "One of King's abiding themes is the resilience of Native cultures, their ability to survive by transforming and adapting as circumstances change."[63]

Although this thesis relies mainly on conventional postcolonial methods the reader should be aware of the fact that it is part of a limited discourse.

1.2 Blackfoot Women

There is a considerable discussion as to which terminology to use when writing about Natives, Indians, Aboriginal or Indigenous People. Usually it is considered best to use the name of the specific tribe to avoid over-generalization. As Thomas King often uses the term "Indian" this will be used as well as the terms "Native" and the tribal specification "Blackfoot" in this thesis.

To gain a better understanding of the Blackfoot women depicted in King's novel it is useful to have some information about the tribe and the role women play in tribal society. Naturally, this is not a complete history or a present report on Blackfoot life. Thomas King himself admits that he "hate[s] doing research"[64] and compiled most of his knowledge when living with a Blackfoot tribe for ten years.[65]

Very few scholars have dealt with the Blackfoot tribes in detail. It can all be traced back to only a few ethnological studies. The Blackfoot live on both sides of the US/Canadian border: in Montana and Alberta respectively. Claudia Sadowski-Smith discusses this aspect and talks of "border tribes"[66]. The so-called Blackfoot confederacy (Siksika) consists of the "Blackfoot proper, the Blood and the Piegan."[67] The language of the Blackfoot belongs to the Algonkian language family.[68] Interestingly these languages "do not distinguish male and female through lexical gender."[69] Therefore the gender question is generally not as strong an issue as in western cultures.

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62 Florence Stratton, "Cartographic Lessons. Susanna Moodie's 'Roughing It in the Bush' and Thomas King's 'Green Grass, Running Water'", *Canadian Literature/Littérature canadienne. A Quarterly of Criticism and Review*, 161/162 (Summer/Autumn 1999), p. 91.

63 Penny van Toorn, "Aboriginal writing", in: Eva-Marie Kröller (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Canadian Literature* (Cambridge & others, 2004), p. 38.

64 Canton, "Coyote Lives. Thomas King", p. 94.

65 Cf. ibid., p. 92.

66 Claudia Sadowski-Smith, *Boder Fictions. Globalization, Empire and Writing at the Boundaries of the United States* (Charlottesville & London, 2008), p. 73.

67 Barbara A. Leitch, *A Concise Dictionary of Indian Tribes of North America* (Algonac, 1979), p. 66.

68 Cf. Alan D. McMillan, *Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada. An Anthropological Overview* (Vancouver, 1988), p. 3.

69 Alice B. Kehoe, "Blackfoot Persons" in: Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman (ed.), *Women and Power in Native North America* (Norman & London, 1995), p. 120.

There was, however, a division of labour according to gender in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. "Men were the hunters and defenders, women the collectors and manual laborers."[70] Blackfoot women held economic power. They did not only collect but also process food and produce objects of daily use. Hence they often owned their products, like tepees.[71]

Hollrah focuses on the importance of tribal structures for the creation of female identity and the concept of gender complementarity, which means that men and women have their specific tasks and these tasks are seen as equally important. However, there is room for negotiating these tasks and women within the tribal community could work in areas usually more associated with men. Especially widows or women living on their own by choice were not limited to the typical female role. "Additionally, because people could act with autonomy, making decisions about their own conduct, women could choose to engage in male-gendered behaviors, for example as warrior women, and not seem atypical."[72] The most important quality in a Blackfoot person, according to Kehoe, is autonomy.[73]

The ninauposkitzipxpe, the so-called manly-hearted women, are a special group within Blackfoot society. Usually they were elderly women but there were also always some younger ones. Kehoe says about them as "[s]uch women owned property, were good managers and usually effective workers, were forthright and assertive in public, in their homes, and as sexual partners, and were active in religious rituals."[74] They are also described as bold, independent, ambitious and aggressive. Though they did not fit into society's rules for 'gender specific' behaviour in the least, they were highly accepted and admired. "The image of the manly-hearted women persisted"[75] and is still present in Blackfoot communities today.

With regard to spiritual aspects, women also had a special position in the tribe. Women's mythical and spiritual importance can best be seen at the Sun Dance, which largely depends on the ceremonial actions, on female participation and the role of Holy Woman.[76] The Sun Dance is the most important Blackfoot/Plain Indian religious ceremony. Its date used to depend on nature but at some point in the 20th century the Blackfoot moved it to 4th of July. There was a return to Native traditions especially in the 1970s, which also led to a revival of rituals and ceremo-

70 Malcom McFee, "Modern Blackfeet: Montanans on a Reservation", in: George & Louise Spindler (ed.), *Native North American Culture: Four Cases. The Hano Tewa, The Kwakiutl, The Blackfeet, Menominee* (New York & others, 1977), p. 267.

71 Cf. Kehoe, "Blackfoot Persons", pp. 114-115.

72 Hollrah,'The Old Lady Trill, the Victory Yell', p. 2.

73 Cf. Kehoe, "Blackfoot Persons", p. 122.

74 Ibid., p. 115.

75 Katherine M. Weist, "Plains Indian Women: An Assessment", in: W. Raymond Wood / Margot Liberty (ed.), *Anthropology on the Great Plains* (Nebraska, 1980), p. 266.

76 Cf. Kehoe, "Blackfoot Persons", p. 116.

nies like the Sun Dance.[77] Especially within Blackfoot communities the ceremonial leaders at the Sun Dance were women.[78]

There are also some – not tribal specific – aspects of Native life that seem important in connection with the following analysis of the novel.

On the one hand there is the role family and family bonds play in Native culture. Spencer Rearden, an Inuit, states that he thinks "that 'family' defines much of what Native means. Native people are what they are because of their families and what their families teach them."[79] Especially women are seen "as giver, as teacher and transmitter of culture, and as community voice and tribal leader."[80] Additionally ancestors, a sense of history and the connection to the communal land are values in Native cultures. Relating back to the earlier discussion of identity it can be said that "cultural identity is at the centre of who an individual is."[81]

The concept of gender also needs further explanation in the Native context. "In western tradition, gender, like culture, is thought to be fixed, predetermined, and separate […] constantly overlapping."[82] This is why European gender categories should not be applied thoughtlessly, according to McKay.[83] That is one of the reasons why King should not be seen as a 'Native feminist' writer, because Natives usually do not use culture and gender for the definition of a person, but relations.[84] Hence feminist theories should be seen critically when used in context with Native women (in writing).[85]

Relating to comments on *Green Grass, Running Water* this means that one cannot talk of a "feminist turn evident throughout the novel"[86] for similar reasons as discussed in the previous chapter. The reason for the need of strong female characters should not only be traced back to the chances women take out of the double subalternity of being suppressed by a former colonial power and being female,

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77 Cf. Frauke Zwillus, *Today Talks in Yesterday's Voices: Zentrale Themen und ihre erzählerische Gestaltung im indianischen Roman der Gegenwart* (Frankfurt, 1989), p. 22.

78 Cf. Weist, "Plains Indian Women: An Assessment", p. 260.

79 Spencer Rearden, "Families Help Define the Meaning of 'Native'", in: Susan B. Andrews / John Creed (ed.), *Authentic Alaska. Voices of First Nation Writers* (Nebraska, 1998), p. 127.

80 Hoy, *How should I read these?*, p. 23.

81 Hilary N. Weaver / Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, "Examining Two Facets of American Indian Identity: Exposure to Other Cultures and the Influence of Historical Trauma", in: Hilary N. Weaver, *Voices of First Nations People: Human Services Considerations* (New York & others, 1999), p. 30.

82 McKay, *'And that one takes a big bite of one of those nice red apples'*, p.8.

83 Cf. ibid., p. 39.

84 Cf. ibid., p. 11.

85 Therefore Horne's statement "That none of the mimics is a woman suggests that feminism is a force with which to resist colonial mimicry." (Horne, *Contemporary American Indian Writing*, p. 46) has to be commented on. Of course, the women have their specific ways of dealing with colonial past and a male-dominated present, but again the word "feminism" comes from a western discourse and is not appropriate in this context.

86 As Petzold does in "Thomas King's 'Green Grass, Running Water': A Postmodern Postcolonial Puzzle; or, Coyote Conquers the Campus", p. 248.

but should include Hollrah's concept of complementarity. From the storyteller's point of view it appears only natural that the rather weak and indecisive male characters need strong female counterparts. Their Blackfoot inheritance should also be taken into account. "King's female characters are granted a level of 'authenticity' and subversive power which the men must earn. This subversive power stems from the innate spiritual power of Blackfoot women."[87]

2. Norma: Guardian and Guide

2.1 Characterisation

Norma is the oldest of the three Blackfoot women. The reader meets her at the beginning story as the first non-mythical character and she is featured throughout the whole novel until the very last scene at the reserve. She is the only one of the three female protagonists living directly on the reserve.

She is a strong woman, a fighter type. She believes in tradition and wants to hold the family together. She does not only feel responsible for her close family but for the Native community living in Blossom as well.

