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INTRODUCTION
Sune Auken, Palle Schantz Lauridsen, & Anders Juhl Rasmussen

DURING THE LAST FIVE DECADES or so the concept of genre has evolved from a local term concerned with categorization within literary (and to some extent aesthetic) studies into a multifaceted core concept within several disciplines: rhetoric, linguistics, communication and media studies, various aesthetic disciplines, and composition, to name but a few. Moreover, this expanded field of use is most likely only the beginning. The explanatory potential of genre is wider, as the type of cultural communication, interpretation, and categorization involved is active in every human endeavor. So there should be room for genre studies for example within the social sciences: a coherent sociology of genres (Russel, 1997, Bawarshi & Reiff, 2010) or a study of the genres of law could be illuminating indeed.

Genre studies addresses the cultural forms that arise in human interaction, the patterns and forms of culture, and the role they play in our production and interpretation of cultural utterances. “Utterances” must be taken very expansively: we are dealing not only with literary or aesthetic works, but also with linguistic and cultural utterances in a very broad sense, including TV programs, the genres of everyday conversation, juridical documents, sculptures, school essays, etc., etc. Genres are everywhere in culture, and the concept of genre follows close behind.

On the one hand, the usefulness of genres in culture has to do with their strongly regulative character. On the other hand, it derives from their flexibility, which allows everyone to modify genres in order to serve his or
her own communicative needs. The regulative function of genre determines, for instance, that a person writing a commercial will know that the recipient will relate it to a product which she can acquire through payment. At the same time, any utterance will contain individual elements based on, among other things, the specific character of its rhetorical situation, its historical and cultural background, and the specific intentions of the utterer (Schryer, 1993, Devitt, 2009). This means that familiarity with the genre of an utterance is a necessary prerequisite for understanding it. But it is not sufficient in itself—and only in the simplest of cases, and perhaps not even in those, is it possible to identify a text as belonging to one genre and one genre only.

As is the case with just about any concept rising to prominence within the humanities, the concept of genre too has become ridden with a multitude of meanings and ambiguities. The close scrutiny involved in any scholarly effort to understand a cultural phenomenon like genre tends to dissolve what appears solid into the thin air of linguistic and conceptual complexity. Adding to this, the widespread analytical and cultural use of genre has led to a number of different definitions of the concept, some so far apart that it is reasonable to wonder whether we are instead dealing with homonyms, as every new context seems to have toned the meaning of the concept—even if ever so slightly.

Since there is nothing unusual in this situation, as scholars we need not be surprised by it, much less discouraged. Attempts at discrediting and discarding the concept of genre have met with little success, and today the concept is as prolific in research as it is in culture in general. But we do need to let our understanding be challenged by the concept’s manifold meaning.

This volume is one of several possible ways to address this challenge. Its subject is the relation between genre and a number of other central concepts within the humanities. Each article in this book discusses the relationship between genre, on the one hand, and another important humanistic concept, on the other. These concepts range from extremely broad ones,
such as language, rhetoric, and categorization, to much more specific concepts, such as the novel, multiprotagonistic narrative, and poetry, on the other. Even when taken in combination, these articles of course cannot provide an exhaustive and coherent rendering of the numerous networks and relationships pertinent to the study of genre. They can, however, demonstrate some of the complexities involved in an understanding of genre, as well as give a small hint of the scholarly potential present in genre studies.

The present volume is based on a long-running discussion within the Research Group for Genre Studies at the Department of Nordic Studies and Linguistics at the University of Copenhagen. The authors represent several scholarly fields and a plurality of methods. However, the articles that follow are not to be taken as an argument for methodological pluralism, as the inherent contradiction in working from mutually exclusive assumptions is self-defeating. Instead, we have tried to let the various members of the group work from their own assumptions while in constant discussion with other approaches. Not all of these discussions will be noticeable in the articles that follow, but some will. Furthermore, given the variety of subject matters in the book, the theoretical framework must vary from article to article. For example, the Rhetorical Genre Studies of Carolyn Miller, Amy Devitt, and their partners are much more relevant to the articles on education and rhetoric than they are to the articles on conversation and paratext.

Despite these differences, numerous interrelations remain, and these form an interdisciplinary network throughout the volume. This discipline-based interdisciplinarity is, in fact, one of the central points of genre studies. The universities are under considerable pressure to work with interdisciplinary approaches, and whole institutes have been restructured on the promise of this notion. However, the call for interdisciplinarity is more problematic than it appears at first glance. As one of the great interdisciplinarians, Northrop Frye, puts it: “A scholar in an area not his own feels
like a knight errant who finds himself in the middle of a tournament and has unaccountably left his lance at home.” (Frye, 1982, p. IX). Interdisciplinary approaches threaten to turn into tournaments without lances: a lot of flying colors, shiny armor, and fine horsemanship, but very little in the manner of actual jousting. The problem is that most of us have spent our professional lives training to be strong within a discipline. That is usually where our primary interests lie. Our professional competencies are embedded within our respective fields; our scholarly work presupposes the effort of countless other researchers from our own fields; and even our vocabulary depends strongly on a knowledge specific to our discipline. Scholars often attend interdisciplinary conferences only to discover that the better part of the papers and keynotes are either utterly incomprehensible or at least without any meaningful relationship to their own work. One of the fundamental attractions of genre studies, therefore, is that they allow researchers to work within their specific fields, without having to take in vast amounts of unknown material and semi-digested theoretical approaches from other fields, all while carrying on a meaningful interdisciplinary dialogue.

Most of the authors of the present volume are connected to the Department of Nordic Studies and Linguistics at the University of Copenhagen, and all our authors have an immediate affinity to Scandinavian Studies. As a consequence, much of the material discussed is Scandinavian in origin, and none of the authors are native English speakers. Given the ELF (English as Lingua Franca) character of international research, this presents us with at least two major challenges. The first, obviously, is the language barrier, and the editors wish to thank Hanne Sæderup Pedersen and David Possen for their care in turning our second-language English into something reasonably correct.

The other challenge, however, is more vexing. As has been demonstrated in a number of studies (for instance Wolters, 2013, Tange, 2012, Aalbers, 2004), the dominance of the English language in research has also
led to a dominance of American and English subjects and points of view. Whereas these are considered of universal relevance, other subjects and points of view are frequently perceived as merely local, or as necessarily dependent upon what happens in the Anglo-American world.

Genre studies is not particularly biased in this respect, as is demonstrated, for example, by the pivotal roles of such continental theorists as Jauss, Genette, and Derrida, and the prominence of Brazilian subject matter in a major recent work like *Genre in a Changing World* (Bazerman, Bonini, and Figueiredo (eds.), 2009). But it does have to take it into consideration. As a consequence, several of the articles of this book are theoretical in orientation, and address the international theoretical debate more or less exclusively. On the other hand, a study of genre would be sadly lacking, if it did not contain a strong empirical element, and most of the empirical material addressed in this volume is taken from the area of Scandinavian Studies. Care has been taken to ensure that this material is treated in such a manner that the Scandinavian material is readily accessible to non-Scandinavians. Furthermore, every article has broader theoretical and analytical implications, whose relevance does not depend upon expert knowledge of Scandinavian Studies.

As argued above, the following articles enjoy considerable conceptual and theoretical overlap. All deal with a mixture of theoretical and analytical questions, and these are often deeply interdisciplinary. Because of this, it would cut against the book’s very intention to structure it by dividing it into strictly separate sections. Nevertheless, because a book must somehow be sequential, we have arranged the articles in three parts.

The first part deals with “Approaches through Theory.” It opens with the article “Genre and Writing Pedagogy,” Anne Smedegaard’s investigation of genre understanding and genre teaching in the discourse community of the subject of Danish as taught in upper secondary schools in Denmark. This article focuses on the three examination genres, the “literary article,” the “feature article,” and the “essay”, which were introduced in
2005 by a departmental order and teacher guidelines issued by the Danish Ministry of Education. Smedegaard’s main argument is that the official documents describe the context of the three genres vaguely and ambiguously; that they do not make explicit the full potential of mapping genres; and that they do not encourage critical genre awareness. Smedegaard eventually argues that this has severe consequences for the actual pedagogy that is informed by these guidelines. To undergird its discussion of the three genres, the article also provides an introduction to the three most prominent international pragmatic genre theories and their accompanying pedagogical programs. These three genre schools are *Rhetorical Genre Studies (RGS)*, *English for Specific Purposes (ESP)*, and the *Sydney School*.

Next comes Frans Gregersen’s article “Genre and Conversation.” Gregersen makes three claims: (1) The source of all written genres is ultimately to be found in spoken language. (2) This necessitates giving some thought to the historical problems of the evolution of genres, the institutionalization of oral genres, and the synchronic problem of the status of structure and function. (3) The empirical study of genre may benefit from the study of the various genres that can be found in sociolinguistic interviews. This is because they are the successors to the long line of oral genres from the past, and because they make up a significant portion of our interpretative repertoire for understanding what goes on not only in our everyday lives, but also, by implication, in literary texts. The analysis involves a theoretical introduction, an exemplification in a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews, and finally an analysis of a piece of modern Danish prose, namely, a short story by Katrine Marie Guldager.

“Genre and Rhetoric” is Christel Sunesen’s introduction to modern rhetorical genre theory and its possibilities and limitations in regard to literary genre theory and analysis. Sunesen outlines three primary types of rhetorical-aesthetic genres, viz. literary paratextual genres, occasional genres, and literary de facto genres, and examines the relationship between the rhetorical and aesthetic dimensions of texts from a generic perspective centered on the rhetorical terms “rhetorical situation” and “social action.”
Despite the numerous possibilities for rhetorical genre theory in relation to literary genre theory and analysis, the main challenge is that literary texts, unlike rhetorical texts, are defined by their ability to transcend the situation in which they were written.

Closing the first part of the book, but with a foot in the door of the second part, is Anders Juhl Rasmussen’s “Genre and Paratext.” Paratexts, as defined by Gérard Genette in *Paratexts* (1987/1997), are the manifold marginal texts in a literary work—the title, genre indication, preface, jacket copy, and more—that surround the body text, and shape how the reading public understands it. However, the sociology of the text, with its emphasis on how the material layers of literary works contribute to determining how they are understood, indicates that “paratext” should be (re)defined as an umbrella term that also includes typography, illustrations, formatting, etc. While much has been written about genre and paratexts since the late 1980s, no one has yet presented a focused account of the relation between the two in literary works. In “Genre and Paratext,” Anders Juhl Rasmussen aims first to define “paratext” qua concept, and then to clarify the sociological status (particularly with regard to the sociology of publishing) and pragmatic function of paratexts, both in general and in a concrete analysis of the paratexts of the novel *6512* (1969), by the Danish author Per Højholt. Finally, the paratextual strategies of modernism and postmodernism are examined in a genre-historical perspective.

The second part of the book is named “Reading Genre,” and contains a number of articles focused on empirical work with genres. Opening the second part of the book, but with a foot in the door of the first part, is Sune Auken’s “Genre and Interpretation.” Despite the immensity of genre studies as well as studies in interpretation, our understanding of the relationship between genre and interpretation is sketchy at best. The article attempts to unravel some of intricacies of that relationship through an analysis of the generic interpretation carried out by us all in everyday life, and the role of generic interpretation in scholarly work. The article argues that
the role played by genre in interpretation has as much to do with the individual characteristics of an utterance as with its relationship to other utterances. An interest in the generic traits of an utterance will lead to a characterization of its individual, as well as its general characteristics. The article proceeds to describe three central concepts within genre studies that are applicable to generic interpretation: “horizon of expectation,” “world,” and the triad “theme-form-rhetoric”. The purpose is to form a heuristic tool for generic interpretation whose primary value lies in its conceptual open-endedness, and the ease with which it interacts with a broad variety of utterances and genres.

American movie blockbusters, as well as British and American television series, have rearticulated the international popularity of Sherlock Holmes. But how did it all begin? What were the channels through which the fictitious British character gained popularity over a hundred years ago? Through which forms, and through what generic modulations of the stories, did early readers and audiences encounter the character? In “Genre and Modulation,” Palle Schantz Lauridsen analyses this reception through the generic modulations performed by the play *Sherlock Holmes*, which was extremely popular at the beginning of the 20th century. He also includes a Danish film series and other adaptations and pastiches from the period. The article concludes that audience expectations, and the change from print media to the medium of popular theatre (and, later, film), made possible substantial generic modulations within the universe of which Holmes was the central character.

Along similar lines, Erik Svendsen’s “Genre and Adaptation” focuses on two interrelated phenomena in contemporary media culture: adaptations and the blurring of boundaries between genres. The first part discusses the ways adaptation today—as a media industrial phenomenon—challenges our traditional understanding of the transformative process from novel into film. The second part discusses how the blurring of genre boundaries is now a widespread phenomenon. Genres are dynamic systems that change historically, and one single text is never representative of a genre. The
final part of the article focuses on semiotic transformations and differences in relation to adaptations. The central question is how to compare a conventionally defined, symbolically anchored written language with a visual language consisting of both iconic and indexical signs. The article argues that refraining from insisting on a hierarchy between the two sign systems makes it possible to navigate between them by means of a double gaze which calls attention to adaptation as a media cultural fact, and yet emphasizes each media product’s particular qualities and characteristics.

René Rasmussen’s article, “Genre and Lyric Poetry,” is an attempt to define lyric poems as a genre different from narrative or dramatic poems. Such poems often contain a high degree of tropes, figures, and significant enjambments. The presence of tropes and figures must not be considered a mark of a latent semantic signification connected to the poems, but rather a subversion of any semantic dimension. Such poems are also marked by subjectivity, which can be manifested by an “I” in a poem; though such an I can also disappear in the poem. This possibly delicate position of this “I” necessitates that we distinguish between the enunciated and the enunciation. Regarding this important distance between the subject of the enunciated and the enunciation, along with the importance of tropes and figures in lyric poems, the article attempts to show how poems paradoxically “talk” about that which cannot be spoken of in language.

Beata Agrell’s article “Genre and Working Class Fiction” deals with genre conceived as rhetorical action, and as a cognitive schema associated with an exigence or social need calling for utterance and action. Genres in this sense are permeated with addressivity, and are instruments of knowledge, interpretation, and communication rather than taxonomic systems. This concept of genre is further illuminated by the example of early Swedish working-class fiction as a new literature of low-brow hybridicty and multigenre origin, created by autodidactic authors without conventional education or cultural prestige. The focus is on how this fiction came into generic being in the early 1900s by combining narrative traditions in the margins of classic realism, symbolism, and protomodernisms of the
Bo Jørgensen’s contribution, “Genre and the Collective Novel,” focuses on the generic definition of the collective novel. Theorists typically classify the collective novel as a genre bound to a specific literary period, the nineteen thirties, but a number of contemporary Danish works proclaiming to be collective novels have recently been received as examples of the genre. The intention behind the article is twofold: to seek to present literary material that raises fundamental generic questions, and to embark on a re-contextualisation of the genre itself. With examples taken from Danish and international literature—and perspectives drawn to recent trends in film—the article examines the ideological and aesthetic repercussions of new works that insist on being read as examples of a genre belonging to the past, and tied to a specific period.

The discovery of the Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin’s literary theory has had a crucial impact on the view of literary genres, especially the novel, in the last decades. In “Genre and Novelness,” Gorm Larsen analyses this impact in relation to the generic concept of the novel. Bakhtin has linked the novel to the appearance of modern society, described it through a long (pre)history, and regarded it in relationship to other genres. Instead of formalistic or structural approaches, Bakhtin studies the novel from different conceptual point of views, e.g. polyphony, dialogue, and chronotope. This results in a broad understanding of the novel that includes not only its relationship to its surroundings, but also awareness of stylistic and semantic profiles. Because the literary subgenre, such as the sonnet, exits and can be identified with the help of specific formal features, there has been a strong preoccupation in literary theory with the search for specific features that classify each subgenre. But by following Bakhtin it will be more precise to talk about the possible potentials of the novel in preference to the Novel with capital N. This kind of novelness opens up
the notion of genre. Although Bakhtin’s concept is no longer new, it can be difficult to see the full consequence of it. Gorm Larsen tries to remedy this by arguing that the novel as a genre has no fixed closure, but rather is characterized by different possible elements, such that each one can be more or less novelized.

The two articles forming the final part of the book, “Perspectives,” both reach beyond genre studies to adjoining areas. In “Genre and Language,” Nina Møller Andersen interprets Bakhtin from a linguistic point of view, and shows what is meant by “speech genre” through a linguistic reading of his work in its original language, Russian. In his most important work on genre, “Speech genres” from 1952-53, Bakhtin’s starting point is, as the title also suggests and as often is the case with Bakhtin, language; a fact that is hardly recognized by his critics from literary scholarship. Møller discusses different readings of Bakhtin and of his work on genre. Her aim is to specify and define the concepts of speech genres according to their intended and original use, so they can be operationalized and used in analyses of both language and literature. Bakhtin’s concept “speech genres” are compared to the Oxford School’s “speech acts”, the concepts of Bakhtin’s works on speech genres are operationalized into an analytic system illustrated by examples from both language and literature. Finally, Nina Møller Andersen puts the concepts to use in an analysis of poetry.

In “Genre and Categorization.” Ib Ulbæk asks whether “genre” is a concept like any other concept, or whether it has a special structure or special content. This question is interesting, because different ways to use genres follow from different answers to it. Looking at the Aristotelian and the prototype theory of concepts, and how to build conceptual hierarchies, Ulbæk’s approach gives an account of what a concept is and how concepts are organized. Genres as concepts and hierarchies are exemplified by analyzing the academic genres, and their fundamental branching into research, teaching and public communication. Genres are cognitive resources for the communicating agents. Categorization into genre yields extra knowledge
of the text; but this comes at a cost. The cognitive agent has to identify the text as belonging to a certain genre, and so has to start an inductive process of collecting cues to arrive at a genre judgment. The reward of this classification is the hierarchy into which the text is put—and the knowledge it carries.


APPROACHES THROUGH THEORY
GENRES PERMEATE THE HUMAN understanding of and interaction with the surrounding world. This pragmatic account of genre was already formulated by M.M. Bakhtin in 1952-1953,¹ with his description of how individual utterances relate to the relatively stable types called “speech genres,” which are developed in all spheres of communication (1952-1953/1986, p. 60). These relatively stable types are also found in the classroom. Pragmatically speaking, each school subject has its own oral and written genres, which emerge, develop, and crystallize over time and in specific contexts. These are firmly entrenched in the discourse of the particular subject, and both genres and discourses constitute the subject’s norms and ideologies. Such genres thus belong to discourse communities, such as the community surrounding high school Danish teaching—the pivot-point of the present article.

Throughout life, we learn new genres whenever we become members of new discourse communities. Genres are normally learned implicitly, through participation in a discourse community; but this participation can only be remote and tacit at the very beginning, since full membership in a discourse community implies complete genre acquisition of that community’s most important genres.

¹ Cf. also Andersen, this volume.
Fortunately, the new genres that we meet tend to share a wide range of features with genres that we already know. We decode new contexts and genres on the basis of the knowledge that we carry with us from previous situations. Deborah Wells Rowe has demonstrated that acquiring such a stock of genre knowledge is not an advanced communication skill. On the contrary, children learn genres simultaneously with the rest of language. Because written texts are an integrated part of western society, children already possess knowledge of a wide range of written genres before they start school (Rowe, 2008, p. 407).

Building bridges between existing and new knowledge is not equally easy for all schoolchildren. For middle and upper-class children, growing up in families and environments where they are socialized into discourses and genres that correspond to those of the classroom, the decoding process happens frictionlessly. For these children, implicit learning and successful usage of the genres involved in school pedagogy is rather unproblematic. Meanwhile, other children may struggle to decode how to write and speak throughout their years at school (Chouliarki, 2001, pp. 43-45). To refer to the wide spectrum of staged, socially structured, and linguistically embedded teaching-learning activities that are used in all kinds of school subjects, Francis Christie (1993) uses the term “curriculum genres”. In this article, it is an underlying premise that explicit teaching in both curriculum genres and other genres eases students’ access to school discourse. Explicit genre knowledge gives students the chance to become full members of a given subject’s discourse community, along with the opportunity and proper metalinguistic tools to discuss and critique genres and discourses.

This article provides an introduction to the three most prominent international pragmatic genre theories and their accompanying pedagogical programs. These three genre schools, which have developed over the last decades, are Rhetorical Genre Studies (RGS), English for Specific Purposes (ESP), and the Sydney School, which is based on Systemic Func-
tional Linguistics. This theoretical discussion serves as my point of departure for the rest of the article, in which I present an analysis of genre understanding and teaching in the portion of high school Danish instruction that is concerned with writing.

In 2005, three examination genres for use in high school Danish instruction were introduced in a departmental order and teacher guidelines issued by Denmark’s Ministry of Education. The three genres were identified as the literary article, the kronik, and the essay. These three genres are the ones that students mainly produce during their three years of Danish instruction in high school, and they are the genres that the students will encounter in their final examination.

This article argues that the account of genre reflected in the official documents about the three genres issued by the Ministry of Education overlooks important insights that have emerged over the last three decades in international pragmatic genre theory and pedagogy. I will show that even though pragmatic genre theory has influenced parts of the descriptions of the three examination genres, the descriptions are not informed by

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2 Sunny Hyon (1996) was the first to group the work in genre analysis into these three categories in her widely quoted state-of-the-art article “Genre in Three Traditions: Implications for ESL”.

3 A kronik is a long opinion piece for newspaper publication, typically written not by a journalist, but by a person who wants to contribute to a specific discussion of a topic by directing attention to circumstances that have escaped the public debate. The writer normally draws on either professional or private knowledge. This genre is not quite the same as the English “feature article,” as it only rarely contains elements of short stories, and because its purpose is to evoke a rational response more than an emotional one. Accordingly, I here retain the Danish term kronik rather than using a translation (as I do for the other two school genres). Nevertheless, the school kronik can be said to be reminiscent of the “argumentative essay” used in Anglo-American school systems, whereas the “essay” used in Danish instruction differs from the “essay” used in English classes in Anglo-American schools in that the former draws on the tradition of personal exposition and discussion deriving from Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592).
a fundamental understanding of genres as functional entities integrated in a specific social and rhetorical context. I will argue that this has severe consequences for the pedagogy that is the result of the Ministry’s guidelines.

**THE PRAGMATIC UNDERSTANDING OF GENRES**

RGS rests on Carolyn Miller’s (1984) well-known pragmatic and rhetorical genre approach.\(^4\) Her definition of genres as “typified rhetorical actions based in recurrent situations” (Miller, 1984, p. 159) is a shared basis for members of RGS. Amy Devitt (2004), for example, accentuates Miller’s description of how we understand situations as recurrent even though situations are materially unique and our individual perception of a given situation is unique. These recurrent conditions, which are attached to specific social contexts, prepare the ground for people to produce and recognize typified actions such as genres (p. 13). Furthermore, it is common in RGS to adopt Miller’s description of the relation between types and situations as reciprocal. That is: we use types and conceptions in our understanding of recurrent rhetorical situations, and we construct these types and conceptions while engaged in situation-bound interactions (Miller, 1984, pp. 156-157).

Amy Devitt (1993) argues that genres not only respond to, but also play an active part in, the construction of recurrent situations (p. 577). The text reflects the genre, and thereby indirectly reflects the situation as well: “by beginning to write within a genre, the writer has selected the situation entailed in that genre.” (p. 578). In this way genres, through their usage, have a great effect on the context: they maintain, reveal tensions within, and help to reproduce social practices and realities. At the same time, genres are context-bound: they are formed by society and the different types of situations it presents. Charles Bazerman (2003) of the Writing Across the Curriculum (WAC) movement, which is strongly connected to RGS,  

\(^4\) See also Sunesen, *this volume.*
describes this connection as something that is present in all meaning-making, written as well as oral, fiction as well as non-fiction; even in silent reading, we always interact with the written text in a context, and we always use tools such as genres: “We have no sense-making mechanism apart from our orientating toward a situation and activity, using culturally available tools.” (p. 387).

Context and situation also play an important part in the understanding of genre in ESP and the Sydney School. Even though perhaps the most influential figure in ESP, John M. Swales, has changed his definition of genre throughout the years, he has maintained the notion that genres are shared types of ways to act in specific situations. In 1990, Swales defined genres in relation to discourse communities. Genres are described as communicative events used to achieve the discourse community’s common goals (2008, p. 9). The genre’s communicative purpose is one of its privileged criteria, and contributes to its stability together with a range of other features such as structure, style, content, and intended audience (2008, p. 58).

In *Research Genres: Explorations and Applications* (2004), Swales’ focus moves from individual genres to the relation between genres used within a field, and he describes different genre constellations such as hierarchies between high- and low-valued genres, genre chains, genre sets, and genre networks (p. 12-25). Here Swales avoids the term “discourse community,” but instead uses such words as “field” and “sector.” He criticizes his former position on genre as both too narrow to apply to all empirical cases and too general to be used in analysis of emergent genres. Instead, Swales wishes to make genre a metaphorical endeavor, and comments on six different metaphors used by different genre theorists such as Bazerman, Devitt and Fishelov: “genre as frame,” “genre as standard,” “genres as biological species,” “genres as families,” “genres as institutions,” and “genres as speech acts.” (p. 61-68). Swales points to the fact that genre command is a necessary component, but is not the only thing needed for
discoursal success (p. 62). With a reference to Beaufort (1998), Swales underscores that shared knowledge in a field also pertains to subject matter, rhetoric, and writing process (p. 62).

Swales (2004) stresses that it can be a challenge to work out the communicative purpose of texts. He states that “the repurposing of the genre(s)” must be incorporated as a separate stage in the analysis no matter whether it follows the tradition of ESP or RGS. Moreover, several complicating factors make it necessary to question preliminary interpretations of the communicative purpose throughout the analysis. For example, texts do not always do what they seem to be doing; genres develop over time; sometimes the author has multiple purposes; texts do not always do what is implied by the genre label; and speech acts can give rise to different interpretations (p. 73).

The Sydney School understands genres as integrated into social practices of a given culture and as recurrent configurations of meanings used with specific purposes. Its genre definition has stayed the same since the 1990s, and reads as follows:

As a working definition we characterized genres as staged, goal oriented social processes. Staged, because it usually takes more than one step to reach our goals; goal oriented because we feel frustrated if we don’t accomplish the final steps (…); social because writers shape their texts for readers of particular kinds. (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 6)

The definition captures important aspects of genres, but does not distinguish genres from a whole range of other social processes, such as (for example) war or a career path.

In the Sydney School’s definition, structure takes a prominent place. The Sydney School also considers the relations among different genres to be extremely important, inasmuch as knowledge of these relations increases our understanding of how genres are used and chosen. Many factors can
distinguish one genre from another; for example, the presence of a timeline in a recount differentiates it from an observation or a comment, and the use of specific reference in descriptions brings out their contrast to reports, in which general references are preferred. In the Sydney School, systems of choices constitute genres (Martin & Rose, 2008, pp. 6-7).

The three schools all define genres as both social and cognitive: genres are “situated cognition” (Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1995, p. 7). Ian Bruce (2008) converts this both/and-understanding of genres to an either/or-understanding, i.e., genres are either social or cognitive. Social genres refer to “socially recognized constructs according to which whole texts are classified in terms of their overall social purpose” (p. 8). His examples include personal letters, novels, and the academic article. The three examination genres used in the Danish high school also fit in here. The cognitive genres are deeply connected to their rhetorical purpose, as for example to sort information according to importance. The cognitive genres are defined by the functional use of language, and count text types such as narrative, expository, descriptive, argumentative, and instructional. Furthermore, although a social genre can consist of only one cognitive genre, it is more common that social genres exhibit features of a wide range of cognitive genres.

I do not find this separation of cognitive and social genres appropriate. Bruce appears to derive his conclusion that static, cognitive structures or genres actually exist from the fact that whenever we enter new situations, we reuse knowledge, such as genre knowledge, that we bring with us from previous situations. In opposition to Bruce, I argue that this knowledge only gains new relevance in social situations—and the way in which our former experiences are put to renewed use is strongly influenced by the specific context. We do not carry about fixed, prototypically cognitive genre structures; rather, both of the kinds of genres that Bruce describes are socio-cognitive. They are both attached to language in time and context, and they are both conventional lines of action and thought. That
being said, I find Bruce’s distinction between the two kinds of genres useful for descriptive purposes. My solution, therefore, is to distinguish between socio-cognitive genres, which describe full texts, and socio-cognitive genre values, which as ways of thinking cut across genres while adjusting to the context of specific genres and texts. The concept of “genre values” is inspired by Bhatia (2004), who uses the term “generic values” about rhetorical actions such as arguments, narratives, descriptions, explanations, and instructions (p. 59-60).

ESP and RGS tend to pay attention to what I call socio-cognitive genres, whereas members of the Sydney School focus to a greater extent on the socio-cognitive genre values, which they categories as genres. For example, Martin and Rose (2008) describe the recount, the narrative, the report, and the explanation (p. 52, 141), whereas Devitt (2004) analyses different genres used by tax accountants including nontechnical correspondence, administrative memoranda, engagement letters, and proposals (p. 68). By shedding light on research genres such as the PhD dissertation and the PhD defense, Swales (2004) does describe genres, but he also points to genre values, e.g., the narrative (p. 111).

In spite of this major difference between ESP and RGS, on the one hand, and the Sydney School on the other, the three schools bear many points of resemblance. All criticize the traditional conception of genre for restricting itself to describing recurring textual and structural features. In addition, there is agreement on viewing genres as social entities. Genres are context-bound actions, and genres match specific purposes and goals in a particular context. In the Sydney School, such contexts are described within M.A.K. Halliday’s theory about variations of situations.⁵ These variations are described as variations in register (field, tenor, and mode) and in the three corresponding language metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal, and textual) (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 11). All three approaches

emphasize the addressee, the context, and the occasion (Freedman, 2008, p. 104); all describe genre as both providing standards and etiquettes for how things are done and, at the same time, permitting a fair amount of freedom of choice. Genres allow “constrained creativity” (Gregersen, 1998, p. 115)⁶ and “accommodate both stability and change” (Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1993, p. 481). The changes are due to the fact that the conditions of use of the individual genre change from situation to situation. There can be changes in the material conditions, community membership, technology, disciplinary purposes, values, and systems of accountability (Bawarshi & Reiff, 2010, p. 79). There is also always variation among the people who use genres. Pierre Bourdieu uses the term “habitus” to describe dispositions, inclinations, character, sensibilities, schemata, and the individual’s taste (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1996)—conditions that all affect the use of genres.

Genres are of great importance, and not only for analytical purposes (Devitt, 2000, p. 703). They are the tools used and played with in all kinds of everyday interaction: at work, at school, in newspapers, on television, in ceremonies, and so on. But genres not only express norms; members of all three schools agree that they also merge with the ideology of the discourse community. Here, for example, is the RGS point of view, as formulated by Berkenkotter & Huckins (1993): “Thus genres themselves, when examined closely from the perspective of those who use them, reveal much about a discourse community’s norms, epistemology, ideology, and social ontology.” (p. 501)

Nevertheless, despite these similarities in their overall approach to the conception of genre by ESP, RGS, and the Sydney school, there are considerable differences among the three international genre schools with respect to genre description and genre pedagogy. This will be illustrated in the next two parts.

⁶ My translation.
GENRE DESCRIPTION

Flowerdew (2002) agrees with Hyon’s division of pragmatic genre theory into three schools, but suggests a further subcategorization into linguistic and non-linguistic approaches. ESP and the Sydney School are linguistic schools, whereas RGS (New Rhetoric) takes a nonlinguistic approach. The goal of their analyses differ because the two approaches focus their attention differently: “Putting it another way, the linguistic approach looks to the situational context to interpret the linguistic and discourse structures, whereas the New Rhetoric may look to the text to interpret the situational context.” (pp. 91-92)

The linguistic schools have text-focus and RGS context-focus. Flowerdew’s description corresponds with that of Swales (2004) and that of Bawarshi and Reiff (2010), except that they both exclude the Sydney School from their division. Bawarshi and Reiff call attention to the fact that whereas ESP emphasizes the communicative aspect of genre, RGS emphasizes the social aspect (pp. 57-58). Swales (2004) similarly characterizes ESP as a “text-first” linguistic/ESP approach, and RGS as a “situation-first” new rhetoric approach (p. 72-73). These differences become very clear when one examines the three schools’ concrete studies and analyses. At root, Martin and Rose’s (2008) analysis can be described as a social semiotic study of the linguistic patterns of different genres, or as I call them, genre values. The linguistic patterns are described with the use of Systemic Functional Grammar. Swales (2008) analyses the textual features of the English style research article, and Devitt (2004) focuses primarily on the relationship between genre and community (pp. 66-67).7

As a consequence of their different focus, the three schools use different kinds of data in their investigations. In addition to analyses of written texts, Devitt includes analyses of interviews. Her data collection and analyses are in line with Miller’s recommendations. Miller (1984) pleads for

7 The study was first published in Devitt (1991).
genre studies that explicate the knowledge that practice creates, e.g. by using an ethnomethodological classification that takes the de facto genres of everyday language at face value (p. 155). Devitt uses such a classification (2004, pp. 67-68). Martin and Rose (2008), by contrast, use their own labels, and suggest that the users themselves are short of genre categories (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 1; 5). Meanwhile, Swales (2008) warns analysts against unreflectively and uncritically adopting the communities’ own genre categories, which might be ambiguous, changing or non-existent (pp. 54-57). Miller (1984) regards genre studies as culture and history studies instead of aesthetic studies (p. 158). As is captured in the quotation in the preceding passage, Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995), who are part of RGS, agree with Miller and Devitt that the analyst must investigate the users’ understanding of genres. Like Devitt, they collect and analyze both interviews and text examples (pp. 28-29). By contrast, both Martin and Rose (2008) and Swales refrain from interview studies, focusing solely on their text corpora.

**IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT GENRE PEDAGOGIES**

Genres are not just forms. Genres are forms of life, ways of being. They are frames for social action. They are environments for learning.

(Bazerman, 1997, p. 19)

In this poetic definition of genre, Bazerman indicates that genres are places to situate one’s attention when learning to read and write. Genre is, indeed, a focal point in some portions of Writing Across the Curriculum (WAC). The movement’s programs combine two strands: writing to learn and learning to write in the disciplines. The first is concerned with teaching students to use writing as a tool for discovering and shaping knowledge; the second focuses on students learning the specific genres and conventions of a discourse community (Bawarshi & Reiff, 2010, pp. 206-207).
WAC has particularly tried to improve the teaching of writing at the university (Russell, Lea, Parker, Street, & Donahue, 2009, p. 395). Over the years, it has functioned as both a practical and a theoretical movement (Bazerman, Little, Bethel, Chavkin, Fouquette, & Garfis, 2005).

Adherents of both implicit and explicit genre teaching can be found in WAC, but most members regard the implicit method of teaching, in which students learn to write new genres through writing in authentic contexts, to be most effective. This implies that students primarily learn to write just by writing, and that the teacher’s job is to encourage writing by setting up feedback, revision, and repetition (Russel et.al., 2009, p. 408–409). In Genre and Cognitive Development: Beyond Writing to Learn (2009), Bazerman delivers an implicit criticism of this pedagogy when he explains why his own view on explicit teaching of grammar has changed. Over the years, Bazerman has distanced himself from direct grammatical instruction in writing pedagogy because studies such as Hillocks (1986) reveal the ineffectiveness of traditional grammar teaching. But based on Vygotsky’s account of how learning encourages development (1978; 1987), Bazerman argues that even though grammatical instructions have no transfer value when children first learn to read and write, that knowledge changes their comprehension in the long term. Through development, explicit grammatical knowledge will blend with how the learner perceives and construes sentences. According to Bazerman (2009), explicit teaching should therefore begin at an early point and consist of both grammar and “other levels of composing, such as text structuring devices, genre expectations, audience and situation concerns, and activity consequences within larger social systems.” (p. 288)

Just as in WAC, the relevance of explicit genre teaching has also been discussed in RGS. One of the most quoted critiques of explicit teaching is

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8 Sawyer & Watson, 1987, advocates for a Hillock inspired approach towards genres.
that of Aviva Freedman. Freedman (1993) argues that teachers can never give an exhaustive interpretation of a given genre and “the complex web of social, cultural, and rhetorical features to which genres respond” (p. 225). Explicit teaching is therefore impossible and unnecessary. Even sophisticated genres can be learned in their original setting without explicit instruction because “Genre Knowledge Is Tacit.” (p. 231).

Another kind of critique comes from representatives of progressive pedagogy, who believe that explicit genre knowledge impedes the writer’s creativity and the use of his or her personal voice. In the debate book The Place of Genre in Learning: Current Debates (1987), John Dixon calls genres “mind-forg’d manacles” and “algorithmic sequences,” which students must exceed when they write (1987, pp. 9-10).

The Sydney School introduced its explicit genre pedagogy in the 1980s as a response to progressive pedagogy, which at the time was growing increasingly influential in Australia. Inspired by Basil Bernstein (1979; 1996), the Sydney School criticizes the fact that with progressive pedagogy, children are locked into accounts of everyday personal experience without developing powerful representations of thought suitable for communication with the surrounding society (Chouliaraki, 2001). This tendency, the Sydney School has argued, is most noticeable among children who are brought up with other kinds of cultural practices than those recontextualized in school. As Frances Christie (1985) puts it, to have what it takes to perform well in school is “largely a language matter” (p. 21). It is a matter of possessing the resources that are necessary to interpret and manipulate the various kinds of school discourse. Some children are brought up with genres similar to those that are used in school, and these succeed very readily; others are not, and for them school becomes a struggle. As Martin, Christie, and Rothery (1987) put it, these students are left with their own words, which:
cuts them off absolutely from any real understanding of what the humanities, social sciences and sciences are about and denies them the tools these disciplines have developed to understand the world. These tools are fundamentally linguistic ones—the genres and varieties of abstract and technical language associated with each discipline. Education cannot make access to these tools a viable goal unless it deconstructs the language involved and the ways in which such language can be taught.

Progressive pedagogies that focus on students’ playful ways with words and on renewal of the language are also criticized from a different angle. Gunther Kress (1987) points to the fact that genres are deeply embedded within cultures: “Challenging genres is therefore challenging culture.” (p. 44). Students always write in the context of genres. Hence to succeed, their creativity must, according to Kress, be in agreement with at least some of the existing genre expectations. Bakhtin (1986) offers a similar description of the relation between genre and creativity: “(…) to use a genre freely and creatively is not the same as to create a genre from the beginning; genres must be fully mastered in order to be manipulated freely.” (p. 80).

Disagreement about explicit teaching of genre, grammar, composition, etc., is a preoccupation only for members of RGS and WAC. Since the Sydney school and ESP emerged out of a pedagogical imperative, both schools argue for the necessity of explicit genre teaching based on text analysis by means of grammatical and discourse semantic categories. Here the aim is to make the ideologies, norms, and genres of both school and society visible to all students.

THREE EXAMPLES OF EXPLICIT GENRE PEDAGOGY
Starting in 1989, the Sydney school has introduced several teaching models (Martin, 1999, p. 126). The general idea is to create a pedagogy that operates with a high degree of teacher management and guidance in some
stages, and with a less authoritative teacher, and more student control over student work, in others. These models all include three main phases in the work devoted to learn a new genre: “deconstruction,” “joint construction,” and “independent construction.” “Deconstruction” is concerned with exploring the genre’s context, both cultural and situational. It also incorporates grammatical analysis of the purpose, the features, and the contents of the text, as well as the roles of and the relationship between the writer and the recipient. In “joint construction,” the teacher will create a text on the board together with the students. “Independent construction,” finally, is the phase in which students compose a text in the same genre, but now on their own. They get feedback both from other students and from the teacher, supporting the individual writer in his or her writing process.

The Sydney school’s models incorporate a critical orientation to genre that is inspired by progressive pedagogy’s critique of explicit teaching. In all three phases, the teacher is supposed to prepare the ground for a critical approach to the genre in question. The students are not only supposed to learn how to read and write genres, but also to use genres creatively—to change them over time (Martin, 1999, p. 131). In concrete teaching courses, the three phases can be interchanged in order to meet the needs of the specific class, students, and subject.

In Genre Analysis (1990/2008), Swales describes a teaching model that is more loosely designed than the Sydney school’s model. The target group differs as well: whereas the Sydney school is mostly concerned with primary school children, Swales describes the teaching of curriculum genres at the university, especially to students with English as a second language. The essential elements in Swales’ pedagogy are language-learning tasks. His definition of a task reads as follows:

I suggest that we might think of task as: One of a set of differentiated, sequenceable goal-directed activities drawing upon a range of cognitive and communicative procedures relatable to the acquisition of pre-genre
and genre skills appropriate to a foreseen or emerging sociorhetorical situation. (p. 76)

Beyond the language-learning task itself, there are three other “access routes” that a class instructor may use to create appropriate instructional activities. The most important is that students obtain knowledge about the discourse communities. This is done through ethnographical studies by observation, participation, interview, and questionnaire. The targeted discourse community is the community that course participants are trying to join (p. 68).

Swales gives four examples of language-learning tasks, and from these it is clear that he, like the Sydney school, links reception and production. In the first task, the students are supposed to analyze text examples of a genre; in the second, they are asked to rewrite two of the texts that they have examined. This constant movement between reception and production is a characteristic feature of all four exercises (pp. 80-81).

Amy Devitt, who is part of RGS, recommends—as does Bazerman—explicit teaching of genres. Like Freedman, Devitt (2009) is conscious of the fact that teaching decontextualizes genres by moving them from their authentic surroundings to a school situation. She regards this as a condition, but not as an insurmountable obstacle: ”If we teach a genre explicitly, we will inevitably teach it incompletely, but students will understand more about it than they would have if we had taught them nothing about it at all.” (p. 341).

Devitt’s teaching model contains many of the same elements as Swales’ and Martin’s do. Her target group, like Swales’, is university students; but whereas Swales is occupied with the teaching of curriculum genres, Devitt describes how she teaches genres in composition courses at university. One of her main aims is to give students insight into the rhetorical situation and the speech community. She teaches genre knowledge in three different ways: first, “genre as particles,” which means treating genre
as separate entities, as subject, structure and form; second, “genre as waves,” aiming to learn how to build on prior genres when learning new genres; third, “genre as fields or context,” where the goal is to learn how to criticize and change genres (p. 345). In all three stages, reception and production are firmly linked (p. 349). To build critical awareness, it is important that students investigate the context of the genre:

If we are to use genre theory effectively in our teaching, whether of literature or language, speaking or writing, it seems clear to me (…) that we must teach contextualized genres, situated within their contexts of culture, situation, and other genres. (Devitt, 2004, p. 191)

Devitt’s goal is to prepare the students to meet new genres:

Combined, these three elements help students to understand genres as created, dynamic, and ideological constructs. When they learn a new, antecedent genre, I hope they thereafter learn it with some consciousness of genres’ rhetorical nature and of their potential for adapting to writers’ particular purposes and situations. (Devitt, 2009, p. 348)

This genre-based teaching not only gives students knowledge of the genres taught in school; it also opens their eyes to all the genres they meet both in school contexts and in society at large.

Genre teaching makes it possible to combine macro- and micro-analyses of language, and to link analysis of language and analysis of context; it invites the students to join a wide spectrum of discourse communities; and it makes it possible to combine reception and production in class, to relate and compare genres with each other, and to assume a critical perspective of genres. Finally, putting genres in focus also makes it possible to combine oral and written genres (Gregersen, 1998).
I will now turn to the genre-based teaching practiced in Danish in the Danish high school (Stx). I will articulate and discuss the understanding of genre theory and pedagogy expressed in the official document regarding the three written examination genres. I will also draw on a study of how genre pedagogy is employed in four different classrooms.

THE THREE EXAMINATION GENRES

The three genres discussed in this article were introduced by the Ministry of Education in 2005, and have been employed as high school examination genres in Danish (Stx) since 2008. Instead of redefining the written part of the subject of Danish, the three new genres—kronik, literary article, and essay—serve as an explication of the ways in which students have traditionally been expected to write.

In my investigation, I include three different perspectives on the genres:

1) **The ministry’s perspective:** official documents about the three examination genres—literary article, kronik, and essay—that have been issued by the Ministry of Education since 2005. The material consists of the departmental order, guidelines for teachers, other kinds of formal descriptions of the three genres produced for the teachers, a PowerPoint for educational purposes, a handout for students, examples of students’ papers, and reports from external examiners.9

2) **The teachers’ perspective:** observations from four different classes. I followed three of the four classes during the entire three years of up-

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per secondary school, and the fourth for the last two years. In addition to observing and collecting of teaching materials used in the Danish classes, I also interviewed the four teachers each year.

3) **The students’ perspective**: collection of about 600 papers handed in by 42 students from the four observed classes. Apart from the papers, I also collected the teachers’ comments on the papers, and conducted focus group interviews with the students each year.

In the following analysis I will draw on data from the first two data sources.

**THE CONTEXT OF THE THREE EXAMINATION GENRES**

The three examination genres are defined in relation to an imagined context. The Ministry of Education describes the same situation type for the three genres. It is defined by a sender and a recipient. The ideal sender is defined as “the professionally skilled and commonly oriented candidate,” and the intended recipient is defined as “the literary and generally culturally interested reader.” (Mose, 2009a; Mose & Eriksen, 2011, p. 4; 13).

The definition of the recipient in the official description strongly accentuates that neither the teacher nor the external examiner should be considered the addressee or audience; rather, the recipient is thought to be an outsider. In the assignment, the student must bring in textual material that is handed out as a part of the exercise, and the definition of the addressee makes it necessary for the students to represent this text material to the reader (Mose & Eriksen, 2011, pp. 5-6). The goal is to transform the purpose of writing from demonstrating academic knowledge and textual observations to the teacher and the external examiner, into a professional communication skill in a more authentic writing situation (Herskind, 2007, p. 14). However, the former ministry’s consultant for high school Danish teaching modifies this view when, later on in the same article, he con-
cludes that students are not intended to enter into a fiction in which their paper makes an authentic contribution to a newspaper or journal (p. 16). This contrast with one of the more recent documents, in which the following passage can be found: “the student must imagine writing in “a publication channel of common interest.” (Mose & Eriksen, 2011, p. 4; 13). The teacher guidelines express a similar view: “In the text production, language correctness, grammatical correctness, command of language, and communication skills to a wider audience are especially emphasized.” (Ministry of Education, 2010b, p. 1).

In addition to the uncertainty about where and to whom students should address their writing, the description of the situational and cultural context seems rather vague, as the individual contexts for each of the three genres are nowhere described. Nor is the social purpose of each genre mentioned either. My investigation of the second portion of my data has shown that, as a result of these gaps in the official material about the three genres, teachers do not discuss or problematize the context or purpose of the genres. They present the brief definition of the recipient from the official handout to the students without elaborating on how texts written in the three genres address themselves to an audience.

The loose definitions of the receiver and of the publication for which students must imagine writing are connected to a general shortcoming in the documents: a failure to specify the kind of discourse community that students must write within and for when they produce texts in relation to the three genres. In some of the descriptions, the community at issue is “the subject of Danish.” (By “the subject of Danish” I refer to Danish as the branch of scholarship from which the curriculum of Danish in high school borrows its authority.) In all three genres, for example, students must use relevant professional knowledge from the subject of Danish to a greater or lesser extent (Ministry of Education, 2010b, p. 27; Mose & Eriksen, 2011, pp. 15-20). As mentioned previously, the addressee is described as “the literary and generally culturally interested reader”—that is,
somebody who is familiar with the curriculum of Danish instruction. Meanwhile, as shown earlier, in other parts of the description the discourse community is a wider cultural community: students are supposed to write to “a wider public” and demonstrate “broad communication awareness.” (Mose & Eriksen, 2011, p. 6).

The final way in which the three genres are situated in a context in the official documents is by linking the examination genres to three genres that are described as authentic genres in society (Herskind, 2007, p. 16; Mose, 2011, p. 5):

The three writing genres are defined as core representatives of the principal genres (Herskind, 2007, p. 16). The model visualizes that they are more well-defined than the three authentic genres and, unlike the latter, do not overlap. The point of this separation is to give the student an opportunity to establish a clear understanding of the differences between the
genres, and to make it easier for the teacher and the external examiner to evaluate the level of the genre comprehension in each paper (Mose & Eriksen, 2011, p. 4).

As with the definitions of the recipient, the publication context, and the discourse community, this account of the three authentic genres also blurs the communication situation of the three examination genres. The description does not specify whether or not the three examination genres belong to the three authentic genres and their communication types and discourse communities, or if they function as genres in totally different school settings.

In the first part of this article, I argued that the connection between genre and context—both situational and cultural—is central in the genre descriptions of RGS, ESP, and the Sydney School. In the Danish genre construction, the context of the three examination genres is only described vaguely, and in several places even ambiguously. This means that the teachers are not given a platform to build on in their classes, and the result is that not one of the four teachers I have observed in my investigation made context an explicit topic in teaching by giving the students tasks that concerns the relation between genre and context.

THE BUILDING BLOCKS OF THE EXAMINATION GENRES

The three examination genres are further described by means of a number of “writing acts” in the material from the Ministry of Education. These writing acts are specific ways of writing that can be used in different cultural contexts. They are examples of what I call genre values. The following is a list of the various writing acts (Mose & Erikson, 2011)¹⁰:

¹⁰ The accentuated words are those that are used in the written exercise.
As genre values, each of these writing acts are used in a number of genres. Analysis, for example, is used both in literary articles in high school and in other genres such as marketing analysis of the customer base or scientific articles. Instead of accentuating this, the ministry omits any further definition of what kinds of units writing acts are, thereby giving the impression that they should be interpreted as static.

As mentioned, Martin, Swales, and Devitt all recommend investigation of the relationships between both genres and genre values when working with a genre. In *Genre Relations* (2008), Martin and Rose describe the
mapping of several different genres/genre values, and give suggestions as to how genres and genre values can be linked and compared in teaching. In *Research Genres* (2004), Swales, as a representative of ESP, compares PhD dissertations, PhD defenses and other kinds of scholarly talks. They all seem to agree on Devitt’s point about the didactic gains of comparing genres:

> In learning genre awareness, students inevitably also learn new genres. Those new genres can serve as antecedent genres for students as they move on to other contexts. The notion of genre antecedents provides a powerful new perspective on the issue of transferability and the value of composition courses. (Devitt, 2004, p. 202)

The description of the three writing examination genres in the subject of Danish in Danish high schools calls attention to these different ways of mapping genres. It does so in two ways—but none of them succeeds. The first has to do with the writing acts, the second with the connection between the three examination genres and the authentic genres. I will return to the latter in the next part of the article.

The intention is that the teacher must introduce the different writing acts and build on them before the three examination genres are introduced after a year or more (Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 21; Mose, 2008, p. 15. But the material from the Ministry of Education does not mention that there are relations between the writing acts—that there are similarities, for example, between “analysis” and “investigation,” and between “reflection” and “discussion.” This has to do with the missing description of the writing acts as genre values with purposes, typical contexts, structure elements, and content.

11 Only the differences between discussion and reflection are pointed out (Mose, 2012).
These shortcomings in the official material are reflected in the four classes that I observed. The four teachers set out the writing acts explicitly, especially in relation to the literary article and the *kronik*. In relation to the *kronik*, all four classes worked with “argumentation.” One class worked with the journalistic summary as related to “explanation,” One class worked orally with “discussion”; one class read about “explanation” and “discussion.” All four teachers explained in interviews that “analysis” and “interpretation” were what the students had done orally in class all three years. The two writing acts had therefore been discussed and used orally in an extensive manner. In addition to this, two of the teachers gave the students a self-written example of an analysis to illustrate the writing act further. All four classes read essays, but the writing acts of the genre were not made explicit during the analysis.

In line with the official documents, the teachers did not relate the writing acts to one another across the three examination genres through concrete examples. And just as there is no recognition of this in the official documents, the teachers did not treat the writing acts as recurrent entities in different genres, and as something that takes on the colour of these changing surroundings. Only once—by relating the journalistic summary and the explanation—did a teacher compare one of the writing acts of the three examination genres to a writing act or genre value of another genre.

**THE RELATION BETWEEN RECEPTION AND PRODUCTION**

According to the Ministry of Education, it is possible to connect reception with production by relating the examination genres to authentic genres. It is recommended that teachers read and analyze examples of the three authentic genres with the students when they teach the examination genres (Mose & Eriksen, 2011, p. 4). This firm link between reception and production is in line with the international genre schools and the pedagogical programs of Devitt, Swales, and Martin. But the extent to which the authentic genres resemble the examination genres must be discussed further.
First, the students’ knowledge of the three authentic genres must be questioned. The introduction of the three authentic genres in the description of the three examination genres is perhaps clarifying for the teachers, but most students do not know these genres from outside school. The three genres are absent in the discourse communities that most students are part of; instead, these genres are best characterized as genres practiced by members of the academic community (Rienecker & Jørgensen, 2007, p. 17). Therefore, in order to be able to draw on the knowledge about the three authentic genres when learning the three examination genres, it is very important to teach these genres as particle, wave, and context.

Three of the four teachers whose classes I have studied explain that texts from the authentic genres differ too widely from the examination genres to serve as examples. For this reason, these teachers only rarely give the students examples of authentic genres. Two teachers read one essay with the class, and discussed the examination genre in connection with this; one read two, and another as many as seven. Only one read a couple of kronikker, while the other three did not read any. None read literary articles. There are no comparative studies of the six defined genres, but the fact that the contexts of the three authentic genres are essentially different from those of the three examination genres indicates that the three teachers have a very good point.

However that may be, it would be didactically advantageous to keep the three examination genres separate from the authentic genres by reading both kinds of genres. Not surprisingly, the three examination genres are described more fully than the authentic genres in the official documents. In addition to the characteristics already described, the Ministry of Education provides a comparative description of the three genres’ individual focus, integration of academic knowledge from the subject of Danish, layout, and use of references (Mose & Eriksen, 2001). However, the Ministry of Education does not recommend that the teachers should read and analyze examples of the examination genres. In line with this, my investigation
shows that actual genre analysis of the examination genres is entirely absent in the four classes. The teachers gave very few and very fleeting examples from students’ papers. One teacher once asked a student to read a paper aloud in class; another once illustrated an example on the board, and yet another teacher did so this twice. Altogether, the students did not get to see many examples of the three examination genres and the related authentic genres. To most of the teachers in my investigation, the connection between the reception of authentic genres and the production of examination genres that the Ministry of Education describes is not logical. They find the gap between, for example, authentic kronikker and examination kronikker so profound that it is difficult to gain any didactic advantage by comparing them and claiming a connection between them. In keeping with the recommendations of the Ministry of Education, the four teachers do not combine reception and production by analyzing examples of the three examination genres. This contrasts with the recommendations of the three international genre schools.

**GENRE, CONTEXT, AND CRITICAL AWARENESS**

Devitt’s and Martin’s goal to build critical awareness in the students is nowhere to be found in the Ministry of Education’s description of the three written genres. None of the material mentions that genres embed ideologies, even though—as we have seen—this is a common assumption in international genre theory. This absence in the official documents must be understood in relation to the vague and ambiguous description of the connection between genres, contexts and discourse communities. As a result, the context in relation to the ideologies of the three genres was not discussed in any of the four classes in my investigation.

**CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS**

In this article I have introduced and discussed three major international schools within the field of genre theory. All three schools feature interest-
ing discussions about pedagogy, and they have all developed rather de-
tailed teaching programs for different groups of students. In the last part of
this article, I have used this knowledge about how genre-based teaching in
writing is understood internationally to analyze how genre-based teaching
in writing is put into practice in the Danish high school in the subject of
Danish.

The official papers collate school genres with genres outside school,
which is a positive element from a genre-pedagogical point of view, just as
the relation between genre values and examination genres is described.
But, my investigation of the three examination genres has shown that the
genre comprehension found in the various official documents does not
place the three social genres in well-defined and well-described contexts
and discourse communities. Furthermore, the formulation of the three ex-
amination genres does not engender a teaching practice that place genres in
contexts or relates them to other genres. The resultant teaching does to
some extent make the characteristics of writing acts explicit; but it has yet
to combine the reception and production of genres.

To make up for these shortcomings, it is important to reformulate the
three examination genres as social and cognitive writing genres of the sub-
ject of Danish. Such a pragmatic definition must foreground the action(s)
performed in each of the examination genres—and also explain how these
actions correspond with the ideologies of the subject. The focus on genre
as action demands a thorough definition of the communicative purpose of
each examination genre. This definition must be placed as the central ele-
ment in the genre description of each of the examination genres. The defi-
nition of the communicative purpose will also elicit the necessary descrip-
tion of the relation between text and context by answering such questions
as: “What kind of reaction does the writer aim at getting from the receiv-
er?”; “What kind of knowledge does the writer expect that the reader pos-
sess?”; “Who are interested in this particular topic?” By accentuating that
the examination genres are curriculum genres, this pragmatic genre de-
scription also underline that the examination genres correlate with, and must be understood in relation to, other written and oral genres used the subject of Danish (Stx)—and that all of these must be described explicitly. As curriculum genres, the examination genres can be further investigated by comparing them to other kinds of genres practiced outside school. Such comparative genre studies have a wide pedagogical potential, because they can lead students to discover that there are strong relations between text and context—relations among text, genre, communicative purpose, writer/reader positions, discourse communities, and ideologies.

Whether it is these three genres that should be sustained, or whether they should be replaced or supplemented, must first be discussed. Ellen Krogh (2007) suggests replacement of the essay with a genre where presentation of a subject matter is the core. This could be a journalistic genre (Krogh, 2007, p. 11). Rienecker and Jørgensen (2007) approach the three genres from another angle. They suggest that the examination genres of Danish in high school must be made relevant to the genres of academia. The three existing examination genres do not prepare students for writing at university. On the contrary, they have features such as weak structures, lack of meta-communication, and a literary language, contradicting genre expectations in the scientific and scholarly genres (p. 17).

If the three examination genres are maintained, I believe they must be seen as pure curriculum genres, and so as tightly linked to the norms that are prevalent in the subject of Danish. It is not only the context and the rhetorical purpose of the social examination genres that needs to be described; the context and the purpose of each of the genre values—the writing acts—must also be elaborated. This will make it possible to work with the genres as simultaneously particle, wave, and context, to deconstruct both genres and genre values, and to collect and reflect on explicit knowledge about the discourse community. As a starting point, the combination of reception and production may profitably be executed within one and the same genre. At the same time, teaching must incorporate and take
advantage of the practice of comparing different kinds of both genres and genre values.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


EVERYDAY CONVERSATION occupies a peculiar position in the language sciences. All linguists seem to agree, at least in principle, that the primary object of linguistics is spoken language. Some even stress the fact that everyday spoken language is a flexible tool in which any thought can be formulated—albeit not in exactly the same manner: some thoughts lend themselves to elegant phrasing in specific languages but not in others, due to the relations among phonetic, morphological, and syntactic structure and semantic content. This may seem to suggest that everyday conversation is well researched. Not so.

Genre is a ubiquitous concept. Like “style,” it is tantalizingly close to becoming a free-for-all, with the result that communications about genre should always include an initial lexical entry specifying its use in what is to come.

Genre has not played a huge role within linguistics as such, but has always lurked at the outskirts, i.e. in the stylistic enterprise of attempting to characterize types of texts, or types of language users, or both simultaneously. In recent years, however, genre has emerged as dominant in two disciplines that are themselves newcomers to the linguistic scene, namely, discourse analysis and corpus linguistics.\(^1\)

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\(^1\) I will not here comment on the history of the notion of genre, except to note in passing that there is a tradition, going back to Dell Hymes’ SPEAKING formula (Hymes, 1972), cf. e.g. Downes, 1984, p. 257, of mentioning that genre is an ingredient of the speech event. (Actually it is the G in SPEAKING). When you peruse the index of any leading course book, however, it is evident that genre, like style, is not what sociolinguistics is about (cf. Coupland, 2007). The exception to this generalization is R.K.S. Macaulay’s work, e.g. Macaulay, 2001; 2005. It may, however, very well be what the ethnography of speaking is about; cf. below: Hanks, 1996. There is also a text-linguistic tradition of genre analysis. That will not be treated here either, but cf. Swales, 2009.
Discourse analysis is a broad discipline concerned with analysis of the semantics of textual practices. In the many extant introductions to discourse analysis, the field is delimited in various ways, but it is rare that Bakhtin and his notion of speech genres are not mentioned. The concept of genre figures prominently in Critical Discourse Analysis, e.g. Fairclough (2003), with reference to the Systemic Functional Linguistic use of genre (cf. Hasan, 1984, 1984a; Christie & Martin, 1997). Common to the discourse analytical approach to genre is that genre is regarded as the framework for a textual analysis of meaning. The stance of Critical Discourse Analysis may be taken as emblematic: genre is seen as at least partly determined by external forces, and the intention is to detect the influence of history and social exigencies on the varieties of genre available at a given time, and exploitations of them, as frames for the production of specific ideologies and extended discourses. In this way, genres are looked at from above, so to speak, and the real interest is to get to the juicy stuff that is inside them.

To assemble corpora of written or spoken texts requires that one specify what kinds of texts one is collecting. Often there will be questions of balanced samples, which again require that one specify text types. This means that from the very outset, corpus linguistics has needed a concept of text type or Textformen (cf. the fine discussion in Adolphs, 2008, pp. 76-78). To take an early example that is used in two recent books on corpus linguistics, consider the Lancaster Oslo Bergen corpus, often abbreviated as the LOB corpus, which was compiled in the 1980s. The LOB corpus was planned to become a British counterpart of the renowned Brown corpus, and boasts 15 labeled genres or text categories. Analyzing similarities

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2 For example, Jaworski & Coupland, 1999, include an abridged version of (a translation of) the original paper as chapter 7, while Janet Maybin introduces the concept by reviewing the Bakhtin-Voloshinov literature in chapter 6 of Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001.
and differences between these genres seems to be a favorite pastime for corpus pros (Baker, 2010, pp. 91-93; Oakes, 2009, p. 174).

Corpus linguistics is an inductive discipline, building on the possibility of storing and annotating large amounts of data in computers in order to make them available for various kinds of more or less automated analysis. Either you can analyze the orthographical string directly (if the text was originally spoken, then it is a prerequisite for analysis that it be transcribed), in order to make lexical semantic profiles or frequency counts; or you can annotate the string of letters and words automatically or manually (Sinclair, 2004). In most corpus linguistic analyses, the annotation tools are derived from the classical notion of word classes. Given a precise delimitation of the various word classes in a given language, computers can be taught to Part-of-Speech tag large corpora to a tolerable degree of precision. Taking unanalyzed texts as their input, and giving texts-cum-PoS tags as their output, the notion of genre is necessary to control the analysis. It has thereby been shown that genres differ in a number of linguistic dimensions historically as well as synchronically (cf. Biber & Finegan, 1989; Biber & Conrad, 2009).

One important divide in this connection is the speech/writing divide. More accurately, this is a speech/writing continuum, since modern media have developed hybrids to bridge the ancient gap between the written and the spoken—notably, chats, instant messages, Facebook updates, emails, and text messages, all of which are clearly written, and thus in a sense permanent and preconceived, but are just as clearly produced instantly, and so share the contextualized and immediate nature of talk. In the useful survey of genre studies in Biber & Conrad, 2009, Federica Barbieri lists an impressive number of recent studies. It is noteworthy that only a few of the listed items are concerned with oral genres. And only a minority of these are concerned with anything other than institutionalized genres stemming from the educational or counseling systems. This is my cue. In the following, I will concentrate on everyday genres of talk: speech genres.
Ever since M. M. Bakhtin’s seminal and trailblazing paper on the problem of speech genres (1952-1953/1986), discussion has raged about the relationship between such speech genres and the conventional genres of literary analysis. Given that one of its stated aims of the genre group at the University of Copenhagen is to discuss the usefulness of the genre perspective in all kinds of textual worlds, it is obvious that this discussion must be addressed in this collection of papers as well. Within the world of language, speech is evolutionarily as well as historically prior to writing, and it thus stands to reason that speech genres have a much longer history than written genres do. Yet we cannot prove this directly, since only the advent of writing has made it possible for us to argue about historical records on the basis of solid evidence. This is no different than in other historical sciences, e.g. geology or the nexus of history and archaeology. Everywhere in these sciences, as soon as we progress backward past the earliest written evidence, we must rely on abduction or inference to the best explanation.

Let me attempt a broad and sweeping statement here. The historical record shows us that literature, as precisely written products, has evolved toward an ever more complex relationship with its spoken counterpart. For quite a long time now we have thought of the Homeric poems as the product of an oral culture (Jensen, 2011), and the study of the oldest written documents in Danish, the regional laws, is replete with statements about the oral nature of their prose style (Skautrup, 1944, p. 208, cf. 280; Ståhle, 1965, cf. Brink, 2005). In keeping with the evolution of writing as a medium in its own right, written genres evolved which have no counterpart in the spoken language mode. In part this is a matter of scale. Written language grants us the possibility of tying so many utterances together that no speaker could possibly hold the floor with them, nor would any listener have the patience for such a speech. As a result, written genres have evolved that have only a distant relationship to the primary speech genres of everyday conversation, precisely because they have the possibility of
including all primary speech genres in a fictional world. Bakhtin argues convincingly that the novel is such a genre, and the analysis by Sune Auken (this volume) of the “letter” (itself modeled on the speech genre of Confidences) demonstrates that such written genres may be embedded in fictional worlds (see also Auken, 2013)—or indeed, as in the so-called “epistolary novels,” may establish such a fictional world by themselves (Jørgensen, 2005).

