

PREFACE

The seventh **Bridges Across Cultures** conference was held in Viterbo, Italy, on June 20 and 21, 2024. The conference was organized by Amparo Alpañés, Alba Graziano, Daniele Niedda, and Michel Pharand. Our host institution was the Università della Tuscia, whose generous contributions and majestic spaces made for a fantastic venue. Scholars from around the world were able to engage, connect and share in this fabulous academic environment. I owe a debt of gratitude to Alba Graziano and Michel Pharand for their diligent work in reviewing these papers. Most of all, I would like to thank my assistant Juliana Paronish, whose editorial skills and dedication are unmatched.

These Bridges conferences originated as an opportunity for academicians and professionals from various arts- and humanities-related fields worldwide to come together and learn from each other. Over the years, these conferences have given scholars and experts with interdisciplinary interests related to the arts and humanities the chance to interact with members within and outside of their own disciplines. It is my hope that readers of the essays included here will discover new and creative perspectives from which to study some traditional academic topics, and will also join our interdisciplinary conversations at future Bridges gatherings.

HJ Manzari, Managing Editor
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The Political Role of Three Iconic American Writers in the Spanish Civil War:**Ernest Hemingway, Archibald MacLeish, and Langston Hughes**

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The role of American writers in the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), not only socially minded writers but also writers attached to the ivory tower of literature, was crucial for making an impact on public opinion. Both sides of the political spectrum in the war, the Popular Front coalition and the Nationalist's forces, recruited writers through conferences and associations to justify their particular fight and to advocate greater political and economic cooperation. One of the most important meetings was the Congress of Writers for the Defence of Culture that took place in Paris in June of 1935. Artists from all over the world responded to the appeal issued by a number of French authors and more than 250 participants from 38 countries attended the discussions that took place there.[1]

In the three years following, further congresses were held in London, Valencia. and once again in Paris. From that first congress came the International Association of Writers for the Defense of Culture, which became the seminal ensemble that gave birth to an international movement that called for intellectuals to stop the advance of fascism. The League of American Writers in the US, and its equivalents, the British and the Spanish League of Writers, were affiliated with the International Association of Writers for the Defense of Culture. Ernest Hemingway, Archibald MacLeish, and Langston Hughes were very active members of the League of American Writers and became very prominent in the defense of Republican Spain during the Spanish Civil War by contributing to the creation of an anti-fascist narrative and to making empathy surface in global audiences. Eventually, turning this empathy into activism.

In his call to internationalize the Spanish Civil War, MacLeish wrote in 1936 that “the victories of tyrants and the resistance of peoples half way around the world are as near to any single individual as the ticking of the clock in the mantel.”[2] The same preoccupation was expressed by Hemingway, newly returned from the Spanish Civil War, in the keynote speech of the 2nd Congress of the League of American Writers in New York City in 1937, when he proclaimed that writers had a special stake in fighting fascism because “a writer who will not lie cannot live or work under fascism.”[3] A year later, the African American poet Langston Hughes, after a half year in Spain working as a reporter, expressed his concerns for his country and the world in numerous speeches: “If democracy is to be preserved in Europe, it must first be preserved in Spain. The world must rise to that issue or face an even greater offensive of the fascist powers.”[4]

In their writings about the war, these three writers constructed a narrative that served their assumption that the non-intervention agreement was not being respected by the Axis Powers while the Western Democracies had effectively abandoned Spain. By emphasizing specific issues such as the role of the German aircraft and the irregular distribution of the land, Hemingway, for example, presented the war as a struggle for freedom. Hughes made the Spanish conflict his particular crusade, like many of the black volunteers who enlisted in the Washington battalion and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, to combat racial oppression. And MacLeish warned against the terror of aerial bombardments on civilians by exposing the human and moral destruction of the conflict in addition to bringing to the fore the danger for the world about being drawn into another international conflict.

Hemingway’s Mythologizing of the War as a Struggle for Human Survival

Hemingway was a magnetic presence among the journalists, writers, fighters, and the political operatives who flocked to Spain during the Civil War. He enjoyed unrivaled access to officials

and combatants alike, among them key figures in the International Brigades. He covered the Republican cause as a reporter on four occasions, recording his understanding of the conflict in dozens of dispatches. Additionally, he wrote numerous articles for *Esquire* and *Ken* magazines; a three-act drama, a documentary screenplay *The Spanish Earth*; and six semi- autobiographical stories, all rooted in his intimate experience of the Civil War. And in the immediate aftermath of the Spanish war, he wrote the novel with historical and political implications *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.

He understood the Spanish Civil War as a struggle between “the people of the country” and “the absentee landlords, the Moors, the Italians and the Germans.”[5] Due not only to his fame, but also to his activism, Hemingway was the writer who contributed the most to spreading the message that if the Non-Interventionist Western Democracies did not help the Popular Front to defeat the Italian and German forces that were supporting the Franco rebels, the Spanish War would be the prelude of another world war. A message that he, in collaboration with Dutch filmmaker and other authors such as John Dos Passos and Archibald MacLeish, conveyed in *The Spanish Earth*, which was shot during his first visit to Spain during the conflict.[6]

In the film, Hemingway portrays Spain as an innocent society that was threatened by mainly foreign fascism. The film, which was key to the American perception of the war, is full of references to the Nazi’s warplanes flying over Spanish skies amid grieving villagers running away from the explosions. In order to seek allies among Americans that were not politically aware of the intricacies of the war, the film presents Spain as the prey of a proxy invasion by Germany and Italy, as the collective voice of the narrator frequently emphasizes: “German warplanes cross the sky. Explosions flash. Shell-shocked villagers stagger out of their damaged homes and begin to grieve. High in the sky and shining silver, it comes to all who have no place to run, no place to hide.”[7] He also represents Spain as an unspoiled and idealized community in which the land is

unfairly distributed and the political implications of the conflict were limited to the incomplete modernization of the rural areas, as this *New York Times* review confirms: “Spanish people [were] fighting, not for broad principles of Muscovite Marxism, but for the right to the productivity of a land denied to them through years of absentee landlordship.”[8]

Hemingway does not mention the menace of the revolutionary activities or the Soviet role in the fight for the land in order to not disappoint the expectations or raise anxieties of the target viewers, who might have rejected the Russian involvement in the Spanish War. The volunteer soldiers, drawn to Spain supposedly by a noble cause, were largely coordinated by the International Communist Party. Thus, in *The Spanish Earth*, Spain and the war itself were reconstructed and rearranged according to the goal of helping the cause and contributing to the victory of the Republican cause.

Even though Hemingway’s approach to the Spanish Civil War was marked by an unbalanced partisanship on behalf of his cause, after his next trips to Spain he moved from putting his efforts into the creation of an international war narrative to testing the assumptions about the war, politics, and violence. After witnessing what he described as a “carnival of treachery and rottenness on both sides”[9] in reference to the desertions, executions, treason, and terror in the rearguard even of his own ranks, he started to create stories that dealt with the intrigues and machinations of spies to identify collaborationists. For example, in the short story *Under the Ridge*, he describes a French soldier who is shot when he runs away for being a deserter. “I understood how a man might suddenly, seeing clearly the stupidity of dying in an unsuccessful attack ... seeing its hopelessness, seeing its idiocy ... [might] walk away from it as the Frenchman had done ... I understood him as a man. But, as a soldier, these other men who policed the battle had hunted him down.”[10]

Hemingway's disappointment is reflected in what many consider his finest book, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. When the main protagonist Robert Jordan, a young American teacher and a member of the International Brigades whose mission is to blow up a bridge, hears Pilar's story (Pilar is a strong guerrilla leader) about the preventive elimination of all "fascists" in her town at the beginning of the war, he has trouble making sense of such a scene. What started as an "antifascist resistance" ended up as a brutal lynching of the enemy: "I've always known about [...] what we did to them at the start. I've always known it and hated it, and I have heard it mentioned shamelessly and shamefully, bragged of, boasted of, defended, explained and denied. But that damned woman made me see it as though I had been there." [11] Jordan, who many critics have seen as one of Hemingway's alter egos in the novel, is a firm antifascist who never abandoned the Loyalists to the Spanish Republic. Like Hemingway, he rejected the brutality and chaos on all sides. "How many of those you have killed have been real fascists?" Jordan wonders, and then immediately answers himself, "Very few." [12]

Langston Hughes's Internationalization of his Fight Against Racial Oppression

Another vocal and public anti-fascist supporting the Republican side in Spain was Langston Hughes. Before he travelled to Spain in the summer of 1937, he already had a traditional rights-based trajectory of black internationalism, grounded largely in concerns over racial justice and solidarity. When he received an invitation from the *Baltimore Afro-American* newspaper to go to Spain to report on the role of the Afro-Americans in the front, he did not hesitate to accept the challenge. He was committed to giving voice to the blacks who left their land to go to a war zone in a foreign land when they were not, according to his own words, "mercenaries like the Moors" nor "professional soldiers like the Germans, or the Italians." [13]

Hughes did not fight in the front, but he made the Spanish war his crusade-like the volunteers who enlisted in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. In his second book of memories, *I Wonder as I Wander*, he wrote that one of his objectives for traveling to Spain was “to record what he saw,” but also, “to comment and distill from his emotions a personal interpretation.”[14] In the America that Hughes lived, Afro-Americans were still segregated, lynched, or discriminated against in the labor market or housing. The Spanish Civil War brought the opportunity to fight against those who, in spite of the fact that slavery had been abolished decades ago, were still being subjugated by the Jim Crow laws.

Numerous testimonies of ex-combatants of the Lincoln Battalion reflect how the African American community was one of the first in recognizing the global threat that was the Alliance among Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, which they saw in their country as the “incarnation of a pro-slavery system.”[15] “I was offered the opportunity of fighting (against fascism) there with bullets,”[16] affirmed the war veteran Crawford Morgan. Another soldier, Walter Garland, saw in Spain an opportunity to counterattack: “In a certain way, we, black people who have been to Spain were luckier than those who stayed in America. Here, we have been able to defend ourselves from those who have been “crushing us at home.”[17] Eluard L. McDaniels, a native from Mississippi, said to have “seen lynching and hunger, that’s why I know who the enemy is”[18] while James Yates, in his autobiography *From Mississippi to Madrid: Memories of an Afro-American in the Lincoln Brigade*, affirms: “We black people had our own fascism to fight against. The Ku Klux Klan and those who were in the business of lynching here were a constant menace.”[19]

As a war correspondent in Spain, between July and December of 1937, Hughes interviewed soldiers, visited hospitals filled with injured soldiers from both sides, and traveled to various war zones. With a rhetoric that reflects a sensibility rooted in the history of racial discrimination in the

US, in Spain he saw an extension of the Italian Ethiopian conflict and an affront to blacks everywhere. Hughes reaffirmed his interpretation of the conflict as a racial fight on his speech in Paris at the Second International Congress of Writers, in which he joined the Spanish Civil War with institutionalized discrimination:

We are people that for a long time has known the meaning of the word Fascism... Yes, we, blacks from America don't need that anybody to tell us what Fascism really is. We know it. And we see it now at an international scale: Hitler's tyranny against the Jews in Germany, the sterilization of black children in Colon; Mussolini prohibition of blacks in plays, killings in Ethiopia, unhuman treatment of Japan to the Koreans and Chinese ... and now Spain and Franco in the hands of the Italians, Moors and Germans, helping to reach Spanish unity.[20]

Hughes explored the racial dimension to the Spanish Civil War in various poems through his reading of the conflict in which the supremacist ideology of Spain's colonial army of Africa was contested by the opposing ideology of the African American combatants of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade volunteers. In "Dear Brother at Home," he addressed racial antagonism through a conversation between an American soldier and a Moroccan soldier on Franco's side. The speaker writes to a close friend in Alabama about the capture of a "wounded Moor": "He was just as dark as me / I said, Boy, what you been doin' here / fightin' against the free?" He describes how the soldier became enlisted: "They nabbed him in his land / and made him join the Fascist army / and come across Spain," guessing that "he'd never get back home again." When the captured soldier, in his agony, realizes that he didn't even know "the folks he had to fight," the American soldier "look across to Africa," with the hope that the war will be won and what that would represent for Afro-Americans, regarding the end of racial segregation:

Cause if a free Spain wins the war,
The colonies, too, are free –
Then something wonderful'll happen
To them Moors as dark as me. [21]

Hughes himself recounted in the second volume of his autobiography, *I Wonder as I Wander*, a long conversation with a young man from the Spanish colony Equatorial Guinea. The young man

told him that he had come to study in Spain before the war but then he “enlisted in the Peoples’ Army.” When Hughes asked his thoughts about the war, the young man said:

I hope the government wins because the New Republic stands for a liberal colonial policy with a chance for my people in Africa to become educated. On Franco’s side are all the old dukes and counts and traders who have exploited the colonies so long, never giving us schools or anything else. Now they are making the Africans fight against the Spanish people---using the Moors and my own people, too, to try to crush the Republic. And the same Italians who dropped bombs in Ethiopia now come over here to help Franco bomb Spaniards. You can pick up shrapnel in Valencia with Italian markings on it.[22]

Such account of Franco’s colonial exploitation, the enforced enlistment of Africans on the side of the rebels and the Italian involvement in the Spanish Civil War and Ethiopia created a racial affinity between Hughes and the African man as well as a reciprocity in a shared suffering. Hughes’ chronicling of his experiences together with the accounts of black American volunteers who joined the ranks of the American Lincoln Brigades presented the American poet an opportunity to denounce fascist aggression and to expose the fight against racial discrimination that was being practiced by European colonial powers like Spain. The last line from another poem, “Love Letter from Spain,” in the voice of a black volunteer who is writing to his lover, reinforces the connections of a common struggle between democracy and fascism in Spain in a broad context of international racism and imperialism: “Fascist is Jim Crow people, honey.”[23]

Archibald MacLeish’s Warning of Threatened World Peace

MacLeish, who in the 1920s made his reputation under the parameters of art for art’s sake and openly expressed his disinterest for its social dimension, became a strong advocate for the role of the intellectual in public life in the next decade. Specifically, during the Spanish Civil War, he was a spokesperson for the interventionist crusade in his country. But, although he shared the official vision (the Spanish Civil War was a global issue in the ideological fight between democracy and totalitarianism), popularized in the US and the UK, he disagreed with those compatriots who supported the cautious neutrality of his government in the *Second Neutrality Act* of 1936.

It was at the University of Columbia in 1937, where he read the poem “Speech to the Scholars,” a poem in which the poetic voice addresses the audience (many academics like himself) to descend from their ivory tower and put their efforts toward defending freedom, democracy, and truth. The poem concludes by calling on scholars to fight against fascism with the power of their words: “Arise O scholars from your peace! / Arise! Enlist! Take arms and fight!”[24]

McLeish also called academics to action in several essays. In “The Irresponsibles,” he attacked those writers who would not “take the weapon of his words and carry it to the barricades of intellectual warfare” and lashed out against those who took refuge on “the antiseptic air of objectivity.”[25] In “Post-war Writers and Pre-war Readers,” he criticized the silent compliance of those who stayed distant to the circumstances hidden in their private world while “the Nazis were destroying their world.”[26] And, in “The Communist, the Writers, and the Spanish Civil War,” he considered the Spanish War to be the more pressing moral problem in the Western World, “the very war against which we must defend ourselves.”[27] In addition, his poem, “The Spanish Lie,” is one of the strongest statements against the diplomatic failures of the isolationist policies of the non-intervention agreement. Here, the poetic voice reflects on his indignation before the passivity of the international community after the bombardments in various cities around the country:

The tears are dry on the faces.
The blood is dry on the sand.
The tears were not answered: the blood was not answered.
This will be answered. [28]

The country, sunken in hopelessness, which is symbolized in the “tears” and the “dry blood,” and the speaker’s supplication for the international community to provide an answer to the pain provoked in civilians, alternate with the memory of the victims: “they have no voices, no voices, / their throats are stopped with the sand of that place.”

On October 26, 1938, in the midst of the fratricide violence of the Spanish War, McLeish's radio verse play "Air Raid," was broadcast. The play is an allegoric representation of the destruction of a city in Spanish soil, through which the author wanted to show the horrors of the 1937 German Italian bombing of Guernica, Spain. It was over Guernica and many other Spanish cities when the fight went one step further in the use of killing machines and bombing airplanes with total impunity. One reviewer described the play's power in capturing "not an air raid, but all air raids, the announcement, the incredulity, the expectation, the suspense." [29] Such a bombardment was not the first in the war, nor the deadliest, but it turned into one of the episodes that received more international attention. It was described by British newsletters as the "the most terrible aerial attack in our modern history." [30] In the verse play, one of the narrators of the play is an announcer who dramatically reports from a rooftop the terrors of a devastating aerial attack on civilians:

We take you to a town behind the border,
one of those old-time hill-towns where the papers
come tomorrow morning and the wars
come years ago, or in some other country. [31]

The poem shows the dramatic dimension of the destruction of modern war shortening the distance between the battlefield and civilians. Another speaker in the poem, a studio director, while describing the area where the bombings are about to happen and while waiting to establish the connection with the announcer, reflects on the nature of modern conflicts: "Strange and curious times these times we live in: [...] / We call it peace and kill the women and the children, / Our women die in peace beneath the lintels of their doors." More tension is added when the local women and children do not heed official warnings to take cover because they cannot anticipate or even imagine that bombs are going to be dropped over their heads, despite the warning of a sergeant (another speaker) that keeps warning about the seriousness of the situation: "The wars have changed with the world and not for the better!" as well as the horrific nature of modern war

in which women and children are the victims: “The enemy is not the usual enemy! / “Conquering countries for the pride and praise.” But the city is alien to the tragedy that is coming, and like any other day, people wake up and go on with their lives: “the men go out at dawn: return / to evening burning from the chimneys: / the women keep the town between.” They believe it is one of the habitual air raids used to intimidate the population by spreading fear and infusing terror, which is something that some of the local women take with a macabre sense of humor:

Crazy government!
Can't they run the country decent and quiet till
eight in the morning even? The rest of the day
they can rule as loud as they like and as long as they mind to.
They can do what they want with the country from eight on.
Only till eight if they'd wait for the difficult sleepers-
those that count their heartbeats every hour.[32]

Disbelief ends in fear when the sirens start to sound, and panic is triggered in a population that tries to find safety screaming: “Air raid! / Air raid! / Air raid! / The bombers! / The bombers! / The bombers!” However, some citizens refused to accept that the bombs were going to cause damage. The people in town, in the face of the killer offensive, refuse to believe the war will affect them, and they run into the streets hoping to gain the sympathy of the conquering war machine. But the machine does not show any mercy. When the airplanes’ roar grows in a slow and oppressive crescendo, the announcer warns: “We hear the shearing metal: / we hear the tearing air,” until the moment the massacre breaks loose and everybody is killed, including the announcer.

Painting with words that exact horror of the war is what MacLeish intended to accomplish with “Air Raid.” The images with which the announcer describes the airplanes: “we hear the shearing metal,” “the hawk’s ambush,” “perfect precision of timing,” “the will of motor on metal,” complement Picasso’s antiwar painting, *Guernica*, about the total annihilation of complete populations. But, MacLeish was also committed to reach as many readers or listeners as possible by choosing a radio broadcast: “More people listened to the message of a poet and just a simple

poem that night that at any moment at history.”[33] The representation of the air raid as an aggressive tactic to instill terror and as a horrific vision of the resulting human carnage transmits the traumatic effect of what surpassed the limits of what could be accepted as a reasonable consequence of the conflict.

Air Raid, as well as the other texts analyzed here, offered MacLeish, Hemingway, and Hughes a chance to demonstrate to a wide public the nature of modern war as well as a vehicle to transmit that the democratic community required an active defense of freedom, rather than a blind faith that things would not end falling apart. They advanced the debate over the relevance of the Spanish Civil War for global democracy, and they illustrated the human destruction with images that functioned as an allegory of a cruelly novel war that foreshadowed disasters well beyond Spanish borders. The Spanish Civil War ended up being the prelude for a Second World War despite these authors warnings and strong commitment to stop it.

NOTES

- [1] Thornberry 591.
- [2] MacLeish, “Poetry and the Public World.” *A Time to Speak*. 88.
- [3] Hemingway, “Fascism is a Lie” 4.
- [4] Hughes, qtd., in Delmont 18.
- [5] Lynn 444.
- [6] As John Michalczyck recognizes, the film “was designed for propagandistic purposes to convince Western democracies, such as France, England, Canada, and the United States, to put aside their non-aggression policies and break the embargo with regard to Spain.” (40-41).
- [7] Hemingway. *The Spanish Earth* (min. 15).
- [8] Qtd., in Waugh 29.
- [9] Hemingway, Qtd., in Baker 334.
- [10] Hemingway, “Under the Ridge” 463.
- [11] Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. 149.
- [12] Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. 321.
- [13] Hughes, *I Wonder as I Wander*. 383.
- [14] Hughes, *I Wonder as I Wander*. 400.
- [15] Kelley 138.
- [16] *Ibidem*.
- [17] *Ibidem*.
- [18] Carroll 18-19.
- [19] Yates 85.
- [20] Hughes, “Too Much of Race” 272.
- [21] Hughes, “Dear Brother at Home” 201-202.

- [22] Hughes, *I Wonder as I Wander*. 329.
- [23] Hughes, "Love Letter from Spain" 204-205.
- [24] MacLeish, "Speech to the Scholars" 266.
- [25] MacLeish, "The Irresponsibles" 120-121.
- [26] MacLeish, "Postwar Writers and Prewar Readers" 104.
- [27] MacLeish, "The Communist, the Writers, and the Spanish Civil War" 100.
- [28] MacLeish, qtd., in Nelson 144.
- [29] Seidamn 64.
- [30] *Ibidem*.
- [31] MacLeish, *Air Raid*. 5.
- [32] MacLeish, *Air Raid*. 21.
- [33] Qtd., in Donaldson 268.

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The Impact of Artificial Intelligence Systems on Online Italian Language Courses:

A Case Study at the University for Foreigners of Perugia

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1. Introduction

The integration of digital technologies into education has substantially reshaped the landscape of language acquisition, with online courses emerging as a central modality. These platforms offer a dynamic and accessible framework for language learning, addressing the evolving needs of a globalized and digitally interconnected society. The University for Foreigners of Perugia has responded to this educational shift by developing innovative online courses in Italian language and culture, incorporating multimedia tools and interactive content to optimize learner engagement. Beyond the linguistic dimension, these courses promote the development of intercultural competence, fostering collaborative learning environments that encourage cultural exchange and dialogue. In fact, language and culture are two sides of the same coin and cannot be separated.

The recent integration of Artificial Intelligence (AI) in language education represents a further leap forward, offering personalized feedback, adaptive learning pathways, and enhanced interaction for students, promoting intercultural dialogue and global competences through authentic learning scenarios, according to the Action-oriented Approach recommended by the CEFR CV.

This paper seeks to investigate the pedagogical approaches and technological advancements in online Italian courses enhanced by AI, focusing on their impact on motivation, engagement and intercultural awareness.

2. Italian language and culture online courses

Currently, online courses are playing an increasingly central role in language learning because of their flexibility, accessibility, and ability to integrate advanced technologies. Globalization and digitalization have made language skills essential for active participation in the contemporary world, both personally and professionally. In this context, e-learning is an effective response to new educational needs. Online courses provide immediate access to diverse linguistic resources [2], allowing students to learn at their own pace and schedule. This flexibility is particularly important for working students or those with limited study time, as it enables continuous and personalized learning. Indeed, the ability to access courses from anywhere and at any time makes language learning more inclusive, allowing those living in remote areas or those with mobility difficulties to acquire language skills. Moreover, digital platforms often include interactive educational materials such as videos, quizzes, listening exercises, and conversation practices, which foster active student engagement. Another significant advantage of online courses is the possibility of creating global-learning communities. Online platforms allow students to interact with peers of different nationalities, promote cultural exchanges, and improve language skills through authentic practice. This social aspect is fundamental to the development of students' communicative abilities and motivation. Furthermore, the variety of assessment methods present in online courses, including automated quizzes, interactive tests, and peer-to-peer evaluations with teachers or tutors, provide students with continuous and detailed feedback, facilitating more conscious and self-regulated learning. The data collected through these tools enables teachers to constantly monitor student progress and intervene promptly in case of difficulties. The post-pandemic era, often referred to as the “new normal,” has seen a significant increase in training courses on multimedia and multimodal platforms. These courses must accommodate various needs

and learner types, and can be offered in remote or blended modes, both synchronously and asynchronously. Responding to this necessity, the University for Foreigners of Perugia has structured online Italian language courses through a project undertaken by a specially constituted research group of the LiLAIM Department, coordinated by Letizia Cinganotto. The adopted approach is both narrative-content based, as it refers to the use of language that is, the product of the language, focusing on the various needs of speakers, and functional, as it describes the language in action, not theoretically extracted from model situations, but born from the specific needs of learners as they live their experiences in different everyday contexts. Training paths aimed at self-learning were configured according to the following characteristics:

- Networked, not linear.
- Modular: the various modules are self-consistent, extendable, reusable, interchangeable, and optional.
- Synchronous and asynchronous: different types of inputs and materials are offered, alternating asynchronous use with synchronous interactions with teachers and classmates.

The courses, delivered on a Moodle platform, developed by University for Foreigners of Perugia, in cooperation with IUL University, follow the development of syllabi designed to teach Italian as a second/foreign language, are aligned with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, Companion Volume [2], and with the “Profilo della lingua italiana” [3].

The proposed teaching materials integrate interactive and multimedia educational resources, including the most advanced digital technologies, to enhance the learning of Italian language and culture.

The single-course units were structured as follows:

- A video resource that serves as the main thread of storytelling throughout the course, transcription of video dialogue and related comprehension activities.

- Exercises focusing on communicative functions, grammar, vocabulary, and culture using an inductive approach; pronunciation exercises, including recording statements by learners.
- Forums for student interaction: a general forum and one related to the cultural topic covered in the unit.
- Interactive, culturally themed, and game-based activities.
- A “Culture, Traditions, Curiosities” section to explore specific cultural themes.
- End-of-unit test; study materials and in-depth resources related to units; a visual glossary with vocabulary introduced in the unit, accompanied by representative images or photos.
- Comprehensive final test at the end of each course.
- A video resource at the beginning serves as the main thread of storytelling that runs throughout the course. These are video clips taken from sitcoms and web series as well as videos specifically made by professionals in the field.
- Transcription of the video dialogue and related comprehension activities; several exercises concerning communicative functions, grammar, vocabulary, and culture using an inductive approach.