She is approximately in her late sixties since her younger brother, Eli, has already retired from work and their younger sister Camelot has two children, Latisha and Lionel (and latter turns forty during the course of the novel). As far as it is revealed to the reader she is not married (and apparently never was) and does not have any children of her own. It is hard to make one's mind up about this last point. On the one hand, no one ever mentions that she has children, but on the other hand she gives Alberta advice concerning pregnancy. She either just knows a lot about it or has indeed been with child. It remains Norma's secret. Nevertheless, she seems to like children, as it can be seen close to the end of the novel when she enquires about Latisha's children and calls Elizabeth her "granddaughter" and "rocked her" gently on her lap (411).[88]

In the whole novel, names are significant. Norma's name comes from the Latin 'norm' and means rule or standard. She obviously feels in a position to set standards for herself and others – especially for her nephew Lionel, as will be discussed later. She seems to think that everybody is entitled to share her opinion. It worthwhile noticing that her first name, like the other women's, does not sound specifically Blackfoot or Indian in the least. The name 'Norma' is considered English or Italian and is traced back to Bellini's opera with the same title. There is,

87 McKay, *'And that one takes a big bite of one of those nice red apples'*, p. 41.

88 In the following text all quotes from Thomas King's *Green Grass, Running Water* will be identified by the simple page numbers in brackets which all refer to King's novel in the afore mentioned edition.

however, a connection to Native Americans: Norma Smallwood, a Cherokee woman, became the first Miss America of Native decent.[89] Perhaps this could be an indicator of her physical appearance, since the reader is left in the dark about this aspect as well. It could also stand for her being partially involved in the modern, western world, too.

Norma is certain of her Blackfoot identity and wants to impose this certainty in who she is and where she comes from on others. Her brother Eli says that she "[g]ot a real strong idea about how the world should look." (380) She constantly tries to influence and help her sister's son, Lionel Red-Dog, who seems to be rather lost in the world. She advises him to return to his roots and to re-organise his life. She accuses him of wanting to become a white man and obviously considers this as a major mistake because she keeps returning to this topic. But her surely well-meant comments seem to put Lionel under so much pressure that he often refuses to argue with her. She certainly does not leave him room to make up his own mind. She is, after all, very dominant and sure of herself.

2.2 Tradition

Traditions are one of the most important aspects of her life. She likes traditional music as can be inferred because she hums a "round-dance song" (103). She also knows about traditional cuisine. As Eli points out, she "[m]akes one hell of a stew" (403). She also speaks Blackfoot. (cf. 155) Eli has very pleasant memories of the Sun Dance he attended when he and his siblings were young. It is likely that Norma shares those memories, too. She also believes in traditional Indian medicine women (32).

Nature seems to be very important for her, too. When she talks about choosing the carpet during her first appearance in the novel the colours remind her of grass and sky.

Norma seems reliable and can be counted on. She is a focal point within the Blackfoot community. A symbol of this fact might be her tent at the Sun Dance. Latisha recalls that for as long as she can remember "Norma's lodge was always in the same place […] And before that Norma's mother."[90] (409) Norma wants to be this solid pillar and accepts this role willingly. When Eli and his wife Karen leave after their visit to the Sun Dance she tells them to come again some time and states: "We'll be here" (231). It seems that she wants to assure them that they can rely on her.

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89 Hazell, Gloria, "Ancient Voices. A Museum to honor the least known people in North America, the Original Tribal Women", http://www.ancient_voices.50megs.com/beauty.html; last update: August 2006, date of access: 21.07.2008.

90 It is interesting to note that Norma's father is never mentioned at all. The reader simply does not know why he is not part of the family.

Norma clearly carries on traditions and wants to pass them on to others. She and her sister manage to reintegrate their brother Eli, who has been absent from the Sun Dance for many years and has become estranged from Blackfoot culture, and they make him take part in the ceremonial dancing.

She feels that it is important to transmit a concept of traditional values to the younger generations. When she talks about Alberta and Latisha coming home to the reserve to visit their families, she states that it has "to do with pride." (84) She is proud of her Blackfoot heritage and generates most of her identity from it.

The 'Narrative I' tells Coyote that "[t]here are no truths […] Only stories" (432). Norma seems to agree with this statement and frequently creates her own versions of the truth. When she talks to Lionel it becomes obvious that she sometimes completely omits facts, like Latisha's rather unfortunate choice of husband, or alters the chronology of events. She states that Eli came home after the Sun Dance. Reacting to Lionel's protest "He came home after Granny died. […] And he came home then because he had retired." (67) she presses that the result is what counts "He came home, nephew. That's the important part." (67) Especially this last remark shows that she is aware of her actions and her storytelling tradition where the truth is merely a matter of perspective.[91] Lionel tries to convince her that she "can't change the past" (32), but Norma does not think so. Stories and the process of storytelling are very significant not only in Indian tradition but also as part of the negotiation of identity. As already discussed above, identity is generated from common (hi)story and common myths.[92] In this way Norma defines herself as Blackfoot. It is also a part of individual identity development. Norma organises the past to suit her point of view. She creates the past she needs to justify the present and in a way she also creates herself and her personality by telling her own version of events. This is one of the aspects that characterises her as a changing woman.

Norma pursues the Native way of 'minding her relations'.[93] She does not only care a lot about her own family but is also very friendly to the four old Indians. She accepts them as community elders and wants to help them. She is actually the one offering them a lift. In the car she makes conversation and wants to get to know them and inquires about their plans. Though her interest may or may not be genuine she at least proves that she has manners and respect for the elder members of community. She listens to the old Indians and does not want Lionel to

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91 Cf. Lisa Karen Christie, *That Dam Whale: Truth, Fiction and Authority in King and Melville*, Master's thesis (Dalhousie University, Halifax, 2000), 2000, pdf-file: http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk2/ftp03/MQ66504.pdf,(Library and Archives Canada online), p. 40.

92 An example for this could be the ritualistic beginning of all chapters in King's *The Truth About Stories*: Story changes due to story teller and audience, sometimes in the order of events, sometimes minor details. (cf. King: *The Truth About Stories*, p. 1). Hence there is no master narration. Norma seems to be aware of this.

93 McKay, *'And that one takes a big bite of one of those nice red apples'*, p. 6.

make fun of them. She even joins the four old Indians when they sing 'Happy Birthday' for Lionel.

She is also very sure of her position as a woman. She often invokes a sense of female community. When Eli and Karen are at the Sun Dance, she tells her brother to "[g]o outside and chop some wood or chew some grass." – in other words typical male activities, whatever they may be. She continues with "Us women got talking to do." (230) This talking and exchanging not only information but stories is considered a female quality. They "are often transmitters of culture"[94] and Norma considers this duty to be very important.

Norma is autonomous and therefore personifies one of the essential aspects of Blackfoot values. Following McKay's argumentation that all three Native female protagonists can be seen as ninaupskitzipxpe, Norma is definitely a good example of an independent, elderly manly-hearted woman.

Norma can be seen as a guardian of traditions and a guide for others to get back to a more traditional way of life by practising what she preaches.

She tries to become a guide for Lionel to help him to find out who he is and accept it. She is also the one who tries to explain to him how to understand Alberta, the woman he is in love with. "Norma […] had given Lionel the key to Alberta" (134) by telling him that all the younger woman really wants is a child.

In the final scene Norma is the one planning to rebuild the cabin her family used to live in. In contrast to some of the younger ones she is convinced that "Everything is still here" (461). She preserves parts of the old cabin (for example the log she and her sibling carved their names into) and establishes the tradition that the cabin has to be there. She keeps the family together and strengthens the community which often "depend[s] a great deal on the strength of women." [95] When they start assessing the damage and recovering parts of the old material three generations are present: Norma as part of the 'grandmother-generation', Latisha, Alberta, Lionel and Charlie as the 'adult-generation' and Latisha's children Christian, Benjamin and Elizabeth. All these are aspects of her function as a guardian.

3. Latisha: Toying and Trading with Tradition

3.1 Characterisation

Latisha Red Dog-Morningstar is Norma's niece. She is the daughter of Norma's sister Camelot and her husband Harley and is Lionel's sister. Though she is frequently mentioned, especially by Norma, she makes her first appearance only at

94 Horne, *Contemporary American Indian Writing*, p. 47.

95 McKay, *'And that one takes a big bite of one of those nice red apples'*, p. 4.

the beginning of the second part. She is divorced, has three children and runs her own restaurant, the Dead Dog Café.

Latisha is in her early thirties.[96] Her name can be traced back to the Latin noun 'laetitia' and means 'joy' or 'happiness'. Though life has not always been kind to her, she seems rather content with who she is now and what she has made of her life.[97] And she is definitely Norma's pride and joy and, according to her, Latisha is "the smart one in the family" (32). Though nothing is said about her formal education, Latisha appears to be an intelligent woman who has developed a keen sense of assessing other people, probably through her work at the Dead Dog Café. She knows how to run a business and has been courageous enough to dare to become financially independent.

She values her family and, though she did not stay on the reserve, she lives close by and visits her parents regularly.

3.2 Husband

When Latisha was eighteen she met an American from Michigan called George Morningstar and quickly became attracted to him. He was not like the other men she knew. "Best of all, he did not look like a cowboy or an Indian." (143) In addition to him being different, his name sounded vaguely Indian and this seemed to appeal to Latisha. George's name can actually be read as a reference to General George Custer who lost the battle and his life fighting Indians at Little Bighorn. Custer was called "'Son of the Morning Star'".[98] His namesake, George, seems to be very interested in Latisha and after less than a year they get married.

The relationship between George and Latisha can be seen as a history of colonialism as well as an illustration of the situation between Canada and the United States. George is depicted as the typical superficial US American, boasting about his county. He does not tire of comparing Canada and America.

He drones on how much better Americans are than Canadians (dependent vs. independent; adventurous vs. conservative). Latisha tries to reason with him and argues against him. She also warns that "those kinds of generalizations [a]re almost always false." (172) but he does not listen to her. He hides behind pseudo-

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96 She was eighteen when she met George, they were married for nine years, Elizabeth was born after they finally broke up.