This development over centuries means that any attempt at forging a synchronic relationship between speech genres and contemporary written (and in particular, fictional) genres runs the risk of missing the point. Only a historical approach may contribute to solving this problem.

A HISTORICAL APPROACH TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPOKEN AND WRITTEN GENRES

In modern everyday conversation we find the traces of age-old genres. Narrative genres survive in the guise of the so-called “Personal Narrative”: still a showstopper that claims the floor for its own, but in return has to live up to the perennially dangerous audience reaction of “so what?” Wherever we have discussion between two or more parties, we have the source for all argumentation—and let it be noted that we thereby see that its source lies in interaction, in contrast to the narrative monologue: two or more perspectives are outlined and variously aligned or contrasted in conversation, as in all argumentative prose where lines of argument are played out as two or more “voices,” point and counterpoint. The aesthetic effects of the condensed lyrical mode have their sources in proverbs and sayings, as Jakobson convincingly demonstrated in his famous analysis of the “I like Ike” slogan (Jakobson, 1960).

We must imagine that the evolutionary origin of the speech genres is to be found in the hunter-gatherer societies of the distant past. I am no expert on hunter gatherers, but a reasonable suggestion is to relate the speech genres of such communities to the lived practices of this mode of
subsistence. According to Dunbar (1996), the role of the spoken language was to replace the grooming so characteristic of the primate groups of human apes. Grooming is a one-to-one business, with only one groomer and one groomee, and has the crucial function of upholding a hierarchy as well as the group as such. The nearest equivalent to grooming is gossiping, here taken in its broadest sense as talking about each other and displaying the moral order or making it explicit. Gossip crucially has the added advantage of making a larger group possible, since it is not necessarily a one-to-one mode of communication but may involve more individuals. Dunbar gives a number of examples of primary groups, what would now be called “Communities of Practice,” and finally focuses on the interesting example of military units. He asks how large a military unit can be (pp. 74-76) while still being of optimal size for efficiency. The result is close to 200, and the conclusion is obvious: “Thus it seems that, even in large-scale societies, the extent of our social networks is not much greater than that typical of the hunter-gatherer’s world” (p. 77). A group size like this, which is larger than that of other primates (p. 63), is only possible because the acquisition of language has made social contacts among this many members feasible.

Gossip is thus the preeminent example of the so-called “phatic (communication) function” in Roman Jakobson’s famous model of the dimensions of language (1960). It serves to intensify contact between the speaker and the addressee(s). Jakobson explicitly states that “The endeavor to start and sustain communication is typical of talking birds; thus the phatic function of language is the only one they share with human beings. It is also the first verbal function acquired by infants; they are prone to communicate before being able to send or receive informative communication” (p. 356).

What I suggest is not that babies gossip to their mothers or fathers when they communicate without being able to say anything, but that gossip is the extended use of information that is relevant to the group in being about potential breaches of the social order. In this way the group may celebrate their agreement as to what the moral order indeed is. As such,
gossip is a crystallization of elementary acts into a genre, a genre of speech that has always been with us, but which is constantly being transformed to fit our present social needs.

Let us ponder what the equivalent of gossip was in preliterate societies. In such communities any information about social relations would be valuable. Thus we see that in the Icelandic sagas, any information about others is worth having. In communities without any authoritative source of information apart from the annual meeting at the Allting, farmers were dependent on travelers to provide information about those whom they had just visited or heard about when visiting others. Obviously, such information may be inaccurate or twisted; in many cases, the sagas report on such breaches of the principle of relevance as the origin of feuds.

Gossip has as its modern equivalents the countless magazines and TV reports on the private lives of famous people (Hollywood couples, etc.) whose main characteristic is the blunt invasion of any privacy at all. “The more the merrier” seems to be their watchword. But gossip has also developed (or stayed completely the same) as a genre in everyday conversation. Nordenstam (1998) gives a particularly precise characterization of this type of speech from a gender perspective. The distinctive characteristic of this genre thus seems to be its stability, although we may perfectly well imagine that what is being gossiped about has developed somewhat since the time when hunter-gatherer groups roamed the land. But then again: I must confess that I am at a loss to define what a possible breach of the moral order might qualify as being juicy enough to be the stuff of gossip in such communities.

Gossip and Personal Narrative make up a peculiar tandem, and probably always have. In the Personal Narrative, the storyteller imparts experiences of reportable events in a dramatized form to an audience. In the genre of Gossip, in contrast, events are recounted that bring to light events that may or may not constitute violations of the moral order. Thus the Narrative presupposes a moral order—otherwise we would not know what was “re-
portable” and what was tedious; whereas the genre of Gossip recreates a moral order challenging its limits by retelling unheard-of actions. Historically, the focus on individuals must be new in both genres, since (the focus on) the individual itself is a comparatively late invention.

Genres in speech originate with the needs of the social group. Since history is only possible with written records, we can only see the transformation of speech genres whenever they are committed to writing. This means that we may follow the long lines of narrative text types, for example, as they crystallize into now well-known genres as these develop through time. Just as it is hard to see the grammaticalization process which goes on under our very noses but much easier to perceive the result (“peut être” into “peut-être”, “por che” into “porche”, “må ske” into “måske”), and just as it is difficult to get at the canonization process that elevates certain authors to the rank of immortality, while at the same time relegating others to oblivion (what happened to J.P. Donleavy?), it is almost impossible to see the crystallization of textual elements it takes to establish a genre out of a “candidate text type.”

But while it is indeed difficult, it is essential to differentiate along this dimension so that we distinguish text types, of which there is a large number, from “real” genres, which are not that numerous. More about this later.

THE SYNCHRONIC VIEW
Genre is a patterned and recurring set of linguistic practices that serve a family of functions. So much we all agree on. The original intention of having a level of genre at all is emblematically captured by Hanks (1996) when he writes:

In order to describe communicative practices, we need a unit of description that is greater than the single utterance but less than a language. We need a way of distinguishing kinds of practice. One way to do this
would be to differentiate by the fields in which communicative practices occur, but to do this would be to imply that kinds of practice and kinds of field covary perfectly, so that a description of one would suffice to describe the other. This implication is manifestly false, since speech of various kinds occurs in virtually all fields (although some, like ritual or legal fields, may be relatively constraining). An alternative would be to rely on the types of illocutionary forces distinguished in classical speech act theory, but we have already seen the weaknesses of such an approach, which is in any case focused on single utterance types and not larger discourse practices (...). The unit we shall use for this level of description is the discourse genre. (p. 242)

Hanks neatly introduces us to the two neighboring levels of “fields” (or spheres of life), which resides “above” the level of genre, and of utterances, which lies “below” it. Genre is a typical meso-level notion.

Two approaches can be outlined. One underlines the creative nature of genre practices or stylistic practices. This approach is particularly prevalent in literary aesthetics (for obvious reasons), but may certainly also be found in studies which stem from the so-called “third wave” of sociolinguistics (Eckert, 2012; Coupland, 2007). The complementary approach focuses on genre as constraining practice and has to its credit studies of how genre frames are necessary in order to live an everyday practical life navigating between TV programs that advertise “thrillers,” “romantic comedies,” “news,” and “sports event commentaries,” or people who presuppose that you can distinguish a juicy story about the boss from slander. This conception of genre has proven ideal for the teaching of written genres (cf. Smedegaard, this volume).

I hope to strike a compromise between the two in my conception of genre as constrained creativity: every time we indulge in a genre, we recreate it by following patterns that make it obvious to the individuals we interact with what we are “doing”—while at the same time filling this pat-
tern with our own home-grown content, or even modifying some of the optional features of the genre at hand.

**CONVERSATION, AND THE RECORDING OF IT**

The characteristic feature of everyday spoken language is that it is relatively private. We may record and analyze all kinds of institutional talk (Drew & Heritage, 1992) and a number of discourse analyses treat for instance teaching talk (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1992, plus the studies annotated in Biber & Conrad, 2009, pp. 272-274). But what goes on in institutions is institutionalized, which makes it neither the only nor the typical kind of spoken language. Apart from public speeches and lectures, the typical form is conversation.

In conversation two or more parties, but rarely more than six individuals in total, exchange information. This means that conversation ranges from comparison of reactions to bits of public news to confidences meant only for closest friends. Everyday conversation is not public speech. This is the primary reason for the so-called “observer’s paradox” in sociolinguistic interviews (Labov, 1972a, p. 209): we want to know how informants talk when we are not there, but we have to be there to record it.3

If everyday conversation were not part of the private lives of our fellow citizens, we would not have any second thoughts about spying on them, and indeed it is a moot question whether it would be defensible to record those (one-sided) conversations on mobile phones, which actually often pollute public spaces. As it is, sociolinguists agree on following strict rules of ethics which call for informed consent whenever a recording is made—and this is regardless of its purpose. Research does not occupy a privileged place outside of the speech community as such, and informants are—no less than other language users—in charge of their own production.

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3 In recent years, various sociolinguists have experimented with lending recording devices to informants so that they may make so-called “self-recordings” (Wilson 1987). Self-recordings raise a number of other issues (Schøning & Sp indler Møller, 2009).
At the Danish National Research Foundation LANCHART Centre at the University of Copenhagen, we repeat earlier studies (most of them are from the late 1980s) of spoken Danish from six different locations all over Denmark in order to chart the change of spoken Danish in real time (Gregersen, 2009a). In 231 cases we have succeeded in locating informants who participated in previous studies and re-recording them. This so-called “panel study” is supplemented by recordings of informants who are similar in all other respects to those who were recorded originally (thus making up a so-called “trend study”). The panel study makes it possible to ascertain to what degree individuals change in real time (if at all). The trend study, on the other hand, studies the speech community and its possibility of changing in real time. Our primary research tool is (various versions of) the sociolinguistic interview.

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC INTERVIEW AS A SPEECH EVENT
The classic text for this section is Labov (1984). I will be referring to this text as the baseline from which sociolinguists of all kinds diverge more or less consciously.

The sociolinguistic interview is a solution to the perennial problem of reduction. The world as such is too complex to research, and so we have to find some manageable representation of the object under study. In this case, we are interested in spoken language and in the variation of spoken language both intra-individually and inter-individually. To document spoken language we have to make a recording. Recording equipment is not a natural part of the everyday lives of the informants (yet), and still less is the intrusion of a field worker on their privacy. Objective reasons are always presented, but in most cases they fade quite quickly (pace Wolfson, 1976) whenever the informant gets the idea of the sociolinguistic interview. The clear message is: “you (the informant) just talk, and I (the field worker) will listen carefully and prompt you as needed with new subjects of mutual interest.”
Most sociolinguists have been surprised to find how easy it is to make people participate in interviews. There are two reasons for this. First of all: it is highly unusual to sit for any length of time with a sympathetic listener who really pays attention to whatever you utter without having any stake in it apart from getting the tape back home with him. The special role of the interviewer, which will normally develop during the interview only to become clearer the longer it lasts, has been called that of “the intimate stranger” (Albris, 1991). This captures the urge of the interviewee to use the interviewer for his or her own purposes: if s/he wants to confide in the interviewer, s/he can do so in the safe knowledge that the interviewer will not reappear—at least not for the next 20 years. Secondly, most interviews center upon the life and experiences of the interviewee and it seems that people enjoy talking about themselves. Wouldn’t you?

FROM STYLE TO DISCOURSE CONTEXT ANALYSIS

The LANCHART database consists of more than 1800 recordings, only a fraction of which have been transcribed and proofread. Nevertheless, when faced with so many recordings, stemming from six different sites and from original studies which were carried out with different purposes (cf. Gregersen, 2009a), the need for an instrument to ensure comparability arose and soon became acute. The trouble with comparability can be sketched briefly as follows (Gregersen & Barner-Rasmussen, 2011): individuals vary linguistically during interviews. This much we know. So how can we make sure that we are comparing commensurables, even when we are comparing two different recordings with the same informant?

In Labov (1966), arguably the Old Testament of sociolinguistics, this is called “the style problem.” The concept of style here, as most often in variationist sociolinguistics, refers to intra-individual variation. As a lin-

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4 A very large part of this section is adapted from a working paper for the International Council meeting at the LANCHART Centre (Gregersen, Larsen, Olesen & Møller, 2006).
guistic phenomenon, a style is a pattern of variable values: values that differ from those that the same individual uses at another time or in other circumstances. If a sociolinguistic project aims to discover such intra-individual variation, it may either follow the same individual across a number of (or at least two) situational contexts, or it may use the conventional methods of staging sociolinguistic interviews.

In the first case, individual language use is compared across situations. The textbook example of this is Labov’s description of two different interview situations with the same eight-year-old Leon C yielding dramatically different speech samples. In the first interview, the adult field worker was alone with the child, resulting in minimal answers and several passages of awkward silence. In the second interview, the same field worker brought both chips and Leon’s best friend along as well as introduced taboo words himself. This strategy is thus situation-based, since the interviews from this point of view constituted two different situations. The first one was (classified as) a formal interview while the second one was seen as a party (Labov, 1972b, pp. 207-209, cf. in particular 209). Often this strategy will involve an ethnographic approach and a longitudinal perspective. The “styles,” so to speak, are more or less given with the situations or Communities of Practice selected beforehand.

In the second case, there is only one (macro-)situation, viz. the sociolinguistic interview, but the relationship between the interlocutors may develop during the interview, so that situations arise within the macro-situation that resemble, or even imitate, other situations or other Communities of Practice—thus calling forth linguistic patterns which more or less closely resemble those used in these situations. The strategy is willy-nilly relationship-based, since it hinges on the ability and willingness of the interlocutors to develop the relationship as they go along. Only in the latter case you need a metric or a method for delimiting style contexts within the global situation of the interview. The metric would lead to the isolation of specific patterns of variable use.
However style is delimited, not any old pattern of variable values will do. What patterns are recognized as distinct styles is also a question of social stereotyping, i.e. interpretation. Thus we may distinguish in principle between a “producer-oriented” style analysis focusing on the value patterns themselves, and simply search inductively for possible significant differences in variable use. Or we may look at style from the point of view of the audience (“audience-oriented” style analysis). This will consist in sorting out which among the many patterns actually have a social life as stereotypes, i.e. as recognizably distinct patterns of variable values. For any audience-oriented style analysis it is of paramount importance to recognize what type of effect is evoked in social terms. Thus, stylistic stereotypes can only be argued into existence by pointing to data that support their stereotypical social existence in the community studied. This is the province of perceptual dialectology (Preston, 1999) and language attitude studies in general (Kristiansen, 2009).

It is quite easy to see that both of the two methods described and the two uses delineated are closely related, and have been so since the foundational work by Labov (cf. below). The relationship between intra-individual variation, i.e. style, and stylistic stereotypes has to do with the fact that intra-individual variation has to mean something in order for it to be a significant social fact. For that to happen, style has to evoke in the audience some sort of response, i.e. it has to be interpretable. “Interpretability” means some sort of social stereotyping such as the following: whenever a person deviates stylistically in a certain direction, this will, other things being equal, be interpreted as signalling such and such a social identity.

**DIACHRONY AND SYNCHRONY IN THE STUDY OF GENRE**

The LANCHART Discourse Context Analysis (DCA) is developed as a tool for the analysis of contemporary data stemming historically from the same time slice. As such, it does not contain any solution to the problem of
how genres are born. The classification grid presupposes that the genres delimited are already socially recognized as such and belong to the repertoire of the analyzed speech community. But genre is obviously also a historical concept (Fowler, 1982). The genres recognized in the DCA may be very old or even ancient, such as the personal narrative, gossip, or the joke; but it is also necessary to recognize, in any analysis of speech genres in present day communities, that some patterns have not yet been conventionalized and are to be seen as *candidates* for recognition as genres in the long run. Compare “the rise of the novel” (Watt, 1957) in literary studies, or “the advent of the piano sonata” in the study of classical music, with the situation in the study of speech genres, and you will find that such candidates are ubiquitous.

A particularly pertinent example is offered by the internet. The early history of the internet is well known from the work of Susan Herring (e.g. Herring 1996), David Crystal (e.g. 2001), Naomi Baron (e.g. Baron 2008), and others, but the web is expanding every day and so too, probably, is the repertory of genres. An interesting example is the advent of personal video blogs, so-called “v-logs” (Frobenius, 2011). Individuals who are not satisfied to blog in writing alone put up a camera in their home or some well-chosen place, and record themselves for a short period giving a poignant statement or a personal message. They put these video snatches on a personal web page, and some of them thus become more or less professional v-loggers. The vexing problem here is whether this is actually a new genre or just an old one—let us call it “opining”—in a new format, produced under the conditions of a new communication channel. Opinions about this differ.

In Gregersen (2009b) I studied the speech genre of the MUS (i.e. conversations which annually take place between an employer and his employee in order to channel frustrations between the various layers of the workplace organization; in principle this is a two-way street, but it seems that most often the employer uses the MUS to give feedback to the em-
ployee and not necessarily the other way around). The MUS has its origins in the negotiation of wages and the theory of the organization as a learning organism; obviously these are historical developments, and have not existed throughout human history. Nevertheless, elements of this speech genre, by now highly conventionalized, may be identical structurally and content-wise to the genres of Discussion and Confidences.

Generally speaking, it could be fruitful to distinguish between three stages in the historical development of a genre: the first stage comprises not yet conventionalized text or speech types, which could be termed “genre candidates.” We realize that something special is going on: a particular combination of elements that we recognize as forming a more or less constantly recurring pattern has crystallized into a candidate for recognition as a genre. It has not just yet established itself with a recognizable structure, but it is about to do so. In the example of the v-logs, the limits of this candidate genre have yet to be found. Until then, from this point of view, it remains a candidate.

The second stage or layer is the one we will be detailing below: the conventionalized patterns of elements which make up a recognized genre, psychologically real for all relevant members of the speech community in both recognition and production.

Finally, I want to raise the possibility of bundling genres into “super-types” so that we arrive at a level equivalent to the Aristotelian genres, or a level which makes it possible to state generalizations about similarities across domains between exemplary genres as, for instance, those indicating closeness and intimacy (the genres of Confidences and Gossip are obvious candidates) in contrast to, for example, Soap Box, Public Speeches (which may themselves again contain Jokes and (mock) Confidences (“just between you and me” (and the audience)) and other genres signaling distance. To my mind, such oral genre supertypes would offer a fruitful direction to work in both synchronically and diachronically.
THE LANCHART DCA, AN OVERVIEW

Following Nikolas Coupland’s critical dissection of the notion of style (Coupland, 2007), the LANCHART Centre solution to the problem of comparability left the Labovian notion of style as a one-dimensional concept based on various determining and clearly detectable contexts (Gregersen, Nielsen, & Thøgersen, 2009). We kept the notion of detectable contexts, but multiplied the dimensions so that more aspects of the recordings could be taken into consideration. More specifically, we adopted the following six dimensions:

For total annotation/coding of recordings, all passages have to be assigned to a category in the following three dimensions. The manual\(^5\) lists the characteristics:

- Type of Speech Event (the S-dimension): 5 subcategories
- Activity Type (the A-dimension): 6 subcategories
- Type of Macro Speech Act (the M-dimension): 5 subcategories: Exchange of information, Exchange of attitudes, Exchange of emotions, Speech accompanying action, Exchange of fiction.

For partial coding/annotation, only passages which fulfill stated criteria for assignment to a category are coded. The manual lists the criteria:

- Type of Interaction (the I-dimension): 5 subcategories
- Type of Enunciation (the U-dimension): 6 subcategories
- **Genre (the G-dimension):** 8 subcategories: Narrative, General Account, Specific Account, Soap Box, Gossip, Confidences, Reflections, Jokes.

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\(^5\) The manual for the Discourse Context Analysis (DCA) is available both in Danish and in English at the DGCSS (Danish)/LANCHART (English) website: [DGCSS](#) or [Lanchart](#).
As stated above, I will concentrate on the dimensions of Macro Speech Act and Genre, since on this conception they are complementary. But first a practical introduction to the DCA.

When analyzing a recording, we start out by characterizing its type as a speech event. Three dimensions are relevant here, namely, whether there are multiple interviewees, whether the interviewer is present or not (this is obviously relevant only for the recordings with more than one interviewee), and finally whether the interviewer and interviewee(s) know each other beforehand. This matrix gives us a first classification, but in the LANCHART case the main differences are clearly between single person and group recordings.

Within the recordings we have to distinguish among several activities, inasmuch as the interviewer is on a mission to get several types of information to take back home: in all Labovian-type interviews like those from the early Copenhagen Study (Albris, 1991), the interviewer wants to be sure that he is indeed talking to a person who fits into the distinction between Working Class and Middle Class as defined (Gregersen, Albris, & Pedersen, 1991, pp. 19-21). In the re-recordings, this part of the interview was extended to include filling out a questionnaire, in an attempt to elicit a somewhat formal style at the beginning of the interview. We suspected that it would otherwise be difficult to get formal speech represented in the new recordings, because a massive informalization process had taken place in the period between the two recordings in the speech community. The main body of the interviews and group discussions is designed to be what we call the activity type “conversations.” Note that this definition only partially corresponds to the delimitation of conversation within corpus linguistics.

The subcategory of conversations is the unmarked activity type in recordings, and hence also functions as the residual category: all passages which have not been otherwise classified into an activity type are “conver-
sation” by definition. Because of the way the LANCHART recordings were carried out, three subcategories are relevant here: first of all, we must single out those passages in which a non-participant enters the room and actually participates by being addressed by one or more of the licensed ones. Secondly, in some interviews we included elicitation in order to get infrequent variables represented, or to get essential information about intonation. Finally, in all interviews it was an important part of the field worker’s job to carry out a study of the informant’s language attitudes (Kristiansen, 2009). These activity types must be delimited before we can assign the rest of the recording to the category of conversation.

It is important to know who is actually talking in the recordings. Thus we included the dimension “Enunciation,” so important in and dear to literary analysis since Benveniste and Génette. This dimension is designed to capture quotations and other introductions of “other voices” in the speech of any single informant. If the passage is designed as being that of “another voice,” it is by definition unsuited for comparison. The categories are necessarily very broad, and serve only to focus on passages where the speaker is taking on another voice than “his or her own.” Note that the annotation is carried out on the basis of the transcripts only, in order to avoid vicious circles of argumentation in the phonetic analysis, which is based on the DCA.

To be a field worker in a sociolinguistic study is a highly refined role. It is distinct from the role of a friend or associate both in the expectations on the part of the interviewee and in practice. The role and the ensuing relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee may certainly develop during the recording process—that is actually the point. But in order to capture this, we must specify what types of interaction are represented and at which points in the process. For this reason, we developed the subcategories of the “Interaction” dimension. The expectations inherent in the interview as a genre, and consequently also in the sociolinguistic interview, are that the interviewer is a question machine that will produce
questions at every junction, while the role of the interviewee is to answer. In the course of developing this dimension, we actually skipped the default interactional structure, ending up with only the five subcategories that indicate deviations from the default: “Absence of asymmetry,” “Reversal of interactional roles,” “Struggle for the floor,” “Informants taking over” (relevant primarily in recordings with more than one informant, hence the plural form), and finally a category which is not exactly a deviation from the default, but rather an extension of it: “Monologue” (i.e. one person holding the floor for an extended stretch of discourse).

GENRE AND MACRO SPEECH ACT IN THE LANCHART INTERVIEWS
The classification of everything that goes on within the recordings as one of the Types of Macro Speech Acts specified above is a pivotal move in the DCA: it deviates from the Bakhtinian notion “One utterance—one genre,” which could easily be translated into “One speech act—one genre.” The label “Macro Speech Act” is intended to clarify that several utterances make up one type of (Macro) Speech Act in that they are produced to accomplish “the same function.” It is also important that the notion of Macro Speech Act is inherently interactional, hence the central notion of “exchange.” The interlocutors cooperate to accomplish an exchange that is primarily focused on either information (cf. Halliday’s ideational function, Bühler’s sachbezogene) or attitudes or emotions (cf. Bühler’s notions of sender and addressee). Add to this that we have to make room for the change in interaction and focus that takes place during the interview sessions when speech is accompanied by an action, like putting water in an electric kettle or putting plates on the table (cf. Vygotsky’s and Luria’s notion of speech directing action).

The classification scheme was developed in constant dialogue with the material in the so-called “exploratory corpus”. This selection of 20 recordings was intended to maximize variation in the corpus, and so included all kinds of recordings, among them a group recording without any
interviewer. Here the boys invented and developed a fictitious world as part of the drawing task they were assigned. This made it mandatory to develop a final subcategory of the Macro Speech Act dimension: Exchange of Fiction. It is not exactly common in the recordings, but then again neither are jokes—and that does not prevent jokes from being a fact of life outside of recording sessions.

The dimension of Macro Speech Acts, being an annotation which obligatorily assigns a code to any passage in the recordings, functioned as the necessary backdrop for the genre classification itself. It made it possible to develop the genre classification so that a sizable proportion of the recordings would not be assigned to any genre at all. Here again there is an obvious departure from what a Bakhtinian conception of genre would lead to (cf., Andersen, this volume). At the same time, the subcategories of the Macro Speech Act dimension are admittedly broad and less precise (and hence carry less information) than the categories developed for the Genre dimension. Here we include both structural and semantico-functional characteristics to characterize genres that also may be found outside this set of recordings.

Within sociolinguistics, special attention has been given to what we may call “the narrative field,” due to the early detection by Labov and Waletzky (1967) of the Personal Narrative as one context for the production of an informal, vernacular style. But the Personal Narrative as delimited by Labov (cf. Møller, 1993) is really only one kind of narrative discourse; hence the need for the two other categories within the narrative field: Specific Accounts (Gsr), which are intended to cover personal narratives containing non-reportable events, and General Accounts (Ggr), which roughly capture non-personal narratives. Together, the categories of (Labovian) Narratives (Gna), General Accounts (Ggr) and Specific Accounts (Gsr) cover the entire narrative field, thus making it possible to see how much of specific passages are produced in a narrative (epic) mold.
The narrative field has an obvious affinity to the interactional category of monologue but so does the genre Soap Box (Gsb). Soap Box was developed by Labov (cf. Labov, 2001) and surfaces in the work of the Milroys (Milroy & Milroy, 1977) in Belfast for obvious reasons. The Milroys did their fieldwork in Northern Ireland at the time of “the troubles,” and the category of Soap Box covers political statements given as a sort of public speech in a private home. This category is particularly interesting for its bracketing of the recording session as an intrusion into the sphere of intimacy. Soap Boxes point the other way: out of the sphere of intimacy and towards the public sphere.

By contrast, the categories of Gossip (Gsl), Confidences (Gbe), and to a certain extent Jokes (Gvi) all belong squarely in a relationship that presupposes trust, and hence might be taken as indicators of what used to be called “informal, vernacular style” on a par with Personal Narratives or even more so. Particularly the category of Confidences (Gbe) construes the relationship between interviewer and interviewee as close, since it follows from the definition of Confidences that they are exclusive information meant for trusted partners.

Finally, the category of Reflections (Gre) marks a sort of middle ground between Soap Box (Gsb) (indicating the opening of the sphere of intimacy in the direction of the public sphere) and Confidences (Gbe) (indicating the opposite movement), in that this genre includes the interviewee’s distance towards his or her own life and experiences which are made the object of a sort of interpretation of them in the light of their importance to the lived life. Together with Personal Narratives (Gna), this is the closest we come to the writing of an autobiography in the course of a recording session.

In Figures 1 and 2, I demonstrate the genre distribution of the sociolinguistic interviews making up the entire Copenhagen data set of 43 x 2 (old and new) interviews. One first observation when inspecting the figures is that the narrative field dominates. Only very few passages are clas-
sified as belonging to the genres Gossip (Gsl), Soap Box (Gsb), or Reflections (Gre), and there are simply no passages belonging to the genres Jokes and Confidences. From the point of view of getting close to the informal mode where precisely Confidences would abound, this result is disappointing.6 On the other hand, the hallmark of vernacular speech production, the Personal Narrative (Gna), is strongly present in the old study (S1) and, slightly more so, in the new one (S2):

6 This is not entirely true, but is in part an artifact of the method used in the figures. It is worthy of mention that there were actually passages which were double-coded as involving Confidences. All double codes have, however, been left out of consideration in the preparation of the figures 1 through 3 for methodological reasons.
Figure 1:
The distribution of genres in the Copenhagen data set, generation 1 in S1 (the old recordings from the late 1980s) and S2 (the re-recordings from 2006-07). Note that the distributions are virtually identical, lending some credence to the idea that the sociolinguistic interviews in this data set have the same general make up. The figures all show the relative weight of Genres in the data based on the number of passages assigned a specific Genre label. It does not say anything about how many words a passage contains, and thus does not give a clear picture of the weight of the specific passages.
Figure 2:
The genre distribution in S1 and S2 for the younger generation of Copenhagen informants, generation 2. Here the distribution seems to reflect that the informants have passed a critical limit between ages, i.e. developing from youngsters or young adults into more settled individuals: less Gossip and more Reflections. The proportion of passages labeled as Specific Accounts (Gsr) distinguishes the generation 2 S2 figures from those of generation 1.
In Figure 3 I have taken the narrative field out for special consideration, in order to ascertain whether any differences emerge between the generations.

Figure 3:
The genre distributions in interviews from Copenhagen with both Generation 1 and 2 informants. Only passages coded as belonging to the narrative field, viz. Specific Accounts (Gsr), General Accounts (Ggr) and Personal Narratives (Gna) have been selected. The proportion of passages labeled as Personal Narrative seems to be fairly stable, whereas there are particular fluctuations in the relative weight of Specific and General Accounts in the Generation 2 S2 recordings.
Summarizing this section: I have presented a grid for the analysis of six dimensions of recorded speech as transcribed orthographically (i.e. as texts). I honed in on the dimensions of Macro Speech Act and Genre, and demonstrated that the sociolinguistic interviews do indeed manifest a variety of genres, although some of the genres defined beforehand are very sparsely represented. All of the categories that compose the narrative field, on the other hand, are present in high numbers in the interviews.

**CONFIDENCES**

By definition, confidences are rare in everyday conversation. Confidences present privileged information given only “in confidence,” which means that the interviewer is made privy to a secret or information that may never be revealed to outsiders. In the sociolinguistic interviews carried out during the LANCHART project in Copenhagen, this genre is so rare that it does not figure in the statistics given above. Only very few cases are in evidence. But they are so much the more interesting as a backdrop for the analysis of a work of fiction that follows in the next section—since my analysis of the work in question, a short story by Katrine Marie Guldager, classifies it as one long confidence.

What do confidences look like? It is not enough to talk about themes or subjects that are not fit for publicizing to outsiders. The interviews abound with such sections. Rather, it must be the case that the informant him- or herself raises the question of the status of the relationship between interviewer and interviewee, either before or immediately after she divulges the confidential information. In recording sociolinguistic interviews, it is customary to give the informant a letter to sign which specifies the nature of the relationship. In our case this letter classifies the information given during the interview as given in confidence, meaning that it cannot be used for other purposes than research, and that the informant may under no circumstances be identifiable when parts of the interviews are rendered verbatim for research purposes. The transcribers likewise sign
an agreement that they will never disclose any information that they have come by while working as transcribers of the files. This is to enable the informants to feel free to talk about matters so close to them that they may be thought to bring out the renowned Labovian vernacular, i.e. the form of speech used when the observer is not present. Nevertheless, the vast majority of informants do not raise the issue of who will listen to the tapes at all, and thus seem to be perfectly confident that what they choose to disclose will never be revealed to others.

In at least two cases, however, the informant does raise the issue of confidentiality. Focusing on these two cases may bring us a bit closer to the nature of confidences. One case is fairly straightforward. It is a matter of routine to ask about the informant’s present job, and this may lead to discussions of job satisfaction. In one case it led to the revelation of confidential information, viz. that the informant had applied for a new job. Since our contact to this informant was her employer, she was in need of reassurance that the tape would not be listened to by our contact. The privileged information was only privileged in relation to her present situation of employment.

The other case is rather more reminiscent of the short story by Guldager. It concerns a female informant who is interviewed together with her husband. The reason this passage is coded as an instance of the genre of Confidences is that after long passages detailing the informant’s relationship to her father, who divorced her mother quite early, the informant and her husband start to discuss an interpretation of his behavior in recent years. In doing so, they give privileged information about the father’s life. Apparently, this information is so revealing about the father’s characteristics and his motivations in life that the couple end up stating that the interviewer now has an overview of the father’s private life—and immediately add: Nå men det er jo ikke noget går videre til nogen [Well, this isn’t something that will be passed on to anyone, anyway]. The interviewer hastily reassures her that he does not know anyone who would take a spe-
pecial interest in this material, and that it will not be passed on in any case. It is the very fact that the informant raises the flag of warning, only to take comfort in the fact that the interview is indeed a privileged room of confidence, that is of interest here. The reason seems to be not only that she has disclosed secrets about her father and her relationship to him, but more importantly that he is completely ignorant of being talked about to a stranger, however intimate this person may be in the situation.

Confidences concern privileged information. Privilege entails a code of morality. It is not and could never be privileged if the father had lived up to any standard of fatherhood in his bringing up the children. There has to be a breach of the code. Otherwise the information is not reportable and suitable for privilege. And in this case there really was. What it consisted of is confidential information and has to remain secret—since it not my secret to disclose.

EVERYDAY GENRES IN

**VOKSNE MENNESKER KAN GODT TALE OM SEX**

In 2009, the Danish poet and author of short stories Katrine Marie Guldager published a collection of short stories entitled *Nu er vi så her* (*Now at last we are here*). The first story is called “Voksne mennesker kan godt tale om sex” (“Adults are certainly able to talk about sex”). As with all collections of short stories, the architecture lends a special significance to the first story. This first story is no exception. It strikes up the theme that resounds throughout the collection, the theme of a clash of generations, the parental one being the one known as the “’68 generation,” i.e., the generation that was active in the revolt against the nuclear family.

In the press statements published at the time of the appearance of the book, Katrine Marie Guldager positioned herself as the spokesperson for the children of the ’68 generation, and this is exactly what the narrator of the first short story does, too. The format and the front cover of the book
cleverly signal two things simultaneously, cf. Figures 4 and 5: first, the photo adorning the front cover is obviously a period piece, although presumably reconstructed. It shows an eating scene, but the camera is placed above the table so that we can see all the persons present. There are at least nine of them and there are also nine chairs. This is probably a collective, so typical of the epoch. Since the camera views the scene from a distance, it gives us a hint that the author will do the same. I am not quite certain, however, that this is what actually happens.

Secondly, the whole format signals that this is a Katrine Marie Guldager book. Figure 5 shows her previous collection of short stories; the format and the color design are exactly the same. In other words we are witnessing a branding process here: “Buy this product if you enjoyed the previous one!” The similarity positions the new collection as one in a series of collections (in fact three) by the same author. The list of previous publications by the same author, and the romantically smiling portrait of the author on the inside flap both point in the same direction.
Figure 4: Front cover of the *Nu er vi så her* collection of short stories by Katrine Marie Guldager from 2009.
Figure 5: Front cover of the collection of short stories by Katrine Marie Guldager entitled København (Copenhagen) 2004.
The story I am about to analyze has not, however, been selected as representative of the brand of Katrine Marie Guldager. The choice has been made because the story is an example of the complexity of modern prose in exploiting the simple genres of everyday talk through successive embedding of exemplars (Gregersen, 2010).

The title of the story recurs as the concluding line in an argument that explains to the daughter, the narrator, why her mother left her at the age of five, along the rest of the family (at least one other daughter) in Denmark, in order to realize her potential as a “free” woman together with her lover in India. The framing event of the story is the occasion of the second daughter giving birth to a baby at the national hospital in the center of Copenhagen. Since the narrator knows that her mother is in town, she phones her and suggests that they meet at the hospital in order to welcome the new baby. We note in passing that this is a “typical” “family event” and it is “natural” that this triggers the narrative about another family event, the mother’s departure back in 1977. In this paper I am particularly interested in two aspects of this story: the way the author includes the stance of the narrator in her narration, and the classification of the simulated speech genres that are printed in the story.

The introduction to the story clearly indicates that this is a simulated oral Personal Narrative:

“Nu er jeg ikke forfatter, men der er alligevel en lille historie fra mit eget liv, jeg gerne vil fortælle.” (p. 9) [“Now I’m no writer, but there is still a little story from my own life that I’d like to tell.”] There is something fishy about the initial concessive clause, the very first words in this collection of short stories, proclaiming that the author is no author. The narrator of this story is construed by the real author as being no professional, hence more credible. She does not tell stories unless she has something to say—which according to her is the most important prerequisite. The next sentence in-
roduces the narrator’s close family in the guise of her husband who is quoted as stating that she is not only not an author—rather, she is notoriously bad at telling stories. Within the first two sentences, then, we have been introduced to a narrator who is about to embark on telling a story, but at the same time tells us that she is not good at it! The “bad” story is, not surprisingly—after all, this is a collection of stories written by a professional—very complex. This should also come as no surprise to the reader, since the husband’s quoted view is that the narrator’s stories lack structure. Her rebuttal, by her own admission, is to have something heartfelt to say. “Og det har jeg.” (p. 9) [“And that I do.”].

The next paragraph performs the same trick as to the thematic content of what the heartfelt story has to say. On the one hand, the narrator agrees with her husband that one should not criticise one’s parents. On the other hand, the narrator wants to “betvivle et par ting, de har gjort” [cast doubt on a couple of the things that they did”] in the following.

The two introductory paragraphs have been concerned with meta-reflections on what we are going to hear (or rather read but the assumptions is throughout that we are hearing the story as told by the narrator). In contrast, the next paragraph contains typical background knowledge of the kind that makes up the orientation section in Labovian Personal Narratives. We are told that the narrator was born 1972 when her parents lived in a collective in Birkerød (northwest of Copenhagen, a place replete with more well-to-do people) and that her mother decided to divorce her father and to leave for India with her new lover in 1977. An intertextual reference to a Danish women’s classic lib song develops the theme of THEN. This is still orientation and emulates rather nicely the oral narrative except for the section where the narrator uses numbers to sum up the breach: “hun besluttede sig for 1) at hun ville skilles, og 2) at hun ville rejse til Indien med sin nye kæreste.” (p. 9) [“She decided that 1) she wanted a divorce and 2) she would go to India with her new boyfriend.”] But the illusion of an oral confidence is broken much more profoundly by a typical literary flash
forward: “Dengang var der nok ikke nogen af os, der vidste, at hun ville væk så længe, og heller ikke at hun ville blive katolik og tilknyttet Mother Teresas børnehjem i Calcutta” (p. 10) [“Probably none of us knew, back then, that she would be gone so long, nor that she would convert to Catholicism and become affiliated with Mother Teresa’s orphanage in Calcutta.”]. This is not oral narrative: such flash forwards are extremely rare. But it is not purely literary style either—especially the strange use of the sentence adverb and the tense of the verb. Obviously none of them could have known, and this cannot be modified logically, just as nobody knew it since it was in the future back then.

This concludes the general orientation section.

The next section specifies the orientation for the real complicating action. This is the core of the story: the narrator has had a call from her brother in law telling her that she has gotten a niece. This is inextricably bound to the confidential private information of which the narrator herself cannot conceive. The narrator wants to confide in her mother, or at least she tells us so; but instead she leaves the door open for the mother to confide in her, a confidence she emphatically does not want.

The narrator has just phoned her mother to tell her about the news of the sister’s baby and to suggest that they visit the sister at the Main Central Hospital together. It appears from the story that, although her mother has been in Denmark for over a month at the time of telling the story, they have not been in contact for a long time. This is when the action starts in historical present tense:

“Hej mor, siger jeg og giver hende et lille klem” (p. 10) [“Hi Mom, I say, and give her a little squeeze”]. It turns out that the mother has already visited her (other) daughter, and in fact wants to produce, instead, one of the genres that we have singled out as the most intimate of all: she wants to confide in her daughter. Skipping a section, we will now focus on the sec-
tion that contains the mother’s Confidence, which is so to speak embedded in the narrator’s confidence to us, the readers (saying: I am extremely ambivalent about my mother). This is introduced by a cliché on the part of the narrator when she states that, looking back, she would have wished to fill in the minutes preceding the Confidence with some remark. In this way she might have escaped the Confidence (p.12), which culminates in the story about how the lack of passion in the original marriage led to the divorce and the exodus to India. It turns out that the mother wants not only to confide in her daughter, but also to appeal for forgiveness (“Var det meget forkert af mig at forlade din far?” [“Was it awfully wrong of me to leave your father?”], a forgiveness she does not quite get from the daughter (“Der er ingen der bebrejder dig noget” (p. 14) [“There’s no one blaming you for anything, I said”]. Actually, the daughter’s story is one sustained plea that the divorce was morally wrong, i.e. precisely equivalent to the speech act of blame: “Det var forkert af hende at tage til Indien, og det var forkert af hende at lade os andre i stikken. Livet handler nu engang ikke bare om at jagte lykken. Livet handler også om forpligtelser og om at gøre det rigtige” (p. 16) [“It was wrong of her to go to India, and it was wrong of her to leave the rest of us in the lurch. After all, life isn’t just about seeking happiness. Life is also about obligations, and about doing the right thing”]. Naturally, the narrator gets the last word. She has told us, the audience, something in the strictest confidence that she has not told her mother—that she and her husband are unable to conceive children and are discussing whether to adopt—and she explains to us why she does not confide this in her mother: “Men selvom min mor nogle gange føles tæt på, så føles hun det meste af tiden meget langt væk” (p. 15) [“But even though my mother sometimes feels close to me, most of the time she feels very far away”]. Again, there is a certain weird asymmetry between the narrator confiding in us, an audience of strangers, something that she refuses to share with her mother, and the mother confiding in her daughter who is unwilling to hear her Confidences. This ambivalence is aptly put in
the polysemous wording, where “close” may be understood in both a psychological and a geographical sense.

The short story is normally a written piece of prose, and volumes have been written in order to define the limits and core of the short story as a genre. In this particular case, we find a system of Chinese boxes or Russian Babushkas. First comes a frame that negates the value and structure of what is inside it—except that it comes straight from the narrator’s heart. The next box contains the narrator’s story, which again embeds the mother’s own Confidence about the events that led to the divorce. We then return to the narrator’s story, but are directed to the absent Confidence by ourselves learning new, and supposedly very private, confidential information about the trouble conceiving a child, and we finish the whole voyage by returning to the meta-reflection about the generations. Again the husband is quoted as saying that the narrator should not spend her time criticizing her mother. She agrees superficially with him but immediately proceeds to the moral judgment that her mother was wrong.

The final sentence is much more ambivalent though: “Nu ender det med, at hun bliver gammel I Indien, og jeg kommer aldrig til at lære hende at kende” (p. 16) [“Here’s how it will end: she will grow old in India, and I will never get to know her”]. Aesthetically, this is a more satisfying conclusion, in that it vibrates with the repressed anger and regret that we have felt throughout. The illusion of the oral narrative is borne out by the peculiar infantile complaint mirrored in the coordination of the at-sentence (“she will grow old in India”) and the og-sentence (“I will never get to know her”).

I hope that I have demonstrated that this short story is based on our ability to understand what goes on in this simulated dialogue between the narrator and her audience (us) as various manifestations of the everyday genres of Narrative and Confidence. Additionally, the short story cleverly uses this fact in an intricate embedding of the everyday genres in layers of narration which seem to deny each other full credibility: if the narrator is
really a bad narrator, then what are we reading? A “bad” story, i.e., a loosely structured story? Obviously not. But if the narrator is not a bad one, then why say so?
   Is it a brave attempt at getting it right?
   Like all of the above.
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RHETORIC IS PRESENT in every text, from the political speech to the research article to the sonnet. The rhetorical dimension of a given text reflects the pragmatic effect the text is designed to have. Naturally, such goals or intentions are more explicit in manifestly persuasive genres, whose very function is “to achieve some purpose within a social situation.” (Freedman & Medway, 1994, p. 2). This is not to say that such purposes are absent in other discourses, but that they are articulated and functionalized differently there.

For this reason, textual purpose is regarded as the constitutive element of genre in rhetorical genre theory. Unlike aesthetic and linguistic genre theory, which for the most part treat genres as constituted by various constellations of both intratextual and extratextual elements, rhetorical genre theory regards formal organization and thematic content as derivatives of textual purpose, and so the extratextual level—more specifically, the recurrent rhetorical situation—becomes the focal point. Genres arise because the action that they perform has repeatedly emerged as a fitting response to similar situations, and so they have developed, over time, certain typified formal and substantive characteristics. When a given situation is no longer interpreted as requiring a response or action, the relevant genre will fade away; when a given situation comes to be interpreted as requiring a different response or action, the relevant genre will change; and when new situations are interpreted as requiring a response, new genres will evolve from existing ones. Genres are, therefore—to use a formulation that recurs frequently within rhetorical genre theory—“typified rhetorical ac-
tions based in recurrent situations,” as Miller puts it in the classic article “Genre as Social Action” (1984, p. 159).

Rhetorical genre theory is accordingly contextualist and pragmatistic inasmuch as it takes genres to be products of regularity in human activities, that is, of various forms of typified actions performed within a community. As a result, the study of genre also becomes a path to understanding more deeply the ways in which different historical and cultural epochs perceive and comprehend the world. Moreover, it is specifically such “de facto” or everyday genres as the patent application, the job application, the first-year assignment, the tax report, the memo and the research article that have attracted scholarly attention, since it is precisely studies of these genres that “take seriously the rhetoric in which we are immersed and the situations in which we find ourselves.” (Miller, 1984, p. 155).

Such phrases make clear that the range of rhetorical genre theory extends beyond the zone of manifestly persuasive forms of writing. Because rhetorical genre theory undertakes an ontological analysis of genres as artifacts of purposive, rule-bound human activity, it can also offer perspectives on genres within such discourses as literature, film, the visual arts, music, architecture, design, etc. Here potential exchanges between rhetorical and literary genre theory are of special interest. Although these theories are united both by a shared concern with texts and discourses and by a common commitment to a dynamic and contextual understanding of genre, exchanges between the two theories are vanishingly few. The rare exceptions often involve somewhat distorted versions of the other theory’s perspective, supported by radicalized interpretations or reference to genre outliers, rather than to more canonical works.¹ It is also typical of rhetori-

cal genre analysis that it has largely failed to move beyond its primary subject area, which “incidentally tends to concentrate on non-literary texts.” (Freedman & Medway, 1994, p. 1). The crucial question is whether this indeed is “incidentally,” or whether the limits of the traditional subject area are in fact relevant to rhetorical genre theory’s theoretical and analytical approach.

Accordingly, this article is divided into two parts. Whereas the first part provides an introduction to rhetorical genre theory, its analytical implications for the study of rhetorical texts, and its possibilities and limitations, the second part focuses on how these understandings can be applied to other discourses, especially within the study of literature. This paves the way for an accounting of points at which rhetorical genre theory can expand and better ground our understanding of genres—and also of places where rhetorical genre theory is not translatable or applicable to other fields of interest.

Rhetorical Genre Theory

Ever since Aristotle, rhetorical criticism has been occupied, like other disciplines, with the classification of texts according to genre. Until the mid-20th century, this was largely done on the basis of the three branches of rhetoric set forth in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*: the deliberative, the epideictic, and the judicial, with varying additions, such as the addition by Melanchthon (ca. 1529) of the didactic, instructive genre [didaskalikon], e.g., the sermon (Aristotle, 1984, p. 2159 (1358b); Melanchton, 2001, p. 33). We continue to find the Aristotelian genre division holding sway as late as in Jamieson & Campbell (1982), whose study of generic hybrids analyzes these as varying intermixtures of Aristotle’s three genres of speech. All the same, this very study indicated that genres cannot be regarded as clearly

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2 On the application of rhetorical genre theory within the realm of aesthetics, see, e.g., White (1980), Devitt (2000), and Klejver (2001).
delineated entities, but must be viewed in relation to their context: “Genres are not only dynamic responses to circumstances; each is a dynamis—a potential fusion of elements that may be energized or actualized as a strategic response to a situation.” (p. 146).

With the rise of so-called Neo-Aristotelian Criticism, which was particularly dominant in the first half of the 20th century, genre aspects were deemphasized, since Neo-Aristotelianism “treats rhetorical discourses as discrete communications in specific contexts, designed for specific purposes.” (Black, 1978, p. 35). The focus thus lay on individual texts—and most frequently those by “The Great Whites,” i.e. powerful white men, such as presidents. This method can provide great insight into a particular text’s formulation and effect in a particular situation, but is of little help in connecting these to other speeches and situations. In a typical neo-Aristotelian analysis, a speech’s effect in its given setting is assessed by comparing its formulation to the classical Aristotelian persuasive techniques. As Black points out in his seminal critique, the neo-Aristotelian method is more accurately a “distortion of the sound that is its source” than a genuinely Aristotelian approach (p. 92). Interestingly, however, the neo-rhetorical reconceptualization of Aristotelian genre theory has laid the foundation for the modern understanding of genre.

Black’s call for new methods of rhetorical criticism ushered in a steady stream of proposed approaches. These included “fantasy theme” analysis, dramatic analysis, and (most important in this context) various forms of genre analysis. Here Bitzer’s interpretation of the rhetorical situation proved essential for the development of genre theory, inasmuch as Bitzer—without even mentioning the concept of genre—detected the recurrent nature of rhetorical situations: “From day to day, year to year, comparable situations occur, prompting comparable responses; hence rhetorical forms are born and a special vocabulary, grammar, and style are established.” (1968, p. 13). This recognition was crucial for the development of a rhetorically valid understanding of genre, since context—or,
more specifically, the rhetorical situation—is one of the core concepts of rhetorical analysis. Thus the fundamental difference between the neo-Aristotelian and the so-called neo-rhetorical accounts is to be found in a shift of focus from what is unique and singular in rhetorical situations to their recurrent, and thereby generic, nature.

Beyond its emphasis on recurrent situations as constitutive of genres, neo-rhetorical genre theory regards genres as intimately tied to the activity or action that they are used to perform, particularly in everyday life. This expansion of the rhetorical sphere from such standard genres as the political speech, the eulogy, the sermon, etc., to include everyday genres has been dubbed “the rhetorical turn,” but can more appropriately be called a practical turn of sorts, since it focuses on the particular action that is performed (e.g. Freedman & Medway, 1994, p. 3). And it is precisely here that the Aristotelian account of genre takes the stage one more time, albeit in a new and more fitting costume. In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle distinguishes the three genres of speech according to the goal [telos] of each genre: the political speech’s goal is to exhort or to dissuade; the courtroom speech’s goal is to accuse or to defend; and the eulogy’s goal is to praise or to blame (Aristotle, 1984, p. 2159, 1358b). Thus each genre is constituted by the action it performs in a recurrent situation. With this the foundations are laid for a genuinely rhetorical genre theory that takes as its starting-point not formal or thematic similarities, i.e. text-internal relations, but situation-al similarities in everything from the user’s manual, the memo, or the first-year assignment to the presidential inaugural address, the apologia, and the sermon.

**GENRE AS SOCIAL ACTION**

In order for rhetorical genre theory to be useful, it must offer explanations of why genres are rhetorical and how genres represent repetitions. While at first glance this may seem quite obvious, it is precisely this starting-point that has had crucial implications for the design of rhetorical genre theory.
To say that genre theory must be rhetorically grounded means that it must understand genre as something that “functions ultimately to produce action or change in the world.” (Bitzer, 1968, pp. 3-4). In other words, genres must be constituted by purposes—and not merely by individual purposes, but rather by recurrent purposes, since what is characteristic of genre is precisely recurrence: the constitutive similarities among different texts that allow us to understand them as participating in the same genre. Whereas aesthetic and linguistic genre theory primarily localized these repetitions in various constellations of rhetoric, formal organization, and thematic content, rhetorical genre theory isolates the situation as the single constituting element of recurrence, and hence also of each genre. More precisely, this is the rhetorical situation, which takes account of both purpose and recurrence:

Thus, inaugurals, eulogies, courtroom speeches, and the like have conventional forms because they arise in situations with similar structures and elements and because rhetors respond in similar way, having learned from precedent what is appropriate and what effects their actions are likely to have on other people. (Miller, 1984, p. 152)

In Bitzer’s interpretation, the rhetorical situation is composed of three elements: exigence, audience, and constraints. Briefly, exigence is the problem to be solved; audience is the people who have an opportunity to act on it; and constraints are the facts by which the situation is characterized. Yet this account faces two obstacles on the path to a sustainable genre theory. One of these is Bitzer’s materialist view of rhetorical situations as “objective, publicly observable, and historic (...), real or genuine,” (1968, p. 11) since objective situations cannot repeat themselves—by these lights, every situation will be unique—and so will not be able to serve as a basis for a genre theory. Secondly, Bitzer’s materialist interpretation of situations implies that they are determinative of the rhetor’s response, and so exclude...
his “act of creativity,” as Vatz puts it in his seminal critique (1973, p. 157). Yet Vatz’s view does not offer fertile ground for a genre theory either. His emphasis on the individual’s self-creating role leaves no room for recurrence, since the perception of a given situation will also always be unique.

Miller’s particular merit is that she offers a solution to these challenges by reconceptualizing situations as social constructions built on our shared human interpretations and definitions. That these are not as arbitrary as private interpretations, but do share similarities, is due to the fact that the basic human activity of categorizing events, experiences, understandings, etc. into types—or what the sociologist Schutz characterizes as our various “stocks of knowledge”—is a fusion of types used in the past with the historical-cultural context we find ourselves in now (Luckmann & Schutz, 1974, pp. 9). These stocks of knowledge are used to make new and immediately unique situations understandable and recognizable by embedding them in previously-known types. New types arise from a transformation of existing types, when these do not suffice to address the present situation.

It is quite tempting to replace the word “types” with “genres,” and thereby to link genre to stocks of knowledge, as several sociological-oriented genre theorists have done, e.g., Luckmann (1992) and Mayes (2003). Devitt (2004) in fact derives this connection from Miller’s own interpretation: “If stocks of knowledge and types equals genre, then Miller is arguing, as would I, that people construct the recurring situation through their knowledge and use of genre.” (p. 20). That Miller herself does not take this step is because (among other things) it would involve a relatively static sense of genre, since “most of our stock of knowledge is quite stable.” (1984, p. 157). More important, however, is the fact that Miller does indeed represent a socio-rhetorical approach to genre, on which situations are the products of social constructions, but the essence of *rhetorical* situations (and thus of genres as well) is the action that they are used to perform.
This action localizes Miller in the rhetorical situation’s core concept, namely, exigence. Whereas Bitzer merely explains exigence as an “imperfection (...), a defect,” Miller offers a more extensive account of the rhetorical situation, on which exigence can be understood not as an expression for material circumstances or private intentions—both of which (as mentioned earlier) are unique—but rather as “an objectified social need,” or, in Burke’s terms, a social motive (Bitzer, 1968, p. 6; Miller, 1984, p. 157; Burke, 1969, p. 201). “Social motive” should be understood as a community’s shared interpretation of the need to act in a recurrent situation, e.g., the need to do something at a birth or a death. Social motives are thus the very things that motivate us to act. If a company, for example, has the desire to brand itself as a humanitarian business, that private intention can be realized in a socially recognizable fashion by buying an expensive painting at a charity auction. In this example, the social action at stake is still to provide financial assistance to the needy; but the private intention is self-promotion and, ultimately, increased profits.

Genres therefore have a double function. To individuals, they provide a means by which private intentions can be made socially recognizable. To analysts, they offer access to the underlying horizons of understanding that may be at work in a given society. Accordingly, the rhetorical account of genre understanding can be applied both within a didactic discourse, where an introduction to genres can facilitate understanding how one can participate in a society’s actions, and within a discourse of ideological criticism, in which underlying patterns are disclosed through genre analyses—“for thus can the tyranny of genre be overthrown and the ‘utterly dismal’ study of organization become the utterly fascinating, liberating, and empowering rhetoric of form and genre.” (Coe, 1994, p. 187).

THE CONSTITUENT OF GENRES
One result of the above is that it is the everyday genres—or the “de facto” genres, as Miller calls them—that have especially attracted analytic atten-
tion. These genres are distinguished by being significantly more rigid forms than, say, the eulogy, the presidential speech, or literary rhetoric in all its varieties. One can perfectly well imagine, for example, a well-functioning eulogy that condemns the deceased instead of praising him. By contrast, it is practically impossible to imagine that a job application could have any positive effect if it focuses on why the applicant does not want the job.3 Similarly, a eulogy can be designed as a speech, a poem, a narrative, etc., and its style may vary from grandiloquent to quite earthy, depending on the situation. Here again, such variations in form will seldom yield anything useful in a job application, which plays a role precisely in more stable situations and is therefore much more typified. As Bazerman notes, this also means that the analyst’s “task is simplified and stabilized when we look to behaviors in highly regularized or institutional settings.” (1994, p. 88).

Obviously individual texts will always display some distinctiveness, no matter how rigid the genre is (e.g., the tax return), but on a scale from static to dynamic there is no doubt that many everyday genres, especially institutional ones, are closer to static than (for example) literary genres. Because genres are responses to social needs in recurrent situations, it is often obvious that they have also developed specially typified forms that meet these needs as best as possible; to borrow a phrase from Bitzer, they constitute “fitting responses.” (1968, p. 10). A recurrent rhetorical situation thus invites a special formal and thematic configuration; and the responses that develop over time into a genre are those that best meet the needs of the recurrent situation. By virtue of the fact that the formal and substantive elements are often relatively stable within this range, it becomes possible to see that these are not constitutive of genres, but simply appear as prod-

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3 An example is John Cleese’s 1989 eulogy for Graham Chapman, where because both were members of the British comedy group Monty Python, it was regarded as appropriate to “roast” the deceased.
ucts of the social exigence, which is why they can only help to “trace but (...) not constitute a genre.”

This does not mean that the text-internal layer is disregarded in rhetorical genre theory. On the contrary, the text-internal level takes part in fulfilling a genre’s overarching action, so that “the various smaller speech acts within the larger document contribute to the macro-speech act of the text.” (Bazerman, 1994, p. 89). In its interpretation of the significance that form and content have in relation to the action that a text or genre performs, rhetorical genre theory thus draws on the theory of speech acts: words acquire meaning in sentences, sentences in speech acts, speech acts in texts, and texts in genres. In this manner, form and substance function, at one level, to execute an action that takes place at the higher level of the situation. In relation to genres, the recurrent situation occupies a higher hierarchical level, where “the combination of form and substance at one level becomes an action (has meaning) at a higher level when that combination itself acquires form.” (Miller, 1984, p. 160). A thank-you speech, for example, is a combination of a form and a content that performs one specific action in one recurrent situation, such as an awards ceremony, and another special action in another recurrent situation, such as a wedding. In isolation from its context, we would surely be able to recognize such a speech as either an award acceptance speech or a wedding thank-you speech because of its formal and thematic characteristics. But it would be “hard to understand, hard to attribute intention to, hard to see as effective acts, without the frame of the macro-act.” (Bazerman, 1994, p. 89).

Rhetorical genre theory assumes, then, that there will be one constitutive act per genre, much the same as the constitutive act for a hammer is to

4 Miller uses the terms “form” and “substance,” derived from Burke (1969), where form corresponds, at different levels, to a language, grammar, illocutionary force, etc., while “substance” corresponds to an experience, lexicon, proposition, speech act, etc. (Miller, 1984, p. 160; cf. Devitt, 1993, p. 575).
pound in nails. This does not mean that a hammer cannot also be used for other purposes, e.g., as a murder weapon, an ornament, or a mallet. But the hammer is defined by its function as a “nail-pounder.” This, then, is a teleological understanding of genre, which means that one must either operate with a relatively particularized concept of genre—since the letter, for example, can perform many actions—or reduce the various actions that a genre performs to one overarching action, which will risk yielding general and abstract statements that say little about the particular genre, let alone about the individual text. This means that one must either define genres quite narrowly, or accept that their social actions will not be determined in a way that covers all instantiations equally.

THE RHETORICAL CHALLENGE

In its response to this challenge, rhetorical genre theory can be said to have moved in both directions. Generally speaking, there seems to be a tendency to define genres more narrowly. Yet Miller and Shepherd’s analysis of the blog is an example of a broader approach, in which social exigence is viewed quite generally as “some widely shared, recurrent need for cultivation and validation of the self; furthermore, in these particular times, we must locate that need at the intersection of the private and public realms.” (2004, np). Still, the fundamental fact is that rhetorical genre theory does propose to define genres with more particularity. It distinguishes them by virtue of “a relatively complete shift in rhetorical situation,” (Miller, 1984, p. 159), i.e., as soon as a given community detects significant changes in the recurrent situation, e.g., by virtue of a different audience.

The timing of this shift in rhetorical situation depends on the particular society or community. Yet genres are often recognizable by “a common name within a given context or community.” (Miller & Shepherd, 2004, np)

5 That social exigence is defined so broadly here is also due to the fact that the blog qua genre borders on literature, and so does not necessarily exhibit a clear, univocal function.
np). For example, one can understand the set of all thank-you speeches, all award acceptance speeches, or even—to put a fine point on it—all “Best Actress” award acceptance speeches as one recurrent situation across various historical and cultural periods and in different communities. Beyond using the genre’s name as a guiding thread, we can also consider users’ own understandings of how a situation can be described as recurrent. This is an ethnomethodological approach that allows metatexts, articles about the genre, instructions, and dictionary definitions to be incorporated into the genre determination. Thus Miller’s genre analysis of the blog, for example, proceeds from consideration of “how bloggers talk about blogs (…), the criteria they use to evaluate blogs and the ways that blog portals organize and present blogs.” (Miller & Shepherd, 2004, np).

Because the recurrent situation is not a matter of private perceptions or material circumstances, but rather of a society or community’s perception of situations as being alike, the primary challenge is how to understand and define such a society or community. In rhetorical genre analysis, it is typical to investigate genres used by small communities, such as biologists, accountants, social workers, students, or bank employees. This situational and more particularized genre understanding is also expressed in, for example, Schryer’s frequently cited definition of genres as “stabilized-for-now” or “stabilized-enough sites of social and ideological action.” (1993, p. 200). Taken to its logical conclusion, this particularized approach implies that even a genre like the newsletter, which most likely is found in all of the communities listed above, must be regarded as a separate genre within each discourse, since the audience—and so the rhetorical situation—vary. Berkenkotter and Huckin have problematized this bluntly

6 See, respectively, Myers (1990), Devitt (1991), Paré (1991), Freedman (1990), Smart (1992), and Smart (1993).
7 It could be argued that they all belong to the same genre, whose audience can be defined more generally as employees. But this would often clash with the actual experiences of newsletter users, and so would not be a genuinely ethnomethodological approach.
by claiming that, according to these standards, “a letter from a Utah bank promoting a new savings program” would be the only letter that manifests the genre (1995, p. 14). While this example is extreme and unrepresentative of rhetorical genre theory, it does make the point that by defining genres in terms of a (small) community’s perception of the existence of a recurrent situation, we run the risk of making genres so localized and situation-dependent that it would make more sense simply to speak of texts.

THE LITERARY RECURRENT SITUATION
This set of problems becomes still more acute where literary genres are concerned. What is especially distinctive about literature—and what is characteristic of aesthetic works more generally—is that they possess the ability to transcend the situation in which they are written. Literary works are read hundreds of years after their initial “situation,” and by a very large and disparate audience. Hence it would seem difficult to adduce the recurrent rhetorical situation as the constituting element of literary genres.

This difference between rhetorical and literary texts stems largely from the following fact. It is rarely possible to determine the primary action that a literary text is designed to undertake without either resorting to abstract phrases about literature’s function per se, or subsuming the individual genre under some overarching exigence that does not manage to capture the many actions that the immanent text unfolds. As Fowler points out, most literary genres have “no discernible occasion or function. (...) Much of the interest of epics, as of novels, lies precisely in our sense of their non-functional, ‘unexplained’ character.” (1982, p. 152).

Despite this, there are in fact a number of literary genres that connect themselves more closely to the extratextual context and to the rhetorical situation. In these cases, rhetorical genre analysis can provide a useful and insightful approach to deciphering the interplay between the text, on the one hand, and the situation that the text is designed to interpret or respond to, on the other. This is the case especially in different forms of occasional
literature, such as the funerary poem, the coronation poem, the birthday poem, etc., where the perception of the recurrent situation can help to define the genre. That there is “a relatively complete shift in rhetorical situation” between the death poem and the coronation poem is obvious enough; but the same can also be said, for example, about the relation between a funerary poem for an unknown person and a funerary poem for a known person, where the crucial difference in rhetorical situation is the extent of the reader’s knowledge of the person depicted, which in turn yields (lesser) formal, thematic, and rhetorical differences (Miller, 1984, p. 159). The same is true of hymns, for example, which are mainly written to be sung by a congregation: through the hymn, the congregation is given words to express their faith communally. For this reason, hymns also evolve in keeping with changes in religious conception over different historical-cultural periods. Just as with the rhetorical genres, some of these occasional genres do naturally pass away, or are reshaped, when the situation that they are designed to respond to comes to an end or loses its social significance—as we find, for example, with the coronation poem after the fall of the absolute monarchy.