As demonstrated by the course structure, learning Italian is closely linked to the development of plurilingual and intercultural skills, which recognize and value the diverse linguistic and cultural competencies of learners.

The activities in the courses were designed considering the opportunity to build a global learning community, facilitating cultural and linguistic exchanges through collaborative activities. The online courses within the Moodle platform support the use of authentic resources specially created by linguistic experts, such as texts reproducing newspaper articles, news videos, and podcasts, which help students develop contextualized language skills. Each course consists of approximately

12 units, introduced by a general syllabus and a partial syllabus to promote student awareness of the topics to be covered in the individual units. The partial syllabus details the different elements referable to vocabulary, grammar, communicative functions, and culture. All courses incorporated a storytelling element that began with the initial introduction of the characters in the first video. This narrative then explores various events and dynamics involving these characters, promoting learners' embodiment, and thereby enhancing their engagement.

Integrating storytelling within units of an online course has significant pedagogical value. First, storytelling effectively contextualizes language learning by embedding vocabulary, grammar, and cultural elements within a narrative. Learners can contextualize and enhance retention, as they are more likely to remember the language used within a meaningful and engaging story.

Moreover, storytelling fosters emotional engagement, which is a critical factor in motivating learners and sustaining their interests, especially in online courses. In addition, storytelling provides a rich source of cultural inputs. Stories are often imbued with cultural nuances, traditions, and values, offering learners insight into the cultural context of their target language. Cultural immersion is crucial for developing not only linguistic proficiency, but also intercultural competence, enabling learners to use the language appropriately in various social contexts. In the context of online Italian language courses, storytelling can be leveraged effectively through multimedia resources. Videos, audio recordings, and interactive digital stories can bring narratives into life and provide multisensory experiences that cater to diverse learning styles.

Storytelling also supports the development of critical thinking skills and analytical skills. As students engage with a story, they are encouraged to analyze characters' motivations, predict outcomes, and reflect on the underlying themes. This process fosters critical thinking, problem-solving, and the ability to make inferences—higher-order thinking skills that are essential for achieving advanced language proficiency.

3. Artificial Intelligence systems and online language courses

Several ways can enable the use of Artificial Intelligence in the education process, especially in an online course, proposing three paradigms for using AI in this context: AI-directed, learner-as-recipient, AI-supported, learner-as-collaborator, and AI-empowered, learner-as-leader [4]. These three paradigms can be useful for understanding the different options that can be enabled with the integration of Artificial Intelligence, passing through an exercise system exclusively regulated by artificial intelligence, passing through a mediated way with the learners, and coming to a complete integration with the complexity of an educational system, supported by digital resources and teachers. The third paradigm is presented as the most comprehensive and effective, because beyond AI tools for students, it integrates all systematic aspects of education to enhance it. For instance, it includes an active assessment system for online courses that monitors student progress and advancement. This is the case for MOOCs empowered by Artificial Intelligence. In language learning, field tools regulated by Artificial Intelligence can be a great resource for creating a new range of experiences between self-learning and classroom experience. This fits with the dimension of online language courses, where the students are allowed to have blended didactics, pass through online lessons mediated by a teacher, and self-learn with the materials of the course. The benefits start from the possibility of integrating LLM (as ChatGPT, Mistral, Claude) into the web space of the course.

Artificial intelligence promotes a multimodal approach that, in addition to providing opportunities to practice oral and written skills, enables language practice through contextualized dialogue and specific tasks, thus facilitating student engagement and learning [5]. Currently, online courses envisage the possibility of implementing advanced Artificial Intelligence functions to enhance language practice, provide simplified access to information, facilitate personalized learning, offer

immediate feedback, and guide students through the learning process [6]. Collaboration with the IUL University has enabled the creation of an AI-based system trained on linguistic materials based on the syllabi of the University for Foreigners of Perugia and the Profile of the Italian Language, with particular attention paid to CEFRCV. A preliminary study identified priority areas for AI intervention to promote student learning within a methodological framework referable to the Universal Design for Learning (UDL) [7], with the primary objective of configuring an accessible and inclusive online learning environment. From this perspective, the design of AI systems aims to provide multiple options for engagement such as interactivity, collaboration, self-learning, multiple representations, and diverse ways of expressing competencies by learners. There is a clear reference to regulations and guidelines concerning students with Specific Educational Needs (SEN) and disabilities, both in Italy and Europe, identifying facilitating operational modes that promote accessibility and inclusivity [8].

4. Bridging language learning and cultural awareness: an integrated pathway

Online learning environments offer significant opportunities to develop intercultural awareness and competence in language education. Collaborative International Online Learning (COIL) has been identified as a powerful tool for promoting global learning and intercultural understanding, equipping students with valuable skills for the future [9]. However, challenges remain, as some students still prefer face-to-face instruction despite positive responses to online intercultural courses [10].

When discussing intercultural competencies, we refer to the abilities to perform "effectively and appropriately when interacting with others who are linguistically and culturally different from oneself" [11].

The fundamental role of integrating language learning with intercultural abilities is widely recognized, as it extends beyond the development of a pluricultural repertoire that involves learners as cultural mediators [2]. Creating an online neutral shared space can enhance effective communication and intercultural understanding, which are crucial for fostering effective cross-cultural communication. This process aligns with the broader concept of Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) [12], which encompasses the complex abilities required to interact effectively with individuals from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds using appropriate linguistic and paralinguistic strategies to achieve communication goals across cultures. ICC development is intricately linked to the capacity to communicate in the target language, thereby enhancing both the depth and breadth of intercultural understanding. This connection underscores the necessity of incorporating cultural awareness into language-learning frameworks designed to cultivate the ICC.

ICC comprises four core dimensions: knowledge, positive attitudes/affect, skills, and awareness. Awareness is central and critical for cross-cultural development. This is fostered through reflective practices, where learners contrast and compare their own cultural framework with that of the target culture. Such introspection is essential for deepening intercultural understanding and competence and equipping learners to effectively navigate and adapt to various cultural contexts.

Recent experiences, such as UNESCO's Story Circles (2020) [13], have demonstrated how the synergy between promoting intercultural competencies and storytelling fosters a reflective and open-minded attitude, further enhancing learners' ability to engage with diverse cultures.

In the framework outlined above, the design of online Italian language and culture courses provides numerous opportunities to develop both linguistic proficiency and cultural awareness. Each unit of the asynchronous course was designed to offer cultural insights that connect with the learner's

direct experience. Within a shared context, such as a forum, students engage in communicative exchanges on Italian cultural topics by comparing these subjects with their own cultural backgrounds. This approach reflects an awareness of the importance of maintaining a global perspective rather than an ethnocentric one, fostering the exchange of ideas and social co-construction of meanings. Simultaneously, the synchronous component of online courses accentuates the cultural aspect by incorporating personalized content tailored to students' specific interests. In the learning pathway designed for Chinese students, an overview of Italy's historical and artistic heritage was provided, including in-depth studies on artistic techniques, artwork, monuments, traditions, and curiosities. Notable topics of interest included the history of pizza margherita in Naples, customs associated with major Italian festivals, the evolution of artistic techniques in Italian painting, and the curiosities of UNESCO World Heritage sites in Italy.

From an intercultural perspective, the program encouraged the exchange and comparison of participants' cultural heritage, valued cultural diversity, and promoted intercultural communication and understanding. This approach not only enriches the learning experience but also contributes to the development of deeper and more meaningful intercultural dialogue, thereby enhancing student motivation.

In this perspective, when examining the role of AI in the promotion and exchange of cultural heritage, it becomes evident that these systems offer transformative potential while simultaneously presenting critical challenges in terms of cultural representation and equity.

In the first instance, AI systems offer significant benefits in the digitization and preservation of cultural practices, oral traditions, and artistic performances, making them accessible and replicable through sophisticated decoding processes. Additionally, AI can analyse user behaviour to provide personalized cultural experiences, fostering increased engagement and participation.

The integration of virtual reality further enhances these experiences, allowing users to immerse themselves in cultural heritage and interact with individuals from different cultural backgrounds [14] [15].

However, despite these advantages, research highlights that AI is often embedded with Western-centric data and cultural heritage, leading to cultural misalignments when applied to diverse global communities [16] [17]. The inability of AI to effectively manage cultural code-switching—adapting behaviour to different social contexts—can lead to the marginalization of underrepresented groups, resulting in self-silencing [18]. These cultural gaps in AI risk exacerbating disparities in access to opportunities and reinforcing social inequalities, underscoring the urgent need for culturally inclusive AI development and research.

In conclusion, it is essential to ensure that both formal and non-formal learning opportunities of sufficient quality are accessible to all, enabling individuals to acquire the intercultural competences necessary for navigating the complexities of an increasingly heterogeneous and interconnected world [19].

5. The impact of AI systems in Italian language and culture online courses: a case study

The integration of Artificial Intelligence systems in online courses for Italian language and culture marks a significant advancement in language education. From a linguistic and interactional standpoint, chatbots' ability to manage intricate linguistic content beyond mere sentence construction is noteworthy. The natural scope of language transcends the sentence level, encompassing a broader discourse and interactive elements. Effective language use involves managing discourse coherence and cohesion, maintaining and advancing topics and handling ana-

phoric references. Developing these discourse and interactional competencies often poses significant challenges in second and foreign-language courses, which can be effectively addressed by sophisticated dialogue systems.

From this perspective, this first experiment was part of a broader research project aimed at investigating the impact of AI on the learning of Italian as a foreign or second language, focusing on aspects such as participation, interaction, engagement, and educational success. The study is based on the AI system specifically developed by the research group “Teaching and Learning Italian with AI” named AIDI (Artificial Intelligence for Dialogue in Italian), trained with “Profile della lingua Italiana” [3], according to the level expressed in the CEFRCV. It was integrated within online Italian language courses at levels A2 and B1, employing the Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) approach [20] [21] [22], centered on artistic and cultural topics.

The course was designed for a sample of Chinese university students who underwent initial profiling to personalize their learning paths based on their interests and needs [23]. The sample of this study consisted of 22 Chinese university students (11 at the A2 level of Italian language proficiency and 11 at the B1 level) enrolled in an online Italian language course as part of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the University for Foreigners of Perugia and Guangzhou Maritime University (GMU), a university in Guangzhou, China. According to this MoU, GMU students can pursue a master’s degree at the University for Foreigners of Perugia and obtain a double degree in Italian and Chinese.

The online Italian course aimed to improve students’ language skills before their arrival in Perugia by preparing them for the academic language used in the master's degree program. Additionally, students were offered materials and exercises related to Italian art and cultural heritage, which were already an integral part of their university curriculum at the GMU. Therefore, the online

Italian course was designed with a specific section dedicated to art, with related interactive activities and tasks, as "Art Pills," inspired by the CLIL approach. It allows students to query AIDI with specific thematic prompts on the historical-artistic content of the online course and synchronous lessons with Chinese students, a valid way to review the covered content through both listening and reading the texts produced by the machine itself. Images, paintings, and masterpieces of Italian art from Perugia and other Italian cities were the subject of an in-depth study and discussion in Italian during online lessons.

The "Image" function of AIDI also allowed students to "play" with art images, comparing descriptions and enriching their vocabulary and their subject-specific literacy on art and culture, in line with CLIL methodology.

The students could also use the "Campus" function, allowing them to post queries about life at the university campus in Perugia, in order to get to familiarize with real life university scenarios before coming to Perugia.

This study was driven by the following research question:

- How does the use of AI in an online Italian language and culture course impact students' motivation and exposure to the target language?

The effectiveness of the experimentation was primarily assessed through qualitative tools; student opinions were collected through informal interviews and questionnaires, also aimed at investigating their level of awareness of the functioning of the AI systems employed and their effectiveness in achieving the objectives defined within the learning path [24].

The preliminary results of this initial experiment show how an immersive AI-mediated approach can positively influence the overall effectiveness of student learning, promoting their engagement, motivation, and interaction, as well as intercultural dialogue, particularly in conversations and interactions on artistic-cultural themes.

Students also noted the potential of AI within the online learning environment, which offers additional opportunities for dialogue and interaction calibrated according to their language proficiency levels and to their preferred communicative mode: for example, they preferred texting to speaking as they were particularly shy.

Their overall perception of the use of AI for communicative exchanges and for learning artistic and cultural content were positive and encouraging they found AI an alternative, dynamic and playful way to study and interact with their peers.

They also like the AI function allowing to post queries about life at the university campus: they found it a very valuable tool forgetting to know information about their lessons, programs, timetable etc. They generally appreciated the game-based setting of AIDI, which simulates real life scenarios in a very effective way.

6. Conclusion

The transformative potential of AI-powered chatbots and dialogue systems in online language courses is undeniable, especially when integrated within a solid methodological framework tailored to the learner's linguistic proficiency level. Despite the limitations related to the small number of learners in the first experiment and the tool's testing phase, the encouraging provisional results from the interviews and questionnaire confirm the need to continue in the direction taken by the research group, which involves training and validation by experts in line with CEFR CV language proficiency levels. However, as this field continues to evolve rapidly, sustained research is essential to fully harness the transformative potential of AI in language education and foster a more dynamic and inclusive future for learning.

* The article was developed jointly by the authors. However, Letizia Cinganotto wrote Introduction and paragraph 5, Giorgia Montanucci wrote paragraphs 3 and 4; Simone Filippetti wrote paragraph 2 and Conclusion.

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The Country Wife goes to Italy: Two Staged Translations

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1. Introduction

The Country Wife by William Wycherley, first staged and published in 1675, is considered one of the most representative comedies of English Restoration drama. Thanks to, or one should say despite, its outstanding transgressiveness, it always features in a sort of canonical trio of Restoration comedies (the so-called “Big Three”) comprising the coeval *The Man of Mode* (1676) by George Etherege and the much later *The Way of the World* (1700) by William Congreve. *The Country Wife*’s special position in the world of Restoration comedy is due to its main plot and protagonist, Mr. Horner, whose paradoxical stratagem of pretending to be “as bad as an eunuch” (Wycherley 2014, 1.1.5), in order to approach as many women as possible without any risk or even with the husbands’ support, is anything but original, finding its predecessor in Terence’s *Eunuchus*. Yet, Horner will never be healed of his sexual obsession: his stratagem will not be exposed to the husbands but even endorsed by the female characters, and the ending simply portends its continuation and the complete ruin of Mrs. Margery Pinchwife, the young and naive – but eager to learn – eponymous country girl. Horner’s multifaceted and multifunctional figure and his plot stand out in contrast with his male counterparts, Mr. Pinchwife, the repentant but cynical and embittered libertine, prone to acts of violence against his young wife, and Mr. Harcourt, a friend at least up to a certain point, whose love story occupies the moralistic and romantic background. Wycherley’s shunning the traditional comic closure based on retributive justice makes this play one of the few examples of “subversive” comedy (as theorized by Canfield 1997), as opposed to the great majority of Restoration comedies (called “social” by the same critic), which tended to re-

store socio-political hierarchy and moral order with the final disciplining – in the Foucauldian sense – of the libertine, immoral, centrifugal energies.

The Country Wife's fortune in Italy is not so irrelevant, especially in comparison with the corpus of Restoration theatre production, which has been neglected by literary and drama criticism and even more by the stage (Graziano 2023). If translation has always been the primary means of diffusing literature interlinguistically and interculturally, the four extant translations of *The Country Wife* into Italian attest to its relatively high impact, at least on the select public of university students and scholars, since they match the ones produced from *The Way of the World*, by far the most appreciated play worldwide, and outnumber any other tragic or comic drama of the age. Nevertheless, when it comes to actual stage performances, only two occurrences have been traced, in the sense that it was possible to retrieve evidence by consulting the online archives of the SIAE (Italian Authors' and Publishers' Association) and to obtain printed versions of the scripts. They are:

- *La sposa di campagna*, translated by Masolino d'Amico, directed by Sandro Sequi for Centro Teatrale Bresciano, Brescia, 1994; encore performance at Teatro Carignano, Turin, 1995;
- *La sposa di campagna*, free adaptation by Vito Boffoli, directed by Vito Boffoli for Teatrogruppo, Teatro Euclide, Roma, 2000, 2004 (TE, SIAE IPI code: 357444739).[1]

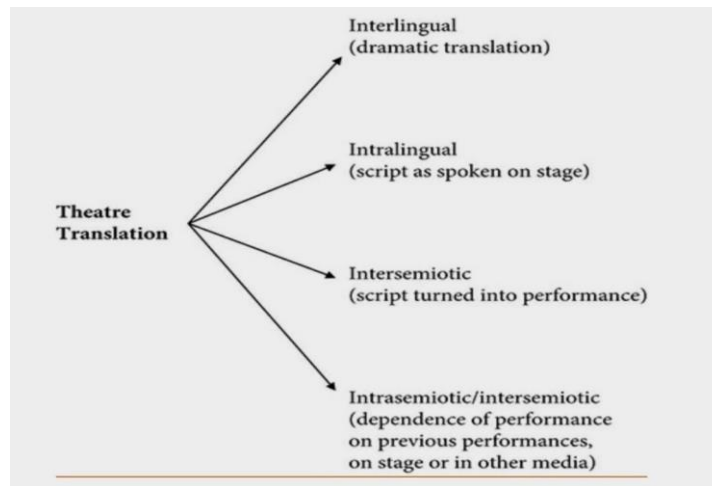
The choice of the same title suggests that the Italian translation inspiring both directors was Masolino d'Amico's, published in 1993 in the popular series Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli (BUR), thus the only one easily available at the time, since the very first translation by Cesare Foligno (1961) has completely eluded even academic attention.[2] However, both Foligno and the two later translators prefer rendering *wife* as *moglie* instead of *sposa*, which corresponds more precisely to *bride* and hence less faithful to both the comedy plot and to English semantics. And yet, despite

this ‘imprecision’, d’Amico’s title has remained by far the most popular. Seemingly contradicting the Italian stage managers’ habit of ignoring academic translations and producing – or at least declaring to produce – their own, Wycherley’s comedy does in fact confirm it. Masolino d’Amico belongs to a family of the Italian intelligentsia considered part and parcel of the drama, music and film arts scene, as all its members, from grandparents to grandchildren, actively participate in it not only as academics but as critics, musicologists, script writers, translators and even actors.[3]

The analysis I will undertake on the texts used for these two *mises-en-scène* is to be understood as a practical contribution to the area of drama reception and as a particular case in the framework of theatre translation and adaptation studies. It is impossible to retrace the richly controversial history of drama translation theories, mainly revolving around the opposition ‘page vs. stage’, i.e., the question of how much even an academic-philological translation should take the intrinsic *performativity*, if not the *performability*, of the play text into account.[4] Nor would I revive the excruciating conceptual/terminological distinctions between *translation* proper, *adaptation*, *interpretation*, *readaptation* down to *rewriting* and *remediation*, which have occupied the debate about the process of transforming a text into its stage performance.[5] For the present limited scope, I prefer to adopt David Johnston’s stance, expressed almost thirty years ago (1996, p. 66): “every act of translation is an act of transformation”, a statement which sounds definitely less banal if, by transitive property, we also accept that “every act of transformation is an act of translation” (Morini 2022, p. 69). In this perspective, I feel one can side with the apparently extreme, yet very liberating, theoretical position expressed by one of the latest contributions to this field of studies, that is Massimiliano Morini’s, who proposes to reduce the whole process to the single label of *theatre translation*, suspending the traditional distinction with adaptation. The analogies inherent in the processes of 1. altering a pre text for the stage in its own language, 2. transferring it into another

language/culture, and 3. transforming it into a new, similar yet different, rewriting have in fact been obscured by taking them as separate phenomena subject to separate approaches and disciplinary competences.

Morini's proposal is a revamping of Jakobson's (1959) well-known tripartition of translation to inspire the following framework (p. 71):



The two Italian scripts of the staged *Country Wife* can be used to exemplify Morini's umbrella term 'translation' and his grid. Granted d'Amico's *La sposa di campagna* the role of *interlingual* dramatic translation, both extend the process of *intralingual* translation from the source to the target language, with d'Amico's text playing the part of the 'original', liable to be transformed into two different "scripts as spoken on the stage". These in turn will have given way to *intersemiotic* translations, two different "scripts turned into performance", which are lost to us unfortunately, since no recording or other audio/visual materials survive. In any case, theatre ephemerality almost intrinsically denies permanence to the dramatic event. Lastly, no information is available as to any *intrasemiotic* relationship between the two stagings, which in fact differ so much that, beyond the common Italian hypotext, they seem to be completely separate; nor is any other *intersemiotic* link to, for example, British stagings or filmic versions of the same comedy, apparent.

However, the two scripts differ so much because they adopt quite different strategies of intralingual transformation: on the one hand, Sequi cuts many of the characters' cues but keeps the five acts and changes d'Amico's text as little as possible, even when re-joining the cues; on the other, Boffoli not only drastically cuts (to two acts) but transforms the setting and the social environment with consequences also for the variety of Italian language used. In the first case, the translation is credited to Masolino d'Amico, while in the second case, Boffoli figures as a SIAE author and on the first page of the script as the compiler of a "free adaptation" from Wycherley. Yet, in addition to adopting d'Amico's title, Boffoli's script can hardly be said to have been retranslated from English; rather, it appears to be a condensed, modernised, and performable version of d'Amico, indeed a "free adaptation" from d'Amico rather than Wycherley. Thus, Sequi's faithfulness to d'Amico's interlingual translation makes us expect equal faithfulness to the 'original' *Country Wife*, whereas Boffoli raises the expectation of quite a different rewriting. In fact, a more detailed analysis reveals a slightly more complex picture and puts Morini's hypernym 'translation' to the experiential test of the real end products of the theatrical transformation process.

2. Sandro Sequi's *La sposa di campagna*

Sequi's cuts involve primarily the character of the Old Lady Squeamish, erased from the *dramatis personae* along with all her cues, a few longer stretches of dialogue, the paratext (prologue and epilogue), and all the asides.

The erasure of Old Lady Squeamish, as well as of a Boy and other waiters, servants and attendants, is understandable for a modern staging, whereas it is notorious how fond the English Restoration public was of roles and plots in great number. Old Lady Squeamish appears on stage mainly in Acts 4 and 5, always chasing her granddaughter Mrs. Squeamish, one of Horner's female

fans. Somehow, she just duplicates Sir Jaspar Fidget, echoing his false moral anxieties but also his being duped. In Act 4 she adds a further element of farce as one more ‘blind’ spectator to the arch-famous “china scene”. Thus, cutting her part reduces the farce effect that, albeit in different doses, is intrinsic to most Restoration comedies, yet is less palatable to our contemporary taste.[6]

The impact of the libertine element, with its misogynistic and homosocial implications (Sedgwick 1985), is also lowered by shrinking or wholly removing some of the conversations among the male characters. A downsizing of the Quack, often – quite incongruously – called upon to replace the Boy as messenger, and a shortening of his confrontations with Horner entail reducing his role as Horner’s sparring partner, privy to his secret, in the discussion about his stratagem, his amoral motivation, and his objectives. The same effect derives from the fact that some very relevant exchanges between Horner and his mates about women, male friendship, and which of the two should be preferred, are drastically abridged (Wycherley 2014, 1.1.154-207; d’Amico 1993, pp. 55-58) or simply eliminated (Wycherley 2014, 3.2.1-60; d’Amico 1993, pp. 135- 139).[7] Also abridged is the ladies’ discussion of how birth and blood impact *quality* and *honour* (2.1.333-50; pp.105-109), the very key words of this comedy (and not only), as perceived long ago by Morris (1972: “*The Country Wife* is a play about honour”, p. 3), but only recently demonstrated with a quantitative analysis of their frequency (Ciambella 2023). In particular, the ladies’ conversation in Act 2, as well as the great banquet scene in Act 5, are revealed as crucial to Canfield’s insight into the transgression represented by interclass adultery for the Restoration social establishment. When Mrs. Squeamish states that wine makes “for want of a gallant, the butler lovely in our eyes” (5.4.47; p. 281), she is threatening.

the system of honour and reputation [...] intended to control women’s sexual activity to protect against adulteration. Intra-class adultery would be bad enough for women but interclass would be absolute anathema. (Canfield 1997, p. 128).

However, this would probably be too subtle a cultural interpretation for the average Italian audience. As is to be expected from a non-native stage director operating in a non-native context, many shorter ellipses blot out other culture-bound elements, almost all of which are avoided: mostly toponyms (Smithfield, Cheapside, Covent Garden, Lincoln Inn's Fields, Pall Mall, Lombard Street, etc., the pub names), institutions (Privy Council, Whitehall, Crown, etc., even in the rare event of the Italian translator finding a generalization indicating the function: for example: Whitehall = palazzo Reale), and intertextual references (e.g., ballad collection titles, *L'École des Filles*, Sir Martin Mar- all, the Book of Common Prayer, popular characters such as Aniseed Robin).

D'Amico's 'academic' translation is an inevitably source-oriented and text-centric one, but also quite exceptionally disinterested in possible *domesticating* strategies and solutions intended for the stage: it accompanies all these occurrences with an explanatory footnote. Now, Umberto Eco's warning about footnotes being the translator's failure is certainly overused, but we cannot indeed blame Sequi for simply skipping all the culture-specific items not having received any feasible alternative from the Italian hypotext.

On the other hand, it is surprising that an experienced director decides to sacrifice all the metatheatrical hints: e.g., the mention of the vizards and the ladies in the boxes or cues such as "we hate the silly rogues [the poets]; nay, so much that we find fault even with their bawdy upon the stage, whilst we talk nothing else in the pit and as loud" (3.2.84-86; p. 141) and "'Tis but being on the stage, instead of standing on a bench in the pit" (3.2.113-114; p. 143). An easy pun on "Frank", Mr. Harcourt's name, is excised, although it can be rendered literally with the Italian "Franco/franchezza" (3.2.325-326; p. 161): maybe it was considered too banal, and yet, a much

funnier and comically effective sequence of terms of abuse used by Horner in one of his misogynistic tirades is also removed:

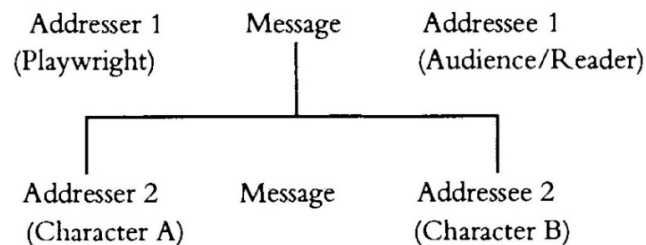
These are pretenders to honour, as critics to wit, only by censuring others; and as every *raw, peevish, out-of-humoured, affected, dull, tea-drinking, arithmetical* fop sets up for a wit by railing at men of sense, so these for honour by railing at the Court and ladies of great honour as quality. (2.1.397-401; p. 111; emphasis mine)

Similar cuts on the lexical level affect most of the images and similitudes involving specialised discourses (hunting, gambling, horse breeding, birds), which characterize Wycherley's witty dialogue and are a significant indicator when comparing the four Italian book translations.