97 In King's famous short story "Borders" the young woman who moved to the United States is called "Laetitia", which is another form of the name "Latisha" and could therefore be an alternative life of the Latisha in *Green Grass, Running Water* (if she had not stayed but moved away). Cf. Thomas King, "Borders", in: Randall Bass / Joy Young (ed.), *Beyond Borders. A Cultural Reader* (Boston & others, 2003), pp. 37-47.

98 Jane Flick, "Reading Notes for Thomas King's 'Green Grass, Running Water'", *Canadian Literature/Littérature canadienne. A Quarterly of Criticism and Review*, 161/162 (Summer/Autumn 1999), p. 146.

scientific explanations which he calls "[e]mpirical evidence" (172). At first Latisha is angry, but soon she becomes frustrated. She does not only think of herself as Canadian, she can indeed be seen as a personification of Canada.[99] It is worth noticing that Latisha is willing to accept the qualities George ascribes to her. He sees her as an Indian and as Canadian. She reacts to that by incorporating these aspects of identity and by making them her own. Latisha's creation of her own identity follows the pattern of reacting to outside influences and becoming who she is because she is proud of being different, of being 'the Other'.

Following the second line of thought, McKay characterises the marriage of George and Latisha as "a microcosm of post-colonialism"[100] George surely seems like an explorer and conqueror. At first he is fascinated by her being Indian. He has a romanticised picture of the First Nation's way of life and wants to take everything in. However, he does not seem to picture her as a real person. He watches her like a programme on television.[101] When she told him everything about herself and her life during one of their first dates, he simply "sat there and waited and listened, his mouth set in a pleasant smile, his blue eyes never blinking." (145) He seems to be watching a Hollywood movie on Indians rather than having a conversation with a woman he likes. His pet name for her is "country". He seems to think that he owns her and it is now his 'responsibility' to cultivate her. George wants to colonize her.[102] His possessiveness does not hinder him having numerous affairs though, which he calls "lapses in judgement" (213). Again Latisha gets tired of hearing it and become "bored" (213) with his excuses.

Shortly after the marriage George turns out to be a man you love to hate. According to Lionel, George is Latisha's biggest mistake. When she figured out that George "wondered so much about the world because he didn't have a clue about life" (147) she was already pregnant and therefore avoided a separation. Latisha's opinion of her husband gets very low. She does not consider him an intellectual equal. She thinks of him as a balloon (full of hot air but unsubstantial) onto which his "twinkling eyes, his wonderful smile, and his sparkling teeth were […] painted" (213). He is more of a clown than a partner to her. When she refuses to appreciate his new "Indian style jacket", which looks ridiculous to her and when she does not show him much respect in front of her colleagues, he turns violent.[103] When she

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99 Davidson draws parallels between the relationship between Latisha and George and 19th century cartoons on Canadian politics. Cf. Davidson, *Border Crossings. Thomas King's Cultural Inversions*, p. 163.

100 McKay, *'And that one takes a big bite of one of those nice red apples'*, pp. 58-59.

101 Cf. also Brian Johnson, "Plastic Shaman in the Global Village: Understanding Media in Thomas King's 'Green Grass, Running Water'", *Studies in Canadian Literature/Études en littérature canadienne* 25,2 (2000), p. 41.

102 Cf. Davidson, *Border Crossings. Thomas King's Cultural Inversions*, p. 165.

103 When he had tried to show off and says "Most old things are worthless. This is history." (215) referring to his John Wayne style jacket, she only shrugs and responds: "Guess you got to know which is which." (215)

comes home that night he calmly turns the television off and brutally beats her up. Then he switches the machine back on as if nothing significant had happened at all. It seems like a commercial break more than anything else to him. Lionel says that he "used to beat hell out of her" (59). This combined with some of Latisha's statements, suggests that routine domestic violence has developed. She thinks that one of the reasons why George beats her up is because he is bored.

George gets bored easily. He is very erratic and changes jobs all the time. Latisha can never count on him. Some time after the birth of their second child George dreams up the disastrous plan to stay at home, do the housework and look after the children. He starts his new career as a doting househusband by buying everything that might or might not be useful in a kitchen. Most of the kitchen implements are not even practical. Latisha is not thrilled by this, perhaps also because he is happy to spend her hard-earned money. But again her efforts to apply reason to the situation are not taken into account by George. During his rather unsuccessful cooking experiments he once nearly causes food poisoning by giving the children his version of ratatouille. About a week later he finally leaves the family.

All Latisha gets from him are long letters in which he tries to explain himself. He does not pay any kind of child support. Latisha is furious. She spends some time "burning eggs and banging pans" (275) at the restaurant to calm down. After nine years of marriage she is on her own with her two sons and soon discovers that she is pregnant again. First she feels "numb" (275) but soon she returns to being practical and down to earth as usual. George keeps on writing letters which she only laughs about. She sometimes even reads them to her female colleagues for general amusement but after a while these letters lose even their entertaining character for her and she simply stuffs them into a bag in her closet without reading them. The only reason she does not throw them away immediately is that she wants her children to have a chance to find out who their father is when they get older and want to know more about him.

When George turns up at the Sun Dance she immediately "step[s] back, setting a distance between herself" and George (412). She is tense and has clearly no further interest in him. She tells him that he does not have a place in her life. She confronts him with the fact that she does not read his letters anymore and tells him: "I don't even think about you."(419) This is only partly true because during the course of the novel she recalls some memories of her failed marriage and thus provides the reader with the needed background information through flashbacks. Nevertheless, she does not seem to miss him in the least.

Men no longer play a part in her life. She seems to have enough preoccupations.

It is interesting to note that there is a mythical Blackfoot character called 'Woman Who Married Morning Star'. Though her story can only partly be compared to Latisha and her relationship with George, 'Woman Who Married Morn-

ing Star' returns to her family with her child.[104] She also raises her offspring without a father.

In contrast to Latisha, her mother Camelot is one of the few women in the novel who seems to be happily married. But many other women share Latisha's predicament. The problem of women being unhappily married can be traced throughout *Green Grass, Running Water*. This is not solely a problem of Native characters, of course. One of the American tourists visiting Latisha's restaurant refers to marriage and states that "Every woman makes that mistake at least once" (143) and so confirms Latisha's point of view that she is indeed better off without George.

3.3 Children

Latisha and George have three children. Their names are Christian, Benjamin and Elizabeth.[105] All three names sound rather western and can perhaps partly be traced back to George's influence. It is also part of the First Nation's taking to European names. "Biblical names were common."[106] Christian's name can obviously be traced back to religion. Benjamin could either be read with a biblical connotation or as a reference to Benjamin Franklin and thus to the United States. Elizabeth is also a Hebrew name and appears in the Bible. It can also, of course, be an allusion to Queen Elizabeth. This would foreshadow that the toddler Elizabeth might become powerful or at least in control of her own life when she grows up.

Latisha stresses that her children are Canadian. This is of course a form of resistance which opposes George's idealising America. Latisha used to take baby Christian into the bedroom and take comfort in holding her child, gaining strength to endure George's arguments. "There, in the warm darkness, she would stroke her son's head and whisper ferociously over and over again until it became a chant, a mantra, 'You are a Canadian. You are a Canadian.'" (176) Latisha seems to want to reassure the child as well as herself of their distinct identity. It is worth noticing, however, that she does not say 'You are a Blackfoot.' This could be traced back to the Canadian legislation prior to 1985. Since 1951, as an addition to the Indian Act of 1876, ethnic origin was no longer inherited through the mother.[107] The legal distinction between Indians and non-Indians was very strict.

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104 Woman Who Married Morning Star is also closely connected to the ceremony of the Sun Dance. For further information see Kehoe, "Blackfoot Persons", p. 117.

105 Incidentally these are also the names of Thomas King's three children. Christian (*1971), the son of his first marriage with Kristine Adams), Benjamin (*1985) and Elizabeth (*1988) both with Helen Hoy. Cf. Andrews, "Thomas King", p. 120.

106 David H. French / Kathrine S. French, "Personal Names", in: Ives Goddard (ed.), *Languages, Handbook of Native American Indians*, Volume 17 (Washington, 1996), p. 216.

107 Cf. James S. Frideres, *Native People in Canada. Contemporary Conflicts* (Scarborough, 1983), pp. 6-7.

Section 12.(1) part b stated that "a woman who married a person who is not an Indian"[108] was no longer entitled to register as an Indian and she lost "her Indian status for herself and for her children."[109] This section of the Indian Act was only changed in 1985 by the introduction of Bill C-31. Since then Indian status is no longer lost through marriage.[110] Still this might be the reason why Latisha stresses her children's Canadianness so much.[111]

Latisha's children are shown as individual persons in the novel. They are not simply depicted as *the* children and this demonstrates that they are an important part of Latisha's life and that being a mother is part of her identity.