Incorporating the recurrent rhetorical situation into literary generic analysis would also be quite valuable in relation to what one might call “literary paratextual genres,” i.e., the genres that surround a literary work such as the preface, the epithet, the epilogue, etc. One constitutive feature of literary paratextual genres has always been that these are situated in a predominantly real universe, whereas the novel, collection of poems, or dramatic work that follows is primarily situated in some sort of fictive world. This is obviously a claim subject to modifications, inasmuch as several works, among them Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726/1899), Fielding’s *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling* (1749/1974) and Kierkegaard’s *Either/Or* (1843/2004), experiment with levels of narration by weaving such genres, primarily the preface, into the discourse of the main text. Nevertheless, this does not change the basic fact that the reader ex-
pects to encounter a real universe by virtue of these texts’ embedment in the paratext. What becomes evident in the study of the preface, for example, is that there is continual exchange between the predominantly factual preface and the fictional work that follows, such that the preface helps to shape the reader’s expectations, and takes active part in the work’s generic structure.

From a rhetorical perspective, the preface can serve as an illustrative example of how changes in a recurrent rhetorical situation affect the configuration of the corresponding genre. The design of the individual preface will of course vary depending on the authorship, the author, and the subsequent work—and so on the particular rhetorical situation. It will therefore both fulfill certain constitutive generic characteristics (e.g., the text’s placement and sender-receiver relationship) and reshape others (e.g., its thematic content and formal structure) according to the situation. In addition, the preface will vary in expression according to the historical-cultural context, i.e., the recurrent rhetorical situation. This is why, for example, the preface’s function as paean to the ruling monarch (who was then the arbiter of publication permits and the allocation of funds to authors) dissipated once the rulers no longer served as a supervisory body regulating the art world. Similarly, the preface as a whole virtually disappeared qua genre in the wake of romanticism’s emphasis on the autonomy of the artwork, since this came in direct opposition to the preface’s primary function, namely, to “ensure that the text is read properly,” i.e., to offer reading instructions of sorts from the author to the reader (Genette, 1997, p. 197). When that social motive disappeared, the preface changed from being an indispensable part of an aesthetic work to being a quite rare occurrence.

In different historical-cultural periods, different particular genres will attach themselves to specific recurrent rhetorical situations. At the risk of oversimplification, one may say the following: it has often been the case that a genre that had originally served as a response to some extratextual condition changed when, over time, the latter condition subsided to the
point where it no longer served as a constraint on the genre. This seems to have occurred especially because “changes in the social function of literature (...) made occasion less important” (Fowler, 1982, p. 67). For example, the sonnet was originally an outgrowth of the minstrel tradition, in which the speaker confesses his infatuation with, and unrequited love for, a distant and unattainable woman. Over time, however, the association with this initial situation was more or less wiped out, which is why the sonnet came to be amenable to a wide variety of different themes, and why the sonnet’s most important constitutive element came to be its structural form. Nevertheless, an essential task for genre analysis in the study of the sonnet remains to investigate how and why this relation to the genre’s original rhetorical situation has more or less been abolished.

There is a final case in which the rhetorical situation can be integrated profitably into literary genre analysis. This concerns genres that employ everyday genres—such as the letter, the diary, the travelogue, the scientific report, etc.—within a fictional frame. Although the de facto genres at issue are “altered and assume a special character when they enter complex ones,” (Bakhtin, 1952-1953/1986, p. 62) some crucial elements of the primary genre are maintained. This not only allows us to recognize the genre in its transformed shape, but is also the reason for its embedment in fiction. In this embedding process, some of the original genre’s elements are maintained, others are discarded, and still others are reshaped, all according to what the fiction as a whole demands. Similarities and differences between the initial primary genre, e.g. the letter, and the secondary genre, e.g. the epistolary novel, can only be decoded through an in-depth understanding of both elements and the joint genre they form. It is here that rhetorical genre analysis offers a valuable tool for analyzing the letter’s function qua genre and its expressions in various historical-cultural periods, such as nineteenth-century Germany, where the epistolary novel became one of the dominant genres. Similarly, the epistolary novel as a genre changed its expression—and its degree of dissemination—in relation to the actual his-
torical-cultural function of the letter. This is why, in recent years, we have seen other forms of epistolary novel increasingly emerge, such as the email novel and the text-message novel. In interpreting both individual works and the embedding of everyday genres within other genres, rhetorical genre theory can deepen and support our understanding of how and why such embedding is done differently in different periods.

Take, for example, Beaumont’s *E* (2000), the first email novel. It is composed of email correspondence between employees at an advertising agency and their business partners, and exclusively uses the work email as a genre. The email messages’ paratextual elements are all reproduced, including the header, subject, date, etc.; individual messages appear in chronological order; and attached documents are generally included as well. Yet despite these immediate similarities to the email *qua* genre, *E* differs in one important respect: as readers, we gain access not to a single person’s correspondence but to an entire office’s internal communications, all the way from the temp worker to the director, so that the novel presents a catalogue of the workplace’s use of various email genres. As a result, we gain insight into a community’s perception of different recurring rhetorical situations. By applying a rhetorical genre approach to this novel’s use of the email genre, we will be able to provide a more empirically grounded interpretation of how this novel’s particular transformation of the genre is carried out.

Similarly, such an approach could also contribute to diachronic studies of literary genres that make use of embedded primary or de facto genres, inasmuch as an account of these genres’ function and use within the fictional can be linked to changes in the social sphere of action. This is, of course, already an aspect of the approach to genre analysis found in literary history, particularly within the historical-contextual understanding represented by Vera Nünning (2004), among others. But rhetorical genre

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8 For use of rhetorical genres in fiction, see Auken (2013).
theory can offer a methodology which, by virtue of its joint study of texts and discourses, is quite closely related to that of literary theory.

THE LITERARY CHALLENGE

Notwithstanding the many useful angles and methods that rhetorical genre theory can offer to the study of literary texts, it cannot serve as the sole mode of approach. There is a wide range of literary texts and genres that are simply not exclusively constituted by their association with a recurrent rhetorical situation. At the level of the text, we certainly do find various recurrent situations to which characters relate and react—indeed often rhetorically, e.g. by making a speech, composing a mocking song, writing a letter, etc.—or at an even more basic level of the fiction, as when the authorial I attempts to reach knowledge and understanding of an event precisely through the writing process, as we often find in diary novels and testimonial literature. Even though these confusingly resemble the situations we encounter outside the fictional context, they are nonetheless, as Bitzer puts it, “not real, not grounded in history; neither the fictive situation nor the discourse generated by it is rhetorical” (1968, p. 11). The same point may be derived from Cohn’s definition of fiction as “literary nonreferential narratives,” (1999, pp. 12) which does not mean that fiction is detached from its extratextual context, but simply that the references to this context that it makes via names, places, historical events, etc., do not consist entirely of referentiality, and do not require accuracy, either. What is performed by the work of fiction, then, is a kind of pseudo-action that does not give rise to rhetorical consequences outside the fictional context. This does not mean that the fictional discourse is unable to gain power as rhetorical action outside the fiction, “if there is a real situation for which the discourse is a rhetorical response” (Bitzer, 1968, p. 11). One very well-known example of this is the 1989 fatwa issued against Salman Rushdie after the publication of his novel *The Satanic Verses* (1988).
Because it is difficult—and often not especially stimulating—to determine a literary genre’s social exigence and audience, it is questionable whether the recurrent situation can be regarded as the constituting element of literary genres. On the other hand, the recurrent situation can undoubtedly be seen as a text-external partial constituent of literary genres, on a par with their complex text-internal structures. The question is whether these same relations apply when one turns from rhetorical genre theory to rhetorical genre analysis. Certainly it is characteristic of rhetorical analyses that they treat formal organization and thematic content as on a par with social action. This could be taken as an indication that, in relation to analytic work, it is at the very least unprofitable simply to establish one constituent for these genres.

This is, at any rate, one of the most important discoveries in literary genre theory. After innumerable attempts to do otherwise, it has now sunk in that one must instead regard genres as “complex structures that must be defined in terms of all three of these dimensions: the formal, the rhetorical, and the thematic” (Frow, 2006, p. 76). These three elements have appeared in various formulations throughout the history of modern literary theory. We find them in Fowler’s (1982) “complex of substantive and formal features that always include a distinctive (though not usually unique) external structure” (p. 74); “thematic content, style and compositional structure (...) inseparably linked to the whole of the utterance” (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 60); and Wellek and Warren’s “outer form (specific metre or structure) and also (...) inner form (attitude, tone, purpose—more crudely subject and audience)” (1966, p. 231). Different genres will naturally emphasize different elements—for example, the haiku emphasizes form, the psalm rhetoric, and the mystery novel content—but for every genre, all of these elements play a co-constituting role. Thus the mystery’s thematic throughline of a committed crime to be solved, for example, implies the formal structure of a longer narrative, which, viewed rhetorically, permits certain essential facts to be revealed only late in the course of the narrative, which is in turn
why the reader becomes a participant in the characters’ attempts to solve the crime. If even one of these elements changes—e.g., the crime turns out not to have occurred, the story is told in verse, or the culprit is revealed on the first page—then we are dealing with a kind of genre-parodic work, a sub-genre like the mystery poem, or an entirely different genre.

Beyond these text-internal elements, the mystery novel is also influenced by the historical-cultural context—or the rhetorical situation. Modern “femicrime” is an obvious example of this: in the era of gender equality, the male figure is naturally complemented by a female counterpart. Although the literary approach has generally taken note of genres’ contextual nature, it has only been moderately successful in developing an analytical lens capable of putting this understanding into practice. And here rhetorical genre theory offers an obvious method for analyzing the historical-cultural situation within which a genre or single work makes its appearance.

FROM GENRE TO TEXT

Literary genre theory is marked especially by its ability to deal both with genres and with individual texts’ unique realizations of their generic affiliations. At first glance, this double capability might seem like an obvious goal for a genre theory. In the case of rhetorical genre theory, however, it has emerged that the study of the individual text has largely been curtailed in favor of the study of multiple texts:

In general, however, rhetorical genre theorists have usually treated particular rhetorical works as examples of generic expectations rather than as individual texts with individual qualities. Typically, multiple samples of a genre are examined in order to understand the generic conventions, to trace generic change, or to discern the ideological underpinnings of a genre. (Devitt, 2000, p. 711)
There has thus been a kind of reverse neo-Aristotelian movement focusing on multiple texts (most commonly by “the mass”). This can provide great insight into a genre’s expression and function, but will fail to capture the particular text’s particular expression and effect in a particular situation. This means, first of all, that rhetorical genre theory often tends to underestimate the individual text’s unique expressions and connections to multiple genres. This is of course less pernicious when it comes to the questionnaire and the tax return than when it comes to the autobiography or the presidential speech. Whereas rhetorical genre theory has primarily directed its attention to stable everyday genres, where each text is (roughly speaking) just a subset of the genre as a whole, literary genre theory is premised, by virtue of the literary text’s immanent nature, on the notion that a generic approach should be capable of taking account of each individual text’s unique materialization. As a result, literary genre theory embraces a basic understanding that every literary work exhibits a manifold of genre connections, and so all texts must be understood in some sense as hybrids. This contrasts sharply with the approach of rhetorical genre theory, where Jamieson and Campbell’s study of generic hybrids (1982), for example, indicates a basic view of the generic hybrid as the exception that proves the rule. This is undoubtedly caused by rhetorical genre theory’s primary focus on more static genres. It also means that rhetorical genre theory is significantly more powerful when dealing with everyday genres than with the great rhetorical genres, in which the individual text draws attention to itself to a far greater degree.

Second of all, this means that rhetorical genre theory often does not account for the fact that certain types of texts are not merely responses to one particular situation, but have the ability to transcend the situation in and for which they are written. This is obvious in both literary and philosophical works, but applies equally to a number of archirhetorical genres, such as the scientific text, the law, and the presidential speech. Genres such as these perform a set of complex actions that cannot be reduced to
any one constituent without committing an affront against both texts and genres.

In order to address and incorporate these challenges, rhetorical genre analysis must make room for a more text-based approach, one that takes account of each text’s particular realization of its generic affiliations as well as of genres’ complex and manifold actions. Here a literarily inspired approach will undoubtedly prove fruitful. This would allow rhetorical genre analysis to expand its repertoire beyond the everyday genres, in order to embrace not only the generic study of the individual text, but also the classical rhetorical genres.
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PARATEXTS, AS DEFINED by Gérard Genette, are the manifold marginal texts in a literary work—the title, genre indication, preface, jacket copy, and more—that surround the body text and shape how the reading public understands it. However, the sociology of the text, with its emphasis on how the material layers of literary works contribute to determining how they are understood, indicates that “paratext” should be (re)defined as an umbrella term that also includes typography, illustrations, formatting, etc.

While much has been written about genre and paratexts since the late 1980s, no one has yet presented a focused account of the relation between the two in literary works. The present article aims first to define “paratext” qua concept, and then to clarify the sociological status (particularly with regard to the sociology of publishing) and pragmatic function of paratexts, both in general and in a concrete analysis of the paratexts of the novel 6512 (1969), by the Danish author Per Højholt. Finally, the paratextual strategies of modernism and postmodernism are examined in genre-historical perspective.

The following article is an attempt to clarify the relationship between a text’s generic character and the paratexts of the book in which the text is read. This clarification presupposes familiarity with the concept of paratext as defined by Gérard Genette in his seminal study Seuils (1987, translated as Paratexts in 1997). Put briefly, paratexts are the manifold marginal texts in a literary work—the title, genre indication, preface, jacket copy, and more—that surround the body text and shape how the reading public un-
derstands it. Genette defines paratexts’ status in terms of the sociological circumstances in which they are produced (particularly in terms of the sociology of publishing) and their pragmatic function with respect to audience reception. Figuratively, the paratext may be conceived as a bargaining site on the threshold of the text, a meeting ground where the writer and publisher, on one side, and the reader, on the other, join to enter into a contract about how the text is to be read and classified.

It is not the present article’s intention to offer a pure elaboration of Genette’s concept of the paratext—though such an effort would not be without purpose, as Paratexts presents the concept’s sociological and pragmatic implications only in terse and barely adequate form. Instead, this article issues a call for extending the range of “paratext” from the purely linguistic realm to non-linguistic elements as well, following (among others) Jerome McGann’s The Textual Condition (1991). The term paratext should also be used, I argue, to designate a book’s material and iconic layers—such as the cover illustration, typography, and formatting—as well. For both the linguistic and the material/iconographic aspects of the paratext exert influence on the reading public’s reception of the text.

Rather surprisingly, genre research has not yet produced a study devoted to the relationship between paratexts and the genre of literary texts. In Paratexts, Genette gives this relationship only a preliminary glance; his short section on “Genre Indications” merely treats genre indications in isolation. Nor does Marie Maclean, whose 1991 article “Pretexts and Paratexts” presents a theoretical specification of the pragmatic aspects of Genette’s paratext concept, deal with the relationship between paratexts and the text’s genre. Nor, for that matter, does Jean-Marie Schaeffer, whose genre theory is otherwise linked inextricably to Genette’s concept of transtextuality, pay any attention to paratexts in his three studies in genre theory: “Du texte au genre” (1983), “Literary Genres and Textual Genericity” (1989a), and Qu’est-ce qu’un genre littéraire? (1989b).
THE PARATEXT AS A GENRE CONTRACT

This fact might lead one to imagine that paratexts have had no significant influence on how the reading public determines a given text’s genre. In truth, practically the opposite is the case.

The importance of paratexts for determining a text’s genre is a function of the genre character of each individual text. In the introduction to *Paratexts*, Genette cites a pointed remark by his countryman Philippe Lejeune to the effect that a paratext is “a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one’s whole reading of the text.” (p. 2). This quotation is drawn from Lejeune’s groundbreaking treatise on autofiction, “The Autobiographical Pact” (1989, pp. 3-30); by “fringe of the printed text,” Lejeune refers to the same marginal text elements that Genette calls paratexts. When Lejeune ascribes an absolutely decisive significance to paratexts in determining how texts are interpreted, this is due to the fact that his treatise concerns a particular textual genre that is balanced between autobiography and fiction, and in which paratexts play a crucial role in shaping how readers make sense of references within the text to the life of author. If, for example, a work’s paratexts include the genre label “autobiography,” this will lead the audience to read the book in a substantially different manner than they would if the genre label were “novel” instead. For in the former case—but not the latter—the work’s author, narrator, and protagonist must all correspond to one another.

It is also worth noting that both Lejeune and Genette describe paratexts as sites for negotiation between a sender and a receiver. Genette speaks of a contract, with legal connotations; Lejeune speaks of a pact, with religious connotations. This raises the question of how strong the bond is that a genre contract establishes, and who is bound by it—author or reader. In *Palimpsests* (1982/1997a), Genette voiced the following reservations about the genre contract’s implications for the reader:
The term pact is evidently somewhat optimistic with regard to the role of the reader, who has signed nothing and must either take it or leave it. But the generic or other markings commit the author, who, under penalty of being misunderstood, respects them more frequently than one might expect. (p. 430)

Thus a work’s paratextual genre indication exclusively obligates the author. The reader may relate to it freely and, by implication, can withdraw from it at any time. On this point Genette adds the following five years later, in Paratexts:

Or it (the paratext) can involve a commitment: some genre indications (autobiography, history, memoir) have, as we know, a more binding contractual force (“I commit myself to telling the truth”) than do others (novel, essay). (1982/1997b, p. 11)

Recent Scandinavian autofiction, however, has qualified Genette’s claim that genre indications obligate the author and (in return) offer protection against being misunderstood. The Danish author Claus Beck-Nielsen, for example, recently made it clear that the genre label “autobiography” serves more as a smokescreen for a new type of (auto)fiction than as a guarantee of the author’s intention. 1 The genre indication can fool the reader only because the reader, by convention, trusts that the author is bound by it; but it is of course crucial for both parties that the deception be exposed in the end. This ironic play with genre indications in the most recent autofiction bears similarities to earlier plays on the (un)reliability of the narrator. In Genette’s defense, however, it should be added that such ironic paratexts

occur primarily in texts that were written after Genette’s (and Lejeune’s) definition was published—and are perhaps in dialogue with it.

In *Dobbeltkontrakten. En æstetisk nydannelse* (2006) [The double contract. An aesthetic novelty] and elsewhere, the Danish literary scholar Poul Behrendt has dealt extensively with such intentional mismatches between paratext and text in the latest examples of Danish autofiction. One model, on which a fundamentally autobiographical text is coupled with the paratextual genre label “novel,” is a recent phenomenon that began gaining ground in Scandinavian literature around 2000. It is represented most starkly by the Norwegian author Karl Ove Knausgård, whose autobiographical six-volume work *Min Kamp* (2009-2012) [published in English as *My Struggle*] is designated “A Novel” on the title page. In his analyses, Behrendt locates not one but two genre contracts in the autofiction: indeed, he finds two genre conflicts in mutual conflict. On the one hand, the work establishes a “reality contract” in the form of an identity of names among its author, narrator, and protagonist; but on the other hand, it also establishes a “fiction contract,” where we find (in certain places) no identity between author and narrator. The author enters into both contracts with his audience in a manner so sophisticated that it is left to the reader to assess when to read the work according to the reality contract, and when to stick to the fiction contract. The audience can only get to the bottom of this subtle masquerade by appealing to extratextual information about the author, viz., knowledge provided independently of the author.

Given how differently paratexts have been used and perceived in different periods of literary history, it would be beyond the scope of this article to treat all possible relationships between the genre character of a text and the genre indication offered in its paratexts. For the sake of clarity—and of accuracy—I will accordingly limit myself to analyzing the particular significance of paratexts for genre character in one specific Danish modernist prose text from the twentieth century. This text was written by the genre-conscious author Per Højholt, and was published by Det Schøn-
bergske Forlag in 1969 under the sensational title 6512. This title already sends a paratextual signal that the text is negotiating with the reader about its genre, “novel.” 6512 has certain obvious points of contact between with its author’s life, but it does not thereby set forth a double contract. Rather, the author’s mission is to problematize the novel qua conventional genre with a stable narrative subject. By this means, readers are made aware of their own expectations for the genre, and thereby of themselves.

I have selected this work because of the author’s heightened awareness of both the relativity of genre concepts and the generic instability of texts. To highlight this dynamic, Per Højholt draws the book’s linguistic and material paratexts into a complex game with his audience. He does so in a manner that is unprecedented—even in the wider European context.

TRANSTEXTUALITY
The concept “paratext” is significantly younger than the concept “text” to which it invariably adheres. What is the reason for this conceptual delay? Clearly it cannot be that paratexts are empirical phenomena of recent vintage, for paratexts have existed as long as texts have. One can scarcely imagine a text without paratexts. Yet the opposite has in fact occurred, as in cases where an ancient text has been lost, and only the title has survived. Whereas modern literary theory has spent decades theorizing about the status and function of the text—a reflection that dates back to Plato and Aristotle—the text’s own form of publication has, until recently, been dismissed as irrelevant to understanding the text, even in the work of such contemporary historians of the book as Jerome McGann and D. F. McKenzie.

It was in Palimpsests (1982/1997a) that Gérard Genette first identified as “paratextual” the relationship between the published text and the other

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2 Sune Auken has pointed out to me, however, that medieval runestones are texts without paratexts (in a narrow linguistic sense).
textual elements that physically surround it and present it to the public.\(^3\) In fact, however, the concept of paratext had already appeared in the final pages of *The Architext: An Introduction* (1979/1992), albeit with a different semantic content, namely, as referring to what is commonly called “intertextuality,” namely, relationships between one text and another. At that point, Genette was occupied with an investigation of all the possible relationships that transcend a work’s immanent text and set it in a signifying relation to the literary institution and to literature as a whole.\(^4\)

Genette’s interest in the transcendence of the text must be understood against the backdrop of a tradition in French literary studies that stretches back to the 1960s, in which textual structures of signification are elucidated by means of structuralism and deconstruction. Indeed, in his prior narratological analyses of modern French prose, Genette had himself contributed to structuralist textual theory. When Genette introduces his so-called “transtextual trilogy” with his essay on the architext, the target of his opposition is not the overall mindset of structuralism, but rather its narrow conception of text. Genette’s new view is that if one hopes to grasp a literary work in all its complexity, one must analyze all of its manifold relationships, both to the textual elements within it and to other texts outside it. The paratextual relationship between a work’s immanent text and its title, subtitle, author’s name, publisher’s name, and so on, is just one of five transtextual relationships. As mentioned, this relationship is the subject of Genette’s encyclopedic treatise *Paratexts*, with its ambiguous French original title *Seuils*—which in part conveys the purely lexical meaning “thresholds,” and in part plays on the name of his French publisher Editions de Seuil.

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\(^3\) In *Palimpsests* (1997), Genette annotates the word “paratext” as follows: “The word paratext must be understood in the ambiguous, even hypocritical, sense that operates in adjectives such as parafiscal or paramilitary” (p. 429).

\(^4\) In the present context, “immanent text” corresponds what is called the “main text” or “body text” elsewhere.
Genette defines the other four transtextual relationships as inter-, hyper-, meta-, and architextuality, respectively. Intertextuality is restricted to the narrow set of directly documentable relationships between one text and another, prior text in the form of citations and allusions. In French literary theory, this area had been treated previously by such figures as Julia Kristeva and Roland Barthes—and so Genette gives it only cursory attention in his book. Hypertextuality, on the other hand, is Genette’s own conception of an overall intertextual relationship between two texts that involves either the imitation or the transformation of style, characters, narration, etc. A hypertext that (for example) imitates some previous hypotext is called a palimpsest, and is in Genette’s words “literature in the second degree.”

The fourth aspect of transtextuality is metatextuality, the explicit relation between text and a metatext found, for example, in a review or an essay. Genette does not devote much attention to this class of relations either, even though he himself had produced metatexts in his own narrative analyses of Marcel Proust (mentioned previously). The fifth and most abstract transcendence of the text, finally, is called architextuality. This refers to relations among a group of texts that take the form of a genre, a mode of expression, or a type of discourse. By definition, all texts are architextual; all possess a discursive instance and a genre, though some are—as Genette puts it—more architextual than others, i.e., easier to classify narratively and generically.

Although Genette published three independent studies of the architext, the hypertext, and the paratext respectively, it is important to keep the relations among all five dimensions of transtextuality in mind. Genette himself, of course, is not blind to these interactions; he refers to them in passing in *Palimpsests* (1982/1997a, p. 7). A sketch of these internal relations may help to clarify the dynamics here. The generic architextuality of a text is easily marked paratextually within the work; what is more, we often find intertextual citations that may indicate a hypertextual relation in the form of parody or pastiche, all of which can emerge from a thorough and informative metatext. Quite frequently, it is the metatextual determina-
DELIMITING AND WIDENING THE PARATEXTUAL

There is only one relation between the text and what lies outside it that Genette quite deliberately excludes from his (otherwise nearly limitless) concept of transtextuality, and that is the relation between text and extratextual reality. This exclusion is touched upon in the condensed introduction to *Paratexts*, in connection with a distinction between verbal and factual paratexts. In contrast to verbal paratexts, factual paratexts include all of the information about the author and society that the work itself does not provide. Genette’s examples of factual paratexts are the author’s sexuality, religion, and political affiliation, i.e., conditions that would normally be thought of as part of a work’s context. But Genette uses “context” to mean the specific portion of a factual paratext that concerns the work’s position within the author’s oeuvre and in history as a whole. Frequently it can be difficult to distinguish between factual paratexts and contexts in this sense; but this is not, in any case, a distinction to which Genette gives special emphasis.

The essential distinction that Genette draws is between verbal and factual paratexts. Insofar as the factual paratext presupposes extratextual knowledge that has been derived from sources outside the work, that paratext lies outside the realm of transtextuality. This of course does not mean that extratextual information about the author’s private life, family, travel, job history, etc., has no bearing on the reader’s understanding of the text. It just means that this is a relation that goes beyond (trans-) textuality by definition.5

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5 Compare the following note in Genette’s *Palimpsests* (1982/1997a): “I should perhaps have specified that transtextuality is only one transcendence among others; it does at least differ from that other transcendence which unites the text to the extratextual reality, and which does not interest me (directly) for the moment—though I know it exists: I do sometimes go out of my library (I do not have a library) ...” (p. 430).
Genette is fully aware that a work’s paratexts necessarily include more than purely verbal or linguistic elements. But such layers are granted no further attention in _Paratexts_. It was only in recent work in the history of the book, as for example in Jerome McGann’s _The Textual Condition_, that light was shed on all the non-linguistic codes in a work—seemingly insignificant, but in reality quite meaningful—that belong neither to the immanent text nor to the linguistic paratext (Kondrup, 2011, p. 277). In his general break with previous literature research, McGann proposes that Genette’s basic distinction between text and paratext be replaced by an even more fundamental distinction between linguistic and so-called bibliographic codes:

The distinction, text/paratext, can be useful for certain descriptive purposes, but for a deeper investigation into the nature of textuality, it is not strong enough. For the past six years I have been exploring a different distinction by calling attention to the text as a laced network of linguistic and bibliographical codes. (…) The text/paratext distinction as formulated in _Seuils_ will not, by Genette’s own admission, explore such matters as ink, typeface, paper, and various other phenomena which are crucial to the understanding of textuality. (McGann, 1991, p. 13)

By bibliographical codes, McGann means the physical, material aspects of a work, such as its cover, illustrations, typography, paper quality, and formatting, etc., along with such sociological aspects as price, marketing mechanisms, and distribution channels. In order to bring to light the semiotic significance of textual materiality, McGann claims, textual studies must abandon Genette’s linguistic definition of the paratext. McGann insists on the “textual condition,” namely, that reading—and so understanding—always takes place under conditions that are concretely detectable and physically and socially determined. McGann thereby defies the text-theoretical idealism of deconstruction and hermeneutics. If we pur-
sue this text-sociological line of thinking, then we must conclude that it is wrong, strictly speaking, to concern ourselves with the paratext as an abstract concept. Historians of the book should attend only to concrete, empirical paratexts.

I do not consider it necessary to abandon Genette’s distinction between text and paratext. On the contrary: when analyzing any literary work whatsoever, it is useful to distinguish between statements by the author in the text itself and in its paratexts. Nevertheless, McGann’s analyses of the materiality of modernist texts have served to open studies of paratexts to the iconographic and material layers of literary works as well as the linguistic.6

THE SOCIOLOGY-OF-PUBLISHING DIMENSION

From the perspective of the sociology of the text, the most striking function of paratexts is to frame a complicated mediation among author, publisher, book, and reading public. The complicated element here consists, among other things, in the text’s generally opaque sender relations. For example, the sender of the work’s cover, title, genre indication, typography, and jacket blurb may be either the author or the publisher (here including editors, graphic artists, etc.), and the reasoning behind the design of such paratexts may be dictated by either artistic or commercial interests. While such sender relations are often intermixed, it is typically the publishing house that represents commercial interests, while the author stands for artistic interests. Still, the roles need not be divided along these lines. Here follow two extreme examples where the opposite is the case.

6 The same position is articulated by Kondrup: “The typography, formatting, jacket copy, and cover art all belong to what the French literary critic Gérard Genette calls the paratexts, namely, the set of ‘thresholds’ that surround a work’s main text and communicate the work to the reader—and thereby direct the reader’s understanding of it as well” (2011, p. 294).
At one extreme we find small, non-commercial publishers such as “Arena, Forfatternes Forlag” [Arena, Authors’ Press] (1953-1982), which served for many years as a platform for debut authors and translations of advanced European prose modernism that would not have been embraced by commercial houses.\(^7\) Unlike his fellow publishers, K. E. Hermann, Arena’s chief executive, did not primarily serve commercial interests. Arena’s charter indicates that its sole criterion for accepting manuscripts was their “literary and cultural value.” Of particular interest were “the debut and the ‘difficult’ manuscript, by which we mean work without direct audience appeal.”\(^8\) The product of the elitist attitude is a wide range of publications in which the author was permitted to shape the work’s paratexts almost single-handedly. The publication of Per Højholt’s 6512 by Det Schønbergske Forlag, another small press, took place under parallel circumstances: the book’s paratexts were manifestly not dictated by the publisher’s commercial interests. Højholt’s choice to publish with Det Schønbergske Forlag was largely due to the freedom it granted him to design his books’ verbal, material, and iconic paratexts, in the latter two cases in close collaboration with graphic artist Finn Bro-løs.\(^9\)

At the other extreme, numerous recent writers have become increasingly conscious of their sales figures. There are many examples of authors dropping publishers who fail to do enough to promote their work. Such authors tend to shape their books’ paratexts in close cooperation with marketing experts at the press, to ensure that their books will gain the greatest possible appeal to the broadest possible audience. Thus it is that, on the basis of simple, market-based reasoning to the effect that

\(^7\) Cf. Rasmussen (2012, pp. 33-62), where the history of this non-commercial author-publisher is described in detail, and is discussed in connection with Gyldendal.

\(^8\) The charter can be found in Arena’s archive (Forlaget Arenas arkiv, 07.04.1).

\(^9\) For fuller analysis of the paratexts to Per Højholt’s 6512, see Rasmussen (2012, pp. 170-177).
novels sell better than narrative cycles or the like, fictional texts come to be outfitted with the genre indication “novel”—preferably on the front cover, so that no potential buyer will harbor any doubt about the book’s contents. For similar reasons, the jacket copy becomes a concise summary of the plot, written in plain language devoid of artistic ambition, and commonly accompanied by a qualitative assessment of the work designed to anticipate and relativize the verdict of the literary critics.

It should be emphasized that these are extremes. Most literary works represent, in their paratexts, a compromise between publisher and author, between economic and artistic interests. What is more, it is becoming more and more common to find complicated sender relations even within literary works’ immanent text, as numerous authors now allow their texts to be revised by editors in their publisher’s employ.

THE PRAGMATIC DIMENSION
Genette deals only to a small extent with the sociological (and, in particular, sociology-of-publishing) dimension of paratexts. His interest focuses primarily on the pragmatic dimension, whereby paratexts give the author an opportunity to manage the reading public’s view of the text. This pragmatic approach stands in opposition to the hermeneutic understanding of the text, in which the ideal is a fusion of author’s and reader’s horizons:

Having long been at odds with textual hermeneutics—and quite happily so—I do not intend at this last stage to embrace hypertextual hermeneutics. I view the relationship between the text and its reader as one that is more socialized, more openly contractual, and pertaining to a conscious and organized pragmatics. (1997a, p. 9)

This skepticism about the idealism of hermeneutics—idealism in regard to attaining a stable and definitive understanding of the text that is entire-
ly independent of who is reading it, and when and where they are doing so—is shared by (among others) Jerome McGann, who lays emphasis, as mentioned previously, on the concrete physical circumstances in which every reading of the text takes place.

In Paratexts, Genette is not nearly as explicit in his criticism of hermeneutics. Nevertheless, his definition of the performative “force” of paratexts indicates that his position is unchanged:

The pragmatic status of a paratextual element is defined by the characteristics of its situation of communication: the nature of the sender and addressee, the sender’s degree of authority and responsibility, the illocutionary force of the sender’s message, and undoubtedly some other characteristics I have overlooked. (1997b, p. 8)

The paratext is defined not as a frontier between text and non-text, but as a threshold between an inside and an outside. Whereas the metaphor of a frontier is based on an either/or dichotomy, the threshold metaphor leaves open the possibility that paratexts can be both at once. Paratexts are thus regarded as an integral part of the author’s overall message in the work. Paratexts differ from the immanent text only in their semiotic situation.

When faced with a non-commercial literary work, one might at first think that it is the author who is speaking in the work’s paratexts, while it is the narrator who is speaking in the text. But because the narrator literally cannot say a word without the author’s mediation, it is more accurate to say that the author speaks on two different levels in the respective text and paratexts. In her article “Pretexts and Paratexts,” Marie Maclean analyzes this issue on the basis of the theory of speech acts developed by the philosophers of language J. L. Austin and John R. Searle, in which (certain) statements are better understood as actions with words than as thoughts about the world. From a perspective focused on such performa-
tive utterances, Maclean proposes the following description of how an author communicates with the reader in text and paratexts, respectively, as two different levels of illocutionary speech acts:

The paratext involves a series of first-order illocutionary acts in which the author, the editor, or the prefacer are frequently using direct performatives. They are informing, persuading, advising, or indeed exhorting and commanding the reader. On the other hand, the world of the fictional text is one of second-order speech acts where even the most personal of narrators belongs not to the real world but to the represented world. (1991, p. 274)

Understandably, Maclean assumes that the sender relations are generally unclear in paratexts—i.e., that they are shared among multiple senders—whereas there is a univocal sender in the immanent text.

PER HØJHOLT’S 6512
Per Højholt’s 6512 offers an illustrative example of complex author-reader communication in the paratexts of a literary work produced in the absence of commercial interests. Let us start with the back cover, which at first glance seems bifurcated. At the top we find a black-and-white photograph of the author: he is standing in a winter landscape and pointing straight ahead. It is worth noting that Højholt here depicts himself in everyday clothes, and that he has deliberately assumed a comic posture, inasmuch as his index finger appears to be the same size as the rest of him. Below the photograph we find an explanatory text whose style is manifestly similar to the book’s interior fiction. Whether the author’s index finger is pointing at the book’s actual, empirical reader, or at the explanatory jacket copy underneath, cannot be established unambiguously. (The book’s interior text is full of such ambiguities.) From a paratextual standpoint, the back cover’s conjoining of authorial portrait (iconic)
with jacket copy (linguistic) is without precedent in Danish literature, and to my knowledge in European literature as well. If we were operating text-theoretically here with only the linguistic concept of paratext, we would deny ourselves the opportunity to make sense of this complex relation between photography and text.
The first sentence of the jacket copy reads simply: “I’m the one who wrote 6512.” If the accompanying photo were not there—on the cover of a subsequent edition, let us suppose—then we could hardly imagine the jacket copy beginning in this manner. The photograph’s motif serves as the implicit referent for the pronoun I in “I’m,” while the picture itself serves, secondarily, as a referent for the person of Per Højholt. In thereby “pointing out” who wrote the book, the back cover may merely seem to be repeating the information provided on the front cover. Nevertheless, the jacket copy’s first sentence, with the support of the accompanying photograph, does yield several new meanings. At first glance, its message might be thought to have a boastful character, on account of the oversized index finger. Here we should recall that, in other contexts, index fingers are used to point out the guilty. In such contexts, the first sentence assumes the character of an admission or a confession.

As obvious as it is, in the present case, that the I of the paratext refers to the author Per Højholt, it is equally clear that the I of the body text must have a different referent. This is evident in the text’s first line: “For one reason or another I did not manage to write here yesterday or the day before, and the blank page annoys me ...” In Marie Maclean’s terms, the paratext’s message is a first-order illocutionary act, by means of which the writer is trying to influence the reader directly; whereas the fictional text’s message is a second-order performative utterance, referring not to the shared world of our experience, but instead to a fictive, unreal world.

To describe the message of the paratexts as an illocutionary act is to highlight the author’s attempt to influence the reader to adopt a specific belief about the text. As mentioned, Per Højholt’s 6512 was released in 1969, one year after Roland Barthes had published his essay on “The Death of the Author.” In that short and influential essay, Barthes sets forth his views on language and literature, and not least on the changed role of the author. Drawing upon a structuralist theory of language, Barthes claims that works of literature do not (or do no longer) have their
semantic origin in the author’s person. Strictly speaking, the author is nothing more than the impersonal entity that produces the literary work, i.e. the entity that cobbles the work’s meaning together intertextually: “The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centers of culture.” (1968/1977, p. 146)

Barthes unites this structuralist textual theory with a pragmatic language theory emphasizing the performative or action-producing character of language. To write is not the same as to describe something that already exists. On the contrary, to write is to commit a verbal act with language. According to Barthes, therefore, literary criticism must stop taking an interest in the author, and must busy itself with the reader instead: “The birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the Author.” (p. 148)

It is likely this very essay by Barthes that the internationally well-versed Højholt had in mind when he completed the jacket design for 6512. Højholt takes the performative theory of the death of the author literally when, in the jacket copy, he declares: “As stated, I disavow all responsibility; it rests entirely with the reader. If you read the book, then it is yours.” Once this sentence has been read, then the author’s index finger no longer points down toward the jacket copy, but past it and out toward the reader. Compared to Barthes’ theory of the death of the author, the only essential difference is that the photograph over the jacket copy depicts Per Højholt, qua biographical person, as alive. That is, the author is dead enough that he has no authority over the reader’s understanding of the text; but he is nonetheless alive enough to deliver material for the text and (let us not forget) to write it. The jacket copy’s paradoxical statement to the effect that author Per Højholt takes legal responsibility for the text, while simultaneously disclaiming any hermeneutical authority over its interpretation, is an important component of the work’s overall message—a component located on the threshold of the text, namely, in its paratexts.
From a text-analytical perspective, it is striking (though not particularly surprising, when one considers Gyldendal’s commercial interests) that when Gyldendal’s Book Club assumed the rights to 6512 in 1986, it published a third edition in which the original cover was replaced by a cover of standard design. Word for word, the immanent text was identical to the original, but the format was smaller, the paper of lower quality, and the original dust jacket eliminated. All of this presented new readers with fundamentally altered, and qualitatively worse, conditions for understanding the original work.

6512 bears no genre designation in its paratexts. In the jacket copy, Per Højholt deftly avoids genre signals by describing his activity as a writer on wholly neutral terms, claiming simply that he has written a “book” that consists of some “leaves.” In general, writers can themselves suggest genre categories in their works’ paratexts, or they can refrain from doing so, leaving such classification up to the readers. By doing the latter, an author sends a theoretically ambiguous signal to the reading public. This signal might mean that a genre indication is unnecessary, since the text fits unproblematically into one of the well-known genres; or it might mean the opposite, namely, that the text departs so strongly from the usual conventions that a genre indication would seem to be impossible or irrelevant. In the case of 6512, one must assume that the author, in literal agreement with the jacket copy, has ceded to the readers responsibility for determining the book’s genre.

Two years after the book’s release, Per Højholt published a piece in a Danish newspaper in which he explained the literary method he had used in writing 6512. Here, without further ado, he referred to the book as a novel (1970/1994, p. 10). He simply did not mention the fact that this genre indication is conspicuously absent in the book’s paratexts. Genette calls such a statement by an author about his own work a “public epitext.” Epitexts are texts that attach themselves closely to a given work. They are either private (e.g., correspondence with the publisher) or pub-
lic (interviews or other publicity in the press). Peritexts, by contrast, are located within the work itself. Naturally, a statement in a newspaper article to the effect that the author’s book belongs to the genre “novel” has more of a non-binding character than would a genre indication in the peritext.¹⁰

In works where no genre label is present, the reader must construct a genre contract out of the work’s other paratexts. In *Paratexts*, Genette states that a genre contract is always constituted on the basis of a work’s paratexts taken as a whole: “The genre contract is constituted, more or less consistently, by the whole of the paratext and, more broadly, by the relation between text and paratext ...” (1987/1997b, p. 41)

Apart from the absent genre indication, *6512* includes in its paratexts all of the formal elements that novels normally do, namely, a jacket bearing the name of the author, the name of the publisher, and the title, together with a table of contents and jacket copy on the back cover. What is unusual in the case of *6512* is that, taken together, its paratexts make a deliberate break from the conventions of the novel.

We may continue this examination by turning to the place where reading normally begins, and where genre expectations are set first and foremost, namely, the work’s title. Genette cites Joyce’s *Ulysses* (1922) as an example of a thematic title; he asks rhetorically how we would read that book if we did not know its title. By contrast, Højholt’s title *6512* is entirely devoid of thematic or generic signals. If Danish readers have any immediate associations to the number 6512, they would be to a postcode, or perhaps to a telephone number; most would probably just think of it as a number. On further reflection, however, the particular combination of numbers in the title reveals the methodological principle by which the book’s fictional texts are allegedly constructed. What is more, the title is

¹⁰To avoid complicating matters unnecessarily, I consistently use the term paratext for texts that, strictly speaking, would be classified as “peritexts” by Genette.
closely related to the book’s equally atypical table of contents, which—extremely surprisingly—takes the form of an addition problem: the sum of the digits of the book’s pages are themselves summed and then added to an additional (random) number, yielding a result (6512) equal to the number in the title of the book. Finally, the numbering of the book’s pages is quite unique, in that it turns out to be the textual fragments that are numbered, rather than (as one might expect) the pages themselves. To help the reader realize this, the numbers are moved from the bottom of the page up to a point located below each textual fragment.

In the article mentioned previously, Højholt reveals that the random number in the book’s table of contents symbolizes the activity that the co-authoring reader is to invest in the book’s textual fragments in order to eke coherent meaning out of them. Taken together, the numbers in both the table of contents and the title signal the author’s preoccupation with what is constructed and anonymous, as opposed to what is personal and subjective.

All of these experiments with the book’s paratexts are undertaken in awareness of their destabilizing effect on the reading public’s expectations of the novel genre, namely, that a novel offers a recognizable representation of a stable narrative subject. Without entering into either an architextual analysis of the diary novel in Danish literature, or a hyper-textual analysis of the text pastiche in Samuel Beckett’s trilogy of experimental-narrative novels *Molloy* (1955/1994), *Malone Dies* (1956/1994) and *The Unnamable* (1959/1994), I will merely assert that this work’s immanent text constitutes an original experiment with the novel as a “genre model.”¹¹ Unlike Beckett, Højholt incorporates paratexts into his work’s total semiotic content as a threshold to the text, as both an inside

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¹¹ For fuller analysis of the text’s hyper- and architextual relations, see Rasmussen (2012, p. 177-190).
and an outside, inasmuch as the jacket copy mimics the text’s experimental approach at the very same moment as it describes the text.

The concept of genre model is borrowed from Jean-Marie Schaeffer’s genre theory article “Du texte au genre,” which interprets Genette’s architextuality as a dynamic textual function, “genericity,” by which each text relates itself to one or another genre model. Even the most experimental texts in literature relate (architextually) to established genre models, which is why, according to Schaeffer, there exist no genreless texts: no literary texts are so unique, so singular, that they bear no features in common with other literary texts—at the very least, with other experimental texts.

Schaeffer describes the genericity of texts as, in principle, either a doubling or a transformation of a given genre model. We can find examples of doubling in texts that can be fit seamlessly into generic fellowship with other texts; this applies particularly to popular literature. Transformation, on the other hand, is found in modernist texts, where the author deliberately cultivates and displaces discourse, mode, and genre in relation to convention. Thus Per Højholt’s 6512, with its paratexts that veer astray and its limit-testing experiments at the textual level, amounts both to a transformation of the traditional diary novel and to an imitation of European prose modernism, in which the subject and the outside world are merely destabilized constructs of the reader’s. As important as it may be, in some contexts, to understand the text’s singularity, in other contexts it can be equally important to classify a text retrospectively. From a genre-historical perspective, 6512 has contributed to a renewal of the conventions of the genre “novel” in Danish literature, inasmuch as it has long served as the model for subsequent experimental novels.

**GENRE-HISTORICAL STRATEGIES**

Twentieth-century European literature can be divided into literary-historical categories such as modernism and postmodernism. Yet the
exact content of these categories remains under debate: their boundaries
can never be established unproblematically. However, if we focus solely
on the genre aspect, there do seem to be two distinct strategies behind
modernism and postmodernism. And this permits us to describe them,
tentatively, in purely genre-historical terms as follows: modernism is
characterized by a critique of tradition and extending the territory of var-
ious genres, while postmodernism is typically a parodic blend of trad i-
ton’s (sub-)genres. The genre-experimental works of modernists tend to
widen the main genres, the novel and the poem, whereas those of post-
modernists typically mix popular and elite sub-genres.

One indicator of whether a work belongs in one or another genre-
historical category is in fact the work’s paratext. Whereas modernist
literature as a rule avoids genre indications in its paratexts, we find a
myriad of innovative, parodic genre indications in the paratexts of post-
modernist literature. In both cases, the goal is presumably to keep the
question of the text’s genre character open. For (post)modernist writers,
it is essential that the reader not revert to generic conventions about how
the text is to be read, but instead strive to read the text as generically
singular, i.e., as an unprecedented representation of modern reality.

Let us take a few international works as examples. It can be estab-
lished that both Marcel Proust’s Remembrance of Things Past (1913-27)
and James Joyce’s Ulysses adopt a critical stance toward the epic trad i-
tion of the nineteenth century, when the genre label “novel” became the
conventional marker for the Bildungsroman and Entwicklungsroman,
respectively. No doubt a literary historian would here interject that these
bodies of literature are hardly as homogeneous as the modernist writers
suggest, and that the traditions at issue largely consisted of experiments
with the novel form. Nevertheless, Proust, Joyce, and others did succeed
in marking a major break with the novel tradition by composing non-epic
narratives with complicated semiotic relations, and so also refrained,
accordingly, from giving their works conventional genre labels. According to A. Walton Litz, Joyce made an explicit departure from the conformist and antiquated dimensions of the novel genre’s stable subjective point of view. In his private letters, Joyce refers to *Ulysses* as “a museum of different literary kinds.” (Litz, 1974, p. 110).

In the following generation we find, for example, the Austrian writer Thomas Bernhard turning against the modernism of the first half of the twentieth century, and inventing new genre indications for his autobiographical prose, such as *Die Ursache: Eine Andeutung* [“The Cause: A Hint”; published in English as *An Indication of the Cause*] (1975), *Der Keller: Eine Entziehung* [“The Cellar: A Withdrawal”; published in English as *The Cellar*] (1976), *Der Atem: Eine Entscheidung* [“The Breath: A Decision”; published in English as *Breath*] (1978), *Die Kälte: Eine Isolation* [“The Cold: An Isolation”; published in English as *In the Cold*] (1981). In this series of autobiographical novels, each new work is given a new, hitherto unseen genre indication, which at the very least provokes formal consideration of such sub-genres as “a hint,” “a withdrawal,” “a decision,” or “an isolation.” Such unconventional genre labels, derived from the ordinary vocabulary of everyday language, parody genres by resembling genre indications while remaining unfamiliar to the established genre system. In *Paratexts*, Genette calls such subtitles parageneric designations, since they only appear to represent a renewal or revolution of genre. According to Genette, only Dante, Cervantes, and perhaps Proust can truly be said to have renewed the novel tradition qua genre (1987/1997b, p. 98).

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12 In *Paratexts* (1987/1997b), Genette comments as follows on Proust’s attitude toward the novel genre: “À la recherche du temps perdu, as we know, includes no genre indication, and this restraint is perfectly consistent with the highly ambiguous status of a work that lies halfway between the autobiographical and the novelistic” (pp. 97).
Despite the fact that Proust and Joyce refrained, at least paratextually, from classifying their swollen experimental texts by genre, the literary establishment later found little difficulty in subsuming them within the tradition of the modernist novel. Notwithstanding Bernhard’s innovative genre indications, his works too were subsequently incorporated into the canon of modern novels. To remain unclassified in the genre system, if that is feasible at all, is perhaps just one of the utopias of the avant-garde. On the other hand, as a result of the waves of genre-experimental literature in modernism and postmodernism, the concept of “novel”—understood along the lines of the long prose narratives of both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—is becoming more and more diffuse.

CONCLUSION

In this article, special consideration has been given to the relationship between paratexts and the genre character of a literary text. The concept of paratext as a linguistic entity that transcends the immanent text was developed by Gérard Genette in the early 1980s as a reaction against the structuralist conception of the text. Later, Jerome McGann and other historians of the book highlighted the iconic and material layers of literary works, in partial disagreement with Genette. As I see the matter, the distinction between text and paratext ought to be retained, but paratexts should be understood as something other and more than text. When we are faced with works in which the author is writing in the space between autobiography and fiction, analysis of the significance of paratexts for the text’s genre is urgent indeed. Meanwhile, paratexts play a different, important role in modernism’s experiments with the conventions of the novel genre. Generally speaking, a genre indication should not be con-

13 Cf. Jauss’s (1982) conceptions of “horizon change” and “horizon setting” in great works of literature.
strued as a descriptive message, but as a performative linguistic act; con-
versely, the absence of a genre indication in the paratexts does not neces-
sarily mean that the text is genre-less. Understood pragmatically, the
paratext is a bargaining site where author and/or publisher and reading
public meet to negotiate the work’s genre and, thereby, a template for
reading it. Per Højholt’s 6512 uniquely demonstrates how the first edi-
tion’s paratexts prepare the reader for—and, perhaps, warn the reader
of—how the text will call the novel genre’s stable narrator-subject into
question. By means of the author’s conscious experimentation with con-
vension, readers are granted the opportunity to become conscious of their
own expectations of the genre ‘novel’ and thus of themselves. From a
genre-historical perspective, 6512 can easily be classified as a modernist
novel in Danish literature (Danish modernism being slightly delayed in
relation to European modernism), inasmuch as we here find a generic
transformation, in the words of Jean-Marie Schaeffer, or in Hans Robert
Jauss’s terms a change or setting of horizons of expectation. Whereas
modernist authors typically avoid genre indications in their attempts to
bring narrative prose up to speed with modernity, in postmodernism we
find a parodic overuse of what Genette calls “parageneric” subtitles.
What both strategies share is a twofold aim: on the one hand, a desire to
relativize genre concepts; on the other hand, the wish to keep the ques-
tion of the text’s genre character open for the reader.
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READING GENRE
LIKE OTHER SCHOLARS prone to empiricism, I am somewhat allergic to the metaphor of reading “between the lines” of a text. Everyone knows, of course, that this expression is merely a metaphor, that there is nothing between a text’s lines other than a blank, white space. No primitive misunderstanding is here at stake. Nevertheless, the metaphor seems to function as an intellectual roadblock: it presents a catch-all phrase that sounds profound enough to justify interpretive claims, but does not actually provide any grounds for them.

The cognitive reality expressed in the metaphor is obvious. Many of the inferences we make when interpreting a text are not based solely on what is written in it. Even in the most basic examples—and sometimes in these even more than in other examples—we find that basic elements of the information communicated by a text are not actually present in the text’s own wording, but depend on some sort of regulative, interpretative framework that involves the sender or author, the reader, and the text, as well as the cultural landscape within which all of these are embedded. Some of these inferences are textual, while others are not. Thus, for example, the textual relations described in Gérard Genette's transtextual trilogy (Genette, 1990; 1982/1997a, & 1987/1997b) are only parts of the story here, albeit very important ones. Genette is obviously right to include genre as one of his transtextualities—slightly disguised, of course, as one of several architextualities. Likewise, Schaeffer (1983) is right in pointing out that the architext differs from the rest of Genette’s transtextualities by not establishing a paired relation between two concrete texts (the paratext and
the text, the hypertext and the hypotext, etc). To this, however, one might add that it would be a misconstrual of the concept of genre—and even that of literary genre—to regard it as an exclusively textual phenomenon. In order to understand the role of genre in interpretation, we will need to perceive genre as a much broader phenomenon, active in though not confined to texts.¹

Surprisingly, the available research in the relationship between genre and interpretation is somewhat limited. Though a number of studies have obvious implications for the relationship between genre and interpretation, actual studies within the field are few and far between. Both Fowler (1982) and Frow (2006) contain chapters on “Genre in Interpretation,” but neither of these go very far. Fowler, in fact—influenced no doubt by the state of literary criticism in the early eighties—spends more time discussing validity in interpretation, agreeing with E.D. Hirsch, Jr., than he does actually discussing the role of genre in interpretation. (In fact, Hirsch himself, focused as he was on questions of interpretation, went significantly further than Fowler by analyzing how our understanding of an utterance to a great degree has to do with our generic conception of it (Hirsch, 1967, chapter 3). Seitel (2003) extends the discussion somewhat by identifying some of the central features of generic interpretation, world, structure of expectation, and thematic finalization; but he remains subdued in describing the actual, analytical interplay of genre and interpretation.

If we approach the subject from another angle, however, we find that generic concepts play an enormous role in any work of interpretation. A

¹ One more qualification: I use genre as a key to understanding utterances because genre manifests existing cultural norms. From another angle—sociological or rhetorical—one might move in the reverse direction and use the generic traits of concrete utterances to understand broader cultural norms: “Genres […] open a window onto communicative norms shared by groups of people in certain situations.” (Berg, 2011, p. 89) I regard the methodological discussions of whether genre interprets utterances through culture, or interprets culture through utterances, as exhilarating, vexing, and without end.
few classic titles from my own field suffice to demonstrate this: Ian Watt: *The Rise of the Novel* (Watt, 1957/1987), Northrop Frye: *Anatomy of Criticism* (Frye, 1957/1968), Wayne C. Booth: *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Booth, 1961/1991), or, more recently, Dorrit Cohn *The Distinction of Fiction* (1999), Michael McKeon (ed.): *Theory of the Novel* (2000) and David Seed (ed.): *A Companion to Science Fiction* (2008). All of these titles clearly depend on genre terms to describe the area of study. Two of them (Frye, 1957; Seed, 2008) even use generic terms to describe themselves (“Anatomy” and “Companion” respectively). What is more, genre and generic categories play all-important roles in the actual interpretations taking place across the different areas of the humanities. Within my own field, I think most of us would be hard-pressed to find an interpretation of an aesthetic utterance that is independent of generic categories. To some extent, this is so simply because it is hard to say anything at all without resorting to concepts of genre.

Accordingly, when taking the measure of existing genre theory, it is helpful to shift the focus from what has been said about genre and interpretation to what has been said about genre in general. This yields a much wider trove of useful analysis, as all extended studies of genre must eventually touch upon the interpretative force of generic structures. Indeed, a number of studies have yielded important insights into the relationship between genre and interpretation even though their primary aim is something else.² Some of these insights will play a central role in this article.

INTERPRETING THROUGH GENRE

A common-sense interpretation of the relationship between genre and interpretation suggests two things: a) that one of the central aims of a generic interpretation is to decide into which class (genre) a given utterance fits, and b) that interpreting a given work for its genericity leads to a concentration on what it has in common with other texts, yielding an understanding of a text’s typical character but not its individual character. Both these claims are expressed eloquently by Dieter Lamping. Discussing the central place of the concept of genre within criticism, Lamping says:

Sie ist in der Sache darin begründet dass jeder literarische Text zumindest einer Gattung zugerechnet und insofern auch mithilfe zumindest eines Gattungsbegriffs beschreiben werden kann. Ein solcher Begriff bezeichnet allerdings nicht das an einem Text, was individuell und unverwechselbar ist, sondern das, was er mit anderen Texten derselbe Gattung gemeinsam hat. (Lamping, 2009b, XV)

Both claims are in fact very close to the truth. However, both are also quite inadequate if one wants to understand what actually takes place in generic interpretation. One must distinguish between two different kinds of interpretation. On the one hand, there is the kind of meaning-making that each of us carries out as we move through our everyday life. Though instantaneous—and, more often than not, forgotten mere seconds after it is made—this meaning-making is still amazingly complex and presupposes a high degree of cultural competence. On the other hand, we have the “professional” interpretation carried out in classrooms or in scholarly work: specialist work that attempts to unravel the intricate patterns of meaning (in the broadest sense of that word) in texts, cultural structures, or social situations.

This article deals mainly with the latter form of generic interpretation. Yet I will also have continual recourse to the former, since the patterns of meaning brought to light in scholarly interpretation depend greatly on pat-
terns that are known to us through our everyday experience. In fact, the meaning-making that takes place tacitly in everyday life is also present in scholarly interpretation. Yet its precise role is as difficult to unravel as it is habitual and tacit. For this reason, it is all too often described by appeal to the vague metaphor of reading “between the lines.”

In most everyday cases, the attribution of an utterance to a genre is quite automatic. We do not need a lot of thought to know that we are entering a “meeting,” seeing a “news broadcast,” reading a “headline,” or participating in a “conversation.” Automatic though it may be, this process of genre identification nonetheless has a strong regulative influence on how we interpret a given utterance. We are keenly aware when particular utterances depart from the genre. For example, a newscast allows for different roles to be attributed to different people, such as the “reporter,” the “anchorman,” the “interviewee,” and the “weatherman.” Of these, only the role of “interviewee” allows a person to make utterances that fall within the genre of “political statement.” The genre of the newscast is supposed to report and explain, not to persuade; the “interviewee” is part of what is reported, as are the political statements he or she makes, no matter how biased they may otherwise be. If political statements are made by someone in one of the other roles, they detract from the newscast as a whole, and we interpret it as less than fair and balanced.³ Thus even a variation as minor as that of one person straying from his given role changes how we perceive

³ One important exception to this rule is that reporters and anchormen are allowed to make political statements if and only if these are so broadly shared by the viewers that they are wholly uncontroversial. “Democracy is good” or “corruption is bad” could be two such statements in a Western context; but if the main body of viewers and the anchorman are in agreement, much more radical statements can be made. Thus the pun above on the Fox News Channel’s motto is not altogether fair, as there actually is agreement, to a large extent, between the channel and its viewers—even if some of the statements made in Fox newscasts appear outrageous to many other viewers.
the utterance drastically—even to the point of finding it faulty within the
genre.

As even this limited example demonstrates, genres have a strong regula
tive influence on our interpretation of a given utterance or situation. This
influence, however, is of a special nature, as regulations imposed by
genre can be broken at a moment’s notice or made the subject of manipula-
tion or interpretation. Depending on the character of this break, it can lead
either to an ingenious use of the genre, to a break between genre and utte-
rance, or to a work that moves into, or even defines, an entirely different
genre. Generic knowledge may not be a result of what is written “between
the lines” on the lines as such; but all the necessary information certainly is
not written on them either. What happens is that the text generates mean-
ing by referring to or making a play on our structure of expectation (see
below).

TWO COMMERCIALS
For a very obvious example, consider the following two car commercials,
both very talented. One is a genuine advertisement; the other is a parody
from the long-running Canadian satire program This Hour Has 22 Minutes.

In the genuine commercial,\textsuperscript{4} advertising a BMW convertible, we see a
well-dressed man hurriedly leave the house of a beautiful girl, enter his
convertible, and race through Italian-looking streets nimbly dodging inte-
mate pieces of clothing that scantily clad women let fall at him. Arriving at
a church, he storms into it in order—we discover—to meet his bride who
is apparently the daughter of a mob boss. He pulls out a white handker-
chief and dries her tears. Then a text appears on the screen: “The new Se-
ries 3 convertible—It could save your life.” The attractive groom, howev-
er, is not in the clear yet. The picture returns to the bride who, lowering the

\textsuperscript{4} http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q7IxyX2hMY
handkerchief, discovers that it is actually a piece of white lingerie. Shock spreads through the gathering—and the commercial ends.

In the mock commercial, a completely different angle is chosen. It is a parody of a commercial for a Nissan X-Trail Bonavista, a car named after a town in New Foundland, Canada.\(^5\) This commercial lets the salesman explain the virtues of the car in a parodic New Foundland dialect heavy with colloquialisms, and adds subtitles in a more common English.

This situation is taken up and intentionally overdone in the mock commercial.\(^6\) We see a car dealership where a salesman busily chats up his customer in what appears to be a parody of the parodic New Foundland dialect from the original commercial. The customer informs the salesman that he is from Montreal—at which point the salesman changes the name of the car and slips into gibberish French, including the easily recognized sentence “Voulez-vous coucher avec moi?” The customer now informs the salesman that he is moving to Alberta for work. The salesman once again switches the name of the car, this time to “Ford MacMurray,” and starts talking (and moving) like a redneck. When the customer remarks that he will be in Toronto for some time still, the salesman changes the name of the car once more and says, in a refined, snobbish accent, “The Rosedale. Now Margaret Atwood drove one of these to the film festival. I nearly dropped my latté”—with no coherence whatsoever between the first and second statements. The pair then goes out of focus, and a voice-over says: “At Nissan we’ll use any regional stereotype to sell you a car!” As the pair comes back into focus, the salesman is in an overcoat speaking Inuit with the customer listening placidly.

Both of these commercials rely strongly on the viewer’s anticipations for the genre. In the BMW ad, the single most important piece of presupposed knowledge is in fact the knowledge that we are dealing with a com-

\(^5\) [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3m-y-qAbpL0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3m-y-qAbpL0)

\(^6\) [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OLyfA2l_PSw](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OLyfA2l_PSw)
Neither the sensuous story nor the joke ending signal that this is the case. Only the mention of the car just before the ending, and the role that swerving with the car plays in the story, refer us to the genre of the commercial. Yet from the moment when we know that we are dealing with a commercial, we also know that no matter what story it tells, and whether or not it says so explicitly, its aim is to sell us a car and so make money on us. Suspicious as this may sound when put so bluntly, there is actually nothing covert about the commercial.\(^7\) It is an inherent characteristic of the commercial as genre that the sender wants something from the receiver. In the case of a commercial for a product, that something is money. The sender knows this, the receiver knows this, and what is more, they are both fully aware of one another’s knowledge. In fact, the commercial probably could not work without this shared knowledge: the viewer would have a very hard time understanding that the point of the short film was to make him buy a certain kind of car.\(^8\) This is true all the more given that the story told in the film actually undercuts the commercial’s written message. The handsome man is not in fact saved from his mobster in-laws; the handkerchief/lingerie causes scandal to erupt anyway.

The intention to sell is squarely at the center of the second commercial, which is not so much a commercial as it is a sketch parodying a particular commercial and, by consequence, commercials of this kind. In a

\(^7\) This obviously does not mean that you cannot manipulate through genericity. Mark Antony’s famous speech before the body of Caesar in Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* (2006) is wholly dependent on the genre of the funerary speech despite the fact that its intended effect—rousing the suspicions of the mob against the much-admired Brutus—is something quite different (Auken, 2013). Examples of real-life fraudulence through genre use are given in Frow (2006, pp. 100), and—inspired by Frow—in Auken (2011, pp. 123).

\(^8\) Thus the presuppositions involved in understanding the commercial match Amy Devitt’s description of the “sales letter”: “Based on our identification of genre, we make assumptions not only about the form but also about the text’s purposes, its subject matter, its writer, and its expected reader. If I open an envelope and recognize a sales letter in my hand, I understand that a company will make a pitch for its product and want me to buy it.” (Devitt, 1993, p. 575).
manner that is familiar for generic parodies, it uses the target genre’s defining generic traits, but exaggerates them to the point of silliness. In this case, what was in the first commercial an unspoken assumption—that the sender wants to sell the receiver a car—is now overemphasized by having the salesman repeatedly perform a very obvious and very silly trick in order to sell the car in question. Beyond this generic parody, the sketch adds two more: a parody of car salesmen, plus the series of regional caricatures (or “stereotypes,” as the “commercial” dubs them) that match the different car names. Despite its evident complexity, this structure is nonetheless part of a light genre (the “sketch”), and is easily interpreted by any viewer familiar with Western culture.

The sketch’s complexity reveals itself, however, when it is taken out of its context in *This Hour Has 22 Minutes* and is posted in isolation on YouTube.9 The new framing changes everything. As the comments to the clip make evident, a lot of viewers fail to recognize it as a parody. They simply take it to be a commercial. This is possible because a number of commercials employ exactly the same kind of stylistic techniques to make the fictive salesman, the company, the customer, or even the product look slightly silly in order to extract a laugh from the viewer. The operating assumption, I presume, is that the laugh itself will make the viewer remember the product, and possibly even develop positive feelings toward it.

These two examples make several things clear. First, even if the two pieces may ultimately fit into known genre categories (“commercial” and “sketch,” respectively), they both employ generic patterns that differ widely from those usually associated with their respective genres, to the point where one piece, the sketch, is on the cusp of being mistaken for a member of another genre entirely, namely, that of the commercial. Second, an interpretation of these pieces in terms of their genericity need not invariably lead to an account of what they have in common with other utterances in

9 [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2hXy3Qm7QKU&NR=1&feature=fvwp](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2hXy3Qm7QKU&NR=1&feature=fvwp).
their genres. Clearly both pieces would be next to incomprehensible for viewers who did not know the generic patterns that they bring into play—there is no fun in performing a regional stereotype for viewers who do not recognize what you are doing—but when the different generic patterns do meet in the two pieces, they help shape much more singular structures.

