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Etruscan Symbols in Greek Literature

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Abstract

There has been no systemic study of the representation and interpretation of the Tyrrhenian (Etruscans) influence on Hellenic civilization. The article is dedicated to an account of the innovative ideas and forms that have sprung up in one of the highly developed civilizations of the Mediterranean and the specifics of their transformation in Greek literature, which itself prepared the ground for their metamorphosis into symbols and their eventual spread into world culture. The most interesting of these symbols are the Tyrrhenian pirates, the Tyrrhenian trumpet, and Tyrrhenian sandals, which find their reflection in many Greek literary works. The research is based on a close study of Antique literary sources (passages from the literary works of Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Pausanias etc.), as well as archaeological sources and academic literature. The different spheres and innovations of Tyrrhenian civilization were of great interest to the Greeks, which subsequently found their reflection in Greek literature. They gained a newly found value and via Graeca became Etruscan symbols in the literary culture of the following ages. Respective literary "clichés" have specifically been built on these very characters or symbols. Finally, we can say with some confidence that Etruscan innovations in Greek sources have undergone certain transformations and have been turned into innovative Greek literary symbols. In this case we do not talk about the Hellenization of the Etruscan but about the emergence of qualitatively new literary characters which have given birth to a multiplicity of new reflections and receptions in world literature.

Introduction

The question as to what contributions have been made from Greek innovations to world culture has always sparked academic interest in different epochs. In turn, multiple studies have been devoted to trace the influence of other ancient cultures in the Greek legacy. It is well-known that the inclination

of Greek culture for searching out novelties and in turn, offering mankind with innovations often led to different achievements visible in other ancient civilizations. A specific and original interpretation of those achievements helped the Hellenes give motion to qualitatively different values. In this context, there has been no systemic study of the representation and interpretation of Tyrrhenian (Greek name for Etruscans) influence on Hellenic civilization. It should be mentioned that contemporary humanitarian studies have shown an increased interest in the Etruscans' contribution in the process of the development and formation of the Roman and other civilizations of ancient Italy[1], as well as in the Greek influence within the same process[2]. However, a study which would tackle the question of the counter influence of Etruscan innovations, their interpretation and reformulation in Greek culture has not taken place until recently.   The article is devoted to an account of some of the innovative ideas and forms that sprung up in one of the highly developed civilizations of the Mediterranean and the specifics of their transformation in **Greek literature**, which itself prepared the ground for their metamorphosis into symbols and their eventual spread into world culture.

I.

The most interesting of these literary symbols are the Tyrrhenian pirates, the Tyrrhenian trumpet, and Tyrrhenian sandals, which find their reflection in many Greek literary works.

To start with, the Greeks were introduced to the Tyrrhenians when Etruscan culture was at its height. It should have been during the founding of the first Greek colony by the Euboeians in Cumae in the 8th century B.C. This is exactly the period which provides us with archaeological artifacts depicting an increase in the mutual connections between Greek colonists and the Etruscans[3]. The first reference to the Etruscans, most probably presented in the ending of Hesiod's *Theogony* (I have devoted an article arguing about the organic nature of this passage from Hesiod's poem[4], which will not be discussed here in detail) should also depict this very period, where Etruscans are introduced as being the servants of Agrius and Latinus, the sons of Odysseus and Circe:

Κίρκη δ´ Ηελίου θυγάτηρ ἐπεριονίδαο,
γείνατ´ Οδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος ἐν φιλότητι
Αγριον ἠδὲ Λατῖνον ἀμύμονά τέ κρατερόν τε·
[Τηλέγονον τε ἔτικτε διὰ χρυσῆν Αφροδίτην·]

1Cf. : Henry Harrel-Courtes, James Hogarth 1964; John Franklin Hall ed. 1996; Sinclair Bell and Alexandra A. Carpino ed. 2016
2 Cf.: Calvert Watkins 1995, vol.97, 35-50; Kathryn Lomas 1995; Irad Malkin 2011;
3 Cristofani ed. 2000, 83
4 K 2002, vol. 5, 70-79.

Οἱ δ᾽ ἤτοι μάλα τῆλε μυχῷ νήσων ἱεράων

πᾶσιν Τυρσηνοῖσιν ἀγακλειτοῖσιν ἄνασσον. (Hes. *Theog.* 1011-1016)

Circe, the granddaughter of Helios, born from Hyperion,

Being in love with Odysseus, gave birth to Agrius

And to the genuine and powerful Latinus (Telegonus was born to a golden Aphrodite).

Both of them live on distant sacred islands

And rule over the famous Tyrrhenians.[5]

The question as to who was entitled with the term "Tyrrhenian" still haunts the academic community, as well as questions regarding the identity of the Dionysian thieves or whether the pirates reincarnated into dolphins; were they Pelasgian tribes living in Chalcis or the Etruscans? The academic community is still far away from a consensual point of view.[6] The opinion deliberately represented in the book *The Etruscans in Classical Literature* regarding the existence of two ethnically different Tyrrhenian tribes ("Eastern" and "Western") is not supported by facts. So, as I suppose, Hesiod implies "the Etruscans" under the term „Τυρσηνοῖσιν"

So, in *Theogony* the Greeks acknowledged the huge military potential of the Etruscans and their high cultural development is duly reflected in Hesiod's positive epithet to the Etruscans – "αγακλειτόι" - meaning "famous", "renowned". Herewith, another important fact should be mentioned, in that Hesiod places and considers the Etruscans within the common mythological Hellenic narrative, thereby increasing further interest in the Etruscans and their innovations. This interest was duly expressed by the Greeks in many Greek literary works.

In this context, the tale of Dionysus and the Tyrrhenian pirates is important, a literary interpretation of which comes late in the Homeric hymns. In the Homeric hymns, the 7th dithyramb tells the myth about Dionysus and the Tyrrhenian pirates.

This is the first mention of the myth in Antique literature:

Immediately, on a fine deck boat,

On the wine colored sea,

Some Tyrrhenian thieves appeared,

Guided by destiny.

 (Hom. *Hymn.* 7. 49-51)

Therefore, the imprisonment of the pirates is equated by Homer as evil destiny. The same can be discovered in other citations:

 οἱ δε θύραζε κακὸν μόρον ἐξαλύοντες·

(Hom. *Hymn*. 7.8)

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5 Translation in the text is done by the author herself in a word-by-word manner.

6 Cristofani ed. 2000, 295-296.

Persecuted (from the outside) by the evil destiny.

However, cruelty is alien to the Tyrrhenian pirates in the Homeric myths (in contrast to Nonnus) and when they meet Dionysus it seems happenstance, being attributable to a certain call of destiny. It did not happen on purpose as it is highlighted in *Dionysiaca* for example.

In the Homeric hymn there is no author's evaluation of the Tyrrhenian pirates, which is in conflict with the principles of lyrics.

This "anomaly" might be attributable to the following underlying factors:

1. The hymn first and foremost devotes most of the attention to the object of aggrandizement; therefore, the Tyrrhenian pirates are of lesser importance in this myth.

2. In general it is not customary for lyrics to highlight the opposition visible in other genres. Consequently, the opposition of Dionysus vs pirates is significantly divorced from the frames of the literary concept;

3. By the time Homeric hymns were being written (7th-6th cent. BC), it should be said that in general, before the politico-institutional essence of the state was formed, piracy was not decried as a shameful activity and was considered as an integral part of commercial relationships.[7] Almost all the sea states, including the Phoenicians and the Greeks, were involved in piracy. Therefore, the Tyrrhenians were unlucky to meet a god-like man in place of an ordinary mortal.

However, the selection of the Etruscans as the primary antagonists to Dionysus in this tale besides the "success" in piracy (the fascination with thieves on the sea became a powerful, instrumental influence on a perception to label Etruscans pirates in ancient times even before Sicily was colonized by the Greeks.[8]) was also in many ways conditioned by a certain historic context. Stated in a literary way, it is evident there is some gap between Hesiod's "αγακλειτόι"and the "ληΐσται" of Homeric hymn on pirates. The key to this connection could be found in one of the Pythian odes by Pindar.

Pindar prays to Zeus:

λίσσομαι νεῦσον, Κρονίων, ἥμερον

ὄφρα κατ ΄ οἶκον ὁ Φοίνιξ ὁ Τυρσανῶν τ΄ ἀλαλατὸς ἔχη, ναυσίστονον

ὕβριν ἰδὼν τὰν πρὸ Κύμας

οἷα Συρακοσίων ἀρχῷ δαμασθέντες πάθον,

ὠκυπόρων ἀπὸ ναῶν ὅ σφιν ἐν πόντῳ βαλεθ΄ ἁλικίαν,

Ελλαδ΄ ἐξέλκων βαρείας δουλίας. (Pind. *Pyth.* I. 72. 102)

Cronion, I pray to you on my knees,

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7 Camporeale 1998, 36-49
8 K 2007, 18-19; 280-283

Please delay the Phoenicians and the Tyrrhenian war cry,
And only when they insolently hear groaning on their boats,
Near the Cumae.
When they feel the torture from the ruler of Syracuse,
Who threw out their youths from high-speed boats into the sea.
And saved Hellas from the shackles of slavery.

The facts recounted in Pindar's ode are based on facts that have taken place in reality. Gelo, the tyrant of Syracuse, defeated the Carthaginians near Himera in 480 BC, while Hiero of Syracuse who came to defend the Greeks of Cumae defeated the Etruscan fleet.

It should be said that the relationship between the Etruscans and Cumaeans had been strained since 524 BC. In exactly the same year, the Etruscans attacked the Greek colony and encircled the Euboeans together with the Umbrians and Daunians.

The information provided by Pindar is also interesting in how the Greek poet writes about the Phoenicians. However, he is in fact describing the battle with the Tyrrhenians.

The following might be the reason for this:

1. The battle near Cumae took place relatively late;
2. The sea battle near Cumae took place during the tyrannical rule of Hiero, who was Pindar's contemporary, which to no surprise is logically to be of more interest to him.
3. In Pindar's view, defeating the Etruscans as the most fearsome close neighbors was a fact of much more importance.

It is noteworthy that Pindar considers the victory of Cumae and Syracuse over the Phoenicians and Etruscans to be equally important to the victory of the Greeks over the Persians near Plataea and Salamis.[9]

In Von Vacano's viewpoint: "Here we observe the birth of a myth where the Greeks' fight for freedom acquires a nature of a world war comprising all of the Mediterranean. The Carthaginians and Etruscans represent the so-called second wing of the barbarian attacks led by the Xerxes."[10]

We can add that to this viewpoint regarding the second wing of the barbarians, Pindar's accent of the war with the Phoenicians is not surprising when picturing the Tyrrhenians as a centralized fearsome power for the first time in history.

This viewpoint by Pindar will have great influence on the stereotype formed of the Etruscans in the Antique era, which saw them as aggressive and fearful military adversaries.

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9 Vacano 1977, 151.
10 Vacano 1982, 151

For example, Diodorus of Sicily points out that due to the Etruscan pirate attacks, half of the population was busy with agriculture in Lipari, and the other half defended the island from Etruscan pirates (V, 9, 4) beginning from Knidian colony period (580 BC). Strabo says that the Etruscans were widely famous for piracy, which according to the author, served as the main reason for Etruria's decentralization: "Τοτε μὲν οὖν ὑφ´ ἑνὶ ἡγεμόνι ταττόμενοι μέγα ἴσχθον, χρόνιος δ´ ὕστερον διαλυθῆναι τὸ σόστημα εἰκὸς καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διασπαςθῆναι βία τῶν πλησιοχώρων εἴξαντος· οὐ γὰρ an[χώραν εὐδαίμονα ἀφέντες τῇ θαλάττη κάτα ληστείαν ἐπέθεντο ἄλλοι πρὸς ἄλλα τραπὸμενοι πελάγε, ἐπέ ὅπον γε συμπνεύσαιεν, ὑκανοίί ἦσαν οὐκ ἀμύνασθαι μόνον τούς ἐπιχευρο'οντας αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶἀντεπιχειρεῖν καὶ μακρὰς στρατείας poie'sqai." (Strab. II. 2) - "Their united government was dissolved, and the Tyrrhenians, yielding to the violence of their neighbors, were broken up into separate cities; for otherwise they would not have given up a happy land and taken to the sea as pirates, different bands turning to different parts of the high seas; indeed, in all cases where they acted in concert, they were able, not only to defend themselves against those who attacked them, but also to attack in turn and to make long expeditions".

This might be the reason why the Greeks associated Etruscans with the pirates wrangling with Dionysus, which should have happened no earlier than the 6th century BC. The myths recounted in Homer's hymns gave birth to a completely new literary symbol of **godless robbers/thieves** who are solely motivated by loot, an image, which since then and forever has been associated with the Etruscans.

In Greek literature, the Tyrrhenian question is also taken up by Euripides. Dionysus' meeting with the Tyrrhenian pirates happens immediately in the first few lines of the satirical drama *Cyclops*. Silenus thinks that the kidnapping of Dionysus by the Tyrrhenians was a trick of Hera and links his imprisonment by the Cyclops with an attempt to free Dionysus from captivity:

ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ἥρα σοι γένος Τυρσηνικὸν
ληστῶν ἐπῶρσεν, ὡς ὁδηθείης μακράν,
-ἐγὼ πυθόμενος σὺν τέκνοισι ναυστολῶ
σέθεν κατὰ ζήτησιν (Eur. Cyc. 11-14).

When Hera encouraged pirates from the Tyrrhenian tribes:
To take you away and sold you afar,
I, a learner of this, sailed with my children,
To find you.

This passage is interesting, since the kidnapping of Dionysus through Hera's orders is not confirmed in other historical sources. Thus, in my viewpoint, the inclusion of the wife of the ruler of Olympus in this plot links the Etruscans with the additional "web" of Greek mythology. This process,

as was demonstrated above, begins with Hesiod and qualitatively deepens with Euripides. Euripides' consideration of the Tyrrhenians as real Etruscans can be clearly observed in his tragedy *Heraclidae*, which will be discussed later in the article.

From a literary standpoint, we come across an interesting interpretation of the literary characters/symbols in *Dionysiaca* by Nonnus.

This literary work dating back to the late antiquity is devoted to a description of Dionysus' journey. It is natural that in an epos of such a character, the famous myth regarding the Tyrrhenian pirates must be told. First of all, it is interesting which developments come before and after this passage in *Dionysiaca*. Nonnus is not original in this case and like the *Metamorphoses* by Ovid, this episode follows the scene of the angry Pentheus who is taken up with the desire to catch Dionysus before Agave kills Pentheus.

The 45th chapter begins with a description of bacchanalia. Some women are dancing on the mountain and Tiresias, Cadmus, and Pentheus are with them. The latter addresses the elder in order to regain their consciousness, refuse Dionysus, and return to the old gods. In response, Tiresias tries to convince him in the might of Prince Dionysus and tells him the "Sicilian Story" about Dionysus punishing evil tourists by turning them into fish.

Why Dionysus did become angry with the tourists? In Nonnus' opinion, the reason is boundless Tyrrhenian cruelty:

Τυρσηνῶν ποτε παῖδες ἐναντίλλοντο θαλάσσῃ,
ξεινοφόνοι, πλωτῆρες ἀλήμονες, ἅρπαγες ὄλβον,
πάντοθεν ἁρπάζοντες ἐπάκτια πώεα μήλων· ἤ μιθανής, ἕτερον δὲ προασπίζων ἔτι ποίμνης
ἀμφιλαφὴς πολιῇσι φόνῳ φοινίσσετο ποιμήν
ἔμπορος εἴ ποτε πόντον ἐπέπλεεν, εἴ ποτε Φοίνιξ
ὤνια Σιδονίης ἁλιπόρφυρα πέπλα θαλάάσσης εἶχεν...
...εἰς Σικελὴν! Ἀρέθουσαν ἀνὴρ πορθμεύετο Φοίνιξ
δέσμος, ἁρπαμένοιο λιπόπτολις ὄλβου.
ἀλλὰ δόλῳ Διόνυσος ἐπίκλονον εἶδος ἀμείψας
Τυρσηνοὺς ἀπάφησε   (Nonnus, *Dion*. 45.105-120).