Also dropped are convoluted syntactical sentences employing paradox, litotes, or chiasmus, which make Wycherley's style "more aphoristic and epigrammatic than his contemporaries" (Markley 1988, p. 139): e.g., ". . . a silly wise rogue would make one laugh more than a stark fool" (2.1.195-6; p. 97); "Marrying you is no more sign of his love than bribing your woman, that he may marry you, is a sign of his generosity" (2.1.210-11; p. 97); "'Tis a greater shame amongst lewd fellows to be seen in virtuous women's company than for the women to be seen with them" (2.1.411-13; p. 113). Nevertheless, Sequi's cuts are so skillful that the argumentative logic of the characters' repartee is preserved as well as the rhythm set through the reprise of key words from the preceding cue to the following one (as pointed out by Cook, Swannel 1975), a kind of transition successfully reproduced by the Italian translator, at least most of the times (for example, in the three-voice dialogue among Sparkish, Alithea, and Harcourt, still harping on *honour*, 3.2.181-304; pp. 151-159).

Cutting the paratext, as much as this might shock unrepentant text-centric critics, is common practice and, even during the Restoration, prologues and epilogues were regarded as dispensable. Sometimes they were written by fellow playwrights and added after the first night or for publication.[8] Sequi's choice for his *Sposa di campagna* deserves attention because it is connected

to his parallel choice to do away with all but a few asides. Prologues and epilogues can be considered elements located at the external level of Mick Short's *prototypical discourse structure of drama* (1996, p. 169):



They occupy the space outside the world of dramatic fiction inhabited by the characters, where playwrights address audiences or readers directly for *captatio benevolentiae* or to argue with colleagues and to give voice to their own position in the critical debate.

Thus, it is a privileged space for metatheatrical or metadramatic reflection, both when recited by characters as it had been in the Elizabethan and Shakespearean scene (e.g., Puck or Prospero) or by actors as on the Restoration stage.

The Prologue to *The Country Wife* is a masterpiece of irony and an adequate prelude indeed to the ambiguities of the author's stance in the play proper. It is recited by the actor Mr. Hart, to whom the author is said to have entrusted his own defence but with an arrogant and patronizing attitude. Mr. Hart instead seeks to ingratiate himself with asking for sympathy for his own category and creating a strong complicity between actors and public against the author, since, as he affirms – without seeming to catch how irony turns the tables on him – “. . . often we anticipate your rage / And murder poets for you on our stage” (ll. 23-24; p. 35). As soon as the Prologue is over, Mr. Hart re- enters and walks downstage where now, in his role as Horner, he again addresses the audience directly with an aside containing a well-known, yet shocking, epigrammatic equivalence, that sets the tone of the entire play:

Enter HORNER, and a QUACK following him at a distance

HORNER (*Aside*)

A quack is as fit for a pimp as a midwife for a bawd; they are still but, in their way, both helpers of nature. (1.1.1-4; p. 41)

In the words of one of the best representatives of the production-oriented line of criticism, “It is an arresting device to open a play with an aside” (Powell 1984, p. 127). The effect is to establish a sort of ironical thread in the minds of the spectators between Mr. Hart, the actor and “pimp” speaking in favour of the play, and Mr. Hart as Horner presenting himself cynically as the “pimp” of his own pleasure: the audience’s attention gets immediately focussed on the plot to be enacted, not only for the explicit sexual matter evoked by this first aside but for the more subtle promise that the barrier between reality and fiction will be infringed and the spectators often addressed directly, almost personally. Such a shame that Sequi must have felt it impossible to recreate the same effect for an Italian audience.

After the first aside, a further hundred and forty-four throughout *The Country Wife* confirm the idea of an anti-illusionistic theatre which calls for the audience’s proximity, flexibility of thought, and active complicity (Callow 1991). Most of the asides are Pinch wife’s and are normally used to express his secret anxieties or aggressive intentions or to comment, always disparagingly, on others. At times they become really obsessive, thus definitely “arresting” the dramatic dialogue in the anti-naturalistic way audiences nowadays would find irritating. Sequi must have imagined such a mainstream, realistic- driven, audience for his theatre translation and a very traditional *mise-en-scène*, possibly with seventeenth-century dress, hair and make-up. The only other more remarkable changes to d’Amico’s text derive from his decision to cast the actress Anita Laurenzi as Alithea. Twenty years earlier Laurenzi had been a very plausible Lady Wishfort in Sequi’s TV adaptation of *The Way of the World*; in 1994 she was too old for Alithea. Thus, she figures as Pinchwife’s widowed sister and, as a result, some of the appellatives or terms of endearment on the side of her suitor Harcourt are consistently adjusted to the constraint of the actress’s looks.

3. Vito Boffoli's *La sposa di campagna*

La sposa di campagna by Vito Boffoli differs remarkably from both the interlingual translation and Sequi's intralingual one, beginning with the *dramatis personae*. First, not only is Old Lady Squeamish eliminated but also Sparkish and Dorilant, all replaced by a minor female character who joins the "virtuous gang". A general plan to reduce the length of the performance and possible cast restrictions may have induced these alterations: Mr. Dorilant is after all one more double in the male company surrounding Horner, just as we noticed for Old Lady Squeamish and a younger presence on the stage might have been more appealing for Boffoli's specific project. However, one must pause to consider the choice of deleting Mr. Sparkish. His character impersonates one of many Restoration fops, the butts of most of the witty repartee, who are undoubtedly difficult to incorporate in any other historical-cultural context. In *The Country Wife* his removal also entails the drastic abridging of the third plot (Chadwick 1975), the one which involves Alithea and her two suitors, Sparkish as the official one and Harcourt as the secret one. Theirs is the 'romantic' plot, representing the "right way" as opposed to Horner's and Pinchwife's "wrong ways" (Holland 1959). The consequence of such a decision is on the one hand a loss in terms of verbal effects typical of the Restoration dramatic dialogue and on the other a shift in the comedic axis towards the other two plots. Even abridged, these retain the most relevant narrative nodes and scenes intact, foregrounding them even more by comparison.

The second change that immediately strikes the reader of Boffoli's list of the *dramatis personae* is the characters' names, all of them translated into Italian, a choice seldom made both in the contemporary academic translations and in their intralingual versions for the stage. The *speaking names* so widespread in the theatre have always been a challenge for the alleged arbitrariness of proper names, an object of philosophical debate from Plato's *Cratylus* to Derrida

and Levi-Strauss (Barton 1990). In comedy and even more so in Restoration comedy the functionalization of characters' names to the roles they play serves to establish a common code with the public and a web of intertextual relationships with the whole genre (Štollova 2018). When it comes to translating them into a second language, however, even if semantic equivalents are possible, this would have an impact on the whole text in order to avoid incongruity: the most immediate consequence would be altering the setting accordingly. This is exactly what occurs in Boffoli's *La sposa di campagna*: a total change of scene. From London we move to Papal Rome, albeit with no epoch specification, where the society is Papal aristocracy.

A second consequence is that the English social stratification looks much more varied, presenting a City knight with interests in Court business, Sir Jaspar Fidget, a Country squire, Mr. Pinchwife, a Mr. Sparkish endowed with just a "cracked title" (1.1.323; p. 67) in need of a dowry, and quite an independent Horner with an estate "equal to Sparkish's, [but an] extraction as much better than his as his parts are" (5.1.73-74; p. 259). In Boffoli's *Country Wife* society, on the other hand, the variation is only in rank among a Prince, a Count, and a Viscount, with Pinchwife called by his first name, Gianni. As for the characters' names, untranslated by d'Amico, Boffoli surprisingly seems to have resorted, at least in part, to the *dramatis personae* in the earliest translation by Foligno (1961, p. 286):

Mr Henry Horner (messer Enrico Cornificio)	Il Conte Enrico
Mr. Frank Harcourt [in the text: Franco]	Il Visconte Francesco
Mr. Dick Dorilant	-----
Mr John Pinchwife (messer Giovanni Pizzicamoglie)	Gianni
Mr Sparkish (messer Favilla)	-----
Sir Jasper Fidget (don Gaspare Nervi)	Principe Gaspare Nervi
Un ragazzo	-----
Un ciarlatano	Il dottore
Mrs Margery Pinchwife (signora Margherita Pizzicamoglie), <i>moglie di Giovanni</i>	Margherita
Miss Alithea (signorina Alithea), <i>sorella di Pizzicamoglie</i>	Eleonora
Lady Fidget (donna Nervi), <i>moglie di don Gaspare</i>	Donna Livia Nervi
Miss Dainty Fidget (signorina Delicata Nervi), <i>sorella di don Gaspare</i>	Dorotea
Miss Biddy Squeamish (signorina Brigida Smorfie)	Brigida, Ippolita
Lady Squeamish (donna Smorfie), <i>nonna di Brigida</i>	-----
Lucia, <i>cameriera di Alithea</i>	Lucia

The change of setting brings about the ‘localization’ of unavoidable toponyms (piazza Navona, via dei Coronari, etc.) and institutions (Governatore, vice Camerlengo, il Consiglio, Sua Santità, the Cardinals, etc.), but also a further innovation, the use of Roman dialect with a frequency we are accustomed to hearing in period pieces, such as Luigi Magni’s film trilogy set in a Risorgimento Papal Rome.[9] This is the ‘dramaturgical’ vision guiding the transformations which Boffoli imposes on a Restoration comedy to turn it into a “*commedia brillante*” [light comedy], with the scope of poking fun at the immorality, hypocrisy, and grossness of Roman Papal aristocracy. Roman regional speech is used by all the characters, both lower and upper class: Lucia, the maid, uses it constantly, but all the other characters, both men and women, use it at one time or another, even if most of their cues are expressed in standard Italian. This variation is marked in the script by phonetic transliteration:[10]

Conte Enrico: “Puro a li ce so’ le donne bone e le bone donne.” (I, p. 7) [Even there (in the countryside) there are good-looking women and bitches.]

Brigida: “Quanno incontro a loro mè se fa nuvolo, me fo’ la croce e dico ‘Ecco èr diavolo!’” (I, p. 14)
[When I meet them, the sky gets cloudy, I cross myself and say ‘Here comes the devil’.]

Gianni: “A Sor Principe, er conte si è fatto prima mi moje e poi pure la vostra, se lo volete sapè!” (II, p. 18)
[Prince, Sir, the Count has whored my wife, and yours too, if you know what I mean!]

It remains unclear if actors are invited to speak with a Roman accent at all times or not. The dialectal variation rather appears to be either totally random, outlining a sort of casual code-switching, or, on the contrary, finalised to emphasize greater emotionality or proximity among characters: a pragmatic functionalization analogous to the alternance of *thou/you* on the Early Modern English stage, including Restoration comedies.

Even more striking is the use of traditional proverbs or sayings, mostly highlighted with high quotes. Often these are added to the hypotext just to enhance the comic effect, such as in the first

occurrence in Boffoli's script: when Horner is trying to explain his strategy to win the doctor's perplexity (1.1.31-33; p. 43), Enrico renders his argument with: "Er gallo che canta male è quello che canta de più" (I, p. 2) [The rooster that crows badly is the one that crows the most]; or later, when the Quack reflects on the difficulty of procuring new friendships passing for an eunuch (1.1.133-134; p. 53), the doctor adds: "Botta sparata e lepre scappata nun s'aricchappeno più" (I, p. 4) [Shots fired and hares that escape can no longer be caught]; or when Pinchwife discusses Town life with Margery (2.1), Gianni comments: "Donna che se smove tutta come 'na quaja, se mozzica li labbri e svorta l'occhi, si puttana nun è poco la sbaja!" (I, p. 10) [A woman who sways her whole body like a quail, bites her lips, and rolls her eyes — if she's not a prostitute, she's not far off]. At other times, they simply replace the cues in the source text (both English and Italian) to achieve an effective abridgment: when revealing Pinchwife/Gianni's age of 49, Francesco caustically comments: "Passero vecchio nun c'entra in gabbia!" [An old sparrow doesn't fit in a cage] and Enrico retorts: "Tutti l'uccelletti se pensano de cantà bene!" (I, p. 7) [All little birds think they sing well] which provokes Gianni's reply with a low, vulgar register equivalent of Pinchwife's maxim: "Io rimango del parere che chi pija moje è un gran cazzaccio, ma lo è ancora di più chi non sposa una sciocca" ("Tis my maxim, he's a fool that marries, but he's a greater that does not marry a fool", 1.1.373-374, p. 71). Without broaching the vast topic of how to translate diatopic variation or, alternatively, how dialect can be used as a strategy to recategorize other linguistic phenomena, Boffoli's introduction of Roman popular sayings seems a brilliant solution, in the chosen context, to successfully render Wycherley's epigrammatic style. Moreover, the presence of animal imagery (especially relating to birds and hunting) in Boffoli's selection of Roman popular lore reproduces the many sexual innuendos interspersed in the original dialogue even better than the academic-philological translation of the same passages.

Still in the framework of recreating the playwright's witty sententiousness, the rhymed couplets or quatrains at the end of every act have not escaped the director's eye. A constant convention of Restoration comedies, these final lines were used to sum up the topic in a brief and comical way. The drastic alterations of epoch, setting and length introduced by Boffoli would make them incongruous and redundant, yet they could not be renounced: at least four out of five are reused in the body of the dramatic dialogue, in one case the ones at the end of Act 3 and 4 merge into one single cue, while the one recited by Horner at the closing of Act 5 is boldly anticipated to the opening page. What was the caustic moral of the story becoming Horner's programme, confirming his irredeemability even in this Roman rewriting. To be noticed is also a remarkable distance from d'Amico's version.

Wycherley	Vain fops, but court and dress, and keep a pother To pass for women's men with one another; But he who aims by women to be prized, First by the men, you see, must be despised.
d'Amico	Si danno i bellimbusti a mille affanni Per credersi – fra loro – dongiovanni; Ma se alle donne vuoi riuscire grato, Dagli uomini devi essere disprezzato.
Boffoli	Chiasso, vesti e favor cura il galante, per sembrare sempre fortunato amante. Ma se alle donne vuoi fare effetto, assicurati degli uomini il disprezzo.

In sum, despite the drastic reduction and very intrusive manipulation of d'Amico's translated text, Boffoli's script compared to Sequi's appears to have at least better interpreted, in fact 'translated', Wycherley's rhetorical style and its pragmatics. Contextualizing his theatre translation in a Roman 'fringe' stage and choosing to address a local cultural environment has helped, in my opinion, to reproduce the comic spirit of English Restoration more effectively.

4. Conclusion

One can say that the two Italian staged versions of *The Country Wife* form a rich case study of

how theatre translation works, at least in its intermediate stage of textual transformation from the L1 source to the L2 translation to the stage script. Although based on the same translated source, their remarkable differences show extremes of subjectivity in the production strategies adopted and in the ensuing outcomes, from a very ‘faithful’ version, which lacks the sparkle of creativity, to a baldfaced re-elaboration, which uses the source text as a pre-text.

After the historical staging of *The Country Wife*’s restored play text edited and directed by Montague Summers in 1924 (with a “splendid” Isabel Jean as Margery), Wycherley’s comedy met steady success on the British stage in its original and integral version, thanks also to the ability of its female interpreters, such as Joan Plowright (1956), Judy Dench (1966), and Maggie Smith (1969). Then, in the 1980s and ’90s, came the age of reappropriation and refashioning of the general Restoration repertoire by the National Theatre as well as by the Royal Shakespeare Company and by leaders of the contemporary British scene, from Timberlake Wertenbaker, Stephen Jeffreys, and Max Stafford-Clark to Tanika Gupta (Soncini 1999). We certainly could not expect the Italian theatre scene to incorporate such a gem of English heritage into our cultural polycystic in the same generative way. We might have expected something more daring and yet less frivolous. However, this brings up a different issue: the figure of the *dramaturg*, both as a single mediator and as a team of competences, may possibly have helped, but the Italian theatre world has not yet developed this tradition.

NOTES

[1] In the first case the script was published by Centro Teatrale Bresciano in the form of a ‘grey’ publication, easily obtained from the Queriniana Library. In the second, Boffoli’s script was requested from SIAE and purchased at a small cost for the copyright.

- [2] In the Preface to his translation d'Amico himself admits surprise while boasting to be the first to translate such a famous comedy. The third and fourth translations by Stefano Bajma Griga and Loretta Innocenti appeared later (2005 and 2009). All four are dealt with in detail by Marroni 2023 and Sebellin 2023.
- [3] When I interviewed Masolino d'Amico about his work on Restoration drama and *The Country Wife* in particular, he recalled having been contacted by one of the members of Boffoli's company, a friend of his mother's, Suso Cecchi d'Amico, to authorize the use of his translation for their staging at the Euclide Theatre, which he granted. Invited to the show, he recalled perceiving the performed text very much like his own.
- [4] The contributions by Susan Bassnett and Lawrence Venuti are by now classics. Good surveys are provided by Nikolarea 2002, Fernandes 2010, Bigliuzzi *et al.* 2013 and Morini 2022.
- [5] Baines *et al.* 2011 constantly use a slash between the two key terms *translation/adaptation* trying to bridge the gap between translators and practitioners. Two more recent collections also debate the borders in the relationship between verbal play text and actual staging (Krebs 2014; Brodie, Cole 2017).
- [6] Following neo-classical taste, most Restoration authors express contempt for farce and yet cannot do without it, including one of its most strenuous critics, John Dryden. I have tried to survey this controversy and the modern studies concerning it in Graziano 2024 in relation to Edward Ravenscroft, one the specialists of farce in this period.
- [7] Henceforth the indications given in parentheses after the quotes are from the English edition used as reference, including act, scene and lines, and from d'Amico's translation, indicating the page.
- [8] On prologues and epilogues, cf. among others Solomon 2013. Boffoli does away with them, too, of course.
- [9] *In nome del Signore* (1969), *In nome del Papa Re* (1977), *In nome del popolo sovrano* (1990).
- [10] Here, as in the following examples, possible literal translations are provided. The first quote contains a pun based on the double meaning of "bona". In the first two cases the cues are interpolated; the third is present in the original and adapted to the Roman characters.

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The Tohono O’odham of North America’s Sonoran Desert:

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Dedication: My inspiration and mentor on O’odham *himdag*, or way of life, was Bernard G. Siquieros. An unassuming Tribal Elder, Bernard was an educator for most of his life. As an administrator, he led the development and construction of the Tohono O’odham Nation Cultural Center & Museum (Himdag Ki:) to its opening in 2007 and then served as its curator of education until his retirement in 2019. In the half-dozen years of knowing Bernard, I was gifted with his kindness, gentle guidance, and wonderful conversation whether in his home, at his favorite Tucson restaurant, or over the phone. In 2018, Bernard shared his gift of culture through storytelling when he spent a week visiting Washington & Jefferson College. We built the concept and wrote the abstract for this paper together, but, unfortunately, Bernard passed into the next world in January 2024. Without his guiding hand, I hope that this paper informs and inspires hope for O’odham *himdag*.

*Cultures are entities with porous boundaries.
Participants select and reject from surrounding cultures.
Amadeo Rea (Chiago and Rea 2022)*

Introduction

Since time immemorial, humans have migrated from areas with low resources to areas with high resources, taking along their culture. If that immigration occurs in areas where humans already exist, the native, or indigenous, culture is affected, its evolution sometimes profoundly influenced through acculturation or even extinction. Habitus (or typical practices), belief systems, economics and governance, diet and health, and language are just some of the cultural elements that are affected by invading peoples. Through acculturation, parts of indigenous identity can be lost and other parts saved through deliberate and inadvertent selection of those elements that confer benefits, and survival, to closest kin.

This paper provides an overview of the acculturation of the Tohono O’odham, one group of the O’odham complex living in North America’s Sonoran Desert, over the last millennium through climate change and invasion by non-Tohono O’odham. Against the backdrop of a harsh desert environment, people who are accustomed to variable food security have adapted their *himdag*, or way of life, to meet their survival needs. From adapting food procurement methods to the changing climate while simultaneously dealing with raiding by other First Peoples, to enduring the invasion by European and Euro-Americans over the last 400-plus years, Tohono O’odham show how an invaded people can survive with their culture intact, yet modified.

We first note that Tohono O’odham history is viewed largely through a biased filter, with little direct input from this indigenous group early in the European invasion (Brenneman 2009, 2014a; Hill 2019). Because O’odham had no written language, they recounted events orally within extended family groups through storytelling, through ceremonies, and by calendar sticks (Martínez 2022), with customized symbols inspiring memories for the male head of household. Anthropologists such as Ruth Underhill (1941, 1979) used personalized approaches early in the twentieth century to learn and record the daily life and ceremonies of that time. The first written orthography was developed in the 1960s and later accepted by Tohono O’odham Legislative Council (Geronimo 2014). However, historical accounts dating from early European contact in the sixteenth century until more recently typically came from the writings of Jesuit and Franciscan priests, Spanish military and government officials, and other European and Euro-American colonizers.

Recent efforts introduce an O’odham perspective to the telling of Tohono O’odham history and culture. For example, the O’odham–Pee Posh Documentary History Project integrates historical documents with the insights and interpretation of Tohono O’odham elders and scholars

(Brenneman 2009, 2014a). Within the community, Tohono O’odham artist Michael Chiago captures traditional life through paintings and outdoor murals (Rea and Chiago 2022). On the Tohono O’odham Nation, the Tohono O’odham Nation Cultural Center & Museum, or *Himdag Ki:*, opened in 2007 to provide a permanent tribal institution for the preservation of Tohono O’odham culture from a Tohono O’odham perspective (Tohono O’odham Nation 2016).

Environment

The Pimería Alta, the land inhabited by the O’odham, can be harsh by most standards, with unpredictable and little rainfall, but it is incredibly diverse owing to its topography and its two seasons of precipitation. Largely contained within the Sonoran Desert, broad valleys contain eroded materials overlain by an impenetrable caliche, and mountains rising over 3,000 m punctuate the desert floor (Erickson 1994). Several intermittent rivers, typically spring- or rain- fed arroyos, flow through the region encompassing over 70,000 square kilometers. The cold season is mild, with frequent gentle rains and nighttime temperatures occasionally dropping below freezing. The warm season is extreme, reaching daytime temperatures up to 50° Celsius, with little nighttime respite. Infamously violent Summer thunderstorms are scattered and can deliver over one half of the annual rainfall in so-called “monsoons”, with the western reaches of the Pimería Alta often receiving little benefit. Annual rainfall can vary but is typically low, with as little as 10 cm total for the year in the westernmost reaches (Ingram 2000).

Rain is so meaningful that senses and language are tied to the unpredictability of rain. As agricultural ecologist Gary Nabhan (1982) quoted from a Tohono O’odham youth, the “desert smells like rain.” Another Anglo interpretation of this landscape, by renowned cultural anthropologist Jim Griffith, is that the Sonoran Desert is split across the year between heaven and hell.[1] Evidence from tree-rings and archaeological sites in this region suggests that the climate

was cooler and moister, yet with periodic droughts, in the 400 years before the arrival of Europeans (Radding 2022). The transition to a drier climate has shaped the history of the people of this region. Like the Tohono O’odham, the plants and other animals of the Sonoran Desert are adapted to this arid landscape. A diverse array of functional traits, from succulence to drought tolerance and evasion, is found within plants. Animals either range widely for suitable habitat or, like reptiles, are adapted to local conditions. While saguaro cacti are the preeminent lifeform of this desert, over 3,500 plant species, over 500 bird species, over 130 mammal species, and 120 reptile and amphibian species can be found across the Sonoran Desert, which is considered the most diverse desert in North America (Nabhan 2000).

Prehistoric to Pre-European O’odham

In differing versions of Tohono O’odham oral history, I’itoi (Elder Brother) either led the Desert People out from the underworld (Enos et al. 1969; Underhill 1979) or made them from clay (Underhill 1941). Archaeological evidence supports continuous occupation by humans in this region for over 12,000 years. These two sources are not irreconcilable. During the Desert Archaic Cultural Period, beginning around 6000 B.C. (Thomas 1994), people appeared to engage in traditional hunting and gathering activities, created permanent settlements, and started to practice some agricultural techniques (Seivertson 1999). Mesoamerican domesticated crops, like maize, squash, beans, and chile peppers, worked their way north by trade, reaching this desert area and supporting clustered agrarian societies (Seivertson 1999). The Huhugam, considered to be ancestral to the O’odham (Hill 2019), settled along rivers, building vast canal systems still seen today, and farmed the desert, including aquaculture, for over 1,000 years (Fish and Fish 1992). By A.D. 1450, though, the Hohokam cultural manifestation (Hill 2019) had disappeared for reasons

unknown but likely due to a combination of internal conflict, soil salinification, raids by other peoples, and increasing aridity. Evidence suggests that northern peoples continued to practice some agriculture at arroyo mouths through floodwater diversions (ak chin [*Ak-ciñ*] farming; Nabhan 1986). Meanwhile, more southerly and westerly peoples dispersed into smaller extended-family units throughout the desert where they practiced minimal agriculture with more hunting and gathering, exchanging labor for food with the agrarian peoples during lean seasons (Seivertson 1999). They also became more nomadic, spending cool seasons at the base of mountains ('well villages') for hunting and gathering and spending warm seasons along lower- elevation riparian areas ('field villages') where they tended crops (Erickson 1994), thus the Tohono O'odham came to be known as "two-village" people.

The Spaniards and Priests

When the first Europeans, likely a group led by a Franciscan priest named Father Marcos de Niza in advance of the Francisco Coronado expedition in 1540, made contact with the Tohono O'odham around 1540 (Fontana 1974), they found scattered groups of people speaking a not completely unfamiliar Uto-Aztecan (Tepiman subfamily) language with strongly localized dialects (Brenneman 2014a, 2024). Not until 1686, though, did the Spanish government decide to send in missionaries and more fully explore this region, which they called Pimería Alta, or land of the northern Pimas (the name given by Spaniards to the River People, or *Akimel O'odham*). A young and enthusiastic Jesuit priest named Father Eusebio Francisco Kino was assigned to evangelize the peoples of Pimería Alta in 1687.