Equally important, we can see that even if it is tacit to a large degree, the meaning-making involved in interpreting both of these two pieces has nothing to do with reading “between the lines” or any other kind of intellectual witchcraft. Both pieces make a calculated play on the viewer’s horizon of expectation. The viewer—being a culturally competent member of society—knows from the outset what to expect of a “commercial” and a “sketch” respectively. This anticipation, however, need not necessarily be fulfilled. It can instead be the subject of counter-play, modification, or parody, thus activating the viewers’ preexisting knowledge in the course of meaning-making of this specific utterance.

Finally, the above interpretations are usually made automatically by the viewer without any active reflection. Despite the fact that the inferences at issue take some effort to work out analytically, we do not experience the process of understanding the two pieces as requiring analytical effort. The inferences are tacitly made by every competent member of our culture—provided the framing is correct. We immediately recognize the world that each piece sets forth. We recognize each piece’s rhetorical purpose (to make us buy cars/laugh), and we understand the complex inter-

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10 However, the strength of generic convention is such that the receiver does not always need to be in possession of all the relevant data in order to understand what is communicated. Often mere knowledge of the genre is sufficient. On first viewing the sketch I, a Scandinavian, was not aware that Alberta is a province in Canada stereotypically characterized as a province of cowboys and oil—with too much money, too many rednecks and too little learning. Even so, because the sketch used the regional stereotype of the redneck to characterize Alberta, I hardly needed to look up “Albertans, popular depictions of” in order to figure that much out.
GENRE INTERPRETATION IN COMPLEX GENRES

As we move from these simple examples to more complex ones, it will come as no surprise that fitting a given text into a genre becomes more and more difficult, and that the generic patterns involved become increasingly complex. However, the tacit interpretative interchanges between reader and genre persist into the more advanced cases. Indeed, in such cases the task of much scholarly interpretation becomes simply to make explicit what has in fact already been communicated tacitly. This may well be one of the great advantages of generic interpretation. By focusing on the relationship between an utterance and the kinds of utterances that it is involved with, or that have been shaping it, we highlight a central point in the communication between utterance and receiver: the textual or cultural knowledge that is assumed by the text to be known. This enables us to see what the text does with the assumed cultural knowledge, how it repeats it, reinterprets it, twists it, or develops it into something new: either a new utterance within an existing genre, or a work of such complexity as to deny any simple attribution to a genre.

The distinction between these two usages of genre runs along lines parallel to those between rhetorical and literary genres outlined in the article “Genre and Rhetoric.” While obviously there is no hard and fast rule here, generally speaking the closer one gets to utterances determined by recurrent, rhetorical situations, the more the new utterance will resemble former utterances aimed at parallel situations, while the farther one moves away from them, the more the text will utilize established generic patterns in unique ways. Nevertheless, this uniqueness must still be understood in the light of the generic types in play within the text. As is evident in Bakhtin’s distinction between primary and secondary speech genres (1952-1953/1986, pp. 61-62), complex utterances will always be composed of a play of different generic structures within it—even if we have never used an expression like “generic structure” in our lives.
number of different generic patterns combined into a larger whole. Our culturally conditioned common-sense understanding of these plays a major role in our interpretation of the work.

To work with generic interpretation, however, one needs considerably more precise concepts than the fuzzy logic involved in common-sense understandings of genres. We cannot meaningfully hope for exhaustive and precise definitions of individual genres, much less for a coherent genre system, as is amply demonstrated by Genette (1979/1992) and Fowler (1982), among others. Nevertheless, the dramatic development taking place within genre studies in the last decades has given us a vastly better understanding of what genres actually are, and how they work within cultures and within utterances. This improved understanding should enable us to work with generic interpretation with considerable precision.

APPROACHES TO GENRE INTERPRETATION

There are many valid approaches to this subject, since widely differing forms of generic interpretation will emerge depending on how one combines and develops existing theories. In the limited space available here, it will be impossible to make anything like a meaningful survey of the possibilities. Instead, I shall sketch one possible approach to generic interpreta-

11 The impossibility of describing a coherent genre hierarchy does not mean that discussion of genre hierarchies is pointless. Not only do such genre hierarchies play an important part in everyday uses of genre—“Oh yes, I do like crime fiction, but I always prefer hardboiled stories, and I can’t stand whodunnits”—but the rise of new genres and the decline of others can be very important cultural shifts. The rise of the movie is an example in point. 150 years ago, the genre was technically impossible; today it is present everywhere, and easily rivals literature in cultural importance. Thus, for instance, a literary critic unfamiliar with the Star Wars-films would often be at a disadvantage in reading literature from recent decades. From both an historical and a theoretical point of view, the deliberations on genre systems in Russian formalism (Duff, 2003; Tynyanov, 2000; 2003) are most enlightening despite the quixotic nature of any attempt at a coherent and comprehensive rendering of actual genre systems.
tion. What I am about to propose does not pretend to be a “system” of generic interpretation, nor is it a method in any strict sense of the word. Indeed, Prince may very well be right in claiming that “the inability to produce a theory of genre may be part and parcel of genre’s advantage as a theory of interpretation.” (2003, p. 452). Rather, the concepts described here join—along with the relationships among them—to form a heuristic tool for generic interpretation, whose primary value lies in its conceptual open-endedness and the ease with which it interacts with a broad variety of utterances and genres. A central point is that the concepts described here posit an isomorphy between genre and utterance, since not only the broader spectrum of a genre but also the individual utterance itself can be conceptualized in these terms. This allows for ready comparison between an utterance and the genres or generic structures with which it is related; and that, in turn, opens up consideration of how the utterance repeats, how it uses, and how it deviates from them.

In discussing why genres matter in literary studies, Pavel (2003) ties the role of genres in interpretation to the role of genres in the production of a work:

Genre is a crucial interpretive tool because it is a crucial artistic tool in the first place. Literary texts are neither natural phenomena subject to scientific dissection, nor miracles performed by gods and thus worthy of worship but fruits of human talent and labor. To understand them, we need to appreciate the efforts that went into their production. Genre helps us to figure out the nature of a literary work because the person who wrote it and the culture for which that person labored used genre as a guideline for literary creation (2003, p. 202).

Susceptible as this description is to a charge of committing the intentional fallacy, and even though it runs the risk of reducing the work of art to a result of craftsmanship on the part of the artist, it nonetheless makes an
important point. A work of literature—and by extension any cultural utterance—does not arise or exist in closed confinement, but in constant interchange with the surrounding culture into which the utterance is embedded. What is more—and this is an intertextual point as much as a generic one—in order for an utterance to be understandable at all, it must draw on cultural and textual codes already known to those who are supposed to decipher it; otherwise nothing is communicated. This obviously does not mean that the utterance is merely a function of its cultural context, and cannot add anything to it. (In fact, every utterance probably does make additions of this kind, however local or fleeting they might be.) What it does mean is that meaning-making does not take place in an interpretative vacuum. Just as genres are an important part of culture, so too do they play an important part in any interpretation—tacit or otherwise—of cultural utterances.

**STRUCTURES OF EXPECTATION**

This brings us to Jauss’ concept of the *horizon of expectation* inherent in genres. This concept has been given a number of different names in later works on genre theory. Seitel (2003) calls it the “framework of expectation” (p. 293); Frow (2006) uses the same terms, but adds “*structure of implication*” (p. 9). There are important shifts of emphasis in the changed terminology as the hermeneutical presuppositions inherent in Jauss’ term (recalling the central place of the concept of the horizon in Gadamer (1990)) is considerably subdued in Seitel and Frow.12 The fundamental point for generic interpretation, however, remains the same. In Seitel’s words, genres exist as “multidimensional frameworks of expectation shared by a speaker or writer and an audience” that “assist the audience in

12 Also the concept is present, though subdued, in Hirsch (1967), where it is described as a “system of expectations” (p. 78) shared by the speaker and interpreter of an utterance. The word “system” is used in a somewhat unsystematic meaning, and the concept as Hirsch uses it is closer to Jauss (1982) than to structuralist notions. Obviously, Gadamer (1960/1990) might be the common source.
following the development of the utterance on all dimensions, providing rules of thumb about plot, style, and theme, even if the expectations are addressed by ironically overturning them.” (2003, p. 230). Leaving aside Seitel’s focus on the speaker or writer—which is not of paramount importance in the present context, as I am dealing with the interpretation of utterances rather than with their production—a number of highly variable expectations are clearly present in any genre, and these expectations govern how we interpret them. In the words of Jauss:

The new text evokes for the reader (listener) the horizon of expectations and “rules of the game” familiar to him from earlier texts, which as such can be varied, extended, corrected, but also transformed, crossed out or simply reproduced. Variation, extension, and correction determine the latitude of a generic structure; a break with the convention on the one hand and mere reproduction on the other determines its boundaries. (1982, pp. 88-89)

Jauss moves one step further than Seitel in making the transformation of genre an inherent part of the relationship between genre and utterances. His point is demonstrated in Fowler’s delightful example of genre change by omission:

There was a young lady of Crew  
Whose limericks stopped at line two. (1982, p. 172)

Fowler presents the “limerick” in passing, but it bears closer scrutiny. The limerick is of course a strongly regulative genre giving not only a fixed metric form but also a rather narrow range of (preferably naughty) subject matter and some indication as to what goes where in the poem (a person and a location in the first line, a bawdy pun in the last). Fowler’s example, however, is not a “fünf Zeilen umfassendes Gedicht mit dem Reimschema
aabba,” [“a five-line poem with rhyme scheme AABBA.”] (Reitz, 2009, p. 480) and thus, formally speaking, not a limerick at all—as it breaks with the usual metrical form of the limerick by leaving out the last three lines. However, a reader familiar with the limerick will so strongly expect three more lines that it might take a while before he realizes that this is in fact the complete poem (it happened to me, and I have seen it happen to others). The theme of the limerick in itself is not interesting; but combined with the reader’s expectation of three more lines, it creates a pun no less effective than those usually found within the genre. So the understanding of what is original in the text is only available to someone who has the standard five-line form of the limerick within his horizon of expectation, and even though the text here is not formally speaking a limerick its interplay of form and theme is only possible and only understandable due to the strength of the original genre. The genre is subverted, transformed and confirmed at the same time.

The regulative force of the horizon of expectation is usually tacit. When we see a headline on a billboard in a street, we know without thinking that it refers to a story in a newspaper, and so to a newspaper that can be bought on the inside of the shop next to the billboard. We also have very clear expectations as to what constitutes “news” in a headline. Things may have happened recently and so be new, but they do not count as news unless there is also some degree of urgency, drama or importance connected to them (see also Frow, 2006, pp. 6-10). These tacit assumptions can be made conscious at any moment, especially so if the utterance in question somehow deviates from the expectations we have of the genre—for example, by “ironically overturning them.”

The strength of the structure of anticipation has been evident in the examples already given. The only reason we know that the purpose of the BMW commercial is to sell us a car is because we expect a commercial to make an attempt at selling us something. And this expectation is evident in the commercial itself, precisely in its avoidance of any explicit effort to
sell the viewer a car. The communication is flawless, even though what is communicated is not mentioned in the utterance itself.

WORLD

An equally central role in interpretation is played by a genre’s world. Once again, Seitel’s description is admirable:

A genre presents a social world or a partial view of one that includes configurations of time and space, notions of causality and human motivation, and ethical and aesthetic values. Genres are storehouses of cultural knowledge and possibility. They support the creation of works and guide the way an audience envisions and interprets them. The idea of generic worlds directs a genre-savvy critic to the dimensions of these collective representations—including time, space, categories of actors and settings, causality, and motivation—and the interpretation they call for. (2003, p. 279)

This concept is of course debatable, and it becomes even more so when Frow (2006) defines it as “a schematically reduced version of the ‘real’ world” (p. 155). Yet it is also an enlightening critical tool. Things considered acceptable within one genre—light sabers, FTL-jumps in hyperspace, and strange force powers—are wholly unacceptable within another. Things considered morally acceptable within one genre, such as beating up prisoners or making lewd suggestions to members of the opposite (or the same) sex, are inappropriate within others. Discursive practices that are commonplace within opera—like expressing your feelings in ten minute arias—look somewhat curious when performed during a job interview. “World” is the concept with which Frow attempts to coordinate all of these different features of genre. What is most significant in Frow’s subsequent comparison of a genre’s world to “the ‘real’ world” is that there will always be some sort of discrepancy between the two, at least in scope. Thus
in characterizing the world of a genre we are essentially characterizing what makes this genre stand out in comparison to other kinds of utterance.

Interestingly, one of the first times Frow (2006) uses the concept “world” is in connection with a concrete utterance, rather than a genre (p. 7). Following this, we may use the word “world” on three different levels in interpretation. First we have the real world, or as Frow puts it, paraphrasing the early Wittgenstein, “the sum of everything that there is.” (p. 7) (In this specific context, our reservations toward a concept this broad and vague are of little or no importance.) Then we have the world of the genre as described by Seitel, followed by the world of the concrete utterance. Let us call these “w1” (the real world), “w2” (the world of the genre), and “w3” (the world of the concrete utterance). The interplay between these three “worlds” is multilayered and complex, and cannot be boiled down to w2 and w3 being a “schematically reduced” version of w1. Because every utterance adds to the sum of everything that there is, w1 is changed, even if ever so slightly, with each utterance. What is more, w3 cannot be a simple instantiation of w2, as it will—to a greater or lesser degree—add elements of its own that are not derived from w2. Finally, many utterances will manifest, contain, or relate to different generic structures, and so will form a w3 widely different from, though involved with, the worlds of the respective genres involved.

THEME-FORM-RHETORIC

A third useful tool in generic interpretation is John Frow’s re-synthesis of rhetorical and literary theories of genre into the triad theme-form-rhetoric. Frow (2006) identifies itself as an “Introduction” to genre theory and has distinct introductory features (though not the one of being easily read). Like other volumes in the *New Critical Idiom* series it is, however, also more than an introduction as it contains a number of distinct and original

13 “World” is mentioned as a genre concept in the introduction in this volume (p. xiv, xvi).
claims about genre theory. In one of the book’s most productive parts, Frow distinguishes these three aspects of genre. “Theme” is what is being said in the genre, “form” is how it is being said, and “rhetoric” is how the genre communicates with its receiver. While at first glance this seems a fairly simple way to describe genre, Frow makes two important additional points about the relationship among theme, form and rhetoric: first, that at any given time each of the three may function as the central concept, subordinating the other two as functions of itself; and second, that at any given point where one of the three is present, each of the other two will always be included.

Frow’s use of the concept “rhetoric” must be distinguished from uses of the same term in other contexts. Here rhetoric is defined not as persuasion or effective communication, but much more as interchange between the utterances within a genre and the surrounding culture. This communication is not extrinsic to the genre, but is an inherent part of it: it arises in the interplay between the structure of expectation connected to the genre and what is actually uttered.

While Frow’s triadic account does incorporate a rhetorical understanding of genres as formalized responses structured on recurrent situations as derived from Miller (1984), it deemphasizes the fundamental concept of the exigence and the corresponding focus on the rhetorical situation of genres. For this reason, Frow gives the thematic and formal structures in genres equal weight with the rhetorical. Frow thus fuses a literary and a rhetorical approach.14

14 Frow is not alone in this synthesizing endeavor. Crossing over into the Millerian Fields we find Todorov already waiting for us: “like all other speech acts genres arise from the codification of discursive properties” (1978/1990, p. 20), several years before Miller’s seminal article. Even the Arch Critic himself is here: Approaching the subject from a different angle, Fowler (1982) historicizes his own work by accepting some of the central notions of rhetorical genre scholarship: “Abandoning the notion of genres as fixed classes, criticism moved on in the 1980s and 1990s to discussing them as coded structures or matrices for composition and interpretation. Perhaps now it is time to move on again, and to think of genres as fields of association like those in actual situations of utterance” (Fowler, 2003, p. 190).
Examining a work from the assumption that it constitutes a unity of thematic and formal structures has long been a stable and accepted practice in literary scholarship. Even if raising this approach to the level of genre is a little less common, the generic level has previously played an important role in numerous studies—as where the generic concept of the “poem” is the defining focus in Cleanth Brooks’ well known protest against “The Heresy of Paraphrase” (1975, p. 157).

Any such approach, however, requires some sort of recourse to the surrounding cultural environment. This is needed in order to show how texts presume that certain things are known to the reader—and then use that knowledge to communicate with him. Indeed, the originality of a work often lies in how it utilizes the reader’s established assumptions in order to undermine, to twist, or, for that matter, to reinforce these very assumptions. In critical studies, for example, much energy has been devoted to showing how a text’s value lies precisely in its nonconformity with established standards. But this immediately moves the text into the realm of genericity: one cannot very well discuss the relationship of a text to its preexisting cultural landscape without having recourse to concepts of genre. Thus even an interliterary point of view is dependent on the rhetorical dimensions of genre.

**EMBEDDED GENRE**

Finally, in order to understand the role of genre in interpretation we must include the concept of the embedded genre. An important starting point for this is found in the distinction between primary and secondary speech genres. Bakhtin notes that when primary genres are embedded in secondary genres, they lose their original generic character; they can only be understood if they are interpreted in accordance with their new context in the secondary genre. What takes place here is what we might call a generic recontextualization: the primary genre has been taken out of its original context and placed in another. Bakhtin's primary genres are simple utter-
ances defined by not including other genres in the utterance, so in fact many if not most embedded genres are not primary genres but secondary genres in their own right, embedding other genres in themselves, building complex, many layered structures.

The fundamental point of the embedded genre is that it carries its world—its structure of expectation and its relationship between form, rhetoric and theme—into the new context, thus adding meaning to it. A modest example could be the embedding of a letter in the context of a novel. If we look at the genre “letter” as such, it is a non-fiction genre that presupposes a letter writer and a reader, such that the letter writer has written (or at least has approved or dictated) the words in the letter with the aim that the reader should receive the physical (or at least electronic) object called “a letter” and peruse its content. However, if the letter in question is embedded in a novel, none of these things apply. The letter is a piece of fiction; it is not written by any writer other than the novel’s author, and especially not by the person named as its sender, inasmuch as that person does not exist as anything but a fiction and thus is utterly unable to write anything. As the same applies for the reader of the letter, it is clear that the letter is not written for the perusal of the person named as its recipient, but rather for the perusal of the anonymous (but real) person or persons who will actually read it—not the letter as such, that is, but the novel. Moreover, though the text of the letter does exist as words on paper, it does not exist as an object or as a separate entity. The usual boundaries, the edge of the paper or (again) the frames of the e-mail, are not present, at least not in all but a few examples. Instead the letter-in-the-novel is typically surrounded by an open line on either side, above which the novel arrives at the letter and beneath which the novel proceeds from it. Hence the framing of the letter-in-the novel is quite different, and the paratext for it in relation to the novel is minimal.

All the same, it bears witness to the interpretative power of genre that the latter half of the preceding paragraph borders on silliness. Only a mor-
on would not know that a fictive letter does not exist outside of the fiction; not being able to make that sort of distinction would be an almost insurmountable social handicap. Thus the denial of the reality of the letter and the people surrounding it is an issue only on one level of analysis, where the letter is analyzed as a real-life object. As soon as we step inside the fictive frame of the novel, all of this changes radically. While the details will vary from case to case, in general the embedded genre, the letter, will recover all of the properties it had lost in the generic recontextualization as soon as it is interpreted within the diegetic frame given by the novel. Now the fictive letter once again has a writer and a reader; it is a non-fictional document written by the writer for the purpose of perusal by the reader; and it is clearly framed to the point where nobody would lift an eyebrow (except, of course, to frown at the bad writing) from reading a sentence like this in a novel: “The rosy form and pink color of the letter in the mailbox told him at once that this had to be from Margaret.” Indeed, the letter is so real within the diegesis that even if we never hear a word of its content, or see it, but only learn of its existence through other means, the letter-in-the-novel is perceived as real—in the novel.

An embedded genre, however, need not be anything so clear cut as a letter quoted in a novel. Most of the genre structures embedded in a work do very little to draw attention to themselves. A work can pass through such genres as “conversation,” “discussion,” “date,” “promise,” “argument,” “interview,” etc., without any noticeable shift of discourse or enunciative position. Put more precisely, there are of course shifts, strictly speaking, of discourse and enunciative positions here; but these shifts are an integrated part of the original genre’s form of discourse, and do not constitute a break with it. Everyone knows that one can, in conversation, cite another argument or verdict without anyone’s taking conscious notice of the presence of these new genres. But that is because the embedding of utterances belonging to another genre is an intrinsic generic trait of conversation.
GENRE AND UTTERANCE

Let me return to a point I made earlier: that the same concepts can be used in the interpretation of a genre and in the interpretation of an utterance. This means that in generic interpretation, we may say that what we are dealing with is, for example, the relationship between the thematic, formal and rhetorical structure of the utterance, on one hand, and the thematic, formal and rhetorical structure of the generic patterns involved, on the other. This relationship is so manifold that there are no hard and fast rules governing how this interchange takes place. The most unexpected combinations may occur. Thus we may laud the formal mastery of an artist who deliberately renders a genre poorly in order to achieve some other goal. Take, for instance, the rule-abiding though inept singing of the artistic pedant Sixtus Beckmesser in Wagner’s Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg (1868). This song fits the opera in form, theme and rhetoric (doing musical parody in a comic opera) and it demonstrates the personality of Beckmesser. He knows the rules (the “Tabulatur”) perfectly, but he has nothing in the way of artistic expression or originality to make it come alive—matching his arrogant, obtuse and pedantic character. In this way, by embedding an inane version of a Meister-song, Wagner actually just employs the generic possibilities of the comic opera as a whole.

If we approach generic interpretation from this point of view, we will see, first of all, that it draws attention to a number of usually tacit points in the interpretation of an utterance; and, second and along the same lines, that what we do in generic interpretation is often not so much to discover anything new about the utterance in question as to make explicit what we already know about it. It is a consequence of the nebulous character of genre definitions that every time a generic structure is brought into play in the interpretation of an utterance, it must to be reinterpreted in order to
grasp its role in the current context.\textsuperscript{15} Thus as soon as we must connect a genre and an utterance, we find ourselves in the middle of an interpretation. We cannot just say that it “belongs” to this genre; but Derrida’s claim that the correct relationship would be one of “participation without belonging” (1980, p. 9) is even less valid. Empirically speaking, the relationship between genres and utterances is far too complex to be described in any such simple terms. In almost all cases, moreover, the genres as we know them are far too fuzzy to allow for such a thing as a law of genre—even if this law is to be broken or bastardized.

Thus it is an inherent feature of the relationship between genre and utterance that the utterance will always display some sort of singularity, and is never simply a specimen of the genre. Even Jauss (1982), who actually regards some inferior works as simple specimens of the genre, grants that they do add new material to the old form, even if they do nothing else (p. 89).\textsuperscript{16} Hence in interpreting the utterance in the light of its genre, one must understand its singular relation to the genre. No two utterances that are nominally of the same genre have the exact same relation to it. Even being

\textsuperscript{15} Thus when Morson (2003) remarks that “each member of a genre becomes both a work in itself and a particular development of the genre’s resources” (Morson, 2003, p. 411), a parallel point could be made about the embedding of a genre within a larger work. Each example becomes both a unique case and a special application of the embedded genre’s resources. However, changing the embedded genre’s framing and context also changes the embedded genre itself. Compare, for instance, the very different genre renderings given in Müller (2009) and von Stackelberg (2009). The letter appears to be quite different thing when viewed as a separate genre than when it is regarded as a building block for the epistolary novel.

\textsuperscript{16} See also R. Cohen: “Each member alters the genre by adding, contradicting, or changing constituents, especially those of members most closely related to it” (1986, p. 204), and C. Guillén: “A proexistent form can never be simply ‘taken over’ by the writer or transferred to a new work. The task of form-making must be undertaken all over again. The writer must begin once more to match matter to form, and to that end he can only find a very special sort of assistance in the fact that the fitting of matter to form has already taken place. To offer this assistance is the function of genre” (2000, p. 36).
very firmly placed within known definitions of the genre can be an anomaly if the generic norm is to deviate strongly from any given norm for the genre. Thus whereas typical sonnets or typical doctor-patient conversations are very common within their respective genres, it is highly atypical for there to be a typical short story, as the norm in that case allows for, and indeed encourages, great variation.

Some of this generically determined singularity can be exemplified in the complex interplay between w1, w2 and w3 in J.M. Coetzee’s *Waiting for the Barbarians* (1980). Much has been made of its narrator (Phelan (1994)) and of its simultaneous narration (Cohn, 1999, p. 96-108), internal focalization of awareness (Damsteegt, 2005), and present-tense narration (DelConte, 2007), and rightfully so; but the unique world created in the novel is equally important. It rests firmly within the structure of expectation for the novel that we, as readers, will receive enough information to make the presented world seem real to us. This does not imply that the world in question has to be realistic; both science fiction and fantasy novels can go to great lengths in order to make an imagined world seem real. *Waiting for the Barbarians*, however, does the opposite thing. All of the elements involved in building the world, horses, an empire, a village, glasses, runes, bureaucracy, etc., are well known from w1, but in the w3 of the novel they are presented in such a way as to make them strange: The geography of the novel is unrecognizable, the technological level is hard to guess and there is no identifiable historical society to match the one described by Coetzee. Thus the world in *Waiting for the Barbarians* wholly relies both on things well known from w1 and on a well-known structure of expectation connected to the w2 of the novel genre. By reorganizing the elements into a new w3, however, *Waiting for the Barbarians* effects a displacement of time and place that aims at an *Entfremdung* of the reader, and perhaps also (though a closer argument would be needed to establish this) works to make other, more well-known aspects of the w3 (anthropological, political and existential aspects), stand out more clearly.
The intricate interplay between generic and individual structure becomes even more evident when embedded genres are taken into consideration. Since every more complex utterance is built up not only of utterances from primary speech genres, but also of layers upon layers of complex utterances from secondary speech genres, it is invariably both heavily dependent upon established generic structures and unique in its precise generic mold. One film will pass from a meeting to an argument, a doctor’s appointment, and a press briefing, and then on to a wedding, a debate and another argument. And all of these genres could very well fit within the first ten minutes of the film. Another film might spend its first ten minutes in an entirely different manner. It could start out with an investigation, and move from there to an interrogation, a discussion, an analysis, a search (for a purloined letter?) and a revelation. Each of these embedded genres will in turn contain utterances belonging to several different genres. From this angle, it becomes clear that no two medium-sized works have the exact same generic structure. All the same, the tacit character of much genre knowledge means that we usually draw upon our understanding of these genres without even noticing it.

To return to one of this article’s initial points: When we are engaged in generic interpretation, we are obviously dealing with features of an utterance that it shares with other utterances. We are dealing, in other words, with kinds of utterances. In fact, we cannot reasonably expect to comprehend the utterance if we do not understand the generic patterns that are involved in it. However, the farther we take such an interpretation, the clearer it will become that each utterance has a singular relation to these established generic patterns, and indeed that it recontextualizes each of them—thus changing and adding meaning to them—just as much as it draws meaning from them. In this way, interpreting what is generic in an utterance often turns out to be precisely the same thing as interpreting what is unique about it.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Audiences […] turned towards the thrills introduced in detective novels when the Sherlock Holmes literature marched around the world in a genuine triumphal procession at the theater, in the serials of the newspapers and in books […] Conan Doyle […] had a large readership at the turn of the century. (Andersen, 1924, p. 79)

ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE’S stories about Sherlock Holmes are among the most widespread fictions of modernity.¹ For over a hundred years, Doyle’s fictional British consulting detective has moved across many types of media, though he has always retained a tie to crime genres. Despite their “stock characters” and “typological situations” (Leitch, 2002),² however, crime fictions form a broad field: we find several variations even within Doyle’s writings, including examples of “whodunits” and “conspirational thrillers.” The former genre is characterized by a detective clearing up

¹ The findings and conclusions of this chapter, together with those of other texts (Lauridsen, 2011a, 2011b), form part of my book *Sherlock Holmes i Danmark* [Sherlock Holmes in Denmark] (Lauridsen, 2014). Though the book was published before this chapter, the chapter was written before the book.

² Leitch distinguishes among three stock characters—“the criminal,” “the victim,” and “the avenger or detective”—and defines the typological situations of crime films as the ways in which they present formulaic “events, twists, and revelations” (Leitch, 2002, p. 13; 208).
crime that has been committed, while in the latter the detective uncovers a crime in the making in order to prevent it from being committed.

In this article I wish to examine how the Holmes universe was presented to Danes at the beginning of the 20th century. Starting in the mid-1890s, Holmes stories were published in a variety of formats. In the spring of 1902, Danish theaters were taken by a Holmes craze, and in the years between 1908 and 1911, Nordisk Films-Kompagni [Nordic Film Company] produced 12 short Sherlock Holmes films. The migration of the Holmes characters and universe from popular literature to popular theater, and later to silent film, gave rise to a series of changes that I will use the concept of “generic modulation” to epitomize.

Regardless of the medium—literature, theater, silent film—all of these stories must be considered crime stories. Evidently, however, these different versions are played in different keys, and this is where “modulation,” a concept from musical theory, becomes relevant. Modulation designates “a movement from one key to another ... often conducted gradually to related keys, i.e. to keys deviating from the original key by one or few key signatures (i.e. from C major to G major)” (Store Danske Encyklopaedi: 13/360). These gradual changes from one key to another, from one sort of crime story to the next, are the ones I wish to grasp with the concept of “generic modulation.” This concept is intended to catch these gradual changes as they happen, in a historical or diachronic analysis.

In Kinds of Literature (1982), Alastair Fowler dedicates a chapter to generic modulation. He starts off by distinguishing between modulation and generic hybrids, in which “two or more complete repertoires are present in such proportions that no one of them dominates” (p. 183). The concept of “repertoire” refers to “the whole range of potential points of resemblance that a genre may exhibit” (p. 55). Whereas in the generic hybrid he considers none of the repertoires of two or more genres to be dominant, in modulation he regards one of the genres as dominant, while the other is nothing but “a modal abstraction with a token repertoire” (p. 191). “Mod-
al” is derived from “mode,” which designates the coloring that a less significant genre adds to the dominating “kind.” A comic novel, then, is first and foremost a novel (its “kind”) containing comic elements (its “mode”). Fowler describes modes by noting that they “always have an incomplete repertoire, a selection only of the corresponding kind’s features” (p. 107). Whereas I was inspired by musical theory in my description of modulation above, Fowler finds his inspiration in painting: “the proportions of the modal ingredient may vary widely […], from overall tones to touches of local color” (p. 107). The point, however, is the same—though I wish to underline modulation as a movement, whereas Fowler sees it as a fait accompli identifiable within the individual text. In the context of the present article, it is worth noting that Fowler sees in these nuances “one of the principal ways of expressing literary taste” (p. 107). This is interesting because a central thesis of the present article is that the various versions of Holmes—the literary, the theatrical and the cinematic—capture and express the tastes of different users.

My basic thesis in the pages to come is that the generic modulations to which the Holmes stories were subjected were due to two factors. One factor is that different media impose different requirements for the presentation of (for example) a Sherlock Holmes story, thanks to their differing materials of expression and “modes of engagement.”¹ Just to mention one example: this is precisely what is at stake when Doyle’s narrator, Dr. Watson, is absent from the silent films. These films’ silent, performative, and visual mode of engagement complicates the use of a linguistic narrator. The second factor, which is the one in focus here, is that the users of different media have different tastes and different expectations with regard to the experience provided by the given medium. Accordingly, a historical account of the differences between the readerships and spectatorships of

¹ The concept of “modes of engagement” is used by Linda Hutcheon to analyze the various ways in which we “tell, show, or interact with stories” (Hutcheon, 2006, p. 22).
Doyle’s stories, plays about Holmes for the popular theater, and early Holmes films, respectively, will demonstrate the plausibility of the claim that generic modulations are also of a contextual or situational nature. In order to make the contexts of the different Holmes modulations intelligible, it will be necessary to present certain facts of media history, such as: When and how was Conan Doyle published in Danish? What was the status of popular theater around 1900? Finally, who went to the movies around 1910? A central part of the article is an account of the significance of a number of very popular, but so far overlooked, theatrical presentations of Holmes to the spreading and modulation of Holmes in Denmark.²

THEATRICAL ROMANCE AND ACTION FILM
At the start of the 20th century, Danish theaters were taken by a regular Holmes fever. The Danish playwright Walter Christmas adapted William Gillette’s American play about the British detective, and the resulting play opened at the Copenhagen Folketeatret (The People’s Theater) on December 26, 1901. Christmas’ play was an unprecedented box-office success, and during the next decade it ran on several stages across the country, along with other plays featuring Doyle’s fictional detective. From a chronological-historical perspective, Christmas’ Sherlock Holmes can be said to have transformed the character, the narrative structure, and the genres associated with Conan Doyle’s Sherlock Holmes stories. From a perspective focused on the popular knowledge of Holmes, however, we must say that Christmas’ play formed these same elements.

A couple of examples will illuminate the character of this (trans-)formation. As is well known, Doyle’s Holmes lives at 221B Baker Street.

² Thus, for example, the plays are mentioned by neither Nielsen (1997) nor Bødker (2005), even though both authors’ theme is Holmes in Denmark at the beginning of the 20th century. It seems to have gone unnoticed that Christmas’ manuscript (1901b) can be found in the collections of The Royal Library, Copenhagen.
In Christmas’ play, however, he lives elsewhere. Even though the play allegedly takes place in London “10 years ago” (1901, p. 1), Holmes is said to live in Alexandragade, Alexandra Street! This small and peculiar change indicates that the Holmes universe was not thought to be deeply rooted in Danish audiences. A rather more significant change is found in the play’s finale, where Holmes has lost his orientation—not toward the crime that he has just prevented from being committed, but in terms of his life. In a melancholy and intensely high-flown way, Holmes sees himself as “a ship between dangerous rocks—the man at the rudder does not stick to his course. If it continues in this way, the ship will soon become a wreck” (p. 115). This sort of problem can be managed, however. Just before the curtain fall, the following conversation takes place between Holmes and the female lead character, Miss Alice Faulkner:

Alice: “Is there nothing that might lead the ship out of those dangerous waters?”
Holmes: “Yes, if the lighthouse were lit!”
Alice: “I shall try to wake up the lighthouse keeper. By all means, sail on safely, Sherlock Holmes.”
Holmes (kissing her hand): “Thank you, Alice—thank you!” (p. 114)

A romantic scene including Holmes is unimaginable in Doyle’s stories. As Holmes’ friend, assistant, and chronicler Dr. Watson notes at the start of “A Scandal in Bohemia”: “As a lover he would have placed himself in a false position” (Doyle, 1981, p. 161)!

The theatrical Holmes fever had hardly worn off when another fever broke out, this time in the new media of film. During the years 1908-1911, Nordisk Films-Kompagni [Nordic Film Company], which had been founded in 1906, produced 12 Sherlock Holmes films. Nordisk Film also had a most creative take on Holmes: while just a few of the storylines were borrowed from Conan Doyle, basically none of the films was based on the
literary stories, and Dr. Watson was conspicuous by his absence. Only one of these films has survived, *Sherlock Holmes i Bondefangerklør* [A Confidence Trick], but it provides an example that will suffice to illustrate Nordisk’s modulations of Holmes. Near the end of the film, Holmes sets off in pursuit of the henchmen. In Doyle, Holmes rides through London in horse cabs, while his trips to the countryside are by train. But here—in Nordisk’s modern, up-to-date version—he calls a motorized taxicab, leading up to what is probably the first car chase in Danish film history, complete with an exchange of shots. Hard-boiled action, then, in the year 1910. These changes probably would not have pleased Conan Doyle who, writing about some silent French Holmes films, criticized their use of “telephones, motor cars and other luxuries of which the Victorian Holmes never dreamed” (Doyle, 1989, p. 106).

**CONAN DOYLE IN DANISH**

Arthur Conan Doyle published his first Holmes novel, *A Study in Scarlet*, in 1887. The next novel, *The Sign of Four*, came out three years later, but it was not until 1891 that he began publishing the short stories in *The Strand Magazine* that made Holmes popular both in his “native country” and internationally. The first Danish translation seems to have appeared as a newspaper serial in 1891, and translations in book format were published by Jydsk Forlags-Forretning starting in 1893. These included the two previous novels plus the two collections of short stories that Doyle had written so far, namely, *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* and *Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes*. The translations were then republished during the years 1898-1902, now with the addition of *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, which

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3 A copy with German intertitles can be seen online at the homepage of the Danish Film Institute: http://www.dfi.dk/faktaomfilm/nationalfilmografien/nffilm.aspx?id=21224.

4 *A Study in Scarlet* was serialised as *Det mystiske Tegn* in Aarhus Stiftstidende during the summer of 1891.
had originally been serialized in *The Strand* between August 1901 and April 1902. As was normal practice during this period, *The Hound of the Baskervilles* was also serialized in Danish newspapers, in at least ten local papers across the country. In 1905, the publishing house Gyldendal, which had acquired Jydsk Forlags-Forretning a few years earlier, reissued the whole series in booklets of 32 pages sold at a subscription price: 92 booklets in all at the price of 0.1 crowns each (Lauridsen, 2014). This is how crime fiction started to make its way into the Danish market. The first Danish crime novel, *Hvad Skovsøen gemte* [Secret of the Forest Lake] by Palle Rosenkrantz (Rosenkrantz, 2012), was published in 1903, followed in 1906 by a Holmes pastiche by journalist Carl Muusmann: *Sherlock Holmes på Marienlyst* [Sherlock Holmes in Elsinore] (Muusmann, 2005).

**HOLMES ON STAGE**

Mr. Charles, the narrator in Muusmann’s novel, informs his readers that he has been to London to negotiate the rights for adapting *The Hound of the Baskervilles* for the stage. Others before him had produced Holmes for the theater (Schuttler, 1982). In the mid-1890s, Doyle had himself written a play that was never performed, but which formed the basis for the play written by the American William Gillette in 1899 (Gillette, 1977). Gillette had Doyle’s permission, and the play became a great success. Allegedly, Doyle had given Gillette a free hand. In his autobiography, *Memories & Adventures* (Doyle, 1989), he writes that Gillette sent him a cable asking: “May I marry Holmes?” Doyle answered: “You may marry or murder or do what you like with him” (p. 102).

Gillette’s play opened in New York in 1899. The playwright himself played Holmes, and went on to do so more than 1300 times over a 30 year period.⁵ Gillette also took the play to England, and Conan Doyle attended

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⁵ Gillette played the part in a lost 1916 Essanay movie. In 1922 it was brought to the big screen, with John Barrymore as the star.
a performance in London. Judging by his comments in Memoirs & Adventures more than 20 years later, he “was charmed, both with the play, the acting, and the pecuniary result” (Doyle, 1989, p. 102).

Gillette’s play is a central source for Walter Christmas’ Sherlock Holmes, which opened at the Copenhagen Folketeatret on December 26, 1901. Swedish Holmes expert Mattias Boström tells the following story:

Christmas had seen Gillette’s play in New York, and contacted Charles Frohman to buy the rights for a Danish production. He thought that Frohman’s price was too high, however, and instead attended a couple of performances, during which he wrote down the lines on his shirt cuffs … After that he wrote his own version of the play in Danish, based on his notes and a good share of fantasy. (2006, p. 212)⁶

If the story rings true, Christmas apparently did not pay a dime for the rights, and Gillette’s name is mentioned neither on posters nor in newspaper articles about the play at Folketeatret. There are so many basic similarities between the two plays—and, on the other hand, so many smaller differences—that it must be considered a fact that Christmas’ play is an (unauthorized) adaptation, and not a translation, of Gillette’s play. Christmas got away with sponging off of Gillette probably because Denmark had

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⁶ In response to questions about the validity of his claims, Mattias Boström wrote the following in an e-mail dated April 4, 2010:

In 1986 Ragnar Gustafson published two booklets titled Anteckningar om Malmö Teater 1809-1938 [Notes on Malmo Theater 1809-1938]. In the first booklet (Introduction and Inventory) he has written, page 96, about the play Sherlock Holmes in Walter Christmas’ adaptation: “Note: adaptation 1902 almost a pirated copy, written down on the shirt cuffs and based on memory”.

When Ted Bergman [a Swedish Holmes expert, PSL] has mentioned the adaptation he usually writes that Christmas “according to legend” is said to have written down the script on his cuffs.
not yet signed the Berne Convention for the protection of literary and artistic works. Denmark did not sign that convention until 1903.7

SHERLOCK HOLMES IN COPENHAGEN

Sherlock Holmes opened at Folketeatret in Copenhagen on December 26, 1901. Eventually it became one of the theater’s all-time successes, and was performed in four “rounds” until 30 December 1909. The significance of theater for the popularization of Holmes in Denmark has been forgotten, but newspaper criticism, articles and advertisements, theater programs and posters, along with other archival material, bear witness to a national Holmes wave, particularly in the spring of 1902, before the Danish publication of The Hound of the Baskervilles, which marked Holmes’ literary breakthrough in Denmark.

Folketeatret had approximately 1200 seats, indicating that 230,000 tickets were on sale for Holmes over its 10-year run. 230,000 is equivalent to half of the Copenhagen area’s population at the time. It is unlikely that all of these shows were sold out, but the large number of shows immediately after the opening, and the numerous restagings, indicate unmistakably that audiences flocked to watch Sherlock Holmes.

Holmes and Watson both had parts in the play, which took place, in the vein of Doyle, in early 1890s London. The play runs in five acts and unfolds during two days; it tells the story of Miss Alice Faulkner, who possesses some documents that—if presented to the right people—would scandalize a nobleman and his family. This part of the story is an adaptation of Doyle’s “A Scandal in Bohemia.” It is noteworthy, however, that Christmas changes the female lead character’s name from Irene Adler to Alice Faulkner, and her character and function are somewhat altered as well. Irene Adler is a woman of action, whereas Alice Faulkner is more of a melodramatic victim. Together with her mother, Alice is held captive by

Mr. and Mrs. Larrabee, who use threats and violence to try to persuade her to hand over the documents so that they can blackmail the noble family. The noble family in turn hires Holmes in order to get hold of the documents; and when the Larrabees realize that he is on their trail, they decide to ask Professor Moriarty, the King of Crime, for assistance. Moriarty, eager to kill Holmes, promises to help them. After a series of dramatic events, the play ends with Holmes handcuffing Moriarty. Holmes himself joins in the bonds of matrimony.

Doyle depicts the confrontation between Holmes and Moriarty in “The Final Problem.” This means that Christmas’ play, like Gillette’s, is basically a merger of two Doyle stories, though other stories are quoted as well. The discussion between Holmes and Watson, from The Sign of Four, about the former’s use of cocaine—a seven percent solution—is closely paraphrased by Christmas; the same is the case with a scene from “A Scandal in Bohemia,” in which Holmes, who has not seen Watson for quite a while, deduces that the Doctor’s wife is away, that he has a “most clumsy and careless servant girl”, and that he has again “become an active member of the medical profession” (Doyle, 1981, p. 162). What is more: several of Holmes’ staged tricks from “A Scandal in Bohemia,” the arrest of Enoch Drebber from The Sign of Four, and a small motif from “The Adventure of the Greek Interpreter” all find their way into Christmas’ play, along with the heroine’s first name, Alice, which is also the name of a young woman similarly held captive in “The Adventure of the Copper Beeches.” Nevertheless, the overall merging of the stories, the general plot line, and the narrative element are all borrowed from Gillette. Christmas’ own contribution—apart from changing the language to Danish—consists for the most part in his coloring of the characters.8

8 Further comparison of the two plays is interesting, but lies outside the scope of the present article.
Act 1 takes place at the blackmailers’ house. Here they call themselves Larrabee, but their real names are James and Lissy Snapper. They have summoned an old friend from the world of crime in order to have him open the safe in which they (wrongly) believe the documents to be hidden. Later on, Holmes too pays them a visit, and by arranging a fake cry of “fire!” he tricks Alice into revealing the documents’ whereabouts. Holmes leaves it up to her to decide what to do with them; but then Mr. Larrabee tries to get hold of the documents at gunpoint. Holmes, however, disarms him, and informs the Larrabees that they will answer for Miss Faulkner’s well-being with their lives. At the end of the act, the Larrabees decide to request the assistance of Professor Moriarty.

Act 2 unfolds in Moriarty’s office the following morning. In a significant addition to Doyle, who never described Moriarty’s residence, Christmas displays Moriarty in his office, which—along with the gasworks that uses to make his enemies disappear—is underground, and so connects him to the earthly regions of Hell. With his murderous methods, his modern technology, his up-to-date intelligence, and his gang of colorful henchmen, with names such as Iglen [The Leech], Haltefanden [The Devil on Two Sticks] and Kvæleren [The Strangler], Moriarty rules over London’s underworld. It annoys him that Holmes has lately been interfering with his affairs, and so when the Larrabees tell him about the documents and their meeting with Holmes, Moriarty decides to deal with both cases at once. He personally hopes to shoot Holmes that same evening; and in case he fails, his henchmen will deal with Holmes in a shuttered gasworks at midnight.

In the evening, Act 3 takes us to Holmes’ dwelling at Alexandragade. Dr. Watson pays him a visit, and after a few deductions and a discussion of Holmes’ use of cocaine, Holmes presents the story of Moriarty to his friend. The Larrabee’s French maid then arrives, informing Holmes in a comical accent about problems in the Larrabee house. Finally, in a highly dramatized staging of the similar scene from “The Final Problem,” Moriarty now appears. In Doyle’s story, Moriarty simply threatens Holmes to
get him off his tail; but in the play, Moriarty is determined to shoot his opponent. The atmosphere gets so intense that—according to one newspaper report—a member of the Copenhagen audience shouted at Holmes: “Look out, Holmes, look out! The Professor has taken the revolver and wants to shoot you!” (Aarhus Stiftstidende, February 16, 1902). After a brief duel in which no shots are actually fired, the antagonists part, assuring one another that their battle has not yet come to an end.

Act 4 finds Moriarty’s henchmen gathered in the cellar below London’s old central gasworks at around midnight. They are waiting to finish off Holmes, who has been tricked into coming there by Mr. Larrabee, under the pretense of wanting to discuss the matter of the documents with him. The Larrabees then arrive, followed by Miss Faulkner; she intercedes on Holmes’ behalf, promising to hand over the documents if no harm is done to him. As Holmes approaches, the henchmen lock up Alice, and then try in vain put Holmes to death. Holmes liberates Alice, however, and makes a clever and dramatic escape.

The fifth and last act takes place the following evening at Dr. Watson’s combined surgery and home. Watson is visited by a number of patients who turn out to be accomplices of Moriarty. Holmes next turns up in disguise, followed by Moriarty himself, who is disguised as a cab driver. After cleverly handcuffing Moriarty, Holmes resolves that he needs rest: “And what other rest than Death may I expect?” As Mrs. Watson is heard playing “Home, Sweet Home” on the piano from the living room, Watson tries to convince Holmes to choose the rest of “marriage, of quiet, happy family life” instead (Christmas, 1901b, p. 107). Their discussion is interrupted, however, as the nobleman steps in and is handed the documents by Alice. Finally, alone with Alice, Holmes realizes that his salvation lies with her and her love.

Apart from a few explanatory mentions of the past, especially in Act 1, the story unfolds chronologically. Just as he is depicted by Doyle, but even
more so, Holmes is the life-weary cocaine user who only feels alive when he is on a case. At the same time, there are far more thrilling and (melo-) dramatic elements in Christmas’ play than anywhere in Doyle. Both Holmes and Alice Faulkner fall into the criminals’ clutches several times during the play, and threats of mutilation and death fill the air. Such thrills were mentioned by several of the play’s contemporary critics: for example, the daily *Politiken* wrote that members of the audience “followed each and every encounter between the hero and his enemies with breathless apprehension” (*Politiken*, December 27, 1901).

Christmas’ play thus differs from the typical Doyle story, with its focus on puzzle solving. In Acts 1, 2 and 4, we actually attend the criminals’ scheming, and follow the encounters between heroes and villains as they happen and not—as is common in Doyle—in Watson’s accounts of them *after* they take place. The play depicts “present danger rather than reflecting on, or investigating, past action”, as John Scaggs puts it (2005, p. 107) it when defining the *crime thriller*. Scaggs continues:

> Furthermore, in order to create this danger in the present the protagonist of the crime thriller must be threatened, or believe him- or herself to be threatened, by powerful external forces of some form of the other. (p. 107)

Generically speaking, then, the focus is transferred from the classical crime story, with its highly intellectual problem-solving, to the more emotionally engaging *crime thriller*.

The thrilling experience of Christmas’ play was due to more than the changes in narrative structure. The change of medium contributed as well. Both the manuscript and reviews show that the play had musical accompaniment, not only during the intermission, but also during the performance proper; a fact supported by the musical score (Hansen, 1901). That the music, along with the stage lighting, intensified the audience’s thrills was
emphasized by Danish theater historian Robert Neiendam, who wrote, 40 years after having seen the play as a young man:

> Presumably none of the now elderly theatergoers has forgotten the scene in the gasworks cellar with the burning cigar in the dark. Or the subdued music filling the uncanny pauses announcing the entrance of Sherlock? (1945, p. 152)

A radical change in Holmes’ character can be seen in his relation to the female lead character, Alice Faulkner. In “A Scandal in Bohemia,” it is debatable whether Holmes falls in love with Irene Adler—this woman who foresees his moves, and turns out to be very noble-minded—but Watson, at any rate, is convinced that he does not love her, but deeply respects her instead. In the course of the story, Irene Adler marries; whereas Christmas’ play has Alice fall in love with Holmes, and in its “Marzipan ending” (Politiken, December 27, 1901) they even seem on the brink of marriage. This means that the play has a romantic turn.

One last central modulation has to do with the play’s humor, which distinguishes it from Doyle’s seriousness, though not from later adaptations. In the 14 films shot between 1939 and 1946 starring Basil Rathbone as Holmes and Nigel Bruce as Watson, the latter, depicted as Holmes’ full-bottomed and unintelligent partner, functions as the comic character; similarly, in the latest adaptations—Guy Ritchie’s films Sherlock Holmes (2009) and A Game of Shadows (2011), and BBC’s 2010-2014 nine part television series Sherlock—humor is at the center. In Christmas’ play, on the other hand, there is no comedy in relation to the central characters, though some of the subordinate characters do function as comic sidekicks. When the Larrabee’s French maidservant whispers “Monsieur ‘Omes—You love mademoiselle? You do?” and continues “She You! She sleep-talks your name—‘Omes!’ ‘Omes!’” (p. 54), it may have caused laughter, but Moriarty’s assistants seem particularly to have functioned as the play’s
comic relief. In one very critical piece in *Højskolebladet*, Johannes Vedel noted that:

> when for instance one of the bandits “launched” a truly cracking oath—which of course was part of the conversation in that company—it caused laughter and cheers from many among the male part of the audience, and when one of the nosy parkers reported on something he had found out and then could stutter and stammer it out in a comical fashion it caused wild excitement in a large part of the audience. (Vedel, 1902, p. 185)

The safe-breaker Mikkel Shark excels in imaginative homespun oaths, such as “Oh! You gilded crocodile tail!” (Christmas, 1901b, p. 12). And the stuttering Bob “The Strangler” McLuh has lines such as “Do not strike ma-ma-matches here—there’s ga-ga-gas in the room” (p. 67). These types of wisecracks are probably what made “G. H.”, of the Copenhagen newspaper *Dagbladet*, write that audiences had fun “when the scoundrels acted farcically jolly” (*Dagbladet*, December 27, 1901), and led the critic at the newspaper *Politiken* to emphasize that the criminals acted like “Copenhagen harbor thugs” (*Politiken*, December 27, 1901), rather than opponents worthy of Holmes.

In Walter Christmas’ *Sherlock Holmes* at Folketeatret, Copenhagen audiences of the period 1901–1909 encountered a show containing a crime story that was basically a compilation of two Doyle stories. Though Christmas’ Holmes definitely does showcase examples of his puzzle-solving “science of deduction,” the play must basically be regarded as a crime thriller that is colored with elements from genres not familiar to Doyle’s Holmes: melodrama, romance, and comedy.
SHERLOCK HOLMES IN THE PROVINCES

Sherlock Holmes was not merely performed in Copenhagen, the capital. While the red lights were on at Folketeatret, the whole country seemed to be hit by genuine Holmes fever during the first months of 1902. Sherlock Holmes was performed by competing theater troupes “racing” it around the provinces (Horsens Folkeblad, January 27, 1902). Christmas’ version was performed by at least four different troupes, all while other adaptations of Doyle stories hit the theaters of the Danish provinces. This happened during a period when a local newspaper critic felt obliged to explain that a detective is “a private investigating officer” (Vejle Amts Folkeblad, January 24, 1902).

The nationwide popularity that was Sherlock Holmes’ lot at the beginning of the 20th century can be illustrated by pointing out the central developments in this new stage hero’s performing history.

Only two days after its Copenhagen opening, Walter Christmas sold the right to perform his play in the provinces to Mr. Jens Walther, the director of the Cortes-Walterske Teaterselskab [Cortes-Waltherian Theater Company]. Apart from buying the rights to stage the play, Walther also bought the rights to resell the play for other performances in the provinces. Jens Walther then resold these rights to Mr Odgeir Stephensen, who, like Walther himself, had a government license for operating a touring theater.

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9 Walter Christmas even sold the rights for Sweden, which was equally taken by the Holmes fever during the spring of 1902. In the month of April, no fewer than three Stockholm theaters had Holmes on the repertoire! Two of these played Christmas’ version, and the third one Gillette’s. The play also toured intensively in the rest of Sweden (Boström, 2004).

10 Cf. the handwritten contract between Christmas and Walther of December 28, 1901 (Christmas, 1901a).
From January through May 1902, Christmas’ “popular play in five acts” was staged by at least four different troupes. Jens Walther’s production starring himself as Sherlock Holmes ran in at least Vejle, Kolding, Varde, Horsens, Kalundborg, and Holbæk. Only 12 days after having bought the rights, Stephensen produced the play in Kerteminde, and when it ran for two weeks in February in Aarhus Theater, it was yet another production. The last evening the play ran in Aarhus, it also opened in Aalborg in a fourth production by the travelling troupe of Mr. Povl Friis, who had probably also bought the rights from Walther.

Thus Christmas’ play was produced by at least four different companies in the early spring of 1902. In October of the same year, Walther even opened the “pre-season” at Odense Theater by playing “the box office success of Folketeatret” for some two weeks. The parts were played by the same actors who had worked for him earlier that year.

There was still more to the Holmes fever. The troupe of a certain Mr. Carl Thomsen toured with a Holmes play as well. During January and February 1902, for example, Thomsen played in Esbjerg and Horsens. But his production was not based on Christmas’ version—a fact that Thomsen tried to conceal. In Esbjerg Avis, he advertised his two shows as “The Sherlock Holmes Tour,” that is, using the definite article; he also referred to his play as “the worldwide success, the greatest box office success of the season,” which could have easily evoked the production at Folketeatret (Esbjerg Avis, January 25-30, 1901). Using the same phrases as Folketeatret, Thomsen called his play “A popular play in five acts / Freely based on Conan Doyle.”

At the beginning of February 1902, just days before Thomsen’s troupe was to perform in Horsens, a small announcement could be read in the local newspapers. It had been inserted by Jens Walther, who understandably felt the urge to distinguish between his own play and Thomsen’s:
Having learned that actors’ troupes advertise and perform a play called *Sherlock Holmes*, I take the liberty of informing audiences that such a play—apart from its title—has nothing whatsoever in common with the major success of Folketheatret, Captain Walter Christmas’ five act popular play “Sherlock Holmes,” for which I have bought exclusive rights for Denmark’s provincial towns, and which I intend to stage at Horsens Theater in March this year. (*Horsens Folkeblad*, January 27, 1902)

In a review of Thomsen’s play, the critic of *Horsens Folkeblad* mentions the fact that several adaptations were on the road at once: “Theater managers are rushing around the country racing to be the first with the revolver comedy, of which each of them of course has the real and genuine version” (*Horsens Folkeblad*, February 3, 1902). Judging by reports from the local newspapers, there are large differences between the two versions. Carl Thomsen’s play is obviously neither a Danish translation of Gillette’s play nor a stolen version of Christmas’. Both of those plays focus on the battle between Holmes and Moriarty, and in both a scene takes place in the criminals’ headquarters. Thomsen’s play, by contrast, is summarized in *Horsens Folkeblad* as follows:

In the first act we see how the leader of the feared gang of criminals, Professor Moriarty, has spread his net in Holmes’ very office; in the second act a bank robbery is prevented; in the third act a murder case is to be solved; in the fourth act we are taken down into the criminals’ den under the Thames, where the finer and more rude elements report on their day’s work, and where Sherlock Holmes sneaks in in disguise; finally, in the fifth act, we witness Sherlock Holmes’ final victory over his opponent. (*Horsens Folkeblad*, February 3, 1902)

When Odense Folketeater produced *Sherlock Holmes* in the beginning of May, it was—judging from the list of characters printed in a local newspa-
per on the day prior to the opening (*Fyens Stiftstidende*, May 3, 1902)—in yet another version. In this play, the criminal mastermind is not Professor Moriarty, but a certain James Hope. The *dramatis personae* also contains a character by the name of Enoch Drepper, and the combination of the two names indicates that the play was an adaptation of Doyle’s first novel, *A Study in Scarlet*, which includes characters by the names of (Jefferson) Hope and Enoch Drepper.

Judging from the combination of reviews and news reports, audiences all over the country were thrilled with the Holmes play they saw—no matter the version. In Odense, the play was even interrupted when Walther’s Sherlock Holmes entered the stage: “No sooner had he appeared on stage for the first time than he could say ‘I came, I saw, I conquered.’ Half a score of large bouquets and a huge laurel wreath were thrown at the feet of the victor” (*Fyns Social-demokrat*, October 13, 1902).

In sum, audiences in the capital, as well as in the provinces, clearly enjoyed the modulated Holmes that Christmas and others set on display.

**NORDISK FILMS-COMPAGNI’S SHERLOCK HOLMES’ FILMS**

Sherlock Holmes was thus an established success in Denmark at the beginning of last century—in the worlds of literature and theater alike. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the British private detective also found his way into the repertoire of Nordisk Films-Compagni [the Nordic Film Company, henceforth “Nordisk”]. This company had been founded in 1906, and initially produced small documentaries; but in the autumn of 1906 small fictional episodes—“dramatic films,” as they were called—started hitting the screens.

The company’s first Sherlock Holmes film, *Sherlock Holmes in Livsfare* [Sherlock Holmes in Mortal Danger] opened on November 20, 1908 in Olsen’s own theater, *Biograftheateret*, in central Copenhagen. There were 199 seats in this small theater, and at a length of 348 meters,
the film was somewhat longer than other dramatic films that Nordisk had previously produced. The films were normally 100-250 meters long, and so the Holmes film was something special. A hundred meters of film was normally projected in five minutes; consequently, the Holmes film lasted around seventeen minutes. Nevertheless, it and the series’ eleven succeeding films were only so long as to be held in one reel, as was the standard of the period.

None of these films was an adaptation of a Doyle original. Though only one still exists, our knowledge of the remaining eleven films is nonetheless rather thorough, since their titles, lengths, a few still photos, texts from trade magazines, and programs do exist (Nielsen, 1997). Though the programs seem to convey each individual film’s story, on the one hand they tell more than the films they describe, and on the other hand they tell less. The programs’ text was written by the production company and was simply printed as such by the theaters. They provided background to the story, sometimes explained incidents in the film that were difficult to understand, and never “spoiled” the dramatic ending (Sandberg, 2001).

The first of these films was sold in 103 copies with Danish, German, English, French and Italian intertitles, respectively, and was mentioned in American trade magazines—both factors indicating an international distribution.

From the point of view of media history, one interesting element in both the first and second film—the second bearing the title *Raffles Flugt fra Fængslet* [Raffles’ Escape from Prison]—is the addition of the gentleman thief A.J. Raffles. Raffles was the central character of twenty-six short stories and one novel published by author Ernest William Hornung during the years 1899-1909.

These stories are narrated by Raffles’ friend and helper Bunny. Bunny does not, however, play a large part in the stories’ many burglaries, which are generally planned and committed by Raffles. Like Holmes, Raffles does not reveal much about the concrete execution of his plans. As part-
ners, Raffles and Bunny are quite similar to Holmes and Watson; Hornung even dedicated the first collection of Raffles stories to his brother-in-law, Conan Doyle, who not without a reason considered Raffles “a kind of inversion of Sherlock Holmes, Bunny playing Watson” (Doyle, 1989, p. 25). The Raffles stories were published in Danish during the years 1904 through 1907, and the use of the character by Nordisk bears witness that a hundred years ago, popular cultural enterprises like the emerging film industry had no scruples about bringing together characters from separate fictional worlds.

But what were the films about, and how did they tell their story? As previously mentioned, only one of the films still exists, namely, the seventh: *Sherlock Holmes i Bondefangerklør [A Confidence Trick]*, produced in 1910.

This film’s first scene takes place on a gangway. Two “gentlemen” receive a third man, and soon they are at a pub, where drinks are poured. The newly arrived third man soon falls asleep at the table, and the others, who have been joined by two women, steal his wallet and disappear. When the gentleman wakes up and finds out what has happened, he accuses the waiter of being the culprit, knocks him out, and summons Sherlock Holmes, who later calls the police. Holmes speculates about the crime, questions the victim—and then a police officer leads both waiter and victim out. Alone in the room, Holmes sedately smokes his pipe, sniffs at the victim’s glass of the victim and finds what appears to be a small bottle (though this is difficult to discern), which presumably contained a sleeping draught that had been poured into the victim’s glass. A cut then takes us to a flat where the henchmen and the women are celebrating. Holmes locates the apartment, but the thieves see him through the window and hide; they then manage to overpower, bind, and gag him before they leave. By smashing a window, Holmes luckily draws the attention of the police. Two officers locate him, now passed out, in the apartment, but soon he is able to
chase the thieves. Down in the street, the thieves jump on to a cab; Holmes chases them in a taxicab. The thieves arrive at a ballroom, but when they notice Holmes they escape through a window—after a scuffle. They then threaten a taxi driver, demanding that he take them away, but Holmes and the officer are at their heels in yet another motorized vehicle. During the ensuing car chase, gunshots are fired, and the thieves are arrested. The last scene of this short film takes place at a police station, where the victim identifies the villains and the two women. Holmes is not present in this scene.

It is relevant to ask whether there is much Sherlock Holmes left in the film. The change in media from literature to silent film probably accounts for the absence of Dr. Watson, the Doylian narrator. Nordisk’s so-called “Title Books” show that there were four similar intertitles in all five versions of the film (Danish, German, French, Italian and Spanish). In the existing German version, there are indeed four titles. The focus is very much on visual narrative elements: parties, fights, chases. The moments of contemplation and deduction at 221B Baker Street are absent, and the story never includes Holmes’ rooms. In particular, the case is not—unlike what is standard in Conan Doyle—presented to him in the rooms at Baker Street; rather, Holmes is summoned directly to the scene of the crime. The Saga (the nickname Sherlockians give to Doyle’s Holmes œuvre) includes neither scenes in which Holmes gets into fights with criminals, nor any incident in which they temporarily neutralize him. Nor is the chase—here in the form of probably the first car chase in Danish film history—any part of the Doyle standard, though a boat chase on the Thames does mark the dramatic climax of his first Holmes novel, The Sign of Four. To a degree even greater than that of the theatrical adaptation, then, the puzzle-solving of the Holmes stories is foregrounded by elements from the crime thriller genre.

The character of Holmes himself is quite different from the Sherlock of Doyle’s stories and novels. In the Nordisk films, Holmes is dressed in a
brightly colored suit with a peaked cap, which corresponds neither to his outfit in Doyle nor to the deerstalker popularized by Gillette. In Holmes’ first scene, his phlegmatic talent for deduction is depicted: he acts very calmly, smokes his pipe (not the curved calabash also popularized by Gillette) continuously, and wanders around at the scene of the crime slowly, stopping every now and then to think. Obviously the unknown director of the film was thereby attempting to convey Holmes’ moments of deduction. The way in which Holmes localizes the criminals is not accounted for; but once he has found them, he is transformed from a man of deduction to a man of action. Holmes fights the criminals three times: the first time they get the upper hand, the second time they escape, but the third time he emerges the victor. Following their arrest, Holmes disappears from the narrative, which reaches its conclusion without him being present.

The film tells its story chronologically, from the meeting between the victim and the villains through the commission of the crime to the elimination of the problem. For a few brief moments, the audience knows more than Holmes: we watch the crime being committed, and—in the criminals’ apartment—we know that they are there, hiding from Holmes. The story’s focus and narrative structure are thus very different from what they would be in Conan Doyle. The film accordingly represents a generic modulation, which is caused by the change in media and the differences between Doyle’s readership and the spectatorship of the film.

**CONAN DOYLE’S SHERLOCK HOLMES**

I now wish to take a closer look at the first of the short stories that Arthur Conan Doyle published in *The Strand Magazine*, “A Scandal in Bohemia,” which provides some of the background for the plays by Gillette and Christmas.