The sons of Tyrrhenians strolling by the sea,
Slayers of the foreigners and robbers of gold,
Stole every herd of sheep from the seaside,
And the shepherd who tried to save the sheep was left half dead.
People were also killed alongside the sheep,
If a merchant who sailed by sea,
Or saw Phoenicians coming from Sidonia to Sicily,
They took them wrapped in chains to Aretuza
But Dionysus changed his appearance
And cunningly fooled the Tyrrhenians.

This episode is of great significance in the poem. This is the last of the arguments to help Pentheus regain his lost consciousness, since after this episode he is killed by his own mother.

If in *Metamorphoses* Pentheus hears this story from Acetus, the ruler of the Tyrrhenians and himself an eye witness, in the work of Nonnus however, this story is narrated by Cadmus, a sorcerer and by Thebes, a very influential person. Neither in the first, nor in the second case does the Pentheus belief change. This episode in the *Metamorphoses* is narrated by Acetus himself, who tells this story to anger Pentheus in helping him regain consciousness and worship Dionysus.[11]

The Tyrrhenian pirates are pictured as soulless booty hunters and the reason for their tragic fate was due to their disrespect of the gods.

With this story, Pentheus gets a warning from destiny, which is inescapable for the prince who revolts against Dionysus.

It is noteworthy that Ovid does not say much about the Tyrrhenians or their crimes and cruelty. As is evident from the title, the poet devotes primary attention to the process of metamorphosis when Dionysus meets the pirates. First of all we should say that with Homer, as well as with Ovid, Dionysus personifies an innocent victim who happens to come across the pirates by chance, while Nonnus highlights that Dionysus himself decided to punish the pirates: "Dionysus changed his clothes, and deceived the pirates"(45, 120).

Such a targeted action by Dionysus was determined by the behavior of the Tyrrhenian pirates. In Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* itself there is a recount of the stories regarding the distinctive cruelty of the Etruscans, where it becomes evident that Dionysus will certainly fight against that cruelty.

The Dionysus of Nonnus is not a concrete god, yet traits characteristic of epic characters like heroism and others can easily be observed in his image.[12]

If we take into account the version provided by Rouse we can easily explain such a literary description of the Tyrrhenians by Nonnus. It is a lesser possibility that Nonnus equates the mythological image of the Tyrrhenian pirates with the Etruscans, who for five centuries already ceased to be significant adversaries to the Greeks on the sea.

It becomes evident for the Greeks that they will be punished by Dionysus. They will be punished as cruelly as the Tyrrhenian pirates have been punished before, since Dionysus cannot avoid the cruelty and comes to meet his destiny through his own choice.

Rouse rightfully remarks in the mythological representation by Nonnus in *Dionysiaca*, that the Dionysus of Nonnus is not simply a

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11 Ov. *Met*., IV,655-657

12   Rouse 1940, XIV.

mythological character and the characteristics of epic personages, like heroism and other traits attributable to the Messiah, are visible in his image

The researcher also thinks that "Dionysus with Nonnus was also pictured as a conqueror (he came from the East and declared of himself in a fight with the Helens) and is equated with the conqueror of people, Alexander, who conquers the world with truth and a fight for its attainment."[13]

When taking these arguments into account, it becomes easier to explain passages devoted to the distinctive cruelty characteristic of the Tyrrhenians recounted in the poem, with these passages creating a favorable platform for the rise of the hero and the negative characters becoming part of the literary method and a personification of hyperbolized evil.

So, a literary cliché with differing interpretations is confirmed in all three periods of ancient literature, providing a stimulus for its reception in the world of literature and art. [14]

A couple of words about the existence of the cult of Dionysus in Etruria (It can be assumed, that Dionysus' settlement in Etruria, as in other episodes of his adventure, was not easy and painless).[15]

In the 5th century BC, the Etruscan chthonian deity Phuphluns (Fufluns), the cult of which was popular in the city of Veii, preserved its name, but became a character of Hellenic myths and occupied Dionysus' place in Etruscan pieces of art. In parallel with the popularization of the Dionysus cult in Italy (it seems that Etruscans got acquainted with him in Cumae),[16] the myth about Dionysus and the Tyrrhenian pirates probably created by the Euboeans in the 7th-6th century BC, as it was mentioned above, reflects the attitude of the Greeks towards the Tyrrhenians and piracy as well. This is narrated by some allegoric language for this fantastic metamorphosis.

Therefore, the myth about Dionysus and the Tyrrhenian pirates, which is metaphorically based on the opposition of good and evil, might be reflecting several historical events: 1. War between Greeks and Etruscans (Tyrrhenians) for supremacy on the sea. 2. The history of the establishment of Greek culture (Namely, the cult of Dionysus) in the Tyrrhenian Sea Basin and the Apennines (8th-9^{th}c.c.BC). It is significant that Tyrrhenian pirates, being the personification of negative forces, acquire some additional features in ancient literature and turn into **hyperbolized evil**.[17] Consequently, it seems quite realistic to consider the date of the creation of the Dionysus myth to be 6th-5th centuries BC. It is significant that this assumption is justified by

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13 Rouse 1940, XIV.
14 K 2008, 73-79.
15 Livy for instance, points out, that Dionysus cult emerged to Rome exactly from Etruria, which was forbidden by the Senate in 186 B.C
16 Cristofani1978, 118.
17 K 2007, 280-281.

archaeological data - so far there is no reflection of a specific myth in pieces of art earlier than the 6th-5th centuries BC.[18]

The Tyrrhenian trumpet is another interesting literary case. The story of the invention of this musical instrument in Greek sources is widely discussed in the context of mythology. It is noteworthy that in Antiquity, the Etruscans were considered as the inventors of the military trumpet (though some scientists point to the Egyptian origins of the trumpet[19]). Though we come across the trumpet as early as Homer's works, researchers of Antique music do not consider it to be a musical instrument since it could only produce a few weak tones.[20]

The Etruscan military trumpet was a contrary case and stood out significantly in this context. This musical instrument had a strong sonority and a wide musical range.[21] This was exactly the reason the Greeks became utterly interested in this novelty.

In relation to this, Diodorus of Sicily, in a description of different native tribes, points to the Tyrrhenians as well in the 5th book of *Bibliotheca historica*:

(1) Λείπεται δ´ ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν, οὗτοι γὰρ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἀνδρεια διενεγκόντες χώραν πολλὴν κατεκτήσαντο καὶ πόλεις ἀξιολόγους καὶ πολλὰς ἔκτισαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ναυτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἰσχύσαντε καὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους θαλαττοκρατήσαντες τὸ μὲν παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πέλαγος ἀφ´ ἑαυτῶν ἐποίησαν Τυρρηνικὸν προσαγορευθῆναι, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὰς πεζὰς δθνάμεις ἐκπονήσαντες τὴν τε σάλπιγγα λεγομένην ἐξεῦρον, εὐχρηστοτάτην μὲν εἰς τοὺς πολέμοθς, ἀπ´ ἐκείνων δ´ ὀνομασυεῖσαν Τυρρηνήν, τό τε περὶ τοὺς ἡγουμένους στρατηγοὺς ἀξίωμα κατεσκεύασαν, περιθέντες τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ῥαβδούχους καὶ δίφρον ἐλεφάντινον καὶ περιπόρφυρον τήβενναν, ἔν τε ταῖς οἰκίαις τὰ περίστωα πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεραπευόντων ὄχλων ταραχὰς ἐξεῦρον εὐχρηστίαν· ὧν τὰ πλεῖστα Ῥωμαῖοι μιμησάμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ κάλλιον αὐξήσαντες μετήνεγκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν πολιτείαν (Diod. Sic. *Bibl*. V 401).

"We also have to tell you about the Tyrrhenians, who became prominent with their characteristic bravery, conquered a huge landmass, and established many famous cities. With the help of military ships, they acquired power to establish their dominance on the sea. That is the reason one of the Italian seas is called the Tyrrhenian Sea. They also perfected land forces and invented a very useful tool in the war – a trumpet, which was called Tyrrhenian after their name, they also invented a military rank of commander-in-chief, as

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18 The earliest: Hydria from Taledo (510-500 cc. B.C. Ohio. Fine Arts Museum: Bowl Exekias (540-530 B.C.), Munich, Antikensamlungen.; Paleothodoros, 2012, 459-466
19 West 1992, 119.
20 Norquist 2014, 241-256.
21 Pallottino 1984, 353; Keller 1985, 387.

well as a coach made of ivory for the rank of lictors accompanying the commander-in-chief. They also invented a round portico for a house, which is very useful to defend oneself from the noise."22

In connection with the Etruscan trumpet, important information that is provided by Pausanias deserves some careful attention: "Αθηνᾶς δὲ ἱδρύσασθαι Σάλπιγγος ἱερόν φασιν Ἡγέλεων. Τυρσηνοῦ δὲ τοῦτον Ἡγέλεων, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι καὶ γυναικὸς λέγουσι τῆς Λυδῆς. Τυρσηνὸν δὲ σάλπιγγα εὑρεῖν πρῶτον, Ἡγέλεων δὲ τὸν Τυρσηνοῦ διδάξαι τοὺς σὺν Τημένῳ Δωριέας τοῦ ὀργάνου τὸν ψοφον καὶ δι´ αὐτὸ Αθηνᾶν ἐπονομάσαι Σάλπιγγα, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Αθηνᾶς Επιμενίδου λέγουσιν εἶναι τάφον. " (Paus.II,21, 3.)

"They say that in Athena's Temple (situated in Temenos) which they say was founded by Hegeleus. They also say that Hegeleus was the son of King Tyrsenos and the grandson of Heracles from a Midian woman (Omphale). Tyrsenos was the first to invent the trumpet and Hegeleus, the son of Tyrsenos, was the one to teach the royalty from Temenos how to play this instrument. That is why Athena is called the "Trumpet"(Σάλπιγγα).

This is the Tyrsenos who Herodotus calls the first King of the Etruscans, the one who emigrated from Lydia and whose name became the ethnic name for the Etruscans.[23]

As we see, the myth by Pausanias puts the Etruscans within the context of Greek mythology by relating them to Hercules. Thus, I think that this myth has archaic origins and as proof I can point to the Greek tragedy where the Tyrrhenian trumpet is mentioned several times in relation to Athena .

Greek tragedy provides another symbol related to the Etruscans, which subsequently is firmly established in Greek literature. This line begins with Aeschylus. In *Eumenides,* Athena gives the following order to a messenger:
Κήρυσσε, κῆρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργαθοῦ,
ἥ τ´ οὖν διάτορος Τυρσηνικὴ
σάλπιγξ βροτείου πνεύματος πληρουμένη
ὑπέρτονον γήρυμα φαίνετω στρατῷ. (Aesch. *Eum*. 569-572.)
"Blow the trumpet and collect the army,
So that through the Tyrrhenian trumpet,
The filler of the souls of the dead
Could inform the army with a strong voice".

In the prologue to *Ajax* Sophocles draws an even closer parallel between Athena and the Tyrrhenian trumpet. The invisible Athena talks with Odysseus, whose voice he compares with that of the Tyrrhenian trumpet:
Ὦ φθέγμ! Αθάνας, φίλτάτης ἐμοὶ Θεῶν,

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23 Herodotus, I, 94

ῶς εὐμαθέ σου, κἂν ἄποπτος ἦς, ὅμως
φώνημ΄ ἀκούω καὶ ξυναρπάζω φρενί,
χαλκοστόμου κώδωνυς ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς. (Soph. *Aj*.14-17.)
Oh, do I hear the voice of the most beloved among the Gods?
Yes it is you, though you are invisible
I can hear the voice that steals my soul,
Just like the copper headed Tyrrhenian (trumpet).

It is noteworthy that Sophocles does not even directly mention trumpet (σάλπιγξ) but limits his lines with a metaphor "Tyrrhenian" (Τυρσηνικῆς), without directly mentioning "trumpet" (σάλπιγξ), which I think confirms the popularity and high knowledge of the instrument.

Following in the footsteps of Aeschylus and Sophocles, Euripides makes the sound of the Tyrrhenian trumpet be heard before the battle in *Heracleidae*, this time without mentioning Athena:

ἐπὲ δ΄ ἐσήμην΄ ὄρθιον Τυρσηνικῇ
σάλπιγγι καὶ συνῆψαν ἀλλήλοις μάχην. (Eur. *Herakl.* 830-831.)
The loud voice of the Tyrrhrenian trumpet was heard
Uniting everyone in the fight.

This line is interesting since Euripides decides to voice the Tyrrhenian trumpet exactly in *Heracleidae*. I think he was familiar with a version of the myth that was mentioned by Pausanias where the use of the trumpet was linked with one of the descendants of Hercules. It is as if Euripides adds to his myths, being more persuasive or convincing.

Therefore, this great innovation of the Etruscans attracted the interest and attention of the Greeks from the very beginning with its distinct sound, becoming a symbol of a **divine, terrible sound** in Greek literature. Due to its functions, it became widely associated with Athena and Hercules, the most prominent of the Greek heroes - preparing the plot for many subsequent literary works.

It is noteworthy that linking the sound of the Tyrrhenian trumpet with divine origins was later reflected in Roman literature. In Virgil's *Aeneid*, Venus makes a signal to Aeneas with a thunderstorm. The sound of thunder resembles that of the Tyrrhenian trumpet:

Namque improviso vibratus ab aethera fulgor
Cum   sonitu   venit   et   ruere   omnia   visa   repente
Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor. (Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 524-526.)
"Unexpectedly the thunder will make the ether tremble,
Comes sounding and pierces through everything with noise and shine,
It shouts as a Tyrrhenian trumpet, shaking the skies."

Here we should also take into account that Venus personifies Athena in a certain sense in *Aeneid*. Venus, as well Athena speaking to Odyssey in

Sophocles' *Ajax*, is always supportive of his son. By mentioning the Tyrrhenian trumpet in this context, Virgil makes another hint that Aeneas is a Roman Odyssey who executes the wills of gods.

Another symbol provided by ancient literature and art is the Tyrsenian sandals. In Etruria, sandals gain popularity as early as the 6th century BC through Greek influence. Before sandals were popular, cocked boots called *calcei repandi* were commonly used.[24] The Etruscans developed an interesting modification of the sandals they previously took from the Greeks. They covered the wooden bottoms of the sandals with bronze, divided the braids, and garnished them with a golden brocade. *Tyrrhena plantis* quickly gained popular support as a new fashion product through multiple archaeological findings not limited to modern day Italy.

This Tyrrhenian innovation quickly reached Athens, the capital of fashion at that time. When a woman of Aristophanes' era bought Etruscan sandals, they were considered a luxury good, distinct with an **exotic look**.[25] During the past few years, a supposition supported with concrete proof has made an appearance, suggesting that Tyrrhenian sandals are present in many Greek sculptures. Among them, a scholar suggests the sculpture of Athena Parthenos by Phidias might be decorated with Tyrrhenian sandals.[26] This supposition is based on the *Onomasticon* (vii, 92) by Julius Pollux, a 2nd century author, where we find a passage explaining certain "laws" (PCG iv, FR 39) by Kratinos and it mentions"Σανδάλια Τυρρενικά". Pollux writes that these are the quadrangular sandals with which Phidias decorated the sculpture of Athena Parthenos.[27] It seems that these elegant sandals were popular during the time of Pericles, inspiring Phidias to select this model of shoes when sculpturing Athena's appearance.

It is interesting that in one of the passages of *Aeneid*, Virgil mentions the Tyrrhenian sandals as *Tyrrhena plantis*. It is noteworthy that an Ausonian personage wore the same sandals:

Tyrrhena pedum circumdat vincula plantis.

(Verg. *Aen.*VIII. 212)

He wound the straps of the Tyrrhenian sandals round his leg.

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24 Camporeale 2011, 184-186.

25 Bonfante, 2003, 60

26 Adembri, 2000, 1-4 /.

27 Edmonds, 1957, vol.3. 64; Bryant,1899, 78

In the whole of Italy and not only, an author wearing those kind of popular shoes by Ausonian Evandros in the poem appears to be natural. [28] Therefore, the different spheres and innovations of Tyrrhenian civilization stirring up great interest among the Greeks subsequently found their reflection in Greek literature, having been awarded newly found value and via Graeca became Etruscan symbols in the literary culture of the following ages. Respective literary clichés have specifically been built upon these very symbols. It is also noteworthy that Greek literature points to the Etruscan origin of these innovations everywhere, however the literary characters and symbols tend to be purely Greek.