Father Kino traveled widely across the Pimería Alta, meeting and talking with many people, baptizing infants and the mortally ill, exposing them to Roman Catholicism, and scoping out the

landscape for purposes of establishing missions near reliable water sources. While assessing their willingness to accept a mission, Kino also mapped the terrain and different groups of people, all who spoke variants of a similar language. He identified several somewhat distinct, yet mostly fluid, groups of people, including the Pimas, Sobaipuris, and Pimas Gileños (Akimel O’odham); Papabotas (‘Papagos’, Tohono O’odham); Areneños (Hia C-ed O’odham); and Sobas (Akimel and Hia C-ed O’odham) (Brenneman 2023, 2024). These names were not all given by Kino but typically arose from a Spanish corruption of terms. For example, “Pimas” derives from the O’odham *pim*, meaning “no”, “not”, or “nothing”, likely a response to questions posed in Spanish (Brenneman 2023). “Papagos” may derive from the Akimel term *Ba:bawiko’a*, referring to the Tohono as “bean eaters” due to their consumption of the desert-adapted tepary bean, and which the Spanish translated as *Pápago* (Erickson 1994).

Until his death in 1711 in Magdalena, Father Kino established a network of missions consisting of nine districts, each with its own central mission (*cabecera*) and at least one frequented mission (*visita*), totaling 26 missions across the Pimería Alta (Brenneman 2023). Along with the Roman Catholic religion, Kino brought many other cultural elements. Through *reducción*, or centralizing populations to the mission, the Jesuits were more able to control and direct neophytes to religious and European-style agrarian customs as well as providing labor for the mission (Brenneman 2023). Neophytes worked three days a week each for the mission and for their own gardens, with the seventh dedicated to religious practice; meanwhile, the priests were expected to provide workers with a couple meals a day, with additional rewards for skilled labor (Brenneman 2023). Naked children and breech-clothed adults were forced to adorn heavy clothing to fully cover their bodies, even in the hot Summer (Erickson 1994). While wheat, which is a less nutritious grain than traditional maize, was likely acquired as an agricultural crop before the arrival

of the missions, as O'odham were avid traders, Spanish fruit trees and cattle were introduced by Kino. While traditional crops like maize were also grown, mission O'odham were forced, through physical punishment if unheeded, to follow the European agrarian system and discouraged from foraging outside of the mission (Brenneman 2023). The Jesuits also imposed sedentism, yet many O'odham resisted, continuing their semi-nomadic lifestyle traveling outside of the mission to trade, hunt and forage, practice ceremonies, and communicate with other groups (Geronimo 2014). Low and inconsistent mission staffing in certain places and periods created variability in enforcement of the European agrarian system; yet, with the Spanish military supporting the Jesuits, some O'odham found protection from Apache raids and acclimated to more stable food security. However, introduced diseases, like smallpox, measles, chickenpox, and yellow fever (Martínez 2022), killed over one-half, with some accounts indicating up to 95%, of the O'odham, with increased rate of spread in the mission communities.

The missions were not all successful, with initial staffing and retention an ongoing struggle for the Jesuits. Across more than a half century, three priests were killed by O'odham during uprisings, while others died from sickness or were reassigned (Brenneman 2023). Many missions were infrequently visited and even abandoned for years at a time, leading to an uneven application of Roman Catholicism and Spanish culture across the region. Father Kino acclimated well to the varying degrees of interest by O'odham in adopting his religion and Spanish-influenced life, while Father Joseph Agustin de Campos, who stationed a mission for 42 years, initially took a hardline approach but had become empathetic and supportive by the end of his tenure (Brenneman 2014b). Later missionaries, in the mid-eighteenth century, were much less sympathetic to O'odham concerns and grievances (Brenneman 2023). Conflicts commonly arose between the O'odham and the missionaries, and between the missionaries and the Spanish government, who sought to control

the land and its mineral wealth. The newly discovered silver, copper, and other metals brought in more miners. The Spanish government maintained a military presence, with established *presidios*, scattered encampments of soldiers, and civilian militias to enforce their dominion over the O’odham, when needed in support of the missionaries.

Unfortunately, military force sometimes led to massacres of guilty and non-guilty people (e.g., *La Matanza*, The Slaughter, of 1695). In response to political and economic developments in Europe, King Carlos III of Spain abruptly ended the Jesuit missionary work in 1767 (Brenneman 2023), replacing them with Franciscans who continued some of their predecessor’s evangelizing work until 1842.

Mexico and United States

Spain continued its military-supported colonization of the Pimería Alta through the latter half of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century until New Spain gained independence as Mexico in 1821. This newfound independence from Spain was short-lived in Mexico’s far north, due first to the Mexican-American War and the subsequent loss of land north of the Gila River to the United States, and then to the Gadsden Purchase of 1856, which, for the purpose of an unobstructed transcontinental railroad route, moved even more land occupied by the O’odham under U.S. dominion. These transfers functionally split lands traditionally occupied by O’odham and other indigenous groups across two countries (Geronimo 2014), creating transnational cultural groups, or divided peoples (Leza 2019).

With increasing colonization by Euro-Americans for trapping, cattle ranching, and military control, as well as Apache raiding, eastern O’odham remained close to the San Xavier del Bac Mission near Tucson (originally *Cuk Šon*, for “base of the black hill”; Geronimo 2014), while western O’odham remained semi-nomadic, or two-village people (Seivertson 1999). Euro-American invaders arriving at seemingly abandoned lands would claim ownership, spurred by the

Homestead Act of 1862 and the Mineral Act of 1866, despite occasional and traditional occupation of the lands by the semi-nomadic Tohono O’odham (Erickson 1994). In uncommon fashion, a peace treaty was never established between the U.S. government and the Tohono O’odham. Instead, the government assigned an Indian agent in 1865 to the San Xavier O’odham to deploy metal agricultural tools, further promoting a Euro-American influence of acculturation, and to conduct occasional population censuses (Spicer 1962, Erickson 1994). Shortly thereafter, in 1874, the U.S. government reserved rights to the Tohono O’odham by establishing the San Xavier reservation, followed by the Gila Bend reservation in 1882 and the large western Sells reservation in 1917, resulting in a combined area of 11,330 km² split across three areas (Tohono O’odham Nation 2016).

In an attempt to force sedentism among all Tohono O’odham, the United States passed the General Allotment (Dawes) Act of 1887, wherein individual O’odham were given title to single parcels of land, thus disaggregating communities by assigning people their own bits of land for agricultural development, regardless of its potential to raise crops or cattle (Seivertson 1999). O’odham inheritance traditions meant that hundreds of descendants could become legal heirs to the single allotment (Seivertson 1999), effectively weakening communities by isolating families from each other and creating inequities due to differences in land potential. To gain food and other commodities, O’odham continued the long-held practice of trading labor in the developing mines in the region (Seivertson 1999), typically under segregated conditions with less pay than their Euro-American counterparts.

Lowered communal support through physical disaggregation and undervalued compensation for labor, combined with increasing pressure for assimilation through harsh boarding schools and limited job opportunities, Tohono O’odham traditions and values suffered (Erickson 1999).

Recurring droughts in the early twentieth century devastated independent agricultural and cattle production, leaving many O’odham seeking employment in the developing cotton industry (Erickson 1994). Schools, including boarding schools, required English and banned traditional language, attire, and hair style. Graduates of these schools typically found employment off the reservation, thus further draining local communities of educated and trained people (Erickson 1994). Traditional religious practices were frequently banned, e.g., the traditional rain-making ceremony where fermented saguaro fruit juice is consumed was banned for over a decade (Erickson 1994). Despite many Tohono O’odham serving in World War I for the United States, only these returning soldiers were given U.S. citizenship until 1924, when all were given citizenship; however, they were not allowed to vote in Arizona until 1948, given the rights of states to control voting (Erickson 1994). Finally, in 1937, the Tohono O’odham formed their first constitution, with a new constitution establishing an American form of three-branch government in 1986.

O’odham who landed on the other side of the shifting line between the United States and Mexico suffered different fates. Until later in the twentieth century, O’odham freely moved between countries, between ‘field’ and ‘well’ villages as in the past, maintaining their agricultural crops during the rainy season (Nabhan 1982). Those who remained in Mexico, estimated to be up to a third of the total number of Tohono O’odham, are either scattered within the general population or live in one of the nine Tohono O’odham communities that remain today in Sonora, Mexico (Leza 2019). Indigenous people in Mexico were given Mexican citizenship, but people had to apply for land grants to secure title to land; Tohono O’odham in this region were unaware of this new Mexican law, while cattle ranchers took advantage of the opportunity to claim the land on which the O’odham lived (Austin 1991). Although the Mexican government has not reserved

land for the Tohono O’odham, the approximately 2,000 enrolled members of the Nation who live in Mexico are entitled to tribal health care and other services in the United States (Heidepriem 2015, Leza 2019). These services have become more difficult to access, however, due to restrictions on entering the United States at the few legal ports of entry creating insurmountable hardship for many in seeking Tribal healthcare (Heidepriem 2015). Furthermore, Tribal members on both sides of this political boundary have suffered abuse from government agents enforcing border policy (Leza 2019).

Acculturation ↔ Adaptation

*Wheat flour makes me sick! I think it has no strength.
But when I am weak, when I am tired,
my grandchildren make me gruel out of the wild seeds.
That is food.
Maria Chona (Underhill 1941)*

Prior to European arrival, Tohono O’odham were a group of people speaking a similar language with regional dialects and were scattered across a desert region, practicing subsistence agriculture, hunting, and foraging, typically in a two-village model (Votto and Manuel 2010). Their way of life, *himdag*, incorporated these elements, along with their language, values, beliefs, and customs and was given to them as a gift from their Creator. Tohono O’odham and their *himdag* have endured over four centuries of European and Euro-American influence but not without sacrifice, cost, and acculturation. People are no longer nomadic, instead settling within single-family, semi-permanent dwellings in communities (e.g., Sells, Arizona), or on scattered properties across the reservation. Their barter economy has shifted to a cash-based system, and their illusory self-governance, including constitution, follows the American model with Federal oversight, rather than being based on their own legal and political traditions (Sheridan 2011).

Diet has evolved over the last century from food independence to dependence on store- bought or government-provided foods (Votto and Manuel 2010). For those descended from survivors of introduced European diseases (Martínez 2022), medical care has improved (Siquieros 2023), yet changes in lifestyle and diet have led to a high incidence of obesity and diabetes. The traditional diet contained a suite of low-glycemic foods from the desert that maintained low blood sugar and stable insulin production and sensitivity, such that diabetes was rare prior to the 1960s (Votto and Manuel 2010). Transitioning away from foraging and toward processed foods more easily obtained from the store and government led to a decrease in physical activity and an increase in consumption of high-glycemic foods (Votto and Manuel 2010). Today, Tohono O’odham and their related Akimel O’odham have the world’s highest rate of non-insulin-dependent diabetes mellitus (NIDDM) and 20 times the national rate of end-stage renal disease (Nelson et al. 1996). Importantly, members of the future generation of youth are stricken with NIDDM by the age of 13.7 years on average (Coddington and Hisnanick 2001).

The shift away from traditional food systems has led to generations of unhealthy youth and adults with a premature death rate from renal failure. With the reduction of subsistence agriculture and other habit uses, Tohono O’odham have lost many of their traditions and thus identity. For example, the most sacred of their cultural practices is the *jujkida* where fermented saguaro juice is consumed to “sing down the rain” (Votto and Manuel 2010). As people transitioned away from producing their own food by planting their own fields, the saguaro fruit harvest and wine ceremony began to die out. Few still practice the fruit harvest and participate in this cornerstone cultural practice (Nabhan 1982, Votto and Manuel 2010). However, efforts are being made to revitalize O’odham agricultural practices and food traditions. For example, Tohono O’odham Community Action (TOCA) and the non- profit Mission Garden in Tucson promote, support, and celebrate the cultivation, preparation, and cultural importance of these foods.

Given the long history of evangelism by the Jesuits and Franciscans, and later the Mormons and Presbyterians after the Dawes Act opened up lands for non-Tohono O’odham, most O’odham practice some form of Christianity sprinkled with O’odham animism—called Sonoran Catholicism by anthropologist Jim Griffith (Fontana 1989). Every village had its own chapel, with varying influence of the Franciscans, but typically involving a small space for personal sacrament with a larger outdoor space dedicated to dancing, musicians, a “field cross” facing the chapel, and sites for food preparation (ramadas) and feasting (Fontana 1989). With the abandonment of the O’odham by the Franciscans in 1842, due to loss of Mexican support, religious traditions evolved with less guidance. For example, an interesting twist on the Christian devil is the O’odham belief in a demon from past lives that causes sickness and troubles, especially to those seeking wealth, such as successful cattle ranchers (Reff 2008). Like Christians, many O’odham believe in a Creator, but also in its guide, or I’itoi (Elder Brother), who provides help when needed (Fontana 1989). Many leave small gifts at the entrance to I’itoi’s cave at the base of Baboquivari Peak, the most sacred mountain of the Tohono O’odham. Other traditions are more secular, such as the annual salt pilgrimage by men to the Sea of Cortés (Gulf of California; Fontana 1989) that had not occurred for decades until recently revived (Tohono O’odham Legislative Council 2007). However, current border security measures, specifically the border wall between Sonora and Arizona, prevent the traditional cultural passage of salt pilgrims (Trujillo et al. 2020).

Jesuit missionaries, like Father Kino, worked to learn the native tongue but also inserted the Spanish language into O’odham culture. Once the traditional lands were taken by the U.S. government, its education system sought to extinguish Native languages. Starting in the late nineteenth century, children were sent to off-reservation and often out-of-state boarding schools (e.g., Pennsylvania’s infamous Carlisle Indian Industrial School), where they were forced to con-

vert to Christianity, to speak only English, and to wear Euro-American-style clothing (Seivertson 1999). During the twentieth century, reservation schools continued the practice of acculturation. This included the provision of government-surplus food for meals, which contributed to health issues for people adapted to a low-glycemic diet. Children returned home speaking English, wearing different clothing, and avoiding traditional ceremonies.

Meanwhile, graduates seeking employment often moved away, adapted to their local Euro-American cultures, and found less connection with their traditional roots (Siquieros 2023). Today, schools on the reservation are a mix of public and Bureau (i.e., U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs) schools, with support from the Tohono O’odham Nation for cultural programs (Siquieros 2023). Native language, dance, and ceremonies are taught at introductory levels in the K-12 schools, while the Tohono O’odham Community College, which opened in 2000, provides courses in language, culture, and trade skills (Siquieros 2023). Even so, educated youth and adults are leaving the Nation for better employment, thus draining hope and opportunity for the future (Siquieros 2023). As tribal elders like Bernard Siquieros pass from this life, fewer people are available to teach the O’odham language.

Conclusion

*To honor our ancestors is to not forget, to keep our traditions going,
keep our culture alive, keep our history,
to know our history.*
Ronald Geronimo (in Mack 2018)

For thousands of years, the Tohono O’odham of the Sonoran Desert have persevered, even in the most recent 400-plus years of relentless European and Euro-American colonialism and culture. Prior to European contact, the Tohono O’odham were a semisedentary people who moved through distinct seasons of plant growth in the Sonoran Desert. With the arrival of Jesuit priests in the late

seventeenth century, a new religion, new food production systems and foods, and sedentary living were introduced, infusing elements of European culture into traditional practices. Spanish, Mexican, and now American governments have dominated the political, economic, and cultural structures of the Tohono O’odham, who are currently divided across two countries by an artificial and heavily militarized border (Austin 1991, Miller 2014). Yet, *O’odham himdag* persists with preservation of cultural history, learning, and programming at Himdag Ki: (Siquieros 2023), with language and ceremonial training in grade school and community college (Siquieros 2023), and with scholars synthesizing historical records with guidance, insight, and interpretation by tribal elders (Brenneman 2009, 2014a). Over the last millennium, Tohono O’odham have resisted acculturation, selectively choosing useful elements of invading cultures to survive, which bodes well for the continuation of *O’odham himdag* into the future.

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NOTES

[1] “People in southern Arizona are not really great impulsive compulsive church goers because for six months out of the year the climate and the scenery are so beautiful that nobody worries about getting into heaven – you’re there already. And for the other six months of the year, if you can survive a southern Arizona desert summer, the flames of hell hold no terror for you” (Griffith 2019).

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A Political Bridge over the Atlantic?

Italian Americans and Italy's 1976 Parliamentary Elections [1]

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Introduction

The concept of transnational politics implies that migrants and their offspring continue to be involved in the political life of their native or ancestral country, especially by casting ballots in national elections, even if they live abroad (Lafleur; De Lazzari; van Haute and Kernalégn). A recent case in point was the experience of the over 150,000 Mexican citizens residing in the United States who registered to vote from their adoptive land to choose the successor to President Andres Manuel López Obrador in early June of 2024 (Hermosillo).

Italian nationals living abroad did not enjoy external voting rights, namely in their specific case the opportunity to cast ballots for Italy's Parliament by mail from their adoptive countries, until the passing of a package of Constitutional reforms in 2000 and 2001 (Colucci). Nevertheless, until then, Americans of Italian extraction, regardless of their citizenship, had other means by which they could influence the vote for the Parliament of their homeland. This essay offers a case study of transnational politics related to the behavior of Italian Americans in the United States. Specifically, it focuses on their indirect participation – whether real or presumptive – in the key parliamentary elections that took place in Italy in 1976. For comparative purposes, their role in 1976 is contrasted with their efforts to affect the outcome of the 1948 races for the Italian Parliament, another relevant event in the electoral history of their ancestral country.

Italy's Political Background

During the Cold War, Washington's government endeavored to promote a transatlantic community based on shared democratic values that was meant to bridge the United States and western European countries and to curb the spread of communism in the Old World (Mariano). The home to a powerful Communist Party in those decades, Italy was under US special surveillance on the part of both the White House and the department of State, on the one side, and foreign policy experts and academicians, on the other (Brancoli; Margiocco; Ciulla). The United States also intervened repeatedly to shape the Italian vote and to keep the Communist Party out of the government (Brogi). A case in point was Italy's 1948 parliamentary elections (Ventresca). The campaign pitted the US-oriented Christian Democracy (DC) against the Popular Democratic Front, a coalition made up by the Communist and Socialist Parties. According to *Time* magazine, a success of the Left-wing forces would mark "the brink of catastrophe" for the country ("Italy"). Italians went to the polls in the aftermath of Klement Gottwald's coup in Czechoslovakia by which the Communist Party put an end to a coalition with the Social Democrats and seized absolute control of the government in late February 1948 (Grogan 134-36).

In the wake of this early setback in Washington's containment policy, the US government tried to avert a Communist takeover in Italy, too. For instance, it dangled the Marshall Plan aid before Italian voters in the effort to woo them away from the Left-wing coalition and to prevent the Communist-dominated Popular Democratic Front from seizing a majority of the seats in Parliament and possibly leading the country into the Soviet Bloc (Miller). To the same end, Drew Pearson, an authoritative syndicated columnist, organized a "Friendship Train" that crossed Italy to donate foodstuffs and other products collected in the United States to the Italian people (Isnenghi 300-3). Pearson was subsequently awarded the Star of Italian Solidarity, an honor to recognize foreigners

who contributed to the country's postwar reconstruction (Ritchie 115). However, his humanitarian gesture intended primarily to show off the benefits of American capitalism and the opportunities resulting from the construction of a strong relationship with Washington in the eyes of ordinary voters so as to discourage them from supporting the Popular Democratic Front at the polls.[2]

The US State Department also supported a letter-writing campaign by which American citizens of Italian background advised relatives and friends who were still living in their ancestral country not to cast their ballots for the candidates of the Popular Democratic Front. Ethnic organizations such as the Order Sons of Italy in America, the largest and most authoritative of these associations in the country (Guglielmo and Andreozzi), Italian-language newspapers, most notably the New York City-based *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, and Catholic priests serving parishes with large numbers of Italian-American worshippers, orchestrated the mobilization quite often by providing sample texts (Wall; Antonucci). According to the most conservative estimates, more than one million of such letters and cables reached prospective voters in Italy (Gambino 448-49). Other sources place the figures of that correspondence even at ten million (Johnson 200). This strategy was credited with a significant contribution to both the Communist defeat – especially in southern regions such as Sicily, from which most Italian immigrants originally came (Renda 287) – and the consequent consolidation of Italy's relations with the United States within Washington's Western Bloc. As Luigi Sturzo – the founder of the Italian People's Party, the precursor of the Christian Democracy – argued while the election campaign was still ongoing, those letters “struck home ... with the force of lightening” (qtd. in Forlenza 100).

The Context of the 1976 Parliamentary Elections

In 1976, the US government again attached enormous importance to the outcome of the vote for

the Italian Parliament, especially for the repercussions of a Communist victory on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the US-led and anti-Soviet military defense pact of which Italy had been a co-founder in 1949 and was still a pivotal member. Specifically, John A. Volpe – the American ambassador in Rome and a former governor of Massachusetts, who was of Italian ancestry (Kilgore) – contended in a cable to the US Department of State that “Parliamentary elections to be held June 20-21 will be most important since 1948 DC-Communist clash.”

The 1975 regional and local elections had marked a significant advance for the Communist Party, which had polled 33.4 percent of the ballots, as opposed to 35.3 percent of the Christian Democrats. Namely, it had come less than 2 percent short of replacing the Christian Democracy as the largest party in the country. Moreover, the combined vote for the Communist and Socialist Parties had reached 45.4 percent, which meant they were close to a majority in a country where the proportional representation system and a number of small parties always required the formation of coalition governments (Mammarella 450).

A report by the US House Committee on International Relations pointed out that “The big question looming over the future of Italy in NATO is the growing power of the Italian Communist Party (PCI)” (United States 10). Similarly, the American embassy in Rome stressed that “the unexpectedly strong Communist gains in June 15 regional elections sharply accelerated the already visible trend toward the Left” and warned Congress that “the very presence of the PCI in the government would create real political or security problems for the Atlantic Alliance” (qtd. in Brooke 94, 96).

The US hegemony in the northern Mediterranean region and the cohesion of the Atlantic Alliance appeared to be in trouble in 1976 (Young and Kent 307). In Portugal, a Socialist-inspired cabinet, which had come to power after the 1974 Carnation Revolution, included two Communist ministers (Marcos). In France, a unified Left was on the apparent verge of coming to power after

the Communist and Socialist Parties had swept the cantonal elections in 1974, polling a combined vote of 51 percent, against the backdrop of conservative President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's growing unpopularity (Johnson 216). In Spain, political uncertainties followed Francisco Franco's 1975 death and the collapse of his Fascist dictatorship, which turned the country into "*terra ignota*," a land with an unknown political future, in the eyes of US diplomats (Gavin).

As the Left seemed to be making inroads into Europe's Mediterranean nations, Italy's 1976 elections posed as great a concern for the US government as their counterpart in 1948. Washington feared a Communist victory or, at least, a significant decline in the vote for the Christian Democrats that could lead to a coalition government with the Communist Party. Such an outcome would weaken the US standing in the country, threaten the stability of the Atlantic Alliance, and undermine Washington's influence in a region that was economically and strategically relevant to the United States because of its proximity to the Middle East and its oilfields. The alarm for a success of the Communist Party at the polls was widespread in the United States. For instance, on the eve of the elections, the international edition of *Time* magazine devoted its cover to Enrico Berlinguer, the secretary general of the Italian Communist Party, under the caption "The Red Threat" ("Don Enrico" 1).

Advocating the inclusion of members of his own party in the cabinet, Berlinguer devised the idea of a "historic compromise." Specifically, he called for the creation of a government of national unity with Communists and Christian Democrats to tackle with Italy's economic stagnation, to fight terrorism, and to sandbag any reactionary drift toward a military dictatorship in the manner of Augusto Pinochet's 1973 coup in Chile (Berlinguer, *La crisi italiana* 45-75).

Berlinguer's proposal found an interested ear in Aldo Moro, Italy's Christian Democratic prime minister (Valbruzzi 33-34). Still, it was anathema to Washington as well to the US allies in

London (Vignati). Moro brought up the issue of the “historic compromise” in a meeting with US President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger at the end of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe held in Helsinki in August 1975. The Italian premier attempted to play on the international climate of détente and contended that the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the world arena legitimized a dialogue between his own party and the Communists in Italy. Nonetheless, he was immediately given a cold shoulder. Ford bluntly retorted that the fact that Washington was discussing arms limitation with Moscow did not mean that he intended to slate Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev as his running mate for the White House in 1976 (“Memorandum of Conversation”).

The hypothesis of a Communist government in Italy haunted political circles in the United States to such an extent that, when an anonymous *roman-à-clef* (*Berlinguer e il professore*) portraying this outcome – as the consequence of a deal with Christian Democrats under a fictitious state of exception – was about to be published in Italy in 1975, the *New York Times* rushed to review this novel even before the volume was on sale in bookshops (Hofmann). The newspaper also printed another article as soon as the English translation (*Berlinguer and the Professor*) came out the following year, a few month before the vote for the Italian Parliament (Burgess).[3] Suspicion of Italian Communists, however, was not unanimous among US analysts. For instance, Peter Lange, then a professor of Government and an expert about Italian politics at Harvard University, argued that the United States should welcome Communists’ entry into the Italian cabinet as an opportunity to promote reforms in the country.[4]

As Italy’s 1976 elections drew nearer, in an interview to the conservative daily *Corriere della Sera*, Berlinguer stated that a Communist government would not pull Italy out of NATO because such a decision would upset the international balance. He also argued that he needed NATO to maintain some autonomy from Moscow and outspokenly added that “I too feel safer being on this

side on the fence” (qtd. in Pansa 2). Actually, the previous year, Berlinguer and the secretaries of the Communist Parties of French and Spain had elaborated a “Eurocommunism” formula. In their views, western European countries had to take a democratic road to socialism that excluded revolutions and implied independence from the Soviet Union (Pons 47-59).

The slogan summarizing the Communist main objective in foreign policy had long been “Italy out of NATO and NATO out of Italy” for years (qtd. in Sassoon 211). This battle cry had welcomed US President Richard M. Nixon during his state visits to Rome in 1969 and 1970 (Nation 39). In 1972, at the Thirteenth Congress of his own party, which elected him to the position of secretary general, Berlinguer himself had commended “the fight against the Atlantic Pact” as the premise of the “liberation of Europe from American hegemony” (“Avanti per costruire l’unità operaia” 8). Now he turned such a stand upside down. His words were an apparent commitment to NATO, as he portrayed the Atlantic Alliance as a means to build socialism with freedom. Yet, it was to no avail in Kissinger’s eyes. With reference to “Eurocommunism,” the US secretary of State exclaimed during a meeting of his staff in 1975 that “I don’t give a damn whether these parties ... are or are not under the control of Moscow” because “a Western Europe with the major participation of Communist parties ... would totally reorient the map of the post-war world” (qtd. in Del Pero 97).