Christian is the oldest son. He is approximately ten and already bears much responsibility also for his younger siblings. He seems to try to be 'the man of the house'. Since Latisha has to work late, Christian does the cooking at home. He tries his best but it is a little too much to ask of him. He is too young to cook a well-balanced diet for himself and his brother and sister. So he is always preparing spaghetti, sometimes mixed with hot dogs. He is, after all, still a child himself. Though he needs more help and does tasks that should be done by adults, at least most of the time, he is still creative and does what he can. Though Latisha thinks of it as disgusting, Christian prepares a kind of milkshake, consisting of milk and coke, for his sister who obviously likes it. He also makes the children's breakfast and walks his younger brother to school. He feels under a lot of pressure. There is a conflict developing between Christian and Latisha. Because he is the oldest he has to do most of the housework. Latisha desperately needs her children to help her to keep the household running. But when she states "Look, guys, […] I could need some help around here" (214) Christian points out that he does "everything already." (212) and asks her "What do you think this is?" (214). He is upset about the whole situation. His anger can be seen in remarks like "take me for granted" (273). Latisha definitely feels guilty but does not have the capacity to make life easier for her son. All she can do is tell him that she is sorry and that his help is much appreciated. Despite all the tension between them they still have a rather close relationship. Christian feels responsible for his mother but at times he can also be a child for brief periods. He still lets her hug him. Christian is also the one starting to think about his identity as a Blackfoot. When he and Latisha watch TV in the evening he asks what would happen if the Indian in the western won. He is still able to wonder about life and ask questions which only children would think of asking. He concludes that there is not "much point in watching it" (216) if the

108 Frideres, *Native People in Canada*, p. 8.

109 Ibid., p. 10.

110 However there are other problems with Bill C-31. For further information see David Alan Long / Olive Patricia Dickason, *Visions of the Heart. Canadian Aboriginal Issues* (Toronto & others, 1996), p. 105 or King, *The Truth About Stories*, pp. 141-144.

111 For this line of thoughts cf. Davidson, *Border Crossings. Thomas King's Cultural Inversions*, p. 166.

Indians always lose. Films, like life, should not be doomed from the start, he feels and probably subconsciously reflects upon his own chances in life.

Benjamin is a quiet child. He seems rather shy, does not eat his breakfast and seems a little passive. When he was a baby, he used to cry until Latisha would come to pick him up - in contrast to Christian who shouted for his mummy. Benjamin is four or five years old. Latisha and George had planned to have him, so that their older son would have company and that they, in turn, would save their marriage.

Elizabeth is the youngest but also the most determined of the three children. She is about two years old. She is smart and headstrong. Her birth "had been a surprise." (213) Elizabeth is a fighter. In contrast to her brothers, she would try to get out of the cradle when she woke up instead of shouting or crying. At her first few attempts she falls out of the crib. But she only cries twice. Afterwards she does not cry any longer but keeps practising so that within a week she is able to get out on her own without falling and this proves once again that she is "[s]ilent and determined" (268). She also demands attention. In the morning she comes to Latisha and shouts: "Get up, Mummy!" (269). She also repeats what she wants until her demands are met. One of her typical sentences is "Yes, I can" (271). It is more than a new phrase that she picked up. It shows Elizabeth's approach to life. She is going to get what she wants and be who she wants. She is depicted as a miniature version of a strong, self-assured Native woman.

The children have a close relationship with each other. Though they fight, like all siblings do, they stick together and know they can rely on one another. An example of this is that in the evening Benjamin and Elizabeth fall asleep on the sofa "curled up against each other." (216) They feel safe together. It is a peaceful picture.

On the other hand, a spiral of violence can already be detected. When Christian is annoyed by his mother, he calls his brother names. As a reaction Benjamin plays rougher with Elizabeth who gets hurt in the process. Frustration and violence (emotional, verbal or physical) are passed on. Only Elizabeth seems to withstand the vicious cycle, perhaps partly because there is no one younger to be mistreated. But she does not cry and stubbornly repeats her favourite phrase of the day "I like it." (274)

For Latisha raising three children on her own is simply too much. She does not appear to be a typical 'good' mother because the children are often left alone but she loves them dearly. Though she is stressed, for example during the breakfast situation, she controls herself and tries not to squeeze Elizabeth's hand too hard when trying to stop her making a mess. She does not want any harm to come to her children. Another sign of her care is that, though she has plenty on her mind, she knows the names of Elizabeth's teacher and friends at school. Despite all the stress Latisha still thinks that having children on her own "is not a bad idea." (407) Though they take lots of energy, they also give her a lot.

Latisha does not consider leaving her children with her parents, Norma or anybody else. The three youngster are important for her and form a huge part of her identity. She sees herself as a tough business woman and as a mother at the same time. She cannot and does not want to be restricted to either category.

3.4 Work and Tradition

Latisha is financially independent. Norma states that her niece "makes her own luck." (59). She is who she is because she wants it this way. She runs her own restaurant, the Dead Dog Café.[112] The 'Dead Dog' is popular with residents as well as tourists. "People come from all over the world to eat at the Dead Dog Café." (59) Business seems to be good. Latisha can afford to employ three people beside herself. She has a good relationship with her employees, Billy, Cynthia and Rita. Latisha herself works hard and does long hours. Though the business requires a lot of time and inner strength, she likes it and seems to be proud of what she has achieved.

The Dead Dog Café is also a key to Latisha's understanding of tradition. In a way she mocks western expectations and colonial mimicry.[113] She creates her own tradition and in so doing creates part of her own identity as well. In his book *Useable Pasts* Tad Tuleja states that "the political[ly] powerless may also have the power to invent"[114] and Latisha proves this.

The business concept of the Dead Dog Café is that she invents the tradition that the Blackfoot used to hunt and eat dog. This is entirely made up. Lionel states ever so often "The Blackfoot didn't eat dog." (59) but the concept catches on. The tourists think that they are served real dog meat. The exotic and grotesque is popular with the tourists. It shows effectively that the former colonisers like the picture Latisha creates and they want it to be true. "Latisha effectively negotiates the white stereotypes and profits from them."[115] She is rather bold with her lies to keep up the image. When a tourist asks whether they are really allowed to slaughter black Labradors, Latisha claims that "It's a treaty right.[…] It's one of our traditional foods." (144) After that, no one seems offended any longer or to ques-

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112 King has his own radio show called the "Dead Dog Café Comedy Hour" for which he already won the Aboriginal Media Arts Radio Award. Cf. Elizabeth Maurer, "Thomas King", *The Literary Encyclopedia*: http://www.litencyc.com/php/speople.php?rec=true&UID=5303, last update 21. 09 2004, date of access: 21.07.2008.

113 This term will be used in the following, though it bears problems as discussed above.

114 Tuleja, *Useable Pasts*, p.2. In his introduction Tuleja referrers to approaches by Hobsbawn and Ranger and extends them.

115 Wendy Rohrbacher, *(Re)Invention and Contextualization in Contemporary Native American Fiction*, Master's thesis, University of Alaska Anchorage, http://towerofbabel.com/sections/tome/nativeamericanfiction/, last update: May 1999, date of access: 21.07.2008.

tion her word. Nobody knows what these treaties actually say but they make every story more believable for whites.

The Dead Dog Café's secrets (except for decent food) are "the ambience and the reputation" (117). To give the place a touch of fake authenticity she had a photographer take pictures to convey the image of a long Indian hunting tradition. Interestingly this photographer, Will Horse Capture, is an intertextual visitor from Thomas King's first novel *Medicine River*.[116] These pictures explicitly play with white colonial fantasies: They are "like those you see in the hunting [..] magazines where a couple of white guys are standing over an elephant" (117) These pictures of Indians and dogs are also sold as postcards along with menus at the restaurant. To complete the image, they also play 'Indian' music like the "Chief Mountain singers or that group from Brocket" (118) and have a "neon sign of a dog in a stewpot" (118). Billy also dresses up to look Indian for the tourists. Again authenticity is not part of the concept. He asks Latisha which look he should choose for the day: "Plains, Southwest, or combination?" (116). This implies he aims to resemble the image how tourists would expect an Indian to look like, which does not correspond to reality; the mixture of different tribal dress strongly suggests that the Indian the tourists have in mind is a product of imagination vaguely based partly on reality.

Latisha creates this part of her identity herself and changes history to suit her purpose. She acts as a changing woman not only with regard to Blackfoot tradition but also to her own story.

There are some more jokes hidden in the concept of the café. The name "Dead Dog" can be read as an anagram, as Coyote suggests earlier in the novel and so the 'dog' turns into 'god' and hence it is a pun on Nietzsche's "God is Dead."[117] It could be read as a way of stating that Native traditions have been able to adapt to new circumstances and have succeeded over western and also Christian culture. Another example of wordplay is the name of the dish "Old Agency Puppy Stew".[118] Only few tourists but most of the Native visitors will know that "Old Agency is a Blackfoot settlement."[119]

The Native residents react positively to the restaurant being founded on a non-existent tradition. They know that the supposed dog-meat is beef and they basically get the same kind of stew everyday but with a different, fancy name. Nevertheless, they think, like Norma, that it is "[n]ice to have a real Indian restaurant in town" (59).

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116 Cf. Davidson, *Border Crossings. Thomas King's Cultural Inversions*, p. 198.

117 Cf. Margery Fee / Jane Flick, "Coyote Pedagogy. Knowing Where the Borders Are in Thomas King's 'Green Grass, Running Water', *Canadian Literature/Littérature canadienne. A Quarterly of Criticism and Review*, 161/162 (Summer/Autumn 1999), p. 138.

118 Punning names of other dishes: "Dog du Jour, Houndburgers, Puppy Potpourri, Hot Dogs, Saint Bernard Swiss Melts, with Doogie Doos and Deep-Fried Puppy Whatnots for appetizers" (117).

119 Flick, "Reading Notes", p. 150.

Perhaps Latisha's ability to combine Native cuisine with pragmatism and innovative concepts has been handed down to her in part by her mother. Camelot is a terrific cook. At the same time, she likes trying new recipes while transforming them in a way to make the ingredients fit the local traditional cuisine. When she prepares "Hawaiian Curdle Surprise" (188) she substitutes octopus with moose. The result is clearly delicious but does not necessarily have much in common with the original recipe. She "playfully [applies] postmodern strategy: she uses familiar Native ingredients which reconfigure the recipe in an entirely new (and successful) way."[120] Latisha has a similar talent for using common ingredients and her own imagination to create something new and attractive. She carries her mother's idea of cooking one step further. She does not traditionalise new recipes but invents a new tradition to fit old recipes.