“A Scandal in Bohemia,” published in 1891, has Watson as its narrator. It commences: “To Sherlock Holmes she was always the woman” (Doyle, 1981, p. 160). Taking off from there, Watson lets the reader in on
some considerations about Holmes’ relationship to women, his way of life, and his character. Only after this epilogue does Watson (retrospectively) tell the story of what happened when, on one evening of 1888, he passed by Baker Street and took the opportunity to call on his former roommate. Watson’s narrative opens with Holmes giving him examples of his “science of deduction,” and introducing a new case that he has been asked to take. Soon his new employer rushes in, disguised in a “black vizard mask” (p. 164). Holmes reveals the identity of the “secret” employer, The King of Bohemia, who then chooses not to remain incognito. The king is about to be married to a daughter of the king of Scandinavia (!). His problem is that a former mistress, the singer Irene Adler, has threatened to send a photograph of the former lovers to the in-laws to be of the king, thereby preventing the wedding from taking place. The king wishes to avoid scandal, and so he hires Holmes to get hold of the photograph.

In chapter 2, which takes place the following day, Watson waits by mutual agreement for Holmes to return to Baker Street in the late afternoon. When he returns in disguise, Holmes explains that during the morning he had learned a great deal about Irene Adler, and had even been a witness at her wedding. Without further explanation, Holmes then asks Watson to accompany him to Adler’s residence. After a certain amount of drama, they are able to leave the premises knowing the whereabouts of the photograph. As they enter their home in Baker Street, a voice from the crowd wishes Holmes goodnight.

Chapter 3 takes place the next morning. Together with Watson and the king, Holmes pays a visit to Irene Adler in order to claim the photograph. Her female servant informs them that her mistress has left the country, leaving an explanatory note behind: she had seen through Holmes’ wiles the night before, and admits to being the one who wished him goodnight. She has, however, decided not to use the photograph against the king, for “I love and am loved by a better man than he”. The king is enthused by the letter and expresses his admiration for Irene Adler: “Would
she not have made an admirable queen? Is it not a pity that she was not on
my level?” Holmes replies ironically: “From what I have seen of the lady
she seems indeed to be on a very different level to your Majesty”. Holmes
rejects the valuable ring that the king wishes to give him in return for his
services; he wants only a photograph that Irene Adler has left for the king.
The story ends with Watson returning to the narrative present, declaring
that when Holmes “speaks of Irene Adler, or when he refers to her photo-
graph, it is always under the honorable title of the woman” (p. 175).

The story evidently has a relatively complex temporal structure, along
with a total of five narrators: the central narrator, Watson, and four assist-
ing narrators (the king, Holmes, the servant girl, and Irene Adler), each of
whom gives his or her own first-person account, orally or in writing, of
events that lie beyond Watson’s experience or understanding. These assist-
ing narratives either reveal the basis of the story or retrospectively explain
the actions of Holmes and Irene Adler.

From the narrative present, which can be thought equivalent to the
story’s year of publication (1891), Watson looks back on events that hap-
pened or were revealed to him during three days in 1888, March 20th, 21st
and 22nd. Watson recounts these events in the order in which they came to
his knowledge, and not in their chronological order. The relationship be-
tween narrators and temporal structure in the story can be visualized as
follows:
Figure 1: Narrators and temporal structure in “A Scandal in Bohemia.” WA: Dr. Watson; SH: Sherlock Holmes; KB: the King of Bohemia; FS: Female servant; IA: Irene Adler

In order to make Figure 1 intelligible, let it suffice to revisit a few of the story’s first elements: Watson opens with some general reflections on Holmes (1), and then tells about the evening of March 20, 1888, when he paid Holmes a visit at Baker Street (2). Holmes next informs Watson (3) of a letter that he has received. When the King of Bohemia appears, he tells the story (4) of his relationship to Irene Adler, which had unfolded some five years earlier. Reading the figure in relation to the sketch of the plot above should make the remainder self-explanatory.

Generically speaking, “A Scandal in Bohemia” is an anti-conspirational thriller with a twist. Prejudice, rather than analysis, might lead us to assume that the very first of Doyle’s Holmes stories is a who-dunit, as many other early examples of crime fiction are. But no crime is committed in “A Scandal in Bohemia”! Of course, Irene Adler is blackmailing the king; but she has not delivered the photograph. Holmes’ as-
signment therefore is not to establish who committed a certain crime, but to prevent a crime from being committed. Adler conspires against the King of Bohemia, but unlike the villains in genuine anti-conspirational thrillers, such as the James Bond books and films, she is neither part of a large organization nor driven by a criminal mind. Though Watson, but not Holmes, considers her a woman “of dubious and questionable memory” (p. 161), Irene Adler is a woman whose lover broke up their relationship, choosing convention over love. Now, however, she has found “a better man then he” (Doyle, 1981, p. 175) and calls off her plot. In the beginning the king is the victim of blackmail, but it turns out that he is actually the villain, having sacrificed Irene Adler on the altar of convention as a consequence of his aristocratic behavior. Holmes admires Adler’s moral integrity: he finds her to be on “a very different level” than the king. He even accepts being defeated by her.

GENRE, ADAPTATION AND RECEPTION

It is important to consider the variety of media in which Danes encountered Sherlock Holmes in the years prior to World War One in order to understand the differences that arise from the preceding immanent analyses of the Holmes stories, plays, and films. The media at issue—print, theater, and film—had and still have separate means of expression, narrative potential and modes of engagement. What is more: they also had separate audiences.

Doyle’s stories were first published by one of the new media of the time, the monthly *Strand Magazine*, which—in the words of John Scaggs—was “aimed at the commuting white collar market” (Scaggs, 2005, p. 25). Peter Larsen finds that Doyle and *The Strand* present a new and modern conception of the audience:

Modern urban audiences now enter the stage. The new “professionals” of London buy the magazines at the newsstands of the railway stations
and read them in order to pass the time while commuting between City and Suburbia. (Larsen, 1999, p. 47)

While a culture of commuters did not exist in Denmark around the turn of the century, one may assume that the Holmes stories were read there by a similar modern audience, who appreciated Holmes’ intellectual, positivistic approach to problem solving. This goes, at least, for the published books. Doyle’s stories, on the other hand, were serialized in newspapers all over the country, indicating a broader readership.

Doyle’s stories were published in Denmark in several editions and formats. It is not possible to say anything about the number of books and newspapers printed (or read); but the number of platforms publishing Doyle from 1902 onward indicate extensive popularity among reading audiences all over the country. The first translations were published in Aarhus and—just to mention one example—the serialization of *The Hound of the Baskervilles* in 1902 was printed in local newspapers such as *Vendsyssel Tidende, Randers Amtsavis, Vordingborg Avis* and *Aalborg Amtstidende*. The enormous interest in Holmes was the central reason for the popularization of translations of other popular British novels, which started to gain significant market shares around 1900 (Kristensen, 1974, p. 168).

Christmas’ play and other stage adaptations of Doyle similarly reached large parts of the country: from the opening and giant success in Copenhagen to larger and smaller market towns, from Aarhus with 50,000 inhabitants to Kerteminde with 2500. The films too seem to have been screened all over the country (Nielsen, 1997, p. 53).

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11 This piece of information was collected at random, and not through any systematic scrutiny of the hundreds of local newspapers published in Denmark at the time.

12 [http://dendigitalebyport.byhistorie.dk](http://dendigitalebyport.byhistorie.dk).
Folketeatret in Copenhagen had been founded in 1853 by a royal concession determining that the theater should “perform popular comedies, vaudeville, light comedy, operettas and pantomime” (Neiendam 1945, 57). Apart from having to produce certain types of plays, it was prohibited for Folketeatret to produce plays from “the repertoire of The Royal Theater” (Neiendam, 1945, p. 57). Writing the history of Folketeatret, Rask notes that “the key audience was the family audience” (1993, p. 45), and she adds that there was a “certain diversity in the attitude of the audience and the audience at the galleries reacted audibly and most spontaneously to the shows” (p. 44). The fact that—after the initial success following the opening—it was performed often at half price at Folketeatret, as well as some 25 times as a Sunday matinee, indicates that it also drew audiences with small incomes, perhaps even including children.

In the provinces, audiences for the shows of the touring troupes consisted of “the craft- and tradesmen, teachers and lower middle classes”. Farmers from the surrounding areas seldom went to the theater, while the provincial upper classes considered these troupes provincial, and preferred waiting for the tours provided by … the Royal Theater (Wiingaard, 1992, p. 63). These accounts do not take into consideration the vast differences between larger stages in actual theaters and the smaller ones set up for the occasion at hotels or the like, but they do indicate the general composition of the provincial audience.

Judging solely from general descriptions of the audiences at Folketeatret and the touring troupes, Sherlock Holmes appears to have been popular among relatively broad audiences not belonging to the cultural elite and thus, in Bourdieu’s terms (Bourdieu, 1985), having neither a significant amount of cultural capital nor the defining power as to what was and what was not in good taste. And in that sense Sherlock Holmes was not in good taste—a fact that becomes evident when reading the newspaper reviews of the time. The critic of the conservative newspaper Berlingske Tidende puts his finger on the distinction between good and bad taste when
he remarks that the show had “fair chances of pleasing a broader audience, somewhat less of pleasing a more particular one” (Berlingske Tidende, December 27, 1901). Folkets Avis wrote that “when bringing the suitable children’s mind one might easily be amused by the happenings of Sherlock Holmes” (Folkets Avis, December 27, 1901). The same point is made by the critic at Politiken, who predicted that the play “will be sought by young people who seek thrills and elderly people who want to feel rejuvenated” (Politiken, December 27, 1901). Moreover, the same critic wrote acidly about the play’s “Marzipan ending” (December 27, 1901), which was similarly characterized as an “embarrassing finale” by another newspaper (Dagens Nyheder, December 27, 1901). When Jens Walther presented the play in Odense in the spring of 1902, a local newspaper wrote critically: “the way people are at the beginning of the comedy is the way they remain until the end. Absolutely nobody develops in any direction, which goes to say that it is all external and superficial” (Odense Tidende, October 13, 1902).

Several Copenhagen critics considered the play old-fashioned. The critic at Socialdemokraten was reminded of Nøddebo Præstegaard, a popular Danish singspiel that had frequently been produced since its opening in 1888, and which is set during Christmas. He considered it “somewhat unstylish” that Holmes becomes engaged to “the young lady whose noble protector he had been,” but concluded, overbearingingly: “well, one accepts even that during Christmas” (Socialdemokraten, December 27, 1901). København characterised the play as “not just naïve, but old-fashioned” (København, December 27, 1901).

However childish, superficial, or old-fashioned critics found the play, they agreed that audiences were enthusiastic about it: “The audience that followed the wrestling between the hero and his enemies with breathless apprehension regularly had to get air in enthusiastic applause when virtue triumphed,” one critic wrote somewhat ironically (Politiken, December 27, 1901). Another noted that “the audience is very pleased by the well-made
horrors of the play” (Socialdemokraten, December 27, 1901). In general, the Copenhagen critics testified to roaring rounds of applause and numerous curtain calls. As quoted previously, when Jens Walther performed the title role in Odense, the play was even interrupted: “No sooner had he appeared on stage for the first time than he could say ‘I came, I saw, I conquered.’ Half a score of large bouquets and a huge laurel wreath were thrown at the feet of the victor” (Fyns Social-demokrat, October 13, 1902). The newspaper further reports that “after the third as well as the fourth act, and after the ending of the play, there were several curtain calls which did not stop until Mr Malberg [Moriarty] and Mr Walther stepped forward, greeted by wild, Cimbrian roars of excitement” (October 13, 1902).

But how about movie audiences at the time when the early Danish Sherlock Holmes films premiered? In that period, film was far from being considered worthy of cultural debate, and newspapers had not yet taken up writing about films on a regular basis. To review a film was out of the question, and so descriptions of early Danish film audiences are sparse.

The first film screenings in Denmark took place in the summer of 1896, but the first theater dedicated to showing films only did not open until 1904. Until then, films were shown in combination with other forms of entertainment, e.g., at marketplaces or in variety theaters (Lauridsen, 1998). The Holmes films were produced between 1908 and 1911, when the movie theater business was new, and film had in no way made its way into the Parnassus of culture.

Broad audiences were attracted by stage presentations of Sherlock Holmes, but the audience for the movies was even broader, as it were. Folketeatret seated 1200 persons, and was marked by a certain splendor and its state-of-the-art theatrical technology. By contrast, the movie theaters of 1910 were small and poorly equipped. Between 75 and 200 people sat on wooden benches in “theaters” constructed in closed down shops or storage rooms. Tickets for Folketeatret cost between 0.25 and 2 crowns, whereas a
ticket for the movies was 0.1 crowns. It could be rather posh to go to Folketeatret, though it was hardly as fashionable as the Royal Theater. Going to the movies, on the other hand, was neither posh nor fashionable. Gunnar Sandfeld, a historian of both Danish silent cinema and provincial theater, has offered the following description of the difference between going to the theater and going to the movies in the period around 1910:

It was no wonder that movie theaters became a major popular form of entertainment. They were cheap and undemanding. As opposed to what was the case in the “real” theater, no exclusive respectability was demanded, no prolonged preparations, no fancy dressing up, no gloved distinction. Without further ado, anybody could walk in from the street anytime he wanted to, and the distance to the nearest movie theater was rarely long. (1966, p. 152)

In an official report dated 1924, one H. Andersen stated that movie theater audiences in the years around 1910 “almost exclusively consisted of the broad strata of society” (p. 28), and “in large part consisted of children and young people” (p. 81). He further noted that films had to “become influenced by the taste of this average audience” (p. 81). Sandfeld, meanwhile, describes movie audience as follows:

From the very beginning it was very different from the audience seen at theaters. It was children of the “lower classes” [...]. And it was female servants—a very abundant class at the time—and their partners, apprentices, shop assistants, skilled workers and soldiers on leave, and sober-minded workers with their families, common people without contact with theater and art as a whole and with no cultivated taste. (1966, p. 152)
What emerges is a picture of very different audiences for the three Holmes versions: literary, theatrical and cinematic. These are audiences with different preferences and competences; audiences with greater or lesser contact with “art as a whole,” and with differing amounts of “cultivated taste.” The point is that, in explaining the difference between these versions, it is necessary to look at the relevant audiences and the cultural institutions they used.

CONCLUSIONS

Historical study of the ways in which the Holmes character and the Holmes universe meandered through Danish popular culture in the years around 1900 is interesting for several reasons. From a Sherlockian point of view, the history of the importance of the play is new in a Danish context. From a media history point of view, it is interesting to uncover—by examining concrete empirical material—how different media, at a rather early period in the age of industrialized media culture, utilized the same material in very different ways. Finally, from the point of view of genre studies, it is interesting to see how genres modulate according to context.

It goes without saying that, even more than a hundred years ago, media products were supposed to make a profit. In his brief commentary on the London production of Gillette’s play, Conan Doyle remarked that he was pleased with its “pecuniary result” (Doyle, 1989, p. 102). Folkteatret’s version was often referred to as a “box office success,” and Nordisk Film sold its Holmes productions to several European countries as well as the USA. In these ways, the different “keys” in which Holmes was played were used to target the tastes of the audiences “listening” to them. Accordingly, the generic modulations of the Holmes material must be understood in relation to the producers’ ideas of what their specific audiences wanted. The Holmes universe presented material that could be modulated in various keys of the crime genre, and added elements from romance, comedy, or action genres according to the preferences of different audi-
ences. The reasons for these generic modulations must therefore be sought not only in the “internal” features of particular media, but also in the characteristics of their audiences.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


**FILMS AND TV SHOWS**


**ADDITIONAL MATERIAL**

Images, flyers, etc., from Den Gamle By (Aarhus), Aarhus Teater, Teatermuseet, Odense Teater, and Holbæk Museum.

Intertitles (Archive of Nordisk Films Kompagni, Cinemateket, Copenhagen).

Reviews, articles, and advertisements from Danish newspapers:

“ADAPTATION HAS RUN AMOK,” Linda Hutcheon states on the first page of her *A Theory of Adaptation* (2006). In film and media studies, adaptation is traditionally associated with the conversion of a novel into a film. The scholarly literature is full of books that focus on that particular media metamorphosis, whose decisive element is the conversion of words into audiovisual characters, a transformation involving both expansion and reduction. An adaptation, by definition, is an interpretation of an existing prototype; if one changes the medium—for example, from prose to screenplay, and later to moving images—then one is now dealing, strictly speaking, with a radically transformed, remediated product. Repetition is, *de facto*, an act of making distinctions. Even remakes contain essential differences. Reproduction involves supplementation and addition; accordingly, adaptation always includes both renewal and repetition, both differences and similarities. The link between the source and the new version is obvious. Adaptation is an example of intertextuality, in which we can (in principle) identify the hypotext—the prototype—and the innovative adaptation is a hypertext (which can also contain references to other texts). Appropriation differs from adaptation in being associated with the hypotext more loosely. In *Adaptation and Appropriation*, Julie Sanders defines the latter as follows: “Appropriation frequently affects a more decisive journey away from the informing source into a wholly new cultural product and domain.” (2006, p. 26)

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1 For an example of the self-sufficient character of remakes, see Constable (2009).
Adaptation often implies a genre shift, but not all genre transformations imply adaptation. The current media culture is full of genre disruption and genre experimentation. A few examples: the documentary film is undergoing transformations, and new variations are emerging; “reality” has become a pervasive phenomenon that is giving rise to new genres, especially on television. In parallel to this, adaptation is experiencing a second renaissance. With respect to the topic of this essay—genres in motion in media culture—I will concern myself primarily with processes that are generated by means of adaptations. My main aim is to describe the phenomenon of adaptation and identify some of its key aspects. I will not pretend to judge whether it is good or bad that borders are collapsing in media culture, or that texts are mutating. I seek merely to register some of these movements.

First, it should be pointed out that the question of whether or not an adaptation is loyal to its prototype is a reductive one, in part because the transformation process already presupposes a principled discussion about semiotic differences. The written, symbolic conventional language contains something other than the indexical and iconic language that films possess. A dramatization of a novel, for example, also contains this crucial difference. For this reason, talk of adaptation must extend beyond questions of textual fidelity or infidelity. I will return to the significance of these semiotic differences in this essay’s final section, where I will take a closer look at Linda Hutcheon’s book, and will briefly suggest some angles for further research.

Second, adaptation is a decisive feature, quantitatively speaking, in media culture—and has been so for a long time. The digitalization of me-

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2 Here is a smattering of titles that indicate how the docu-/reality trends have been described in the literature: Nichols, *Blurred Boundaries* (1994); Izod & Kilborn, *From Grierson to the Docu-soap: Breaking Boundaries* (2000); and Friedman, *Reality Squared: Televisual Discourse on the Real* (2002).
dia has only made the spread of adaptation more pronounced, as is demonstrated both by Rachel Carroll’s anthology *Adaptation in Contemporary Culture* and by Linda Hutcheon’s book. The first part of this essay, accordingly, is devoted to some of the most notable issues in adaptation research.

Third, the disruption of genres that we have seen in media culture during the last twenty to thirty years is a phenomenon comparable to the massive number of adaptations that have emerged across genres, media types, and media formats, and at the intersection of the history of art and that of mass culture. Modernism in cinema distinguished itself by taking the form, to an astonishing degree, of free interpretations of B-literature and generic literature, which was otherwise not *comme il faut* to the dominant arbiters of taste. It is this tradition of references to pulp fiction that Tarantino took up in his film. This article’s second part is thus about the destabilization of genres in media culture.

**ADAPTATION AND PREJUDICE**

Linda Hutcheon widens adaptation’s scope. On her account, adaptation becomes much more than the relationship between a literary prototype and its film version. Rather, adaptation encompasses, in principle, all semiotic and media transformations involving a metamorphosis from an existing text into a new text, or from one medium into another (which can include multiple media types), a transmission that, by definition, is a creative interpretation of the prototype—irrespective of how loyal the adapter claims the palimpsest may be. However, due to differences in the use of aesthetic forms, and hence to differences in the use of sign systems, it is problematic to ground a discussion of adaptation on notions of accurate or loyal versions. By virtue of this formal diversity, there will always be divergences—always “something more,” “something other.”

However, the above view has not been prominent in discussions of the quality of visual adaptations of novels. Instead, we often find a dichotomy between, on the one hand, a work’s original novel prototype, and on the other hand, its mass-produced film copy, between a work created by an
individual artist and a text cobbled together by an anonymous collective. The culture industry manufactures reductive entertainment, while the literary author creates a soulful work. The literary text has a greater cultural aura than mass-produced films possess; and by virtue of this partly unacknowledged valorization, the question of adaptation has revolved around the issue of loyalty and fidelity to the prototype.

Robert Stam reflects on some variants of this dichotomy in his article “Beyond Fidelity: The Dialogies of Adaptation” (2000, p. 54-78). He defines three pertinent preconceptions regarding the relationship between the written text *qua* representation, on the one hand, and a visual representation, on the other.³ The first preconception he calls *seniority*; it is a tendency to regard the older artistic form—text—as purer than newer artistic forms. The second is dubbed *iconophobia*, and alludes to contempt for visual expressions of art, which are assigned a lower value than verbal and written expressions. Finally, and in line with the other two preconceptions, there is *logophilia*, in which the written text is given the status of a *sacred* text that the visual representation defiles. Anchored in symbols, the written text represents a greater store of cultural capital than do the iconic signs of audiovisual images. It is thus no coincidence that, for years, the critical mantra has been: “the book *is* better than the movie.” Early film history demonstrated inferior status of the new medium, and so the industry courted the canonical literary text. In the silent film era and for many years afterward, the medium of film presented itself as a mass cultural phenomenon with no highbrow authority. For this reason, the burgeoning film industry borrowed the aura of the more reputable written medium by adapting texts of the cultural canon for film—*Faust* and the Bible, for example.

Fulfillment of the film industry’s desire for highbrow recognition was long in coming, particularly in academia. The resolute dismissal of film *qua* medium in Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer’s *Dialectic of En-

³ See also Stam, 2005.
lightenment (1947) attests to how skeptical intellectuals long remained of the twentieth century’s medium par excellence. It was not until the popularization of auteur theory that film gained serious recognition as an art form, and the camera became a pen, as Alexandre Astruc declared in his prophetic manifesto on the “camera-pen” (1948/2012, p. 9-14). This took place in post-war France—and it was the rising French filmmakers in the orbit of the journal Cahiers du Cinema (Delorme, 1951-) who led the way in rebranding film as an art form in the late 1950s. One of the criticisms mounted against the dated films of the day was precisely that they were too closely bound up in producing faithful adaptations of novels. The new line was that directors should be free in their treatments of prototypes, and their films should be regarded as an occasions to tell stories in pictures. This new wave of French cinema did not involve a farewell to adaptation. Instead, it now became opportune to adapt for the screen novels that had previously been thought too lowbrow for the film industry, which had believed it could profit only from literary treasures of the cultural elite. In this way, Francois Truffaut came to pave the way for Quentin Tarantino.

It should be no surprise that adaptations of novels have attracted a continuous stream of critical attention. For an overwhelming number of films are in fact based on novels. It is no coincidence that there are two categories of screenplays that can win an Oscar: one for adaptations, and one for “original” screenplays written directly for film. Until 1992, 85% of all Oscar-winning films were adaptations (!); and as for the corresponding prestigious award in television, the Emmy, 95% of all winning mini-series and 70% of all TV winning movies were based on novels (Hutcheon, 2006, p. 4). Film history is solidly rooted in adaptations.

In his 2000 article “The Field of ‘Literature and Film’” (2000), Robert B. Ray presents another explanation for the remarkably high number of studies of film adaptations. Namely: such studies allow the critic to continue to peddle iconophobia, and to connect his (often unconscious) valorization of certain systems of expression with a fresh, “New Critical”
analytical approach to the material (pp. 38-53). The idea is that the artistic integrity of the literary work—its unity and maturity—are spoiled when visual reshaping comes to pass:

New Criticism’s veneration of “art” and its famous hostility to translation sponsored the obsessive refrain of the film and literature field that cinematic versions of literary classics failed to live up to their sources. Indeed, most of the articles written could have used a variation of the words in the title “But Compared to the Original” (p. 45)

“THE MOVIE WAS BETTER”

Even today, when scholars of literature reflect on the book as medium—meaning, as a rule, the highbrow variant, the sort treasured by historians of literature—adaptation becomes an important focal point. This applies, for example, to Jim Collins, who devotes a third of his monograph Bring On The Books For Everybody: How Literary Culture Became Popular Culture (2010) to the visualization of prose texts. The title of one of his chapters, “The Movie was better,” indicates a reversal of the trivial, conventional valuation of two different media products. Here it is the film, for a change, that is assigned a higher value than the novel. In itself, however, this is not what is decisive for Collins; rather, in line with Linda Hutcheon, Collins points out how the transformation from printed page to screen is not complex enough to catch all of the intertextual meanings that overlay the multimedia process. Paratexts of various kinds, secondary and tertiary media texts, all play vital roles.⁴ This is so particularly given Collins’ focus on highbrow literary texts (Henry James and Ian McEwan, for example), and on the establishment of the production company Miramax as a crucial me-

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⁴ In speaking of paratexts, I refer to Genette’s definition in Paratexts (1987/1997). On the distinctions among primary, secondary, and tertiary media texts, see Fiske’s classic work Television Culture (1987).
diator of cultural capital, supporting and positioning the refined tastes of the middle class. Instead of discussing whether Virginia Woolf is better as a prose writer or as a source of material for a movie, Collins offers an expanded perspective. For him, adaptation involves a battle for the positioning of tastes; it thus involves the phenomenon of the relationship between a differentiated media industry and complex audience categories. Adaptation encompasses a complex cycle of derived forms, demonstrating that a textual prototype can generate new variants that stimulate the commercial apparatus, and can bring the audience into contact with an actualized past. The many derived adaptations point to a dehierarchization of the medial forms, which Jim Collins accordingly argues should be juxtaposed: “The seamless, simultaneous, interconnection of novel, film, featurette, Web site, and digital reading device is the foundation of cine-literary culture, and within this culture, reading the book has become only one of a host of interlocking literary experiences” (Collins, 2010, p. 119).

The following examples reveal how far adaptation can fork and branch. The original Spiderman comic book series became a little film series, then a musical. The story of Carmen underwent a similar chain of adaptations: it was (re)narrated and freshly interpreted in prose as opera, comic strip, ballet, and film. Another classic adaptation consists of the transformations undergone by Charlotte Brontë’s Gothic-tale-inspired novel Jane Eyre (1847): not only was it adapted in multiple versions as films or TV movies, it also functioned as the basis for Daphne du Maurier’s novel Rebecca (1938), a novel that appropriates Brontë’s novel, according to Julie Sanders. Maurier’s own subsequent remediation of her novel, turning it into a play, is a regular adaptation. Previously, Orson Welles had made Maurier’s story into a radio play; and shortly afterward, Hitchcock put together and reinterpreted the source material for the film Rebecca (1940). Novelization is another variant of adaptation: an example

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5 For an extensive account of this long story of adaptation, see D’Monte (2009).
is the Danish TV series *The Killing*, written by Søren Svejstrup, which the British publisher Pan Macmillan then bought the rights to transform from a television series into a novel. Another creative remediation and adaptation occurred when a small suite of Aimee Mann songs came to serve as the background for the web of tales that make up Paul Thomas Anderson’s film *Magnolia* (1999). For obvious reasons, Mann’s songs form the basis of the film’s soundtrack. The old fairy tale “Beauty and the Beast” was recreated in film in 1946 by the Frenchman Jean Cocteau in 1946; in 1991, Disney distributed an animated version of the story; and in 1995, the American composer Philip Glass published new music for the fairy tale. Similarly, a process of adaptation is hidden in the theatrical version of Pedro Almodovar’s film *All About My Mother* (1999), which is structured largely as a complex intertextual mix, an appropriation of older dramas and movies. Here the prototype—in Genette’s terminology, the hypotext—is already a conglomerate of hypertexts.

**CANONIZED ART HISTORY AS MASS-CULTURAL MATERIAL**

In keeping with the spirit of Linda Hutcheon’s book, I will now give an example of how adaptation is given shape in present-day media culture. This example is one that involves offshoots and remediation: it is the original title sequence of the TV show *Desperate Housewives* (2004-2012). To start with, it is an example of remediation, inasmuch as it is a montage centering on a small number of paintings, which it parodies as animated television tableaux. Second, the paintings are subjected to digital and artistic interpretation; in this way, the montage manifests a synthesized, contrastive process, which represents modern adaptation. I take the liberty of regarding the montage as a series of expressions for adaptation, in that the visual signs are clearly “reinterpreted” and adapted, even as the prototype, the hypotext, remains recognizable. Third, the title sequence proves that Andreas Huyssen (1986) was right when he declared, in his prophetic book *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture and Postmodernism* that the contrast between high and low culture was being undermined to a great
extent. The television series is an American mass product, which draws conspicuously on highbrow codes (here drawn from art history) that are compatible with a colorful tale about privileged upper-class white women. I must add, however, that even if the opposition between legitimate taste and popular taste is being disrupted, this does not mean that there is not still a difference between the two. It is not hip to oscillate between the high and the low in every environment or social stratum. This point emerges clearly from Jim Collins’ book and from the work of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu.

The title sequence was digitally produced by the company yU+co. It is a good example of a modern title sequence, which plays on evocative and suggestive themes, in contrast to the older, classic introductory sequences that present the series’ characters/actors and environment. Title sequences are, by definition, Genettean paratexts (more specifically, epitexts); it goes without saying that Desperate Housewives’ title sequence signals themes in the series. As an independent “text,” the title sequence merely hints, abstractly and indirectly, at the ghettoized upper middle class of the series. As a paratext, the title sequence is made radically independent: it is more a narrative in itself, and its diegesis does not make reference to the diegesis of the actual series, except in the final scene, where we see the series’ characters standing under the tree of knowledge. We are instead presented with a series of paintings, and these hypertexts (so defined in relation to the TV series) jointly form a metatextuality. This entire extravagance lasts only 38 seconds—but manages to convey a great deal.

Fundamental to literary New Criticism is the notion that the opening of a text—its so-called initial determinants—should be artistically significant and a condensed expression of what will follow. This condition seems to be fulfilled by Desperate Housewives’ title sequence, which combines

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6 Halskov (2011) treats this title sequence, among others, in his article “Indledningens kunst—den moderne titelsekvens” (the art of film openings—the modern title sequence).
canonized art history with a postmodern play on the sacrosanct signs of the past. The TV series itself is a representative of so-called *dramedy*, which is a combination of drama and comedy. The producer Marc Cherry called it a dramatic soap opera (McCabe, 2006, p. 12). According to Samuel A. Chambers, the show was labeled a lightly challenging *nighttime soap opera*. The idea was that viewers who had cultivated *Dallas, Dynasty,* and *Melrose Place* would also enjoy *Desperate Housewives*’s depiction of the culture of protected upper-middle-class white women (Chambers, 2006). At the same time, *Desperate Housewives* has a coy intellectual superstructure, which it signals with aesthetic codes. Or do these intertextual references indicate that the contradiction between highbrow and mass culture is in the process of being dissolved, as postmodernism has decreed? *Desperate Housewives* may not be HBO, but its genre game can certainly be intelligently constructed, and can provide a complex, compressed picture of the connection between the historical and the present-day, between the original art of the past and today’s culture of copying.

The title sequence can be viewed as an independent text on YouTube. There the following artworks are identifiable, appearing in the following order in the montage: Lucas Granach the Elder’s *Adam and Eve* (1528); animated Egyptian hieroglyphs displaying Nefertari surrounded by children; Jan van Eyck’s *Arnolfini Portrait* (1434); Grant Wood’s *American Gothic* (1930); Dick Williams’ American war poster *Am I Proud!* (1944), which was repurposed after the war as a poster for famine prevention, *Of Course I Can!* (1946); Andy Warhol’s *Campbell’s Soup Cans* (1962); and finally, Robert Dale’s *Couple Arguing* and *Romantic Couple* (I have not been able to find an accurate date for these, but they are akin to Andy Warhol’s purest examples of 1960s Pop Art).

This montage contains many pregnant features. First, we do not see the individual works as hypotexts in their own right, but rather as hyper-texts. For the most part, we are presented with snippets of the images; the original pieces have been drastically manipulated. Second, what makes the
stream of images hang together, albeit as a chain of fragments, is that it provides a narrative of the evolution in gender relations through the lens of art history—overlaid, it should be noted, by parodic manipulations. The title sequence frames the television series in terms of the history of mentalities, and goes so far as to touch on aesthetic form, the history of remediation, and the mass spread of intertextuality as well. It narrativizes art history, and it aestheticizes the history of genders. It is a postmodern stream of images without final signification, with no last or first truth: even the first icon of all, the painting of the ur-family of *Homo sapiens*—Adam and Eve—is subjected to ridicule. But it is also a postmodern series of signifiers, which demonstrates exceptional consciousness of the historical conditions and their significance for contemporary culture and the conception of identity. This point is obvious, even if the viewer does not actually need to be able to identify these coded cultural preferences.

By virtue of their iconic character, the motifs speak for themselves. Whether the viewer can identify the Adam and Eve motif as created by Hans Memlings or Lucas Cranach the Elder is unimportant, for the (ur-)scene is so fixed, and so rich in connotations, that very few of those with a Western European background will be unable to identify what they see. Similarly, it is clear to everyone that Jan van Eyck’s painting depicts a married couple, the woman is pregnant, and the man is proudly putting his private chambers on display. Grant Wood’s *American Gothic*, meanwhile, presents us with a somewhat older couple. They look worn out; and unlike the Dutch couple, who are pictured in their living room, the American couple stand outside their farmhouse. The two historical periods are connected via the broom that the pregnant wife throws out the window—which is magically transformed into the pitchfork that the worn farmer is holding up in *American Gothic*. Grant Wood’s original painting signals that religion plays an important role for the couple; but in the montage, this religious anchorage is swept away. The husband becomes infatuated with a smart young woman who leads us directly to postwar consumer culture,
symbolized by Andy Warhol’s icons of consumerism—namely, can that extends the shelf-life of the soup, and so makes life easier for the housewife. Puritan seriousness has faded away; and as an affluent society, rich in consumer goods, takes its place, there is more time in modern marriages for the emotional circus, the ups and downs of love, as these appear in the two Robert Dale motifs with polka-dot backgrounds. The montage ends, however, back where it began—with Memling’s biblical ur-pair. Though the circle is not completely closed: we now see only Eve in the background. Adam is still lying trampled under the giant apple that had banished him from the picture of Paradise at the start of the montage. Evidently, then, the Fall’s first victim is the man. And it is not Eve we see holding the fruit of the tree of knowledge—it is the show’s female characters.

There is an clear common thread holding the montage together, namely, that from the very beginning, women have set out (and managed) to dominate men. In her article “Murder and mayhem on Wisteria Lane: A study of genre and cultural context in Desperate Housewives” (2006), Judith Lancioni writes that we are dealing with a postfeminist text that links the high and the low, fun and seriousness, and disrupts the power relations between the sexes: “While the title sequence may appear comical, the original artworks were serious and embodied an ideology in which men held the power.” Lancioni then draws a manifestly correct conclusion: “The title sequence demonstrates how dramedy fosters the weaving together of comic and dramatic elements across storylines, creating a complex text that lends itself to the articulation of ideological discourse” (p. 131).

SCENES FROM A MARRIAGE
In my paraphrase of the Desperate Housewives title sequence, I privilege neither the original works nor the postmodern play to which they are subjected. In order to exemplify the sorts of transformations that adaptation involves, I will examine the processing of Jan van Eyck’s painting more closely. We can barely see the original artwork, because the animation
inserts a banana-eating Arnolfini into the left side of the picture’s foreground, following which the rather diabolical-looking gentleman tosses the banana peel behind him. At the other end of the living room, the pregnant housewife shuffles from right to left and sweeps the garbage away. This presentation is a caricature of bourgeois marriage, which is historically rooted in the bourgeois nuclear family that Eyck’s painting (one of the first of its kind) represents.

The original painting was a commissioned work, and was intended to confirm and document the contracting of the civil marriage that it depicts. As an indexical proof of the painting’s focus on historical accuracy, Jan van Eyck set his signature into the painting. Above the mirror on the wall, in a beautiful calligraphic hand, he declares in Latin: “Johannes van Eyck was here.” The figures’ body language is meant to document the conclusion of the contract and the wedding ceremony of the day; it specifically evokes a successful merchant who can afford to commission a painting that is reserved for the private home. In the painting, the merchant holds his wife’s hand in his left hand, indicating fidelity, while his right hand is raised, indicating that the two will remain together until they are parted by death.\(^7\)

There are still further symbolic details that are absent in the TV title sequence. For example, the dog—the traditional symbol of fidelity—is conspicuous by its absence. And the future couple have taken off their shoes, which alludes to the Old Testament scene in which God tells Moses that he should remove his shoes because he is standing on hallowed ground. This same logic is transferred to van Eyck’s painting: the bourgeois intimate sphere can also be Holy Ground. The mirror on the wall, meanwhile, symbolizes the purity of the Virgin Mary, a motif that has famously played an important role in art, and for that matter in film history, where its religiously metaphysical semantics has been challenged by a

\(^7\) Peter Larsen (1982) discusses this Dutch painting.
secular introverted human-psychological semantics. Another symbolic feature of van Eyck’s painting is in fact highlighted in the TV montage, namely, the chandelier hanging in the center of the room. One candle is lit, even though the wedding ceremony seems to take place at noon. The single candle marks the all-seeing Christ. In *Desperate Housewives*, the chandelier still hangs in the picture’s foreground—but without a candle. In today’s popular fiction drama, in other words, there is no God above keeping watch on human probity.

The iconography of the art-historical tradition is here reduced to the point of being unrecognizable, to being a joke. This is also true when the montage jumps forward to the twentieth century’s agrarian family in crisis, symbolized by Grant Wood’s iconic portrait of an American farming family during the Great Depression. Once again, the painting’s still life is transformed into animation. After the couple emerge out of the barn’s Gothic portal, a forest rolls into the background. The Gothic arch is preserved, but its soaring has been replaced by more earthly movements: as was done with the van Eyck painting, the man is here pushed to the frame of the picture—now to the right side, where his predecessor had stood on the left. (Symmetry and artistic ambition are by no means lacking in the TV montage!) What lures the older gentleman away is a young female model: she tickles the old man’s neck with a smile, while his wife, in the background, is rolled away into a sardine can.

And so the history of the patriarchy’s power is told in not much more than a split second. I regard the Grant Wood parody as the second and final part of the married couple’s story, because while the remainder of the montage does continue to treat the relationship between the sexes, it does so only after the introduction of postwar consumer capitalism, which sets a new agenda for the battle of the sexes. The grim-looking farm wife, now costumed as a small mass-produced fish, sails over to the kitchen table of a house that, by virtue of its architecture, is reminiscent of the 1960s. The transitional object is a woman who is desperately trying to maintain her
grip on a large pile of cans—whereas the woman depicted on the real poster had the opposite attitude, and was armed with the caption “Of Course I Can!” The woman of the montage, on the other hand, drops the cans from her lap; but one of them, Andy Warhol’s iconic consumer good “Campbell’s Tomato Soup,” slides into the hand of a handsome young man, who spies a younger woman at close range. First, a tear slides down the woman’s cheek—we are in a melodramatic and emotional universe: Robert Dale’s painting, as mentioned, is titled *Romantic Couple*—and one second later, she smashes her right hand into the man’s face, after which we see him staring back with a black eye. There is only a short distance between love and hate. The man’s comedy ends with him being toppled, like the phallic pillars in the short sequence of Egyptian images. The title sequence is steeped in transhistorical *girl power*.

As mentioned, the montage ends by revisiting the original Adam-and-Eve motif—now marked only by the tree of knowledge, whose fruits are falling into the arms of the four characters at the center of the series that viewers are now prepared to enjoy. By this point, a long series of preconditions in gender history and the history of mentalities have been introduced in elegantly compressed form. The TV series may be solid mass culture, but it also has subtle cultural connotations that defy the notion that mass culture, by definition, is a site of clichés. The means of this defiance is a playful process of adaptation, whereby original paintings are photographed and digitally manipulated in order to be set into a montage, complemented by an equally teasing score created by Danny Elfman. The semiotic dissonance creates new meaning; remediation implies parody and semantic transformations en masse.

**GENRES IN TRANSITION**

Linda Hutcheon’s book offers a description of adaptation as a nearly endless chain of transformations. To a large extent, genre research centers on how difficult it is to set genre categories into fixed formulas. Alastair
Fowler’s study *Kinds of Literature* (1982) provides as clear a demonstration as one could wish for that genres are resistant to definition. What causes difficulties for the traditional interpretation of the genre system as classificatory is that neither individual texts nor genres remain within their given frameworks. The era of transgressing boundaries was inaugurated with Romanticism; the genre system has not been stable since. Whereas classicism dictated that texts should follow the demands of genre to the letter, since the days of Romanticism it has been transgressions of these demands and genre fusions that have been the rule.

With regard to the question of genre, it is true that remediation often takes place in terms of ironic play, and that adaptation undergoes myriads of transformations. Prototypes are reimagined radically, and only rarely with deep veneration for aesthetic forms of the past. The solid genre definitions of classicism definitely belong to the past. While a genre can define a textual corpus, for example through family similarities, it is better understood as an interpretive framework for a given text. (On this I am in firm agreement with Alastair Fowler.) Moreover, each individual text is overlaid, as a rule, by multiple genre features—this is demonstrated by the history of genre, and the pattern is unlikely to change in the future. By definition, a given genre will contain redundancy, will repeat elements of its paradigmatic components; and the individual text can very well—though it need not—expand the genre’s repertoire. No text, then, without genre; but one text cannot constitute a genre.

Just how diverse genres are has been documented by various recent studies in film culture. In his book *Film/Genre* (1999), Rick Altman offers a telling example, in the course of comparing the world of film genres with Darwin’s theory of evolution:

According to the Darwinian approach to evolution, the specificity of a new genus is guaranteed by its inviolability. That is, no genus is inter-fertile with another genus. Besides the lack of fertility between genera,
the purity and thus the identity of the species is also guaranteed by the fact that previous life forms, once extinct, disappear from the world forever. Only in the multi-era imaginary world of a “Jurassic Park” do the categories of a previous evolutionary state continue to exist. In the genre world, however, every day is Jurassic Park day. Not only are all genres interfertile, they may at any time be crossed with any genre that ever existed. The “evolution” of genres is thus far broader in scope than the evolution of species. (p. 70)

Rick Altman’s reflections on gender should be read with this overarching point in mind. On the one hand, there is the continual process of budding and crossing described above, which demonstrates that the majority of film genres encompass other genres as well. On the other hand, the history of film is an obvious place to look for proof of the opposite trend, which for many years was characteristic of the Hollywood assembly-line system, that is, films that were largely (mass-)produced according to fixed genre templates. This was the case during the heyday of the studio system, where there were well-established genre classifications: the western, the musical, the war film, the gangster film, the detective film, the horror movie, the science-fiction movie, etc. These genre films brought with them obvious financial and logistical efficiency gains: the scenery, set design, and costumes could be reused, and the mise en scène was recognizable in film after film. The audience knew what they could expect to see in the theater, even in terms of history, dramaturgy, and aesthetics. Some genres require a clear visual recognizability, a special visual iconography, to complements a narrative stereotyping. Western genres have their very own scenography, for which certain landscapes and props are natural; other genres, meanwhile, are harder to recognize merely from set pieces and other external characteristics. The genre became a treasured good: a production concept that thrives on the joys of repetition (and on seductive forecasts of improved financial efficiency), and few, albeit significant, variations on a theme identical to the genre.
MAKE IT THE SAME

The overall result is that genre films are marked by a trend towards standardization: *Make it the same*. For the studios, there were rationalization gains to be made in template use; on the other hand, predictability had already emerged as a problem during the heyday of genre films in the 1930s and 1940s, so that “the formula,” in the history of film genres, came to be a judicious dialectic between the two necessary challenges: *Make it new* and *Make it the same*. Even today, we do still encounter pure genre films, which as a rule belong to subgenres—splatter movies for teenagers, for example; on the other hand, we also find highbrow auteurs with a loose and experimental relation to genres (Stanley Kubrick is an obvious past example, and Pedro Almodóvar a present one).

From the perspective of pure film history, it should be noted that the postmodern period has exhibited a marked tendency to mix genres all at once, so that a single work can expose the viewer to starkly different moods, and stimulate a wide gamut of emotions. This mix of genres and emotions reached its apex in two French postmodern masterpieces, Luc Besson’s *Subway* (1986) and Jean Jacques Beineix’s *Betty Blue* (1986). The fact that genre is once again attracting attention both in film and media studies and in literary criticism is historically connected to postmodernism’s stated desire to challenge preexisting genre boundaries. The tendentious abolition of the contrast between highbrow and lowbrow culture has served to open the field for the genre of experiments in genre. And this, naturally, is an important point in the present context, as well as an implicit premise in Linda Hutcheon’s book: this pronounced drive to challenge genres *ipso facto* includes adaptation.

Popular culture and highbrow culture have come together in new constellations, such as when Baz Luhrmann demonstrated, in his *Romeo+Juliet* (1996), that the ultra-canonicalized Shakespeare can be adapted in a film language informed by MTV’s aesthetics, which was in turn informed by the montage techniques of modernism. This was anticipated by a previous appropriation of *Romeo and Juliet* in the musical (1957) and
later film (1961) *West Side Story*, which rewrote Shakespeare’s drama to fit the gang wars of 1950s New York City. If there is anything that characterizes literary and cinematic postmodernism, it is that it has made genre into a heterogeneous category. Genre mixing and genre diversity are here to stay. The pure, homogeneous genre belongs to the past; in this respect, postmodernism is connected to Romanticism’s related experimentation with and undermining of classical genre.

Naturally, transformations of genre are not merely manifestations of an art-historical dynamic. They are also intimately intertwined with technological expansion, namely, with the complex effects of digitization, which manifest themselves, for example, in multimedia customization and remediation. Thus the digitization and development of the Internet mean that anyone with a multimedia computer can watch TV, listen to the radio, read the newspaper, etc. In their book *Remediation*, Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin define this phenomenon as a “representation of one medium in another” (2002), p. 45). Technological innovation in digitization fits together beautifully with the overturning of history’s legacy by postmodernism. In practice, both technology and the zeitgeist are complicit in these genre upheavals. This of course does not mean that all genre criteria are on the point of vanishing; but it is clear that the genre exuberance that is characteristic of television culture did not fall from the sky. Both digitization and the postmodern have radically changed the film medium, and literature is still adjusting to that. The breakdown of the law of genre, which Derrida describes in his article “The Law of Genre” (1980), means that genre is not a homogenous entity, but is constitutionally heterogeneous. The development of media culture obviously supports this trend. The present-day proliferation of studies of genre can be explained precisely by the upheavals in media culture sparked by digitization.

This does not mean, of course, that one should simply stop trying to conceptualize genres. Film studies is one of numerous fields that, as men-
tioned, has addressed the genre directly. In his *The American Film Musical* (1987), Rick Altman already introduced a pair of concepts for use in enabling a systematic approach to the problem of genre. While his model may seem inspired by Russian Formalism’s distinction between fabula and sjuzet, Altman actually derives his terms from linguistics, namely, semantics and syntax: “The semantic approach thus stresses the genre’s building blocks, while the syntactic view privileges the structures into which they are arranged” (Altman, 1987, p. 95). This definition does not, however, exclude overlap between genres; and in *Genre/Film*, Altman downplays his semantics/syntax differentiation in favor of a wholly open approach to the genre. Just as Steve Neale does in his *Genre and Hollywood* (2000), Altman makes it clear that genre is a public category, which is performative and subject to continual negotiation. All involved parties—the film company, the director, the text, the critics, and the audience—play a part in determining a film’s genre. For genre is not a given thing, even if film companies affix genre designations to their products’ paratexts in order to appeal to particular audience segments. Altman’s tentative conclusion remains that “genre is not permanently located in any single place, but may depend to different times on radically differing criteria” (Altman, 1987, p. 86). Steve Neale similarly concludes that genres are “ubiquitous, multifaceted phenomena rather than one-dimensional entities” (Neale, 2000, p. 28).

**SEMIOTIC DIFFERENCES AND POSTMODERN ADAPTATION**

By their nature, genres are always up for discussion. They involve frameworks, but also variations, extensions, transgressions. A related dialectic is found in the relation between an adaptation and its prototype. The idea of a radical approach is not so new after all. Back in 1948, in a compressed

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8 That genres are quite the opposite of stable entities, particularly in new media, is made clear in, e.g., *Mediekultur* 51 (2011), a themed issue titled “Challenging Genre: Genre Challenges: New Media, new boundaries, new formations”.

article entitled “Adaptation, or the Cinema as Digest,” Andre Bazin wrote that the artistic watchword of the day was “Let’s grab whatever we can” (1948/2000, p. 22). Reverence for the Urtext was a thing of the past. The French film critic discusses several factors, although his focus is on the relationship between the novel and adaptation; and he ends, somewhat surprisingly, by claiming that the fundamental semiotic differences between film and literature are of secondary importance: “The true aesthetic differentiations, in fact, are to be made not among the arts, but within genres themselves: between the psychological novel and the novel of manners, for example, rather than between psychological novel and the film that one would make from it” (cited in Naremore, 2000, p. 26).

In his article, Bazin speaks of the need to create cinematic equivalents to literary style. Put another way, the relationship between the two types of text does not depend on the adapter’s effort to create a faithful representation, but such a thing is impossible in principle: “faithfulness to a form, literary or otherwise, is illusory: what matters is the equivalence in meaning of the forms” (1948/2000, p. 20). If subsequent adaptation researchers had read Bazin’s text, their misguided hierarchization of the various art forms might have been avoided. In this respect, Andre Bazin was prophetic. On the other hand, studies of adaptation can point to some deeply important and fundamental differences in semiotic systems that are worth dwelling on. The notion of aesthetic equivalence is productive, but it is perhaps misguided as well.

In his 1984 article “Adaptation,” Dudley Andrew has outlined some of these valuable differences:

Generally film is found to work from perception toward signification, from external facts to interior motivations and consequences, from the givenness of a world to the meaning of a story cut out of that world. Literary fiction works oppositely. It begins with signs (graphemes and words), building to propositions that attempt to develop motivation and
values, seeking to throw them out onto the external world, elaborating a world out of a story. (1984/2000, p. 32)

The transformation of the symbolically conventional, non-referentially-motivated signs of (written) language into iconic and indexical (visual) signs implies a process that is difficult to understand in terms of equivalence. This point was already made in G.E. Lessing’s Laokoon, oder Über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie (1776/2014), where Lessing famously distinguishes between written signs and visual signs in paintings. According to Lessing, visual signs depict their objects in space, and can be “read” at a glance in a variety of ways; part and whole exist simultaneously. By contrast, written texts depict processes in time, and are to be read linearly and chronologically. When we add to this account living, moving pictures with sound, the difference becomes even more marked. Film necessarily expands the meaning, and fleshes out the picture, that is latent in the language of its symbolic codes. While written language can accommodate the abstract, film reifies and concretizes by means of its indexical and iconic signs. In film, such imaginary existences as literary figures and universes are dislodged, and take physical form. The novel, by definition, creates a phantasm—and film deprives the viewer of this phantasm, inasmuch as it gives its words flesh and blood. On the other hand, precisely by generating material and physical shapes, film fills many of the book’s empty spaces.

The film medium is performative, and can make use of a wide range of signs—sound, music, acting, and gestures; verbal language and montage—beyond the range of the written word. The two media will never be able to cover one another entirely. While one medium seems to be visually expository, the other is expository in its formative gesture. In Le Mepris (1963), the modernist and meta-conscious French director Jean Luc Godard allows his older colleague, the German Fritz Lang, to respond with the following declamatory punch-line to a producer who has criticized the film for being unfaithful to the novel: “Yes, Jerry, in the script it’s written,
in a film it’s images and sounds ... a motion picture it’s called” (Naremore, 2000, p. 55).

Robert Stam summarizes these semiotic differences as follows:

The novel has a single material of expression, the written word, whereas the film has at least five tracks: moving photographic image, phonetic sound, music, noises and written materials. In this sense, the cinema has not lesser, but rather greater resources for expression than the novel, and this is independent of what actual filmmakers have done with these resources. (I am arguing not superiority of talent, but only complexity of resources. Indeed, one could credit literary fictioners with doing a lot with so much). (2000, p. 59)

POSTMODERN ADAPTATION

Given these demonstrations of fundamental aesthetic differences, it is evidently somewhat pointless to discuss whether an adaptation is faithful to its prototype or not. The two are expressions that should not be compared. Such a moratorium on trite comparisons is introduced by Linda Hutcheon, who seeks, as a declared postmodernist, to avoid ranking the various artistic and medial forms of expression. Instead, she aims to show that adaptation is a fundamental move that gives rise to continual renewal, reinterpretation, and addition to the textual stream, and that no form can demand to be more treasured than any other. The transformation amounts to a different expression than the prototype was, and each has its own basic rules and expressive possibilities. Adaptation is another word for creativity, for creative interpretation. Every adaptation implies a doubleness: there is what is recognizable, and there is what is new, the creative addition. Adaptation moves between repetition and difference. In keeping with Roland Barthes’ idea of a movement from work to text (1971/1977), and with his depiction of the manifold text equipped with intertextual dialogue, Linda Hutcheon presents a theory of adaptation that is more a festive spree of examples of
the transportation, transmission, and transformation of “writable” texts than it is a genuine hardcore theory. Hutcheon’s approach is descriptive and observational; it is not close analysis. On the other hand, there is a correspondence between the book’s thesis about the permanent flow of adaptation in media culture and the multiplicity of expressions of this same but different point. The core of her theory de facto consists of categorizing forms of adaptation and listing good examples.

Hutcheon’s account of adaptation requires countenancing three essentially different forms of presentation; and this distinction makes it even more futile to insist on giving the original text its rights (2006, p. xi). According to Hutcheon, there are, in principle, three very different textual-material forms. First, there is a procedure that is based on telling (Harry Potter as a novel: the book’s strength as a recounted narrative). Second, there is a procedure that is expository, that presents scenes and performs dramas, namely, showing (the Harry Potter story translated into the film medium, and perhaps later into comic strip form, or as a theater piece), which will differ depending on whether the text is realized as a drama on stage or, for example, as a film. And third, there is the interactive model, in which the user plays with the adapted text physically and kinesthetically (Harry Potter as a character in a game). These three different forms of expression can do different things, and draw on different mental capabilities on the part of the user; to this extent, it is necessary to draw clear distinctions among the three. Although the filmmaker and the game developer have the same story to tell, they will do so by different means. The inner focalization of a literary first-person narrator, or a narrator’s knowledgeable portrait of a third-person figure’s inner world, are often obscured in film versions, because fictional films generally do not condone the use of voiceovers (apart from the film noir genre, the exception that proves the rule). In film, the literary invitation to an inner world is instead created through a sensory-phenomenological representation of a character’s gestural behavior.
As Hutcheon notes, changes of genre and medium are crucial:

In the move from telling to showing, a performance adaptation must dramatize: description, narration, and represented thoughts must be transcoded into speech, actions, sounds, and visual images. Conflicts and ideological differences between characters must be made visible and audible. In the process of dramatization there is inevitably a certain amount of re-accentuation and refocusing of themes, characters, and plot. (2006, p. 40)

Hutcheon emphasizes that analysts must regard adaptations from a double perspective. On the one hand, we must acknowledge adaptation’s structure as an endless process. On the other hand, we must be aware of the distinct characteristics of the various media and forms of expression, many of which force the user or consumer of culture to muster different approaches to the text. This double perspective is important. It keeps a record of this expanding flow, and it demonstrates the medial-aesthetic differences that concretely underlie genre play and adaptations, and discusses their cultural semiotic value. This is the method employed by Jim Collins in his review of how Miramax, in such films as *A Room with a View*, *The English Patient*, and *The Hours*, created a special aesthetic and exotic highbrow aura of the past. As Collins remarks, one-dimensional accounts of adaptation (“from page to screen”) fall short, because numerous secondary and tertiary medial texts are embedded and associated with this transformation, and they need to be included in the discussion:

Between that page and the screen comes a host of intertextual networks—Web sites, television interviews, soundtrack albums, magazine feature stories, reading clubs, bookstore chains—which embody the increasing interpenetration of literary and visual culture in terms of both delivery systems and the production of taste. (2010, p. 122).
Nevertheless, I will not entirely disavow the close analysis that can emerge from one-dimensional discussions of adaptation. While I have not myself offered an example of such a discussion, the literature is full of such examples. In both the short term and the long term, media and literature research will undermine its own status and legitimacy if it fails to demonstrate continuously the insights that competence at close analysis can provoke. We must continue to demonstrate how adaptations are concretely made, and the cultural or social significance of what these transformations generate.

Jim Collins’ and Linda Hutcheon’s books can serve as examples of this. Each has shown in its own way that researchers must document how widespread adaptations are, and must be aware of the fact that the current media culture manifests itself as a stream of connected text(-fragments), a flow of (inter-)texts that make it much easier to see the results of the processual logic of the culture of samplers and digitization than it is to relate to the text as an autonomous work. When adaptation is widespread, it excels, paradoxically enough, by appealing both to vertical, close-reading approaches and to horizontal, cultural-analytical approaches that cast a wide observational net. There is a need for both dimensions.

9 One good Nordic source of such examples is Lothe (1996). Lothe writes persuasively about the relation between James Joyce’s novella “The Dead” and John Huston’s film version, as well as about Joseph Conrad’s classic *Heart of Darkness* and Francis Ford Coppola’s *Apocalypse Now*. If we follow Julie Sanders’ conceptual distinctions, then Huston’s treatment of “The Dead” would count as a genuine adaptation, while Coppola’s film (as Sanders notes) is an example of an adaptation that resembles a commentary on the prototype. Conrad’s narrative functions as a basic text for Coppola’s film, and there are common names, etc., that demonstrate a clear connection; but the action is shifted from the heyday of colonialism to the end of the Vietnam War, a recontextualization that adds entirely new perspectives to the narrative.
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THE PURPOSE OF THIS ARTICLE is to pinpoint the unique status of lyric poems within the genre of poetry as such. This will be done with special focus on the poetry of recent decades, as genres cannot be understood in isolation from a historical viewpoint—and it is unfortunately only possible, for obvious reasons, to introduce such a viewpoint within a synchronic perspective. Although several Nordic examples will be introduced here, the theoretical discussion of lyric poetry that follows is international in orientation. While it is of course possible to point to both Nordic and non-Nordic positions and understandings that are not included here, the theoretical context at issue in those cases should support the understanding developed here. The first aspect of lyric poems to consider is their typographical form.

Until the end of the Middle Ages, many texts were arranged in a manner that is often associated today with the genre of poetry, namely, in stanzas (continuous groups of lines) and in verse (individual lines). Thus there are, for example, ancient and medieval legal texts that have such a form. Afterward the situation changed considerably—such texts were given a form that no longer resembled a set of stanzas and verses—but this does not mean that poetry can still be identified by this format today. Poems may have all sorts of other typographic formats. At times they can even form figures or shapes consisting of letters arranged in a certain way; at other times they may have a different typographical format such that there

1 Cf. Fafner (1994, pp. 274). Fafner, however, refers to this transition only indirectly. See also Preminger et al. (1993, p. 1349).
are no stanzas or verses, but the text fills the page, i.e., with justified left and right margins. Nor does it help to clarify the matter that there are texts that can be readily identified as prose, but which include longer or shorter passages that are similar to sets of verses and stanzas. The typographical formatting of a given text, therefore, is only one possible indication of what genre it inscribes itself into.

This indicates that poems, as they may appear today, cannot be determined as such by a glance at their typographical form, though this may be important in certain cases. A number of important characteristics lie beyond the text’s graphic form. These include the various ways in which poetry can flourish: narratively, dramatically, and lyrically, where “narratively” relates to a course of events and the particular events it contains, “dramatically” pertains to an exchange of messages, and “lyrically” concerns the words’ arrangement and the dominant rhetoric that emerges from it. As stated previously, our focus is on lyric poetry and the enigmatic traits that are associated with it, which constitute a distinctive “event” in the language.

But first let us look at the start of Lyn Hejinian’s *My Life*, which is 120 pages long:

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*A pause, a rose, something on paper*

A moment yellow, just as four years later, when my father returned home from the war, the moment of greeting him, as he stood at the bottom of the stairs, younger, thinner than when he had left, was purple – though moments are no longer so colored.

Somewhere, in the background, rooms share a pattern of small roses. Pretty is as pretty does. In certain families, the meaning of necessity is at one with the sentiment of prenecessity. The better things were gathered in a pen. (op. cit., p. 7)
At first glance, this section is more reminiscent of a prose text than a poem, since by virtue of its typographical structure it does not include a set of verses and stanzas. Nevertheless, it can still be assigned to the genre of poetry, largely thanks to its special rhetoric (e.g., its many metaphors), its lack of action, and the special composition of its words, which do not contain any single unique message. This means that the reader’s focus should be on the words themselves and the mood that they evoke. For this reason, this text constitutes what in both Danish and English is called a prose poem.

The term “prose poem” may seem to be a contradiction in terms. Hejinian’s poem appears graphically as prose that fills up the whole page, without the line-breaks that are characteristic of many poems; but it should be read—like a number of other poems with similar typographic formats—as poetry, since it contains a number of features, such as linguistic fragmentation, word contractions, repetitions, and rhythms, that are primarily characteristics of poetry. Prose poems, moreover, are not to be confused with free verse, i.e., verse without meter (Preminger, 1993, pp. 977). At the same time, the text includes two different fonts, one regular and one italic, the latter of which is set somewhat apart, as a special commentary on the rest. Such use of distinct fonts is not an unknown phenomenon in prose, but is much more common in poetry. The text thereby inscribes itself into the genre of poetry.

In many ways, this text is representative of lyric poetry as a special branch of poetry—which can be divided into three sub-genres, namely, lyric, dramatic, and narrative poems, where the adjectives “lyric,” “dramatic,” and “narrative” refer to the mode (narrative form and/or discourse)

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2 Cf. Jakobson’s notion of the poetic function, which emphasizes that the focus is directed at the sign itself, at the arrangement of the words themselves, rather than at an extralinguistic object, or at the words’ referent. Language is here detached from the extralinguistic object, inasmuch as attention is directed toward language itself and its ambiguities (Jakobson, 1960).
that is prevalent at a given time. The latter two subgenres include a narrative that incorporates events and/or characters (people, objects, animals, etc.). In narrative poems, as in many prose texts, the story is further presented by a narrator, often a first-person narrator. By contrast, in dramatic poetry, as in many plays, the story is presented through action and the characters’ speech (Furniss & Bath, 1999, p. 162). An obvious example of the former is Henrik Ibsen’s Terje Vigen (1862/1964); whereas many texts by Percy Bysshe Shelley represent plays written in stanzas, and which are intended more to be read than to be performed. It is not just in older poems that we find dramatic and narrative forms, however, but also in more recent poetry.

**DRAMATIC POETRY**

One example of a recent dramatic poem is Benny Andersen’s “Præcision” [“Precision”] from Stemmer fra reservatet [Voices from the Reservation] (here cited from his Samlede digte [Collected Poems]), where two literary characters are speaking to each other (in other poems, there are more such characters):

“I felt that she was stepping on my toes. Not in a bodily sense—but I felt it.”
“Explain a bit more precisely.”
“She was stepping on me.”
“Were you lying down?”
“No, it was in company.”
“Describe it a bit more precisely.”
“Well, that would take a complicated explanation, which will become more and more involved the more I hope to clarify what it is all about, so I’m afraid that the linguistic result would become rather imprecise.”
“It’s already becoming that. Start over.” (p. 357)
Although the text does not specify who the speakers are, this is clearly a dialogue that, at first glance, more closely resembles a play than a poem, inasmuch as one speaker turns to the other because of a particular situation that has arisen (namely, that his or her toes have been stepped on). Moreover, the reader only comes to know the text’s characters on the basis of what they say, and clearly neither of the two is the author (Benny Andersen). What nonetheless gives this text a poetic character is, first and foremost, the obvious fact that it is found in a collection of poems; the fact that it is less than five pages long; and the fact that it is intended to be read rather than to be performed. In addition, at a number of points the text highlights the presence of metaphor, which is a central feature of many poems. Namely: a conventional metaphor (also called a dead metaphor), here being “stepped on,” is interpreted, despite the narrator’s protests (“not in a bodily sense”), as a concrete phenomenon (“Were you lying down?”)—thereby highlighting the special status of (living) metaphor.

Later in the poem, confusion about this metaphor only increases: “You cannot say that she has stepped on your toes or your feelings if this is about a real kick. The language must be more accurate; otherwise it will crumble” (p. 359). This confusion emphasizes that the focus is largely directed at language itself. This is, in fact, stated quite directly here: “otherwise it will crumble.” This also appears at the end of the poem: “It will get harder and harder both to express oneself accurately and simultaneously to fit it all in here in the reservation” (p. 361). The word “reservation,” reservatet, is a reference to the poetry collection, Stemmer fra reservatet, emphasizing that the poem’s words are elements of a poem that is found in a collection of poems, and which cannot be precise just because it is a poem about language’s relationship to itself—about its lyrical effects.

This can also be understood from another perspective. An immediate reading of the text might emphasize that it deals (only) with a dialogue between two people. But a mediated reading would need to point out that it
GENRE AND ...

also has to do with the fact that the text “narrates” something other than that dialogue. Namely: it is a text that deals with itself qua text (language).