Furthermore, although the Communist Party had actually discontinued its call for Italy’s withdrawal from NATO since 1974 (Irving 415), Berlinguer’s eleventh-hour pre-election statement in his interview could also be interpreted as a propaganda stunt that aimed at reaching out to those moderate voters the Communist Party badly needed to become the majority party in 1976. His words, therefore, were unable to reassure American political circles. After all, a year later, the new US ambassador in Rome, Richard N. Gardner, still emphasized that the Communist

“participation in an Italian government would raise uncertainties concerning Italy’s role in the Alliance, its participation in NATO organizations such as the Nuclear Planning Group, its access to sensitive military information, and the continued availability in Italy of US and NATO facilities” (33).

During Italy’s 1976 election campaign, both Kissinger and Volpe openly came out against the Communist Party. Specifically, on the one hand, Kissinger, who had already been instrumental in excluding Portugal from the Nuclear Planning Group of the Atlantic Pact, threatened to have Italy expelled from NATO in case Communist ministers joined the Italian cabinet (Lewis); on the other, Volpe stated that “the participation of the Communists in the Italian government would be in essentially inconsistent with the purposes of NATO; and the United States could not be in favor of a system of government in Italy that would be contrary to Western democratic traditions” (qtd. in Bonsanti 8).[5] In addition, the Ford administration secretly fueled six million dollars to the Christian Democrats and their allies for election campaign purposes (Hersh). This initiative was a replica of a similar covert operation that the Central Intelligence Agency had undertaken to stop the Popular Democratic Front in 1948 (Colby with Forbath 73).

Italian Americans and the 1976 Vote

Against the backdrop of the political uncertainties looming over Italy, a group of US-based American personalities with connections to this country, the Citizens Alliance for Mediterranean Freedom, endeavored to intervene in the 1976 parliamentary elections. Specifically, it intended to mobilize Italian voters against the Communist Party and to make sure that the plurality of the Christian Democrats would be large enough to forestall the “historic compromise,” let alone the establishment of a Communist government by the legal means of the ballot. It also planned to rely on Americans of Italian descent to reach out to the electorate in Italy.

The co-founder and chairperson of the Citizens Alliance for Mediterranean Freedom was John B. Connally, a former governor of Texas and President Nixon's ex Secretary of Treasury (Reston). In his opinion, as he maintained in a letter to an Italian American leader that reflected the concerns of the US government (although he was no longer a member of the cabinet) and aimed at steering the creation of the Citizens Alliance for Mediterranean Freedom,

Recent Communist party gains in regional and local elections in Italy ... have reached such levels that a Communist take-over of the Italian government has become a recognized possibility. This would almost assuredly herald the destruction of NATO and exacerbate an already tenuous situation in the Middle East. Such developments constitute a threat to the security of our own nation and of the entire free world as the flow of essential petroleum products from the Middle East becomes subjected to great uncertainties. (Connally, Letter).

Connally was also convinced that the establishment of a Communist government in Italy would have a destabilizing effect on the Mediterranean region as a whole ("Connally to Form").

The foundation of the Citizens Alliance for Mediterranean Freedom in early 1976 resulted from a conference that the Center for Strategic and International Studies held about Italy on 2 April. The latter was a Washington-based conservative think tank and public policy research institution whose staff included a number of people with ties to the Central Intelligence Agency (Landis). On that occasion, Connally's role was that of a moderator of the debate, but he did not refrain from asking rhetorically "If Italy is to admit Communists to positions of power in the government, what of our military bases there? Will the Christian Democrats of Italy become nothing more than the Mensheviks of 1917 Russia or the Social Democrats of 1948 Czechoslovakia?" He also suggested that Italy's political future was "our business" (Connally, "Opening Remarks" 53-54).

The Citizens Alliance for Mediterranean Freedom aimed to contribute to dealing with the Italian crisis. Its only purpose was to help shape the outcome of the parliamentary elections in order to block the Communist Party from coming to power ("Perderemo"). In particular, it relied on Italian Americans and intended to mobilize them against communism by means of another letter-writing campaign targeting their relatives and friends in Italy who were eligible to go to the

polls. To this end, the Citizens Alliance for Mediterranean Freedom purchased full-page ads in a number of newspapers in eastern states, where most Italian Americans lived, and tried to persuade their readers to lobby the people they knew in their ancestral country (“Announcing a New People-to-People Movement”).

Connally planned “to involve 25 million Italian Americans in the effort to influence Italy’s voting” (Associated Press). To facilitate their mobilization, the Citizens Alliance for Mediterranean Freedom included three Italian American leaders on its board: Senators John Pastore, a Democrat from Rhode Island, and Pete Domenici, a Republican from New Mexico, along with Jack Valenti, the chairperson of the Motion Pictures Association of America and a former aide to President Lyndon B. Johnson (“AP Item on Connally”).

Italian American board members’ bipartisanship was conceived to make it easier for the Citizens Alliance for Mediterranean Freedom to reach out to the members of their own ethnic community. Yet, contrary to what had happened in 1948, the 1976 calls for another anti-Communist letter-writing campaign in the Little Italies came primarily from people outside the ethnic community and very few Italian American leaders followed suit. Moreover, such appeals usually fell on deaf ears. Remarkably, although the Order Sons of Italy in America had taken the lead in the 1948 anti-Communist drive (“Fratelli”), it did not participate in the efforts to defeat the Communist Party in 1976. In addition, the only reference to the letter-writing appeals published in *Sons of Italy Times*, the mouthpiece of the association, appeared as an ad paid by the Citizens Alliance for Mediterranean Freedom (“An Important Message”).

The vote for the Communist Party significantly increased between the 1972 and 1976 parliamentary elections, growing from 27.1 percent to 34.4 percent for the Chamber of Deputies and from 27.6 percent to 33.8 percent for the Senate. Such percentages marked an all-time high in

the Communist vote in Italy. Nonetheless, the Christian Democrats retained a plurality with 38.1 percent for the Chamber and 38.9 percent for the Senate (Ghini). Moreover, the following of the Sociality Party remained stable with 9.6 percent for the House and a little more than 10 for the Senate. The failure to make any gains over 1972 caused the Socialist Party to embrace a new strategy stressing its autonomy from the Communist Party, which deprived Berlinguer of a key ally for the potential establishment of a future Left-wing government (DiScala 178-80). Following the Christian Democrats' electoral encroachment, the Communist Party did not win enough seats to join the executive, and its deputies and senators confined themselves to abstaining in the parliamentary vote of confidence that enabled Giulio Andreotti to form a new government composed only of Christian Democrats. With their usual fantasy, Italians called Andreotti's cabinet the "government of non no confidence" (Leonardi and Wertman 83). Yet, for the time being, a formal presence of Communist ministers was avoided.

Contrary to what had happened in 1948, however, the impact of the letter campaign from the United States on the election outcome and its consequences was negligible in 1976. *L'Unità*, the daily mouthpiece of the Italian Communist Party, contended that the Citizens Alliance for Mediterranean Freedom had "sunk in ridicule" ("Naufragata nel ridicolo"). Even Connally himself eventually acknowledged in hindsight that his initiative had received "a very modest response" in the Italian American communities (qtd. in Lydon). In the words of an Italian American politician from New York City, Paul Rao Jr., the Citizens Alliance for Mediterranean Freedom was only a "publicity stunt" (qtd. in Pileggi 32).

As author Nicholas Pileggi, who was of Italian ancestry himself, observed, "no Italian American organization of acknowledged status involved itself in a significant way in the Italian election" (Pileggi 34). Actually, the Order Sons of Italy in America was less concerned with the

outcome of the races for the Italian parliamentary than interested in raising money for the victims of an earthquake that had struck the region of Friuli in North-eastern Italy on 7 May, a month and a half before the elections, leaving roughly 1,000 dead and almost one million homeless (“OSIA Disaster Fund”). Similarly, the Italian American ethnic press focused on the earthquake and overlooked politics (“Senator Kennedy;” “Signs H.R. Bill”). The organizers of the drive for the relief of the people in Friuli were not only immigrants but also members of subsequent generations such as Eco James Coli, the Chicago-born controversial boss of the city’s Local 727 of the Teamsters Union (Sorrentino 49).

Conclusion

According to the *New York Times*, second- and third-generation Italian Americans, who made up the bulk of the US population of Italian ancestry by the mid-1970s, had looser ties to their motherland than their parents in 1948 and such a generation gap helped dilute their involvement in Italy’s elections (Farrell). Yet, the attention to the earthquake in Friuli demonstrated that Italian Americans still worried about what happened in their ancestral country as late as 1976.

Therefore, their failure to mobilize for the defeat of the Communist Party in Italy that year did not result from the breakdown of their connections to the land of their descent. Rather, the demise of anti-Communist militancy was the consequence of the disposal of a means of political warfare that had become outdated following the economic and strategic benefits that Italy had received in the previous years.

Italian Americans’ adherence to the anti-Communist strategy of the US government in Italy in the early Cold War was primarily a matter of political expediency. Americans of Italian descent wanted to show off their loyalty to the United States so that they could legitimize their claims on

behalf of Italy when the demands of their ancestral country were in conflict with Washington's course of action in the international arena. Anti-communism and the alleged threat of a red takeover in Italy were often means by which Italian Americans pressured the US government into benefiting the land of their origin. In particular, they resorted to these issues to channel US funds into the postwar reconstruction of the country and to repeal the most punitive clauses of the peace treaty that Italy had to sign after her defeat in World War II.

For example, in 1948, on the one hand, the Order Sons of Italy in America launched the anti-Communist letter-writing campaign and its appeal to its own members foreran the endorsement of this strategy by the US government. It was on 10 November 1947 that its national leader, George Spatuzza, urged the members of the organization to send letters to their relatives and friends in Italy and to advise them to oppose the candidates of the Popular Democratic Front (Spatuzza). The involvement of the Order Sons of Italy in America in the Italian parliamentary elections, therefore, not only started a few months before the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia. It also foreran the meetings of the National Security Council that defined Italy as a "key country" for the national security of the United States, on 14 November 1947, and encouraged the letter-writing campaign to Italy, as late as 11 March 1948 (National Security Council; US Department of State 778). The commitment of that association to the anti-Communist campaign was so deep and extensive that, as one of its members recalled, "it was possible to walk into the local lodge of the Order of the [sic] Sons of Italy any hour of the day or night, sign a letter, and walk out without even worrying about postage" (qtd. in Gotshal and Munson 8). On the other hand, at the same time, the Order Sons of Italy in America made a point of exploiting the alleged red threat to the benefit of the ancestral land of its members. Specifically, it stressed that, unless Italy was included among the recipients of the aid of the Marshall Plan and Washington pledged itself to the return of the city of

Trieste to the sovereignty of Rome, the dissatisfaction of the Italian electorate with the policy of the US government would cause a significant number of voters to cast their ballots for the Popular Democratic Front as a form of political retaliation against the US disregard of Italy's needs. Italian American ethnic organizations and newspapers also suggested that a revision of the peace treaty would help consolidate the position of Italy within the Western Bloc, strengthen democracy in this country, and undermine the Communist appeal to the Italian people by demonstrating the friendship of the United States (Criscuolo; "Scala Urges Congress to Act").

By the time the 1976 parliamentary elections took place, Italy had fully regained her prewar status as a Mediterranean regional power. She became a member of NATO in 1949, which involved lifting the limitation on rearmament imposed by the peace treaty. She regained her sovereignty on Trieste in 1954 and enjoyed admission to the United Nations in 1955, which put an end to her marginalization in the international community because of her defeat in World War II. Inclusion in the Marshall Plan was instrumental to the so-called "economic boom" of the late 1950s and early 1960s that turned Italy into a leading industrialized nation. Following US pressures on France, the Italian government was even invited to join the first summit of the most industrialized Western countries in Rambouillet, France, in 1975 (Varsori 50-55, 70-74, 105-07, 115, 124).

As Italy improved her postwar standing, Italian Americans' lobbying activities on behalf of their motherland underwent a decline. So did their resort to the issue of Communism to obtain benefits for their ancestral country from Washington as well as the extent of their involvement in the Cold-War strategy of the US government. Consequently, most Italian Americans no longer needed to exploit anti-Communism at the time of Italy's 1976 parliamentary elections and did not respond to appeals such as the political drive of the Citizens Alliance for Mediterranean Freedom.

NOTES

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[2] For the itinerary of the “Friendship Train” and the public events in Italy related to Pearson’s undertaking, see Drew Pearson Papers, series G, box 31, folder “Friendship Train, Italy,” Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library, Austin.

[3] It later turned out that the author was Gianfranco Piazzesi, a journalist and political commentator (Franco 107).

[4] For the context and implications of Lange’s stand, see Ciulla (100-2).

[5] Italy’s Leftist press nicknamed the US ambassador “John Golpe” (“John the coup d’état”) for his alleged willingness to resort even to a putsch to stop the rise of communism in the country (Gilbert 235).

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The Quest for Identity of Second-Generation Italian Americans:

The Case of *The Courtyard of Dreams* by Anna Monardo

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The Courtyard of Dreams, a novel written by Anna Monardo in 1993, relates the story of Giulia, a second-generation Italian-American girl from Ohio in the 1960s. When she was 18 years old, her father decided to send her to Calabria to spend the summer in the village where he was born. He felt that she needed to get acquainted with her Italian roots and meet her Italian relatives. There, she was confronted with her mixed ancestry, but, tellingly, amidst her Italian family, in the courtyard of the family house, she realized that Italy better fulfilled her dreams than the United States. So, she readily went in search of her *italianità*, and progressively felt more Italian. At the end of the summer, contrarily to her father's will, she decided to stay in Italy. However, because she remained an American character—but with Italian roots—she eventually went back to the US after a few years. In fact, all throughout the novel, there is a continuous movement—a physical, psychological, cultural movement—between Italy and the United States because Giulia was supposed to choose between the two whereas she was part of both of them and could not make up her mind.

This paper explores the construction of Giulia's identity which was revealed to be a transnational identity, full of contradictions and doubts, shared, lost even, between two worlds. While in Italy, as a second-generation Italian American teenager, she constructed her Italian identity in parallel to her American part. Back in the United States, she decided to return to Italy. Due to a reversal of ethnocultural values, she realized that she belonged to both countries. At the

end of the novel, she tried to give each part of herself an appropriate place as if her transnational character enabled her to have a dual identity; yet it seems that she constantly felt torn apart.

1. Giulia, A Transnational Teenager

In the novel, the United States is seen as a modern place in which Giulia expected freedom. In the 1960s, freedom and dreams seemed to be accessible to all teenagers and her relationship with her best friend Molly embodied the idea that the American dream was at hand. As an Anglo-American girl, Molly, who represented the stereotype of emancipated girls in the 1960s, provided Giulia with advice concerning fashion, dating boys, and contraceptive pills (232-233) [1]. She was much freer than Giulia, who received an Italian American education, and could not escape her father's authority (46). She felt that she did not have full access to her dreams, and metaphorically the American Dream, because of the strict education imposed by her Italian father, Nicola.

Nicola was born in Calabria. As a young man, in the 1950s he went to the United States to follow his wife, a young American with Italian roots whom he had met in Italy during her vacation. When she compared the constraints, she was subjected to with Molly's way of life, Giulia realized that she was raised in an Italian "sub-system" that limited even further her future life due to "the lies" (7) that she was told by her Italian aunt and her grandmother, Cetta. These two women had come to the United States when Giulia's mother died, and they had taken her place to raise the 10-year-old girl. They represented the only Italian females Giulia was familiar with. They nourished her preconceived ideas towards Italy and its "strict moral" code: women must only trust family members and submit to men. They must not care about their physical appearance, as beauty is not what is essential for women since they must remain in the kitchen and marry the man their fathers choose for them, etc. (6, 7, 48-49, 63). These values were in contradiction with the vision of the future that she acquired with her American friends.

When Giulia learned that her father had forbidden her mother to work or drive their car (225), she was astounded. He had imposed a restrictive way of living on his wife, based on his Italian values. and he then wanted to impose them on his daughter. But Giulia was born in America and wanted to live like an American teenager, socializing with other American teenagers outside her ethnonational group (the Italian American community), dating boys and going out at night. As a form of escape, she was eager to leave her home to go to college. So, her Italian education and American values seemed to contradict one another. This is why she recurrently quarreled with her father (31, 33, 36-38, 42, 167, 173-174).

“Get out of here, Giulia, before I throw something at you.”
“You know, someday I’m going to do something really terrible.” I was crying now. “I mean give you something to yell about.”
“Giulia!”
“I hate you,” I screamed. And then he slapped me. (46)

By contrast, her memories of her mother—who was American-born—were tender. She had spent moments of intimacy with her, as “her mother’s stories grounded her, painted a landscape she’d easily step into one day” (14). The reader then quickly understands that she was divided between the two cultures that were part of herself. She had a mixed parentage, a mixed education, that made her identity transnational, and her feelings divided.

The Italian part of me has been at war with the American me for as long as I can remember. When I was young, the Italian me was the voice of my father, Nicola, who was always trying to send me to Italy for a vacation. [...] The American part of me came from my mother, Maggie, or Margherita, as everyone in the family called her. (8-9)

The fact that the beginning of the novel focuses on the mixed parentage of the protagonist introduces the intergenerational conflict as a cultural, even ethnic, problem, more than a family or generational one. For this reason, the novel can be read as the testimony of the transnational experience of a second-generation Italian American girl rather than the mere portrait of a teenager in conflict with her father.

Once in Italy, Giulia realized that the values introduced by the Italian female characters settled in the US were not necessarily those enforced back in Italy: women were much freer and men much sweeter than expected: “All during my summer in Italy there were moments, when, out of nowhere, tears rose in me, and it happened that day when I saw how free my Italian aunts were to be kind to their husbands, how sweet my Italian uncles were with their wives” (89).

To emphasize the cultural difference between the two countries, the author made Giulia’s relatives call her the “Americana.” Her American identity made her a “foreigner” while she was a member of the family but also “the star” of the family and of the place, the target of all looks, including those of Luca, who fell in love with her at first sight. Her relatives kept asking her questions about American mores while she discovered the Italian ones. The passage of the celebration of the feast of San Francesco di Paola is revealing (217-219): she becomes aware of the practices of women during the celebrations of the Patron Saint of their village, taking off their shoes, walking barefoot with the statue of the saint along the streets, hanging gold chains around its neck for their prayers to be answered (Orsi). Tellingly, she could imagine herself embracing this practice as though she were adopting these pagan rituals because she belonged to the same group as the women:

Cetta would have walked barefoot and fought to carry the statue. She would have taken the heaviest part. Aunt Sofia would have too. Probably even my father. They never talked about it, but I knew their desperation. And me, I would have carried the statue myself, with no help, I would have worn black robes, walked for miles in heat or cold to make my mother get well [her mother was sick and dying] (219).

She was ready to adopt Italian values as if she had predispositions—coming from her roots. However, she did not want to live like Italian women, subservient and sacrificing their dreams for their husbands’. She resented the fact that her father had prohibited her mother from keeping her job as soon as they got married. Independence and freedom were part of Giulia’s sense of adulthood, and she was determined to obtain them. Away from her father and supported by the

younger women of her family who appear as accomplices in her love affair with Luca, Giulia felt free in Italy. This twofold attitude, cherishing the values of the two countries they belong to is typical of transnational individuals. Giulia's mixed feelings are also uncovered by the fact that first she resented her father's plan to send her to Italy because she wanted to stay with her American friends while, by the end of the summer, she wanted to remain in Italy, because, by learning about Italy and Italians, she felt "at home": it was "exactly where [she] wanted to be" (264).

It was in Mont Maggiore, Calabria, the village where her father was born and where she spent the summer and met her family, that Giulia encountered her Italian roots. While the characters spent some time at the seaside, most of the action of the novel takes place in the village, and especially in the courtyard, where the family gathered together to take their meals. This place stands for the core of family life; this is where the sense of belonging takes shape.

Nicola had left Italy for the US in 1952, as his wife, Giulia's mother, an American with Italian ancestry whom he had met during her vacation, wanted to go back to the US. He left his family and the family home to go to the United States, which can be seen as a betrayal of Italian traditions. He was then torn between his native village and his foster country, which may explain his own divided attitude and his will to send his daughter to Italy, a kind of return to his own roots by proxy.

Then she visited Rome. The city appeared as a magical place. Later on, there, she lived "la dolce vita" with her lover, Luca. This is the place where she became an Italian American adult, that is to say, in spite of her American part, she lived like an Italian, adopting local habits, feeling Italian, and being happily married. But progressively she acknowledged that she needed to go back to the US to fulfill herself, to rediscover who she really was. Her American roots gained the upper hand. She was American Italian before being Italian-American.

Throughout the novel, the presence of relatives is linked to locations, reflecting Giulia's emotions. The family is a "referential space," as French sociologist Anne Gotman advanced (1999; Bonvalet and Lelièvre 2005): the family is the space in which the family members stand; it provides reference to individuals and enables them to structure their lives. This is a socializing space in which the relatives recognize one another, perpetuate their traditions, enforce their values. Thus, Nicola insisted on sending Giulia to Calabria. There, thanks to her family environment, in addition to the house and the courtyard, "the courtyard of [her] dreams," Giulia would be able to find new values, new models. She was bound to formulate her *italianità*.

For many Italians, Italy did not mean freedom, hence the massive waves of emigration from Italy to the US and the "New Worlds." According to Italian sources (Rosoli 1978, 14-43), in the 1950s (the decade when Nicola migrated to the US), about 300,000 Italians left Italy every year. Historians estimate that 4.5 million Italians went to the US between 1870 and the World War I; between 1916 and 1942, more than one million more migrated to the US; between 1946 and 1960, some 275,000 entered the US. There had been an everlasting positive image of the US since the nineteenth century, and this image was intensified by the time of World War II when American soldiers rescued Europe from totalitarianism. So, the US—and Giulia in her cousins' eyes—represented modernism, a better future for her Italian family, and girls in particular. Yet she did not embody emancipation. Giulia's cousins' behaviors reveal that Italian teenagers socialized more easily, went out more freely; dating seemed more natural. Being a teenager seemed easier in Italy than in the US, or at least in Giulia's family. Giulia did not have a positive image of herself because she thought that she did not correspond to American standards of beauty. She did not dare to expose her body on the beach while her cousin induced her to wear a bikini as all Italian teenagers did:

Claudia calmly told me, ‘You must learn Italian logic. You must realize that people will notice you more in your practical one-piece American bathing suit. If you show more of your body, you’ll fit in more and be less conspicuous. [...] I did look like others on the beach. I’d never been to a place before where so many girls had bodies shaped similarly to mine – girls with hips, full bottoms, flesh on their arms. I’d grown up always comparing myself with Molly, who was as tall as me and fifteen pounds thinner. (95)

Standards were different and throughout the summer, Giulia learned how to adapt, which led her to learn how to become more independent and self-assured. Her change of behavior revealed some maturity, and the process by which she negotiated with her mixed identity. Then she acknowledged her transnational character, constantly positioned between the two countries, feeling attracted by and familiar with both of them.

2. Giulia and her Quest for her *Italianità*

As soon as the novel opens, the reader is plunged into Giulia’s quest for *italianità*. Even her first name captures this quest. The name “Giulia” was given in some form to all first daughters of the family. Such a practice not only made all the female characters part of the family group, reinforcing their sense of belonging to *la famiglia*, but also dispossessed them of an individual identity; they only acquired their identity—as “a Giulia”—thanks to their family.

WE ARE ALL GIULIAS, the girls in our family, named, as a sign of respect and according to tradition, after our grandmother Nonna Giulia. We are the daughters of four brothers and a sister, and if we had been born in a different time, we might have grown up all together, probably within the sun-bleached walls of an ancient villa, up in the mountains of Calabria or along the Mediterranean coast. [...] Nonna Giulia’s name was given to all the first girls: Giulia, Giuliana, Marigiulia, Giuletta and Giulina. The five Giulias [...]. (1 and 57)

So, even if she was called the “Americana,” she was part of the family, one of the five female cousins called Giulia, and she was immediately, even naturally considered as a member of the family by relatives, even though they did not know her. For her part, she rapidly “fell in love with them all” (73). They were more than related; they were intimate, they had the same blood— they were “the blood of her blood” (Gambino), which implied her closeness to their values and roots, in short, her *italianità*.

Although she felt “lost in space” among people whom she did not know and in a new geographical space when she arrived in Italy (59, 96), she managed to adapt to this new environment. As she became acquainted with her new family life, she felt full of emotions, discovering how appealing Italians were (89). Her quest for her roots made her reject the preconceptions she had forged of Italians at seeing her aunt and grandmother at home, in Ohio. She became more sensitive to the “real” Italian lifestyle. According to her, the two women taught her values and behaviors that she eventually considered as “lies” when she could understand the reality of being Italian. So, her quest for *italianità* amounts to a quest for truth.

It is revealing to note that Giulia’s mother, standing for her “American part,” was born on the boat that her own Italian parents took to emigrate to the United States: “in the middle of a tormented ocean that was neither Italy nor America. Still, my mother always claimed, ‘American waters, that’s where I was born’” (9). Then she became a real American, as Giulia remembered: “my mother’s voice was Ohio-twined, not a strain of Italy in it” (10). For his part, Nicola, was born in Italy but spent most of his life—at least, his “social” life as a renowned physician—in the United States without returning to Italy but he kept telling stories about his life in Italy (16).

Thus, Giulia’s quest for identity is all the more complex as even her parents were torn between two countries, being transnational characters.

Giulia was attracted to the Italian way of living as it provided her with simple and genuine relationships. The novel is abundant with passages dealing with cooking and meals, which is more than just clichés. These represent the gathering of the family, a socializing factor “in the courtyard,” solidarity and compassion, a new taste for life. As a “referential space,” her family taught Giulia new practices. The sharing of food, and the gatherings of the members of the family in the courtyard of the house reflect their blood relations, intimacy and understanding. It was a means to

express feelings, as was the case when Nicola joined Giulia and his Italian family for his summer vacation, and Nonna prepared food for him. He represented the expatriated son that she had not seen for so long:

It wasn't until we were home, sitting at the long table in the courtyard (Zia Claudia and the nonanes had prepared 'just a little something because Nicola must be tired'), and the bowls from the spaghetti with calamari sauce had been cleared away and the platters of cold roasted veal with rosemary were being brought out, when Giuliana came out of the kitchen with a small bowl and brought it to my father. That's when it happened. 'Zio Nicola, Nonna Giulia fixed these for you. She said they were the best olives. She's been saving them.'

It was then that my father looked up, overcome, unable to speak. He stood and went to Nonna, knelt by her chair and really hugged her this time. Nonna's head rested on my father's shoulder.