The concept for the Dead Dog Café can be traced back to Norma and her meddling. Latisha knows that "in fact, it had been her auntie's idea." (117), but in contrast to her brother she listened to the older woman, took her advice and used it as inspiration. It is an indicator for Latisha's role in the female Blackfoot society that she allows herself to be helped but also helps others in return.

Latisha believes in traditional values like 'family'. Living close to the reserve she often visits her family, according to Norma. She also "[a]lways helps with the food for the Sun Dance." (60) She regularly attends the ceremony as well. Again in contrast to her brother she keeps coming to the Sun Dance, "spending much time helping her mother and Norma fix the food and assist the women's society." (372) The women's society is not a European style club but describes simply the community and support network the females of a tribe have. They also talk a lot about family, upcoming marriages and children (cf. 374), hence there is again the aspect of communication and storytelling. Latisha also always takes the children with her to the Sun Dance. While Christian, Benjamin and Elizabeth stay with their grandparents, Latisha stays with Norma in her lodge. This could be a hint that Latisha is going to keep up Norma's tradition of always staying at the same spot and thus take over her role as transmitter of culture and tradition.

Latisha knows that the Sun Dance is specific to her people and is proud of this tradition. She also realises at a fairly early age that the ceremony cannot be explained properly to someone who is unable or unwilling to understand its cultural context. At school she tried to explain the ceremony and its importance to a classmate. The other girl, Ann Hubert, tried only to compare the tradition with what she knew of the religious rituals of Roman Catholicism. She saw the women's society as equivalent to the Catholic Women's League. The problem of the barriers of discourse are strongly present here. (cf. 409-410) Latisha experiences what it feels like to be judged inappropriately with false or erroneous categories.

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120 McKay, *'And that one takes a big bite of one of those nice red apples'*, pp. 80-81.

Her only visit with George to the Sun Dance confirms her earlier experiences. They spend their honeymoon there. For George is "[j]ust like the movies." (373), reality is not part of the equation. It is one big event for him and he does not understand half of what is going on around him. Interestingly he does not want to go to the Sun Dance again. He says it "just wouldn't be the same" (377). This shows that he has created a mental picture of the ceremony. He does not want to be burdened by another real Sun Dance or a deeper understanding of it. For Latisha the Sun Dance remains a vital part of her cultural identity anyway. She does not mind much being called "old-fashioned" by George when he appears at the Sun Dance to take pictures. She accepts that this tradition is part of her and lives on through her.

Latisha shows how to play with stereotypes and how to live in a western-dominated world shaped by prejudices. She is also the one of the three female protagonists who has the most practical approach to life.

Latisha "is on her way to gaining the status of one of the *ninauposkitzipxpe*".[121] She owns her own restaurant and proves to be a good manager and an effective worker.[122] She also supports the other women. She helps Norma and looks after Alberta when she is pregnant. She helps others to be able to change and to lead the life they want.

4. Alberta: Independent, Intellectual and Inexplicably Pregnant

4.1 Characterisation

Alberta is a cousin of Latisha's. The two women are roughly the same age. While Latisha is more practical, Alberta is the intellectual of the family.

Alberta is headstrong and independent and likes to be in control, at least of her own life. Her surname, Frank[123], can directly be transferred to her overall behaviour. Her first name is, obviously, the name of one of Canada's western provinces. This makes her subject to colonialism as well as a central character in the story, even by name, because Norma and the others live on the reserve in Blos-

121 McKay, *'And that one takes a big bite of one of those nice red apples'*, p. 82.

122 Cf. Chapter 1.2.

123 The surname "Frank" is also used by King in two of his short stories: "One Good Story, That One" and "Magpies". The first name "Alberta" reappears in the same collection of short stories entitled "Trap Lines ". Cf. Thomas King, *One Good Story, That One* (Toronto, 1993)

som, Alberta. Her name could also be a reference to the place Frank in Alberta on the Turtle River, which was buried in 1903 by a famous landslide.[124]

In contrast to the other two women the reader actually gets to know how she looks. When she goes to the Shagganappi, a lounge, she describes her reflection in one of the windows. She has "[d]ark, sleek, luxuriant hair, thin ankles, good legs, nice smile" (71). The fact that none of the three women is described in detail could be seen as a reference to the way women dress in a spiritual context. "The women's apparent modesty comes from self-confidence"[125], Kehoe states. This suggests that they do not need status symbols or striking clothes to be who they are.

Alberta enjoys being independent and free. Driving in her car on her own suggests part of this freedom to her. "Alberta clearly chooses her transportation technology on the basis of her ability to control it."[126] She is a modern woman and uses modern technology casually because they are simply part of her life. She is, generally speaking, a rational person and likes to think through her options before acting. She also uses this method when making her mind up about private matters. She enjoys being sexually independent but is torn between her fear of losing her freedom and her desperate wish to have a baby. This is the one big issue she contemplates most of the time.

When she talks to Latisha, she sums up her life in a melancholy way: "Two men, a good job, no responsibilities. What have I got to complain about?" (343) But she is not happy and she knows it.

4.2 Work

Alberta teaches First Nation History at Calgary University. The first episode she appears in does not only introduce her and her work but also confronts the reader directly with an episode of Indian history. The boredom of her students can be seen in two different ways: on the one hand it could suggest, that she has difficulty motivating her students, but on the other hand the students, all bearing names of historical importance, do not care at all about Natives and their history and no matter how well it is presented their minds are occupied with other matters. The reader seems to see the class from Alberta's perspective. She explains part of the lethargy with the fact that it is "[F]riday afternoon." (17)

Though students are not as fascinated by the topic as she is, she likes her job. At one point she tells Charlie: "I like teaching. […] Some of my students may be dumb, but they're not sleazy." (125) She is also aware of the importance of her teaching. When she turns off a Western on TV she admits that "[t]eaching West-

124 Cf. Flick, "Reading Notes", p. 144, also suggests that this could be one of the events Dr. Houvagh points out.

125 Kehoe, "Blackfoot Persons", p. 121.

126 Johnson, "Plastic Shaman in the Global Village", p. 32.

ern history was trial enough without having to watch what the movie makers had made out of it." (241) This is significant because it is the picture of the Hollywood movies that most whites have in mind when talking about Indians and she tries to overcome this lopsided view of Native history.

Like her uncle Eli she teaches at university. But while he used to teach English literature in Toronto and wrote books on Shakespeare and Bacon she focuses on her heritage.

Social science studies have revealed that "contact with more than one culture has been seen in a positive light. Multicultural exposure may make individuals stronger and enable them to function appropriately in two (or more) cultural worlds."[127] This seems to be true for Alberta who is sure of her roots but is also successful in a western, male-dominated world. "Being Indian isn't a profession" (155), Eli points out during the course of the novel. Knowing this, Alberta is wise enough to accept her being Blackfoot as part of her identity. She proves that it is possible to be both: a Blackfoot woman and a university professor.

Nevertheless, she has to fight this social stigma. This becomes most obvious when she checks in at Blossom Lodge. The receptionist, a "thin, older man" (169), does not treat her as attentively and politely as he does later when Dr. Hovaugh, a white American, arrives. At this point "normative gender roles"[128] and prejudices against Native people can be seen. When she asks the clerk for the university discount he clearly does not think of her as being an academic. When she shows him her university card all he has to offer for an excuse is: "You can't always tell by looking" (194). Clearly annoyed she snaps back: "How true […] I could have been a corporate executive." (195)

When Charlie arrives at the same hotel, he is only slightly better treated, which reinforces the notion that the receptionist does not think much of Indians and even less of Indian women. It might be an indicator of how hard Alberta has had to work to be where she is now academically.

4.3 Relationships

Alberta was married once and her marriage quickly turned out to be a disaster. She made the "mistake of getting married young" in her early twenties (91). Bob was "handsome and witty" (91) and she wanted to escape from her life at the reserve. The beginning of the marriage was happy, but then he made a "ridiculous request" (91). She should finish her degree but only later, after she had helped him to get his qualifications and their children were old enough. He suggests she should get a job and half jokes: "You don't want to spend the rest of your life in a tepee" (92).

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127 Weaver, "Examining Two Facets of American Indian Identity", p. 21.

128 Also cf. Priscilla Walton, "Border Crossings: Alterna(rra)tives in Thomas King's 'Green Grass, Running Water'", *Genre: Forms of Discourse and Culture*, 31,1 (spring 1998), p. 78.

He plays with her fear of not being able to become what she wants – a successful academic – and wants her to work to fulfil his need for luxury. Their marriage was short. They were married only one year after they met, divorced after another. "[T]he only apparent casualty was the semester Alberta missed trying to convince Bob that there wasn't another man." (92) Though put in a humorous way by the means of personification of an administrative period of time the harsh truth is that Bob could not understand Alberta's desire for education and a fulfilling career. Alberta's conclusion: "Bob wanted a wife; he did not want a woman." (93) For Alberta, a woman can also be a wife but not as the essence of her very being.