NARRATIVE POEMS

Narrative poems are characterized by containing a special course of events. One example of this is Benny Andersen’s “Den trætte kriger” [The Weary Warrior] in *Portrætgalleri* (1966) [Portrait Gallery] (here cited from his *Samlede Digte* [Collected Poems], p. 244):

The warrior is fighting with his corns  
his tired feet  
the warrior is tired  
but he still has overtime  
he has the gun with him at home, it needs to be cleaned  
he asked the general for a vacation  
just fourteen days of miracles and new courage  
but no  
the warrior knows no holiday  
report here at 0700 tomorrow  
with the gun cleaned and ready  
the warrior buzzes out in the yard  
aren’t you coming inside his wife asks  
no he replies come out here with the coffee  
while he takes the gun apart  
can I help asks the warrior’s son  
dad you’re so brave  
can I be you when I grow up  
sing a song dad  
the warrior sings Way way out deep in the woods  
there was a little mountain  
inside the gun there is a machine gun
inside that a rifle
inside that a musket
inside that a flintlock gun
inside that a crossbow
inside that a bow and arrow
and on the arrow there was a small flag
there has never been a lovelier flag
and it is for you to play with
now I’m tired
said the warrior tiredly
I won’t put it together again
so they’ll have to come and get me and put me in jail
and shoot me as a deserter
I’m dead tired of all of that
here’s the coffee his wife just says
and the next morning he hurries
to put the gun together again
whoa I almost forgot the flag
give it to me you rascal are you crazy
it’s not for playing with
I’m just tired he says
promises the boy another, bigger flag
just make it until the war begins
no time to think about corns right now
the warrior is just tired now.

The course of action in this poem, briefly put, is that a very tired soldier is on leave at home, cleans his gun, talks to his son, sings a song, is given coffee by his wife, sleeps, puts the gun together again, and returns to war. This could also have been the plot of a short prose text; but what distinguishes the poem from such a text is inter alia the layout with line breaks
(enjambments), the unmarked elisions between quoted speech (e.g., the general’s order: “report here at 0700 tomorrow”) and direct speech (e.g., the son’s words: “dad you’re so brave”), repetitions (e.g., of the word “tired”), or special linguistic expressions (e.g., “make it until the war begins”). Together, these aspects join to emphasize that the focus is on language, the composition of words, and the particular atmosphere that the poem introduces (war fatigue; the contrast between the son’s positive notion of his father’s courage and his actual exhaustion/burnout). The poem is more about these aspects than it is about the actual course of events that it depicts.

In contrast to lyrical poetry, however, the words of this text do not express the inner mood of a speaker/writer, but rather a story that includes characters (the warrior, the son, the wife, and the general). Moreover, this is a story that is partly told by a higher authority (the narrator), whereas other narrative poems involve a first-person narrator who appears responsible for the story (cf., e.g., Dy Plambeck, *Buresø-fortællinger* [Buresø Tales] (2005)). Folk ballads, too, are often narrative poems sung by a person who does not claim to be their author (Furniss & Bath, 1999, p. 163).

### THE LANGUAGE OF LYRIC POEMS

Beyond special typographical formatting—as in Hejinian’s text—another feature by which lyric poems distinguish themselves from dramatic and narrative poems is that they express a particular subjectivity that cannot necessarily be attributed to an explicit character or to a dramatic (here in the sense of “fateful”) event, but simply constitute a “voice” within the poem. According to some theories, this voice is global with respect to the text (Staiger, 1968). Such theories often explain this voice as based on the notion of a collective lyric *I* who vouches for the text; others argue that there could just as well be multiple levels of voices in poetry.

All of this provides elements for a preliminary identification of the genre of lyric poetry. But as stated above, and as Furniss and Bath under-
score in *Reading Poetry: An Introduction*, it is not possible to provide a comprehensive definition of the genre of poetry that suits all of its sub-genres and individual examples (1999, p. 165). Any candidate definition must continually be tested in relation to concrete poems, and must be adjusted according to the historical developments that literature undergoes. The same holds for lyric poetry.

In addition to the special position of the narrator, and the potentially non-strophic setting, there is a certain similarity between lyric poems and songs, as is also evidenced by the Greek etymological origin of “lyric,” namely, *lyre*. While a lyric poem is not (necessarily) a song, the use of the words “lyric” and “lyrics” in connection with songs (in Anglophone contexts) suggests that there is a very intimate relationship between songs and lyric poetry. The crux of the matter is not the melody that is bound up with music, and which does not necessarily appear in lyric poetry, but rather that lyric poetry, like songs, often demands verbal activity, namely, a reading. This means that not only is there a special subjectivity associated lyric poetry and songs, but also an inter-subjectivity, inasmuch they can be sung or read aloud (Brewster, 2009, p. 1).

While Hejinian’s text may not be the most obvious example of this connection, modern sonnets would clearly lose quality if their metric and rhythmic aspects were ignored.³ On the other hand, Hejinian’s text draws attention to another aspect that is essential, namely, length. While lyric poetry is often defined by the poems’ short length, Hejinian’s text demonstrates that this is not a sustainable definition.

³ Such sonnets thus often share characteristics with sonnets of the past, e.g. Shakespeare’s, but they also distinguish themselves from them by virtue of, for example, theme (e.g., alienation in the city, or terrorism) or language (its unique present-day forms). It is thus not the absence or presence of meter or rhyme that is decisive for whether a poem is a lyric poem or not, now that lyric poetry no longer abides by expectations of particular kinds of rhyme, or of a special metrical form.
But let us return to the element of subjectivity that is central to lyrical poems, and which cannot be treated in isolation from their special linguistic character. Because of the latter, attention must often be paid to the words’ peculiar meaning, which stands out as relatively detached from the world of the reader, or as meaning that is self-generated by the poem itself, and cannot be converted into the terms of the reader’s own semantic world. As has been indicated above, in many cases there is no logical plot for the reader to follow, or no identifiable persons who perform certain acts, or who are subject to certain events. Lyric poems often furnish the reader with only a very small body of distinctive linguistic evidence.

Here the peculiar linguistic form, uniqueness, or special repetitions of lyric poems are central, including their rhetoric. For this reason, lyric poems are only rarely presented in the form of a retelling or paraphrase. What is more, the structure of such poems often works to dissolve a univocal relation to an external reality. The words’ “reference” becomes self-sufficient (Kittang & Aarseth, 1993, p. 41). By virtue of their language games or rhetoric, on the other hand, such poems create new meanings that break with old, pre-established meanings, or that give the poem its special linguistic character. New semiotic contexts are produced, while old and entrenched ones are set in motion; or room is made for areas that lie beyond the dimension of meaning. It is therefore impossible to determine, on the basis of a linguistic understanding of the general semantic systems of language alone, the meaning conveyed by words’ sounds, their rhythmic qualities, or their particular typographical format.

This highlights the fact that lyric poems do contain special imagery (metaphor, metonymy, etc.), as well as more formal elements (length, rhythm, alliteration, space, verses, stanzas, etc.). For understanding the latter, their repetition is key. And here we find another central difference between lyric poetry and other major literary forms: the division into verses and stanzas often gives lyric poems a graphical form, and a special discursive form, that distinguish it from a prose text or play. The typograph-
ical arrangement, on the other hand, may be more or less important for the poem.

This division between imagery and formal elements is very similar to John Frow’s division of genre aspects into three key areas: formal, rhetorical, and thematic organization (2006, p. 74f). The thematic aspect cannot be separated entirely from the other two; the three areas overlap. The discursive form thus belongs both to formal organization (verses, enjambment, etc.) and to rhetorical organization, much as a theme will relate both to the possible dissolution of an “I” that is present in a poem, and to the discursive form that is related to it. The same applies to the enigmatic features that have to do with rhetoric (by virtue of the words’ peculiar composition, e.g., in metaphors), with formal characteristics (e.g., enjambment that necessitates a reading back and forth over multiple verses), and with theme (e.g., death, loss, sex, and even the peculiarity of the poetic language itself). The lyric poem’s peculiar language can, moreover, be connected with something to which the poem represents an approximation, but which it cannot capture in language, namely, what is nameless (discussed below).

THE FORMAL ORGANIZATION
In narrative poetry, formal aspects are often of secondary importance—including the page layout and the purely typographical format. The choice of rhyme scheme, for example, may be determined by convention or custom; whereas in lyric poems, typographical format can be of far greater significance. For this reason, the rhythm found in lyric poems can seem more intentional than what appears in dramatic or narrative poems; but this rhythm is not always easy to capture. As noted previously, in certain lyric poems the rhythm follows patterns that differ from the standard metrical units, such as iambics, trochees, dactyls, or anapests. Documentation of these rhythms can help in systematizing the various rhythmic units in a poem; but particular metrical patterns do not have predetermined meanings, and
are by no means sure indicators of the intrinsic genres of texts. On the contrary: such patterns gain expressive value each time they are used, and by virtue of their contexts. This value cannot be detached from the poem’s words, but is always dependent on its semantic and tonal plan. It is important to be aware that such poems are primarily concerned with rhythm, not with meter.

One of the most important tonal effects is rhyme. Although rhyme has lost its significance for a large swath of contemporary lyric poetry, it continues to play an important role in other lyric poems. Specific rhymes and set metrics are no longer necessary parts of contemporary poems, though they were normative in the past. But because historically such features were once central, and because they do still appear in certain lyric poems, three functions of rhyme can be identified briefly here. 1) First, rhyme has a purely musical function. Through it sounds are organized into patterns: the same vowels and consonants are repeated. This gives the language of the poem an organized character. Here it is not only end rhyme, but also alliteration, that plays a major role. 2) Rhyme also has a metric function: it marks the end of each verse, and moreover relates verses to one another in strophic patterns. 3) Rhyme’s third important function, meanwhile, is semantic: words and images are lined up (Kittang & Aarseth, 1993, p. 126). Rhyme rouses the reader’s expectations and adds tension to the poem, which is triggered or weakened when the echo arrives.

The dissonance of Charles Baudelaire’s poems offers an extreme example of these features. Here a well-formed rhyme often stands in contrast to the semantic content that the words evoke (death, loss, melancholy, social exclusion, etc.). Another example of this is the dissonance in Viggo Madsen’s *Haiku og Børnerim* [Haiku and Nursery Rhymes] (2008), where a well-formed rhythm often stands in contrast to the possible meanings it evokes: death, loss, sex, bodily discharge, etc. Here it is death and sexuality that are linked in peculiar rhymes:
THE CLOTH ON THE LEFT HANGS
FURTHER DOWN THAN THE CLOTH ON THE RIGHT
EVEN THOUGH THE ONE ON THE RIGHT IS HEAVIER
One is light and one is heavy [tung]
hamlet, he was born on Mors
jesus hangs upon his cross [kors]
therefore he will get this purse [pung]
(Madsen, op. cit., unpag.)

Another formal aspect is, as stated, the poem’s length. But Hejinian’s text reveals that lyric poems are not necessarily short. T. S. Eliot’s *The Waste Land* (1922/2003) is another example of how the expected shortness of such poems can be unceremoniously exceeded when it comes to strophic texts. Its graphical features (verses and stanzas) are those of texts that meet a certain typographic standard, and which also set aside room for a particular kind of utterance that follows the line-breaks that they contain. It will often be necessary both to take account of line-breaks—i.e., to read the verses as independent lines—and also to read right past them—i.e., to read multiple verses as coherent wholes. In this way the reader is forced to read back and forth over the line-breaks, past the poem’s enjambments. An example of this is the following poem, “IKKE DØDEN” [Not Death] by Søren Ulrik Thomsen:

**Not death**

Death is not the girlfriend who never returns
   from her trip away from Metro-Nord, far away,
death is not silver and turquoise
   sailing away from fascination’s dissolved body
death is not to be overthrown on the street
among those who bow down and those who hurry
dead is
not to love and everything is as usual. (1981, p. 50)

The last two verses can be read as a coherent whole, “death is / not to love
and everything is as usual,” or as separate: “death is,” and “not to love and
everything is as usual.” These alternative readings cast death and its exist-
ence in two greatly different tones.

Everything that is written in verse, set in stanzas, or formatted with a
special typography that breaks with the standard page layout, in which the
page is filled all the way to the left and/or right margin, represents a dis-
tinctive graphical form that, in our time, can generally be attributed to po-
etry. In certain cases, these typographical features also tend to be given a
specific genre character—as is the case, for example, for sonnets and fig-
urative poems. As mentioned above, this does not mean that texts that con-
tain such typographical features exclude a narrative mode, for example—
i.e., a special kind of report, possibly including a first-person narrator, as
we find in the Danish poet Dy Plambeck’s Buresø-fortællinger. The latter
is a text containing graphical features that indicate that it is about poetry,
even though its title and narrative mode immediately indicate otherwise.
Even though the title makes clear that the text concerns tales of Buresø, as
if these were short prose texts, and even though the text’s continuous first-
person narrator, Mily, recounts a number of minor incidents in her life, the
text is set forth in stanzas and verses, and so it counts as a poetry collec-
tion. The reader is therefore forced to take its special enjambments into
account, even if the text inscribes itself into the genre of narrative poetry.

For this reason, the special graphical signal that one associates with a
poem that does not fill the whole page cannot be taken as a sure indication
of whether or not we are dealing with poetry. There are also novels that, to
a minor extent, break with the novel’s prevailing typographical style (e.g.,
passages in James Joyce’s Ulysses (1922/1990)). The typographical signal
is a feature that distributes itself among genres, even if lyric poems do often contain a distinctive typography that includes enjambment. Giorgio Agamben goes so far as to claim that

the possibility of enjambment constitutes the only criterion for distinguishing poetry from prose. For what is enjambment, if not the opposition of a metrical limit to a syntactical limit, of a prosodic pause to a semantic pause? “Poetry” will then be the name given to the discourse in which this opposition is, at least virtually, possible; “prose” will be the name for the discourse in which this opposition cannot take place. (Agamben, 1996/1999, p. 109)

While this is a somewhat daring claim, it emphasizes that the enunciation of the utterance constitutes a special area within poetry. But because enjambment is not always explicit in lyric poems, even if a contrast between metrical and syntactical borders is always at least virtually present, determination of a text’s specific genre must nonetheless, from time to time, be evaluated by taking into account its length, lyrical elements, graphical signals, and so forth.

**RHETORIC**

Beyond its formal organization, lyric poetry is characterized by a distinctive tier of rhetoric, in which metaphor in particular plays a major role. To be clear, what is crucial to such poems is not a distinctive tier of rhetoric that can be linked to the semantics of their language, but rather the fact that

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4 For more on metaphor and other rhetorical figures, see, e.g., Bercoff (1999, chapter 10, “Les figures,”), and Culler (1981/2008, p. 209-233). The account of rhetoric that is developed in what follows does not rest on the notion that poetry should convince the reader of this or that—a pragmatic dimension, as Frow proposes (2006, p. 9)—but that it is part of the poem’s organization. Rhetoric does not embellish poetry; it constitutes it.
such poems contain a remainder that cannot be absorbed into, or identified with, the semantic dimension of their rhetoric, or other semantic possibilities inherent in their language. Briefly put, this means that it is impossible to comprehend the text fully. Now, this problem of a remainder that cannot be subsumed under the semantic dimension of rhetoric does not exclude the possibility that the remainder is something crystallized by this semantic dimension. But a crystallization is not a cause. The cause may very well be that such poems attempt precisely to specify what cannot be given meaning, by means and by virtue of a special kind of rhetoric.

While the Danish poet Simon Grotrian’s poems are not true examples of the above, the fact that they are drenched in rhetoric—often in the form of long sequences of metaphors that leave no room to identify their specific meaning—can be used to illustrate the point being made here. Grotrian’s massive array of metaphors introduces a specific indeterminacy as to how such poems can or should be interpreted (cf. Rasmussen, 2008). An example:

The guards stand up in the ocean foam
happiness explodes beyond the bosom of the sun
the portraits that were stuck have nails in the stomach
eyes shut the world
with an eraser I feed the memory
of the coffin lid’s hoe
the necessary thing, to sleep upright
The word when the living in the jump rope
the milky way’s path over the harvest

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5 The argumentation that follows is indebted to Doumet, 2004, pp. 16.
6 Frow, on the other hand, tends to regard rhetoric as a form of decoration that is connected with the dimension of meaning: “…formal and rhetorical structure always convey meaning: An understanding of this is central to my argument about genre” (2006, p. 76).
and your kingdom is rife with
I stick the blade in
for everything is possible
just to be a diver. (Grotrian, 2007, p. 34)

The guards introduced in the first verse do not recur later in the poem, unless they are connected to the “diver” of the final verse; but no such connection is obvious in the text. However, they can be seen as God’s guardians (cf. v. 10: “your kingdom”), i.e., as angels who are emerging from the ocean foam; and this may explain how happiness explodes, expands, under the sun. But why “the bosom of the sun”? What is the sun’s bosom as a metaphor for? Does it represent God and his generosity—or something else? And again: Why does happiness explode? Perhaps the latter should be construed not as the expansion of happiness, but as its destruction, which might explain why eyes shut (themselves out of?) the world, as well as the death that is evoked by the coffin lid. But what is “the coffin lid’s hoe” for? And what is “necessary” connected to? To the hoe, or to “sleeping upright”? Approximate answers can certainly be given to some of these questions, but they lead only to a series of further questions, ending with the indeterminacy mentioned above. This puzzle thereby emerges as not merely one feature of such poems, but as their central aspect.

Thus any analysis or reading of Grotrian’s poems will quickly run aground on the text’s dilemmatic practice of avoidance or escape. One “solution” to this, as Stefan Kjerkegaard undertakes in his Digte er bjergede halse [Poems are Scavenged Throats] (2000), is to harness a massive analytical use of metaphors in order to tackle the remainder that falls outside, or is included among, the myriad metaphors that reign in Grotrian’s universe. For the most part, however, these simply continue along Grotrian’s own track. The analytical metaphors represent a special adaptation to the text that these poems represent—a text that is strikingly difficult
to access—inasmuch as they do not tackle the cause of the problem, but simply expand on the poems’ own metaphors.

This use of metaphor also represents a radical break with the codes or paradigms that usually underlie the generation of metaphors (even though these tend to violate conventional codes and paradigms). It is now almost no longer possible to find antecedent paradigms; so Grotrian’s metaphors establish their own codes, or special new codes, that resist a possible interpretation. This is an extreme version of the rhetoric of lyric poetry; the purpose of emphasizing this unique case is to underscore that rhetoric constitutes a special language that cannot be understood on the basis of its semantic aspects alone.

GENRE AND MODE
Lyric poetry is a genre that is still in development. As Gérard Genette, for one, pointed out in his “Introduction à l’architexte” (1979/1992, pp. 60), there are no stable, ahistorical, or naturalized genres, though many interpreters of Aristotle’s *Poetics*, for example, do expound his ideas as if such genres did exist. This does not mean that we cannot operate with genres, but that so operating would require introducing the historical features of each genre’s various forms of existence. Similarly, attention must be paid to the fact that every individual text modifies the genre of which it is a part. Every new text inscribes itself into and out of a genre, so that the latter remains a changeable unit (see also Frow, 2006, p. 25). At the same time, there are modes that transcend genres. Genres must be considered in historical perspective—and as stated previously, it is beyond this article’s scope to account for the historical development of lyric poetry. The focus here, instead, is on a number of sweeping issues that have arisen within in the last decades. To this end, it is helpful to introduce Gérard Genette’s concept of mode.

Genette’s concern is with the dramatic, epic, and lyric modes. He states further that modes pertain to utterances, and that genres (e.g., prose)
need not be prescribed or dictated in any way by the modes (e.g., narrative) that can be attached to them (cf. Genette, 1979/1992, p. 61). Genres are genuinely literary categories, whereas modes are derived from linguistics, and relate to the utterance as such (p. 65). Accordingly, Genette insists that there exist three types of mode in the world of literature: the narrative mode, the dramatic mode, and the lyric mode. Such modes represent overarching features that can be found in numerous literary texts, poems or otherwise; but this does not make them natural phenomena. The division into lyric, dramatic, and narrative poetry is consistent with Genette’s concept of mode, as it is here applied to the various subgenres within poetry.7

Modes do not stand alone. A mode constitutes a qualification of a given genre (cf. Frow, 2006, p. 65). It must be pointed out that there do exist lyric poems containing dialogue, just as in dramatic poems. Similarly, narrative aspects can be found in lyric poems (Cf. Furniss & Bath, 1999, p. 171). This is the case, for example, in a number of the poems in Søren Ulrik Thomsen’s collection *Rystet spejl* [Shaken Mirror] (2011), though the most important aspects in these are the unusual features of the language and the subjectivity that is tied to it. In other cases, other aspects must be introduced in order to establish a possible genre affiliation, including such thematic aspects as happiness, powerlessness, death, talk, speechlessness, fear, madness, the decomposition of the body, and sexuality. Accordingly, Frow emphasizes an intimate connection between theme and mode, defining “mode in the adjectival sense [as] a thematic and tonal qualification or ‘colouring’ of the genre; [and] genre or kind [as] a more specific organisation of texts with thematic, rhetorical and formal dimensions” (2006, p. 67).

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7 By contrast, Janss and Refsum (2010) connect modes to what they call the three “major genres” [*storgenrer*]: epic, lyric, and drama. In so doing, they exclude themselves from providing an account of the difference among dramatic, narrative, and lyric poems.
On Genette’s account, lyric poetry cannot trace its origins to ancient poetry, but has its roots in the early nineteenth century.8 There are baroque poems (e.g., several of John Donne’s texts (cf. Furniss & Bath, 1999, pp. 286)) that contain a constructed mood (confidence), an insecure analogy between the world of the poem and that of the reader (the divine world versus the human world, which is incomplete and defective), or a mood or distinctive suggestive effect (intended to convince the reader of the superiority of the divine world). In this respect, such baroque poems have features in common with lyric poems; but they lack the typographical possibilities of prose poems. Nor do they contain the distinctive subjective element that is central for lyric poetry, for they are intended to be sung by a congregation; similarly, the mood that they introduce is not (only) based on their particular linguistic form or self-reference, but on the community constituted by the congregation. Because such poems were often thought of as songs, they did not make up a unique linguistic universe. Rather, they were part of religious life in the society of the day.

**WRITING VS. SPEECH**

What makes the language of lyric poems so striking is that it cannot be reduced to the lexical meanings of the poems’ words. The context of a given word often makes it impossible to arrive at an understanding of its semantic dimension.9 This can be further highlighted by the fact that such poems not only comprise graphical pieces of writing, but are also pieces of writing that are designed for, or that even insist on, reading aloud (cf. their possible affinity with songs). Written texts, however, can contain special forms of enjambment that may not necessarily be followed—or perhaps

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8 For similar accounts, see, e.g., Larsen, 2009, p. 29, and Rabaté, 1996, p. 5.
9 Cf. Empson (1930/1949, p. 4), who states that poems assign their own “meaning” to their words.
cannot be followed—in readings.  

A poem can also be presented typographically in a manner that makes readings difficult, forcing a continuous sliding back and forth between graphics and reading (cf. Thomsen’s poem “IKKE DØDEN” from *City Slang* (1981)).

The phenomenon just mentioned also suggests that the partial exclusion of the reading process is a distinctive aspect of such poems. Although a poem like “IKKE DØDEN” cannot be read aloud in full, it nonetheless does leave room for sliding back and forth between the voice (reading aloud) and the eye (seeing the text), which are both involved in every reading of such poems, silent or aloud. The voice that is associated with lyric poetry is a voice that is both inscribed into and excluded from the written text. It is inscribed into lyric poetry, inasmuch as such poetry relies on speech and demands to be read; but it is also excluded from lyric poetry, inasmuch as its typographical arrangement in the form of (for example) special enjambments and typographical characters can only be registered visually. In this context, the voice appears as an external intimacy for both the poem and the reader. It is external for the poem, because it derives from the act of reading; and it is external for the reader, because it is simultaneously undermined, in part, by the layout of the poem. Whether in excluded or present form, the voice is there; but it is also partly determined by the poem’s written form. To a great extent, voice is an essential feature for contemporary lyric poems, while it plays a lesser role in narrative poems (cf. Ibsen’s *Terje Vigen* and Benny Andersen’s narrative poem “Den trætte kriger” [The Weary Warrior], discussed earlier).

Lyric poems withdraw, so to speak, the voice that is tied to them, i.e., that is related to their possible readings, particularly those provoked by such phenomena as enjambment. They quiet this voice by making room for a silence that rests in their graphical form, enjambment, and other aspects of layout. This means that the language (namely, the spoken lan-

guage) captured by the poem is more or less dissolved or overwhelmed by a special silence that is rooted in the poem’s visible (graphical) elements. The visibility that is linked to the poem’s graphical and written form dominates the element of speech, which the poem also demands. On the other hand, the silence that the poem conceals in speech, in reading aloud, constitutes an “invisibility” in this case. We are dealing, then, with an “invisibility” that is tied to the poem’s visible appearance (as a piece of writing), but which cannot be reduced to that. Put briefly, the invisible element in the visible introduces an (invisible) silence into the act of reading the poem (aloud). When we read a lyric poem (aloud), we run into this problem, in the linguistic and graphical (utterance-related) crisis that is occasioned by the fact that the silent world makes an appearance in the speech that relates to the poem’s reading, namely, the reading of its writing. “Writing is an object in the discourse [that] implicitly rejects the presence of the enunciation on the side of speech” (Charles-Wurtz, 2002, p. 108). This is an essential feature of lyric poetry, and one that is often thematized in the text.

THE LYRIC I: A MYTH

The relation between speech and writing thus makes up a distinctive “dialogue” in lyric poems. Despite this, a number of theories describe such lyric poems as a narrator’s spoken monologue.¹¹ Let us consider one such account more closely. Although lyric poems possess neither dramatic dialogue nor an overarching narrator—one who, so to speak, pulls the strings from a distance—there is, on this account, a unique closeness between what the speaker in the poem expresses and what is expressed or discussed by the poem as a whole.¹² Frequently, this closeness is further defined as a specific evocative magic encompassing both the narrated world and the narrator of the poem simultaneously. Such an assumption presupposes that,

¹¹ See Brewster, 2009, p. 30f, for a brief summary of such theories.
In this sense, a point of correspondence exists between the “outer” situation and the poem’s structuring subject or I. In certain other versions of this account, there is talk not of a fusion, but of a divide or gap, between the poem’s I and its surroundings. Nevertheless, whether the poetic I is regarded as attached to or separated from the surrounding world evoked in the poem, this understanding of lyric poetry presupposes a lost, possible, real, or vanished unity between an I and its surroundings.

To this extent, the lyric I is an entity present in all forms of poetry; but it does not necessarily appear in the third-person singular. In The Three Voices of Poetry, T. S. Eliot (1954) remarks that lyrical poems primarily have a single voice belonging to the poet, who is either speaking to him- or herself, or to no one at all. This can often appear in the form of a “you,” which presupposes an “I” or a “we” who is addressing the “you” in question. In other cases, the I is only implicitly present in the text, but behind the poem’s words there is nonetheless a view or attitude that can be detected: a poetic “consciousness,” or a lyric I. On the other hand, there are also other kinds of poetry in which distance can be sensed between a poem’s I and the view that the poem otherwise sets forth, e.g., where irony or satire are present in relation to the narrating voice. We see this in narrative or dramatic poetry: for example, in the dramatic poems of Robert Browning.

In lyric poetry, on the other hand, it remains the narrating voice or lyric I that ensures (a possible) identity between speaker and spoken, or between the describing entity and what is described. Here we find an overall lyric I vouching for the entire text, whether or not this takes the form of an explicit first-person narrator (an assumption that also underlies the Scandi-
navian category of centrallyrik; but as will be detailed below, the very idea of such a special kind of poetry stands or falls with the myth of the lyric I).

Such an account falters, however, in the face of such narrative poems as Ibsen’s Terje Vigen, in which the main narrator (the I) tells the story of the title character, whose experiences and words are reproduced, even though he is already dead when the narrator relates his story. There are also a series of lyric poems in which the narrating I dies, or is otherwise dissolved, implying that there is a second narrator present beyond the I that at first glance seems responsible for the poem. The existence of such a (second) narrator refutes the notion of an overall lyric I that was to be responsible for everything in the text. Indeed, there is often a distinctive tension between the two, which indicates instability on the part of the lyric poem’s narrator (its I) (cf. Rabaté, 1996, p. 66). Or as Brewster puts it: “the lyric ‘I’ is often an enigmatic, inconsistent figure or anchoring point in a poetic text” (2009, p. 34). This, however, is due not to a weak I, as Janss and Refsum assume in their Lyrikkens liv: Innføring in diktlesning [The Life of Lyric: Introduction to Reading Poetry] (2010, p. 20). It is due to the absence of an overall lyric self.

This can be clarified by appeal to the incomplete movement between writing and speech, or between voice and eye. This movement emphasizes that the reader does not occupy a unique position in relation to the text. This is one of the central phenomena that often separate lyric poems from the other two poetic genres discussed here (particularly narrative poems) or from prose texts, in which voice and speech do not nearly have as prominent a role. The uncertain status of the reader is, in its way, deepened by the uncertain status of any I in a poem, to the extent that the reader can be thought to be able to identify with it. That a poem does or does not have an explicit I does not explain the back-and-forth sliding that takes place between the voice and the eye during reading. Accordingly, there is a difference between such an I and the type of poetic (formal) organization that determines the poem’s special typographical form, which in turn demands,
challenges, or undermines a particular way of reading it—the last of which, in turn, introduces a tension between statement and utterance.

To elaborate on this, consider the thought that a mood can also be a thematic aspect. While there is no reason to reject the ordinary notion that lyric poems summon a distinctive kind of feeling or affect, explanations of what this feeling or affect means are rarely given. To the degree that a poem invokes a particular mood, is its explicit I also part of the mood, or is it just a vehicle for it? This question can be answered by means of an example: the anxiety or madness that is evoked in a number of Fernando Pessoa’s Caiero poems is also an anxiety or madness that encompasses these poems’ narrating I. The I is (caught) in the mood, and so cannot control it: it is controlled by it. Again, a distinction must be made between an explicit I and the remainder of the poem’s organization (which constitutes its mood), to which the I is subordinate, or of which it is a part. What is more, the I often appears in a linguistic or rhetorical phrase that makes it clear that it cannot be responsible for the poem’s structure and whole. Instead, such a phrase suggests that the poem is a linguistic event:

The lyric should thus be understood as an event in language. The modern lyric is outside of ‘me,’ and however personal it seems, the lyric voice is always heard through another’s lips: the text, the persona, the unpredictable movement of language itself. (Brewster, 2009, p. 111)

Hence there is no overall I responsible for the poem. On the contrary, lyric poems often reflect a depletion or dissolution of the I that may appear explicitly in the poem’s statements. The I is more or less reduced to the locus of what takes place outside the universe of meaning, inasmuch as it

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17 This point eludes Larsen (2009) when he discusses the Scandinavian tradition of centrallyr, whose ideal was to be “an authentic and authoritative utterance by a suprapersonal, fixed subject as the indisputable center of the poetic universe” (p. 465). But there are hardly any poems with a “suprapersonal, fixed subject.” For a thorough critique of such notions about the centrallyrik tradition, see Rasmussen (2013, p. 136-145).
is drowned in mysterious words, problematic syntax, “exploded” sentences, etc. The language speaks with itself, so to speak, through or alongside the *I* as it reveals itself in the poem’s statements. This is not because this language articulates a particular view, or encourages a particular interpretation (of itself), but simply because the language makes room for something that takes place outside the *I* and its language. If anything, lyric poetry is the site where language makes room for “speech,” which of course has its origins in language (writing); but this “speech” points to something outside language that cannot be grasped by an *I*. This contributes to determining the affect (mood) that a poem can generate in its readers.

A feature common to every form of communication, meanwhile, is that what we convey is greater or less than what we immediately express. Every form of communication contains lacunae that must be filled in by the receiver. We always tell more or less than we think or wish; but even though that is a universal trait, it is not always something that we are aware of when speaking or writing to others. In lyric poetry, this problem often arises with heightened clarity. And this, no doubt, is one of the explanations for the distinctive affect—anxiety, rejection, boredom—that takes hold of readers when they are confronted with this issue. Accordingly, the “narration” that is responsible for the poem in its entirety cannot be identified with the *I* of the poem’s statements; it is rather something that “speaks” beyond, through, and/or alongside the poem’s *I*.

The aforementioned parallel to ordinary speech or writing is obvious here: there is also something that “speaks” alongside, through, or beyond the entity that *appears* responsible for oral statements or written text in general. This becomes clear when a subject suddenly halts in the middle of a conversation, an oral presentation, or a process of writing, or is overwhelmed by something sudden and unexpected. There is something else that insists on, or hinders, the subject’s effort to present what it wishes to say or write. This *something else* is founded on an enunciation that charac-
characterizes—or stands in opposition to—the immediate statements of the subject. It is possible to define this entity that “speaks” in and/or beyond the I of (lyric) poetry as a subject of enunciation, that is, the entity responsible for the totality of enunciation in the poem, even if some of these are attributed to an I in the text.

The enunciations within a text partake in a structure that is unique to the given poem. The affect that emerges in reading the poem, moreover, is tied to the relation between the text’s written form and its possible readings, as well as to the split between the subject of the poem’s statements (the I) and the subject of enunciation. This coheres with the distinctive features set forth in the text, even if we can pinpoint its particular genre. The lyric enunciation consists in the possibility of presenting subjective speech (e.g., that of an I) about something that is presubjective (i.e., prior to an I), or which constitutes a subjective non-subjectivity (Rabaté, 1996, p. 72).

WHAT IS NAMELESS?

Such a subjective non-subjectivity lies precisely at the root of the problem, described previously, of the remainder that inscribes itself into lyric poetry and cannot be interpreted. The existence of this remainder does not imply that interpretation should be abandoned, but rather that interpretation must constitute an approximation to what is nameless because it lies beyond language. When it comes to listening to or reading poetry, this also means listening to the aphonia (voicelessness) that is an index for what lies beyond names. This paves the way for the surprise that has no significance (meaning). Namely—and as has already been pointed out—a lyric poem not only represents an outer world, and constitutes a distinctive reference to or referent for an external world, but it also, to a great extent, constitutes a reference to language itself and its limits. There thereby arises a “representation” or invocation of what cannot be represented or made present (again) in language, but can only be imagined. (This goes a long way to-
ward explaining the enigmatic features of poetry.\(^{18}\) Such “representation” constitutes a distinctive “event” in language.

As a result, lyrical poems evoke more than they describe, more than they unfold in detail. They cannot describe what is nameless; they can only evoke it. This does not mean that such an evocation cannot have a distinctive rhetorical form, in which metaphor specifically plays a large role, and metonymy has a special role as well. The poem’s printed page is not merely a site of stanzas and verses, potentially including rhyme and/or enjambments, which flourish with the aid of a distinctive rhetoric. Its blank or white areas (the spaces surrounding the letters, the spaces between the words, verses, stanzas, etc.) follow no metric law (any longer), but form a spatial composition whose white areas constitute a metonymy for what escapes language. That is, they represent a part of what is outside language—not as a whole, but precisely as a part (the meaning of metonymy, after all, is taking a part for a whole): they are a metonymy for what remains foreign to naming, description, and representation, for what cannot be conceptualized in language (Cf. Doumet, 2004, p. 54). By virtue of its white spots and areas, the graphical formatting of lyric poetry contains a metonymy for what escapes language.

It is against this backdrop that the notion (the metaphor) that lyric poetry closes in on itself can be understood. Lyric poems are not merely isolated or complex representations of external reality, though they certainly do refer to it. Most of all, they are “representations” of a (linguistic and non-linguistic) reality that exists only in or by virtue of the poems themselves. They are metonymic invocations of a reality that is (in) the poems themselves. What is more, they invoke this selfsame reality in a strange language that leaves only (for example) a form of rage, tenderness, or rigidity (Doumet, 2004, p. 59) in its wake, violating the linguistic principles or ideals of general communication.

\(^{18}\) For one such “representation,” see Rasmussen, 2004.
Accordingly, even if lyric poems may, at first glance, enable identification of or with recognizable linguistic phenomena, they break with these phenomena just as quickly. They bring language to a crisis; or, to use another metaphor, language is turned against itself. They contain a language that reacts against itself, but simultaneously observes or identifies the very act by which it reacts against itself and it slides into “the unknown.”

Talk of the distinctive features of prose, and particularly those of the short story, tends to focus on the occurrence of a key event that bears implications for the people involved in it. A prosaic event, in short, is one that has qualitative consequences for those involved. Although there are a number of recent short prose texts that lack such an event—examples include the short stories of Raymond Carver—the presence of such an event is often used as a definition for use in analyzing such texts. In her *Novellen—struktur, historie og analyse* [The Short Story: Structure, History, and Analysis], Marie Lund Klujeff notes that “even if one cannot point to an absolute and striking event in the story, such an event can well be thematized and present in a minimal version, or simply bear meaning by its very absence” (2008, p. 24).

Within the short story, the point of this narrative event is that it constitutes a confrontation with what is nameless—whether the event is striking, is merely thematized, or given weight by its absence. In this context, we may briefly consider the suicide of the male protagonist in Franz Kafka’s “Das Urteil” [“The Judgment”] (1913), which takes place after the protagonist’s father has sentenced him to death by drowning on account of his sexual interests. After receiving his father’s sentence, the young man throws himself off a bridge. Such narrative prose events are (usually) not present in lyric poems.

This does not mean that what is nameless has no importance in lyrical poetry, but it is not (necessarily) evoked by virtue of the narrative event that is central to the prose. On the contrary, it is evoked by/in language that is directed against itself and its limits. The phenomena that evoke what is
nameless, or that make it possible to imagine it, are simultaneously linguistic phenomena. This is the central paradox of poetry. In this sense, there are two literary events in lyric poems that nonetheless distinguish themselves from prose narration: the event of language; and the event that is linked to what is nameless. These are two events that cannot be separated from each other, as tends to be the case in prose texts where one particular event stands out in a significant way. To read poetry, therefore, is

... to sense the representation’s instability; to sense the representation itself as an essentially unstable, labile, and reproductive fact: as the melting pot of the world’s fecundity. It is undoubtedly this that maintains us: that the fatality of our mortal condition, given everything that indicates this condition and illustrates it in the silent order of things, can suddenly be revoked and doubted. Dreams of immortality, visitations of the dead, green paradises, memorializations of the bygone life—these are but some of the varied figures in this unique revocation, as it seems to us, that the play of the poetic representation makes room for and sets in motion. (Doumet, 2004, p. 75)

To these dreams of immortality, reunions with the dead, etc., can be added a number of features that constitute thematic aspects of these, precisely by virtue of the instability of representation: sexuality, love, speechlessness, anxiety, bodily discharge, etc.

This does not mean that lyric poems make up an isolated space, but that they unseat the way we normally view the world, including the discourses that prevail in this world, discourses of (for example) political, communicative, sexual, social, ethnic or ideological kinds. When they relate to such discourses, lyric poems problematize and break them down locally while simultaneously introducing what is nameless—which such discourses try to hold at bay, or fill with strange shapes (e.g., the ethnic others, who are the source of all evil).
At the heart of this disruption, however, is not so much that lyric poems dismiss the referential dimension or break down the discourses just described, but that they make room for a new reality. The language of lyric poems makes room for a new reality insofar as what is nameless is evoked. The mood or affect that these poems strike up derives from this opening, this making room. The affect is a reaction to a confrontation with what is nameless: anxiety, boredom (defense), or arousal (enjoyment), just to name a few. To the extent that the poems invoke historical, political, or similar events (e.g., the bombing of Hiroshima), the “memories” that are linked to them are not those of the author, but are the memories of every reader. It is every reader’s memory of what is nameless that is inscribed in such events. And it is the great strength of lyric poems that they can activate such memories by means of a distinctive rhetoric, graphical formatting, and form of enunciation, without crossing into a different genre—all while continually calling into question the boundaries between genres.

SUMMARY

Lyric poetry constitutes a distinctive branch of modern poetry, which also includes narrative and dramatic poetry. The distinguishing mark of lyric poetry is its language, namely, the way in which language emerges as a distinctive area by virtue of, among other things, rhetoric, formal aspects (verse, stanzas, enjambement, etc.), theme, and special puzzles within the text. Such language is not based on narrative (possibly fateful) events or characters (as in dramatic poems), but on language as an event. Although the word “lyric,” by its etymological connection to “lyre,” suggests a certain similarity to songs, in fact the peculiar language of lyric poetry, including the possibility of enjambment, implies the necessity of a distinctive way of reading these poems (which cannot always be read aloud) that takes these aspects into account. This means that lyric poems are stretched taut, at least virtually, between a graphical dimension (writing) that depends on the gaze’s movements across the paper, and a (possible) verbal
dimension that demands reading aloud (speech). These two dimensions cannot be reduced to a simple exchange between speech and writing. Rather, they emphasize that poetry includes more discursive forms than can be attributed to the narrating I that may be present in such poems.

To understand such discursive forms, it is necessary to be aware of the sensitive position of the narrating I that may appear in lyric poems, much as it is also necessary to try to relate to their riddle, which cannot be grasped or dissolved from a semantic perspective. Instead, the distinctive rhetoric of lyric poems, their possible enjambments and other formal aspects, their themes or their poetic functions (Jacobson), all make room for what is nameless. This is an opening, a making room, that simultaneously constitutes a special “event” in the poems’ language, much as what is nameless can constitute or appear by means of a special “event” in the poems. These events are probably among the most central features that are associated with lyric poetry in our day. They give the reader a sense of why the “representation” of one thing or another, which such poems also contain, is unstable; or why such poems contain such a striking, remarkable language. The last of these is determined by the lyric poem’s distinctive discursive form, distinctive rhetoric, and/or distinctive specification of what is nameless—a specification that is further essential in relation to the themes that such poems also contain.


THIS ARTICLE DEALS with literary genres, especially narrative fiction of working-class origin. Though literary genres are special cases among genres, they are still *speech genres*, representing typified *rhetorical actions* and *cognitive schemata*, just like every day and professional genres. These aspects are fundamental to the concept of genre that will be developed in what follows. Accordingly, some explanation might be warranted before my main discussion of working-class fiction can begin.

Rhetorically understood, as Carolyn Miller explains, a genre is “a complex of formal and substantive features that create a particular effect in a given situation. Genre, in this way, becomes more than a formal entity; it becomes pragmatic, fully rhetorical, a point of connection between intention and effect, an aspect of social action” (1984, p. 153). Genres thereby also provide cognitive schemata and establish schematic worlds, “setting up patterns of meaning and response relative to particular communicative functions and situations,” as John Frow has it (2007, p. 1631). A *schema* is a pattern that underlies a surface phenomenon and permits us to understand it: it is a knowledge-structure deriving from a person’s prior knowledge.

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1 For constructive criticism I thank professor Mats Malm and senior lecturer Christer Ekholm, Gothenburg University, as well as the participants of the Symposium on Norrland Working-Class Literature, Härnösand, Febr. 10–11, 2011.

The units of a schema are both linguistic and pragmatic; and the pragmatic units correspond to genres as *ways of seeing* (Keunen, 2000, pp. 4). By mediating such schematic forms of conceptual organization for (everyday, professional, and literary) rhetorical ends, genres are thus not so much taxonomic systems as they are instruments of knowledge, interpretation, and communication. Because these forms/schemas change, genres are not closed and static, but formative and dynamic, adaptable for use on various social rhetorical occasions, and historically changing.3

Literary genres, however, are often said to lack a social-rhetorical occasion for their use, due to their fictional and allegedly purely aesthetic character.4 But this is the case only with modern aestheticist literature after Kant; and even there we find exceptions, as Christel Sunesen argues in this book.5 In fact, all texts are to be regarded as utterances motivated by some state of things. From a reception-historical perspective, it is argued that each literary genre has a *Sitz im Leben*, that is, each text is an answer to a current personal and/or socio-cultural situation, as is emphasized by H. R. Jauss (1979, p. 209).6 This situation, in turn, is associated with an *exigence*, that is, the core of the rhetorical situation, according to Miller: “an objectified social need” that calls for, or at least motivates, utterance and

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3 This aspect is frequently emphasized; see, e.g., Frow, 2007, p. 1628f., and Fowler, 1982, p. 24; 45; 47, chapters 10 and 11.
4 Fowler (1982), Miller (1984), and see the chapter by Sunesen in the present volume. See also Frow, 2007, p. 1630.
5 See the chapter by Sunesen in the present volume.
6 For *Sitz im Leben*, see also Byrskog (2007): “The occasion is constituted by the roles of the participants. The task of understanding the history of the literary type by reference to its *Sitz im Leben* therefore means to ask who speaks in each situation, what kind of audience is present, what the atmosphere is like, and which effect is intended. The situation as a whole, with its various actors and dynamics, needs to be grasped” (p. 4); “*Sitz im Leben* is a typical situation or condition ("Verhaltungsweise") in the life of a community, not a single historical event, though Bultmann seems to think of more specific communal situations. Each collective situation or condition exhibits quite definite characteristics and needs which foster particular styles, forms and types of literature” (p. 5).
action.\textsuperscript{7} While the concept of exigence has been criticized for deterministic tendencies (Miller, 1984, p. 155f), in this article it will refer to the fact that all texts respond to a more or less problematic situation—social, ideological, existential—that motivates them. The character of this situation influences the design of the text, both genre and rhetoric, though without determining it.\textsuperscript{8} Exigence in this sense, however, is not all: just as important for the textual design is the presumed \textit{addressee}, as the addressee is not always part of the original situation. The task of the text as rhetorical action is precisely to \textit{render} the addressee a participant.

In modern literature, the exigence more often triggers a way of using a chosen genre than it does the genre in itself; but the pragmatic importance of the exigence is undeniable. Without it, literature would be of no concern to anybody. An underlying assumption for this article is thus that all literature is pragmatically situated and permeated with \textit{addressivity}—the central quality of an utterance being \textit{directed to} someone,\textsuperscript{9} and so are literary genres.

My explicit focus in this article, however, will be on the rise of a new kind of socially engaged literature, partly without canonical roots, and on problems of genre that pertain to lowbrow hybridity and multigeneric origin. An off-canonical predicament does not prevent literary experimentation, or even protomodernist strategies; but such tendencies were not much acknowledged during the period of early Swedish working-class fiction.\textsuperscript{10} My aim is to discover how addressivity and form-shaping ideolo-

\textsuperscript{7} The concept derives from Lloyd F. Bitzer (1968), and is further developed by Miller (1984, p. 157); see the chapter by Sunesen in the present volume.

\textsuperscript{8} Cf. the idea of literary history as a dialogue in Jauss (1982/1989).

\textsuperscript{9} On addressivity, see Bakhtin, 1952-1953/1986, p. 95.

\textsuperscript{10} On symbolist and would-be expressionist tendencies in Gustav Hedenvind-Eriksson and Martin Koch, see Svensson (1974) and Algulin (1988, p. 38; 46; 48; 52f.; 56f.; 58).
gies are generated from such mixtures, how cognitive schemata are set at work, and how generic worlds as *chronotopes* can mediate the themes. To this end, I will study the emergence of the first Swedish-working class fiction in the early 1900s through a merging of narrative traditions in the margins of the canonical trends of classic realism, symbolism, and proto-modernisms of the day. Most of these traditions were lowbrow, pragmatic, and often Christian-didactic—dealing with the moral *exemplum*, the devout religious story, and visionary literature—as well as such popular genres as the sketch, the causerie, the Romance, and the crime story. Nevertheless, non-fictional and non-narrative genres could also be of use, like the meditation, the sermon, the agitational speech, and the lecture. The early working-class authors were mostly autodidacts, without access to the bourgeois educational tradition, even though educational endeavors within the Labour movement, such as libraries, study-circles and folk high schools, did eventually introduce selected canonical works and authorships.

As hinted at above, short genres were of special importance. This is because the popular literary heritage was built on such genres, and they supplied compositional means—e.g., an additive structure and embedding as a device—even for complex secondary speech-genres like novels (Bakhtin, 1986; cf. Auken, this volume).

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11 The word “form-shaping,” roughly meaning “form-creating,” is the technical term used in English translations of Bakhtin and by his English commentators. Since Bakhtin is a central theoretical source in this paper, I use the same term.

12 On chronotopes, see Bakhtin (1981), and below.

13 Those often mentioned as inspiring today were, at the time, non-canonical foreign working-class authors such as Maxim Gorky, Martin Andersen Nexø, Johan Falkberget, Upton Sinclair, Jack London, Väinö Linna, and Émile Zola (Furuland & Svedjedal (2006), 28), in addition to popular Swedish authors like August Strindberg, Viktor Rydberg, and the so-called *nittitalisterna* (Gustaf Fröding, Verner Heidenstam, E. A. Karlfeldt, and Selma Lagerlöf). It is not clear, however, how well-known these authors were for autodidacts outside the libraries of the Worker’s Educational Association.
More important still: these inherited lowbrow genres also mediated underdog ways of seeing, generating different form-shaping ideologies from those of the genres of the canonized literature. This is the case even with the Christian genres, whose idea of brotherly love was transformed into the idea of class solidarity (Godin, 1994, pp. 116). Early working-class fiction, therefore, dealt with genres associated with different literary repertoires, different cognitive schemata, and different chronotopes than the contemporary acknowledged literature.

WORKING-CLASS LITERATURE, GENRE, AND CHRONOTOPE
These perspectives also have a bearing on one of this article’s underlying questions, namely: what of the generic status of working-class fiction as a whole? Is it a genre—and if not, what else might it be? A final answer is not to be given here, sufficient for present purposes is the concept of a cluster of many genres, interrelated by an underdog perspective (Furuland & Svedjedal, 2006, p. 24). The point of the question of genre is not to reach a definition, but to find a generic perspective that pays attention to the productive, formative, and dialogical aspects of genres: how they guide the coming into being of texts in reading and writing; their addressivity in rhetorical action; their transformation in tradition; their reception in context; and their constituting schemata, life-worlds, and ways of seeing.

This is where the chronotope comes in. With this much-discussed, originally Bakhtinian concept, I refer to a cognitive schema that organizes the concrete interweaving of time and space in a narrative world of setting and plot (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 250.). This means that chronotopes are not purely formal phenomena, but rather, as Keunen (2000) formulates it, “mental constructions that take shape in the pragmatic interaction with texts” (p. 5), when a writer or reader negotiates the spatio-temporal rela-
tions to get to grips with the plot, setting, and situation of the narrative world. In fact, the chronotope corresponds to the “generic narrative worlds” that Seitel (2003, p. 281) describes, as cited by Sune Auken in this volume. The chronotope also gives sensual form to the world-view of a text. It “is a way of understanding experience; it is a specific form-shaping ideology for understanding the nature of events and actions,” Morson and Emerson (1990) explains; and actions “are necessarily performed in a specific context; chronotopes differ by the ways in which they understand context and the relation of actions and events to it” (p. 367). Chronotopes therefore represent a generic knowledge that is the main trigger of literary communication; in a sense, they are genres, seen as dialogic strategies within literary communication, based on “cognitive invariants used by writers and readers in order to structure historically and textually divergent semantic elements” (Keunen, 2000, p. 2). As Bakhtin himself emphasizes, chronotopes have “an intrinsic generic significance,” for “it is precisely the chronotope that defines genre and generic distinctions” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 85). Therefore, Bakhtin contends, they are also what in fact make textual representation and literary experience possible:

It is precisely the chronotope that provides the ground essential for the showing-forth, the representability of events. All the novel’s abstract elements—philosophical and social generalizations, ideas, analyses of cause and effect—gravitate toward the chronotope and through it take on flesh and blood, permitting the imagining power of art to do its work. (p. 250).

This representational, concretizing, and specifically sensual aspect of the chronotope is further emphasized by the fact that, in Bakhtin’s thought, it refers not only to a general generic schema but also to the level of smaller
semantic units, which coincide with motifs (Keunen, 2000, p. 3). The chronotopic generic schema combines a temporal logic with a spatial one, and this combination—unique for the chronotope—generates chronotopic motifs (Keunen, 2000, p. 8). Therefore, the chronotope has two levels of interacting literary schemata: one pertaining to the textual superstructure—the genre—combining setting and plot (p. 7); and one pertaining to the semantic structure of the text, that is, textual elements with the function of chronotopic motifs (p. 8). Chronotopic motifs are various kinds of intersections of space and time: places like the road or the threshold; spatial situations like the meeting or the conversation; narrative actions like “the usurping parvenu”; and existential events like search/discovery, recognition/non-recognition. These motifs are “schematic structures belonging to the field of world knowledge rather than language knowledge,” and they “enable the reader to concretize and even to reproduce the genological language schemata he associates with a specific motif” (p. 8). Some chronotopic motifs may resemble rhetorical topoi, as described by E. R. Curtius (1948/1979, pp. 70; 79), in that they belong to a mental storehouse within a long cultural tradition; but others are modern, and indeed new such motifs may always be invented, as we will see in the following.

The relevance of chronotopes for this article is that the concept will function as a dynamic tool for analysis of textual structures, processes, and motifs as well as of generic schemata, conventions, and expectations governing the texts regarded as generic acts. The concept of chronotope will help in focusing on the generic act as rooted in an exigent rhetorical situation, and in preparing a way of seeing.

As for the question of the genre status of working-class fiction as a whole, it might now be possible to attempt a partial answer. Previous re-

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15 See also Bemong & Borghart, 2010, pp. 6–8 on micro-chronotopes and other chronotopic variants.
16 Cf. Öhman (2006) on chronotopes materializing time into space as “mental pictures”.
search, leaving the specific question of genre aside, has posed the more general question “What is working-class literature?” The most frequent answer has been that working-class literature is literature by workers, for workers, about workers (Furuland & Svedjedal, 2006, pp. 23). This could mean that working-class literature is governed by a generic schema imbued with a class perspective and a form-shaping ideology associated with such genres as the Revolutionary song and the Proletarian novel, as well as motifs and places such as Labour, the Strike, the Tenement House, and the Worksite. But since working-class literature is, like all cultural phenomena, historically variable, this “definition” is somewhat problematic in post-industrial society. Today we find depicted many new types of exploitative work and exploited wage earners who are not associated with the working-class in the original Marxist sense. Yet a remainder may be left, pertaining to the underdog-perspective imbuing these new texts; and this makes them participate in the same generic tradition as the original working-class literature, whether it is a genre of its own or not—or perhaps a current, as has been suggested (Furuland & Svedjedal, 2006, p. 27). Connected to the underdog perspective is a rhetorical dimension that may also serve, in this case, as a generic hallmark, namely, the exigence of the repeated situation of these texts. Since exigence is “an objectified social need” that motivates the text as rhetorical act, it is clear that working-class literature is typical in that respect, permeated as it is with social criticism. In its early days, the social criticism of working-class literature was often conveyed in explicit didactic and agitatorial strategies, but what is left today is a pragmatic orientation with a strong addressivity (on answerability see also Hitchcock, 2000, pp. 27).

Thus, working-class literature today is perhaps not a genre but a generic spectrum and a generic tradition characterized by social criticism, an underdog perspective, a pragmatic orientation, and chronotopical worlds of labor and worksites. Working-class fiction is the narrative prose of this tradition; it is a manifold family of texts to whose early interactions I will
now turn. Therefore, my next step will be to contextualize the working-class fiction of the Swedish modernity of the early 1900s.

THE CULTURAL SITUATION AND ITS HERITAGES
The early 1900s were marked by several intense processes of modernization: industrialization, proletarianization, urbanization, secularization, and mass mediatization: this was the period of the breakthrough of the modern press. The period also includes union crises in 1905, military rearmament, and continuing struggles for the right to vote—including the suffragette movement, political and economic general strikes in 1902 and 1909, respectively, World War I in 1914, food riots in (inter alia) 1917, and the 1917 Russian revolution. By this time the Labour movement had become a powerful factor in the Swedish Parliament as well: in 1908 SAP had 34 seats (Uhlén, 1964/1978, p. 94.). But the Labour movement was also marked by inner struggles between reformists and revolutionaries, especially after the general strike in 1909. In 1917, the social-democratic party was split: the revolutionaries were expelled and formed an organization of their own.17

This was an economic, social, and political transformation with far-reaching consequences for the cultural and spiritual spheres as well—deep down among the masses. Most remarkable was the so-called democratization of the Parnassus, which made it possible for workers and other persons without formal education or cultural networks to publish books and articles in commercial media (Thorsell, 1957/1997, p. 521; Furuland & Svedjedal, 2006, chapter 11). At the same time as the literary avant-garde was experimenting with late symbolism and protomodernism in the school of l’art pour l’art, these new groups of authors stepped forward, with quite different backgrounds and orientations. They were recruited not only from

17 Sveriges socialdemokratiska vänsterparti, which in 1921 became “Sveriges kommunistiska parti,” the Swedish Communist Party.
the new moneyed bourgeoisie and the journalist guilds, but also from indus-
trial workers and the proletarianized estate of farmers. For these new
groups, literature is a question of *realism*—that is, the credible representa-
tion of reality.

Most renowned of the new bourgeois authors emerging in the 1910s
were the so-called *tiotalister*: Ludvig Nordström (1882–1942), Gustaf
Hellström (1882–1953), Sigfrid Siwertz (1882–1970), and, most famously,
Hjalmar Bergman (1883–1931). In literary historiography, these are often
called *the bourgeois realists*. Some women were also admitted into this
discourse, such as Elin Wägner (1882–1949) and Marika Stiernstedt
(1875–1954). But this is also the period of Pär Lagerkvist’s (1891–1974)
début (1912), when the future Nobel Laureate was experimenting with an
expressionist aesthetic—a tendency that also typifies Hjalmar Bergman’s
experimental realism.18

Two influential working-class authors of the period were Martin Koch
(1882–1940) and Gustav Hedenvind Eriksson (1880–1967)—the two
“gateposts,” as they were called by their younger colleagues of the 1930s.
But important as well were Dan Andersson (1888–1920), Olof Högberg
(1855–1932), Fabian Månsson (1872–1938), Maria Sandel (1870–1927),
and Karl Östman (1876–1953)—to a couple of whom I will soon return.

Internationally, as is well known, several future modernist classics
emerged at this point: Thomas Mann’s novel *Buddenbrooks* in 1901, the
first part of Marcel Proust’s *A la recherche du temps perdu* in 1913, and
James Joyce’s short story cycle *Dubliners* in 1914. In 1922, Joyce’s exper-
imental novel *Ulysses* was published, at the same time as T. S. Eliot’s
equally experimental long poem *The Waste Land*. This erudite and com-
plex literature claimed a deeper truth than the inherited realism of the
1800s was supposed to give.

18 For an overview, see Lönnroth & Delblanc, 1999, p. 453–570, and Furuland & Sved-
jedal, 2006.
This means, among other things, that the concept of Realism was problematized. For which truth and reality is realist literature was to depict? To whom does that truth and reality belong? Finally, what criteria of reliability should be acknowledged?\textsuperscript{19} Such questions were answered differently by different texts. The answers, in their turn, were determined by each individual author’s interpretation of reality—the more or less “modern” reality that s/he had experienced, and that his/her language could express. And these interpretations turned out to be associated with different perspectives of value. Modernity meant a high evaluation of the individual and of individual responsibility and initiative. This was emphasized by the Labour movement too, but not in terms of individualism: the individual’s possibilities could be liberated only within the social community of class solidarity; the solitary individual, by contrast, was at the mercy of social forces beyond his or her individual control (Godin, 1994, p. 61-64).

Education was important as well. The conception of reality to which the bourgeois authors gave literary form was marked not only by their personal experiences, but equally by other literature: the literary tradition and literary conventions that were part of the bourgeois educational heritage. The authors from the lower classes, on the other hand, often had only their personal experiences and their own language—at least until they had gone through a folk high school (which not everyone was privileged to do). Their original heritage of literary Bildung consisted of the Bible, the psalm book, and current devotional literature; perhaps a few magazines, popular serials and some colportage literature; and finally oral stories of the traditional popular tradition—local or professional, and not least, folklore (as is important in, for example, the works of Karl Östman and Dan

\textsuperscript{19} For these problems of realism, see Lodge, 1977/1997, p. 25, and Eysteinsson, 1990, p. 194f.
Andersson). This heritage was used more intensely, and in different ways, than in the bourgeois pictures of the life and manners of the common people (Godin, 1994, chapter I). This means that even if the motifs and settings were the same, they were treated so differently that the literary results proved to be very different “realities.”

These are differences of class-perspective that are also associated with different form-shaping ideologies and chronotopic schemata. The intellectual bourgeois authors apply a von-oben perspective on the depicted agrarian or proletarian setting: often a mixture of distanced contempt and philanthropic compassion; sometimes even joined with a secret fascination with the “wild” and the “bestial” that was at that time associated with the working classes. That perspective, in short, betrays estrangement, and that estrangement also manifests itself in abstract setting and stereotyped characters. In working-class fiction, external and internal perspective could shift, and certainly also critical authorial positions were possible, as well as a tendency to create types. But it is conclusive that the representation is marked by an intimate knowledge that betrays a class experience different from that of the bourgeois authors (Godin, 1994, pp. 5).

A similar difference characterizes the authors’ relations to their respective cultural heritages and their recycling of the cultural repertoire. The working-class writers’ cultural recycling was more pragmatic than aesthetic, that is, it was oriented toward the reader, material reception, and application rather than toward self-expression and artistic manifestation—even though the dream of authorship was frequent. Biblical quotations were often inserted into everyday speech, even by atheistic authors, such as Sandel and Östman. Well-known techniques of religious popular educa-

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20 See Furuland & Svedjedal, 2006, chapters 3 and 11. For the relation between early radical working-class literature, the then popular literature, the religious heritage, and melodramatic devices see Hilborn, 2014, p. 53–59; 61–91; 126–129.

tion like the pedagogy of exemplum, the technique of figuration, and typological interpretation were quite common—as, for example, in the writings of Fabian Månsson and Fredrik Ström (1880–1948) (Agrell, 2005, p. 187-192). Thus the autodidacts were putting an older, didactic aesthetic into practice, one oriented toward ethical reflection rather than toward disinterested aesthetic pleasure in the spirit of Kant. As has been shown in earlier research, Christian devotional literature encouraged a special meditative way of reading, a special generic competence, one might say, that was inherited and further developed by the Religious Revival Movement—the so-called läsarna [“the readers”]—and from there spread into the Labour movement and the other secular popular movements (Furuland & Svedjedal, 2006, chapter 2). This meditative reading was intense and personal: the reader gömde och begrundade det lästa i sitt hjärta [kept and meditated on what was read in their hearts], as the Biblical formula had it (cf. Luke 2:51), bringing it to bear on his/her personal situation; but in the Labour movement this generic competence spilled over to other genres, developing a reflexive reading practice on political and literary matters as well.22

The moral exemplum and the devout story formed the skeleton of much working-class literature—genres well known to everyone, for instance through Folkskolans läsebok, the state elementary schools’ required reader.23 But that skeleton could carry many things: e.g., a proletarian sketch, a popular melodrama, a journalistic reportage, or a film montage of scenes, or even all of these at once. As pointed out by Johan Svedjedal, devotional literature provided a lowbrow generic spectrum that especially attracted women writers of the time, offering not only ready-made fictional patterns, but also virgin soil for experimentation and formal renewal (Sve-

22 For analysis of literary examples, see Agrell, 2003; 2007.
23 On the moral exemplum, see Jauss, 1974, section IV, where the genre is discussed from the perspective of reception history.
djidal, 1994, pp. 83). In this melting pot, one might find doses of impressionistic settings, symbolist wilderness romanticism, and expressionistic stylization (e.g., Furuland & Svedjedal, 2006, p. 119). But influences by canonized authors are also visible, especially by August Strindberg, Viktor Rydberg, Gustaf Fröding, and Verner von Heidenstam—that is, from the liberal humanist heritage of the 1800s. Important names among foreign authors include not only radicals like Émile Zola, Jack London, Upton Sinclair, and Maxim Gorky, but also Christians like Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. These authors were studied as part of educational activities within the Labour movement and at Brunnsvik, the movement’s most important folk high school. One figure often referred to was the philosopher Peter Kropotkin: his doctrine of mutual help challenged the dominant Social Darwinism of the day, and nurtured the Labour movement’s conceptions of solidarity. But what was used in individual texts ultimately depended on the author’s background, and on what Bildungsstoff he or she had come into contact with.

Let us now look at some examples, with special focus on how the interweaving of different genres is guided by different cognitive schemata and form-shaping ideologies so as to create different chronotopic worlds.

KARL ÖSTMAN: WORKSITE NARRATIVE AND VISIONARY LITERATURE

My first examples are drawn from Karl Östman. He remained a manual worker all his life in northern Sweden during the so-called “gold rush,” when the northern woods were exploited and enormous riches were won and gathered in a few hands. Östman attended school for three years, but at the age of eleven he started to work in the timber industry. His working experience was manifold: as a cutter or carrier of plank at the sawmills, as

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a lumberjack in the woods, as a stevedore at the harbors, and as a miner in the coalmines. This means that he was also a seasonal worker, moving among worksites following the availability of jobs. Under these harsh circumstances, Östman nonetheless published three short story collections and one novel, and in addition about a hundred short stories in newspapers and journals. Östman was also a diligent journalist, but he could never live on his writing. In fact, his last book—a novel with the ambiguous title *Den breda vägen* [The Broad Road]—was published as early as 1923, after which Östman seems to have had difficulties in writing, partly because of the after-effects of an accident at a worksite. Östman’s first book, the short-story collection *Pilgrimer* [Pilgrims], was published in 1909; the next, *En fiol och en kvinna och andra historier* [A Fiddle and a Woman and Other Stories], in 1912, and his last short-story collection, *Hunger* [Hunger], in 1916. 