'You stayed away so long. Why? Why?' Nonna's questions hung unanswered in the silence around the table. (141)

Giulia kept taking pictures of her relatives—she wanted to study art—to better understand them. She took to speaking only Italian, dressing like an Italian girl. Her way of considering photography unveiled a means to link Italy and America. It was a way to freeze time and space, so as not to forget the past and to be able to reminisce about the dead. She was in the process of discovering her *italianità*. Through the pictures she took, she tried to understand her relatives, find their souls, and discover hers as they shared the same blood (210). Once she found black and white pictures of her mother that her father had taken when they had just been engaged (221). She felt that these images reflected her own affair with Luca: their parents looked happy but her mother had become submitted to her—Italian—husband. Giulia did not want to submit to Luca (222-224). She reacted like a young and emancipated American woman when she first refused to settle in Rome with him. Less than a psychological approach, this passage discloses the gap between generations (Giulia's and her mother's), and cultural habits in two different countries: especially during the post-war period when the action of the novel takes place, while Italian women were supposed to depend on their husbands, American ones were expected to reassert their emancipation. She eventually agreed

to stay in Rome, in other words to submit to the wishes of Luca, her Italian husband—just like her mother had done. Her Italian part, her *italianità*, had surfaced.

This kind of hesitation and intermingling feeling induces/leads us to compare Giulia and Luca's situation with that of her parents. The repetition of such a situation is symbolized by the pictures that Giulia and her father liked to take. One night, Giulia and her father were looking at some pictures that he had taken of her mother on the terrace where they were just standing. Revealingly, he mistook her daughter for his late wife and called her Margherita (223-224), which can be seen as a metaphor for the transnationalism which passes down from one generation to the other and may lead to a confusion of feelings.

The construction of her *italianità* also came out of her opposition to her father. After quarrelling with him because of her dating Luca, she saw *la nonna* kill a chicken in the courtyard. This was a common practice in Calabria. Giulia decided to kill another one to prove to her father that she knew what she wanted to be and do (175-178). The violence of the passage discloses her inner tension. At the same time, the reader understands that she was ready to adopt Southern Italian female habits, and she was supported by her relatives in doing so. The “referential space” (the courtyard, her family) gave Giulia the opportunity to find new landmarks for her to take on her Italian identity. Her father's reaction showed his mistrust in her becoming a reliable Italian woman, and his reluctance in seeing her dating an Italian boy. He would have preferred her to wait and meet an American. Such a behavior may stem from an intergenerational conflict but also from the difficulty of being both American and Italian.

I jabbed the knife into the neck. Oh, yes, finally, it feels good. A thick squirt of blood ran down in front of my nightgown, the chicken almost flew away from my knife. ‘Hold it, Giulia,’ Nonna yelled into my neck. ‘Hold it,’ they all yelled. I heard his voice, calm, loud, deep and in English rising through all the noise. ‘Cut it, Giulia,’ my father told me. ‘If you are going to do it, do it right. You must cut deep, or it will never die’. (178)

The killing reflects a primitive nature, with the raw description of the presence of blood, which may capture the Italians' attachment to natural food, while in the United States, consumerism, materialism and individualism became widespread after World War II. It marks a metaphorical return to her roots, to Giulia's rediscovery of her Italian ancestry.

The narrative itself enlightens Giulia's quest for *italianità*. To express Giulia's discovery of *italianità*, the author uses language in a meaningful way. First, Giulia was expected to teach her cousins English (92, 148) but she hardly spoke English to them at all. She preferred Italian. Even if she did not feel self-assured in using the Italian language after her arrival in Italy, her use of Italian became a natural way of expressing herself. She even greeted her father in Italian when he landed in Italy while he instead preferred to speak English to her. So, Nicola, an Italian-born character, spoke English when his American-born daughter spoke Italian. This is a reversal of practices that shows that Giulia was searching for landmarks. Noticeably, the novel is punctuated with Italian phrases, and each time, the reader has the English translation attached to them, as if the author wanted the reader to be aware of the process of adaptation. Giulia was still torn between the two linguistic and cultural systems. Indeed, when she greeted her father in Italian to please him, as her stay in Italy was supposed to make her familiar with her roots, he pointed out that she was not Italian yet. She looked like an Italian girl, sun-tanned and dressed according to the Italian fashion, emancipated from the strict education he had imposed on her, but she could not speak "real Italian." His reaction implied that she should not forget her American values—a way to belittle her and stop her emancipation from his authority.

I asked if he'd had a good trip. 'Hai fatto buon viaggio?' This was my biggest surprise. I was going to speak to him in Italian. Silently, he looked at me for a very long time. My tan was dark and everywhere, no strap marks on my shoulders. My Indian-print halter dress could not have been shorter. Raised sunglasses held back the sun-bleached streaks snaking down the front sides of my hair. Gold loops tugged my earlobes and swayed around my jaw.

I took his hand. 'Benvenuto, Papà.'

'Giulia,' he said at last, 'your accent is really terrible'. (137)

Orality, that is to say the transmission of tradition from one generation to another through speech, is frequently used in Italian American fiction as a reflection of the natural Italian way of expression (Gardaphé 1996). Italian American fiction is full of anecdotes and talk stories [2]. *The Courtyard of Dreams* is no exception. Nicola told anecdotes about his past, Giulia's uncles and aunts recounted family and religious stories. These stories make the narrative lively, and the characters' views reliable, and "true." Throughout these stories, the reader understands the progressive change in Giulia, and is bound to agree with Renata, Giulia's cousin's girlfriend, when she acknowledged at the end of the summer: "Americana, I think you've become a real Italian girl this summer" (245). Then Giulia was ready to confront her father by openly living her love story with Luca. The reader will also notice the humorous tone of the assertion – calling her "Americana" and stating that she had "become a real Italian," which underlines the lively Southern Italian character and also the process of forging a transnational identity.

3. A Tortuous Reversal of Values

Giulia has always been torn by her mixed ancestry as "the Italian part of [her] had been at war with the American [her] for as long as [she] could remember" (8). So, the construction of her identity was bound to depend on a reconciliation of these two parts. This is what Jerre Mangione, a Sicilian-American writer, managed to do by constructing a dual identity (1983). By becoming "an ethnic at large," he resolved the identity problem of a shared ancestry. He was not half American and half Sicilian, but fully American and fully Sicilian.

The children were left with confused impressions of identity that were never resolved. I resolved mine by becoming an ethnic at large, with one foot in my Sicilian heritage, the other in the American mainstream. By this cultural gymnastic stance, I could derive strength from my past and a feeling of hope for my present [...]. (Jerre Mangione, *An Ethnic at Large*, p. 369)

Giulia's vision of Luca illustrates the change in her life and her identity, and how values can be overturned. At first, she did not think he was attractive. He was "too Italian": he did not coincide with the American model (150). Giulia preferred American beauty standards, and skinnier bodies (95). Cultural and social standards are different, and Giulia was not attracted by Luca. "In Italy, there was a different aesthetic" (96), which puzzled her. So even her vision of love was divergent, and when she noticed how different the Italian way of courting was, she was astonished (97-98, 122). As Italian daily life appeared like a set of "mysteries no one had ever revealed to [her]" (98), she had to learn how to become Italian and to appreciate Italian ways. Then, she fell in love with Luca thinking that he was attractive, but only once she became acquainted with the Italian standards. Such a "change of mind" encapsulates the construction of her *italianità* as well as the confrontation of values in transnational individuals.

At home, she was taught by her aunt that it was wrong to leave one's family. It was part of what Banfield called "amoral familism" (Banfield 1958). Amoral familism refers to the Southern Italian practice that considers that it is the family, its honor, status and interest which constitute the basis of the socializing process of all individuals. Southern Italians define their identity within the family that protects them, hence the name "Giulia" given to the daughters of the family. It is called "amoral" because it does not follow the morality of society as a whole but only the ethics of the family. The priority of each individual must be to respond for the benefit of the family. Nicola blamed Giulia for disrupting the family when she decided to stay in Italy with Luca. But this is what he had done when he had decided to migrate to the United States to follow Giulia's mother. At the end of the novel, he bought a house at the seaside near Montemaggiore. He returned to his roots. During the summer, he appeared like an American to his relatives: "Nicola, the Italian, arrived and insisted on maintaining his American ways" (156). He had imposed a sojourn in Italy

on his daughter for her to understand her roots but disagreed with her Italian-like attitude and eventually her wish to stay in Italy (167-168) because he had become an American—during his twenty-year absence from Italy (154). Finally, he went back to his village of origin for his retirement. For her part, Giulia, born in Ohio, lived in Italy but decided to return to the United States as she could no longer bear the Italian lifestyle after a few years in Rome.

But at the very end of the novel, she returned to Italy to join Luca. Here again, there is a reversed movement across the ocean that exemplifies the difficulty of experiencing transnationalism. The father and daughter belonged to two countries, sharing a mixed identity without being able to choose between the two. Giulia, like Jerre Mangione, is both American *and* Italian.

In the taxi that took her to the airport to fly back to the United States, the driver mistook her for an Italian woman. She interrupted him by declaring that she was American (288): “‘It’s raining so hard’ I told the cab driver [...] His eyes met mine in the mirror again. ‘The city is crying, *signorina*, because you are leaving’” (289). The image, famous for French people because of the classic poem by Paul Verlaine “Il pleure dans mon cœur” [3], captures the heartbreak that the choosing between countries represented for her.

Though Giulia did not want to go to Italy at the beginning of the novel, she rapidly felt at ease with her family members in Italy. Not only did she not miss America, but she decided to cheat on her father in order to stay in Rome. Then she left her husband. She was torn by her tortuous feelings and the impact of her two cultural identities. She did not know where to find her “referential spaces” any more. This reversal of opinion echoes the titles of chapters 8 and 9, “The Happy Days” and “Like a Dream Came True” respectively, when she enjoyed her vacation with her Italian family. For Luca, who had wished to go to America, the United States had become a wicked place

because this is where Giulia was expected to return. It could be seen as a place of treason and abandonment. During the summer, when Giulia was in the process of acquiring her Italian identity, a kind of new truth was revealed.

“You told me you love America” [...]

“I do not like it anymore. If there was no America, you would have no place to go in September. Columbus, that *stronzo*. Leave it to a northern Italian to make all these problems for me”. (148)

The constant change of representation of countries delivers a significant message. In spite of the persistent positive image of America, its opportunities and better conditions of life—for example America had made Nicola look “more wonderful than any of them had imagined” (154), America had been given up for Italy. Immigration to the United States meant a better life, a better future. In Giulia’s family, her father along with all his uncles had become physicians thanks to the sacrifice her grandfather had made by migrating there:

My grandfather, Carlo, had gone to America when he was a young man, worked in the steel mills, made some money, and after a few years he’d gone back home to Cimalta with a great plan: even though he was a peasant with nothing but a small plot of land and a few olives trees, he was going to make all his sons’ doctors. (157)

But Italy appears like the country of love, emancipation and freedom to Giulia, the place to feel oneself. Nicola was aware of such a situation and Italy amounted to the loss of his daughter. Aptly, he realized that “the more [she] was in love with Luca, the more [she] loved [her] family” (129), and the more quickly and deeply she became Italian. Consequently, the further away she stood from him and from the United States. But, after a few years, she returned to Ohio. At the end, Giulia left Ohio and returned to Italy. Transnationalism may entail a continuous and tortuous back-and-forth movement.

Even though Giulia wished to stay in Italy, she remained attached to her father, eager to please him and angry at herself for making him sad when she decided not to go back to America (189). She felt trapped between her father and her lover. This is the fate of transmigrants: remaining torn

between their two countries (of origin and of destination), being simultaneously present in their two countries, being part of the social–political sometimes–life here and there. For Glick-Schiller (Glick-Schiller et al, 1994), this is what defines transmigrants: the ability for individuals to live a “dual life,” to feel that they can simultaneously be part of their two societies and play a social role in the two. But this attempt to share one’s activities and life may lead to what French sociologist Abdelmalek Sayad calls a phenomenon of “dual absence” (Sayad, 1999), that is to say feeling like belonging to none. This feeling may lead to alienation and create despair as the transmigrant cannot find stability. They cannot live a “full life” in either country. At the end of the novel, Giulia found it difficult to settle in either Italy or the United States. The reader has been induced to feel that she was at ease in the two countries owing to her love story, the multiple entertaining anecdotes throughout the novel, her dynamism in socializing with American and Italian characters, as if she was becoming a transmigrant as defined by Glick- Schiller. But she felt lost, as she had acknowledged at the beginning of the story. The loop is closed. She has remained torn between her two countries–unable to resolve her identity quest by becoming “an ethnic at large.”

Conclusion

A basic reading of *The Courtyard of Dreams* would be to consider it as a fiction dealing with a teenager going on vacation in Italy and falling in love. More than that, the novel provides a portrait of second-generation Italian Americans in the 1960s and their quest for their identity through the (re)discovery of their roots. The ethnic dimension gives the novel its depth. The protagonist, as an Italian American character, went in search of her *italianità* whereas she had rejected it at the beginning of the story thinking that it was backward. Progressively, she managed to cope with her mixed parentage by negotiating with both the American and Italian parts of herself and understand how much her Italian roots were anchored in her identity. Yet, the novel ends in a nostalgic tone,

as if her quest was not over, as if she was still torn between the two cultural systems she belonged to. It seems that she finally experienced a “dual absence,” as Sayad advanced, but she appeared like many other Italian Americans, lost in but also enriched by the multiple roots that forge their identities. Monardo’s novel can be seen as a tool to highlight the process by which the two parts of the second generations’ identities must co-exist; it explains the hardship of building their “ethnic [identity] at large.”

NOTES

- [1] The pages of the quotations or passages referred to will be given into brackets. They are taken from the 2nd edition: *The Courtyard of Dreams*, Authors Guild Backinprint edition, 2000.
- [2] See for example *Mount Allegro* by Jerre Mangione (1942), *The Wine of Youth* by John Fante (1940), *Italian Stories* by Joseph Papaleo (200(2), Ben Morreale, *Sicily, The Hallowed Land* (2000).
- [3] Paul Verlaine, “Il pleure dans mon cœur” (1874): “Il pleure dans mon cœur / comme il pleut sur la ville...” / “It is crying in my heart / as it is raining on the city” [...].

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“What’s in a Name”: Language Ideology in Popular Culture

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1. Introduction

How we construct the world discursively is never wholly neutral or simply descriptive. Language is always a site of political contestation. The words we use and, perhaps even more, the way we define them tell the world about our ideological positioning. These choices can be particularly telling in media. Moreover, how media spins language for its own ends represents a particular battlefield in wars between conservative and liberal voices in American society. The decisions made by those in the media often uphold Lippi-Green’s Standard Language Ideology, “a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions” (67). A recent segment from the American syndicated news magazine show *Full Measure with Sheryl Attkisson* discusses the fight to control the discourse around the meaning of words and how dictionaries make those determinations, highlighting how these “culture wars” skirmishes are particularly important when they involve our understanding of language itself. The presenter’s measured tone and neutral-sounding voice belie a very clear ideological point of view, particularly regarding definitions of key words such as “woman,” “migrant,” and “transphobic.” The segment claims “activists” use dictionaries to “distort understood definitions [of words] and convince people to think differently” (“What’s in a Name” 3:16). This paper analyzes the media segment in question using both cultural studies and sociolinguistic frameworks to more clearly situate the claims made, the ideology being represented, and the call for action made by the host to halt language change.

2. Defining Dictionaries

Let us begin with a brief discussion about dictionaries. We are all familiar with dictionaries, even as they have transitioned from imposing hardcover or paperback tomes to websites or even simply clicking on a word in a text to get a definition in our increasingly digital work. Of course, dictionaries contain information about the lexicon, or words and sometimes morphemes, of a language, including spelling, pronunciation, lexical categories, meanings, etymologies, and usage among others. There are different types of dictionaries as well. In a chapter called, “Lexicography: What dictionaries reveal about language and dictionary makers,” Fallon cites several different types of dictionaries: the typical alphabetical dictionary, the reverse dictionary—look up general terms to find a table of specific examples, the visual dictionary, the rhyming dictionary, and the learner’s dictionary, which contains more information on grammar and usage, to name a few.

Fallon’s chapter presents an exhaustive summary of many issues involved in dictionary creation. For example, he discusses in detail the many choices that are made with respect to the way entries are organized and the information presented. He also discusses what makes a useful definition as opposed to a tautologous definition. A tautologous definition is one for which the “user must look up an additional word.” As an example of such a definition that Fallon gives “contemptible: ‘worthy of contempt’” (76). One can see how it would be necessary to look up the word contempt in this case to understand the given definition of “contemptible.” Fallon also traces the history of dictionaries in his brief chapter from word list translations to the creation of the first dictionaries to the competition in the United States between Noah Webster and the Merriam Company for dictionary supremacy. Ultimately the latter, now known as Merriam- Webster came out on top.

But it is the last few pages of this chapter, focused on explaining the difference between prescriptive and descriptive approaches to dictionary creation and dictionary bias, that are most important for the current analysis. Simply put, prescriptivist approaches seek to tell users, “What they should do” (82) or how they *should* use language. This approach aligns quite clearly with Standard Language Ideology, a concept I presented above. Standard Language Ideology seeks to employ a prescriptivist approach to language in order to control societal norms. In contrast, descriptivist approaches seek to simply record how language is being used by the people who use it, without judgment or prejudice.

Lippi-Green enumerates a number of effects that the type of control of language caused by Standard Language Ideology has in a society. Chief among the effects of Standard Language Ideology is a process that Lippi-Green calls **language subordination**. Language subordination devalues all language varieties that deviate from the standard variety while simultaneously validating the linguistic norms and beliefs of the group(s) in power. Ultimately, abandoning varieties that differ from the standard variety and assimilating to standard-variety norms is seen as a societal good. Dictionaries, for the most part seen as vehicles of standardization, are often used as tools for the suppression of linguistic diversity. As we’ll see in the analysis below, the attempt to control dictionary definitions is indeed a broader attempt at societal control and the disciplining of those who do not conform to the traditional gender binary.

Finally, in discussing bias, Fallon states, “A dictionary must tread quite delicately between recording uses of actual language and appearing to condone them. This is particularly difficult in referring to different races, religions, or ethnicities,” (84). This idea gets at the heart of the difference between prescriptivist and descriptivist approaches to language. Fallon is quite clearly advocating a descriptivist position, highlighting the importance of recording “actual language,”

including one presumes how words are used in context, but avoiding any effort to pick winners and losers or express judgments by condoning some uses over others. Additionally, this citation makes evident the need to eschew all bias, whether it be racial, ethnic, religious, etc., in creating dictionaries.

3. A Rose by Any Other Name...

Now let us consider the segment on language and dictionaries broadcasted on the American syndicated news magazine show *Full Measure with Sheryl Attkisson*. The segment, called “What’s in a Name” originally aired on February 12, 2024. In the segment, host Attkisson discusses how dictionary definitions have changed in recent years. Attkisson situates what follows by opening the segment in the following way:

Twentieth-century radical activist Saul Alinsky once wrote, “He who controls the language, controls the masses.” Never has that thought been more relevant. Right now, activists are busily working to redefine select words in real time, manipulating meanings to accomplish social and propaganda goals. How they do it and why is the topic of today’s cover story, What’s in a Name?” (“What’s in a Name” 0:02)

From the outset, Attkisson’s biases are evident in the words she chooses to describe those with whom she disagrees, the so-called “activists,” who are redefining words in the service of “social and propaganda goals.” This piece will not present a neutral perspective on the issue of dictionaries.

The story begins with the Senate confirmation hearings for now Supreme Court Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson. One senator asks Jackson to provide a definition of the word “woman.” Jackson demurs and, when pressed, says that she cannot because she’s not a biologist. Attkisson then cites an article in the American daily newspaper *USA Today*, saying that, “Left-leaning *USA Today* insisted that Jackson’s puzzling non-answer was ‘scientifically sound,’ and declared to the surprise of many that ‘there is no sufficient way to clearly define what makes someone a woman,’”

(“What’s in a Name” 0:57). Already, the ideological tenor of the piece is on display with “puzzling” and “left leaning.” This mockery of both Justice Jackson and *US Today* is of a piece with techniques used in language subordination. Particularly on display is one of the steps in this process for claiming linguistic authority, disciplining linguistic non-conformers and making ordinary people feel like they can’t understand how to use their own language. The piece goes on to say that transgender activists are working to blur the “once solid line” between male and female. “Fierce criticism was building over men participating in women’s sports,” Attkisson continues, citing the oft discussed case of Lia Thomas, the swimmer who transitioned in college from male to female and continued her collegiate career on the women’s swim team, and whom she deadnames (i.e., uses the name Lia used as a man) in the piece (“What’s in a Name” 1:19). Building on her idea that confusion exists, Attkisson points out that Dictionary.com chose “woman” as Word of the Year in 2022 given a spike in searches. Attkisson intimates that, in the wake of greater visibility and attempts to expand the rights of transgender Americans, our understanding of the word woman has so eroded that people need the dictionary to understand what it means.

Attkisson then brings in an expert to bolster her argument, although it’s unclear how sympathetic the expert is to the argument being made, a point we will return to later. She introduces her expert, “If anyone knows about manipulating language, it’s Kelly Wright...an experimental sociolinguist and lexicographer.” Her first question to Dr. Wright is, “Are special interests and advocacy groups able to influence how we define terms today?” Dr. Wright’s answer: “Absolutely.” The interview continues:

- | | |
|------------|---|
| Attkisson: | What do you think is the impact on a society when its official record of language and what words mean can change in real time as fast as it’s changing today? |
| Wright: | The impacts, I think, actually end up being rather dire because official definitions of language really control the way that our...law and policy works. So even something as saying...anyone who’s female-bodied is a woman really ... affects how people are incarcerated, how they’re treated in health care, you know, all these things that [...] the state has to control. So, very small changes in language have huge effects for how, you know, our society is administered. |

(“What’s in a Name” 2:02)

Using this exchange as a jumping off point, Attkisson then claims that activists frequently use dictionaries as a way to distort accepted definitions of words and “convince people to think differently” (“What’s in a Name” 3:16).

By way of example to support her views, she chooses the word “migrant.” According to Attkisson, migrant used to mean, “Foreigners temporarily coming to US,” but now it references “all illegal border crossers” including those who want to live in the US permanently as immigrants or asylum seekers as well as “criminals, drug dealers, and human traffickers” (“What’s in a Name” 3:24). The claim is made that the attempt to change the “original” definition of migrant, for which she does not provide a source until later, dates to the Trump administration in an attempt to undermine his strict border policies. Below you can see the two Dictionary.com definitions of the word migrant that she cites, one from 2016 and a later definition from May 2017. These definitions are presented as two separate slides, as if in a PowerPoint presentation. The slides are in grayscale with a picture of a large open dictionary across the bottom.

Figure 1: *Definitions of the Word “Migrant”*

Slide 1:

December 2016 migrant [migrant] noun

A person who moves from place to place to get work, especially a farm laborer who harvests crops seasonally.

Slide 2:

May 2017¹

migrant [migrant]

noun

A person who attempts to relocate to a new country, but who may be subject to removal by the government of that country.¹

(“What’s in a Name” 4:08)

¹Text in red.

Attkisson makes the argument that the change in definition is solely related to resistance to tougher Trump-era immigration policies. Returning to her expert she asks Dr. Wright if she feels there was a concerted effort by an individual to shift away from illegal immigrant toward migrant. Here, Dr. Wright does express some doubt, “I do, because I think—I don’t know if it was *an* individual, you

know it might be more reflective of a way of thinking or a handful of folks” (“What’s in a Name” 4:50). Dr. Wright seems to recognize an element of the conspiratorial in what Attkisson suggests that might be counter to the linguistic facts of the situation—that language changes, lexicon is repurposed, and semantics shift.

Attkisson continues to suggest that the public is being gaslighted by the dictionary industry. She cites words like “transphobic” (Figure 2) and “anti-vaccine” (Figure 3) as inaccurate because not supporting trans people does not make one afraid of them (*phobic*) and people with vaccine concerns are not necessarily against vaccines—she also claims that this word is a creation of allies of large pharmaceutical conglomerates (a.k.a., big pharma). Here, Attkisson uses the same slide format that she did when presenting actual Dictionary.com definitions of the word “migrant.” This choice resonates with the language subordination process. Attkisson attempts to create confusion while claiming authority. By using the earlier format (with a faux pronunciation guide and the part of speech), it seems like the information she is providing comes from a dictionary source. The confusion created by this misinformation could lead some to believe that the “definitions” she is presenting, which are ideologically laden in a way that would make any dictionary with such definitions seem highly biased in favor of her beliefs, are “official” definitions. Particularly interesting on the anti-vaccine slide is the idea she presents that people labeled with this term aren’t against vaccines, striking at the very heart of any rational definition of the word, while at the same time presenting the idea of “growing vaccine safety concerns” as if consensus on that point were an accepted conclusion.

Figure 2: Definitions of the Word “Transphobic”

transphobic [transphobic]

adjective

Used to disparage people not fully aligned [sic] with the transgender agenda.

Are not actually “phobic” about or fearful of trans people.¹

(“What’s in a Name” 5:12)

¹This text is added to the original slide.

Figure 3: Definitions of the Word “Anti-vaccine”**anti-vaccine [an-ti-vac-cine]***adjective*

Frequently used as a slur against people who are not against vaccines.

Popularized by pharmaceutical industry allies and media amid growing vaccine safety concerns.¹

(“What’s in a Name” 5:22)

¹This text is added to the original slide.

Also claimed to be inaccurate is the word “vaccine” (Figure 4), which Attkisson claims was redefined because the COVID vaccines do not fully prevent disease instead of perhaps a new level of scientific understanding.

Figure 4: Definitions of the Word “Vaccine”**vaccine [vaccine]***noun*

CDC used to say:

“Vaccines prevent disease”

Now:¹

Vaccines “stimulate the body’s immune response”

(“What’s in a Name” 5:38)

¹This entire block of text is added in red.

The next portion of the segment returns to issues of gender. The slides in this segment are presented in a similar way as the previous slides—using the same background picture of an open dictionary as if Attkisson is really presenting dictionary or official information. In a turn that is particularly reminiscent of Republican and conservative efforts since the 1980s to control language by trying to use terms with definitions opposite to their expected meanings (think “death panels” from the fight for universal health care in the Clinton years), Attkission suggests that “gender confirmation” is really “gender denial” (see Figure 5) and “female reproductive rights” are not about female reproduction, but rather solely abortion as if that cannot be seen in the scope of female reproduction (see Figure 6).