Her father, Amos, also features as a bad example. Amos was a dreamer who turned into a heavy drinker[129] so that Alberta's mother, Ada, had to support the family mainly on her own. She does not allow herself to be victimised though.[130] Ada is depicted as a strong woman who is down to earth and is a fighter. It is likely that Alberta has inherited part of her determination and strength from her mother. However, Alberta has also experienced what life is like with a husband who is more of a burden than a support, so she cuts her losses and gets divorced quickly instead of trying to stay with her husband. Alberta reaches the conclusion that men "all demanded something, insisted on privileges, special favors." (97)

She actually compares being married to being trapped with fellow passengers on a flight. (91) She is clearly afraid of losing her freedom and wants to avoid a second marriage if possible. Sometimes Alberta seems to wonder whether marriage could really be as bad as she thinks. But when she asks Latisha about the subject, her cousin and friend only confirms her worst thoughts. Alberta is sure that marriage is something to be avoided at (nearly) all costs.

After her failed marriage Alberta started dating two men at the same time: Charlie Looking Bear and Lionel Red Dog, Latisha's brother. She figured that two was just the right number, when one got too possessive she would spend more time with the other and vice versa. She "like[s] having two men in her life" (45). She is afraid of one single relationship "in which events were supposed to rumble along progressively" (46). She opposes this linear thinking and feels restricted in her individual freedom by society's rules regarding a proper relationship. "Alberta knew that apart from no men in her life, two was the safest number" (46). She

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129 The issue of female alcohol and drug abuse is not mentioned in *Green Grass, Running Water* though the problem exists. For this topic cf. Christine T. Lowery, "A Qualitative Model of Long-Term Recovery for American Indian Women", in: Hilary N. Weaver, *Voices of First Nations People: Human Services Considerations* (New York & others, 1999), pp. 35-50. But still this is one of the few occasions when King addresses the topic of Native alcohol abuse. King himself states in his interview with Jeffrey Canton: "I don't think that I need stay away from some problems that Native communities face – alcoholism, drug abuse, child abuse – but I do have a responsibility not [sic] to make those such a part of my fiction that I give the impression to the reader that this is what drives Native communities." Canton, "Coyote Lives. Thomas King", p. 94.

130 Cf. McKay, *'And that one takes a big bite of one of those nice red apples'*, p. 55.

loves being in control, especially in terms of relationships. She is fond of the idea of "[h]er city, her house, her terms." (45)

She is honest to both of them. They both know that she is also seeing the other one. When Charlie asks her whether she is serious about Lionel, she answers: "No […] And I'm not serious about you, either." (43) When Charlie talks about his feelings for her, she always cuts him short. She is convinced that "[m]en want […] to be married" (46) and that is the one thing she is not willing to do again.

Though Charlie and Lionel are serious about wanting to marry her it can be suggested that their attitudes towards Alberta would lead to another disastrous marriage.

Charlie is not monogamous either. He has several other girls whom he refers to as "diversions" (125). He actually has a list to tick off when he tries to call former flames. Charlie also thinks about acting as if he was helpless to get Alberta's attention and love. He fails to see that this is exactly what she despises. The fact that they both stay at the same hotel without knowing that the other is there and without actually meeting one another can be seen as an image of their whole relationship: Though they share certain aspects of their lives, they are not close at all.

Lionel, on the other hand, understands that Alberta "was solid and responsible. She had a good education and a good job." (132) He even partly accepts Alberta as an "independent woman" (188) but this thought is combined with the question of choosing rings, not the actual decision about marriage. He also fantasises about her leaving her job for a while to be his doting wife and the mother of his children.

Alberta fears that "[m]aybe all men [a]re like that, Charlies and Lionels. Or worse. Maybe, in the end, they all turned into Amoses" (201) In the end she does not choose either. She does not go away with Charlie and does not make any suggestions to Lionel that their relationship might work out. She remains independent.

There are some further indications in the novel pointing to her sexual freedom. This can be detected when Alberta talks to Connie, the officer she reports her stolen car to. Connie offers her a lift and the two women immediately start talking and seem to like each other. The whole scene has the touch of a first date. "Connie and Alberta sat in the patrol car until the windows fogged up and the rain ran to drizzle." (343) This sentence clearly evokes the image of a couple of teenagers alone a car, being sexually engaged.[131] When Alberta finally gets out of the car she actually asks Connie: "You want to come in and get some coffee?" (345) Again this sounds like a cheap chat up line. There might be some subtle homoerotic attraction between the two women.

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131 Cf. Davidson, *Border Crossings. Thomas King's Cultural Inversions*, p. 174.

The topics Alberta and Connie talk about are very private for two people meeting for the first time as well. One of Connie's first questions is "You got any kids?" (339) She also supports Alberta's wish to stay unmarried. "No law says you got to do that [be married]. Man's a nice thing to have around but so's a dishwasher." (340-341) Connie is another example of an early marriage that did not work out. She married aged 17, and by the time she was 23 she had had her four kids and was divorced aged only 27.

The fact that the possibility of a lesbian relationship is hinted at shows that Alberta definitely does not sexually depend on men. Another sign of this is her experience with Latisha's hairdryer. When she dries herself after being soaked in the rain, Alberta observes that "working the nozzle of the hair dryer in particular directions felt slightly erotic." (393) She knows that men are not the only answer to sexual satisfaction. She even says jokingly to Latisha that Lionel should "get his own hair dryer" (395). She is not going to be his object of pleasure.

Alberta does not want to be dominated by men. She enjoys "male company on her own terms, while still refusing to be the passive object of man's desires and control."[132]

Lastly the relationship between Alberta and Latisha deserves a brief analysis. The two women are obviously close and they laugh together and joke around like very good friends. Latisha is also the first one to suggest that Alberta suffers from symptoms (nausea, aching breasts, dizziness) she experienced herself when she was pregnant. They talk for over an hour at the Dead Dog Café and Alberta tells her everything that has been troubling her lately. Latisha comments that "[t]he artificial insemination part was wonderful. With alternatives like Lionel and Charlie, it makes perfect sense." (394) Latisha's loyalty to Alberta is stronger than the one to her own brother. She also sums up Alberta's current position nicely:

> Now let me get this straight. Attractive university professor. No, that's sexist. Successful university professor seeking employment as a single parent desires discreet short-term relationship with attractive, considerate person. Men need not apply. Intercourse not required. (394)

She can tell what the matter is with her friend but can also still make her laugh about all her cares and worries. It suggests that Latisha wants Alberta to carry on and not give up or become desperate. Problems tend to look a lot less threatening when one can make fun of them. This is what Latisha teaches her friend.

Latisha is also the one taking Alberta with her to the Sun Dance to reconnect her with the rest of the family, the women's society and her own roots. She also supports Alberta when it turns out that she is really pregnant. She helps her through the mud at the former site of Eli's cabin. None of the men present, Charlie or Lionel, thinks about giving Alberta a helping hand. Latisha also puts her

132 Davidson, *Border Crossings. Thomas King's Cultural Inversions*, p. 170.

arms around Alberta (cf. 464), which can be seen as a gesture of comfort as well as of protection and affection. Alberta seems to feel more at ease when Latisha is around. After she arrives at the Dead Dog Café, she seems to have come home and stops being tough and strong all the time but lets the other women see her weaknesses and accepts their help.

The friendship between Latisha and Alberta is a balance of give and take. After all it is Alberta who realises immediately that Latisha is tense and might need help when George turns up at the Sun Dance. The two women are linked by a strong bond of female friendship so that each one seems to sense what the other needs most at the time.

4.4 Children

Alberta desperately wants a child but is not fond of the option of getting a father as a partner, too. She thinks about different options of how to have a baby: Option one would be to repress her fears and marry either Lionel or Charlie. To her this option is simply "obscene" (69). Her second option would mean explaining her need to them and hope they would understand and help her. Or she could simply forget contraception. Alberta realises that option two leads directly back to option one and would additionally involve a "masculine muscle-flexing contest" (70) because each man would want to know who the father was. Her third option was to "pick out a decent-looking man, and use him as a willing but uninformed father" (70). She is frightened when she considers the possibility and is not very fond of the idea. Another problem she does not even consider is what she would tell her child when he/she grows up and wants to know who his/her father is. After plenty of pondering she decides to try option three as "the lesser of two evils" (71) though she still has her doubts. She picks a bar called the 'Shagganappi' for her potential father material hunt. The name of the club can be read as a book title as well as a pun on "shag a nappy"[133]. She wants intercourse which should ultimately result in her having a baby. However, she does not manage to bring herself to enter the Shagganappi and is angry with herself.

After this experience she starts considering a fourth option: artificial insemination. Though she is "sceptical and unconvinced" (195) at first, she tries and consults her gynaecologist, a Japanese woman called Mary Takai.[134] The major problem turns out to be that "[m]ost clinics won't take single women." (197) They all seem to think that it is not morally correct to have a child on one's own.

But this is the one thing Alberta is sure about: "I just want a child. I don't want a husband." (198) One clinic seems to be willing to accept her, nevertheless.

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133 Flick, "Reading Notes", p. 149.

134 Interestingly the doctor has a non-white ethnic background, too. The fact that they are both women and not part of the white majority culture might add to the statement that "Alberta felt comfortable talking with her." (197)

It takes nine months, in other words the length of a normal pregnancy, until Alberta hears from the Bennett Clinic. She has to fill in 24 pages of forms. Finally she is invited for an interview with the psychologist at the clinic. Alberta is asked to make sure that she brings her husband along. When she tells the woman on the phone that she is not married, the clinic assistant does not react to her repeated objections and rumbles on that if the husband is not present "we have to start all over again." (201) The same is true for Alberta's quest for a child. Understandably she calls her desire to become a mother "complications" (47).