Conclusion

With the help of the aforementioned examples, I think there is a possibility to examine an interesting scheme of the process of transforming and interpreting Etruscan innovations characteristic of Hellenic culture in relation to the Etruscans (and not only).

After being introduced with concrete achievements during the first stage, the facts that were of interest to the Greeks **were identified** after which the data that was of special interest **was defined in the framework of the antique legends** by appropriating certain place within them (Hesiod, Euripides (Cyclops), Pausanias). This process was not devoid of subjectivism, which to a great degree was determined by the specific mind set of the Hellenes towards the Etruscans. However as a rule, the relationship was variable and every change was reflected accordingly in the mythological narratives as well as literary works (Homeric hymns, Pindar).

Fictional literature always displayed a certain readiness to accept novelties alongside every other aspect of Hellenic culture, which were then eagerly integrated into the fictional frame of literary works via a mythological base. This foreign element then acquired an additional so-called "mythologized" nature in literary works and the fictional function **became an autonomous symbol** (Aeschylus; Sophocles; Euripides, Nonnus). Alongside the aforementioned scheme, Etruscan innovations underwent transformation in Greek literary sources and became innovative fictional characters via literary reproduction. In this case I do not mean their Hellenization but the creation of qualitatively new Greek fictional symbols, which in turn contributed to the founding of multiple reflections and receptions in world literature.

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28 It is interesting that this variety of shoes is quite popular is the fashion industry and is even equally popular nowadays under the name of Tuscan sandals (the other name of Etruscans by Romans).

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Metaphors in The Language of U.S. Presidents in Times of Economic Crisis: From the New Deal to a Rescue Plan for the Middle Class

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Abstract

This paper examines metaphors in the language of U.S. presidents in times of economic crisis in the last century. Our corpus comprises seven speeches that are analyzed in terms of moral metaphors that extend throughout the texts, intertwined with other metaphors, in a qualitative analysis. A quantitative analysis measures metaphor density and also draws on data from Sketch Engine, a corpus manager and analysis program, where keywords are examined that combine with metaphors in texts. Findings suggest that the umbrella moral metaphors of NURTURANT PARENT and STRICT FATHER factor with substantial prominence in corpus texts and that keywords enhance the impact of moral metaphors.

Keywords: Metaphors, Moral metaphors, Keywords, Financial crisis, Economic crisis.

1. Introduction

The values conservatives and liberals portray have different priorities, expressed through language choices that, in time, have entered the minds of voters. Examining presidential talk in periods of economic crisis allows us to better understand how the language used reveals conceptual insights into a political leader's worldview. We analyze the language of six U.S. presidents in the periods of three major economic crises in the last century: the Great Depression, the energy crisis of the 1970s, and the global financial crisis – 2007-2009. The objective of this study is to investigate how specific metaphors trigger opportunities to foster consensus. This paper includes both a qualitative and quantitative analysis of metaphors. In qualitative terms, we explore the varied metaphor themes that run through corpus texts, extracting significant text samples illustrating these themes and relative metaphors they represent. Particular emphasis is placed on moral metaphors, after Lakoff (2008, 2016). In quantitative terms, metaphor density is measured in texts to

assess what this indicator may reveal. We use the corpus manager and analysis program Sketch Engine[29] to seek single- and multi-word keyness to understand whether this has an impact on the use of metaphors (e.g. Philip 2010). The meaning of keywords and their keyness (Bondi 2010) derives from comparative quantitative corpus analysis, which identifies words which are statistically prominent in particular texts and text collections (Stubbs 2010: 22).[30]

We first discuss presidential speeches as a genre (§2), then lay out our theoretical platform by expounding on metaphors (§3). We frame periods of economic crises over the last century both historically and geopolitically and present our corpus (§4). In §4 we extract corpus text samples of metaphors, as discussed in §3 and illustrate how metaphors are laced with specific keywords to create potentially powerful consensus-seeking messages in periods of economic crises (§5). In §5 we examine our quantitative data and draw conclusions in §6.

2. Presidential speeches as genre

The types of presidential rhetoric we examine in this paper are akin to traditional rhetorical forms, but are specifically shaped by the presidency. Presidential speeches can be classified by setting and by audience (talks to congress, other countries, at press conferences, etc.) and, in this sense, we can claim that presidential speeches as a genre represent a rhetorical form that is couched within the framework of institutional functions or settings (Kohrs Campbell and Hall Jamieson 1990: 7)**.**

Adopting a generic perspective in relation to presidential speeches involves three types of evaluation: (1) assessing how well a speech is adapted to achieve its goals, (2) identifying outstanding examples of the text type and, given the institutional focus of presidential speeches, (3) judging how well the rhetoric is used to sustain and adapt the presidency as an institution. For the purposes of this analysis we are leaning on defining factors that Kohrs Campbell and Hall Jamieson (1990: 14-15) employ to distinguish what presidential talk does:

• unifies the audience by reconstituting its members as the people, who can witness and ratify the ceremony or occasion;

• rehearses common values drawn from the past;

• sets forth the political principles that govern the new, or current administration; and

• demonstrates, through enactment, that the president appreciates – and

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29 https://the.sketchengine.co.uk/

30 For more information on how the keyness score of a word in calculated, see https://www.sketchengine.co.uk/documentation/statistics-used-in-sketch-engine/

respects – the requirements and limitations of executive functions.

The corpus texts chosen contemplate speeches specifically related to one of the three periods of economic crisis outlined in §4, which address matters related to those crises. This is effected with the aim of meeting the three types of evaluation listed above: a speech adapted to achieve its goals, an outstanding example of text type and an evaluation of how the rhetoric sustains and adapts the presidency.

3. Metaphors

There is a metaphor that, more than others, is rooted in the American collective consciousness in terms of political thought, namely that of NATION AS FAMILY.[31] This is the umbrella metaphor that allows us to comprehend how both liberals and conservatives think. The nation is seen as a family and this leads to two, different perspectives: the NURTURANT PARENT according to the moral model of liberals, and the STRICT FATHER corresponding to the conservative moral model.

The importance that liberals generally accord to social security is a case in point, an evident example of the NURTURANT PARENT moral model, i.e. a parent (government) looking out for his family (citizens). On the other hand, conservatives hold a concept of the STRICT FATHER as a figure – head of the family – who commands respect. This is the figure of a father who is strong enough to protect his own children from the evils of the world and whose children believe their father to be their only source of salvation. Here both the notions of reward and punishment are relevant (Musolff 2016: 25-37).

The system of metaphors for morality as whole is of great relevance. In other words, people deem moral that which can bring them advantages and can be associated with their own well-being (Lakoff, 1996: 41). Thus a moral metaphor is espoused if it is able to sell its beneficial nature in this sense and – even more importantly – if it is deemed ethically sound in the eyes of voters.

Lakoff (2008) also suggests that the following moral metaphors are of prime value in U.S. politics:
- MORALITY AS STRENGTH
- MORALITY AS FAIRNESS
- MORALITY AS CLEANLINESS
- MORALITY AS PURITY

There are many others that branch out into subcategories (e.g. radial categories and prototypes) (Lakoff 2016). However, there are two, main moral metaphors that result as being fundamental to liberals and conservatives: MORALITY IS CARE (for the nurturant parent, liberals) and MORALITY IS OBEDIENCE to authority (for the strict father, conservatives) (*ibid*.: 105). We

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31 All metaphors are indicated throughout the paper in SMALL CAPS.

begin to understand that forms of moral metaphor act as networks permeating the very core of discourse, often to comprise other metaphors that are not necessarily related to a speaker's moral stance.

4. Critical economic periods and presidential speeches addressing these crises

This section contextualizes our corpus texts within one of three major periods of economic crises in the last century. Seven speeches read by six, different presidents of the U.S. were chosen and are listed in Table 1 below, that also includes the economic crisis at the time, the speech type, typology or title and the date it was pronounced.[32] A diachronical politico-linguistic analysis of these speeches is carried out that aims to detect recurring frames that these presidents appeal to, in an effort to enhance consensus among constituents (Fairclough 1995, Lakoff 2004). Our corpus texts span the years 1932-2008, with the first three texts framed within the Great Depression (two by Franklin D. Roosevelt: FDR1-1932, FDR3-1933, one by Herbert Hoover: HH2-1932), two texts pronounced during the energy crises in the 1970s (Richard Nixon: RN4-1971, Gerald Ford: GF5-1974) and two speeches made during the 2007-2009 global financial crisis (George W. Bush: GWB6-2008, Barack Obama: BO7-2008).

President	Party	Crisis	Speech	Date
Franklin D. Roosevelt	Dem. FDR1	Great Depression	Nomination Address	2 July 1932
Herbert Hoover	Rep. HH2	Great Depression	The Consequences of the Proposed New Deal	21 October 1932
Franklin D. Roosevelt	Dem. FDR3	Great Depression	First Inaugural Address	4 March 1933
Richard Nixon	*Rep.* RN4	Energy Crisis 1970s	The Challenge of Peace	15 August 1971
Gerald Ford	*Rep.* GF5	Energy Crisis 1970s	Whip Inflation Now	8 October 1974
George W. Bush	*Rep.* GWB6	Global financial crisis 2007-2009	Our Economy is in Danger	24 Sept. 2008
Barack Obama	*Dem.* BO7	Global financial crisis 2007-2009	A Rescue Plan for the Middle Class	13 October 2008

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32 In Table 1, under the Party heading are the letters used to refer to the specific corpus text. Text samples are listed using these letters which are followed by the year the speech was pronounced, for example: Text samples – FDR1 1932.

Table 1. Corpus texts

Of the countless metaphor themes running through these texts, I have chosen the most representative ones and show examples of each. The same goes for moral metaphors that appear and act as networks throughout texts, as we will see. All samples are presented in tabular format (Tables 2-8) where metaphors are listed in the first column in SMALL CAPS followed by text samples in the second column with relevant parts indicated in **bold** and metaphor themes are listed in the last column in *italics*.

4.1 The Great Depression: Franklin D. Roosevelt and Herbert Hoover

The Great Depression originated in the United States in the 1930s. It hit countries across the globe from 1929 to 1941. It was the longest and most widespread depression of the 20th century. It is commonly used as an example of just how far the world's economy can decline (Garraty 1987). The depression started after a major fall in stock prices that began around 4 September 1929 and became international news with the stock market crash of 29 October 1929, known as Black Tuesday.

When the stock market collapsed in 1929 Republican President Herbert Hoover was in office and was held accountable for the rampant unemployment which ensued. In 1932 the Democratic National Convention formally notified Franklin D. Roosevelt that he was selected as their presidential candidate. In his nomination address, Roosevelt espouses the party's platform and opens by recalling the late Woodrow Wilson, 28th Democratic President of the U.S., who had passed away three years after having served two terms in office 1913-1921.

Table 2 shows how FDR1-1932 typically makes use of moral themes that are quite common for both liberals and conservatives: religion, personification, movement.

Metaphors	Text Samples	Metaphor Themes
LANGUAGE AS RELIGION	I shall not stop that **preaching**.	*Religion*
CITY/GOVERNMENT AS PERSON	Washington has alternated between **putting its head in the sand**.	*Personification*
CHANGE AS MOTION	Credit **contracted**. Industry **stopped**. Commerce **declined**, and unemployment **mounted**.	*Movement*
Moral Metaphors		
MORALITY AS FAIR DISTRIBUTION	Throughout the Nation, men and women […] look to us here for guidance and **for more equitable opportunity to share in the distribution of national wealth.**	*Fairness*

| NURTURANT PARENT MORALITY AS EMPATHY | Yes, when – not if – when we get the chance, **the Federal Government will assume bold leadership in distress relief**. For years Washington has alternated between putting its head in the sand and saying there is no large number of destitute people in our midst who need food and clothing, and then saying the States should take care of them, if there are. | *Empathy* |
| MORAL ACCOUNTING | **You have nominated me** and I know it, and **I am here to thank you for the honor.** | *Moral transaction* |

Table 2 Corpus text 1 – FDR1-1932

In this speech Roosevelt addresses the Democratic National Convention and opens by recontextualizing33 the memory of a former president, "…there still lives with us, if not the body, the great indomitable, unquenchable, progressive soul of our Commander-in-Chief, Woodrow Wilson".34 With this he creates a bridge between Wilson's presidency (democrat), the country's "interrupted march along the path of real progress" (when three subsequent republican presidents were in office) and his own future presidency as a democrat, were he to be elected, which he indeed was.

In his use of the LANGUAGE AS RELIGION metaphor (Soskice 1985), Roosevelt dons the cloak of a holier-than-thou politician, albeit one who meekly regales us with the image of someone who comes from another (religious) institution, who is now challenging an established (12 years of Republican presidents in office) power. Roosevelt confirms himself to be a master of rhetoric with this speech, as history has shown (Morris 2014). The soon-to-be thirty-second President of the United States of America is accepting his democratic nomination for candidacy. His entire speech is strewn with metaphors interlaced with powerful imagery, lexis that pacts a punch and an overall promise of his readiness to stand to the challenge of defeating the republican incumbent who was nefariously equated with having ridden the wave into the Great Depression.

Even those metaphors used in all of my corpus texts, such as CHANGE AS MOTION, have a stronger, more powerful drive behind them, since when – as Roosevelt does – other rhetorical devices are added to metaphors, thus creating phrases such as "Credit contracted. Industry stopped. Commerce

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33 Recontextualization is generally considered a common means of text production and text-to-text interaction (e.g. Wodak and De Cillia 2007: 323) and as a sub-type of intertextuality or text-external referencing, whereby an element or argument is extracted from one, often dominant, context or text for some strategic purpose (Chilton and Schäffner 2002: 17) and reframed in a new one.

34 www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=75174

declined, and unemployment mounted", a sequence of two-worded arguments composed of uncountable nouns without articles and intransitive verbs denoting movement. They represent facts, even if not referred to verifiable data in this speech. Clean, cut, dry, effective.

Further, Roosevelt's use of moral metaphors are drawn from the NURTURANT PARENT umbrella metaphor where – in this case – themes of fairness and empathy distinguish this president-to-be. Of interest here is how he uses the general metaphor of MORAL ACCOUNTING (Lakoff 2016: 46). In expressing gratitude to his electors for having elected him, Roosevelt offers thanks by enacting a transaction of sorts: "You have nominated me […] and I am here to thank you for the honor." This is retribution it its most positive sense.

It is important to note that metaphor themes of MORAL ACCOUNTING differ greatly in terms of their intention. For example 'an eye for an eye' suggests a theme of revenge. Table 3 illustrates samples from corpus text HH2-1932 where we also find the theme of retribution listed under moral metaphors, but where the meaning extends to retribution, through the metaphor MORALITY AS PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY.

In Table 3 we can see that, comparatively, Hoover makes use of a wider range of themes. The theme of health/healing is a case in point, where the metaphor GOVERNMENT AS BODY experiences measures that restore 'recovery', 'healing' an enormous 'wound.' The battle/war and construction metaphors are also quite prominent in his speech. Another interesting phenomenon we see in Hoover's speech is the delineation of what was later to be coined 'compassionate conservatism', a political/discoursal strategy employed by Republican President George W. Bush (Lowe 2007). It presents as a double-edged sword: some perceive it as espousing conservative virtues such as volunteerism and local governments acting with the goal of alleviating poverty and improving schools; others believe compassionate conservatism to be an attempt to make controversial conservative policy initiatives more palatable by, for example, making the reduction of welfare payments seem 'kinder' to some extent and gentler. Hoover (Table 3) exploits the EMPATHY AS INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM metaphor to allow the theme of compassionate conservative to emerge (see Lakoff 2016: 426).