Figure 5: Definitions of “Gender Confirmation”**“Gender Confirmation”**

Used to describe a process that some would say is “Gender Denial”

changing appearance to live life as the opposite sex¹

(“What’s in a Name” 6:13)

¹This text is added to the original slide.

Figure 6: Definitions of “Women’s Reproductive Rights”**“Women’s Reproductive Rights”**

Used in place of “abortion rights”

even though it typically doesn’t refer to the right to bear children or reproduce¹

(“What’s in a Name” 6:26)

¹This text is added to the original slide.

Relatedly, Attkisson and Wright turn to the word “obesity” and thoughts about re-naming the issue.

Wright then brings up Roald Dahl’s *James and the Giant Peach*, and how new editions will omit the word “fat.” Wright acknowledges that even if we use a different word for obesity, it will change nothing until our attitude toward those perceived as obese changes.

After discussion of the difference in agency in the terms “committed suicide” and “died by suicide,” we reach an important point of the segment. Attkisson tells viewers how these changes are happening: the membership of dictionary boards, who determine definitions. Attkisson pointedly asks Wright, who herself serves on a dictionary board, if advocates can get people appointed to such boards. Unsurprisingly, the answer is yes. Also, a way in which Attkisson claims we can be manipulated is through which words are chosen as “Word of the Year.” Attkisson expresses her even-voiced dismay, “It strikes me that those who may be in the majority of our society, who prefer to preserve a term...as used in certain cases, don’t really stand a chance against those who are trying to change a term” (“What’s in a Name” 8:44). In response, Wright talks about

her own experience on a dictionary board—how she usually only engages with those who are advocating for a particular cause, or definition to support that cause.

Wright: The general public maybe isn't motivated to change language, or to make it seem official the ways in which language is changing.
 Attkisson: Or to lobby you to keep it the same.
 Wright: Or to lobby us to keep it the same, which we would listen to.
 ("What's in a Name" 9:14)

Once again, the segment returns to the idea that the view of the majority of Americans is being undercut by a motivated, fringe minority while presenting absolutely no evidence that this situation actually exists.

The final example in the story is the word "female" (see Figure 7), which Attkisson claims has been the subject of heavy lobbying. She cites the 2016 Dictionary.com definition, which is based on genetic and biological factors. Attkisson says that being female is "no longer genetic or biological" ("What's in a Name" 9:49) because the 2024 definition focuses on gender identity and behaviors, a position she does not favor.

Figure 7: *Definitions of the Word "Female"*

Slide 1:

2016

female [vermeil]

noun

A person bearing two X chromosomes in the cell nuclei and normally having a vagina, a uterus, and ovaries, and...retaining a beardless face.

Slide 2:

Today¹

female [fee·meyl]

adjective¹

Relating to a gender identity that corresponds to a complex, variable set of social and cultural roles, traits, and behaviors.¹

("What's in a Name" 9:36)

¹Text in red.

In the end, Attkisson says that Wright says “If there’s one take away to the molding of our language, it’s that your interpretations are as important as anybody else’s, if only you’d weigh in. And there’s no law saying we’re required to use or accept certain definitions” (“What’s in a Name” 10:04). Interestingly, it is Attkisson who is purportedly quoting Wright in this moment—is this Attkisson’s interpretation of something Wright said? Because immediately afterward, Wright is allowed to speak for herself:

Seeing a handful of people or an individual move language or...legally change language in a way that changes your life, I think shows us how powerful it is...We shouldn’t hide or resist our ideas, even if they are at odds with others’, it’s worth expressing them.

(“What’s in a Name” 10:22)

This last statement seems ambiguous since it could reasonably support the counterargument to the one Attkisson is making, which makes the previous moment when Attkisson is quoting Wright even more suspect. The segment finally ends with Attkisson telling her audience how they can weigh in by filling out online forms to suggest words or comment on definitions to dictionary creators.

4. Media and Moral Panic in Popular Culture

TV and other media play a powerful role in defining our reality, which is “nothing but an expression of the prevailing ideology” of a society, according to film theorists Jean-Louis Comolli and Jean Narboni (cited in Takacs 44). Pop culture scholar Stacy Takacs makes the point that, “The selective framing of reality in popular culture may help reinforce the prevailing power relations in society” (44). In this case, the attacks on migrants and trans people seem a prime example of the disciplining of marginalized groups to maintain power and the status quo. Additionally, one of the principal functions of popular culture is to disseminate ideology. In the case of this segment, the ideological viewpoint is one that seeks to raise the hackles of its audience.

Attkisson trades on the fear that we are losing control of our own language in order to incite a conservative backlash to hold language, and by extension society, in check.

Her approach seems designed to induce a moral panic. Lippi-Green highlights a series of ten steps for how a moral panic comes about, from an inciting incident to the demonization of the individual or group at the center of the moral panic, to media involvement in whipping the public into a frenzy, to the way the panic eventually dies down again. What is the inciting incident for this moral panic? One could argue that the changing definitions are what began Attkisson's crusade. However, it seems that the true origin of Attkisson's dismay is the changing society around her, specifically a concern with trans people and migrant populations to the United States. These are major issues for the political right. The evolving definitions are simply a reflection of a changing society, a symptom but not the cause. This seems clear in the way that Attkisson structures her argument—almost exclusively around definitions related to gender and immigration.

Now that we have a clear idea of what the stakes are, I want to focus on the fourth step Lippi-Green cites in a moral panic: individuals step forward to act as moral entrepreneurs. Attkisson's intervention in the issue of dictionary definitions, a thinly veiled proxy for the weightier issues of gender and immigration, seems precisely designed to accomplish this result. She is using her position in the media to incite the public to outrage over the perceived secret manipulations of dictionaries and language that she says is occurring (while simultaneously drawing attention to her more significant conservative arguments against expansions of our understandings of gender and immigration). Moreover, her suggestion for how the public can take action seems engineered to build up the concerns around the proposition that individuals or groups are changing language for ideological reasons without the public's knowledge or consent. The expression of concern voiced in the segment at various points over the general public's apathy toward language change seems

counter to what linguists know to be true: language is constantly changing and cannot be held in check. Also, the way in which the changed definitions, reflecting real changes in society and usage, are presented as prescriptivist, that is, being imposed on others as what they should say, is again part of the topsy-turvy spin present in the piece. Trying to hold the definitions fixed and immutable to change (and by extension the society) is a much more prescriptivist view. In contrast, it is wholly in keeping with descriptivist approaches to allow definitions to evolve with changing usage and societal norms.

There is also a certain irony in enlisting the help of the common man by whipping up concern in support of Standard Language Ideology and its resistance to language change. In Lippi Green's model, it is the "language experts" who convince people that they know nothing about their language through the process of language subordination. The common folk are all but excluded from making decisions about language use. In this case, Attkisson seeks to co-opt and control the masses, using Dr. Wright as her expert, the exact thing that she accused her opponents of doing with her quote from Saul Alinsky to begin this segment.

5. Conclusion

In this paper we have seen how language can serve as a flashpoint for the culture wars in the United States. Attkisson citing Alinsky claims that by controlling language the masses can be controlled as well. She puts forth the argument that activists, presumably on the left of the political spectrum, are diligently working to modify dictionary definitions in order to change the way we think about concepts that are fundamental to our understanding of the world around us, such as "woman" or "female." Although the surface-level argument presented is all about language, it is clear that language is secondary to the points Attkisson wishes to make about the way our society is chang-

ing. Enmeshed in her argument are her own ideological biases toward a conservative worldview that expects a strict gender binary and holds that anyone entering the United States in search of work who enters the country without papers, regardless of circumstance, can only be viewed as an “illegal immigrant.”

Attkisson uses textbook tactics of language subordination to confuse and distort what the viewer understands about how dictionaries and language itself work. She employs an expert, Dr. Wright, whom she selectively uses to support her arguments as a way to co-opt the public to her perspective. And, in the end, she tells her viewers how to fight back against those who would steal their language from them by changing the dictionary to suit their purposes. Attkisson disingenuously ignores or fails to concede that she has her own ideological dog in this fight, choosing instead to induce a sense of moral outrage and panic.

In fact, the truest moment of the segment is probably Attkisson’s opening. When she quotes Saul Alinsky, it seems that rather than scolding those on the other end of the ideological spectrum, she is instead telling us about her playbook for what she would like to have happen: co-opt the public and the society to her point of view by controlling the language through dictionary definitions. In truth, she seems unnerved not to have been the first to realize the usefulness of dictionaries in maintaining ideological hegemony. But dictionaries are fickle beasts. To that point, let’s end with Fallon, citing early English lexicographer Samuel Johnson, who offers a clear-eyed view of why these issues with dictionaries and language will continue to persist:

When we see men grow old and die at a certain time one after another, from century to century, we laugh at the elixir that promises to prolong life to a thousand years; and with equal justice may the lexicographer be derided, who being able to produce no example of a nation that has preserved their words and phrases from mutability, shall imagine that his dictionary can embalm his language, and secure it from corruption and decay, that it is in his power to change sublunary nature, or clear the world at once from folly, vanity, and affectation. (82)

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Language Variation and Identity Construction:

The Translation of Multilingualism in *Killing Eve*

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1. Introduction

Multilingualism is a phenomenon that can now be considered as intrinsic to cinema and television. During the past decades it was sometimes unwelcome, or at least rare and exotic, whereas nowadays it is no longer the exception (Ranzato and Zabalbeascoa 1); in our era, in fact, we are often inevitably confronted with multiculturalism, thus the diverse ethnic and cultural landscapes are reflected in multiple ways in the media, also linguistically (4). As global audiences increasingly seek content from different corners of the world, the presence of multiple languages in films and TV shows has become more prominent, both as a narrative device and as a practical necessity, and it plays a crucial role in shaping the storytelling, reception and accessibility of screen media, as well as translation practices.

Audiovisual translation (AVT) is a dynamic field that facilitates the accessibility of foreign-language media to global audiences through various modalities and techniques. As the world becomes increasingly interconnected through digital platforms, the demand for audiovisual content across diverse linguistic and cultural boundaries has surged. This global exchange has led to the rise of multilingualism in AVT, a practice that involves translating and adapting audiovisual materials into multiple languages, often while preserving the nuances of both the source and target cultures. Multilingualism in AVT goes beyond simple language transfer; it addresses the challenge

of conveying not only words but also emotions, cultural references and visual cues that are embedded in the original work. The complexity of this task is amplified by the need to consider various modes of translation, such as dubbing, subtitling, voice-over and captioning, but also less common practices such as hard subs and pop-up glosses (Ciambella 224), each with its own constraints and opportunities. In this context, multilingualism in AVT is not only a technical issue but also an act of cultural mediation, requiring translators and adaptors to navigate linguistic diversity while ensuring that the essence of the original content is maintained, given the connotative meanings associated with specific languages and language varieties.

The aim of this contribution is to address the fundamental role of language variation and multilingualism in the construction of fictional identities and also to identify their specific functions in audiovisual texts. The analysis, in particular, explores the translation strategies adopted by a team of translators to adapt the multilingual scenes of BBC TV series *Killing Eve* (Gentle and Waller-Bridge 2018-2022) for the Italian dubbing. The study focuses on the character of Villanelle (Jodie Comer), a psychopath assassin who is particularly skilled on the linguistic level.

The methodology of this paper is mostly empirical and descriptive; it includes linguistic qualitative data which are analyzed to identify the functions of the language varieties in the text and the translation strategies aimed at rendering (or neutralizing) these functions in the Italian dubbed version, building on previous scholarly studies on the topic (Corrius and Zabalbeascoa, Díaz-Cintas, Ranzato among others).

2. The functions of language variation in audiovisuals

Research on multilingualism in the audiovisual field has expanded only in the last three decades, but, as argued by Grutman,

in the audiovisual world, multilingualism seems to be as old as sound films or talkies themselves [...]. As a rule, multilingual written or audiovisual texts do not give equal prominence to the languages they display. More often than not, a liberal sprinkling of other tongues is added to a matrix language clearly identified as such. In TV series and movies, the foreign language is often restricted to dialogue, or to written material such as street signs and billboards. (342)

This citation provides a thorough definition of what can be considered as an audiovisual multilingual text with reference to the presence of different languages, but the study of regional and social varieties in media discourse is also often included in the research field of multilingualism. Such assertion is based on the broader definition of the term ‘multilingual’ offered by Delabastita and Grutman (12), which comprises not only foreign languages and accents, but also intralingual variation. All varieties of “national languages, regional languages, dialects, sociolects, idiolects, jargons, ancient languages, invented languages, sign languages, other semiotic systems” (Ranzato and Zabalbeascoa 4) can thus be included in the notion of L3, coined by Corrius and Zabalbeascoa (2011), which stands for an additional foreign language or a dialect or an accent, “neither L1 in the ST nor L2 in the TT [target text]” (214). This concept refers to a model for understanding translation that categorises the level of interaction and transformation between the source text (ST) and the target text (TT) taking into account the multiple modes involved in audiovisual communication. The presence of one specific L3 pursues a particular purpose, either marking a diegetic or an extra-diegetic aspect, hence the importance of identifying the function(s) performed by each one before attempting at transferring them in the target text, as the process of translation is a multidimensional activity comprising various layers of meaning that must be managed and transformed (see the discussion on translation competences provided by Scarpa). The most influential scholarly taxonomies on the topic are thus presented in this section and they will serve as a theoretical framework for the analysis of the case study in section 4.

Díaz-Cintas refers to the translators' necessity of identifying the functional value of linguistic plurality as one of the tools used in cinema and television to portray the contemporary globalized and multicultural reality. Language, in fact, has the power to emphasize otherness by creating a sense of rupture and misunderstanding, but it can also symbolize different geographical, social and cultural dimensions (216); polyglot films may also be constructed with the aim of triggering humor or merely adding "a gratuitous and dependable touch of exoticism to the plot" (217).

Corrius and Zabalbeascoa (2019) propose a tripartite categorization according to the presence and importance of third languages in multilingual films: this could be 'anecdotal', if only a few L3 words or expressions are heard in the product, 'recurrent' when L3 is frequently heard, while the category referring to an intense presence is defined 'L3-as-theme' (74). Multilingualism in the case study in this article may be included in the second category, although some episodes are arguably to be considered closer to the 'L3-as-theme' group.

Corrius has recently added to this classification a taxonomy about the function of language varieties in dialogue, building on the model used by the Spanish projects TRAFILM (the Translation of Multilingual Films in Spain) and MUFITAVI (Multilingualism in Audiovisual Fiction):

[...] language variation is exploited in audiovisual productions with 12 different functions: (1) character portrayal, (2) signaling otherness, (3) comedy/humour, (4) stereotype, (5) plot, (6) theme, (7) dramatic effect, (8) suspense, (9) metaphor, (10) signaling the villain, (11) showing tolerance and (12) metalinguistic functions such as bilingual wordplay. (13)

The repository *Dialects in Audiovisuals*, an online resource for AVT-based projects in the English-Italian pair (Ranzato et al.), is specifically centred on the functions of British accents in films and TV series and follows a model that partially overlaps with the other above-mentioned online projects; in particular, accents might serve in audiovisual texts to (1) emphasize the stereotypical

differences between British and American characters, (2) to construct the identity of a villain, but also to (3) elicit humor and (4) to enrich the text with a recognizable idiolect. Other functions are (5) the location of the story in a specific time and place, (6) the depiction of real existing people and (7) the distinction of different social classes. Also, (8) a specific language variety can be found just because an actor or an actress is particularly talented or well-known for that variety to the extent that the film production decided to give him or her “an opportunity for a star turn”, in Kozloff’s words (60).

In any of these cases, the function of an L3 or L1 variety grounds on its opposition with the main language, and such opposition is explained in the theoretical notion of ‘language and ideology’: Irvine and Gal (35), also building on other scholarly works (e.g., among others, Silverstein and the studies collected by Schieffelin et al.), define ‘ideologies’ as the conceptual schemes or ideas with which the understanding of linguistic varieties are framed and mapped on people, events and activities; in other words, “people have, and act in relation to, ideologically constructed representations of linguistic differences” (37). When this process is activated, it means that the variety has become ‘enregistered’, using Agha’s words (231), which means that it is “represented collectively in the public imagination as a stable variety and maintained across time and region via practices that reiterate the value of the accent and its link to social status” (Beal 94).

3. Multilingualism and AVT strategies

The multiplicity of voices, generally indexing specific identities, undoubtedly represents a challenge for audiovisual translators. Professionals in this domain, in fact, should acknowledge the role of each L3 in the ST before finding a solution to render them with the same effect in the TT, whether it is the faithful representation of reality, or to convey a mixture of conflict and comedy

(Bruti 240). This challenge becomes harder in those countries that privilege dubbing as the translation modality for audiovisual products, thus leading to a ‘mixed’ mode with the combination between subtitling and dubbing: the L1 is dubbed with the L2, while the L3 is translated into the L2 through subtitles (241; see also Beseghi and De Bonis).

As previously mentioned, Corrius and Zabalbeascoa provided a model that summarizes the different options in translation to deal with multilingualism and that is frequently used as a framework of analysis in scholarly literature (as testified, for example, by several contributions in the recent collection *The Palgrave Handbook of Multilingualism and Language Varieties on Screen*, edited by Ranzato and Zabalbeascoa). Excluding invented languages, which may be rendered through completely different strategies (118), this model includes five possible solutions for the translation of ‘natural real’ L3s that represent a standard, official, variety or dialect, either of the past or present (117):

- 1) when the L3 coincides with the L2, it is extremely difficult to maintain multilingualism in the TT, thus giving rise to L3 invisibility ($L3^{TT}=L2$) (119).
- 2) if the L3 is different from both the L1 and the L2, it is likely to remain unchanged and its status is kept in translation, although its functions and connotations may change due to a potential difference of relationship of either of the two cultures with the third one ($L3^{TT}=L3^{ST}$) (119).
- 3) the L3 may be replaced by the L1 in the TT if the translator(s) decide(s) for some reason that it is not the best candidate to maintain its function(s), which is better achieved by a stereotypical connotation of the main language in the ST ($L3^{TT}=L1$) (120).
- 4) the L3 may be replaced by another L3, different from both the L1 and the L2, because its relationship with the main language in the TT is more meaningfully equivalent to the one established in the ST ($L3^{TT} \neq L1, L3^{ST}, L2$) (120).
- 5) the segment with the L3 in the ST, or some part of it, is completely deleted in the TT ($L3=\emptyset$) (120).

In other words, to sum up, the L3 can remain unchanged (option 2), be adapted (options 3 and 4) or neutralized (options 1 and 5). The first two cases are more frequently observed in those cases where the L3 is a foreign language or accent, while neutralization is generally the preferred option for what concerns intralingual regional and social variation. In the case of dubbing, in particular, at least in the Italian context, the tendency is to omit the diatonic dimension found in the ST in favor of an overall standardization (Parini 346, but see also Ranzato 40). This is especially true in

dramas, generally aimed at “representing people and facts in a lifelike way” (Parini 346) and where a regional accent or dialect of the L2 would be unrealistic, while such practice is sometimes found in comedies and in animation (see Minutella, but also the case studies analysed by Bruti, Dore, Parini, Ranzato, Valleriani).

4. The translation of languages and accents in *Killing Eve*

The theoretical issues and the scholarly insights addressed in section 2 are useful for the analysis presented here, dedicated to the discussion of the translation strategies adopted in the Italian dubbed version of TV series *Killing Eve*. After a presentation of the audiovisual product and the methodology that has been applied, the analysis is divided in two sub-sections, one dedicated to the translation of L3s in the ST when they correspond to foreign languages different from English, and one revolving around the strategies to render (or not render) the English accented voices.

4.1 Presentation of the case study and methodology

Killing Eve is a British spy thriller television series produced by BBC America and based on the four serial novellas *Codename Villanelle* by Luke Jennings. It follows the cat-and-mouse game between Eve Polastri (played by the American actress Sandra Oh), an intelligence officer, and Villanelle (played by the British actress Jodie Comer), a cunning and unpredictable assassin. The series, which spans four seasons (from 2018 to 2022), was created by Phoebe Waller- Bridge, who served as the showrunner for the first season, bringing her signature dark humor to the series. After season 1, Emerald Fennell took over as head writer for season 2, followed by Suzanne Heathcote for season 3 and Laura Neal for the final season 4. In Italy, it was distributed by TIMvision, and the company Laser Digital Film was responsible for the Italian dubbed version.

The show explores themes of obsession, identity and morality, with a dark comedic tone that sets it apart from traditional espionage dramas. As their lives become increasingly intertwined, the tension between the two women escalates, creating a gripping narrative for which it received positive audience and critical acclaim. It won notable accolades, including an Emmy for Jodie Comer's portrayal of Villanelle and a Golden Globe for Sandra Oh; the series also earned a BAFTA for Best Leading Actress (Comer) and Best Supporting Actress (Fiona Shaw), alongside nominations for Best Drama at the Emmys and Golden Globes. The show holds a score of around 89-96% on *Rotten Tomatoes* and an *IMDb* rating of 8.1.

Villanelle is a fascinating and multifaceted character, a psychopath deadly assassin with a flair for the dramatic theatricality in her killings. She usually works in disguise and travels around Europe to commit her crimes, which gives her the opportunity to use foreign languages or foreign/regional accents to portray different identities. Such anecdotal evidence led to an inspection of the four seasons with the aim of collecting different parts of the series to be discussed in the light of the trends in AVT when dealing with multilingualism and language variation. The linguistic qualitative data presented here serve for the identification of the functions of the L3s in the text and the translation strategies aimed at rendering (or neutralizing) these functions in the Italian dubbed version.

4.2 *Foreign languages as L3*

Villanelle is a master of disguise, which she uses to blend in, infiltrate, or surprise her targets. Her disguises range from subtle adjustments to elaborate costumes. She can speak multiple languages, and she can seamlessly adapt to her environment by switching between them. She speaks French fluently, because in the first season she is based in Paris, but she also masters Italian (episode 1x01), German (episode 1x03), Catalan (episode 3x01), Spanish (episode 3x01) and Russian as a native language (episode 1x03, 1x06, 2x08, 3x05). Villanelle has got, in fact, Russian origins, but

she rarely speaks her mother-tongue, because, as she declares more than once during the series, she does not like it, which is used as an excuse to make her have conversations in English even with Russian interlocutors. Her language skills not only make her a more credible operative in various countries but also enhance her ability to manipulate and deceive others.

In all these cases, the function is to locate the setting of the episode; the language used by Villanelle to communicate with people, in fact, helps the viewer understand that the story has temporarily moved to another place different from Britain, which is especially useful for the visually-impaired audiences, who cannot count on visual cues. This function is defined ‘locating space and time’ by Ranzato et al., which partially corresponds to the one labelled as ‘plot’ by Corrius. Among the different categories, this is probably the easiest to maintain in translation, as it is a diegetic function that is not generally aimed at indexing specific stereotypical connotations; not surprisingly, all the segments in French, German, Catalan, Spanish and Russian are kept in the Italian dubbed version, thus the L3 in the ST equals the L3 in the TT (Corrius and Zabalbeascoa 119) and in both texts they are translated through subtitles (Bruti 241).

In episode 1x01, on the contrary, the problem of the correspondence between L3 and L2 is posed, because it is partially set in Italy; the translators, in this case, opted for the neutralization of multilingualism, preferring to maintain the Italian original lines (thus eliminating the linguistic contrast with the other scenes in the English episode), rather than replacing it with another L3. The choice surely resides in the fact that the Italian viewers are likely to recognize the Tuscan landscapes showed and, also, Villanelle’s interlocutor is a well-known Italian actor, Remo Girone. The Italian audience is too familiar to both the setting and Girone, therefore it would have been inappropriate to replace Italian as L3 with another language. The Italian lines are faithfully kept in the TT, but not the original track: they were re-dubbed, to avoid any sense of rupture with the rest of the episode.

Table 1 below summarizes the discussion on foreign languages as L3 in *Killing Eve* and the corresponding solutions in the Italian dubbed version.

L3 in the ST	Function	Translation strategy in the Italian dubbed version
French	Locating place / plot	Preservation (L3 ^{TT} =L3 ST)
Italian	Locating place / plot	Neutralization (L3 ^{TT} =L2)
German	Locating place / plot	Preservation (L3 ^{TT} =L3 ST)
Catalan	Locating place / plot	Preservation (L3 ^{TT} =L3 ST)
Spanish	Locating place / plot	Preservation (L3 ^{TT} =L3 ST)
Russian	Locating place / plot	Preservation (L3 ^{TT} =L3 ST)

Table 1 – Multilingualism in the original and Italian-dubbed dialogue of *Killing Eve*.

4.3 Accents as L3

As previously mentioned, the antagonist in the series is of Russian origins, and this can be heard in her accented voice in English when she is not in disguise. When she is impersonating a different identity, instead, she tends to use a different accent from her native one. Actress Jodie Comer excelled at this due to her natural ear for accents, which she attributed to playful impersonations with her father during her childhood (see Jarvey's article on *Vanity Fair*). Each of these accents is adopted for a different constructed identity based on stereotypical connotations associated with them.

In the case of Villanelle's natural Russian accent, the function is not only that of signaling the woman's origins, but also that of characterizing her as a villain. Although the production country of the series is the UK, its original network is BBC America, so this might have been taken into consideration, building on the image of the Russian villain in the US for historical reasons (about this stereotype, read the article by Brook published online on the BBC website). Her Russian accent is not translated in Italian, as she speaks Standard Italian, but she is linguistically perceived as a villain thanks to a 'tough' voice, characterized by a low tone and an overall flat intonation. Her prosody completely changes in those cases that correspond to the use of other accents, and particularly British accents, in the original dialogue; for example, in episodes 1x04, 2x02 and 2x03, Villanelle uses Received Pronunciation (RP), while in episodes 2x03 and 3x07 she adopts a Scottish accent: in all of these cases, the accent she affects is a tool to attract her victim, as it makes her appear as polite and harmless, as well as more credible (Lev-Ari and Keysar 1093). In the Italian dubbed version the diatopic dimension in the dialogue is eliminated in all cases, but these translated lines are dubbed with a change in prosody, in particular with kinder, softer and more emphatic tone and intonation.

This strategy does not apply in the case of the translation of other native accents of English. In episodes 2x06, 2x07 and 2x08, for instance, Villanelle portrays an American young woman from New York, and her American accent is totally deleted in the Italian dubbed version, where no changes in prosody can be heard, compared to the lines corresponding to Villanelle's Russian-accented English. Naturally, the invisibility of this L3 leads to the loss of its function too; when Villanelle speaks with a New York accent, she does so with the aim of building a sassy, easy-going, but also rather arrogant character, coherently to the traditional stereotypical contrast between British and American native speakers of English. This function, defined by Ranzato as 'British vs American' (68), is arguably one of the hardest to maintain in translation.