Norma understands Alberta and tries to explain to Lionel that all Alberta wants are children, not a husband. "A woman who gets married and has a child winds up with two babies right off the bat" (135), she says. Norma also remarks soberly that the "Day after we find some other way to get pregnant, you guys will be as attractive as week-old fry bread." (135) Alberta would definitely agree with this statement.

Alberta's situation is changed by some form of mythical intervention. When she takes a combined shower and bath at the hotel, she has her usual fantasies involving having a baby. Her dream usually does not last long because the child turns into Lionel or Charlie when she has "settled it on a breast" (280) in her imagination or she fears that it has died or drowned. This time, however, the nightmares do not come. The idea of Alberta becoming pregnant while having a bath can be compared to the Navaho story of Changing Woman and her sister. In the end Changing Woman's sister becomes pregnant by a cloud of rain.[135] At this point the realistic plot mixes with the fantastic one. Thomas King softens the lines between reality and imagination.[136] Coyote takes responsibility for the miraculous pregnancy. He tells the four old Indians that he was helpful: "That woman who wanted a baby. Now, that was helpful." The old Indians are not too thrilled by his doings. Robinson Crusoe asks him: "You remember that last time you did that?" And Hawkeye reminds the others: "We haven't straightened out *that* mess yet." (456) These sentences make it clear that here the Biblical story of the immaculate conception is parodied.

But Alberta does not know that Coyote has interfered with her wishes. After the bath she feels "exhausted, drained, nauseous" (282) and, though she does not know why, she returns to bed. When she wakes up, she is hungry. She shows the typical stages of an early pregnancy. She is also emotionally unstable due to her hormones having to adjust to the new situation. She cries and laughs a lot. The nausea is her biggest problem. It seems to get stronger when she thinks of Lionel

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135 Cf. anon., "Theorizing Coyote's Cannon: Sharing Stories with Thomas King", Word-document: http://www.retreatisland.com/Theorizing%20Coyote's%20Cannon.doc, pp. 15-16.

136 Peter Gzowski, "Peter Gzowski Interviews, Thomas King on 'Green Grass, Running Water'", *Canadian Literature/Littérature canadienne. A Quarterly of Criticism and Review*, 161/162 (Summer/Autumn 1999), p. 70.

and Charlie. She clearly does not want any of them having anything to do with her child.

Afterwards she seems to be more in unison with nature and does not resist its powers: She keeps standing in the parking lot of Latisha's café and gets soaking wet without caring much. She seems a little like a plant that needs to be watered to grow. The rain fertilises the child growing in her. Here the name of the place, Blossom, provides an interesting twist. When reading the direction aloud one does not necessarily hear the comma and so Blossom, Alberta can be interpreted as Blossom Alberta! which can, of course, be connected to her pregnancy.[137]

For a long time Alberta does not believe that her wish has finally come true. On the way to the Sun Dance she repeatedly tells Latisha that: "There's no way I can be pregnant." (407) Alberta does not admit to herself even when Latisha and Norma are convinced of it and give her advice. She still denies it when she has to throw up in the morning. But at the end of the novel she seems to have found her peace and embraces the thought of becoming a mother soon.

She inverts the so-called seduction plot: She is a successful woman and actually wants to have an illegitimate child.[138] She carries also the hope for the future. Though Eli died when the dam broke and the cabin was destroyed, Alberta's decision to stay and probably raise her child as part of the Blackfoot community gives a positive outlook on things to come and confirms the circular structure of the story.

Her pregnancy also gives an interesting association in the context for the discourse on colonisation. "Pregnancy literally embodies the concept […]of accepting the "other" **within** [sic] oneself."[139] In a postcolonial sense this means that Alberta also combines her academic, western world with her native roots. Taking a step further it could also mean that she embodies Coyote as a mythical figure who stands for alternative versions of the truth. This would lead to her accepting these different stories and miraculous elements into her way of life and her way of thinking, which have been rather logical and scientific so far.

In any case, the child gives Alberta the chance to become who she wants to be and therefore enables her to create a new facet of her identity.

4.5 Tradition

Alberta seems to be the one of the three women who is furthest away from the reserve and life there – physically as well as metaphysically. During the course of the novel she comes home and probably reunites with the family she once fled from by going to university and also the part of her cultural identity she left be-

137 This aspect is also discussed in anon., "Theorizing Coyote's Cannon", p. 16.
138 Cf. Davidson, *Border Crossings. Thomas King's Cultural Inversions*, p. 171.
139 Smith, *Sacrifice and the 'Other'"*, p. 58.

hind. The fact that she teaches Native history at university suggests that she has never really denied her Indian roots.

Her being present at the Sun Dance and wanting to give Norma a helping hand rebuilding the cabin shows that she has not many difficulties blending back in and apparently she does not mind living in a traditional Blackfoot community.

Alberta represents the academically successful Native woman. But she is "also on her way to becoming a *ninauposkitzipxpe* figure as she exemplifies competence and autonomy in her teaching career."[140] She is also sexually independent, another quality associated with the manly-hearted women. Alberta can be seen as an incarnation of or at least a close relative of the mythical Changing Woman.

Alberta is also the woman around whom the story itself evolves. Lionel and Charlie are driven a great deal by her actions and as her name suggests she is at the centre of many parts of the story. Her pregnancy also represents a new beginning and thus keeps the tradition going.

5. Other Female Characters

5.1 Mythical Women[141]

In the stories told by the four old Indians, four different mythological women appear: First Woman, Changing Woman, Thought Woman and Old Woman. The mythical stories all draw on the Earth Diver stories, where the main character falls out of the sky.[142] In their stories western master narratives and Judaeo-Christian tales are adapted and interwoven with First Nation creation myths. In this way a different shade of the truth is presented. An alternative master narrative with alternative main protagonists, heroes who do not have to be male and have a different approach to life are created. Thus King changes the Eurocentric, patriarchal way of thinking. At the same time he also stresses the importance of self-conscious, independent women who are always the ones who adapt to new situations and try to reason with the rather stubborn and often not too bright male characters. The male characters in the creation stories are unable "to adapt to their surroundings, preferring instead to confront their environment and thus try to impose their own sense of order and hierarchy upon it."[143]

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140 McKay, *'And that one takes a big bite of one of those nice red apples'*, p. 84.

141 For a more detailed analysis of the Biblical references see Gundula Wilke, "Rewriting the Bible. Thomas King's 'Green Grass, Running Water'" in: Wolfgang Klooss (ed.), *Across the Lines. Intertextuality and Transcultural Communication in the New Literatures in English* (Amsterdam & Atlanta, 1998), pp. 83-90.

142 Cf. Andrews, Jennifer, "Thomas King", p. 123.

143 John Purdy, "Trickster of the Trade. 'Remagining' the Filmic Image of Native Americans", in: Gretchen M. Bataille (ed.), *Native American Representations. First Encounters, Distorted Images and Literary Appropriations* (Nebraska & others, 2001), p. 114.

First Woman originates in the Navaho tradition.[144] At the beginning she presents a different version of the Genesis story of Adam and Eve in Paradise.[145] Ahdamn, First Woman's male counterpart, starts with the colonial naming and claiming process. He defines things and expects them to accept this, which they obviously do not. Though he should realize that his method is not working he does not consider changing it to adapt it to the situation.[146] He also fails to notice that these animals already have names. Like a western coloniser he does not realise that there are already other structures. First Woman does not get along with "stingy" (73), "grouchy" (74) GOD and so they leave the garden. First Woman turns into The Lone Ranger, a character from popular American Wild West fiction.[147]

Changing Woman, also based on the Navaho tradition[148], first encounters Noah,[149] who chases her and is only driven by sexual desire. She later meets Herman Melville's Captain Ahab who is searching for Moby Dick. Another twist in the canonical literature turns Moby Dick into Moby-Jane, the great black whale. Gender and race concepts are hence reversed. In connection with femininity there are also many references to Moby-Jane being lesbian (the sailors on the ship shout: "Blackwhaleblackwhaleblackwhalesbianblack-whalesbianblackwhale" (220) and combine her being a whale with a hint at her sexual orientation. There seems to develop a brief relationship between Changing woman and Moby-Jane.[150] The whale uses the chat up line: "I know just the place." (22)[151] Changing Woman is sad to see Moby-Jane go back to work: she has western obligations; Ahab's ship has to be destroyed again. Changing Woman then turns into Melville's Ishmael.

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144 Cf. Arlene Hirschfelder / Paulette Molin, *Encyclopedia of Native American Religions. Updated Edition* (New York, 2000), p.60.

145 Cf. *The Holy Bible*, King James's Version, Genesis 2, 8.15.22.

146 "He is naming everything.
You are a microwave oven, Ahdamn tells the Elk.
Nope, says that Elk. Try again.
You are a garage sale, Ahdamn tells the Bear.
We got to get you some glasses, says the Bear." (41)

147 The Lone Ranger is based on Fran Striker's radio serial and the famous TV-series in the 1950s. For further details see Flick "Reading Notes", p. 141.

148 Cf. anon., "Theorizing Coyote's Cannon: Sharing Stories with Thomas King", p.15.

149 Cf. *The Holy Bible*, Genesis 8, 18-21.

150 Also cf. Priscilla Walton, "Border Crossings: Alterna(rra)tives in Thomas King's 'Green Grass, Running Water'", p. 79. And for the connection of black-female-lesbian in this particular scene cf. Fee, "Coyote Pedagogy", p. 135.