Most of Östman’s writings deal with labor, work and the experience of work. The setting is mostly a worksite, and the plot evolves from problems of time and space—the high tempo of work, which augments exploitation and causes accidents, discord, and mischief; and the conflicts between stressed and oppressed workers at the worksite. This fundamental structure is paradigmatically chronotopic: the proletarian worksite is indeed a materialized dynamic time-space. Östman’s unique specialty as an author is his detailed depiction of the working-process itself: minute description of the tools and machines, how they are used, how they function, how they move, what the working operations are, and how the worker handles it all. These descriptions constitute spatializing pauses that stop the narrative flow, but at the same time they may indirectly foretell a com-

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25 For biographies in context, see Gärdegård (1976) and Wredenberg (1923/1977).
26 Torell (2008) has discussed other chronotopical aspects of Östmans and the northern Swedish working-class authors—above all, their use of the city as a chronotope.
27 For examples, see Agrell (2003).
ing accident, for instance by focusing on dangerous moments within the process, or by likening the machines to hungry beasts. These descriptions thus have a chronotopic function: time and space are pressed together, charged with threat.

Supported by such devices, the chronotope of the worksite also paves the way for the form-shaping ideology of the narrative: the anti-capitalist criticism that gives form to the particular plot. The elementary schemata are few—generically, they are often inventive variants of the proletarian sketch (Löfgren, 2002)—but their variations are amazingly manifold. For one thing, because there are several fundamental story-possibilities: stories about accidents, about bullying, about antagonisms toward foremen and the authorities, about firing and unemployment, and other, mostly pessimistic narratives. In addition, these story-possibilities can be combined, and quite different sections can be inserted within each, e.g. in the form of reflections, musings, memories, and speeches. In the story “Kapar-Karlsson,” in the 1912 collection *En fiol och en kvinna och andra historier*, it is in fact the protagonist Karlsson’s worried and loving musings about his sick wife that triggers the accident that deprives him of his hand at the sawmill. Another intriguing detail is that Karlsson, at that unhappy moment, is doing the work for a young boy who needs to rest, and this act of solidarity causes his own disaster. Still more remarkably, the accident itself is not in fact depicted; where it is expected, a metaleps—a metafictional device—is inserted in its place, and the author-narrator addresses his readers, asking them how such a common and trivial event should be depicted, ironically questioning whether the depiction is worthwhile—however bloody, it may be too insignificant for literary writing. Meanwhile, as the narrator is speaking at the meta-level, time passes in the fic-

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28 On Östman’s pessimism, see Godin (1994), in the section entitled “Sågverksarbetare och pessimist—Karl Östman” [Sawmill Worker and Pessimist—Karl Östman].

29 See Godin, 1994, p. 142f. on the tendency to meta-commentary in Östman.
tive world, the plot goes on, and the accident happens. When the narrator returns to the story, the hand is already lying in the sawdust, and the narrative ends. This very hand transforms into a chronotopic motif, for in it, indeed—as the hand represents manual work, and work compresses time and space—“spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot, and history.” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 122).

The fundamental chronotopic structure of Östman’s narrative also manifests in his generic recyclings and intertextual reworkings. Some of his book titles actualize a Christian repertoire—like Pilgrimér and Den breda vägen (cf. Matthew 7:13–14), and so do story-titles like “Nineve” (in En fiol och en kvinna och andra historier). In fact, when Pilgrimér was published in 1909, Östman was mistaken for a clergyman-author with the same name. What Östman does with this repertoire is, however, not very fitting for church, even if preaching, meditation, and brotherly love are important features. The title-story “Pilgrimér” has the form of a dream vision, that is a classic Christian genre, with Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress from This World to That Which Is to Come, Delivered Under the Similitude of a Dream (1678/2009) as its most well-known source, not least among common people in Sweden. Bunyan’s text was not only translated into Swedish numerous times (91 editions (Esking, 1980, p. 9)), but it also became the object of a serious travesty, a transcription entitled Brukspatron Adamsson, eller Hvar bor du? [Country Squire Adamsson, or Where Do

30 See the comments and analyses in Agrell (2003) and Godin (1994).
32 For the dream-vision as a genre, see Russell (1988). For Bunyan in Sweden, see Esking (1980).
The author of this text was Paul Peter Waldenström, pastor in the Swedish Missionary Society, and the text was first published as a serial in a religious journal 1862. Since then, the book has appeared in 11 editions, the most recent in 2003. Although off-canonical, it is said to have been the most widely read book in Sweden at the beginning of the 1900s (Schück, 1904, p. 132). These Christian books certainly belong to the popular literary heritage of the working classes, and in Östman’s “Pilgrimer,” that repertoire is both recycled and transformed.

The narrative in “Pilgrimer” is visionary and allegorical, written in an archaizing language depicting the narrator-wanderer on his journey through an evil world. On his way, he stops at different stations, confronting miserable people and conditions, unmasking the fundamental injustice and inequality that rule the world. This is the fundamental structure of the genre, of which the opening scene is typical (Russell, 1988, pp. 5). It exhibits the author-narrator at his desk in the evening. He is in deep distress, trying to create a work that would do well for his “brothers,” the workers. But he won’t succeed: it is darkening outside and inside him, and he is craving for light, “Mera ljus!” [More light!] (pp. 19). “Mera ljus!” had by then become a formula of the Labour movement, referring to the importance of education, especially the ability to read, for the class struggle to succeed (Furuland & Svedjedal, 2006, pp. 34; 383; Godin, 1994, p. 68). But here in the writer’s study, the formula is assigned an opposite meaning, a sense that is more Faustian: no more bookish studies; what the writer needs are empirical studies of the reality he is to depict. So he makes a break and starts wandering through the world, becoming a pilgrim on a journey to truth, learning by seeing: “Jag såg…” [I saw...] is the recurring—visionary—formula. This is a traditional frame of visionary literature according to the generic conventions, as is the fact that the whole

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33 On serious travesty, see Genette, 1997, chapter I.
journey turns out to have been a dream. The “subjective playing with time”
typical of Bakhtin’s “chronotope of the miraculous world” is here conspic-
uous (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 155). Nevertheless, both the setting and the plot
are strikingly naturalistic: the stations exhibit horrible situations with dan-
gerous worksites, miserable homes, and destroyed workers in deep des-
pair. The author-pilgrim is overwhelmed by compassion and impotent
rage, but he can do nothing, not even make “his brothers” listen to him. In
the second part of the story, however, a voice from heaven endows him
with a prophetic mission; he is elected to preach freedom for the op-
pressed, and this is an apocalyptic turning point of the story: the workers
decide to leave everything behind, joining the author-narrator as pilgrims,
and finally they reach—not heaven but their enemy, Capitalism incarnated
as an abominable allegorical figure. This is Doomsday, the Day of Retribu-
tion, enacted on the threshold of Revolution: the criminal is sentenced, but
at the moment he is to be executed, the dreamer wakes up, and the story
ends.

Here, again, a Christian generic chronotope is recycled in developing
a proletarian plot: the dream vision transforms into apocalypse, and the
apocalypse into a revolutionary moment. This device was quite common in
working-class and other leftist literature, but in Östman, there is more to
observe. Östman’s combination of the traditional pilgrim motif and the
proletarian setting makes use of the same chronotopic schema as described
above, that is, the depiction of the worksite as a spatiotemporal unit; but
here the pilgrim moves between different such units within an enclosing
world. This enclosing world, in turn, is itself a spatiotemporal unit, inter-
twining such chronotopic motifs as the road and the wandering, the search-
ing, the meeting, and the threshold-dialogue. These motifs, as Bakhtin

34 See Hilborn, 2014, p. 93–115 on depictions of the working-site as Hell on earth.
36 Thus, for example, in Brecht; see Agrell, 1997, p. 48–52.
(1981) has shown, are associated with archaic genres like the adventure novel; but more important here is their insertion into the traditional dream vision and the chronotope of the miraculous world. The dream vision is an answer to an epoch in crisis—to an exigence, we may say—and it aims to provide a critical historical synthesis of all its contradictory multiplicity. But this is to be done within a timeless narrated world where everything is simultaneous, like the visions in Dante or Piers Plowman (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 156f). In Östman, the critical synthesis of modern capitalism is exposed in all its historical concreteness, but this is done gradually and cumulatively, and the narrated world is not timeless. On the contrary, it is evolving a plot, and this is because of the transformation of the pilgrim motif from a searcher to a prophet with an apocalyptic mission, which is also performed. For the mission to be performed, a plot is needed, and the plot needs chronotopic motifs, mentioned above, that generate movement in space and time. This interweaving and disarranging of generic traditions diminishes the distance to the narrated world and clears a path to recognition and identification; at the same time, social awareness and critical reflection are triggered. Such pragmatic perspectives are expressions of the form-shaping ideology of the overarching chronotope that governs Östman’s generic experiments: the worksite as lived narrative world. This world is the Sitz im Leben of his texts, and the painful experience of this world is the exigence that motivates his narrative as a rhetorical act.

There is, however, some interesting testimony to the fact that this exigence, and the lived aspect of the world of labor, were not much understood. Östman was criticized for his consistent class-perspective as well as for his pessimism, and one of the more spectacular agents of such criticism was Selma Lagerlöf. In a letter sent to Östman in 1922, after she had unsuccessfully tried to find an editor for his novel, Lagerlöf alludes to such critics and develops the same criticism herself (quoted in Gärdegård, 1976, p. 241). She is convinced, Lagerlöf says, that “the misery of the working-class” is so well-known by now that further depictions are unnecessary;
furthermore, the situation for those people is “so much better now” that such accounts of misery are hardly motivated. Those in real need nowadays are instead the middle classes, Lagerlöf maintains: middle-class people “are so poor here in Sweden that they almost enviously regard a worker’s condition and his smaller claims on life.” So she reads Östman’s work as “propaganda,” and advises him “not to think so much on serving [his] own class while writing.” And she adds: “But then perhaps you would think that you had nothing to write about.” This is the very crux of the matter: the exigence that motivates Östman’s writing is exactly what Lagerlöf wants him to forget. This exigence is the inventive force behind his generic experimentation, and the origin of the form-shaping ideology that his chronotopic schemata generate.

Further compelling examples of Östman’s handling of generic issues could well be given, but some space must be saved for a slightly different generic world, namely, the intriguing dialogue between the moral exemplum, the Romance, the crime story, and the carnival. My example here will be Maria Sandel, who is also known as the first female proletarian writer in Sweden.

**MARIA SANDEL: MORAL EXEMPLUM, DEVOUT STORY, CRIME FICTION, MELODRAMA, ROMANCE, AND CARNIVAL**

Maria Sandel worked as a home-seamstress in Kungsholmen’s poorest working-quarters in Stockholm, where she lived alone with her aging mother. Because she had increasing problems with vision and hearing, Sandel never held a factory job, but she was active in the labor movement and also founded the Social-Democratic woman’s magazine, *Morgonbris* [Morning-Breeze] (1904). As a young girl, Sandel emigrated to the USA, where she worked as a maid and published her first poems; but she soon returned to Sweden and the textile industry, at which point she started writing prose fiction. During her short life, she published six books: the first, *Vid Svältgränsen* [On the Hunger Line], was a 1908 short story collection; and the last, *Mannen som reste sig* [The Man Who Rose], was a 1927 nov-

Sandel’s narrative world is an interweaving of class-struggle and moral issues: the dangers and humiliations of factory work, unemployment, poverty, strikes, tuberculosis, housing shortage, restrictions of space, alcoholism, wife-battering and other maltreatment, criminality, prostitution, venereal diseases, single mothers, child murder, lesbian love, and even paedophilia.38 Within the Labour movement, questions of morality were high in rank on the agenda in those days, not least within the party press. They were actualized by the struggle against so-called *smutslitteratur* [dirty literature]—which was still ongoing in 1909.39 The struggle concerned not only bad taste and lack of education, but also moral disorder and depravity in general. The Social Democrats were anxious to take a stand on the side of education and morals, since in bourgeois circles crudity and immorality were often associated with the working class. It was thus important to change that impression, and the effect was a far-reaching moral rearmament within the Labour movement itself. As has been made clear by earlier research, the idea of *den skötsamme arbetaren* [the conscientious worker], and the insistence on inner discipline thereby developed as a part of the class struggle itself (Horgby, 1993, p. 43f.; 67f.; 272f.; 361f.; Boëthius, 1989, p. 260f.; 262–264; 270; 276). In this double struggle, Sandel was an eager participant, and she did not hesitate to make use of the enemy’s generic means. Her strong moral passion produces the typi-

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37 For a biography, see Forselius (1981).
38 For criminality in the working-class literature of the time see Agrell (2014a).
39 For this course of events, see Boëthius, 1989, pp. 131–133, and chapter V.
cal crossing of her texts between pathetics, melodrama, and extreme naturalism. Her moralism is given expression in contrastive and contradictory voices—a peculiarity also noted in previous research on Sandel (Forselius, 1981, p. 32; 38–40; 48; Forselius, 1983, p. 97f.; 103; Forselius, 1996, p. 147).

Thus Sandel’s main generic repertoire is, on the one hand, the moral exemplum and the devout story; and on the other hand crime fiction, melodrama, and Romance as well as carnivalistic episodes. That is to say: Sandel blends traditional moral-didactic genres with archaic popular grotesque and current popular genres, even “dirty” ones. Because of their episodic composition, her novels manage to integrate all of these forms at once, as do many of her shorter stories. No wonder: since these genres all deal with moral issues, they can be combined without logical problems. In spite of great differences in style, tone, and outlook, they collaborate within a common chronotope, creating a common chronotopic world. Because of their episodic structure, Sandel’s plots too are manifold: they develop several threads at a time, without an individual protagonist keeping them together. The texts instead are held together by the chronotopic motifs that are depicted in the disparate scenes, generating the problems at issue. Sandel’s first novel, Familjen Vinge, was in fact published as a serial in Social-Demokraten in 1909 before the book version appeared in 1913. When the book version was about to be published by Bonnier’s, Sandel was criticized for the pessimistic ending (depicting a pedophilic rape); but Sandel’s (reluctant) changing of the order of the chapters solved that problem (Svedjedal, 1993, p. 295).

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40 See further analysis in Agrell (2014b).
41 This is emphasized, for example, in Godin, 1994, p. 135.
42 The blending of genres and traditions is also pointed out in Forselius, 1983, p. 103. For carnival and carnivalistic genre strategies see Bakhtin, 1984a, pp. 181–269, and Bakhtin, 1984b, esp. pp. 7f, 11, 18–21, 24f, 33f.
43 For an analysis of the change, see Agrell (2007).
Sandel’s main settings are the factory, the home, the tenement, and the street. These are literary chronotopes, places evolving in time, generating ways of seeing and formative ideologies, also associated with various genres. But they are also double in character. The factory is the site of work and worker’s solidarity, as well as exploitation and degradation; the home is the site of love and intimate community, as well as hatred and mischief, the site of food and rest as well as hunger and labor; and the street, finally, is the site of social community and fellowship, as well as criminality and prostitution. Sandel’s plots develop all of these possibilities, sometimes in one and the same story, and the plot may also blur or transcend these chronotopic borders, as when exploitation and criminality enters Home. Quite often several chronotopes or chronotopic motifs interact: carnival may intrude into the devout story, and the grotesque into Romance. The crime story may interact with the deterrent exemplum, and the deterrent exemplum may also be quite ambivalent. On the other hand, the deterrent exemplum may also interact with Romance, and Romance could be extended to melodrama. These generic intersections clearly demonstrate how chronotopes are not purely formal phenomena, but flexible mental constructions that take shape in the pragmatic interaction with texts (Keunen, 2000, p. 5).

This is in fact the case already with the title story in Vid svältgränsen, an unhappy love-story ending with a birth of an illegitimate child in a lumber-room and the mother’s death. What is deterrent, of course, is the main plot, which sets forth the consequences of extramarital sex, and the overdramatic details also tend toward melodrama (see Agrell, 2014b). But the

45 For the tradition of Romance in this context, see Bakhtin (1981) on the adventure novel; and see Cawelti (1976) for the modern formulaic love-story kind of Romance.
46 See Agrell (2011a) on the depiction of child murder in Hexdansen.
plot’s moral complications also make the deterrent figure Agda exemplary: she gives up the man and father in spe to another woman with whom he already has two children. This is a moral choice, since Agda could have had him if she wanted, but she denies herself due to compassion with the other mother. Hence the narrative wavers between the deterrent and the exemplary, and thus combines two mutually exclusive edifying genres within the melodramatic Romance. The manifold setting, moving between the home chamber, the factory, and the street, facilitates this kind of moral complexity, as conflicting details can easily be inserted. In these cases, the literary communication is not so much dependent on the narrative itself as on the chronotopic constructions associated with the text in writing and reading (Keunen, 2000, p. 5).

It is instructive to compare “Vid svältgränsen” with “Brudklädningsen” [The Wedding Dress], another story in Sandel’s début collection. “Brudklädningsen” is one of the very first stories Sandel published—already in Morgonbris (1904). This is Romance on love and marriage transformed into a virtual exercise in the genre of the Sunday-school story. The chronotopic setting is a working-class tenement, and the plot deals with the problem of getting a white wedding-dress.

The story’s bride in spe does have a black dress for use at funerals—another central chronotopic motif—but she does not want to get married in such a garment, and a good part of the narrative depicts her despair at that threat. The problem is solved, however, when the proletarian neighbors, inhabitants of the house, collect money for the white dress, and everybody is happy.

For a modern reader, the story may seem to fall flat; yet there are some interesting aspects as well. For one thing, the bridegroom is not mentioned. He is totally missing in the story; the wedding dress seems to have

47 Jauss, 1974, pp. 294-296, emphasizes the ambivalence of interpreting the moral example, i.e., the problem of choosing between literal and creative applications.
taken his place as an object of love and longing. No wonder: this is a highly saturated chronotopic motif, since the wedding-dress is associated with the threshold between two central *times* in human life, at the same time as it is connected to a particular ritual *place* for initiation. Such places compress past, present, and future into one timeless and purely spatial moment. The wedding-dress incarnates all of this, and so it is of utmost importance to have one.

Perhaps still more important, however, is another aspect: the Sunday-school story is a beautiful example of the pragmatic aesthetics of working-class literature and its chronotopic world. Recall the functional occasion of the story’s first publication: not in a book, but in *Morgenbris*. What is important here are *not* the story’s moral complications and intellectual possibilities, but the concrete depiction of intimate solidarity that the chronotope of the house makes possible. Since the house, in this case, is a proletarian tenement, the chronotope is also associated with the form-generating ideology of class. And the form generated here is an exemplary story, showing that even the allegedly ephemeral effort of providing a factory-girl with a wedding dress may be an act of class-solidarity.48 Such is the resulting world-view of the intersecting low-brow genres that make up the story.

Most profound and provoking, however, is the treatment of generic issues in Sandel’s short story collection *Hexdansen*. Here a standard way of

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48 Cf. Fox (1994), who contends (in contrast to Sandel) that the function of Romance in female British working-class fiction of the early 1900s is to express the desire for “an individual subjectivity that is posed against an inescapable collectivity”: “The romance plot comes into play not only to convey a longing for relations based in tenderness, rather than exploitation, but also to represent a utopian private arena in which one is valued for one’s gendered ‘self’ alone” (p. 142). This is a contrast to Sandel’s ideas on class-solidarity. Sandel comes nearer, however, to Fox’s description of the strategies of male authors: “the instability of romance in working-class experience is in some ways made use of more openly and easily by men”; they can “legitimize romance by pressing it to serve a more strictly socialist agenda,” so “romance operates in their narratives as a self-conscious tool” (p. 143).
reading is complicated both by generic transgressions and fundamental ambivalences in the narrative stance, encompassing the whole ethical (and un-ethical) scale. The stories all deal with the deepest misery of the working classes, spiritual as well as material. As in Martin Koch’s *Guds vackra värld* [God’s Beautiful World] (1916/1964), the gallery of characters are chosen from the unemployed or the sheer lumpenproletariat, and the petty criminals that these socially outcast positions both generate and are generated from. Here genre traditions of crime fiction are important, but so too are carnivalistic strategies, as we will see; and they enter into a dialogue with Romance and devout genres as well.

The story “Draksådden” [The Sowing of the Dragon’s Teeth] provides a deterrent example with grotesque strains. The setting is at home and in the street in a working-class neighborhood. The plot involves a worn-out mother, ungrateful and demanding children, and a conceited daughter with bad teeth. The focus is on the girl’s ambition to get new teeth. Since she is lazy and selfish, she forces her already worn-out and even deathly ill mother to scrub stairs for a dentist at night, with a pair of false teeth for the daughter as compensation. The same day that the daughter gets her teeth, her mother dies—with the words “Teeth! Teeth!” on her lips. Without her mother’s services with housework and the like, the girl has great difficulties managing—but she has her teeth, and hopefully she will get a husband through them. Eventually, a good man does become interested in her—too good for her, the narrator assures us—but one day, when she is brushing her teeth before meeting him, she drops them into the porcelain sink, and they break in two. Since he is a good man, he forgives her for deceiving him that her teeth were genuine, and loves her without them. But when he finds out how she got them and that they cost her mother’s life, he is filled with horror, and leaves the girl for good.

Moralism is very strong in this story, not least because of the narrator’s explicit judgements. Also a great tragedy is inserted through the account of the poor mother’s fate—in fact much more comprehensive and
eventful than indicated here (see Agrell, 2011b). Yet the main plot is strikingly comic-grotesque, or tragicomic, one might say: motherly martyrdom and false teeth. Again, such discrepancies destabilize the discourse: not that the behavior of the girl is not condemned, but the whole context is so bizarre, and the central scenes so grotesque, that the very addressivity of the text gives a good deal of untranslatable overinformation; although in the tradition of the realist novel, this narrative is hardly realism, but rather the counter-realist narrative of an anti-genre (cf. Berger, 1995, p. 26). The very motif of the teeth with its grotesque overtones is chronotopic as well, connected as it is to the space-time of the chewing mouth. The chewing mouth, in turn, is a typical carnivistic motif, associated with the great network of offensive comic-critical carnivistic genres (Bakhtin, 1984a, pp. 122-137; cf. Bakhtin, 1984b, p. 18.).

But Sandel can make it worse. The novel-length title story “Hexdansen” deals with the miserable fortunes of the family Nerman: the father Jon, an unemployed alcoholic, and the mother Ida, once again the worn-out housewife, cleaning woman, and servant of her ungrateful and lazy family. The five surviving children step into their careers, respectively, as a thief, a pimp, a prostitute, a suicide, and an infanticide. As a family, they are held together only out of necessity, not of love or sympathy, and the ethics of class-solidarity is totally missing.

One of the ambivalences of this story concerns the carnivalesque traits already commented on in earlier research (Berger, 1995). But in “Hexdansen” the carnivalesque comes into being not only as distinctive traits but also as a chronotope generating a whole world of turning upside down—this provocatively disordering quality makes Morson and Emerson call carnival an “antichronotope (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 87; 228; 440). Already the first chapter of “Hexdansen,” which presenting the Nerman family as “weeds” and depraved throughout, also hints at opposite possibilities. Some of these possibilities concern the father, Jon Nerman: not only his inherited respect for work, but also his secret love for his first
daughter Gerda, now dead. Yet father Nerman hangs on to her memory, visiting her grave in secret. This secrecy is an important detail: his irrational love for the dead Gerda is his weak point—apparently his only point of human vulnerability. Yet this microscopic human strain turns out to be decisive in the future.

In the last chapter, entitled “Fader Nerman finner sin överman” [Father Nerman Finds His Superior], Jon Nerman’s hidden desire for something like love or human community takes over—in the figure of a woman. But this is no Romance; on the contrary, the narrative is constructed as a parody of a conventional Romance. By then the whole Nerman family is dissolved: the mother Ida is dead, and the surviving children are more or less criminalized. Father Nerman is alone, left with himself in the streets—no home, no job, no money, no food. His only chance is charity, and so he tries the Salvation Army, the both physical and spiritual chronotope that drives the last part of the plot. The price to be paid there, however, is confession and conversion, and father Nerman is quite short of that currency. Then he runs into a woman Salvationist, who turns out to be his former mistress, Milda. She is now old and ugly: her nose red and blue, trying to creep into her mouth, the narrator tells us (p. 161)—but Father Nerman is not fastidious, and expects a revival of good old days. But she is converted, indeed, with all her body and soul, so she accepts his advances only on the condition that he confess, convert, marry her, and go to work at her mangle shop. Since he sees no better alternative, he accepts, hoping to escape this trap once they are married. But there is no way out: his new woman is just as principled as a Salvationist, housewife, and employer as she is excellent at cooking and ardent in bed. Finally, the desperate Nerman tries to hang himself in his wife’s apron-bands. Unfortunately, he fails, and, in the very moment of his falling down, his wife finds him in the kneeling position of a prayer. Misunderstanding the situation, she gives praise to the Lord for his apparent conversion (pp. 179), and Nerman pas-
sively yields to this role. And this is where parody transforms into carni-
val.

Nerman the brute is now disciplined; passively he accepts his lot as an 
obedient husband, diligent worker and pious Salvationist. Yet he feels like 
he is in hell, especially since Milda has forced him to exchange his dirty 
shirts for clean ones regularly (pp. 198). What is more, Nerman seems to 
lose his contact with the real world: he is going nuts. Participating in the 
Christian sewing circle that his wife has arranged—his task is to carry the 
coffee tray and “drag ur tråckeltrådar och sprätta sönder gammalt, som 
skalde sys om” [pull the tacking thread out and unpick old clothes that need 
remaking] (p. 184)—he suddenly disappears from the room. When he re-
turns, he is entirely naked, except for jackboots and some leaves from a 
potted plant covering his physical manliness. He carries a chamber pot, 
and posing it on the floor he starts singing a well-known spiritual song, 
“The Well,” while at the same time performing the act described in the 
song: “Here a well is flowing, / blessed is he who finds it” (pp. 186).

The scene is typically carnivalesque—turning upside down by trans-
forming alleged high spirituality into bodily flesh in its ‘lowest’ function 
(Bakhtin, 1984a, pp. 122f., 126f.; Bakhtin, 1984b, pp. 11, 18-21.). Yet this 
is no protest demonstration on Nerman’s part. He is described as serious 
and chaste, and the scandal is entirely on the part of the ladies—in fact, it 
is their own creation.

After this incident, Nerman is sent to the asylum—for Milda certainly 
had made him saved and consecrated, but at the price of his senses (pp. 
186). Yet he is said to recover, and the story ends with the loving Milda 
eagerly preparing mangle and prayers for his return. But from Nerman’s 
own point of view, this will be a return to hell: “Så att när pappa Nerman 
stackare kommer hem från hospitalet, skall han finna sin föreställning om 
helvetet i en hemsk och ofrånkomlig verklighet, som väntar honom med 
tallösa kval,” the narrator reflects. [So when poor father Nerman returns 
home from the hospital, he will find his conception of hell incarnated in a
horrible and inescapable reality, waiting him with numberless torments.] (p. 187).

These are the last words of the narrative. But how is this ending to be interpreted? Clearly, this is no happy end for Nerman. But what about Milda? She is certainly happy with her disciplined former brute, but this is only because of a misunderstanding. She misinterprets his submissive attitude for conversion, and she cannot imagine that the steady way of living that makes her (and would make most steady citizens) happy will give him “tallösa kval” [numberless torments]. And since the reader repeatedly has been forced into identification with Nerman from within, it is not self-evident how this prolepsis about his future torments should be taken. In other words, with regard to the moral problematic of the story, the narrative here opposes a closure. The carnivalesque processing of the text, the mixture of high and low, of tragic and comic strains, preserves an ethical ambivalence—just as much as does the narrator’s hovering between moralizing and identification.49 What these techniques have in common is dissolving the narrative order of the discourse and frustrating generic expectations. The carnivalesque (anti-)chronotope thus prepares for a problematic reading: meditative and reflexive, indeed (cf. Berger, 1995, p. 26; Forsellius, 1981, p. 40).

**CONCLUSION AND FURTHER REFLECTIONS**

These examples should suffice to show the special blending of generic traditions that gave birth to the earliest Swedish working-class fiction. Its lowbrow origin, as we have seen, did not forestall rather sophisticated literary constructions; yet the intended function was not aesthetic but pragmatic, designed to contribute to the struggle for decent conditions and democratic political influence for the working classes. Interestingly, how-

49 Forsellius (1996) describes this narrative ambivalence as an imperfection: that Sandel never succeeded in creating an authoritative narrative voice (p. 147).
ever, what we apprehend as the specifically literary dimension of these constructions—their generic experimentation—was also what could make the texts politically effective for an individual reader. This is because of the thought-provoking readings that these chronotopic constructions were apt to trigger—and of the generic competence of reflective reading, which was inherited from the tradition of devout genres and Christian revivalist literature. Even if the intended readers did not always use or develop that competence—a fact that Karl Östman alludes to in “Kapar-Karlsson,” as we have seen—the text’s generic strategies and addressivity pave the way for such readings.

A final question that I can only touch upon is what happened to this first proletarian literary tradition in the course of literary history. By the 1930s, the “Golden Age” of Swedish working-class literature, few visible traces of this tradition seem to have remained. Instead of generic mixture and crossing of traditions, canonically “pure” genres and styles were used. The main proletarian genre by then had turned out to be the Bildungsroman, that is, the story of an individual life, and in this case often the story of an author in progress; and the aesthetic ambitions of such texts are evident. This is a great difference, since, as we know, individual and aesthetic perspectives were not common among the class-conscious early working-class authors. 50 Already in the 1920s, however, some working-class authors repudiated the label of proletärförfattare [proletarian writer], maintaining that their outlook was not limited to class, but was universal and artistic (Furuland & Svedjedal, 2006, chapter 16). The Golden Age certainly produced a large number of highly artistic proletarian texts—that is why it was “Golden”—but most of these were rather different from those dis-

50 Nilsson, 2014, p. 27–29, points to the emerging “folk home” as one possible cause of the declining proletarian class-consciousness, i.e. the welfare state and the corporatist idea of cooperation between classes and even the vanishing of classes.
cussed above. This has several causes. The continuing secularization and democratization of the Parnassus diminished the need to appeal to the Christian and popular heritage; and by then, working-class authors were also inspired by modernist aesthetics and ideas of textual autonomy.\textsuperscript{51} This eventually generated great results indeed; and in 1974, two of these authors were even awarded The Nobel Prize for Literature, namely, Harry Martinson and Eyvind Johnson. The working-class fiction of today is strikingly manifold, including both new kinds of wage earners and new ethnicities. Class-consciousness, pragmatic strategies, and strong addressivity are important features (Nilsson, 2010; 2014), but the repertoire is very different from that of the early working-class authors. Karl Östman, Maria Sandel and their contemporary colleagues are not to be compared with them. They are a variety apart, and yet nonetheless representative of the principles of multigeneric experimentation.

This literary-historical development bears specific genre-theoretical implications. In the process, a kind of literature-in-the-making emerges, and this coming into being represents neither literature nor genre but a potential for literary creations and generic experimentation. This is why this early working-class fiction moves so freely within its limited repertoire. In fact, this is also part of what the very word genre means: genericity as potentiality, possibility and dynamic movement. As soon as a genre is considered fully developed and complete, it is not only closed but even dead. Yet even then, it can always be resurrected for new uses in new contexts. As Bakhtin explains:

> Always preserved in a genre are undying elements of the archaic. … A genre is always the same and yet not the same, always old and new sim-

\textsuperscript{51} See Nilsson (2003), concerning Ivar Lo-Johansson. Nilsson shows, however, that Lo-Johansson tried to combine modernist experimentation with a proletarian class-perspective and a pragmatic function.
ultaneously. Genre is reborn and renewed at every new stage in the development of literature and in every individual work of a given genre. … Therefore, even the archaic elements preserved in a genre are not dead but eternally alive; that is, archaic elements are capable of renewing themselves. A genre lives in the present, but always remembers its past, its beginning. (Bakhtin, 1984a, p. 106)

It is to this generic character that the concept of the chronotope corresponds. The manifold chronotopic senses presented in previous research and actualized in this article, after all, seem to run together in one fundamental principle of logical rather than literary character: the chronotope is the interactive unity of time and space that makes human life, thought, communication, and action practically possible. It means that time takes place in space, and space exists in time. Without this constructed unit of time and space, the world would not be understandable; it would not be our world. In this way, the chronotope represents a fundamental human logic, corresponding to a dynamic cognitive schema that precedes and conditions all experience in a somewhat Kantian way (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 367; Bruhn, 2005, pp. 149).

The textual analyses above have demonstrated how this chronotopic logic brings together literary and anthropological perspectives. Likewise, we have seen how the same logic guides both textual genres and human action, both in this world and in fiction. The analyzed texts use and re-use a large spectrum of non-canonical genres, thereby mixing narrative, meditative and agitational chronotopes, that is, genres with different spatio-temporal structures. This mixture prepares for certain kinds of rhetorical acts, addressing readers with special knowledge and needs, and emerging from a special exigence.

As a literary concept, as we have seen, the chronotope is the concrete reciprocity of time and space that prevails within a text and makes it unique, as well as pertinent to a genre. In this sense, a narrative chronotope generates a plot, a temporal chain of events, enacted in space. By spatially
localizing the temporal flow, the chronotope makes a narrative world emerge, as lucid as a graphic image, simultaneously as a temporal plot and a mental (reading) process. The chronotope also generates (form-shaping) ideologies that give structure and meaning to a narrative world.

The chronotope—or chronotopic logic—also has other dimensions beyond the textual-literary ones. As we have seen, the narrative world is not only a textual phenomenon, but also a mental, cognitive, and phenomenological construction. Since the plot involves human action, and the reception of the text demands a mental effort, the chronotope also has anthropological aspects—existential, religious, ethical, epistemic, political, and ideological (Bemong, Borghart, Dobbeleer et al., 2010, p. iv). These aspects pertain not only to the text, but to author, reader, and context as well. In this way, the chronotope brings together all participants of the literary situation into a kind of higher unit: the complex rhetorical action of a genre.

Each genre has its own chronotope, its own spatio-temporal presuppositions and outlook. That does not limit the range of variations and generic mixtures that may experimentally widen or change these presuppositions. Such experimentation vivifies the genre and its chronotopic synergies, as we have seen in Bakhtin. That established genres—like crime, romance, the devout story, the allegorical-didactic novel, and so on—are chronotopically structured means that they maintain their identity as specific genres even as they are open to experimentation and change. This focus on the relative flexibility of generic structure and outlook is one of the benefits of the concept of the chronotope.

In sum, the concept of the chronotope is of great use for analysis of the comprehensive interplay between text, genre, action, and human consciousness (Bemong et al., 2010, p. iv). This chronotopic interweaving of literary and anthropological perspectives widens and deepens the scope of genre analysis beyond the formal text. That touch of reality is what the chronotopic logic ultimately affords.
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IN THIS CHAPTER, I draw attention to a single genre—the collective novel—and to the problems that arise when the existing theory of the genre is inconsistent with the ways in which the genre indication actually manifests itself. The collective novel is typically theorized as a genre bound to a particular period, namely, the 1930s. Yet there are a number of current-day Danish works that also claim membership in this genre, and in fact have been received as such. The present article has a twofold aim: first, to set forth material that raises certain basic questions about genre *per se*; and second, to initiate a recontextualization of the collective novel genre in particular.

Here is a preliminary definition of the genre at issue. What distinguishes the collective novel is that it deals with a collective, i.e., a group of individuals, which is the collective novel’s action-bearing entity—with all the formal and thematic consequences that implies. This definition seems clear enough when, for example, Goethe’s *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774/2009), which depicts the protagonist’s individual fate, is compared to John Dos Passos’s *Manhattan Transfer* (1925), which follows a wide range of New Yorkers, and so portrays an array of human beings all facing analogous conditions. This distinction, which manifests itself pedagogically in the works’ titles, is not only an apt gauge of certain key trends in

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1 I have specified the 1930s for simplicity’s sake. In fact the period in question extends by a few years into both the 1920s and the 1940s.
literary history, but can also be harnessed productively to isolate and characterize a certain set of works.

Nevertheless, the above definition also raises several problems. What must a group be like—what nature must it have—in order for a novel about it to count as a collective novel? Within such a group, how prominent may individual members be? What does it mean to say that an entity is “action-bearing”? Indeed, to what degree can one demand “action” of a novel in the first place? Could one, for example, call Edgar Lee Masters’ *Spoon River Anthology* (1915/1992) a collective novel? *Spoon River Anthology* describes a group of (nonliving) people, and maps out the interaction of individual and collective existence within a particular area. Calling it a collective novel would be controversial, but perhaps fruitful.

The present study does not aim to answer such questions. Instead, it seeks to demarcate certain boundaries within which the central problems raised by the collective novel *qua* genre can be investigated. In what follows, analysis will be focused on Danish works from both the 1930s and the 1990s onwards.

In the Danish literary landscape, the genre indication “collective novel” has demonstrated its viability in two ways. To begin with, it is invariably present in literary-historical discussions of 1930s literature, which at first glance might be called the collective novel’s heyday. As we will see below, it has even been claimed that one cannot speak of the collective novel at all outside the 1930s (Klysner, 1976, p. 10; Foley, 1993, p. 398). Secondly, the genre—or at least the genre indication—has experienced a renaissance in the past few decades. This has naturally served as a corrective to the view of the genre as bound to the 1930s. In his contribution to the present volume, Anders Juhl Rasmussen concludes that “the paratext is a bargaining site where author and/or publisher and reading public meet to negotiate the work’s genre”. In recent years, it has been possible to observe negotiations of precisely this sort, as the genre indication “collective
novel” has been used in the paratext of a wide range of Danish works. In this context, it is worth noting that the genre indication played no part in the paratext of collective novels in the 1930s.

The collective novel genre thus raises a problem. Once a genre and a genre indication have been linked to the literature of a certain period, with all of its associated aesthetic and ideological thinking, what happens when new works arise, insisting that the reading public receive them as members of this otherwise vanished genre? What happens then to the genre and genre indication? The study of the collective novel is thus also a reflection on a single genre’s complex epochal and aesthetic character.

One space of resonance for this study is Gérard Genette’s revolt against the naturalization of the three major genres—poetry, epic, and drama—as is developed in his Introduction à l’architexte (1979), translated as The Architext: An Introduction (1992). Genette’s argument that the [major] genres are always tied to their historical contexts, and hence cannot be characterized exhaustively on the basis of trans-historical and ideal parameters, can be transferred to a discussion of the theory of the collective novel. The genres “always involve a thematic element that eludes purely formal or linguistic description” (Genette, 1992, pp. 64-65). It is precisely the interaction between a completely formal genre characteristic (the multiprotagonistic aspect of the collective novel) and a certain defined theme (i.e., the class struggle of the 1930s and the accompanying Marxist ideology) that makes the genre known as the collective novel so difficult to find application for beyond the 1930s. These are the waters that I will navigate with Genette as pilot. As Genette himself puts it:

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2 For a fuller account of the concept of paratext, see Rasmussen, this volume.

3 A designation used especially for films with multiple “protagonists” and narrative threads. See Israel (2006). For lack of space, further comparison of the collective novel and the multiprotagonist film is omitted here. Yet there are likely several correlations of interest, tied both to the genre’s 1930s heyday and to its rediscovery (if only in paratexts) in Danish literature of the 1990s.
I deny only that a final generic position, and it alone, can be defined in terms that exclude all historicity. For at whatever level of generality one places oneself, the phenomena of genre inextricably merges the phenomena—among others—of nature and of culture [...] No position is totally the product of nature or mind—as none is totally determined of history. (Genette, 1992, pp. 68-69)

It is characteristic of the present-day theory of the collective novel that while it does regard the genre as tied to a certain period, it does not grant it historicity, viz., a dynamic interaction between the historical and the trans-historical. Paradoxically enough, in other words, a genre that traditionally thematizes historical developments has been theorized ahistorically.

The emergence of the genre indication “collective novel” is closely associated with 1920s and 1930s leftist circles. Historically, the genre indication covers both works written by authorial collectives and works that substitute collectives for individuals as protagonists. The present article is concerned with the latter sense of “collective” novel. But both meanings of the genre indication are still in use; what connects them is a common ideological foundation rooted in resistance to individualism. And it is in light of this shared anti-individualist element that the collective novel’s origin should be understood: the collective, and the obligation toward the collective, are what is valued here. At the same time, we should also attend to the (alleged) erosion of confidence in the unique qualities of the collective during subsequent periods. For it is here that the development of the genre can be seen.

In the 1930s, the collective novel was characteristically treated with emphasis on its role in the political struggles of the day. Genre considerations were consistently subordinated to this political perspective. That trend continued through the 1970s, when the genre received renewed attention.

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4 For a fuller account of the use of the genre in the 1930s, see Foley, 1993, p. 398f.
tion. In the Danish context, the seminal work is *Den danske kollektivroman 1828-1844* [The Danish Collective Novel, 1928-1944] (1976), by Finn Klysner. We find the same use of the genre indication—“the Collective Novel”—in Anglo-Saxon literature, e.g., in Scott de Francesco’s *Scandinavian Cultural Radicalism* (1990), which devotes a chapter to the Danish collective novel. Yet De Francesco does not provide a genuine discussion of the genre, and adds nothing new to the existing theory. A much weightier treatment of the genre is found in Barbara Foley’s *Radical Representations: Politics and Form in U.S. Proletarian Fiction, 1929-1941* (1993). Foley examines the formal characteristics of the collective novel with a discerning eye. Still, this does not lead her to depart substantially from the standard view of the genre.

None of the existing theoretical discussions that define the collective novel have extended it beyond the ideological literature of the 1930s—though, to be fair, this was not their purpose. Given present-day usage of the genre indication, however, we may say that the collective novel remains theoretically underilluminated. It has become a fashionable genre again; many works are now published and read as collective novels. This leaves us with two options. Either we allow the 1930s *qua* period to remain a constituting element of the genre, and so reject more recent uses of the genre indication as disingenuous, or we attempt to recontextualize the genre—i.e., to see what might be constitutive of the collective novel *qua* genre in a new (literary-)historical context. This article will pursue the latter option on the basis of the notion that genres are “formative and dynamic, adaptable for use on various social rhetorical occasions, and historically changing” (Agrell, *this volume*).

Let us begin by noting the two explicit locations in which we find the genre indication “collective novel”: the paratext (title page, jacket copy, etc.) and the metatext (reviews, theoretical discussions, etc.) (see Rasmussen, *this volume*). It is primarily in the last decade—as opposed to the 1930s, where it is conspicuous by its paratextual absence—that the genre
indication has been used paratextually. In an interview, Simon Fruelund calls his novel *Borgerligt tussmørke* [Bourgeois dusk] (2006) “a kind of collective novel taken to the extreme” (Jespersen, 2006); Dennis Gade Kofod’s *Nexø Trawl* (2007) cites several reviews on the jacket of the pocket edition, two of which describe it as a collective novel; and Lone Aburas’s *Den svære toer* [That difficult second novel] (2011) invokes the genre indication in the introduction. Examples are numerous, and the genre indication is both paratextually and metatextually in play. The genre can even be said to be present on a more massive scale than in the 1930s. Part of the reason for this is that, in present-day literature, the genre’s concept has been extended widely, and has been inserted into the paratext intentionally by both publishers and authors.

Generally speaking, if the collective novel is to be defined, there are two strategies one may follow: a negative and a positive. The negative strategy starts with what the collective novel is *not*—namely, a novel with one protagonist. The positive strategy, by contrast, proceeds from what the collective novel *is*, namely, a type of novel that is based on a group of people—a collective—and as such reflects the idea of collectivism.

As mentioned, the most substantial treatment of the genre is found in Barbara Foley’s *Radical Representations—Politics and Form in U.S. Proletarian Fiction, 1929-1941* (1993). This book’s title aptly captures its goal: to investigate the interaction between literary form and ideology. This is done in four chapters, each of which revolves around a different genre: “The Proletarian Fictional Autobiography,” “The Proletarian Bildungsroman,” “The Proletarian Social Novel,” and “The Collective Novel.” At the same time, the book’s title also indicates its delimitation, and limitations, as a study: the works at issue are examined with a political yardstick and within a specified period. Foley illustrates her arguments richly with examples from American literature. She identifies the collective novel as a genre uniquely associated with the question of class. “Of the four modes of proletarian fiction, the collective novel is the only one that is primarily the
product of the 1930s literary radicalism. The term ‘proletarian collective novel’ would therefore be tautological” (Foley, 1993, p. 398). Here Foley merely builds upon the popular perception of the genre. Where she offers new and interesting analysis is in her study of the genre’s form.

Because Foley is aware of the difficulties attendant on classifications of literary texts—“all generic classifications are arbitrary to some degree” (p. 362)—she lists three criteria for use in characterizing the collective novel, without making any of these explicitly normative:

(1) The group is a central entity in the narration, an entity that supersedes its individual members: “[That] the Collective novel’s treatment of the group as a phenomenon greater than—and different from—the sum of the individuals who constitute it means that it tends to foreground interconnection as such” (p. 400). However smoothly this definition may appear to function, it is not entirely unproblematic. It encompasses a large array of works, including, for example, every text regarded as a portrait of a national character; and that would extend to Spoon River Anthology, if we disregard the fact that it is not a novel. However, Foley makes clear that the unity of the group in question is by no means coincidental; it arises typically through Marxist class analysis.

(2) The works are often experimental. “Collectivism entails an exercise in formal modernism” (p. 401). But while Foley does invite reflection on a deeper connection between the genre and a modernist tendency, she shuts it down just as quickly: “That does not mean that collective novels are doctrinally more ‘open-ended’ than traditionally realistic texts; collective novels do not hold indeterminacy as a political value or polyphony as a rhetorical strategy” (p. 401). Despite the genre’s experimental nature, this does not entail a real difference from a traditional realistic text.
The works often use a documentary strategy, adding authentic newspaper clippings, small bits of popular music, or the like. This is a central device, for example, in Dos Passos’s *The 42nd Parallel* (1969) and Mogens Klitgaard’s *Den guddommelige hverdag* [The divinity of everyday life] (1942).

The characteristics Foley takes to be constitutive of the collective novel are predominantly trans-historical. There is nothing in them that binds them specifically to the 1930s. Nevertheless, Foley directs her gaze exclusively at 1930s literature. Put another way, she evaluates the works in terms of numerous formal categories, but then consigns them (continually) to ideologically univocity. Thus the collective novel is about “bosses and workers,” with sympathy for the latter, and all of its formal features are subordinate to this. This tendency on Foley’s part is, for the most part, typical of the theory of the collective novel in general.

Finn Klysner’s *Den danske kollektivroman—1928-1944* has a central place in Danish genre theory’s engagement with the collective novel. In its approach to the genre, this book is simultaneously nuanced and narrow. It is nuanced inasmuch as it identifies a number of subgenres,\(^5\) and so sketches a rather complex genre landscape. But it is narrow because it draws the boundary between the collective novel and related genres very sharply—so sharply that Klysner can conclude: “The collective novel thus has no foreign precedents” (Klysner, 1976, p. 135). Indeed Klysner ends up with only a handful of works that can be called authentic collective novels (“collective collective novels [Kollektive kollektiveromaner]”) (1976, pp. 25). One might say with only a hint of caricature that Klysner believes that the collective novel is like Hans Kirk’s *Fiskerne* (1928)—and that there really aren’t any books besides *Fiskerne* that are like *Fiskerne*.

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\(^5\) Most significantly, it distinguishes between the complex novel, the collective novel, and the anti-collective novel.
Klysner’s definition is essentially thematic: it rests on the class homogeneity of the group at issue. His standards are thus, like Foley’s, ideological.

Barbara Foley’s definition of the collective novel is broader, and includes works that Klysner would not accept. For example, Klysner explicitly excludes Dos Passos’s *Manhattan Transfer* (1976, pp. 25), while Foley regards Dos Passos as a key contributor to the genre. In Foley’s definition, the group can be bound together more loosely: she does not require authentic class membership, i.e., that the group’s boundaries be sharply drawn socially. For Foley, the characters might meet by chance, or not at all. Generally speaking, the mode of representation can be much more fragmented for Foley than for Klysner; she grants the formal aspects more attention than he does. Nevertheless, the two agree more than they disagree. There are three key points on which their theories cohere: (1) restriction of the period of the collective novel to the 1930s, as is reflected in the titles of their books—respectively, 1928-1944 for Klysner; 1929-1941 for Foley; (2) characterization of the collective novel as an ideological genre, and specifically as Marxist; and (3) identification of the narrator as a unifying entity. All of these points will be discussed in the present article. But first we will look at one of the more recent works that invokes the genre indication “collective novel,” namely, Dennis Gade Kofod’s *Nexø Trawl*.

*Nexø Trawl* offers a fitting illustration of some of the new features characteristic of the more recent collective novels. This is not because *Nexø Trawl* is itself typical of the new tendencies, but because it traces itself back to the collective novel of the 1930s—and especially to Hans Kirk’s prototypical *Fiskerne*. That *Nexø Trawl* has been received as a collective novel is clear from a glance at the pocket edition. In the three reviews cited on the back cover, the genre indication is used in two of them—and one review reads, in all its brevity: “A stirring and magnificent collective novel—*Dagens Nyheter*.” Thus apart from the fact that it was received as a collective novel by segments of the press, one must presume
an intention on the publisher’s part to market the book as such. Still, other genre indications could also have been relevant here. The novel has some of the traits of a family saga; alternately, it could have been called a workplace novel.\(^6\) *Nexø Trawl* also contains the story of Thomas and his friend; the narrator and his development are central to the novel; and, finally, there are elements of magical realism toward the end. But typically for its time, as I would put it, it is the genre *collective novel* that is paratextually in play here.

*Nexø Trawl* revolves around the group of people associated with the Nexø Trawl factory and the Nexø fishing industry. “Everyone knows someone who works at sea, everyone knows someone who has worked at sea” (Kofod, 2007, p. 14). Fishing is constitutive of this group; but it is constitutive by means of its absence, since Nexø Trawl is closing: “The sign has been taken down. The company name is written in a kind of negative script, the light concrete under the places where the letters were fastened. Nexø Trawl is finished.” (Kofod, 2007, p. 23). Briefly put, *Nexø Trawl* functions as a collective novel by revolving around and investigating the closure of a workplace. By way of anticipation, one could say that the difference between the 1930s collective novel and a novel like *Nexø Trawl* is that work, and the class thinking that follows from it, no longer functions as a stable factor in identity formation. Whereas work, class, ideology, and identity are linked like peas in a pod in a novel like *Fiskerne*, *Nexø Trawl* offers no such cohesion, neither as a book nor in its description of the collective. This is typical for the more recent novels termed collective novels: the close connection between work and identity has disappeared.

\(^6\) The genre indication *workplace novel* is less common than *collective novel*, and was most visible in the 1970s. The two designations often cover the same books. Interestingly, the workplace novel seems to be experiencing a renaissance on a par with the collective novel, albeit to a slightly smaller degree.
Furthermore, *Nexø Trawl* opposes itself polemically to Kirk’s *Fiskerne* with a series of intertextual references. Beyond their shared thematic motif—the fishing industry as a factor in identity formation—a number of additional commonalities indicate that Kofoed is deliberately engaging in dialogue with Kirk. Of these I will mention only one. There are two characters who are central to the novel’s investigation of the collapse of the Nexø fishery, namely, the narrator and Thomas Jensen. Thomas Jensen, for whom this collapse is tied to an unrestrained use of drugs, shares his name with one of the characters in *Fiskerne*, namely the starkly evangelical fisherman who has a leading position in the group. Here the two works bear a chiastic relation to one another: whereas a hypothesis fundamental to Kirk’s analysis in *Fiskerne* is that “religion is the opium of the masses,” *Nexø Trawl*’s analysis of Thomas Jensen implies that “opium is the religion of the masses.” Whereas in *Fiskerne* religion is analyzed as a mode of alienation—an escape from reality—in *Nexø Trawl* it is drugs that offer such escape. Inasmuch as it transforms a number of textual elements from *Fiskerne*, *Nexø Trawl* is an example of a palimpsest, in Genette’s terminology.\(^7\) The two works coincide strategically to the extent that they share a social preoccupation with the interaction between group, work, and identity formation, and point in good Marxist fashion to an interaction between base and superstructure. The difference is that *Nexø Trawl* has lost faith in the class struggle as a life-saving response.

To investigate the genre’s development further, I will direct attention to the semantic content of collective novels. Here I will focus on the narrator, the Archimedean point from which a novel’s fictional universe can be brought into a meaningful context. When Klysner, Foley, and others consistently ascribe a revolutionary ideology to the collective novel, they presuppose that there is a narrator who simultaneously unifies and stands in solidarity with the represented collective. The existence of such a narr-

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\(^7\) For a further account of Genette’s terminology, see Rasmussen, *this volume*. 
tor is the necessary condition for such an ideological interpretation, and indeed its only possible stable foundation.

Let us briefly follow Klysner’s reasoning in his reading of *Fiskerne*. This can be summarized as follows: the work has a social interest, and therefore its “description and report never go beyond the fictional individual’s perspective” (Klysner, 1976, p. 49). Hence its narrative representation is objective. This is extended to the following conclusion: “One may therefore speak of a loyal collective narrator, inasmuch as his viewpoint reveals solidarity with the group’s thoughts and feelings. This is emphasized by a tendency toward identification with the group’s thinking and its feelings, which are impossible to separate. But to this one must add that another solution to the group’s social problems is suggested, a solution that is more adequate in society’s larger context [...] The authorial person exhibits this loyalty to the collective because its consciousness can form the basis of a revolutionary potential” (p. 50). Note that a (single) consciousness is attributed to the collective. There is thus a straight line from the narrator in solidarity, who follows the collective *qua* well-defined group, to the novel’s ideological conclusion.

We find similar reasoning in Foley. “Only when the text’s protagonist is construed as a transindividual entity does the trajectory of the narrative gain coherence.” (Foley, 1993, p. 408). Foley’s reading of collective novel is interesting here because even as she interprets this “coherence,” she is aware of the collective novel’s modernist traits: “A [...] distinguishing feature of collective novels is their frequent use of experimental devices that break up the narrative and rupture the illusion of seamless transparency” (p. 401). There thus seem to be two forces at work in the genre, each pulling in a separate direction. In one, the narrator *qua* unifying body forms the basis for an ideological interpretation. In the other, the presence of many people (and so many points of view, motives, etc.) dissolves the central perspective, and manifests itself in a fragmentary form of representation. What is more, it appears that an interpretation of the collective nov-
el as an ideological genre presupposes that the first of the above forces is superior to the other. For example, Klysner draws an unbroken line from “the fictional individuals’ perspective” to “the collective narrator” to “the authorial person,” such that the latter’s ideological orientation becomes determinant for the entire work. This corresponds to Foley’s rejection of polyphony as a rhetorical strategy in the work. The current theory of genre has therefore privileged the unifying narrator precisely for his ability to maintain the work’s ideological univocity.

This narrowing perspective can be corrected by appeal to Mikhail Bakhtin, the theorist of the novel. Bakhtin focuses on language, specifically on language as a locus where ideology is put into play. He characterizes “internally persuasive” discourse, which stands opposed to the “externally authoritative,” as follows:

It is not so much interpreted by us as it is further, that is, freely, developed, applied to new materials, new conditions; it enters into interanimenting relationships with new contexts. More than that, it enters into an intense interaction, a struggle with other internally persuasive discourses. Our ideological development is just such an intense struggle within us for hegemony among various available verbal and ideological points of view, approaches, directions, and values. The semantic structure of an internally persuasive discourse is not finite, it is open; in each of the new contexts that dialogize it, this discourse is able to reveal ever new ways to mean. (Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 345-346)

This description is linked to the distinction between the monologic and polyphonic. According to Bakhtin, the polyphonic—and specifically, the polyphonic element that cannot be reduced to an ideological univocity—is a hallmark of the novel, and more precisely of the “dialogical” novel. Bakhtin develops his theory of the dialogical in his book on Dostoyevsky:
The idea—as it was seen by Dostoevsky the artist—is not a subjective individual-psychological formation with “permanent resident rights” in a person’s head; no, the idea is inter-individual and inter-subjective—the realm of its existence is not individual consciousness but dialogical communion between consciousnesses. The idea is a live event, played out at the point of dialogical meeting between two or several consciousnesses. In this sense the idea is similar to the word, with which it is dialogically united. Like the word, the idea wants to be heard, understood, and “answered” by other voices from other positions. (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 88)

There is a conspicuous parallel between the collective novel and Bakhtin’s characterization of the novel. Much as Bakhtin does not allow the protagonist’s voice to be subordinated to the author’s, one may say that the collective novel does not allow the voices of the various people it depicts to be subordinated to a single protagonist—for there is none. The collective novel may thus be regarded as a genre that in a sense takes polyphony “literally.”

Here I should caution that collective novels need not be polyphonic in Bakhtin’s sense. To the extent that a given novel closes itself ideologically, it moves away from the polyphonic or dialogical. Thus it would be fruitless to characterize the collective novel as either monologic or polyphonic. It would also be inappropriate: the collective novel has both a monological side, manifested in its link to 1930s ideological literature, and a dialogical tendency, reflected in its collective technique, which allows multiple voices to speak.

The dialogical aspect becomes apparent when we turn to Mary McCarthy’s novel The Group (1963/1970). This novel concerns eight women, all 1933 graduates of Vassar College. In other words, The Group unfolds in the same ideological climate as do the collective novels treated by Foley and Klysner; but it was written considerably later and without the
same ideological optimism. We follow the eight women’s lives and the relatively loose-knit group that they form. Thematically, the novel revolves around these well-educated women’s lives and identity struggles in the ideological and male-dominated climate of the 1930s. Themes such as sexuality, work, parent-child relationships, contraception, class, economics, housework, etc., are illuminated from several angles. This allows the novel to connect directly to several of the 1930s collective novel’s classic themes.

In terms of narrative technique, we encounter a shifting perspective in *The Group*—a “collective narrative form,” as the Danish translator Hans Hertel calls it. Hertel’s reflections on the book (in his “Translator’s Foreword” to the Danish edition (1964)) is informative not only about the book’s narrative technique, but also about its relation to 1930s literature:

Mary McCarthy’s particular variant of the interwar collective narrative form raises certain problems (initially for the translator, but also for the reader). It is important to determine, for example, from whose perspective a given scene is viewed, and whose language colors the direct speech that is depicted. (McCarthy, 1963/1970, p. 5)

The narrator of *The Group*, then, lacks the homologizing trend that is otherwise typical of the collective novel (cf. Foley and Klysner). This is almost certainly what Hertel means by “a particular variant”: we find a shifting inner focalization within the group of characters, whose reflections are colored by the words of others and, to a large extent, of men as well. There is an episode in the novel where Kay, one of the main characters, reads a letter that her husband has written (though not sent) to his father. Among other things, the letter is about Kay; it discusses her judgmentally and unambiguously. The letter is reproduced over the course of 2-3 pages of the novel—and then we learn of Kay’s reaction to it: “The letter, Kay thought, was awfully well-written, like everything Harald did, yet reading it had left...
her with the queerest, stricken feeling. There was nothing in it that she did not already know in a sense, but to know in a sense, apparently, was not the same as knowing” (McCarthy, 1963/1970, XX). Here, as elsewhere in the book, what is central is the encounter between ideas and linguistically articulated ideas. Not the reproduction or exemplification of some particular ideology, but the tension that exists between the different characters when various ideologies or philosophies of life intersect—here manifested in Kay’s dialogical attitude.

The novel’s overall structure is bounded by a wedding and a funeral—that is, it begins with Kay’s wedding, and ends with her funeral—and the ending underscores the narrative form’s dialogical openness. The cause of Kay’s death remains unclear: whether she fell out of a window by accident, or took her own life. This type of ambiguous ending might be thought typical of a collective technique that is oriented towards the dialogical; whereas the traditional collective novel’s more univocal, monological conclusion tends to point ahead toward continued victories in the class struggle. This will be illustrated later.

I will now focus more closely on semantic content. I will do so by introducing Genette’s concept of focalization, as set forth in *Narrative Discours du Récit* (1983), translated as *Narrative Discourse Revisited* (1988). Focalization is a matter of information control: “So by focalization I certainly mean a restriction of ‘field’—actually, that is, a selection of narrative information with respect to what was traditionally called omniscience” (Genette, 1988, p. 74). Genette works with three types of focalization: zero focalization, internal focalization, and external focalization. Zero focalization refers to narration without focalization; internal focalization restricts the viewing angle to a first-person perspective; and external focalization lacks internal access to the characters. Furthermore, Genette distinguishes between a homodiegetic narrator (one who is at the same level as the events taking place) and a heterodiegetic narrator (one who is at a different level than the events he or she describes). Genette’s homodiegetic-
heterodiegetic distinction points squarely to a problem in standard treatments of the collective novel genre. Once a collective is introduced as the protagonist, readings can alternate between a heterodiegetic and a homodiegetic narrator, depending on whether the collective is viewed as at the same level as the novel’s events—and, accordingly, treated in a manner parallel to the hero of a *Bildungsroman*—or as above them. This same problem also makes it difficult to discern whether Foley and Klysner consider zero focalization or internal focalization more typical of the collective novel. Recontextualization of the genre will require closer examination of this question. To that end, I will now examine two works, one recent—Kristian Foss Bang’s *Stormen i 99* [*The Storm of 99*] (2008)—and one from late in the genre’s golden age: Mogens Klitgaard’s *Den guddommelige hverdag* (1942).

Kristian Bang Foss’s *Stormen i 99* can be regarded as a collective novel in that it revolves around the working community—though “community” is perhaps a misleading word in this context—centered on the warehouse serving InWear’s clothing stores. We follow the various characters both on and off the job, and observe their interpersonal interactions in a variety of contexts. One essential narrative track throughout the novel is Anton and Nanna’s romantic relationship. Yet this is not enough to disqualify the genre indication “collective novel” as irrelevant, since the novel also points to the genre paratextually—if only via indirect comparison with *Nexø Trawl*—when the jacket copy states: “*Stormen i 99* is about people at InWear’s warehouse on Amager,” and a handful of the novel’s characters are listed next to this. Thus Anton and Nanna’s love story serves as both a guiding thread through the depicted collective and an “interpretation” of it, parallel to the young Tabitha’s love story in *Fiskerne*, which lets that work point “toward a new age” marked by greater solidarity and less false consciousness.

The narrator in *Stormen i 99* is simultaneously clear and elusive. First, he or she is in no way in solidarity with his or her characters. “During the
day [Nanna] goes and sucks on her endless water bottles, drips piss constantly, is close to water intoxication” (Foss, 2008, p. 5). The narrator clearly distances him- or herself from the character. Later the heterodiegetic narrator arrives on the scene as an anachronistic narrative authority: “But come, let us [i.e., the narrator and the reader—and just not any fictional characters] take a walk to the next table, where...” (Foss, 2008, p. 60-61). The narrator here takes the reader by the hand and pans over a festive scene. At other times, the narrator is withdrawn, letting the characters’ actions and lines go uncommented; at still other times, we are given insight into the fictional individuals’ emotional lives. Thus we have a narrator who switches between being heterodiegetic and homodiegetic, along with a mix of zero focalization, internal focalization, and external focalization. The problem becomes evident in the novel’s final scene, which bears the chapter heading “Epilogue.” Here Anton and Nanna have a conversation that hovers somewhere between disillusionment and love. Anton declares his love for Nanna, but the authenticity of his love is open to question: “I love you, he says. He does not know how else to comfort her”. What is more, the novel’s very last sentence is a reply by Anton illuminated neither by his own perspective nor by the narrator’s Olympic gaze: “Yes, it’ll be okay if we just take care of each other” (p. 245). This reply’s final position leaves it with the significance of a finale, but its meaning qua finale remains unclear: does the “we” it speaks of refer to the lovers alone, does it include the rest of the group, or does it extend to all of humanity? Moreover, is the sentence an expression of resignation, or of hope? The novel plays visibly on a dialogical, unresolved relationship between zero focalization and internal/external focalization.

If one briefly compares this interpretation of Stormen i 99’s epilogue to the overall plot structure, the two will appear to confirm one another,

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8 This type of narrator, who speaks of himself in the first person without being a member of the fictional universe, is typically found in nineteenth-century novels.
just as was the case with McCarthy’s *The Group*. At the beginning of *Stormen i 99* a toilet is smeared with feces, but the culprit is never identified. And the book culminates precisely with the eponymous “storm of 1999,” when Denmark was hit by an unusually (by Danish standards) powerful storm. We learn about the characters’ comings and goings during the storm. Tragically, one is struck by a roof tile and dies, randomly and pointlessly. Naturally, the storm’s fury has no justification in social conditions—and so the title’s reference to it indicates that this book is far from a social investigation, unlike such titles as *Fiskerne* [“The Fishermen”] or *Nexø Trawl*, which can easily be linked to a sociological perspective. Instead, *Stormen i 99* ties the book to an existential meaninglessness. We (along with the narrator) follow the storm gathering out over the Atlantic. We are thus far removed from a solitary study of the forces at work in a group of individuals. What is more, the principle of causality—which seems important for any coherent conception of “story,” whether it be history on a grand scale or the story of the work’s narrative—is here out of play. Finally, in its concluding linkage of the working community that it portrays to the storm as a uncontrollable natural phenomenon, *Stormen i 99* places itself between a sociological study informed by a particular view of history, on the one hand, and on the other hand something else, something uncontrolled.