Table 2 contains the transcription of the scene where Villanelle proposes different accents for an investigative task and the New York one is selected as the best one by Eve, who, despite being her nemesis in the series, asks her to collaborate to catch another criminal, Aaron Peel.

Original dialogue	Italian dubbed version	Back translation
Villanelle: (<i>native Russian accent</i>) I don't like to be challenged. [...]	Villanelle: Non mi piacciono per niente le sfide. [...]	Villanelle: I don't like challenges at all. [...]
Eve: Good. So, Aaron Peel. Aaron doesn't like people. The only relationship he has is with his sister, Amber. So, we use her to get to him. She's going to AA meetings in London.	Eve: Bene. Allora, Aaron Peel. Aaron è un vero misantropo. L'unico rapporto umano che ha è con sua sorella, Amber. Per arrivare a lui, ci serviremo di lei. Frequenta un gruppo di alcolisti anonimi.	Eve: Good. So, Aaron Peel. Aaron is a real misanthrope. His only human relationship is with his sister, Amber. We'll use her to get to him. She attends AA meetings.
Villanelle: Clever. So, who do you want? (<i>RP accent</i>) Gap year tragedy, who who fell in love with her coke dealer. (<i>Australian accent</i>) A suncream heiress from Sydney who has her own, like, super successful bikini brand. No? I know. (<i>New York accent</i>) She's just arrived from New York after one too many nights on the wrong side of the bridge. And she has a really, really, really annoying accent.	Villanelle: Astuto. Allora, chi vuoi che io sia? Studentessa in difficoltà che si è innamorata del suo spacciatore di cocaina? Aaah. Ricca ereditiera viziata di Sidney, con il suo marchio personale di successo di costumi da bagno? No? Ci sono. È appena arrivata da New York dopo l'ennesima notte passata nei quartieri peggiori della città. Ed è una ragazza davvero tanto, tanto, tanto, tanto annoiata.	Villanelle: Clever. So, who do you want me to be? Student in troubles who is in love with her coke dealer? Aaah. Rich spoilt heiress from Sidney, cwho has her own succesfull bikini brand? No? I've got it. She's just arrived from New York after one too many nights in the worst areas of the city. And she is very very bored.
Eve: I like her accent. What's her name?	Eve: Se è annoiata, è quella giusta. Come si chiama?	Eve: If she's bored, she's the right one. What's her name?

Table 2 – *Killing Eve*, episode 2x06, 9'54''

In Italian, the tones that correspond to the Russian and the American accents are very similar, while the one corresponding to RP is much softer and is used to characterize a naive but nice character, compared to the others which are explicitly more annoying. From the point of view of content, a back translation column is provided so as to show that the Italian version is quite adherent to the source text, except for the last two lines, where we read that this American fake girl is very bored, “annoziata” in Italian (whereas ‘annoying’ would be literally translated as ‘irritante’), probably because it solves the problem regarding lip-sync.

Another interesting example to be discussed from the translational point of view is the scene transcribed in Table 3, where Villanelle is playing the role of the American girl, but she suddenly switches to her natural Russian accent, thus revealing her real identity, when Eve, holding a letter opener, enters the room where she is having breakfast with Aaron.

Original dialogue	Italian dubbed version	Back translation
Aaron: That's my letter opener. What are you gonna do? Whittle me to death?	Aaron: Quello è il mio tagliacarte. Che voleva fare? Tagliuzzarmi a morte?	Aaron: That's my letter opener. What did you want to do? Whittle me to death?
Villanelle: (<i>chuckles</i>) Hi Eve. It's so nice to see you.	Villanelle: (<i>ride</i>) Ciao Eve. Я рада тебя снова видеть (<i>Italian subs: "Sono felice di vederti"</i>).	Villanelle: (<i>chuckles</i>) Hi Eve. Я рада тебя снова видеть (<i>"I'm happy to see you" in Russian</i>).
Aaron: Russian! This is a surprise. Good accent. Very precise.	Aaron: Russo! Questa sì che è una sorpresa. È una lingua che mi piace. Affascinante.	Aaron: Russian! This is a surprise. It's a language that I love. Fascinating.
Villanelle: Thank you.	Villanelle: Grazie.	Villanelle: Thank you.

Table 3 – *Killing Eve*, episode 2x08, 9'52''.

As shown in Table 3, the moment Villanelle switches to her natural Russian accent is rendered in the Italian dubbed version with the use of a line in Russian language, thus it contains an instance of code-switching (Italian + Russian) that is not heard in the original (if we consider only this specific line, entirely uttered in Russian-accented English). The dubbing team decided to use a foreign language in a context where there was no foreign language in the ST to justify the fact that Aaron discovers that Villanelle is Russian; therefore, this is a rare case of translation of a monolingual line with a multilingual one. If, at a first look, this can be considered as a clever strategy to compensate the omission of the accent for the entire series, it actually poses a few problems from the narrative point of view: Eve does not speak nor understand Russian, so it is hard to believe that Villanelle could actually address her in this language; secondly, as mentioned, Villanelle declares more than once throughout the series that she does not like speaking in Russian, so there is no consistency from that point of view either and this scene potentially undermines the fundamental factor of the so-called 'suspension of disbelief' (see Chandler for an insight on this

concept). However, this strategy is extremely interesting for its rarity, as it is not even discussed specifically in the theoretical framework on multilingualism in AVT that has been explored in the first part of this article.

To sum up, Table 4 provides a list of all the accents that are heard in *Killing Eve*, together with their function in the text and how they are rendered in Italian dubbed version.

Accents as L3 in the ST	Function	Translation strategy in the Italian dubbed version
Russian accent	Villain / Character portrayal	Neutralization as a general strategy, but translation with Russian language in ep. 2x08.
Received Pronunciation	British vs American	Neutralization, but change in voice quality.
Scottish accent	British vs American	Neutralization, but change in voice quality.
American (New York) accent	British vs American	Neutralization.

Table 4 – Accents in the original and Italian-dubbed dialogue of *Killing Eve*.

5. Conclusion

Multilingualism and language variation in films and TV series serve several important functions that enrich storytelling, deepen character development and reflect social and cultural realities, as they both reflect the real world and shape the way characters interact with each other and navigate the landscapes around them. Due to the intrinsic semiotic and cultural value of languages, dialects and accents, translators must identify their function in the source text before transferring it in the target text. In other words, in such cases, translators must decide whether to maintain multilingual elements, localize them entirely (i.e., adapting them into a different system of stereotypes and cultural nuances) or neutralize them.

After defining the notion of L3 and after retracing the main theoretical issues on the manipulation of L3s in translated audiovisual texts, this study sought to apply conclusions from previous scholarly studies on multilingualism and language variation in AVT to the analysis of BBC television series *Killing Eve*, since it features a polyglot main character. The assassin Villanelle, in fact, a native Russian speaker that is fluent in English as well as in many other languages, adopts different languages and accents throughout the series as a tool to construct fake identities with the purpose to attract her victims. As resulted from the qualitative analysis of a few scenes, the tendency to preserve multilingualism when the L3 correspond to a foreign language can be observed; the equally-common situation of the invisibility of the L3 in translation when this correspond to the target language is also confirmed, as well as the traditional tendency to omit regional varieties in the Italian version so as to avoid undesirable and unfaithful effects. However, through the exploration of this case study, it has been noted that a few attempts at compensating this omission through prosody, voice quality and the use of foreign languages even when they are not found in the original text were implemented, which shows that AVT professionals are perhaps becoming more concerned in maintaining at least the functions that these varieties hold in the source text. The presence of the phenomenon of code-switching in translation to complete this task, in particular, is a rather uncommon strategy whose potentiality is to be developed and explored.

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Truthful Memories at the Memorial Site:**Understanding Responses to Terrorism in Madrid**

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For the representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy for the European Union, Josep Borrell, European values are “the best combination of political freedom, economic prosperity, and social cohesion that humankind has been able to build” (Euronews). In his comments, Borrell compared Europe with a “garden,” while the rest of the world was associated with a “jungle.” However, Europe as a garden reflects a narrative focused only on what looks positive and worth emphasizing for its defenders. It forgets about the European responsibility for turning the rest of the world into a jungle. When the European garden is thrown into chaos every time there is a terrorist attack, the jungle reveals itself inside the garden. At times, the response gives way to fear or anxiety, making whole groups suspicious of potentially carrying out violent acts. European citizenry becomes less inclusive, pays more attention to extreme right politicians or groups, better tolerates supremacist ideas and behaviors, or votes to toughen migration policies.

However, it is possible to approach the terrorist strike from an alternative emotional and intellectual point of view. Reflecting on the memory of the attacks, the way people remember them, spontaneous building of memorials, or the actors involved, could provide an opportunity for building a collective memory that would allow most citizens to feel at home. Instead of splitting the population into those who blindly follow government security obsessions from those who look or act suspiciously, it would be better to imagine processes whereby the population at large is invited to participate in materializing both the memory of the attack itself and of the memorial site.

We will pay attention to how memory sites were erected, and which actors participated in giving content to memory after the Madrid terrorist onslaught in 2004. We will address the divisive nature of memorial sites in Madrid and the manipulation of memory's content to serve political right-wing goals. None of these attempts are undermining Borrell's European garden; instead, they are furthering its democratization.

The Memorial Site

The terrorist attacks in New York, in Philadelphia, and in Washington on September 11, 2001, were followed by a moment of extreme confusion. US political institutions and elected representatives were not up to this new challenge. For most of the population, it was unclear how to respond or simply what to do. Even the president of the country, George W. Bush, was literally missing from the public sphere as he flew aboard Air Force One, finding refuge in an unknown location. It was up to the average citizen of the US to meet the challenge and behave accordingly, given the seriousness of the situation, without any guidance from political institutions. Many offered to help in whatever areas they could by turning up in hospitals to donate blood, staying in lock-down, or avoiding the use of cell phones.

It was a challenge to know what to do, how to behave, or even which feelings to express. The day of the attack, it took several hours for political institutions to take the lead by offering plausible interpretations about the events to calm the population and to propose a plan of action. Given the seriousness of the attacks, it was understandable to see the US thrown into chaos, a country that claims itself to be a super-power, but it was far from ready for a terrorist crisis of such magnitude. The attacks did not require having the most powerful military in the world despite the general mobilization of the armed forces. Instead, what the crisis demanded was the ability to guide and comfort the country, offering ways to deal with feelings like anger and retribution. Should the citizenry convey outrage and anger toward

the suspected Islamist terrorists? Should neighbors organize vigilante militias to defend their communities? Should they indiscriminately persecute those in their communities professing Islam beliefs, destroy their mosques, or harass those who did not have the *right* skin color?

While crisis management agencies fell short of their obligations to protect, in the days following 9/11 many people channeled their emotional stress by leaving mementos with affective significance at the sites of the attacks or in nearby places with symbolic value for the community. They wanted to show emotional solidarity with the victims. They did so by writing messages, graffiti, placing photographs of their loved ones, displaying toys, cards, or flowers. The outpour of mementos turned everyday spaces with not much of a national meaning, i.e., a sidewalk or a public square, into sites with significance for both victims and society at large. The memorial site was constituted as a location to render homage to the victims and to heal the community from the traumatic wounds inflicted by the attack.

People and their emotions took the lead in responding to the crisis. By doing so, individuals allowed themselves to be led by the fabric of the nation they share with others—this not necessarily being its political fabric. A nation is more than a state that organizes and regulates a common set of political or economic rules. A nation is composed of groups of people that care for each other even if they are unknown to each other. They belong to a common state, but they are above all a community. If the nation-state is an “imagined” entity (Anderson 6), it nevertheless has a concrete grounding in people’s emotions. The shared mementos at the sites of tragedy are one example of what glues the nation together emotionally and point to what we have in common with victims and with our fellow neighbors. We share more than a rational will to live within the clearly defined borders of a territory ruled by a set of laws (the state); we also disclose a will to emotionally belong to something larger than our individualities. This is the territory of the nation. The nation anchors people’s daily experiences in that locus “where their stories and ours share streets, images, sounds, smells, dreams, and memory” (Martín 178), where my neighbors recognized

my right to exist and confirm my values, and vice versa (Todorov 2001, 81). The reaffirmation of the nation is what is at work at the memorial site.

After terrorist assaults in European cities like those occurring in Madrid (2004), London (2005), Paris (2015), Nice (2016), Berlin (2016), Manchester (2017), or Barcelona (2017), memorial sites were erected following the US example. Interestingly, the Madrid bombings on March 11, 2004 were named “Europe’s 9/11” (Truc 2018, 41) because of the Islamist motivations of the terrorists and because of the high number of people injured and killed. These memorials are given a wide variety of names such as “grassroot memorials” (Margry and Sánchez-Carretero; Truc 2018) emphasizing their bottom up nature; “temporary memorials” (Doss), because of their transient peculiarity: sooner or later they must be removed to allow for everyday life to continue; “spontaneous shrines” (Santino 2006; 2011, 98-99), assembled voluntarily and unsolicited to revere and honor the victims; or “improvised memorials” (Margry and Sánchez-Carretero) since they are not the result of organized planning.

These memorials were initiated before governments transferred their citizens’ public expression of distress onto more conventional monuments, tributes that usually do more to commemorate the state than the victims themselves (Huyssen 29; Todorov 2003, 133). Memorial sites are a genuine expression of an “emotive involvement” not informed by “political propaganda and media interests” (Sørensen 2). If media interests imply increasing the number of viewers, readers, or listeners to profit from advertising revenue, the memorial becomes a site that is incompatible with these interests: economic gain trumps the public expression of distress. Likewise, if the political is solely linked to propaganda, or vice versa, sincere public displays of grief could be manipulated in favor of illegitimate political goals. Can the public interest be protected when it intersects with spurious political and media goals?

It could be said that “within memorials there is a struggle between the notion of ‘memory as truth’, on the one hand, and the practice of ‘memory as being negotiable’, on the other hand” (Sørensen 3). Memory as truth is what people’s spontaneous expressions are striving for: the bare facts of the violence

committed against innocent citizens regardless of their political or religious inclinations. Memory as a negotiable entity would be welcome if it means rejecting narratives that classify individuals as either friends or foes. No one who shares a religion or an ethnicity with an alleged terrorist should be deemed one. There is a very clear and straightforward difference between who is guilty of terrorism and who is not. However, the feelings of insecurity that rush some individuals to find enemies from within are manipulated to create an idea of a nation under attack that needs to reduce its membership to feel safe. This kind of “negotiated” or exclusionary memory, based on non-inclusive values and quite often extreme right political positions should be met with distrust if it means manipulating, for example, fair-minded people’s emotions towards justifying retribution by militarily invading countries thousands of miles away and destroying the social fabric of those societies.

When the content of memory is established within the public sphere of a democratic society, it is essential that different or even conflicting points of view be considered so that a successful mourning for the victims can be carried out. However, even within democratic regimes, that negotiation makes individual and collective memory “vulnerable to appropriation (as when the state or central government ‘takes over’)” (Sørensen 5). The Spanish response to the Jihadist attack in Madrid in 2004 will illustrate the dangers of a manipulated memory.

The Memory of Victims in Madrid

On March 11, 2004, the crowded morning trains in Madrid were an easy target for the Jihadists intent on maximizing the number of casualties. The images of trains with walls and ceilings corrugated like paper, and dead bodies lying on the tracks started to circulate online right after the attack. This event brought about an immediate emotional response. It should be remarked that most Spaniards did not blame Muslim believers at large. As the hours went by, in an infamous move, the Spanish government falsely attributed the attacks to ETA, the Basque terrorist group, instead of to the Jihadists, their actual perpetrators. In fact,

this manipulation of the facts can only be explained because of an upcoming general election, scheduled to take place three days after the attack. The ruling conservative Partido Popular (PP-Popular Party) was afraid of losing its majority of seats in Parliament and thus no longer be the party holding the government after the general elections. The connection between the PP government's foreign policy, with its involvement in the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, and the attack in Madrid was obvious. The support for the invasion was very low among Spaniards and the military campaign did not count with the approval of the Spanish Parliament. The PP lost the elections.

The judicial investigations were always clear regarding the authorship of the Madrid onslaught on March 11: Al-Qaeda. However, the PP and those in tune with its ideology continued propagating a conspiracy theory with no supporting evidence whereby the socialist party (PSOE) colluded with ETA and other left-wing political parties with the sole purpose of ousting the PP from power. It must be said that in ETA's large history of violence, it had assassinated several political deputies from the PSOE. When this party reached power for the first time in 1982, ETA carried out one its most violent campaigns. The insistence in a conspiracy theory against the PP was not only absurd; more importantly, it came with a heavy toll. It made the mourning process for the population more difficult by creating division and controversy at a time when unity around peaceful coexistence among diverse Spaniards was most desirable. It was impossible to find emotional solace in a memorial site to honor the lost lives and to emphasize the willingness to live together for all Spaniards without compromising diversity in religious beliefs or political and social values.

The result was that the main official monument remembering the victims, erected next to the Atocha station where the bombed trains were heading, "failed to be the consensual and unifying place of memory it was supposed to be" (Truc and Sánchez-Carretero 36). Consensual and unifying should not be understood as being complicit with a homogenous memory where divergency is erased. Quite the opposite. While welcoming diverse approaches, the content of memory must be subjected to constant re-

elaboration. The only condition it must meet is that it explicitly rejects violence and reflects on the senselessness of the victims' assassinations as the common ground for Spanish citizenry. But, at the inauguration of the Atocha monument, one could witness tense verbal and almost physical fights due to the appropriation of the memory of the victims along social and political divides. This was widely seen on public television. The AVT (*Asociación Víctimas del Terrorismo*-Association of Victims of Terrorism), close to the political right-wing represented by the PP, organized alternative commemorations around the *Bosque del Recuerdo* (Forest of Remembrance), in the nearby Retiro public park, advocating again for the conspiracy theory described above. Meanwhile, the 11-M Association was against turning the victims into "some sort of 'heroes' who died for a greater cause, such as 'freedom', 'democracy', or 'the Spanish nation'—themes which, by contrast, are located at the heart of the AVT's narrative" (Truc and Sánchez-Carretero 52). Sometimes, conspiracy theories and the spread of false information can express political dissent (Badouard 51) when they question the official versions of an attack, but most of the time they undermine the democratic ability to build a sincere memory of the events.

Let us insist on the AVT's attitudes towards terrorism for they are inextricably linked to their notion of Spanishness. Is it related to Christian or Muslim values? To both? Is Spanishness independent of the political regime, whether a dictatorship or a democracy? Is it located within enduring traits throughout the history of Spain? How far back could one trace the origins of this Spanishness? For the AVT, Spanishness has been fixed in immemorial time and linked to the fight against the Muslims centuries ago. Or it might be more accurate to say that Spanishness is founded in the myths literally and historically constructed around Christian knights fighting to expel Muslims—and Jews and whoever was perceived as different—from the lost Acadia of a Christian Iberian Peninsula. Despite historians having proved little if any truth value in these myths, political right-wing definitions of Spanishness still prevail. For the AVT, as well as the PP, being a Spaniard means being Catholic, European, middle-class, and male: an identity

distilled throughout periods of historical *greatness* and imperial conquests. According to this view of Spanishness, the March 2004 victims were killed because of their contemporary embodiment of Spanish *greatness*.

Not surprisingly, the AVT favors a memorial site where those who died are no longer citizens with different ethnicities, genders, social classes, or sexual orientations critically engaged with their realities. They did not deserve to be killed, for sure, but for the AVT their innocence becomes synonymous with the *goodness* of the Spanish nation-state in sharp contrast with the evil of the ideologies supporting terrorism, like Islam or ETA's Basque nationalism. Now, at the memorial site, the innocence of the assassinated victims (they did not deserve to be killed) is reconfigured as that other innocence pervading Borrell's European or Spanish garden (they were killed because the evil jungle surfaced in the virtuous garden). The attack disrupted the almost Edenic everyday order of things in Spain, turning it into chaos. AVT's good intentions at providing the victims with a meaning for their onslaught are not put into doubt. However, for the AVT their assassination was a cruel, even if involuntarily, sacrifice to preserve the Spanish garden. Those who perished in the train bombings were given the *opportunity* to participate in the AVT's notion of Spanishness, even if they could have been strong opponents to its content. Therefore, the memorial site for this association functions as the place where the fair and honest emotions of distress and grief for the victims are put to work in restoring the Spanish garden as it is understood from the political right. In this guise, the places of memory mostly commemorate that Spanish garden unaware of the outside jungle and that has been unfairly thrown into confusion by the terrorist strike.

The attitude of the AVT is commonly described as "rallying around the flag," in other words, when political criticism and social disagreements are placed on hold to better support the government dealing with a crisis (Boussaguét and Faucher 82), for example, when after 9/11, the US uncritically united in the rejection of Islam and Muslims (Tiberj 95). Certainly, it is easier to mobilize the population around a flag standing for an ideal republic and a democracy, despite the drawbacks of colonialism, patriarchy, and neo-

liberalism associated to many if not all Western democracies. However, it is more challenging to support a flag that shares the same setbacks, but few of the positive aspects of laicism or republicanism. For many living in Spain, the Spanish flag, the one defended by the AVT, is still the flag, even if mistakenly, inherited from the dictatorship and defended by politicians from the right and extreme right-wings.

In any case, it is the task of the political sphere in a democracy to configure Spanishness and to keep it alive with strong critiques. It is true that “rallying around the flag” might “achieve reconciliation among different social groups and unify the population around a common agenda against terrorism,” but at the risk of “de-politicizing” (Gensburger 16) the terrorist crisis. Avoiding the de-politization of memory is what the 11-M Association aimed at when it stated that the Madrid victims died “because of the war in Iraq and the foreign policy of the Aznar’s-government” (Truc and Sánchez-Carretero 52). The terrorists who placed the explosives on the trains bear sole responsibility for the Madrid bombings. They are the only ones bearing the burden of their criminal actions. Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that the terrorist scheme started to take shape at the very moment the Aznar’s PP government advocated for an irresponsible foreign policy leading to the invasion of Iraq in 2003. A better “rallying around the flag” attitude should be reformulated as coming together to acknowledge the need to emotionally support the victims, the unfairness of their killing, and their innocence to whatever claims the terrorists might have made. However, “the idea of a common emotion transcending traditional political divides” could be make-believe, as the analysis of internet reactions to the Charlie Hebdo attack confirms (Badouard 49): the attitudes towards the slogan “Je suis Charlie” roughly resembled those of the AVT and 11-M analyzed here. The Madrid train bombings did not give way to a welcomed, shared, consensual memory. Unfortunately, they did not yield an agreed set of values that would honor every victim nor a site where the Spanish population at large could feel reasonably at home.

The Content of Memory

Unfortunately, after the terrorist strikes in Madrid and in other European cities no consensual memory has

emerged in the political sphere. Even the Norway of only five and a half million people erected three different memorial sites after the July 22, 2011, extreme right-wing attack because of differences in commemorating (Heath-Kelly 93-121). Most remarkable is that at the memorial sites erected across Europe very little attempt has been made at understanding Borrell's "jungle" to prevent future terrorist actions. If the jungle outside the borders of the European Union is the result of neoliberalism, neo-colonialism, and patriarchal practices in place to better dominate the Global South, academic discourses that underscored these underlying causes were not usually welcomed after the strikes. Direct action against terrorists was deemed more important. Even more worrisome was the lack of public discourse and of government efforts that reflected on the political conditions that led, or might have led, to the onslaughts. After the attacks on November 13, 2015 in France, then Prime Minister Manuel Valls, instead of reassuring his fellow citizens, decided to blame "those seeking to find so-called 'sociological excuses' for the terrorists" (Truc 2022, 108). And of all people, the Minister of National Education, Michel Blanquer, "openly attacked 'Islamist-leftist' academics, who in his view were guilty of 'intellectual complicity' with terrorists" (*ibidem*). Yes, a terrorist is just a terrorist, but his actions do not take place in a historical or political void. Regrettably, in the minds of these two politicians, understanding terrorism was equated to making excuses for violence or being complicit with it.

Examples like these abound on European soil. One of the last instances occurred after a radicalized person used a knife to attack individuals in three different Catholic churches in Algeciras, Spain's southernmost city, on January 25, 2023. A parish clerk was assassinated, and four other people were injured. Unfortunate as this attack was, the president of the conservative PP party, Alberto Núñez Feijóo, went a step further. For him, there was no need to understand and no need to make a call to remain calm and to support the victims. In his mind, the terrorist problem is crystal clear: "You will not see a Christian kill in the name of his religion as other people do"; "there is no Catholic terrorism in the world," whereas

“there is a problem with Islamic fundamentalism” (no pagination) (authors’ translation). Has he forgotten how in his own country the Civil War and its thousands of assassinations were justified as a Christian crusade against Communism? Is he intentionally portraying every Muslim as a terrorist? (Hansen 8). And more importantly, how can these xenophobic discourses be neutralized? It seems that we are still in need of those unwanted analyses of the so-called “‘Islamist’ academics” and their “sociological excuses” (Truc 2022, 108) to move beyond the simplistic framing of violence.

More than ever, a true memory of the terrorist strike must abide by the following criteria. First, whole sections of the population cannot be blamed because of their religious beliefs; individuals become terrorists when they commit crimes not because of their faith. Second, a true memory cannot justify the exclusion of those who do not fit within narrow and exclusionary national identities, like AVT’s Spanishness; in a democracy, the demos should comprise whoever lives within the borders of a state, including migrants. And thirdly, a true memory will be negotiable, and it should be able to include dissent and diversity but should not let itself be easily appropriated by radicalized right-wing political associations to advance their xenophobic and racist agendas. The population at large should feel represented by the content of this shared memory even if not in full agreement with every single aspect of it.

Configuring a memory that makes its own the points mentioned here is the task at hand. Intellectual work that studies, explains, and proposes ways of addressing and possibly avoiding terrorism will inform this memory in order to “help us to stay reasonable, to react with discernment to aggression and thus avoid falling into the trap of the terrorists” (Truc 2022, 109). This will allow us to dismiss comments from politicians like those from Valls or Feijóo, who sow division and fear in our societies. For the record, Paris mayor Anne Hidalgo rose up to the task on the day of the attacks on November 13, 2015, when she advocated for “a fraternal society, in which the emancipation of each person contributes to peace among all,” and where Parisians do not see a contradiction between “the desire to be themselves and the desire to be together (Bazin 30-31). So be it in Madrid, too.

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