151 "So, Changing Woman presses herself against that whale's soft skin and she can feel those waves rock back and forth. Back and forth. Back and forth.
This is nice, says Changing Woman.
Yes, it is, says Moby-Jane. Wrap your arms and leg around me and hold on tight and we'll really have some fun.
It is marvelous fun, all right, that swimming and rolling and diving and sliding and spraying, and Changing Woman is beginning to enjoy being wet all the time." (248)

The character of Thought Woman is taken from Pueblo tradition.[152] She is told by A.A. Gabriel, who is of course an altered version of the archangel himself,[153] that her name is Mary and that she has been chosen. He also tells her when and where she is going to have her baby. Thought Woman does not want to be told who she should be and whose baby she is going to have. In this respect, she is a little like Alberta. She leaves and later turns into Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe.

The last of the four women is Old Woman who originates probably in Blackfoot or Dunne-za tradition.[154] Her encounter with 'Young Man Walking on Water'[155] is marked by his egocentrism and her belief in community. He tries to rescue his followers (for whom he has not found the right name yet) from a boat caught in rough sea. While he shouts unsuccessfully at nature, Old Woman negotiates with the waves and the boat. She accuses 'Young Man Walking On Water' of acting as though he had "no relations" (390). One of the terms she actually suggests for his future disciples is "Subaltern" (389) Here the postcolonial discourse is clearly involved. Though Old Woman has saved the men on the boat, the Jesus-like character claims the fame for himself and points out that "[t]hat other person is a woman." (390) Hence she has no right to perform important deeds. Old Woman later meets Nathaniel Bumppo, the "Post-Colonial Wilderness Guide and Outfitter" (433), who produces a whole list of stereotypical Indian characteristics.[156] Old Woman suggests for the conclusion of his enumerations: "So […] Whites are superior and Indians are inferior." (435) She later changes into Hawkeye from James Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking books.

All four Women end up, disguised as literary personae at Fort Marion, the place Alberta's lecture is about at the beginning of the novel. The mythical women convey the concept of "androgyny".[157] They are able to change and adapt to new situations but still stick to their traditions and values. For example First Woman says "mind your relations" (38). She clearly believes that certain ideals cannot be allowed to be forgotten. In this way they can be compared to Latisha, Alberta and Norma who in succeed living in a modern world minding their Blackfoot traditions.

152 Cf. anon., "Theorizing Coyote's Cannon: Sharing Stories with Thomas King", p.15.

153 Cf. *The Holy Bible*, St. Luke, 1, 26-27.30-31.

154 Cf. Schorcht, *Storied Voices in Native American Texts*, p. 54.

155 Cf. *The Holy Bible*, St. John 6, 16-20.

156 "Indians can run fast. Indians can endure pain. Indians have quick reflexes. Indians don't talk much. Indians have good eyesight. Indians have agile bodies." (434)

157 Archer-Lean, *Cross-Cultural Analysis of the Writings of Thomas King and Colin Johnson (Mudrooroo)*, p. 12.

5.2 Other Women

Babo Jones has been working as a janitor at Dr. Hovaugh's mental hospital for sixteen years.[158] She is an Afro-American woman in her forties and she is a single mother, like Latisha, and earns her own living.

Babo introduces the problems of non-Native ethnic minorities in Canada. She thinks she is the one who understands the old Indians at the clinic best and sees that they are women in disguise. The Indians and Babo can communicate because they all belong to marginalized groups in Canadian society. In a way both groups can be classified as subaltern. Babo also enjoys the Indian tradition of storytelling "We'd trade stories" (56), she tells Sergeant Cereno in their interview.

Like Alberta she is confronted with prejudice and is discriminated against by members of the white majority culture due to her outer appearance. At the US/Canadian border Babo is even treated as an object when she is referred to as "personal property" (260).

Babo is another example of a strong woman who is proud of her traditions and does not let herself be subordinated by men.

Karen is Eli Stands Alone's late wife. She only appears in Eli's memories of her. She acts an example of a strong, positively depicted white woman. She is also an example of how intellectual white people deal with Native culture.

Karen has an extremely romanticised view of Native people in general but she is eager to learn more about them and is actually willing to overcome her stereotypical views. This might be one of the reasons why she also "liked the idea that Eli was Indian" (181). It is Karen who tries to make Eli accept his origins and return to his family on the reserve for a visit. When they actually go, they arrive in time for the Sun Dance. Karen is deeply impressed by the Native ceremony and is disappointed when they do not go to Blosson for the Sun Dance during the following years. When she recovers from a long illness (cancer), she and Eli plan to travel the world. Her answer to Eli's question: "What do you want to do first?" is, not surprisingly, "The Sun Dance" (379). Eli gives in and Karen seems not only to have got what she wanted but also managed to bring Eli to face his cultural identity. It is a sad irony of fate that Karen dies in a car crash when the two of them are on their way to a farewell party their friends have organised for them before leaving for Blossom.

Though it takes Eli some more time to return home, Karen has always been the one who knew how important this return and the acceptance of his past would be for Eli's quest for identity.

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158 Her first name as well as her ancestry are borrowed from Herman Melville's short story "Benito Cereno" in *Piazza Tales*. Lisa Karen Christie devotes a whole chapter of her Master's thesis to the connection between of Melville's short story and King's Babo reference. For further details see Christie, *That Dam Whale*, pp. 58-79.

6. Conclusion

Throughout the novel the women seem to be "honoured for their intelligence, strength, personal autonomy and relationships with others."[159] It can be said that all three Native female protagonists qualify as 'changing women'. Furthermore, they show some of the characteristics, associated with the Blackfoot tradition of ninauposkitzipxpe. The female characters teach the men the value of not denying their cultural roots but sticking to them. Especially in Latisha's case it can be seen how the women not only adapt to new circumstances but make them work for them or change them creatively. The women know who they are and who they want to be. In the end, even Alberta has managed to make the close to impossible – or at least improbable – happen and is going to have a child without having to put up with a potential husband.

The women resist "white western patriarchal assumptions about culture and gender and suggest […] entirely different roles for women and a new paradigm for human relationships."[160] This statement by McKay sums up the situation rather well. Though there are many colonial and postcolonial aspects in *Green Grass, Running Water*, like the rejection of mimicry, the novel also shows that the women generate their identity from sources that are not specific to the postcolonial discourse. The female characters cannot only be defined in their relation to colonialism and rejection of the modern western world. The importance of Blackfoot tradition is more than mere resistance. The high value the extended family has for all three women seems to be a universal theme especially in Native cultures. The female characters also gain strength by interacting with one another and supporting each other.

Though these findings are still far from founding a new theory on how to read Native literatures, they show that it is important not to stick too closely to a postcolonial approach either. The experience of having been colonised is, of course, part of the collective memory and thus a major part of cultural identity. There is nothing wrong with applying postcolonial thoughts to the analysis and partially it leads to interesting results that present a new aspect of the novel or show a known fact from a different angle. It is, however, vital that this theoretical framework does not cover the novel from all angles.

A combination of postcolonial theory and an awareness of important themes in Native tradition and the way Native identity is created should be used to gain a deeper understanding of Thomas King's indigenous female characters. This is a plea for a plurality of theories and an open mind while reading any kind of literature. All art, of which literature is a part, contains the aspect of finding one's identity to a certain extent. As identity is a very complex concept and is engendered by a multitude of factors, it seems to be unsatisfactory to limit the methods of analy-

159 McKay, *'And that one takes a big bite of one of those nice red apples'*, p. 2.
160 Ibid., p. vi.

sis to one or two leading theories. As well as applying different schools of literary theory there should also be an interdisciplinary angle. Psychology or Sociology might present interesting new ways of reading a certain character and thus might lead to astonishing new results. Especially when dealing with Native literature one should consider Native concepts in order to understand the text. As stated before, the western concept of gender is not the Native one. It would therefore oversimplify matters to say that King's women are fighters for emancipation in a western sense of the word. On the other hand, the novel might well influence western female readers and encourage them in their struggle for equality. The reader is always part of the story as well and Thomas King definitely knows this and therefore probably plays with this idea too. The open-minded reader will always find it worthwhile to study King's indigenous female characters as well as *Green Grass, Running Water* in general. As to definite answers one should perhaps consider Thomas King's statement: "There are no truths […] Only stories" (432).

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Frauke Reitemeier

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1637 stellt Thomas Morton den Lesern seines *New English Canaan* die Indianer von New England in wirtschaftlicher Hinsicht als beispielhaft vor; die gegenwärtige Literaturgeschichte hingegen betrachtet den Text nur als Reflex von Mortons Auseinandersetzung mit den Führern der puritanischen Siedlern. – Der kanadische Autor Thomas King beschreibt in seinem 1993 erschienenen Roman *Green Grass, Running Water* indianische Frauen, die sehr erfolgreich ein Restaurant mit *dog meat specialities* führen, die allerdings keinerlei Hundefleisch enthalten: Kings Frauen sind stark, unabhängig und doch verletzlich. Sie vereinen indianische wie westeuropäische Charaktereigenschaften und spielen mit verschiedensten politischen und religiösen Vorstellungen, sind jedoch gleichzeitig darin auch gefangen. – In heutigem Englisch wird *that* häufig als Variante von *which* und *who* verwendet: Welche grammatische Struktur steht dahinter, und wie läßt sie sich fassen?

Diese Themen und Fragestellungen stammen aus Forschungsgebieten, die Studierende sich im Rahmen ihres Studiums am Seminar für Englische Philologie entwickeln und erarbeiten. Dieser Sammelband enthält die besten Arbeiten der ersten Bachelor-Kohorte – sie sind wissenschaftlich herausragend und zeigen neue Ansätze und Lösungsmöglichkeiten auf.

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