Metaphor	Text Samples	Metaphor Themes
RESPONSIBILITY AS WEIGHT	**we have lifted** infinite drudgery from women and men	*Movement*
NATION AS BODY	Every time the Federal Government **extends its arm**	*Personification*
ARGUMENT AS WAR	**the constant battle** which must be carried on against incompetence, corruption, tyranny of government expanded into business activities	*War*
NATION AS FAMILY	providing security and comfort of life to all of **the firesides of 25 million homes in America**	*Family*
GOVERNMENT AS BODY	And we installed measures which today are bringing back **recovery**. Employment, agriculture, and business — all of these show the steady, if slow, **healing** of an enormous **wound**.	*Health-Healing*
Moral Metaphors		
MORALITY AS SELF-INTEREST	I say to you that our system of government has enabled us […] to prevent the disaster […]. **It has enabled us further to develop measures and programs which are now demonstrating their ability to bring about restoration and progress.**	*Appeal to individuals within a system*
MORALITY AS PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY	Our Government is rounded on a conception that in times of great emergency […] the great reserve powers of the Federal Government should be brought into action to protect the people. **But when these forces have ceased there must be a return to State, local, and individual responsibility.**	*Retribution*
STRICT FATHER MORAL BOUNDARIES	My countrymen, the proposals of our opponents represent […] **less in concrete proposal, bad as that may be, than by implication and by evasion.** […] they represent a **radical departure from the foundations of 150 years which have made this the greatest Nation in the world.**	Boundaries: Departure from LIFE IS A JOURNEY
EMPATHY AS INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM	There has thus grown within us, to gigantic importance, a new conception. That is the conception of **voluntary cooperation within the community**; **cooperation to perfect the social organizations**; cooperation **for the care of those in distress**; cooperation **for the advancement of knowledge**, **of scientific research, of education** […] It is the most powerful development of individual freedom and equality of opportunity that has taken place in the century and a half since our fundamental institutions were founded.	*Compassionate conservative*

Table 3 Corpus text 2 – HH2-1932

Another prominent metaphor theme widely used in HH2-1932 is the travel metaphor, but – notably – a departure from the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. How so? Within the STRICT FATHER metaphor umbrella, Hoover seems to actually 'build' MORAL BOUNDARIES: "concrete proposal", "foundations". Here he delineates a line of demarcation between 'us' (republicans) and 'them' (democrats).

Interestingly, our third corpus text FDR3-1933 (Table 4) – pronounced by the newly instated President Roosevelt – picks up the creation of MORAL BOUNDARIES and runs with it, but this time under the umbrella of the NURTURANT PARENT: "They only know the rules" (republicans), "they have no vision" (republicans), as opposed to 'us' (democrats).

The creation of this divide allows Roosevelt to truly move into doing what democrats do best, i.e. nurturing, through their primary task "to put people to work." He indeed sets out to wage war, uniting the public in an "attack", albeit a "disciplined" one. This is done as he communicates that LEADERS AS NATIONAL IDENTITY – as occurs amongst the royal – "have abdicated."

Metaphors	Text Samples	Metaphor Themes
NATURE AS WELL-BEING	Nature still offers **her bounty**	*Personification*
WEALTH AS WELL-BEING	in the **mad chase of evanescent profits**	*Movement*
UNITY IN COMBAT	dedicated to a disciplined **attack** upon our common problems	*War*
LEADERS AS NATIONAL IDENTITY	rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and **have abdicated**	*Royal family*
SACRED CIVILIZATION	The money changers have fled from their high seats in the **temple of our civilization**. We may now **restore that temple** to the ancient truths.	*Religion*
Moral Metaphors		
NURTURANT PARENT MORAL BOUNDARIES	**They know only the rules** of a generation of self-seekers. **They have no vision**, and when there is no vision the people perish.	*Boundaries*
NURTURANCE AS WORK	Our greatest primary task is **to put people to work**. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously.	*Employment*
NATION AS FAMILY	With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of **this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems**.	*Moral strength to nurture*

Table 4 Corpus text 3 – FDR3-1933

The overriding theme of religion in metaphor (see Shoemaker 2014) is employed by both democrats and republicans alike, and is done so in a multitude of ways. In Table 4 we see the mastery of Roosevelt's rhetoric as he brings forward the NURTURANT PARENT MORAL BOUNDARIES divide and erects the nation, the country and government – all in one – to a SACRED

CIVILIZATION. Here we begin to see how moral metaphors are interlaced throughout texts and carefully built upon other, widely-used metaphor themes, such as religion, war, etc.

4.2 The energy crisis of the 1970s: Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford

By the early 1970s, American oil consumption in the form of gasoline and other products was rising even as domestic oil production was declining, leading to an increasing dependence on oil imported from abroad. Despite this, Americans worried little about a dwindling supply or a spike in prices, and were encouraged in this attitude by policymakers in Washington, who believed that Arab oil exporters couldn't afford to lose the revenue from the U.S. market. These assumptions were demolished in 1973, when an oil embargo imposed by members of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) led to fuel shortages and sky-high prices throughout much of the decade. The crisis began to unravel as the production of petroleum in the U.S. and other parts of the world began to peak in the late 1960s and 1970s and led to stagnant economic growth as oil prices rose. This combination of stagnant growth and price inflation led to what came to be known as 'stagflation' (Rybczynski 1976).

Table 5 lists text samples from Richard Nixon's speech in 1971 where he, too, makes ample use of religious metaphors, where the POLITICIAN AS PREACHER is depicted as "preaching a gospel." However, the politician is a 'preacher' that is part of the GOVERNMENT AS STRICT PARENT, personified as not able to "hold the key to the success of a people." Nixon here wields his moral authority by first mentioning "bold leadership" but also the importance of "the greatness in a great people."

Metaphors	Text Samples	Metaphor Themes
GOVERNMENT AS STRICT PARENT	But government, with all of its powers, does not **hold the key** to the success of a people.	*Personification*
ECONOMY AS UNCONTROLLED MOVEMENT	**spiraling** prices and costs	*Movement*
POLITICIAN AS PREACHER	**preaching a gospel** of gloom and defeat	*Religion*
Moral Metaphors		
MORAL AUTHORITY	This **not only requires bold leadership** ready to take bold action – **it calls forth the greatness in a great people**.	*Authority*
MORAL STRENGTH	But **we can and we must** do better than that.	*Self-discipline*
MORAL ESSENCE INFLATION AS FOE	**Working together**, **we will break the back of inflation**, and we will do it **without the mandatory wage and price controls** that crush economic and personal freedom.	*Strength of character*

| MORAL ACCOUNTING | To **offset the loss of revenue from these tax cuts** which directly **stimulate new jobs**, I have ordered today a $4.7 billion cut in Federal spending. Tax cuts to **stimulate employment** must be matched by spending cuts to restrain inflation. | *Compassionate conservative* |

Table 5 Corpus text 4 – RN4-1971

Nixon points to a theme of movement ("spiraling prices and costs") in the metaphor ECONOMY AS UNCONTROLLED MOVEMENT, strongly appealing to the public's emotions. The economy is undeniably out of control. If – as Nixon tells us – our government is a STRICT PARENT, and if the main task of a control metaphor is "to express the standard ways of conceptualizing how we come to have our emotions under control, and how we lose control over them" (Pérez Rull 2001-2: 180), then it is indeed possible to understand how 'we' are all responsible for the economic crisis and Nixon has brilliantly communicated this overall responsibility. He appeals to the moral character of his people: to their strength, "we can and we must do better than that", and to the essence of how this strength should play out, "Working together […] without the mandatory wage and price controls", sporting a battle against INFLATION AS FOE, "we will break the back of inflation." Nixon also supplies us with an interesting spin on the moral ACCOUNTING METAPHOR, in the role of a compassionate conservative, by deontically ("must be matched") 'suggesting' that, in order to counterbalance the loss of revenue from tax cuts, employment is to be stimulated, thus creating new jobs.

History reminds us that President Nixon was impeached following the Watergate scandal and – in this economic climate – Vice President Gerald Ford became the acting president. In a speech that came to be known as his Whip Inflation Now speech, he was compelled to mount his morality horse, precisely because of the circumstances that had led to his instatement. Whip Inflation Now (WIN) was an attempt by President Ford to incite a grassroots movement to fight inflation in the U.S. by boosting personal savings and restrained spending practices, combined with public measures. The metaphor, however, failed to incite public support since it was not consistent with Ford's political commitments. The use of the metaphor of war had to contend with rival metaphors that weakened its effectiveness (Stelzner 1977).

At the outset of his speech President Ford recontextualizes President Roosevelt's inaugural address (Corpus text 3 – FDR3-1933), recognizing his own predicament as similar, if not identical, to the circumstances that led to the election of President Roosevelt following the Great Depression:

In his first inaugural address, President Franklin D. Roosevelt said, and I quote: The people of the United States have not failed […] They want direct, vigorous action, and they have asked for discipline and direction under our

leadership.

Metaphors	Text Samples	Metaphor Themes
INSTITUTION AS CONTROL	I have ordered the Council on Wage and Price Stability to be **the watchdog** over inflationary costs of all governmental actions	*Personification*
SUCCESS/FAILURE AS MEAN PERFORMANCE	That is not a very good **batting average**	*Sports*
NATION AS FAMILY	let us put **our own economic house** in order	*Government/Home*
Moral Metaphors		
MORAL ACCOUNTING	All of us have heard much talk on this very floor about **Congress recovering its rightful share** of national leadership. **I now intend to offer you that chance**.	*Retribution*
INSURING PUNISHMENT	My conclusions are very simply stated. There is only one point on which all advisers have agreed: We must **whip inflation** right now.	*Retribution*
UPHOLDING MORAL ORDER	None of the remedies proposed […] stands a chance **unless they are combined in a considered packag**e, in a concerted effort, in a grand design.	*Moral order*
MORAL ACCOUNTING	The tax reform bill now in the House Committee on Ways and Means, which I favor, already provides approximately $1.6 billion of **tax relief to these groups**. Compensating new revenues are provided in this prospective legislation by a windfall tax, profits tax on oil producers, and by closing other loopholes. If enacted, this will be a major contribution by the Congress in our common effort **to make our tax system fairer to all**.	*Compassionate conservative*

Table 6 Corpus text 5 – GF5-1974

In Table 6 we see the attempt to both depict institutions as effecting control, "the Council on Wage and Price Stability to be the watchdog" and – through MORAL ACCOUNTING – in a theme of retribution, alongside his wish to restore Congress "its rightful leadership", once again INSURING PUNISHMENT in a theme of retribution because it is time to "whip inflation now". He then uses the metaphor of UPHOLDING MORAL ORDER, beseeching everyone to become part of a "concerted effort". Of course, after what almost seems like series of metaphorical tirades, we may even come to expect his compassionate conservative side to emerge – as it does – in a metaphor of MORAL ACCOUNTING, by making the tax system "fairer to all".

4.3 Global financial crisis 2007-2009: George W. Bush and Barack Obama

The crisis began in the subprime mortgage market in the U.S. and developed into an international banking crisis, with the collapse of the investment bank Lehman Brothers. This crisis was followed by a global economic downward spiral, the Great Recession (Williams, 2010). For the most past, there were bailouts by national governments which prevented the collapse of large financial institutions, but stock markets dropped around the world. In many areas the housing market also suffered, which also made for prolonged unemployment (Fried, 2012).

The Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation (FHLMC), known as Freddie Mac, is a public government sponsored enterprise with headquarters in the state of Virginia. It was created in 1970 along with the Federal National Mortgage Association, known as Fannie Mae. They both operated in what is known as the secondary market for mortgages, which increases the supply of money available for mortgage lending and increases the money available for new home purchases. Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae were taken over by the federal government in 2008 (Archarya *et al.*: 2011).

Even though, as we have seen, there have been previous examples of republican presidents demonstrating compassionate conservatism, it was President G. W. Bush who started the trend of actually using a perspective of compassionate conservatism in the U.S. (Koller and Semino 2007: 29) in an attempt to soften the image of conservative politics. Lowe (2007) clarifies that, "since its emergence in 1998, the term 'compassionate conservatism' has drawn media attention as to how it synthesized religious conceptions of charity and service with American conservatism."

Metaphors	Text Samples	Metaphor Themes
HEALTH AS WEALTH	It would **remove the risk** posed by the **troubled assets** now **clogging the financial system**	*Movement+Body*
FINANCE AS CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS	these **troubled assets**	*Personification*
FAMILY	Two of the leading purchasers of mortgage-backed securities were **Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac**	*Personification*
Moral Metaphors		
MORAL ACCOUNTING	The government is the one institution with the patience and resources to buy these assets at their current low prices and hold them until markets return to normal. And when that happens, money will flow back to the Treasury as these assets are sold. And we expect that **much, if not all, of the tax dollars we invest will be paid back**.	*Reward*

UPHOLDING MORAL ORDER	Financial assets related to home mortgages have lost value during the housing decline. And the banks holding these assets have restricted credit. […] This **rescue effort** is not aimed at preserving any individual company or industry — it is **aimed at preserving America's overall economy**. […] it will help send a signal to markets around the world that America's financial system is back on track.	*Moral order*
UPHOLDING MORALITY OF REWARD AND PUNISHMENT	It is difficult to pass a bill that commits so much of the taxpayers' hard-earned money. I also understand the frustration of responsible Americans who pay their mortgages on time, file their tax returns every April 15th, and are reluctant to pay the cost of excesses on Wall Street. But given the situation we are facing, **not passing a bill now would cost these Americans much more later**	*Strict father authority*
MORAL ALTRUISM	Fellow citizens: We must not let this happen. […] There is **a spirit of cooperation** between Democrats and Republicans, and between Congress and this administration. In that spirit, **I've invited Senators McCain and Obama to join congressional leaders of both parties** at the White House tomorrow to help speed our discussions toward a bipartisan bill.	*Compassionate conservative*

Table 7 Corpus text 6 – GWB6-2008

Through the metaphor themes of movement, body and personification, Bush communicates the metaphor of HEALTH AS WEALTH and FINANCE AS CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS. The personification theme also extends to "Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac" who are conveyed as FAMILY. Both having been taken over by the government, they are indeed family for the American people, by extension.

Moral metaphors employed by G. W. Bush aim to offer MORAL ACCOUNTING ("much, if not all, of the tax dollars we invest will be paid back"), uphold MORAL ORDER ("aimed at preserving America's overall economy") and the MORALITY OF REWARD AND PUNISHMENT ("not passing a bill now would cost these Americans much more later").

In 2008 President G. W. Bush is on his way out of the White House, having served for two consecutive terms (2001-2009). He is, and can afford to be, magnanimous in his speech (Table 7). Paternalistic, in the true sense of the word, he embraces both republican and democratic presidential candidates, including them in his speech in a show of MORAL ALTRUISM in the tradition of the compassionate conservative that he has become known for.

Table 8 includes text samples from the then Senator Barack Obama on his campaign trail. His opening statement recontextualizes the period of economic depression of the 1930s: "We are in a financial crisis as serious as any we've faced since the Great Depression". This sets the stage for a series of

comparisons that allow Sen. Obama to continue his use of the collective personal pronoun 'we' in an effort to communicate that the NATION AS FAMILY is in this together, himself included, since there is "no real separation between Main Street and Wall Street".

All through his speech Obama deftly uses the theme of vision in the metaphor VISION AS MOVEMENT ("shift before our eyes") but, at the same time, he sets moral boundaries by describing the work of lobbyists as having MONEY AS FORCE ("bought their way into") that has encroached upon mutual territory ("our government"), thus 'we', again, are all in this together, all being effected in the same way. Through the metaphor LIFE AS A GAMBLE, Obama gives us insight into the intricate workings of speculators who "gamed the system", making for a LACK OF ECONOMIC WEALTH AS POOR HEALTH where "wages are flat-lining", literally creating 'game over' for the American people. But Obama is waging ECONOMIC WAR through repetition ("fight") and he lays out the four parts of his rescue plan.

Metaphors	Text Samples	Metaphor Themes
VISION AS MOVEMENT	**we've seen** our financial landscape **shift before our eyes**	*Vision*
MONEY AS FORCE	lobbyists who **bought their way into** our government	*Money*
LIFE AS A GAMBLE	It's the result of speculators who **gamed the system**	*Game*
LACK OF ECONOMIC WEALTH AS POOR HEALTH	Wages **are flat-lining**	*Movement*
ECONOMIC WAR	an investment that will lead to new industries and five million new jobs that pay well and can't ever be outsourced. Because the **fight** for American manufacturing is the **fight** for America's future - and I believe **that's a fight this country will win**	*War*
NATION AS FAMILY	no real separation between **Main Street and Wall Street**	*Family*
Moral Metaphors		
MORAL STRENGTH TO NURTURE	Because together, **we cannot fail**. Not now. Not when we have a crisis to solve and an economy to save. Not when there are so many Americans without jobs and without homes. […]-Not when there is **a generation that is counting on us** to give them the same opportunities and the same chances that we had for ourselves.	*Moral strength*
NURTURANCE OF CHILDREN	We can do this. Americans have done this before. **Some of us had grandparents or parents who said maybe I can't go to college but my child can** […] I might live in a small village but **maybe someday my son can be president** of the United States of America.	*Moral growth*

| MORAL AUTHORITY OVER COMMUNITY/FAMILY | Now it falls to us. **Together, we cannot fail. And I need you to make it happen** […]-I ask you to **knock on some doors, make some calls, talk to your neighbors**, and **give me your vote on November 4th**. And if you do, I promise you - we will win Michigan, we will win this election, and then **you and I - together - will change this country and change this world**. | *Moral authority* |

## Table 8 Corpus text 7 – BO7-2008

Embracing the themes of moral strength, moral growth and moral authority, Sen. Obama offers MORAL STRENGTH TO NURTURE ("we cannot fail […] there is a generation that is counting on us"], notably the NURTURANCE OF CHILDREN ("maybe someday my son can be president…"). Then he takes his rightful place as MORAL AUTHORITY OVER COMMUNITY/FAMILY by once again using the collective personal pronoun ("Now it falls to us") and communicating, again, that 'we' are in this together: "Together, we cannot fail. And I need you to make it happen", "give me your vote on November 4th", "then you and I – together – will change this country and change this world."

5. Quantitative analysis: Metaphor density and keyness

Quantitatively, is it possible to 'measure' metaphors? And, if so, what can metaphor density tell us about a speech? Metaphors can be identified within texts and – for the most part – the wording can be delimited and actually counted. However, as discussed in §3, moral metaphors act as networks permeating discourse, and they comprise other metaphors.

Figure 1 illustrates total metaphor density for each corpus text, which is also broken down into moral metaphor density and other metaphor density. Metaphor density is calculated dividing the number of metaphors by the total number of words in the text, times one hundred, the resulting value representing density expressed as a percentage.

Figure 1 Metaphor Density
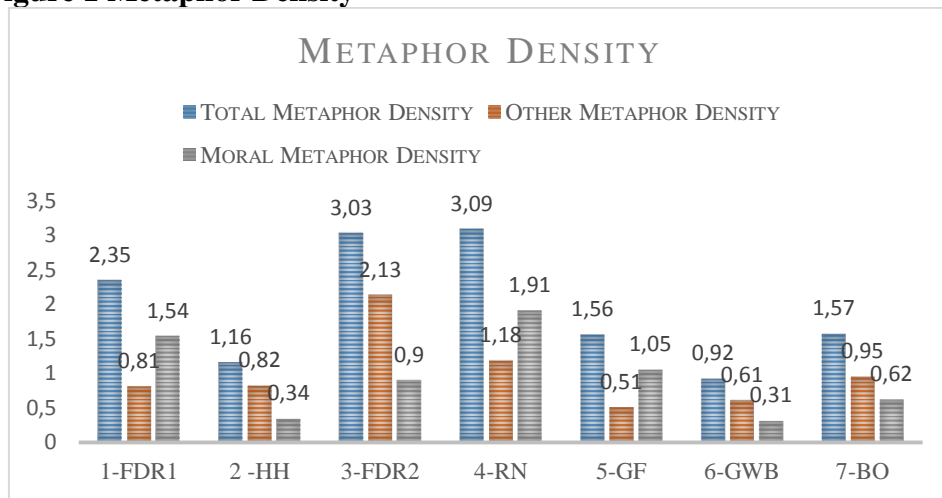
Having examined each text individually when discussing metaphors that emerged (§4), it was quite revealing to graphically view a quantitative assessment of each text's count of metaphors. The objective of this study is to explore how specific metaphors in the language of U.S. presidents in times of economic crisis trigger opportunities to foster consensus. What stands out in the graph is that corpus text 4, President Richard Nixon's speech pronounced in 1971, has the highest metaphor density when compared to other corpus texts. This initially came as a surprise, but when I realized that President Nixon ended the Bretton Woods international monetary system of fixed exchange rates. He initiated this process on 15 August 1971 with this speech (RN4-1971). Nixon announces the implementation of his new economic policy and speaks in detail about the measures taken to increase prosperity in the United States and does so through the use of a remarkable number of metaphors (3.09%), most of them moral metaphors (1.91%).

The numerous moral metaphors President Nixon employs range from MORAL AUTHORITY and MORAL SELF-INTEREST to MORAL STRENGTH and MORAL ORDER while, at the same time, his discourse shows an ever so slight propensity toward compassionate conservativism, albeit discourse with high density economic-speak.

Once a measure of metaphor density became apparent, we observed how single- and multi-word keyness interacted with metaphors in corpus texts.

Single-word		Score	F	RefF	Multi-word		Score	F	RefF
☐ speculator	W	612.92	4	31,922	☐ new prosperity	W	1,982.18	6	13
☐ peacetime	W	502.75	2	10,607	☐ competitive spirit	W	999.61	3	12
☐ prosperity	W	375.05	10	200,463	☐ international money	W	938.51	3	20
☐ workingman	W	350.64	1	1,202	☐ wage-price freeze	W	737.38	2	0
☐ bugaboo	W	332.17	1	2,533	☐ percent cut	W	712.44	2	4
☐ convertibility	W	330.56	1	2,656	☐ new economic policy	W	712.44	2	4

Figure 2 is a screenshot taken from Sketch Engine's analysis of single- and multi-word keyness. You will note that high on the lists is not always the word or words that have the highest frequency. In an attempt to avoid adding further length to this paper, I here extract an example from RN4-1971, President Richard Nixon's speech.

Figure 5 Keyness in corpus text 4 – RN4-1971

 In President Richard Nixon's speech (Figure 5 RN4-1971) the multi-term "new prosperity" is embedded within the metaphor of MORAL PURITY:

 As we move into a generation of peace, as we blaze the trail toward the **new prosperity**, I say to every American: Let us raise our spirits. Let us raise our sights. Let all of us contribute all we can to this great and good country that has contributed so much to the progress of mankind.

 Working with both qualitative and quantitative data allows analysts to perceive different angles of findings. It also makes it possible to realize how discourse becomes woven into a moral platform on which both liberal or conservative political ideologies are crafted.

6. Concluding remarks

 This paper first distinguished the political speech as a genre and then lay a theoretical framework on metaphor required to identify and analyze metaphors in corpus texts. An historical, geopolitical background was provided for the three periods of crisis and for the political leaders involved in this study. Since metaphor forms a considerable part of rhetoric, this study aimed at examining metaphor use in crisis discourse, more specifically economic and financial crisis. Metaphors in speeches were first examined qualitatively, then examined quantitatively in terms of metaphor density in order to understand its relevance for this study. Quantitatively we also examined the keyness of particular lexis in relation to the use of metaphors in order to understand their impact.

 All political leaders carry a burden during times of crisis, and the way in which they address the nation to respond to fears and uncertainties can have a great impact on the way they are perceived by the people. While crisis management is a well-researched topic, there is far less research on the rhetoric characterizing times of economic crisis (see 't Hart & Tindall 2009). This study aimed to contribute to our understanding of how political consensus was gathered through oral texts pronounced in periods of economic and financial crisis in the last century.

 Due to the limits of space, our analysis is restricted to the extraction of samples from corpus texts. Our findings show the importance of moral metaphors in the language of political leaders and how these types of metaphors pervade corpus texts. Moreover, the keyness of single- and multi-

word keywords are involved in the development of metaphors in all corpus texts, notably in moral metaphors. Quite surprisingly, the assessment of metaphor density allowed us to highlight the text that made most use of metaphorical language and, even more surprisingly, this resulted as being corpus text 4 (RN4-1971), a speech highly laced with facts, figures and hard data.

Methodologically, it was challenging to pinpoint the overall number of moral metaphors in a text. Nonetheless, the reliability of my data stems from the fact that – ultimately – I, as analyst, identify and quantify both forms of metaphor, thus qualifying at a micro level for a degree of validity, i.e. the degree to which a study's measurements and observations represent what they are supposed to characterize. Also, at a macro level, validity can be construed as the degree to which the results of a study represent what the researcher thinks they represent (Baayen 2008).

In terms of effectiveness of individual corpus texts, Lakoff (2016) and Musolff (2016) both conclude that the language of conservatives is strategically crafted with far more acumen than the language of liberals, leading to clarity in their communication of a vision. In this study I have shown that 'liberal speak' has also infiltrated all republican presidents' talk in what has come to be known as compassionate conservativism. Perhaps this is where the conservatives' ability lies: employing bipartisan modes of communicating, i.e. borrowing from the NURTURANT PARENT domain of metaphor.

However, it is important to note, that today new political leaders seem to defy our expectations and consensus is gathered from large pools of social media data, for example. Moreover, whereas we can safely say that political leaders' talk will always be comprised of words, metaphors figuring high on the list of rhetorical devices employed, the way in which political power is both secured and wielded may differ greatly in the near future, as will what we today consider to be political correctness, an area of study that finds ample room for development, alongside the analysis of the media used to convey political messages today, whose contents are often constrained by the 140 characters of a tweet.

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Black Lives Matter, The Silence of the Lambs and the Rhetoric of Empathy

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Abstract

Many aspects of contemporary society and culture—including politics, interpersonal communications, and the dissemination of information—have taken a turn for the absurd. Has this been happening for a significant period of time? Probably. Yet, in the last five years or so, unexpected public events and tragedies have escalated to an unprecedented point. This begs for explanations, and more importantly, for solutions. How can society, and the individuals who make up societies, begin to remedy the many ills that plague us? One answer to why institutions have fallen apart, and one potential remedy for how we, as individuals, can rescue many of our failing institutions may lie in the important spiritual practice of empathy. Defining empathy, and citing examples of empathy from an exploration of the sociopolitical movement Black Lives Matter can serve as inspirational; additionally, a close examination of a scene from the film *The Silence of the Lambs* can demonstrate the application of empathy as a theoretical, critical model.

The purpose of the paper is to establish an original, pragmatic definition of empathy, in order to establish this spiritual principal as both a critical concept for film and literature, and to remind us all that practicing empathy, according to the model established within, can serve to elevate our discourse and relations generally.

Keywords: Black Lives Matter; The Silence of the Lambs; Empathy; Film Scholarship.

Introduction

On April 28, 2015, my cellphone rang—the phone call interrupted a final I administered to a freshman writing class. I usually do not bring my phone to class, but for some reason, this day was an exception. The call was from my brother—I decided to take it. I briefly stepped outside the classroom, and answered the call. My brother shared some concerning news—my mother

was in the hospital having fluid drained from her lungs. I did not think too much of the news, but I was still concerned, as I wrapped up the final. Later that day, I chopped wood in my backyard, to relieve some of the stress of finals week, and to get my mind off the news my brother relayed to me earlier in the day. At around 4:00pm that afternoon, I was sitting on the edge of my bed, and my cellphone rang again. My brother shared the news that floored me then, and I'll never forget for the rest of my life: my mother was diagnosed with stage four lung cancer.

I emailed my colleagues, jumped in my car that night, and drove from southeast Arkansas, to St. Louis. I met my brother and his family at the hospital— I then saw my mother lying in the hospital bed. She asked me "How long are you going to stay in St. Louis, Andy?" I replied, without hesitation, "As long as it takes, Mom." That began a year and a half of spending two summers at my mother's side, as her primary care giver. I taught in the fall and spring, and in-between, I dedicated two summers to aiding my mother. The first summer—2015—she slowly recovered, and by the time the summer ended, we were taking walks together regularly. I pushed her when I felt she needed to be pushed, I challenged her when I felt she needed to be challenged, and I gave her gentle reassurance when I felt she needed that too. Prayer and meditation revealed the answers to me.

Beginning late in the summer of 2015, and culminating in the middle of the summer of 2016, something began to change within me. Very simply, I began to see the world differently. I looked *deeply* at others. I thought deeply about people, even strangers. When I would run errands for my mother, to obtain medication, or set appointments for her, I found myself observing people in a much deeper, substantive way. "What is that person's life like?" "Have they lost a loved one recently?" "Do they have a satisfying life?"

As the summer of 2015 ended, my mother's health improved. I have a career at the University of Arkansas @ Monticello, and my mother understood my returning to teaching. My mother earned her Ph.D. from St. Louis University in the early 1990's, so she knew I had to leave her, and get back to work. When the 2015-2016 school year ended, I returned to St. Louis, and my mother's health continued to be strong. In fact, we played golf together twice—once on Mother's Day, and once on Memorial Day. In mid June, her health began to decline a bit—she couldn't shake a cough. At this point, I remember being stuck between an emotional Scylla and Charybdis— I had to take little breaks from my mother's side; however, I would feel incredibly guilty about leaving her for more than an hour or so. I would take a drive, meditate for my usual 20 minutes at a time, or run a couple of miles to relieve the tension. My thoughts and feelings in the summer of 2016 were with my mother completely. Something was growing within me. At that time,

I did not know what it was, but I know now—a deep sense of empathy awoke within me.

My scholarship, my writing, my teaching, my view of the world—all the things that are most important to me will forever be changed after the experience of watching my mother battle lung cancer. I began to ask myself larger questions, "What am I doing?" "Who am I helping?" "What purpose am I serving?" "If I'm not attempting to deliver a message, through my writing and research, which involves, peace, love, compassion, and understanding, then why the hell even bother doing research at all?" The answers to these questions have slowly revealed themselves to me, and inform the purpose of this work. So, in order to establish a definition of empathy that can be placed into practice, two key researchers need to be discussed. Once a definition of empathy has been established, and an example of a sociopolitical group that adheres to empathy has been acknowledged, then a demonstration of empathy as a critical strategy in film is possible.

I.: *Individual empathy, codependency, and defining empathy*

Psychology has been the discipline most concerned with empathy; therefore, two psychologists, writing and researching in stark contrast with each other, will help define empathy, and establish empathy, when appropriate, as a critical strategy. In Simon Baron-Cohen's *The Science of Evil: On Empathy and the Origins of Cruelty* the mission is summarized here: "We are going to take a close look at people in the population who desperately need empathy, but who, for various reasons, don't have it, and probably never will" (Baron-Cohen 2011). Baron-Cohen seems to have a fairly pessimistic view of some who may lack the ability to empathize. His research indicates everyone—I would expand his argument beyond the individual level, to include institutions—lies on an empathetic bell curve. Interestingly, Baron-Cohen believes empathy is a substance, and this claim informs the first part of his definition of empathy, "Empathy occurs when we suspend our single-minded focus of attention, and instead, adopt a double-minded focus of attention" (2011). According to Baron-Cohen's research, our brains contain an empathy circuit, which begins in the medial prefrontal cortex, continues to the frontal operculum, which sits on top of the inferior frontal gyrus, passes through other regions in the brain, ending with the amygdala.

The second part of Baron-Cohen's definition of empathy delves deeper into his notion of "Double-mindedness," "Empathy is our ability to identify what someone else is thinking or feeling and respond to their thoughts and feelings with an appropriate emotion" (2011). Baron-Cohen uses a simple, everyday example to illustrate *individual empathy*. If an individual is on a train, and sees a stranger struggling to lift a suitcase onto the overhead rack, then that should elicit an appropriate, empathetic emotion. This is a

helpful example, which needs further examination. Baron-Cohen is correct when he suggests an empathic emotion should be triggered in this instance. He also points out that immediately preceding this emotional response, is the simple recognition of an empathetic situation; hence, his notion of situational empathy consisting of two parts: recognition, and response. But what *is* an appropriate, empathetic response? Baron-Cohen does not explore an appropriate, empathetic response to the person struggling with luggage in the overhead compartment in the train, but a suggestion for an empathetic reaction to this situation is imperative for two reasons. One, an empathetic reaction to this situation will demonstrate an appropriate response to someone in need of help; and two, the suggestion for an appropriate reaction will provide an opportunity to make an important differentiation.

How should an individual, practicing empathy, respond in the train scenario? Very simply, the empathizer should *ask* the empathized if he or she needs help, before any action is taken. That may sound like a simple notion; however, some empathizers may want to jump right in, and take immediate action without asking first. For instance, the empathizer may grab a hold of the suitcase, maybe even while in the act of asking the empathized if he or she needs help, and then take action without asking the empathized for permission. I've seen this happen so many times in public—this always frustrates me. I suggest this is not an example of proper situational empathy at all. In fact, this "empathizing" is much closer to the notion of co-dependency, than genuine empathy. The distinction between empathy, and codependency cannot be underestimated: co-dependency creates power inequities—due to selfishness on behalf of the codependent—and is often mistaken for empathy.

The study of *codependency* deserves more attention. In the 1980's, and 1990's, codependency received some attention, but since then, not much research on the topic exists. Judy G. Yeats, and Janet L. McDaniel coauthored an article in 1994 titled "Are You Losing Yourself in Codependency?" At the time, Yeats was a Charge Nurse in the surgical department at Roanoke Memorial Hospital, and McDaniel was an Associate Professor of Nursing at the Radford University School of Nursing. The two researchers cite three different definitions of codependency, from three different sources: "A pattern of painful dependency on compulsive behaviors and on approval from others in an attempt to find safety, self-worth, and identity" (Wegscheider-Cruse and Joseph Cruse 1990); "Self-Defeating behaviors that diminish an individual's capacity to initiate or participate in loving relationships (Larsen 1985); "A primary disease of lost self-hood" (Whitfield 1991). These three definitions will be a key component to an original definition of empathy, and the discussion of empathy as a critique—mistaking codependency for empathy diminishes the power of the later, and can confuse the later, for the former.

Contrasting sharply with Baron-Cohen's groundbreaking research into empathy, Paul Bloom argues in, *Against Empathy: The Case for Rational Compassion*, the world could do much better without empathy. Bloom wants "…to make a case for the value of conscious, deliberative reasoning in everyday life…we should strive to use our heads rather than our hearts" (Bloom 2016). Bloom would like to remove empathy, and adopt a more Cartesian perspective, void of passion. He argues for a rational approach to human interaction, and institutional policy making, which does not involve empathy. What Bloom argues against is actually not empathy at all. In a sense, he "straw-mans" empathy, in his book-length argument against empathy, by presenting a weaker, flimsier version of empathy—codependency—and he argues against that. For example, Bloom argues, "It (empathy) grounds foolish judgements, and often motivates indifference and cruelty. It can lead to irrational and unfair political decisions, it can corrode certain important relationships, such as between a doctor and a patient, and make us worse at being friends, parents, husbands, and wives" (2016). Larson's definition of codependency, provided by Yeats and McDaniel, contextualizes Bloom's failure to distinguish empathy from codependency.

Feeling someone else's anger, pain, frustration, joy, sorrow, and the rest of the full spectrum of emotions not only informs empathy, but makes us human. Empathy separates us from the natural world, and is *supposed* to be proof that we have developed to the point where we transcend nature. Bloom goes on to suggest "The problems we face as a society and as individuals are rarely due to a lack of empathy. Actually, they are often due to too much of it" (Bloom). This is a staggering claim, when one considers the recently "elected" President of the United States openly mocked a disabled reporter while on the campaign trail, and bragged on video, while well into his 60's, that a person of his power can get away with sexually assaulting women "Grabbing them by the pussy." Additionally, the President allied the US government with only two other countries on the planet—Syria, and Nicaragua—-in pulling the country out of the Paris agreement: a pact entered into by most of the planet's nations to lower the earth's temperature by 2 degrees. So not only is the US the largest carbon polluter in the Earth's history, the President essentially sent a message to the rest of the world: "Not only is the United States the world's largest contributor to global warming, we are not going to do anything about it." Maybe this points to the President's stupefying ignorance on this issue; for example, when he Tweeted out on November 6, 2012 that global warming is a hoax perpetrated by the Chinese. This position not only demonstrates a dangerous lack of knowledge about one of the most urgent crises of our time, the pulling out of the Paris agreement shows a lack of *environmental empathy* that endangers us all.

One wonders what planet Bloom inhabits? In the last several years, acts of hatred, and sociopathy—the polar opposite of genuine empathy—continue to dominate news cycles. In a three month period—spring of 2017—the NBA superstar, and global icon LeBron James had his LA residence spray painted with a racial epithet, in Portland, Oregon, a white supremacist stabbed two men, and injured a third as they defended a Muslim woman wearing a hijab, and a white supremacist traveled from Baltimore to New York City with the goal of finding a random black person to kill. Whether it's the unacceptable trend of police shootings of unarmed, young Black men, bombings such as the LGBTQ nightclub in Orlando, Florida, the mass murder of children in Newton, Conn., the racially motivated massacre at a church in Charleston, SC, attacks at an Ariana Grande concert in Manchester, England, or bombings in Paris, and Brussels, the problem is not too much empathy. On the contrary, the problem is not enough empathy.

Bloom defines empathy as "…the act of coming to experience the world as you think someone else does" (2016). This definition closely resembles the second part of Baron-Cohen's definition. Both definitions seem to miss two key components, which are key to a definition of empathy as *practicing the balance of thinking and feeling about others a little bit more, and thinking and feeling about ourselves a little bit less.* First, by practice, I mean a spiritual practice. Practicing empathy is no different than practicing any other virtue: charity, kindness, generosity, accountability, community service, humility, or honesty—virtues that have unfortunately gone by the wayside. These spiritual qualities—principals—need to be practiced. Somedays, and some moments, I fail to be an empath, but that does not mean I give up on the practice. For the better part of two years, my empathetic practice ascended to new heights, as the result of being my mother's primary caregiver. Of course, I'm only human, and sometimes I fail. For instance, I recently watched a favorite television show of mine on MSNBC, called *Lockup.* On this particular episode, four young men pled guilty to a horrible crime—they gang-raped a college student. The producers of the show filmed the sentencing phase of the trial, and the judge threw the proverbial book at the defendants. The four received a combination of several hundred years in prison. I wavered back and forth between pumping my fist in the air, and feeling dejection for the defendants. I pondered further—this is where practice comes into play—and I realized "I'm empathizing for the wrong people!" "It's the victim of this horrible crime, I should feel empathy toward!" The victim actually addressed the attackers, and demonstrated grace, and yes, empathy, as she expressed the hope that these attackers will one day become better people. I could only imagine having the ability to forgive at this level. This way of discussing empathy, as a spiritual practice, seems like a practical way to communicate to the world this powerful spiritual principal.

Second, not only does empathy need to be practiced, and implemented daily within an individual's life—and an institution's policies—but striking a *balance* between empathizing with others, making sure to not go overboard, plays a vital role in understanding empathy, and putting empathy into practice. An inquiry into this balancing act requires constant questioning, scrutiny, and even self-inventory.   Many who over-empathize fall into the self-defeating, codependent trap Wegschieder-Cruse and Cruse warn against.   This trap involves defining oneself, or establishing institutional policy, through the compulsive need for approval.   Listening, supporting, thinking and feeling others' struggles—and successes—can certainly be done without the empathizer losing identity.   Actually, all three definitions of codependency contain a common thread—codependency contributes to a loss of self. Practicing healthy empathy—thinking of others a little bit more, and thinking of oneself a little bit less—can be a way for the empathizer to avoid codependency.   Keeping that working definition of empathy in mind— *practicing the balance between thinking and feeling others a little bit more, and thinking of oneself a little bit less*—empathy can become a useful critique in examining several examples of *political empathy*, and one example of *cinematic empathy.*

Political Empathy

Which political organizations currently exemplify the most inspirational examples of empathy, that can inspire us to practice empathy regularly? Users who navigate their way to the homepage of the Black Lives Matter website encounter a link which identifies the organization. Through this "Who we are" link, an explicit statement on empathy exists. Including an official statement on empathy sets the BLM movement apart from most other political organizations, and movements currently operating.   Black Lives Matter's official statement on empathy reads "We are committed to practicing empathy; we engage comrades with the intent to learn about, and connect with their contexts" (Black Lives Matter 2012).

In discussing the Black Lives Matter Movement, the cofounder Alicia Garza asks anyone referencing the movement "…to credit the lineage from which your adapted work derived" (2012). Garza relates the movements' herstory (sic):

"I created #BlackLivesMatter with Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi, two of my sisters,   as a call to action for Black people after 17-year-old Trayvon Martin was post-humously (sic)   placed on trial for his own murder and the killer, George Zimmerman, was not held ac-

countable for the crime he committed. It was a response to the anti-Black racism that   permeates our society and also, unfortunately, our movements" (2012).

In addition to Garza's request for the movement to be placed in the proper political context, she also warns others against adopting the movement, and changing Black Lives Matter into something else. With the current climate of white/hetero/patriarchy, identities almost necessarily lacking in empathy, seen most clearly in "All Lives Matter," Garza's request makes complete sense. The attempt here is not to co-opt BLM in any other way, but to point out how admirably the BLM movement has appropriated empathy into their mission.

Black Lives Matter's diversity statement couldn't be more crystal clear, and empathetic: "We are committed to acknowledging, respecting, and celebrating difference(s) and commonalities." (2012). Empathy challenges us to practice balance between thinking and feeling others a little bit more, and thinking of ourselves a little bit less. We jump out of our biases, our ideological commitments, and our religious beliefs in order to experience what life might be like for groups different than ourselves. Practicing empathy in this way—accepting and embracing diversity—can begin to restore something to our political landscape that has vanished in the last ten years or so: discourse. The free exchange of ideas between individuals and groups has to exist for political discourse to work. Very simply, individuals and groups have to listen to each other with the spirit of empathy.

Engaging others with the spiritual principals of empathy and diversity defines the movement, yet, Black Lives Matter identifies quite possibly the most spiritual principal of all, with which, they reach others: love. Through the "Loving Engagement" link, Black Lives Matter is "…committed to embodying and practicing justice, liberation, and peace in our engagements with one another" (2012). The organizations' presence on social media, and community protests merely affirm this commitment. The ugliest aspects of patriarchal, masculine violence involve explicit violence. Love undercuts violence—so does empathy. Even in the face of racial oppression, and race-related violence, BLM continues to adhere to this high, spiritual principal. Suspending one's own position—thinking and feeling about the plight of others—demonstrates an acknowledgment of the high virtue of empathy. Aligning oneself with political organizations who demonstrate a commitment to empathy ensures a political dedication to empathy, and inspires us to strive toward that reality. Cinema also inspires individuals to think of others a little bit more, and think of ourselves a little less. An unlikely film, not necessarily known on the surface for empathy, serves as a powerful example of this virtue. A close look at a climatic scene will reveal a powerful example of empathy— an often overlooked major meaning in the film. Now that a working definition of empathy exists, and an example of empathy from the political sphere has aided in the understanding of empathy in practice, a demonstration of empathy as a critical film strategy is possible.

Cinematic empathy

Written by Ted Tally, and directed by Jonathan Demme, *The Silence of the Lambs*, debuted in theaters 13 February 1991. The film won all of the "Big Five" oscars—Best picture, actor, actress, director and screenplay. Among reactions to the film in the academy, Linda Mizejewski's "Dressed to Kill: Postfeminist Noir" focuses on the way female detectives are presented stylistically, through dress and appearance. She uses style as an entry point into discussing female, cinematic detectives, and how they are situated within popular notions of postfeminism. Mizejewski notes Hannibal Lecter's (Anthony Hopkins) comments on Clarice Starling's rather unstylish shoes. Mizejewski sees Starling's appearance in *Silence of the Lamb* as part of a "grimmer, less fun feminist phase" occupied by other cinematic female detectives in the early 1990's.

Piggybacking on this feminist perspective, Noah Berlatsky's "The Feminist Failure of the Silence of the Lambs" sees the protagonist as attempting "…to shed her femininity in the workplace and model herself after her deceased policeman father" (Berlatsky 2016). Berlatsky complains that Lecter wields power over Starling, and while she eventually destroys Buffalo Bill, "the real monster of the film escapes…and so it gives him continued power over its heroine." Berlatsky discusses the final scene of the film, as Starling repeats "Dr. Lecter, Dr., Lecter, Dr. Lecter" (Silence of the Lambs 1991). Lecter literally has the last word, according to Berlatsky, and this demonstrates her subservience. Does Hannibal the Cannibal actually have the last word? A close examination of a pivotal, earlier scene in the film, using empathy as a critical strategy to reveal a complex relationship between the two characters, undercuts a feminist/patriarchy binary reading of the film; thus, revealing the protagonists' agency.

Mid-way through the film, Agent Starling is reunited with Lecter, as he is caged in a make-shift jail in Memphis. The FBI has made a deal with Lecter to help find and capture the serial killer Buffalo Bill. The scene is memorable for close up shots, framing only faces of both Starling and Lecter, which reveal deep psychological insight into these two characters. While Lecter does direct and control the conversation between the two, he is quite literally at a power disadvantage—after all, he's in jail. Starling attempts to initiate a dialogue leading to Buffalo Bill's capture, but Lecter is having none of that. Lecter's interests involve insight into Starling's state of mind. Lecter wants to know what makes Starling tick. He guides Starling back through her childhood, after her father—a policeman—was murdered. Starling was sent to a ranch in Montana, after her father's death. A traumatic incident occurred at this ranch. Starling empathized with a lamb that she heard screaming—the lamb was being prepped for slaughter. The young Starling attempted to save the lamb, ran several miles with the lamb under her arm, and was later

apprehended by the local sheriff. Lecter is able to infer, from the story, that Starling wakes up every so often to that "Awful screaming of the lambs" (1991).

The scene's importance cannot be underestimated—the title of the film directly relates to the scene. A complete sociopath, a cannibal no less, is able to gain deep, psychological insight into a character by tapping into an empathetic event. Starling lost her father—this triggered the empathy switch within her. She followed up on that event by attempting to save the lamb, although this attempt was unsuccessful. So these two events—Starling's father's murder, and her attempt to save the screaming lamb—will influence the rest of her life. Starling dedicated her professional life, helping the FBI capture serial killers, with empathy framing her choices. The direction Starling chose for her career makes sense when empathy is taken into consideration. Her decision is much more than just replicating her father; and thus, shedding her femininity, as Berlatsky asserts. Starling commits her life to apprehending the worst of the worst, and more importantly, displays a gender specific tendency toward empathy. In Baron-Cohen's text, he cites research conducted by Zurich neuroscientist Tania Singer. When male and female subjects were presented with images of someone else in pain, men show less activity in the two parts of the brain—the Caudal Anterior Cingulate Cortex, and the Anterior Insula. These parts of the brain are significant for empathy, because they are active when subjects either experience pain firsthand, or witness others experiencing pain. So Starling does not shed her femininity by replicating her father—on the contrary, she displays one the most crucial aspects of the female gender: empathy.

Starling kills Buffalo Bill, and in the process, she rescues a young girl from a certain, hideous death. This interpretation of the last scene emphasizes Starling's triumph over her adversary, Buffalo Bill, and reminds us that Starling's commitment to empathy has saved a young girl from certain death. Sterling now knows her place in the universe—her challenge will be to honor her father, and to continue to silence her own lambs through a dedication to practicing empathy. This demonstrates the power of empathy, and shows how Starling comes to terms with herself; thus demonstrating her agency.

Conclusion

I have rediscovered my own agency, at 49, after dedicating two years of my life to helping my mother through cancer. My mother won her battle with lung cancer, and passed away from the disease on August 2, 2016. My scholarship will be forever transformed by this experience. Mainly, I am honoring my mother by arguing for human virtues that will make our world a better place, one individual at a time. Whether I agree with others, or disagree with others, I have a principal, by which, I live: *I practice the*

balance of thinking and feeling about others a little bit more, and thinking and feeling about myself a little bit less.

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Development of a Virtual Identity and Social-Constructivism Through IRC (Internet Relay Chat)

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Abstract

IRC has evolved into new strategies to build up an identity in a cyber space as well as to create important systems to be shared. This sharing is done among people who have similar interest and topics from all over the world, and they meet and talk in a virtual meeting point of the Internet. The strategies necessary in the space consist mostly of linguistic resources, since the approach to visual or auditory features such as appearance or accents are crucial factors for identity forming. This paper focuses on establishing the concept of virtual identity from the viewpoint of 'social constructivism', the idea that an identity can be readily changed due to its fluid nature in the cyberspace and by a participant's willingness, unlike the essentialist view of a unified and coherent identity. Based on the theoretical framework of social-constructivism, it is meaningful to analyze how chat participants may develop and sustain their identity in IRC chatrooms by using several linguistic and/or graphic resources such as nicks, emoticons, actions and gestures, graphic cues, topic choice, and interpersonal strategies on the web.

Keywords: Virtual Identity, IRC (Internet Relay Chat), Social-constructivism, Visual cues, Interpersonal strategies

1. Introduction

Over the last decades, online communication has changed and developed from text only to more diverse forms of sound and graphics. One of the most basic forms of synchronous CMC (Computer-mediated Communications) is IRC (Internet Relay Chat). Technological developments will change IRC remarkably as well. However, the interaction by typing on IRC on its own has some significant benefits: 1) Participants can contribute to discussions on an equal basis; 2) The interaction between participants is enhanced; 3) Those who feel shy in real life have an opportunity to participate more actively.

There is no competition for the floor – everyone who types, hits

'Enter', and is not the victim of netsplit, will eventually be "heard." Saini (2014) also explained that easy access to Internet connectivity and an ability of maintaining anonymity has the ability of making online chatting very common in online world more than any other tool. However, it is the anonymous character of IRC in its present state that results to such innovative playfulness and such intriguing experiments with identity (Bechar-Israeli, 1995). People have tried their possible best to make it look as much like face-to-face communication (Yarosz & Fountain, 2005). Thus, IRC can be defined as "communication which is real time or instantaneous" (Wulf, 1996, p.50). IRC is a "text-based conferencing system that allows users to chat via the network in real time" (Cheung, 1995:1). To be more elaborate, IRC offers a "means by which one user can type a message in real time to one or more Internet users, and almost instantaneously, the message appears on the monitors of all the others who are monitoring the transmission" (Simpson, 2000, p.1). On IRC, the resources mostly available for constructing identity are verbal resources. This is because there is a limited access to visual or auditory features such as appearance and accent, which are important identity that creates resources in face-to-face interactions. Therefore, IRC is an 'ideal' situation in which people can easily study the construction of identity through verbal communication in a daily life. Therefore, this paper focuses on the analysis of a language identity appearing on the behavior of online chatters in the 'Second Life' contexts (Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013). However, this was scoped by IRC, and the type of chat room visited was chosen based on the topic of chatting. So, the aim of this research is to discover how participants use verbal resources to construct and maintain an identity in IRC chatrooms, and how this fits into the framework of social-constructivism.

2. Background
2.1 Internet Relay Chat

Since the introduction and consequent booming of the Internet as well as the emergence of different electronic communication channels, we have been witnessing an enormous increase in computer-mediated communication (CMC) such as asynchronous (e.g., email) and synchronous CMC (e.g., IRC) (Tainyi et al., 2010). Saini (2014) maintains a feeling analogous to a spoken conversation that can be created, distinguishing chatting rooms from other text-based online communication gadgets such as Internet forums and emails. Thus, IRC can be a new linguistic genre which has developed over the last two decades. On IRC, a "synchronous textual dialogue takes place between spatially distant interlocutors" (Werry, 1996). In addition, it is characterized by the lack of physical proximity between speakers, visual and auditory contact, and non-verbal or paralinguistic

signals (Hentschel, 1998; Reid, 1991; Werry, 1996; Bechar-Israeli, 1995). All interaction is done via a typed medium and text is limited to about four or five lines per sequence. Physical contact between users is not assumed (Reid, 1991, p.8). The only information provided by the user on IRC is the one which users wish to provide, whether a fact or fiction, in comparison to real life interaction where some information about 'self' is unintentionally revealed through attributes such as physical appearance or accents (Bechar-Israeli, 1995). Given its potential advantages, its purported disadvantages, and the relatively rare research on IRC, there is a need to learn more about its potential uses (Yarosz & Fountain, 2005).

2.2 Previous Research into Identity

Goffman (1990), in his earlier days, conceptualized a new idea of identity construction in his work on human interaction using metaphors borrowed from dramaturgy. He analyzed interpersonal interaction and how individuals 'perform' in order to project a desirable image, using the theatre to illustrate individuals' contrasting *front stage* and *back stage* behavior (Goffman, 1990). Arundale (2010) argues that Goffman's work, being several decades old, is now outmoded and should be remodeled to incorporate progress in research and technology. However, Miller (2012, as cited in Bullingham and Vasconcelos, 2013) explains that electronic interaction is a natural extension to what Goffman posited. Online participants can have a chance to perform and present different identities in online environment. During online interaction, the 'Self' of participants is divided into '*the splitting aspects of the self*' (Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013) which are easily spotted in daily face-to-face interaction. Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2013) posited that the 'Online Self' is a facet of a wider of identities, joining the self in other offline contexts. On the other hand, Vaast (2007) argues that it is a creation of 'New Selves' online. The online participants can easily mask their aspects of the offline self since being physically detached distantly between themselves and additionally may confuse their online identities being distanced from reality. Baker (2009) suggests an alternative perspective by introducing the concept of 'blended identity', in which the offline-self creates a new, online-self, and then the online-self informing the offline-self again through further interaction with those that was first met online. Also, research into identity portrayal on IRC was conducted by Bechar-Israeli (1995), Hentschel (1998), Reid (1991), Surratt (1998), and Werry (1996) in the past. Below are relevant aspects of their research briefly outlined, focusing on the methods of identity construction which have been identified. IRC users have created new conventions for creating and maintaining their identity in interaction. The followings are the main methods of identity construction identified in

previous research: nicknames, emoticons, actions and gestures, and graphic cues.

Nicknames (=nicks) are the names which IRC users create for themselves before joining a channel. They may be up to nine characters or so long. Nicks are the one constant feature of 'self' on IRC. However, this is attributed to the lack of physical presence which would provide a sense of continuity of identity in real life. As such, they play an important role in the creation and maintenance of 'self' on IRC. Participants may change their nicks at any stage of the interaction. Bechar-Israeli's research (1995) focuses on the presentation of 'self' using nicks. She states that on IRC, "Nicknames are … the only initial way of saying who we are, in literally one word or expression" (Bechar-Israeli, 1995. p.2). She states that nicks become part of the personality and reputation of the IRC user, and that they are keys to making contacts and friends and to being recognized by others. "A nickname is an initial, and usually the only marker of people's self, or the self they are taking on" (Bechar-Israeli, 1995, p.23). Surratt (1998, p.66) also views the nick as "the key means through which identity is established", relating it to physical appearance in face-to-face interaction.

An emoticon is a type of 'shorthand' for the physical condition (Reid, 1991, p.15). It denotes an emotion and an expression such as pleasure, sadness, or sarcasm. These are parts of identity which are usually denoted by physical features or tone of voice in face-to-face interaction. In particular, Huffaker and Calvert's (2005) study implied that individuals at least feel the need to express some of their emotions with short symbols rather than text in weblogs and other chat devices (Tainyi et al., 2010). Therefore, the way in which people can imbue their messages with social meaning is through the use of emoticons (Walther & D'Addario, 2001). Emoticons are graphical representation of facial expressions which many IRC users embed in their messages. These symbols are widely used and are generally perceived among CMC users; they are described by most observers as a kind of replacement for non-verbal cues.

On IRC, actions and gestures are verbalized, symbolically enacted through language (Werry 1996, p.59-61). Thus, the convention for doing this is by placing asterisks before the action or by enclosing it in asterisks, as in the following examples taken from Werry (1996):

1) *** Action: Sofie passe un verre a tous et attend que les autres bots apportent le champagne…[*** Action: Sofie passes a glass to everyone and waits for the other bots to bring the champagne…]

2) <amya> *hugs* :)

Each verbalized gesture or action is a communicative act playing a role in creating an identity for the user. What's more, graphic cues are used in place of intonation and paralinguistic signals in verbal communication. Re-

duplicated letters represent expressive or drawn-out intonation. Periods and hyphens are used to create 'pauses' and indicate 'tempo'. Capitalization is used to represent shouting (Werry, 1996, p.56-57). Werry sees this phenomenon as an attempt to make the interaction as 'speech-like' as possible. However, Hentschel (1998) has shown that re-duplication occurring on IRC does not mirror phonetic realities of spoken language. IRC is a new linguistic genre not trying to imitate spoken language, but has developed its own methods of expression and communication.

2.3 Frameworks and Approaches to Identity Research

Consequently, there are two main approaches to identity in the research which have been reviewed: the essentialist view and the social constructionist view. The essentialist view is that people have a unified personality, a coherent and consistent self, coming from some unique inner 'essence' (Burr, 1995, p.17-20). Bechar-Israeli seems to take this approach in her research. "Usually, they [users] prefer to keep the same nickname and identity, which for the most part is connected to a certain element in the real self which they may wish to exhibit" (Bechar-Israeli, 1995, p.24). As a result of this view, she sees the nick as "usually the only marker of self" and once the nick is decided, the identity of the user is also determined. The social-constructionist view of 'self' is that the 'self' is a product of social encounters and relationships. It is socially constructed through language, and we have a number of potential 'selves' which are not necessarily consistent with each other (Burr, 1995, p.26-30). Therefore, the identity which is created on IRC is just as valid as the identity that is lived out by participants with their families or at their workplace or in their school. Surratt's approach appears to adopt a framework very similar to social constructivism although she refers to it as the framework of symbolic interaction. "Symbolic interactionists assert that meaning emerges from consensus among actors and is established in interaction. … The self is established by its activity and by the activity of others towards it. … self is an outcome, not an antecedent of behavior" (Surratt, 1998, p.4-5). Furthermore, Surratt discusses the importance of cooperative processes for the maintenance of social order. The response of other participants plays a large role in determining how an identity develops and whether or not the identity portrayal will be successful. Thus, a nick does not create a stable identity in itself; it needs to be maintained in interaction. For this research project, the social constructionist approach to analysis was chosen because all interaction on IRC is verbal. Also, in social constructivism, identity is judged as being purely linguistically constructed.

3. Method
3.1 Data Collection

For this research, the program IRC was chosen (among several other IRC programs available) because it was the program easily obtainable on the web. Data was taken from the '#wheeloftime' chatroom. This chatroom is on 'gamesnet: random west US server', which is a server containing many channels (chatrooms) specializing in computer games. The '#wheeloftime' chatroom appears to be connected to a computer game by the same name related to a series of fantasy novels by 'Robert Jordan'. This chatroom was chosen as it appeared to have considerable interaction most nights and there seemed to be a regular set of participants as well. This was important because the identity of participants could be looked at over a period of a few days, not just a few minutes or hours. Logs of the interaction in this chatroom during about a one-hour period between 10-12 p.m. for seven nights over a two-week period were saved to a computer file for future reference and analysis. This provided over 30 page words or utterances which would be a more linguistically meaningful measure of data. From this data, only the interaction of three consecutive days (21 to 23 May, 2016) from '#wheeloftime' was selected for analysis due to time restrictions. However, for nick analysis, data was taken from all seven days of logged interaction because it provided a larger set of data but did not take a long time to collate. Due to the very nature of IRC itself, one cannot observe the IRC community unless one becomes a participant-observer. In order to observe the chatroom '#wheeloftime', I had to firstly join the channel and thus become 'visible' to all other participants as well. The potential influence of the observer on the interaction has been noted during this study, although it may also be the case that there is minimal impact on the interaction since the other users do not realize that the participant-observer is a researcher. During the logging sessions, something on IRC was typed if only it was addressed directly, which happened less than ten times. Therefore, influence on the interaction would hopefully have been minimal.

3.2 Data Analysis

In order to analyze the logged data, my focus was on the use of nicks, emoticons, actions and gestures, and graphic cues which had all occurred in previous literature, as well as topic choice and interpersonal strategies. These aspects were also discussed in relation to the concepts of fluid identity, co-construction, power and solidarity, and the sense of a continuous and coherent self. As with all research analyzing human interaction, care needs to be taken in commenting on what happens and what is meant in IRC dialogue because it involves an outsider surmising and inferring what is meant by the participants. What is assumed to be the intended meaning may be very

different to what was meant by the participants themselves. Things such as typos, coming in halfway through a conversation (which is always the case on IRC unless you enter a previously empty chatroom), and background knowledge of the participants provide complications. Just like all social interaction, interaction on IRC does not occur in isolation. It is influenced and guided by the social context of each participant, as well as the relationship history between the participants. Rice and Love (1987) maintains that media allow less social presence and create more psychological distance and, as a consequence, communication is likely to be described as less friendly, less emotional or impersonal, and more serious or task-oriented. IRC users do not hesitate to achieve socially oriented communication through it in spite of these limitations. In the following findings, assumptions have been made as to what is meant in the interaction. It should be pointed out that it will explicitly distinguish between those assumptions and actual observations. This is necessary due to the nature of language and communication, and is unavoidable in this type of research.

3.3 Findings

The logged data shows that all participants appear to have a basic nick which they use and this is vital for being recognized as a stable and continuous identity on IRC. However, participants often changed their own nicks during interaction (See Appendix for a list of nick changes found in the logged data). There appear to be two main types of nick change. One is in the form <nick:state>. This is commonly used to represent the participant's current emotional or physical state. For example, <Skippy> also used the nicks <Skippy:around> and <Skippy:suicide>. <Skippy:around> appears to be a play on words, but <Skippy:suicide> denotes a depressed state which Skippy explains as being due to assignments when questioned about it by <Chayla>. This type of nick change is usually accompanied by an explicit explanation by the participant in the interaction. For example, when <Fred> becomes <Fred:Movie>, it is accompanied with this explanation: 'watchin a movie/see yas all later'. As in this example, the <nick:state>convention often functions as an explanation of why one may be absent from interaction on the IRC channel as well, even if one's nick is still showing the list of nicks on the right-hand side of the screen. Therefore, the following sequence of nick changes is the most complicated example found. The example was so interesting that it was included in the research:

*** *Working Devil is now known as Kura:CUTBLT*

<Becaila> cutblt?!?!?

<Kura:CUTBLT> (Cleaning Up The Bloody Lunch Table – AFK

AFK stands for 'away from keyboard'. It is a commonly used acronym on IRC (from personal dialogue with regular IRC user) for some minutes now.

* Becaila chickles at avi "he's sooooo obsessed these days!" ;)

<Becaila> ahh, have fun kura

<Kura:CUTBLT> ^_^

<Kura:CUTBLT> fun is not involved in that.. :(

<Kura:CUTBLT> ^o^

<Kura:CUTBLT> bbl

<Becaila> sure it is

<Becaila> it's all about point of view :p

*** *Kura:CUTBLT is now known as Kura:CUTBLTAKAAFK*

*** *Kura:CUTBLTAKAAFK is now known as Kura:CUTBLT:AKA*

AKA probably stands for 'also known as' in this context: AFK

<Kura:CUTBLT|AKA|AFK> aaahhh... sweet :)

<Kura:CUTBLT|AKA|AFK> wjhe?

<Kura:CUTBLT|AKA|AFK> wtf??

*** *Kura:CUTBLT:AKA:AFK is now known as Kura:CUTBLT:aka:AFK*

<Kura;CUTBLT:aka:AFK> ah

<Kura:CUTBLT:aka:AFK>

*** *There's a nick change protection on this server.*

<Kura:CUTBLT|aka:AFK> my my, never seen such a strict one before...

<Becaila> brb peoples

<Kura:CUTBLT:aka:AFK> okies, away now, laters

This sequence reflects the freedom participants have to experiment with new names and new identities. However, in this situation, <Kura> is simply stating that s/he will be busy cleaning the table and therefore away from the keyboard. S/he could have simply stated it in 'conversation'. Another determining factor for this choice may be that if <Kura> had entered the explanation as a statement, this would roll off the screen as more dialogue is entered and new participants are coming in. They would not see <Kura>'s statement, but the nick would still be displayed on the right side of the screen. Therefore, the transience of IRC interaction may play a large part in the use of a nick-change to describe the current physical state in this way, as an explanation for absence. The <nick:state> convention tends to be used to show something which the participant is doing or feeling in 'real life'. This provides a sense of authenticity to the identity. There was also one example where the <nick:state> convention was used not as a form of nick, but in the form of a statement to explain the current state of a participant.

<Dreamwalker> DW: a_bit_busy

This reinforces the idea that the <nick:state> convention is used to

describe a state of being, as it is used in a similar way in interaction, not just in 'nick' forms. Another interesting aspect of nick usage is the use of two separate nicks by one participant at separate times. For example, one participant uses <Working Devil> and <Kura> as a nick at different times. From the data, no obvious reason for this change of nicks appears, although it seems likely that the participant must be wanting to portray involvement in some type of work by using the nick <Working Devil>. However, <Working Devil> is still referred to as 'Kura' by the other participants. The dual nick-usage does not seem to cause difficulties for recognition, perhaps because the nick change is often explicit in the interaction: Working Devil is now known as "Kura". However, in one case where there was a failure to recognize <Kura> when using the nick <Working Devil>, <Kura> revealed himself explicitly: <Working Devil>DW ~ Working Devil = Kura. This seems to show the importance of being able to be recognized and of having a stable, continuous identity on IRC. The use of the different nicks may be a sign of different identities belonging to one participant being developed on IRC, parallel to the identities people have in everyday life such as mother and teacher. The use of different nicks and nick changes does not seem to fit in with Bechar-Israeli's claim that users usually "prefer to keep the same nickname and identity, which for the most part is connected to a certain element in the real self which they may wish to exhibit" (Bechar-Israeli, 1995, p.24). One participant's nick change from <Fredrich> to <Freds_Bimbo_girl> (which interestingly involved an intermediate change to <Fred>, perhaps used to signal the pending change), became a gender role-play where the participant undertook to play a woman by giggling and raising her eyebrows and talking about dying her hair pink. This gender role-play was accepted by other participants who made comments such as "heya bimbo girl!" and welcomed <Fred> back when he reverted to his basic nick, acknowledging that his identity had changed, even to the extent that the 'real' <Fred> had been absent. No one addressed him as Fred during the time he was <Freds_Bimbo_girl>, unlike the situation where <Working Devil> was addressed as 'Kura'.

The cooperation of other participants reflects the co-construction of identity on IRC. Without the interaction of other participants with <Freds_Bimbo_girl>, the identity portrayal would not be successful. Similarly, when <Kura> uses the nick <Working Devil>, the way other participants still refer to him/her as <Kura> serves to give him/her a continuous identity despite the use of a completely different nick. We need to add the "participant clarification" provided by Rebecca (that Fred & F's BG are two different people). These nick changes reflect the fluidity of identity on IRC; however, it is clear that it is also important to have a continuous and recognizable identity in order to maintain relationships on IRC. Some

participants are regularly addressed by names other than their nick, such as <Master> being called 'Tim', and <Randomizer> being called 'Kris' or 'Chris.' This is a reasonably common feature and may suggest that some participants know each other in domains outside of IRC where they use different names.

Fourteen different emoticons were found to be used in the logged data. As has been mentioned in previous literature, these are used to express emotions which reinforce what is said, or to clarify the way in which a statement is to be taken, for example, whether it is ironic or not. However, another interesting feature of these which add to the identity being created by the participant is the frequency of use. The finding is that some participants use one type of emoticon more often than other emoticons and also more frequently than any other participant uses the same emoticon. For example, <Randomizer>'s frequent use of :P serves to present him as a cheeky or silly participant, especially when contrasted with other participants' infrequent use of it. The same phenomenon occurs with <Kura>'s use of ^_^. Characteristic use of emoticons in this way creates a unique individual identity by marking oneself as different in relation to others. Also, emoticons are often used to respond to the statements of others – to show sympathy, to laugh at a joke, or to react to teasing. The use of emoticons reflects the high level of cooperation between participants and co-construction of identity that is necessary to successfully portray a particular identity.

<Marvin> oooh, more silly aussies

<TheRumTumTugger> hey?

<Dreamwalker> :P

Actions and gestures appear to be used in three main ways in the data. Firstly, they are used to show the manner in which something is said or to clarify the intended meaning, by showing a facial expression or describing the tone of voice. In the following example, the gesture emphasizes <Randomizer>'s disgruntled attitude over IQ test results.

* TheRumTumTugger just worked that out in time to feel like the biggest idiot.

* Earendelf is still wondering why his head is still on his shoulders.

* TheRumTumTugger just stops automatic response.

Expressing something as an action rather than as an explicit statement can also add a sense of indirectness which softens the impact, seen in the following example where <Master> expresses something in an action form which could just as easily have been expressed as a statement.

* Master screams WAKE UP!!! WAKE UP!!!

Shouting "WAKE UP!!! WAKE UP!!!"could have been taken as offensive by other participants, but as an action, it appears to be more indirect and means that <Master> can express what s/he wants to do without

threatening relationships with other participants. This may be a type of politeness strategy which has developed on IRC. This strategy provides participants with many possible ways of expressing themselves and provides the subtlety necessary for constructing a detailed and realistic identity on IRC. Actions and gestures play a large role in the co-construction of identity on IRC. They are very often used as a response to a comment or action by another participant, as shown in the following examples.

   <Randomizer> beneficial for the slaves?

   Chayla nods

   <EvilBec> rl getting in the way as it does

   <Dreamwalker> indeed, it does...

   Aan; ranting nods sadly. Aye.

Actions can also add another dimension to a participant's identity through a role-play, such as in the following examples when Skippy acts as a kangaroo and TheRumTumTugger acts as a cat.

   Skippy|suicide curls up in DW's lap and sulks

   <Dreamwalker> awww, why sulking dear?

   TheRumTumTugger rubs against Akira's legs

   Akira pets TheRumTumTugger

   TheRumTumTugger hops in Akira's lap

   Akira smiles and scratches him behind the ears

   TheRumTumTugger purrs

      Here again, the cooperation of other participants is important for the success of these role-plays. For example, when Akira pets and scratches TheRumTumTugger, s/he is co-constructing TheRumTumTugger's identity as a cat. Without this cooperation, the portrayal of a cat identity would not be successful. These role-plays also create power and solidarity relationships between participants. In the above example, <Dreamwalker> portrays a nurturing identity by accepting <Skippy:suicide>'s action and by using the term 'dear'. This interaction between <Dreamwalker> and <Skippy: suicide> creates a power relationship with <Dreamwalker> in the position of authority; however, there is also a solidarity and intimacy created by these actions. Even the choice made by <Skippy: suicide> to curl up in <Dreamwalker>'s lap as opposed to the 'lap' of other participants causes an intimacy between these two which they do not have with other participants during this section of interaction. A similar phenomenon is seen occurring between <Akira> and <TheRumTumTugger> where <Akira> adopts the position of power and <TheRumTumTugger> is petted and scratched as a cat. Again, co-construction is evident, but these also reflect the fluidity of identity on IRC where human interactants can also adopt the identity of an animal and have this to be accepted by other participants as a normal feature of interaction. Although only a few examples of the graphic cues which were

mentioned in the literature were found in the data, one feature which was particularly apparent was some participants' characteristic use of punctuation. This has helped them create an individual identity in contrast to other people, and a parallel could perhaps be drawn to accent in spoken language. For example, <Aan`allein> always uses punctuation as it would be used in formal written language. This is a very distinct quality of <Aan`allein>'s language because punctuation, especially full stops, are seldom used on IRC unless it is vital to the meaning of an utterance. This is because most utterances often only consist of one clause or sentence anyway, and typing full stops at the end would be superfluous. However, <Aan`allein>'s use of 'correct' punctuation seems to give her/him a sense of authority and confidence. Below is one example of this. <Aan`allein> btw, does anyone else have the thought that LTT actually seems incredible as the typo is slightly ironic in the light of your interpretation of sane? He is not a stark raving lunatic, as we would expect from someone who had gone completely mad from the Taint. Rather, he behaved exactly as a sane person would do, who would suddenly appear in someone else's mind and realized his actions.

There are several examples in the data where participants describe their experiences and their history in order to create a continuous and coherent identity for themselves. On IRC, once something is typed, it becomes true because there is no other method of proving or disproving it.

<Randomizer> btw, I have a quote from WH saying that Flinn was far away from Demandred
<Randomizer> I'll have to dig it up somewhere
<Randomizer> I mentioned it here earlier
<Randomizer> but you weren't here

In the above example, <Randomizer> mentions something which s/he entered in the IRC discussion earlier when another participant was not on IRC. Due to the fact that a participant must be on IRC to see any of the interaction and also due to the transience of the interaction (unlike other written mediums, nothing on IRC is recorded unless a log is consciously made by a participant), this type of hearsay has developed to create a sense of continuity of identity and existence. Other participants have no idea of what other participants are doing when they themselves are not on IRC, and the joint interaction is very discontinuous and sporadic. Therefore, by mentioning previous IRC interactions, the participants are able to create the illusion of a continuous IRC identity. There are also frequent references made to other IRC participants who are not online at that time. This also creates the identity of those absent participants, as shown in the following example below:

<Aan: ranting> *sighs* i wish guy came back.
<EvilBec> where is he?

*** *Ryoga has joined #wheeloftime*
<EvilBec> heya ryoga
<Ryoga> örf
<Aan: ranting> Well, he's around, posts at FF and stuff, but he's not back in his ranting seat so far... :(
<Aan: ranting> yo Ryoga
<Ryoga> yo aan
<EvilBec> I haven't really seen many posts from him lately avi
<EvilBec> maybe 2 in the last few weeks
<Master> he was online a couple of days ago when i was online
* *Dreamwalker nods - he's around a bit, but not heaps*
<Dreamwalker> work and stuff, you know
<EvilBec> yup
<EvilBec> rl getting in the way as it does

So even in "guy" 's absence, he gains an identity by being mentioned by other participants. The 'rl' typed by <EvilBec> in the above example refers to 'real life'. Although on IRC, people explicitly separate IRC interaction from 'real life' perhaps to create an illusion of IRC being 'unreal' in some ways. Hence, much of the interaction discusses aspects of the 'real life' of the participants, especially in narratives which occur. These narratives are generally very short, but still serve to build a background and a personal history, as well as a sense of authenticity for participants.

<Earendelf> started talking to a friend from school...and then started looking for a file for him...but have also been downloading the 2010 syllabus in case I get the tutoring job
<Earendelf> I spent all saturday debugging...and then asked my lecturer to have a look...and he puts in two quotation marks and the stupid thing works!
<Dreamwalker> if my mum were online, I'd ask her, but she went to bed a while ago
<Becaila> what have you been up to then rumtum?
<TheRumTumTugger> nothing much Uni, am talking to some my friends, well just one at the moment, you know the usual...oh, there was that assasination.

<Dreamwalker>'s interesting referral to his/her mother shows a fusing of 'real life' and 'IRC second life'. It seems to stand out as unusual, perhaps because it is not common to discuss one's family on the Internet. Although IRC is sometimes portrayed as a separate world (second life), almost like a fantasy world, like all other interaction it is not isolated. It is situated in a social, cultural and historical context, and all participants bring with them their experience and understanding of the world.

The choice of what topics to be discussed on IRC also plays an

important role in identity construction. The '#wheeloftime' chatroom is related to a website that is related to a series of fantasy novels, which has also been developed into a computer. Many nicks are also taken from characters in the novels or are variations on the names. <Becaila> is a character in the novels and <Randomizer> seems to be a variation on 'Rand' which is another character from the novels. Due to a lack of knowledge on my part of the fantasy novels, this cannot be dealt with in depth in this research. However, in the May 21 '#wheeloftime' log, there was a discussion about theories of characters in the novels. There were also frequent references to postings on the '#wheeloftime' Internet forums. This topic choice clearly presents the participants involved in it as readers of these fantasy novels. Participants often tend to discuss issues relating to gender and nationality, and highlight differences between themselves in terms of gender and nationality. Since identity can only exist in relation to contrasting identities, these are important areas where participants can present themselves as members of a certain group, in contrast to another group. Discourse about nationality in particular occurs repeatedly in the logged data. The following are several examples of this.

*** *Dreamwalker has joined '#wheeloftime'*
<Marvin> oooh, more silly aussies
<TheRumTumTugger> hey?
<Dreamwalker> :P
<Dreamwalker> I'm not silly
<rille> it's an invasion I tell you
<Marvin> := Aussie(x) -> Silly(x)
<Randomizer> if we got rid of all the aussies, I'd worry
<Randomizer> and the americans
<Skippy:suicide> yeah.. and the Dutchies
<Randomizer> :)
<Dreamwalker> and the swedes...
<rille> 5 evil aussies
*** *Vern is now known as berabera*
* TheRumTumTugger worked that out just in time to feel like the biggest idiot
<Dreamwalker> hey rille, hey Tristan, hey vern
<Dreamwalker> aussies aren't evil!
<rille> yo DW
<Skippy:suicide> no, just silly
<rille> yes, and aussies are trying to invade this channel ;)
<TheRumTumTugger> i hope that isn't what you are planning to do, skip
<Dreamwalker> not silly...not we girls, anyway...
Interpersonal strategies are very important in the construction of

relationships and identity. Every choice made by the participants constructs identity. The choice of whether or not to acknowledge a particular participant is the most straightforward choice available. When a participant enters into a channel, their entry is announced in the following way: *** Dreamwalker has joined '#wheeloftime'. On entry, they are usually greeted with hugs or by statements of greeting. Waves are frequently used when a participant leaves a chatroom. This creates solidarity and friendliness between participants. If someone enters the chatroom and is not acknowledged, it is difficult for them to create a successful identity. Participants can ignore others on IRC without any physical or immediate social effects because of the distance between participants. The use of actions and emoticons as responses to other participants also function in this way to create and maintain relationships and to acknowledge the existence of other participants. The simple acknowledgement of existence is the most basic but the important aspect of the co-construction of identity as well.

4. Conclusion

In the research, it has been shown that participants in IRC chatrooms use various types of strategies for creating and maintaining identity online. These include the use of nicks, emoticons, actions and gestures, graphic cues, topic choice, and interpersonal strategies. In order for these to be successful as identity creation strategies, they should be accepted by other participants. A nick change may be accepted as a new 'identity' or acknowledged as being the same participant. Emoticons and actions are often used as a response to other participants, to accept a joke or as a come-back to a taunt or a sarcastic remark. Narrative must be accepted by other participants as well. Additionally, interpersonal strategies can be used to support or to disallow certain identities. The extreme example is the choice to ignore a participant's existence. Power and solidarity relationships can also be seen on IRC and these necessarily involve interaction between participants to be successful. These points are all related to the concept that identity is co-constructed and cannot exist in isolation, which is a key issue in the social constructionist framework.

The idea that identity is a product of social encounters and relationships and that we have a number of potential selves, which are not necessarily consistent with each other, is another key aspect of social constructivism. This is evident on IRC where there are many examples of a fluid self, such as when participants act as animals in role-playing sequences or when nicks are changed either completely or to show a change in the state of being of a participant. Thus, the idea of a fluid self does not conform to the essentialist view of a unified and coherent identity. Due to the fluid nature of identity, strategies must also be employed to create the illusion of a

coherent and continuous identity in order to maintain relationships. This can be seen on IRC through the use of narrative, and reference to the 'real life' activities and relationships of participants. It has been shown that on IRC, there may be many strategies for creating and maintaining identity. This contradicts Bechar-Israeli's view that the nick is "usually the only marker of self" and once the nick is decided upon, the identity of the user is also determined. The identity of a participant must be maintained in interaction by the participants themselves and also through the cooperation of other participants. Therefore, it is clear that identity portrayal on IRC can be accurately discussed and represented using the social constructionist framework.

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