The two genre indications “collective novel” and “multiprotagonist narrative”—the latter of which is derived especially from recent films—have now come to describe two extremes in a wide landscape. The multiprotagonist narrative focuses on issues of representation, on the network of narrators, and so on the anti-hierarchical element in the form of representation. The collective novel inscribes itself into a different genre history, where the focus has been on thematic content. Against this backdrop, what distinguishes the recent works that identify themselves with the collective novel genre is that they inscribe themselves into a (Danish) literary-historical tradition of collective novels, but orient themselves toward a
more modern form of representation, namely, the multiprotagonist narrative. Now, the anti-hierarchical thrust characteristic of the multiprotagonist narrative was already present *in nuce* in the collective novels of the 1930s, even if was perhaps drowned out by the ideological element. But the appearance of a new type of collective novel also changes its predecessors. One postulate of the present article is that the corpus of 1930s collective novels should be reread in order to elicit its multiprotagonistic and dialogical character. And one of the works that can most clearly benefit from such a reading is Mogens Klitgaard’s *Den guddommelige hverdag*.

With *Den guddommelige hverdag*, Mogens Klitgaard simultaneously wrote himself into the most powerful tendencies of the 1930s—both thematically and ideologically—and wrote his way out of the period itself. With regard to his novel’s subject-matter, there can be no doubt where Klitgaard’s interest and sympathies lie: with the oppressed. But the narrative conditions of *Den guddommelige hverdag* are complex and interesting, partly as a product of the many types of text that are represented in it. The novel is a montage novel strongly reminiscent of Dos Passos’s *The 42nd Parallel*, and it nicely fits Foley’s three criteria for the genre. *Den guddommelige hverdag* consists of various types of text: (1) authentic newspaper clippings, often “cut” so that they appear as fragments; (2) a series of short mood pieces with time-stamps that place the book’s action in 1942, which was also its year of publication; (3) twenty-one so-called “pictures” [*billeder*], namely, short prose pieces connected by varying degrees to a network of stories.

The “pictures” make up the bulk of the work. They are organized in two continuous sequences, each comprising five to six “pictures”: the story

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9 This is a point in the style of T. S. Eliot, who regarded the history of literature as an organic whole, such that the appearance of new works also changes those that precedes them. T. S. Eliot, “Tradition and Individual Talent,” in *The Sacred Wood* (1960).

10 It would be worth investigating the extent to which it can be called a palimpsest. There are numerous formal similarities, and the number 42 is prominent in them both.
of soap-merchant Jørgensen’s futile struggle against a company that is using the tools of capitalism to drive him out of business; and a narrative about Agnete, a sensual young girl who becomes pregnant and ultimately has an abortion. Mechanisms of oppression are described, from the indirect, continual oppression of the abortion ban to the direct economic oppression that affects “the little man.” The Second World War becomes a backdrop for these abuses of power, though the novel concerns itself more with power as a principle than with the actual Nazi occupation.

I will focus on semantics in the 21 “pictures,” which on Genette’s terms are homodiegetic. Here we find internal focalization that shifts from “picture” to “picture.” Typically, the angle of view lies with the weak: the young Jew Esther, regarded with scorn; soap-merchant Jørgensen, who is economically outmatched; his son; the girl Agnete; the young Mary, etc. All of these stories are told in the third person, but one voice is privileged with the first person singular. This speaker appears in four “pictures,” and his first words are: “Incidentally, I will make no secret of the fact that I do not cultivate political opinions. I think it is clear from history that the common man has always been exploited and abused by the ruling class, regardless of which flag or ideology the rulers were rallied around” (Klitgaard, 1942, p. 49). This narrator’s analysis is consistent in many ways with a Marxist ideology, though he denies having political opinions. He also expresses sympathy with the workers’ movement: “To be quite honest, I have more sympathy for the labor movement that makes no appeal to pity, but works to prevent exploitation using power and the law” (pp. 190-191). On the other hand, he is as far from a workers’ ideology as one can imagine: careful reading reveals that he is in fact Department Head Dreyer, who is employed by the firm that is in the process of out-competing Jørgensen the soap-merchant. We are also given a description of this man, confirming his identity with Dreyer, and simultaneously providing an external portrait that leads readers to distance themselves from him. At the same time, he formulates, qua first-person narrator, a
personal life strategy that is incompatible with a socialist outlook: “In this world I allow myself to take an interest in myself. To work resolutely and hard to remain one of the rulers. So as not to become one of the ruled.” (p. 51). This narrator thus belongs to Foley’s category of “bosses”—but within his voice there are in fact a number of voices running together. Because the novel time and again takes the side of the weakest, presenting one “picture” after another of the crippling mechanisms of power, it is at first glance difficult to comprehend this choice of a first-person narrator, who at one and the same time is a representative of power and analyzes its oppressive nature. The presence of this narrator complicates any unifying grasp of the narrated material. A preliminary explanation might be that even though Den guddommelige hverdag clearly unfolds in the political landscape of the 1930s, it remains a work opposed to any univocal ideological position. Further analysis of the first-person narrator adds an additional dimension to this point. The novel’s seventh “picture” consists of the first-person narrator’s six-page-long reflections on his lunch. These ruminations do not make immediate sense in the larger work’s ideological thematic context, but are of an aesthetic or structural nature:

The content varies, but the framework is the same. One by one, I go through the pieces [of open-faced sandwiches] and plan the order I will eat them in. Some of this is laid down in principle: herring first, cheese last. Second-last is always the piece I choose to be myself. You may perhaps find this odd, and perhaps it is. But in God’s name, then, let it be odd: I choose one of the pieces to symbolize myself, that’s the one I eat just before the cheese, it’s myself I eat, even I myself find it a little odd. [...] Maybe I’m religious in an especially primitive way.” (pp. 90-91)

One can only agree with the “I” that these are, at first glance, odd ruminations. But if one reads them as metacomments to the work, they do make
sense. The work’s next-to-last section (“picture”) is in fact a section that features the first-person narrator. And here this narrator reflects on literature, as follows:

And if you thought that a man armed with these vital attributes and experience appropriate for their accommodation to today’s demands went and for one or another odd reason wrote such a book, and the book was truthful and true to his heart, people would be horrified by reading it. One can perhaps find books that start along this path, but on the crucial topics the writer ends up masking himself, wrapping things into a pretty philosophy, or it turns into a memoir with all-too-obviously fake motifs. (p. 187)

So there is a mismatch between the true novel and an (ideological) overview: “the more knowledge one acquires about life and humanity, the more attacked one will be in the innermost nerve of his life’s strength. Columns of calculated numbers and statistical curves become human destinies; one starts to lose the ability to make decisions; one should be relentless and scientific” (p. 188).

This control—like his control over the pieces of sandwiches—is incomplete. It is more formal than real. The first-person narrator destabilizes the ideological reading, knocking it out of the game by formulating his own fundamental assumptions about the nature of power in the same breath as he assumes the role of oppressor. He is not wholly an advocate of the ideology, but should rather be understood as an expression of a Bakhtinian dialogical principle.

*Den guddommelige hverdag* can thus be regarded as the breaking-point for two otherwise strong unidirectional forces in the genre, namely, the unifying narrative position and the linear plot. Here, at the close of the period analyzed by Klysner, we find a work that bridges the gap between the traditional collective novel of the 1930s and the later, more experi-
mental genre efforts of the 1990s—and which lines up perfectly with Bakhtin’s view of the novel. We can develop this parallel further by focusing on the use of space in a few of the works examined here.

*Fiskerne* is set by the Limfjord, and geography plays an essential thematic role. The novel’s conflict is tied to a group of fishermen who leave the punishing North Sea for the Limfjord’s gentler climate. It is generally characteristic of the collective novel that (to varying degrees) its story arc leaves a trail across the countryside. It is often individual characters who epitomize the essence of this trail—for example in a love story. Overall, one can say that the traditional collective novel orients and interprets a geographic space throughout the course of the novel, linking the geographic space itself to a development in history. And indeed, such interaction is necessary for the novel’s universe to be linked to a Marxist ideology. But if that ideology is absent—and so the solution is absent as well—then this interpretive pass is unnecessary; it would merely represent an illusory resolution of the issues at play. *Den guddommelige hverdag* literally has a barren ending, in which Agnete has her abortion—and the narrator rejects that sort of overview as a “pretty philosophy.”

The above indicates that space cannot necessarily be subordinated to the causality of time. The universe represented in the collective novel does not necessarily reflect a progressive history; in fact, we can discern a tendency for space to usurp time’s role as the most essential organizing principle. This is clear in Simon Fruelund’s *Borgerligt tussmørke* (2006), where the organizing principle that is explicitly most essential is spatial.11 *Borgerligt tussmørke* is divided into three parts. The first of these, which also constitutes the majority of the work, follows the set of addresses on the avenue Dantes Allé. First we hear about no. 1, then no. 2, and so on. For each address, we find a brief sketch of one or more of the building’s resi-

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11 Another illustrative example could be Peer Hultberg’s *Byen og verden* [*The City and the World*] (1992).
dents, so that the narrative perspective continually remains at the level of the individuals—rather than giving us an overview. In this way, we come to learn about a number of interpersonal relationships, about how the avenue’s various residents regard one another, and about such themes as intolerance and xenophobia, which are in play without being all-consuming. The novel’s second part is a historical outline from ancient times to the present day, while the third part is structured like the first part, except that we now follow the apartment numbers in a building complex. Thus the first and last parts are also opposed to one other like rival social poles—albeit without this being particularly glaring. At the same time, the location’s historical development becomes parenthetical in relation to its spatial configuration. The work takes a position. It is opposed to oppression and exclusion of every kind of minority ethnicity, sexuality, etc. The attitude is not expressed ideologically, but can be inferred by the reader from the network of characters portrayed, as well as from the absence of a causal compositional principle that can imply some conclusion about this field.

Here, then, a shift from time to place has taken place. And this shift interfaces with a stance that will open up the work: a more complex narrative position, and a departure from the fixed ideology of the collective novel. One can point to a corresponding shift in the sociological sciences, a shift from ideological explanatory models to more anthropological analyses of the sociological field.

On my interpretation, in sum, the collective novel strikes a balance between the two positions. On the one hand, we have a concrete, if shifting, historical reality: This article has focused attention on two periods, the industrial society of the 1930s with its big-city cacophony, and the information society of the 1990s (and 2000s), with its attendant flood of information. On the other hand, we have considered a number of formal and elemental hallmarks: the multiprotagonistic.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


http://www.sentura.dk/simon_fruelund_interview.html


THERE ARE GENRES that can be characterized and defined with relative precision. These genres, which may be called “closed genres,” exhibit no notable development, or consist of constancies that are more or less immutable; examples include the sonnet, the tragedy, and the epic. It must be acknowledged, however, that the genres that fit this description are a peripheral group—and indeed a group that, on inspection, turns out to be anything but univocal (cf., e.g., Fowler, 1982, p. 57). By contrast, the dominant group of literary genres consists of genres that are indeterminate or difficult to define. The latter genres are open and alive, changing and in motion; their characteristic traits are, time and again, up for negotiation and discussion.

If the novel can be said to belong to any group of genres, it is to the latter group. It is quite difficult to find a set of defining characteristics that captures the novel fully; in this sense, it is almost tempting to call the novel an anti-genre, a type with no unambiguous hallmarks other than certain loose external relations, such as being long fictional prose narratives written in lingua romana, i.e., in the vernacular; and even in that context, it is difficult to operate with fixed boundaries. For example, there are short stories that are over a hundred pages long, and perhaps there are also novels of no more than half that length (assuming, of course, that we do not take length to be the decisive criterion for qualifying as a novel).

It may seem paradoxical that we lack a clear-cut definition of the novel qua genre, as the reading public rarely has trouble identifying novels as belonging to the genre, and most literate people know which texts are re-
ferred to by the designation “novel.” In this respect, the novel is no different from most other literary genres: the poem, the short story, the novella, etc. And that reflects, in turn, the fact that it is through the filter of institutionalization that genres communicate with their communities. In the words of Tzvetan Todorov, “it is because genres exist as an institution that they function as ‘horizons of expectation’ for readers and as ‘models of writing’ for authors” (1978/1990, p. 18). More accurately, the fact that genres are institutionally based, and the fact that genres function as frameworks of expectations and models for readers and writers, are two sides of the same coin.

This effective (pragmatico-)functional framework serves only to make the novel’s lack of formal definition all the more conspicuous. This indicates that the essential problem faced by the theory of the novel mirrors some of the problems faced by ordinary genre theory. The fact that genres are well-established and immediately functional on a pragmatic level gives some justification to genre theory; but the latter soon falters when it comes to defining individual genres, particularly where “open” literary genres are concerned. In the case of novel theory, the difficulty can be specified as pertaining to two questions:

(i) Which formative features constitute hallmarks of the novel?

(ii) How can the novel be demarcated as separate from related genres, such as the short story or the story? Similarly, how can the novel be described in terms of such wide-ranging stylistic trends or movements as realism or modernism?

Just as it is hardly possible to provide a formal, declarative description of the novel, it is no doubt equally difficult to account for, or to determine, the differences between such closely related genres as the novel and the short story. We must therefore approach the question of the novel from a
different angle. What we have just seen is that the genre of the novel has a communicative function, or rather that it functions as a communicative strategy—for the sender, as a strategy for shaping the text; for the receiver, as a strategy for interpreting it—signaled *inter alia* by means of paratextual codes. The novel is not a classificatory genre; it is a way of communicating.

To say this is to liberate the concept “novel” from a closed understanding, which is always implicit when the concept of genre is in play. In the present case, the genre “novel” undertakes to abandon the notion that a fixed definition of the novel can be found at all, and instead accept an open and mobile concept. My suggestion would be to fashion, as a basis for understanding the concept of the novel, a *mode-specific, non-discrete parametric theory*. This includes an attempt to establish a conceptual framework that would make it possible to distinguish between the novelistic and the non-novelistic, and between the more and the less novelistic. “Novelistic” is the key term here: it refers to those features that are significant to the novel as such, but which are not necessarily present in every novel. In this context, “novel” is an umbrella term for the heterogeneous group of texts that have novelistic properties as their most significant characteristics.

I will here approach the novelistic by a three-step procedure. First, I will offer an overview of trends in novel research—both historically and currently. Second, I will introduce the concepts of *family resemblance* and *genericity* in genre contexts, and so provide a theoretical foundation for my analysis of the novelistic. This will culminate in discussion of the framework for a mode-oriented approach to the novel genre, including a conceptual understanding of what “the novelistic” refers to.

The third step involves clarifying and filling in the category of the novelistic, in collaboration and interaction with established theories of the novel. My focus will be on the novel’s ideology, the dialogic, and realism; and here Mikhail Bakhtin’s theories of the novel will prove central, inas-
much as his theories identify a set of key factors for the novel that can in fact best be characterized as novelistic. With this as background, it will finally be possible to develop a survey of novelistic parameters. Put in brief, and as stated above, my goal is to offer a portrait of established novel theory that can serve as a backdrop for a mode-determined and rhetorical understanding of the genre.

THREE LINES OF NOVEL RESEARCH

In the wake of the difficulties faced by every attempt to date to identify the novel’s defining characteristics, the focus of novel theory has changed. Many have wished to conclude that the novel qua genre category is an umbrella term that cannot be specified more precisely, except by dividing it into subgenres: “The novel is not a traditional literary genre, like tragedy or comedy, but a general, varied, categorically distinctive form like poetry and drama [...]. There is no one kind of matter [novels] contain, or effect they produce” (Bradbury, 1973, p. 278-279). This is related to the fact that the novel is a complex genre and has no simple generic origin story. As Alastair Fowler points out, the novel is rooted in a range of early genre forms, both fictional and non-fictional, such as “epic, romance, picaresque, biography, history, journal, letter, exemplary tale, novella, to name only the most obvious. These filiations have persisted in the developed novel, giving rise in some instances to distinct subgenres” (Fowler, 1982, p. 120).

A natural consequence of these relations is that the question of the novel as genre has come to be embedded in a framework defined by literary and intellectual history: What is manifested by the novel qua idea? What kind of ideology or ethics does it express?—These questions frame the novel as a special cultural discourse, one that indicates a diagnosis of its age, and is often regarded as the mirror-image of a special period in intellectual history. Put another way, the novel is often taken to be a manifestation of an idea or ideology, which in turn is viewed as a unique reflection of the epoch in which the novel first blossomed. From this point of
view, the novel is bound to a specific period; and that is tied to the question of when the novel was actually “born.”

The historical line in novel research, and the genre-theoretic problems arising from the isolated and positive generation of concepts and rules, have more or less repressed the fact that there does exist a formal line in describing the novel. One reason for this repression is that the concept “novel,” as a category, is absent as a rule from works that fit this formal line—apart from such exceptions as E. M. Forster’s *Aspects of the Novel* (1927) and Franz Stanzel’s *Narrative Situations in the Novel* (1955/1971); and those works are not primarily about the novel in any case, but about specific formal characteristics that belong to narrative texts, both novels and others. Hence these texts do not offer theories of the novel in the strict, traditional sense. If narratology, as the theory of the narrative, does relate to the novel nonetheless, it is because the novel’s discursive features are in fact conceptualized in it. In other words, if we must abandon precise and formal definitions of the novel, then a broader description of the novel’s traits may serve as the best alternative—and for that purpose narratology is central.

The same holds for Mikhail Bakhtin’s theories of the novel. In recent decades, Bakhtin has been accorded an increasingly central role in literary studies and, specifically, in the study of the novel. Bakhtin’s work offers a refreshing perspective on the novel. It is comparable to narratology, though Bakhtin abjures categorical structuralism, and presents more general derivations of concepts besides. Bakhtin’s attraction is that his theories grasp the novel’s general, ideal form, and analyze it conceptually in terms of ideology or ideas, inasmuch as he describes the novel on the basis of various conceptual angles that are anchored at the micro-level.

We can thus see three possible directions for novel research: 1) a historical line that more or less epitomizes the study of the novel—and which can be subdivided into a classical (Lukács (1920/1971), Watt (1957/2000), etc.) and a modern (Moretti (1994/1996), Doody (1996), Pavel (2006) etc.)
line; 2) a formal orientation rooted in Russian formalism (including Shklovsky (1921/1965), and which has evolved into narratology, via Booth (1961/1991) and Genette (e.g., 1979/1992); 3) a Bakhtinian line, which relates to the ideological-formal line (on an overall macro level) with a certain historical perspective. Behind these three trends lies the early Romantic theory of the novel, particularly as it developed in the thought of Schlegel (1798-1800/1974), who, with his peculiar ironic thinking and ideology of fragments (i.e., that the novel should avoid being an organized totality), sketched an account of the novel that is both intellectual-historical and formal, an understanding that, in many respects, points forward toward Bakhtin.

The point is that it makes no sense, in literary- or genre-theoretical contexts, either to speak of the novel as an intellectual-historical product, or to understand the novel as a specifically formative phenomenon. Hence while there is in fact one tradition in novel research that is occupied with the novel’s history and origins, and another that focuses on the formal determination of the genre using such categories as style, syuzhet and fabula, narrator, and plot, these two dimensions are not mutually exclusive.

Instead, I will start by linking the novel’s formal aspects to its historical and ideological ones. That is, I will integrate the novel’s textual characteristics within a more intellectual-historical framework, meaning that the textual determination of the novel will be necessarily become looser; but at the same time I will, as mentioned, suggest a modulation of the concept “novel,” a shifting of focus toward the question of what is more novel-like—more novelistic—and what is less. I will, in sum, argue for operating with a series of parameters and aspects that are highly significant to, but not absolutely necessary for, understanding the novel, and so may be present to a greater or lesser degree.

Such an attempt to connect these trends, motivated by a desire to think in both literary-historical and formal categories, is a trend that is hardly foreign to modern genre theory, in the tradition that stretches from
Northrop Frye’s (1957) and Alistair Fowler’s (1982) major works to John Frow’s (2006) introductory overview. In this group, Bakhtin is central, inasmuch as he unites the major genre-historical trends with compositional forms and ideological relations. Bakhtin’s investigation is not directed toward a prose genre of some defined length or other external characteristics, but toward fictional forms that are shaped in diverse ways. As such, Bakhtin’s work prepares the ground for a clarification of the novel’s formal genre aspects. What Bakhtin’s genre theories offer is, in short, not a process of genre classification whereby the novel could be defined in contrast to the short story, but instead a theory of various ideological forms.

The terms “novelistic” and “novelness” draw on Bakhtin’s theories of the novel and their reception. These concepts have emerged in the wake of the explosion in Bakhtin research during the 1990s and at the start of the new millennium—and with a special Danish touch: see, for example, *The Novelness of Bakhtin*, edited by Bruhn and Lundquist (2001). As Michael Holquist had already written, in his introduction to Bakhtin’s *The Dialogic Imagination*—which includes, among other things, “The Discourse in the Novel”:

‘Novel’ is the name Bakhtin gives to whatever force is at work within a given literary system reveal the limits, the artificial constraints of that system. … What is more conventionally thought of as the novel is simply the most complex and distilled expression of this impulse. … Even the drama (Ibsen and the other Naturalists), the long poem (Childe Harold or Don Juan) or the lyric (as in Heine) become masks for the novel during the nineteenth century. As formerly distinct literary genres and

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1 The concepts of novelness and the novelistic are not widely known, nor are they standardly defined apart from the contexts to which I here refer. They can be distinguished insofar as novelness indicates a novel’s essence, while the novelistic designates pronounced or significant features of the novel that admit modulation. While I will here focus on the latter term and meaning, this terminological distinction is not relevant for my inquiry.
subjected to the novel’s intensifying antigeneric power, their systematic purity is infected and they become ‘novelized’ (Holquist, 1981, p. xxxi-xxxii).

In what follows, however, I will not simply draw on Bakhtin’s theories of the novel and proceed from there. This is because of my wish to demonstrate (and my readiness to recognize) that the theory of the novel and the ideology of form belong together, i.e., that the novelistic points toward a particular genericity. I also seek a broader perspective, aiming to integrate essential literary-historical and novel- and genre-theoretical aspects of Bakhtin’s theories within the perspective of the novelistic. For this reason, it is the latter perspective that largely structures the analysis to come. The generic concept of mode, in particular, will be the first concept to be examined and investigated in what follows.

THE NOVELISTIC: FAMILY RESEMBLANCE, MODE & GENERICITY

Much modern genre theory is genre-critical. That is to say, it is skeptical of the notion that firm classificatory categories exist, and suspicious of the idea that the properties of individual genres are essential. As an alternative to an essentialist understanding of genre—unless one is completely averse to genre, as was, for example, Benedetto Croce in his 1902 book Estetica (1902/1955)—we can, with Gunhild Agger (2005, p. 82), speak of a relational position, whereby genres are determined by the interaction among text, sender, and receiver in a particular historical context. This is a definition that emphasizes the unstable and processual aspect of genre, its development; and it is in the group of moderate critics who employ this definition that we can best find the groundwork for a rethought genre understanding: a less dogmatic, more mode-oriented account of genre.

Here Wittgenstein’s concept of family resemblance may be an appropriate place to start, as it marks a dissent from a logic of structural es-
Wittgenstein’s concept is grounded in the fact that different types of games—board games, card games, ball games—can fruitfully be compared to one another; he concludes that the similarity among all the games can best be described by saying that they constitute a family, inasmuch as they exhibit a complicated network of similarities that overlap and intersect (Wittgenstein, 1953/2009, §§66-67).

Within genre theory, this line of thought has been drawn upon by Alastair Fowler, among others. Fowler regards textual representatives of a genre as constituting “a family whose septs and individual members are related in various ways, without necessarily having any single feature shared in common by all” (Fowler, 1982, p. 41). Fowler remarks that, by using family resemblance theory as a starting point, he can fulfill his own craving to set aside genre theory’s insistent focus on sorting texts into classes according to a series of shared essential characteristics. Whereas a class has defined boundaries, family resemblance is based on a complex network of traits. Not all the members of a family will necessarily possess all of the same characteristics; there may very well be family members who do not have significant similarities with other members. Nevertheless, despite his emphasis on family resemblance theory, Fowler does point (with a nod to Maurice Mandelbaum) to several dangers. Family resemblance theory can potentially wipe out all consciousness of tradition; it can distract attention from genres’ function; and it can offer no satisfying explanation of genres’ genericity. For this reason, family resemblance theory must be modified so that it can evaluate generic similarities within a pragmatic framework. For Fowler, this yields an attempt to localize “codes” and “generic symbols”: “Certain constituents appear to have a special value in communicating genre. As we have seen, almost any feature can function as part of a generic repertoire. But some are so immediately indicative, particularly during the early approach, that they seem at have to do with recognition specifically” (Fowler, 1982, p. 106). The problem here, however, is that Fowler is primarily operating with three main types of
signals: generic allusions, titles, and opening sequences. For this reason, as is evident from the passage just cited, Fowler is occupied with what we may call “first-time readers,” and with how readers acquire the relevant genre competence. This means that the genre’s communicative function is grasped as an immediate relation (which is already not unproblematic), and the genre is defined in terms of this relation. Accordingly, the signals Fowler is operating with are too coarse; they are not subject to reinterpretation, and invite no further analytical determinations.

On the other hand, family resemblance theory does also play into Fowler’s concept of novel variants with modal transformations. Novel variants can either be understood as complex genres, as subgenres—the war novel, the political novel, the Bildungsroman, etc., i.e., thematically determined types of novel—or as “kinds,” i.e., genres that are more generally historical or fixed, such as the epistolary novel, the meta-fictional novel, or magical realism. Whereas a given text will be determined qua subgenre by thematic and/or formal categories, a text will be understood qua “kind” in terms of broad and general features that are involved in modal transformations; examples include the lyrical novel, the tragic story, the dramatic poem, the Gothic thriller, etc.

This modal relation, so central to modern genre theory and so essential in the present context, is derived by Fowler from Gérard Genette’s The Architext (1979/1992). Here Genette demonstrates that what Goethe called the “three genuine natural forms”—epic, lyric, and drama—are not to be understood as three main and essential forms of genre, but rather, as Goethe himself remarked, as three poetic modes. That is, the three natural forms present three modes of discourse, three ways to use language: epic as “pure narrative,” lyric as “a burst of rapture,” and drama as “lifelike representation” (Genette, 1979/1992, p. 62-63). In traditional genre theory, on the other hand, a projection has taken place, so that these three modes are simply identified with epic, lyric, and drama. But this awards the modes a position that was neither intended nor justified. They are indeed
linguistic categories rather than literary ones (as opposed to comedy and the novel). Genette calls the modes “archigenres,” because of the reach and status they have been granted; but he does not wish to deny them a natural, trans-historical, and indeed mental flavor. On the other hand, Genette is critical of the notion that “a final generic position, and it alone, can be defined in terms that exclude all historicity. For at whatever level of generality one places oneself, the phenomenon of genre inextricably merges the phenomena—among others—of nature and of culture” (Genette, 1979/1992, p. 68-69).

In discussing modes, Genette prefers to speak of the epic, the lyric, and the dramatic rather than epic, lyric and drama. This formulation leaves room for further modes, as it suggests that modes cannot be reduced to three, and that these particular three hold no primacy of rank; the elegiac, the fantastic, and indeed the novelistic, etc., also qualify as modal categories. Meanwhile, opposed to the modes are genres, which Goethe called poetic species [Dichtarten]: categories that are primarily determined thematically, like the chivalric romance, the ode, or comedy, and which must be understood historically, but which also relate to the issue of modes of discourse, and possibly to other modes as well.

The fact that texts cannot be understood immanently, but must be regarded in light of their various relations (and types of relations) to other texts, is what Genette calls transtextuality. Genette subdivides transtextuality into five aspects. One of these is architextuality, which relates to discourse types and genres; Genette’s goal with this concept is to use it to capture “that relationship of inclusion that links each text to the various types of discourse it belongs to. Here we have the genres, with their determinations that we’ve already glimpsed: thematic, modal, formal, and other (?)” (Genette, 1979/1992, p. 82). The two parallel divisions that Genette introduces into the genre relationship—first, his distinction between historical classes and trans-historical archigenres (modes of discourse), and second, his definition of architextuality—are the tools he uses to combat the
problematic fact that classical, romantic, and post-romantic genre theory has conflated modes of discourse with genre forms; but this must be complemented by the fact that thematic relations and other formal aspects can also be transtextual. And this, in turn, should be understood as a reaffirmation of the fact that the historical and the ahistorical are inextricably intertwined.

In an extension of Genette’s conceptual work, Jean-Marie Schaeffer has pointed out—with an eye to twentieth-century literature—that established genre categories are still live, active forces in modern literature; but what is significant is the intense activity with which texts reshape genres and transform them. Transformations, Schaeffer claims, are always taking place. Schaeffer draws a conceptual distinction between genre and genericity, where the first is a purely classificatory unit—such that a text *qua* genre is one that copies a specific genre model—whereas the second is a dynamic function: “The genre belongs to the reading’s categorial region, it structures a certain reading type, whereas genericity is a productive factor in constituting textuality” (Schaeffer, 1983/2009, p. 137). More specifically, Schaeffer understands genericity as the mode by which the individual text transforms or modifies its genre. Genericity surmounts the text as an autonomous and closed system: it locates it within a transtextuality. The text becomes overlaid with textual dynamics, meaning that the genre evolves, continuously but slowly. Only a flimsy skeleton of formal features remains stable, primarily modes of discourse—which, on Schaeffer’s view, do not say very much about the text itself.

This understanding of genre and genericity fits in harmoniously with Bakhtin’s concept of genre. After all, Bakhtin insists on using the concept of genre at the very same time as he himself draws attention to the continual development of genre, and to the fact every text has a memory of the genre(s) to which it has a dialogic relation:
A genre is always the same and yet not the same, always old and new simultaneously. Genre is reborn and renewed at every new stage in the development of literature and in every individual work of a given genre. … A genre lives in the present, but always remembers its past, its beginning (Bakhtin, 1963/1984, p. 106).

Every text, qua genre, has within it a trace of the source of its genre, even though this trace might not be visible immediately. This can be explained by the model that Bruhn and Lundquist (2001, p. 41) sketch to illustrate Bakhtin’s dynamic understanding of genre. If we describe each specific generic trait with the lowercase letters a, b, c, etc., and each phase, stage or group within a genre with the numbers 1, 2, 3, etc., then a line of development within a genre can be illustrated as follows:

1: a-b-c-d
2: b-c-d-e
3: c-d-e-f
4: d-e-f-g
5: e-f-g-h

Here genre variant 1 has no traits in common with genre variant 5—yet it is obvious that they are closely related. After all, the features of variant 5 that are also found in variants 2, 3, and 4 are associated with the features that are all found in variant 1. In this sense, variant 5 contains a trace—a memory—of variant 1, even that trace is beyond the horizon of immediate perception. Bruhn and Lundquist’s model is designed to illustrate a genre’s development, but can also be used to illustrate any genre variation whatsoever: in principle, all five variants can exist concurrently. This apparently formal outline, however, should not give reason to believe that it merely amounts to structural thinking within formal, closed systems. On the contrary: it must be emphasized, for one thing, that this outline represents a
modification—indeed, a dynamization—of Wittgenstein’s family resemblance theory; and for another, that this is an understanding of genre as an open generic unit best characterized by its space of possibilities. The novel is neither a finite nor inexhaustible category. It is thus significant that Bakhtin does not merely present a single theory about the novel, but instead offers multiple, separable theories with different and competing perspectives.

By “space of possibilities” I mean that the novelistic is no exemplificatory unit. It is likely impossible to find a novel that contains or represents every novelistic trait. The novelistic is an idea about the novel genre that no novel lives up to fully. The novelistic can be understood as an epistemological field that cannot be captured by conventions and standards, and which is never given a final shape or meaning. It includes dynamic and textual conditions which, though non-absolute, compose a genericity. One of the central passages in Bakhtin’s “Discourse in the Novel”, one of his major works on the novel, reads as follows:

The dialogic orientation of a word among other words (of all kinds and degrees of otherness) creates new and significant artistic potential in discourse, creates the potential for a distinctive art of prose, which has found its fullest and deepest expression in the novel (Bakhtin, 1934-35/1981, p. 275).

This passage ties together two phenomena: the dialogic word and the novel. While there is no question of a one-to-one correspondence between them, but the novel is the form of expression that best epitomizes a dialogic genre. The dialogic is thus an essential dimension of the novelistic.

With regard to modal determination, the field of literary genres can be described in terms of a number of modes—the discursive modes epic, lyric, and dramatic, and formal modes such as poetic and novelistic. Or as Bruhn and Lunquist formulate the matter, referring to modes as “poles”:
“Every pole marks the extreme but unreachable point of a given generic potential. And therefore, every literary text, a poem or a dramatic play (in traditional genre-terms), can be novelistic, i.e. take part in novelness” (Bruhn & Lundquist, 2001, p. 42).

Just as the field of literary genres is made up of a number of general modes, so too individual genres can be characterized in terms of a series of clarifying aspects and parameters. These parameters are not merely discursive features and patterns, but also ideological conditions that are interwoven with the discursive patterns. For example, the novelistic can largely be described by means of the dialogic. The remainder of this essay will be occupied with an investigation of the novelistic mode, on the basis of established novel theory, with Bakhtin’s theories as its impetus and focal point. The novelistic will first be delimited as an idea, and then related to specific characteristics. The method in what follows, therefore, is to start with the conceptual and historical, and move from there toward the textual.

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE NOVEL, THE MODERN ERA, & PLURALISM

As mentioned previously, one of most essential dimensions of the theory of the novel is the examination of the novel both in its epochal context, and as the vehicle for special ideological content. The novel belongs essentially to the modern world; both Ian Watt (1957/2000) and Georg Lukács (1920/1971) link its breakthrough qua genre to the emergence of bourgeois-capitalist society. The novel is linked to (the notion of) the empowerment of the individual, including the liberation and alienation of individuals, through trade, from the economic, social, and geographical ties that had bound them in earlier ages. It was of course not everyone who enjoyed this new space of possibilities, but only the privileged and better-off. What was new, however, was that this privileged group was not simply an exclusive social class, but extended to an emerging bourgeoisie that took the form of a complex and wide-ranging social class of cultural consumers, with a demand for interpretation and reflection on the existential-social
aspects of existence. Watt can therefore regard “The reading public and the rise of the novel”—the title of one of the chapters of his classic book on the theory of the novel—as two sides of the same coin. Hegel had already proclaimed, correspondingly, that the novel was the epic of the bourgeois age.²

In this context, the contrast between the novel and the epic is key—as was particularly emphasized by Lukács and Bakhtin. For Bakhtin (1941/1981), the epic is characterized by the fact that its reality is detached from the contemporary age, the age in which both author and audience are living. The past of the epic’s reality is not arbitrary, but is the national “absolute past.” Hence the epic does not have personal experience as its basis, but the nation’s tradition and lore. This is in contrast to the novel, which requires no temporal discrepancy between past and present, and so is bound neither to the character of the hero (as in the epic) nor to a reservoir of national source-material. The novel, instead, is fueled by its contemporary age. It is not without reason, after all, that “novel” (as well as “novella,” which also serves on the Continent as the word for “short story”), derives from novum, the new.

The epic is understood as “an oral and poetic genre dealing with public and usually remarkable deeds of historical or legendary persons engaged in a collective rather than an individual enterprise” (Watts, 1957/2000, p. 240). By contrast, the characters of a novel are free from such constraints; they are not bound to a tragic fate, nor shrouded in some special decree. A novel’s character is not tied to the social order through a relation of determination. Everything that is taken for granted in the epic—everything from gender relations to social hierarchies—is reflected on in the novel. In particular, it is the individual’s creation, formation, and edu-

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² Hegel, 1835/1986, p. 392: Ganz anders verhält es sich dagegen mit dem Roman, der modernen bürgerlichen Epopöe. See also Hegel, 1835/1975, p. 1092: “But it is quite different with the novel, the modern bourgeois epic.”
cation; love; and the establishment of a common morality throughout the interpersonal field that are the novel’s subject-matters. Much as the epic has the nation and hero as its focal points, so too the novel has the I and the individual as its core—specifically the free individual, the individual who is regarded as being left to his own devices.

As Lukács remarks about the form of the novel at the beginning of the second part of his *The Theory of the Novel* (1920/1971b, the fact of God’s disappearance, the world’s abandonment by God, reveals itself in the novel’s “incommensurability of soul and work, of interiority and adventure”; the novel articulates the absence of “a transcendental ‘place’ allotted to human endeavor” (p. 97). In Lukács’ well-known words, the novel is associated with a transcendental homelessness.—In Bakhtin, this consciousness of novelistic crisis is transformed and redefined. This novel also manifests homelessness, but does not express a loss that should be mourned, or that can be healed. On the contrary: this loss is encouraging and productive. The novel articulates a questing endeavor, inasmuch as it is part of the linguistic-human condition that language inaugurates a split, a separation, and an absence.

According to both Lukács and Bakhtin, homelessness is the novel’s unavoidable predicament. For Lukács, homelessness is linked to an individual whose inward life and outer actions, with respect to the contingent modern world, do not fit together; here homelessness manifests itself in the novel’s inability to produce a coherent and totalizing representation, and reflects what Lukács calls the problem of non-representability. For Bakhtin, non-representability is precisely the great strength of the novel, inasmuch it forces the uniform language of absolutism to be discarded in favor of “Galilean linguistic consciousness” grounded in diversity and decentral-

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ization of words and views. Verbal homelessness, in the thought of Bakhtin, is thus associated with a release from a one-way and absolute ideology and form.

While it is traditionally Nietzsche who, with *Also sprach Zarathustra* (1892), is held liable for the death of God, it must be pointed out that the novel itself represents, in its form and function, its pluralism and relativism, an eradication of the Truth. As a genre, the novel does not present solutions and answers, but rather asks questions. In its format *qua* genre, the novel shelters an understanding of the world as multivocal and ambiguous. Or as was expressed by Milan Kundera, who though he was inspired by Lukács, ended up holding a view that is closer to Bakhtin’s:

Man desires a world where good and evil can be clearly distinguished, for he has an innate and irrepressible desire to judge before he understands. Religions and ideologies are founded on this desire. They can cope with the novel only by translating its language of relativity and ambiguity into their own apodictic and dogmatic discourse (Kundera, 1986/1988, p. 7).

One consequence of this is the tendency to define literature according to univocal categories: either Kafka’s innocent Joseph K. (1914-1915/2000) is being judged by an unjust court, or K. is in fact guilty, and the court’s actions express a higher justice. For Kundera, this attests to an inability to tolerate the essential relativity of existence and recognize that the chief judge is missing: “This inability makes the novel’s wisdom (the wisdom of uncertainty) hard to accept and understand”.

Kundera’s comment is rooted in the fact that the novel itself mirrors and reflects this very inability: the novel investigates man’s constant craving for meaning and truth, which stands in opposition to the relativity of the human condition. Elsewhere in *The Art of the Novel*, Kundera invokes a Jewish proverb: “Man thinks, God laughs.” God laughs because man’s
attempt to seek truth by means of thought is never fulfilled; human reflection only distances ourselves from ourselves and from one another. The art of the novel, in this metaphor, is an echo of God’s laughter, and expresses what can be regarded as the novel *epistém*: the novel is the place where no one stands in possession of the truth, whether about him- or herself, others, or the world; at the same time, it is also the place where thinking happens, even though the truth about both the world and the *I* remains absent (p. 75).

**BAKHTIN AND THE DIALOGIC**

With this ideological framing of the novel in place, a more specific account of its verbal homelessness, relativity, and continual process of reflection can be provided by linking the novel to Bakhtin’s concept of the dialogic. What makes this possible is that the dialogic encapsulates the novel’s ideology, signals non-hierarchical interaction among various entities in a number of areas, and points to the novelistic. This account is developed most fundamentally in *Discourse in the Novel* (1934-35/1981), which attends both to the general constitution of language and to the novel’s relation to it.

Bakhtin’s analysis is concerned partly with the level of specific linguistic styles, and partly with an overarching, macrolinguistic level. The latter level should be understood as the connective tissue that binds together all those who belong to a linguistic community, and at the same time is individualized: that is, it mediates between the individual and the social. Bakhtin is interested only in living language—in the utterance and the discourse, rather than in the sentence and the proposition—because the dead language of grammar, formalism, and structuralism obscures the language’s actual functions and dynamics.

Living language has two characteristics: its formative principle is dialogue, and it is multilayered. The first dimension, that language is dialogic, is a way of saying that dialogue is the picture of language. This point has
several overlapping dimensions. To begin with, it refers to the fact that every utterance is directed at someone, and that the recipient's response has already been incorporated, in one way or another, into the utterance. What is more, the utterance relates to a relation, an object, that is associated with other foreign words. The notion of the foreign word is an essential aspect of the dialogic:

Indeed, any concrete discourse (utterance) finds the object at which it was directed already as it were overlain with qualifications, open to dispute, charged with value, already enveloped in an obscuring mist—or, on the contrary, by the ‘light’ of alien words that have already been spoken about it. It is entangled, shot through with shared thought, point of view, alien value judgments and accents. The word, directed toward its object, enters a dialogically agitated and tension-filled environment of alien words, value judgments and accents, weaves in and out of complex interrelationships, merges with some, recoils from others, intersects with yet a third group: and all this may crucially shape discourse, may leave a trace in all its semantic layers, may complicate its expression and influence its entire stylistic profile (Bakhtin, 1934-35/1981, p. 276).

When the object-directed word breaks through a swarm of foreign words in this way, it sets the stage for at least the following three relations: (1) there may be something polemical or double-voiced about the word, as in satire, pastiche, or irony; (2) the word may play on entirely different connotations that have no immediate connection to the object, via syntax, semantics, or composition; and finally, (3) its dialogue with foreign words may relate to additional intertextual meanings—where intertextuality is, as is well-known, Julia Kristeva’s (1969/1980) translation and interpretation of Bakhtin’s concept of the dialogic. Every living language is dialogic, but the aesthetic-literary language is dialogic to a special extent. Among liter-
ary forms, the novel is the one that accentuates the dialogic most strongly—which is a vital point in the present modal context.

The second dimension of language—that it is multilayered—implies that its dialogic, heterogeneous forms can be traced to different levels and registers. In the English translation of Bakhtin, the term *heteroglossia* is used as a collective term to cover living language’s formal-thematic complexity in three registers (as is made explicit in the Danish translation from Russian, where the term *heteroglossia* does not occur; cf. Bakhtin, 2003). Living language is never a single unit; on the contrary, social and historical life form the backdrop for a variety of verbal worlds. To call living language multilayered is to say that its intentional possibilities are realized in certain directions: “filled with specific content, they are made concrete, particular, and are permeated with concrete value judgments; they knit together with specific objects and with the belief system of certain genres of expression and point of view peculiar to particular professions” (p. 289). The concrete layering of language is related to the genres’ “specific organisms.” The three registers, or levels, can be specified as follows:

First, there is the socially *multilingual* character of language. Language itself is shrouded behind different discourses, such as legal, religious, and academic discourses, the “lects” of families and friendships, or social-historical language uses such as sociolects, dialects, or the use of special jargons or period styles. Every language in use contains many “languages,” i.e., is multilingual.

Second, the *diversity of language* is carried over to the level of national languages, where it becomes possible for different national, regional, or epochal languages to meet each other. Bakhtin refers to this level as “language diversity.” It can occur, for example, when a text mixes French and English, or when archaic and modern languages are blended.

Third, each individual articulates his or her own *multivocality*—diversity of voices—by means of his or her utterances. This means that one individual’s utterance may contain the words and voices of other individu-
als as well. This occurs, for example, when a character’s discourse contains a mix of the author’s and narrator’s words, or those of another character. It is at this level, in other words, that language’s inner dialogic nature becomes most visible.

In *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics* (1963/1984)—which is a revision of *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Art* (1929, not published in English)—Bakhtin’s goal is more specific. Here he is concerned with the relation between the “hero” and the “author,” as he calls it, meaning that between the character and the narrator (though at times the term “author” refers specifically to a text’s implicit author). In Dostoevsky, it is only possible to a limited extent to localize an omniscient narrator—or, putting the matter in more Bakhtinian terms, to find a exclusive overflow of vision from the author toward the character. On the contrary, their relationship is regarded as equal. The author enjoys no classic authorial omniscience, no privileged position of vision or knowledge. For his part, the hero also suffers from a somewhat wobbly consciousness: he is just as knowledgeable about himself as the author is about him. In Bakhtin’s words:

> All the stable and objective qualities of a hero—his social position, the degree to which he is sociologically or characterologically typical, his habitus, his spiritual profile and even his very physical appearance—that is, everything that usually serves an author in creating a fixed and stable image of the hero, ‘who he is,’ becomes in Dostoevsky the object of the hero’s own introspection, the subject of his self-consciousness; and the subject of the author’s visualization and representation turns out to be in fact a function of this self-consciousness (Bakhtin, 1963/1984, p. 48).

The relation of equivalence that Bakhtin here sketches is crucial to his account of the dialogic and polyphonic novel. The dialogic element functions on two different levels, macro and micro; and the preceding consid-
erations about the relation between author and hero pertain to the macro level. They are more wide-ranging than may appear at first, as they pertain to the entire literary composition of Dostoevsky’s works and to the idea that is associated with it. The upshot, after all, is that no authoritative voice is established that serves as a final judge. On the contrary, the work’s various statements—the voice of the narrator, and the voice of the character—stand and speak to one another in an equal dialogue. Bakhtin does not conceal the fact that Dostoevsky represents an ideal, or that the dialogic form of his works make it impossible to localize their evaluative system either in the author, in the character, or even in an eventual narrator. This makes it evident that the novel can shape its own ideological composition in three different ways: a) the ideological point of view can be bound to a single level or entity in the text—such as the author; b) the text can represent numerous evaluative viewpoints, but orders them in some kind of hierarchy; or, finally, c) the various views can, as sketched above, constitute a non-totalizing manifold—“polyphony” in Bakhtin’s terms, or as I would like to call it: narrative polyphony.

Alongside this general compositional dialogue, there can also be—as mentioned earlier—a more localized micro-dialogue in play. This is a textual and linguistic dialogicity, here called linguistic polyphony, which can be characterized by means of the concept of double-voiced words. These are words and expressions that have not just one single, univocal referential content, but carry an additional meaning within them in the form of a foreign voice, whether it be through stylization, parody, a hidden internal polemic, or other devices. The prototypical form of double-vocality occurs when one character uses another character’s expressions in his or her own thoughts or speech, so that an (undecidable) game of ownership arises between the two voices.

When these two types of dialogue and polyphony are present at the same time, we have what Bakhtin calls the polyphonic novel:
In the introduction to his book on Dostoevsky, Bakhtin had already formulated this issue schematically:

*A plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousnesses, a genuine polyphony of fully valid voices is in fact the chief characteristic of Dostoevsky’s novels*. What unfolds in his works is not a multitude of characters and fates in a single objective world, illuminated by a single authorial consciousness; rather *a plurality of consciousness, with equal rights and each with its own world, combine but are not merged in the unity of the event*. … In his works a hero appears whose voice is constructed exactly like the voice of the author himself in a novel of the usual type (1963/1984, p. 6-7).

In both *Discourse of the Novel* and *Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, as mentioned previously, Bakhtin wishes to characterize the novel, or more accurately (as I would like to point out) the novelistic, as a strongly dialogic discourse as opposed a monologic one. It is important to emphasize that dialogue and monologue are modes, so that even a novel can be monologic, i.e., be a novel that is not especially novelistic. Indeed, Bakhtin held that this was true of many of Tolstoy’s works, for example, because the various characters do not interact with one another, and because they are incorporated
into the author’s perspective. By contrast, the chief hallmarks of the novelistic are a non-hierarchical relation between author and character, together with a hybrid construction featuring both social multilingualism and a more individualized multivocality. This is not to say that the novel has an independent language, but that it is influenced by developments in the social language. In this sense, the novel is “unclean,” a hybrid—as opposed to closed and defined genres—and can incorporate all possible genres within itself. The novel mixes the high and the low, and stands in maximal contact with its contemporary age. For this reason, the novel is never fully developed, but is always in process, and so incarnates the dialogic, including the dialogic aspects of thinking and being human. The novelistic articulates this ideology—along with an attempt to escape from the tentacles of myth.

**NOVEL REALISM AND CHARACTER INDIVIDUALISM**

In Ian Watt’s tally of the characteristics typical of novels, he identifies the realistic representation of reality as the most significant and decisive new aspect of eighteenth-century novels. In saying this, Watt does not automatically distinguish himself from contemporary theorists. That occurs only when he insists on adding nuance: “The novel’s realism,” he writes, “does not reside in the kind of life it presents”—that is, *which* world is represented—“but in the way it presents it” (Watt, 1957/2000, p. 11).

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4 As Derrida (1980, p. 204) quite logically points out, it is only possible to speak of genres, to mix them—or not to have to mix them—on the basis of some notion of the purity of genres’ identity. Now, when I speak here of genre hybrids and mixing genres, this is indeed based on the notion that other genres are more well-defined than the hybrid genre “novel”; but this does not mean that these genres—such as the apologia, the sermon, the memoir, the travelogue, the wonder book, etc.—are not also complex, only that they are complex to a less pronounced degree than is the novel. They are, in principle, not novelistic.
The latter is what was new and groundbreaking in Richardson’s and Defoe’s novels, and what Fielding would later establish as a norm: namely, formal realism, which revolves around the centrality granted to characters in the new genre. This refers, first of all, to the plot’s concentration on a single crucial intrigue, so that action and character are linked to two sides of one affair. Secondly, the mode of presentation yields psychologized depth portraits—in the case of Richardson, expressed through letters—full of accumulated details and extended character sketches. In the new, realistic novels, characters emerge as nuanced and individualized, and not just as immutable types. Richardson even argues that realism in characterization and plot are preconditions for the work’s edification of the reader to function (See Hultén, 2007, p. 182).

Following Watt, such theorists of the novel as Margaret Anne Doody (1996) have pointed out that Richardson is not as original as Watt makes him out to be: Richardson’s realism has roots in English and French chivalric romances. Similarly, while the individualism of Robinson Crusoe (1719/2000) may have been significant enough, it can probably be interpreted as a mirroring of the economic individualism that was flourishing in the first half of the 1700s. But whereas Watt sees Defoe’s work as merely expressing a threshold event, rather than embodying the novel’s core field—the study of the interpersonal order—later theorists have bracketed this issue, criticizing Watt for failing to understand the metareferential play in Robinson Crusoe. As is well known, the book was released with a para-text that presents the story as though it were true. This game, which was arguably very important for the book’s extensive popularity, transforms the book’s extraordinarily detailed form of presentation. The book takes its discursive norms from such non-literary representations as travelogues, “spiritual autobiographies,” wonder books, and handbooks of survival on

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5 This is Hunter’s (1990) term for a textual genre that existed in Defoe’s day, and which consisted of accounts of quite fantastic events that are described as true, and are recount-
desert islands. This reflects the fact that, in this context, realism should not be taken as a literary norm; on the contrary, the wealth of details can be the manifestation of the impression of a true story (put radically, that *Robinson Crusoe* should not be read as fiction at all, but as a reliable report (See Andersen Nexø, 2007, p. 163)).

The mix of genres sketched here is one between factual and fictional genre formats. Put in Bakhtin’s terms, this novel is nurtured by the non-literary genres of its day; it is here that the novel, in its unfinishable and continual course of development, acquires new material, new perspectives, and new forms of understanding. As Bakhtin researcher Anker Gemzøe points out, one motivation for the various forms of documentary fiction is an attempt to overcome the chasm between privacy and literature *qua* public phenomenon: “To make the private public has always been the goal and *raison d’être* of prose and, in a wider sense, realism” (Gemzøe, 2010, p. 1).

The psychological individualism, wealth of details, and documentary fiction in *Robinson Crusoe* are also tied to a displacement of an idealistic figure type—the brave hero, the romantic Platonist, the libertine, etc.—to the ordinary, everyday character, one who does not necessarily have anything valiant in him. The next step is the introduction of a complex registry of representations with the thinking, meditating character as its object, as Dorrit Cohn (1978/1983) has analyzed. Quoted (inner) monologue can not only be interspersed with free indirect speech—a narrated monologue, as Cohn calls it—but also psychonarration. The last of these has been used, in the classic omniscient presentation, to provide a brief introduction to a character’s motives and situation. It is also a means to gain insight into a character’s nonverbal mental life.

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*ed in a detailed style designed to emphasize the narrative’s trustworthiness as a report of an experienced event.*
The novel has a special relationship with realism: it is its form of expression *par excellence*. It is linked to the character representation and multivocality that derive from it, much as realism in novels is closely associated with the inclusion and parody of multiple everyday genres.

**CONCLUSION: THE NOVEL’S MODES**

The novel has a long history and prehistory; but it is not only on account of its development that it is such a spacious genre. Even in a modern perspective, it cannot be grasped as a defined entity. For this reason, on several occasions in the twentieth century the novel was described along two lines: one minimalistic, stressing the writing and the poetic, and the other imaginative, dominated by plot and lively epic narration. Precisely because of the monstrous size of the novel genre, it may be useful to characterize the novel by means of various different aspects and parameters, i.e., to modulate the novel so that certain forms of representation are understood to be more typical of novels, more novelistic, than others. For this reason, it is the novelistic parameters that take central stage in this characterization.

The background for this is, in part, Wittgenstein’s family resemblance theory and Genette’s demonstration of the significance of modal relations to the understanding of genre, and in part Bakhtin’s theories of the novel, conveyed by means of a narratological approach. Bakhtin’s understanding of the novel has had a vital influence on recent novel theory and literary genre theory. In the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory*, for example, Howard Mancing remarks, with regard to the way in which Bakhtin’s theory of the novel theory has been understood and applied in modern novel theory, that there exists no special form, technique, theme, or approach that determines what makes a text into a novel; on the contrary, “the distinguishing characteristics of the novel [are] its heteroglossia (mul-

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6 E.g. the Norwegian author Jan Kjærstad (1999) has outlined such two lines: Woolf, Beckett, Handke, Bernhard contra Grass, Calvino, Marquez, Carter and Carey.
tiple voices) and its dialogism (multiple consciousnesses)” (Mancing, 2005, p. 399). This interpretation implies that these particular characteristics of the novel are not formal. But what are the dialogic and the multilingual as features, if they not formal? The dialogic does indeed represent an ideological perspective—but more than that: it signals “democratic” interaction among the novel’s textual entities, styles, integrated genres, citations, etc.; and it sets the characters free as independent individuals, even in relation to moral dogmas. The dialogic forms a space of possibilities without fixed truths, and shapes a verbal homelessness; the novelistic has no temporal commitments or transcendental orders that must be defended, and there is no totalizing representation. But the point is also that, on many levels, the dialogic inscribes itself into the textual.

The non-discrete aspects and parameters are as follows: microdialogue, or linguistic polyphony; macrodialogue, or narrative polyphony between author and character; style mixing, and other kinds of linguistic diversity; the dialogic as intertextuality; polyphony that specially incorporates the modes of representing consciousness that are unique to fiction, including the narrated monologue, psychonarration, and above all discourse that is contained within conscious thinking—potentially including, in this context, stream-of-consciousness narration. To this there must be added the genre-multiple: the fact that the novel contains other genres within its overarching form, without thereby being committed to a realistic or conventional form of presentation, but rather has mixture and the hybrid as its point of convergence—including the mixture of literary and non-literary genres.
The Novel Between the Novelistic and the Non-Novelistic: Novelistic Aspects and Parameters

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The difficulty of finding a formula for the novel lies partly in the fact that the novelistic and the dialogic can manifest themselves in a series of different ways, and partly in the fact that novelistic aspects and parameters
cannot have the status of genre requirements. There is therefore no one relationship by which the significantly novelistic can be uniquely characterized. Yet the more each individual parameter is expanded, and the more interacting parameters there are in play, the more novelistic a text will be.

One could in principle conceive of a text that is traditionally categorized as a novel, but which lacks novelistic parameters; but no such text is actually to be found. There are, however, novels in which a whole set of novelistic aspects are lacking: e.g., a novel that lacks polyphonic form, and is simply monologic. Conversely, there may be short texts that have the novelistic as their defining features—even though the novelistic, with its hybrid character, naturally encourages longer texts. For each text, this method requires careful weighing and determination of how present or absent the novelistic mode is. If the dialogic and heteroglossic are richly represented in a prose text, then it is highly novelistic, and so the genre at issue will naturally be the novel; otherwise, the novelistic element may be weak, and other genre identifications may be more appropriate. In this same way, we may speak of a short story or poem being “novelized,” meaning that its text has come to be strongly characterized by novelistic features.7

Ultimately, however, this is not a matter of classification, but of presenting the novelistic as a set of analytical parameters that can function as a descriptive space for novelistic texts and the novelistic element within texts. Novels are not just novels: they are texts in which the novelistic is articulated in various ways.

7 In the Danish context, Peter Stein Larsen (2009) has argued that in approximately the year 2000, two types of polyphony could be localized in Danish poetry, both of which can be classified as prosification—or in the terms of the present article, novelization—and which can be contrasted with traditional lyric poetry on the one hand, and avant-garde-ized lyric poetry on the other.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


PERSPECTIVES
THE FOCUS OF THIS ESSAY is Bakhtin's concept of genre from a linguistic point of view, which is a paradox. Bakhtin's concept of genre was a linguistic one, and he did base it on language use. But those who concern themselves with Bakhtin's works, and who work to define and apply his concept of genre, are primarily scholars of literature—and they do not take language as their starting-point.

“After all, language enters life through concrete utterances (which manifest language) and life enters language through concrete utterances” (Bakhtin, 1952-1953/1986, p. 63). This citation from Bakhtin’s most language-oriented work, “The Problem of Speech Genres,” written in 1952-1953 (Problema rechevych zhanrov, first printed in Literaturnaya utcheba, no. 1, 1978 (Bakhtin, 1979, p. 399)) could well be used to headline not only Bakhtin’s view of language in use, but also his conception of genre—for he regarded speech genres as a basic condition for our communication with one another. According to Bakhtin, to learn how to speak is to learn how to determine the speech genre in use, and to learn how to use speech genres in our relationships with others; in other words, it is to learn how to make use of speech acts or communicative acts—for speech genres and speech acts are in principle one and the same. What Austin observed in 1961, and what Searle expanded upon later in 1969, had already been described by Bakhtin in 1952-1953.

In what follows, I will argue from a linguistic point of view, and with a focus on Bakhtin’s article on genre, that Bakhtin uses “speech genres” to refer to the same thing as speech acts. I will demonstrate this by pointing

Andersen: "Genre and Language": 391-421 in Genre and... 2015.
out similarities between Bakhtin’s theories of genre and language, on the one hand, and speech act theory and a modern functional view of language, on the other. To this end, I will read Bakhtin “down to the bone” in the original Russian; here I will attempt to provide a simple and operational reading of Bakhtin’s account of genre, and illustrate it with basic examples. My motivation for this presentation is to get as close as possible to a pure and original linguistic reading of Bakhtin. For this reason, I will also touch briefly on conceptual confusions within Bakhtin research and in various readings of Bakhtin. It should be emphasized that it is specifically the understanding of genre that Bakhtin expressed in his main work of genre analysis on “The Problem of Speech Genres,” Problema rechevykh zhanrov, that will be the focus of this essay.¹

**BAKHTINIANISM**

In recent decades, Bakhtin research has become a thriving business. His name is used just about everywhere from queer theory to classroom pedagogy; and it has become permissible to call Bakhtin everything from “unscholarly” to an “autodidact” (see, e.g., Johansen & Klujeff, 2009, p. 258).

This rampant use of Bakhtin’s name in manifold contexts can be traced to several factors. One is the mythopoeia in which Bakhtin’s life and the history of his works are generally bathed, e.g., the myth that he used a manuscript by Goethe as cigarette paper. A second factor is the popular uncertainty about the authorship of certain texts, specifically, the question of which member of the Bakhtin circle—Medvedev, Voloshinov, or Bakhtin himself—actually wrote the texts published as The Formal Method in Literary Scholarship (by Medvedev, 1928/1978) and Marxism and the Philosophy of Language (by Voloshinov, 1930/1973) (see Ander-

¹ Bakhtin treats genre in other works as well, including his book on Dostoyevsky (Bakhtin, 1929/1984), where he presents a different account of genre focused on the novel. See also the article by Gorm Larsen in the present volume.
This uncertainty has now been cleared up; there is no longer any doubt that the named authors did in fact write the books attributed to them. The fact remains, however, that within the Bakhtin circle, and especially among these three, ideas were shared and developed jointly, so that some ideas or perspectives are joint products. As I will explain below, one example of this is Bakhtin’s understanding of genre, which can be partially attributed to Medvedev.

A third factor for the questionable use of Bakhtin is the fact that his texts need to be understood in the context of their time. Under Stalinism, an author had to be careful with references, as one could not refer to just anything; this led to a tradition of imprecise or missing references. On the other hand, reference to or use of permitted sources could help get a text past the censors. Thus, for example, in Bakhtin’s introduction to his essay on genre, he borrows the expression “the unity of national language” from Stalin’s essay “Marxism and the Problems of General Linguistics” (1950/2013, p. 21). Appeasing the censor was the sole reason for this “borrowing”—and it worked. Exactitude was thus not a virtue, but variation was; and so we find that Bakhtin’s texts exhibit variation in their conceptual apparatus, despite the norms of scholarship.

A fourth reason for the manifold interpretations of Bakhtin’s texts is that, in translation, they were transformed to fit a conceptual world that already existed in the West, so that his concepts were partially distorted (though this will of course always be an issue for translations). For example, the Russian word slovo has been translated as “discourse” (in both the English and the French translations). While the word slovo means “word,” in certain contexts it can be translated as “discourse”; the word “discourse” also exists in modern Russian, but Bakhtin seems simply not to have used it. Another example of conceptual distortion is the word “heteroglossia,” which was devised by Bakhtin translator Michael Holquist on the basis of three Bakhtinian concepts (Bakhtin, 1981/1994): difference in speech, or multiorality (rasnorechiye); difference in voice, or multivocality (ras-
nogolositza); and difference in language, or multilingualism (ras- 
noyasychiye). \(^2\) “Heteroglossia” is an excellent umbrella term for these 
three concepts, but there are other examples where translations have led to 
conceptual inflation. This applies, for example, to Bakhtin’s concepts of 
“voice” and polyphony (see Andersen, 2007). The concept of genre, how-
ever—or, rather, the word “genre”—also exists in Russian in that same 
form: zhanr. In this way, the duality between Bakhtin’s original texts and 
the translated Bakhtin texts has been a breeding ground for conceptual 
ambiguity and, as a consequence, diversity of interpretations.

A fifth reason for this conceptual vagueness is Bakhtin himself. Bakh-
tin wrote in a language that was sometimes bombastic, with a penchant for 
metaphorical and vocal aesthetics. He wanted to “seduce” his readers—and 
his readers have been seduced (see the introductory quotation above).

The result of all of this is that Bakhtin’s concepts can be blurry in use. 
And a blurry conceptual apparatus can be a catalyst for multiplicity in in-
terpretation. Nevertheless, the conceptual diversity that exists within Bakh-
tin research can also be regarded positively. It has itself catalyzed numer-
ous exciting research initiatives, even if these are at times far removed 
from Bakhtin’s own texts. The conceptual variation and blurriness can 
ultimately be fertile soil for many solutions.

THREE READINGS
In my view, given the above considerations, one can classify plausible 
readings of Bakhtin along three main lines. One line consists of readings of 
the texts in Russian and wholly in terms of their own period; such readings 
are too isolated, and should be considered obsolete. A second line involves

\(^2\) See also Andersen, 2002; 2007; 2010; 2015. Here the three concepts behind “hetero-
glossia” are translated into Danish (and English) terms that hew very closely to the Rus-
sian: raznoyasychiye → forskelligsprogethed (“different languageness”), raznorechiye → 
forskellig tale (“different speechness”), raznogolositza → forskelligstemnighed (“differ-
ent voicedness”).
subjecting the original texts to close reading (ideally in their original lan-
guage), but always with a sidelong glance at the period of their composi-
tion. A third set of readings examines the texts intertextually and in a pre-
sent-day context, without regard for the texts’ own period: this is a sci-
entific but creative mode of reading. Finally, there are also readings that are
not true readings—or, rather, they are readings not of Bakhtin himself but
of interpretations of Bakhtin. Even though these last approaches can be
quite productive, I do not include such readings in my classification.

As for my own reading of Bakhtin, it belongs within the second of
the above three lines. What is presented below will be a close reading of
Bakhtin’s essay on genre and other relevant texts in the original language,
regarding them as far as possible in relation to their period of composition,
and with the goal of clarifying the conceptual apparatus that surrounds
Bakhtin’s account of genre, in order to make the latter simple and opera-
tional.

OTHERS ON BAKHTIN’S CONCEPT OF GENRE
Bakhtin’s concept of genre can be understood and used as a linguistically
rooted concept that (to use a Bakhtinian expression) “flows through” all
intercultural, interpersonal levels, from the isolated utterance to the literary
work or the cultural event, in the sense that both the literary work and the
cultural event are transformations of isolated linguistic speech acts. This
summary account of Bakhtin’s concept of genre, as it is expressed in
Bakhtin’s essay on speech genres, enjoys something of a consensus among
those scholars of literature, linguistics, and rhetoric who have taken an
interest in Bakhtinian speech genres (see, e.g., Bruhn, 2005; Miller, 1984;
Briggs & Bauman, 1992). None of these scholars, however, seem to take
this account to its logical conclusion—namely, to apply the concept of
speech genre to everything from the smallest utterance to a literary work.
Rather, scholars of literature tend to ignore the transformation from speech
act to literary work (inasmuch as they focus on the secondary speech gen-
re, and overlook the importance of primary speech act); linguists tend not to take the final transformational step to the literary work at all (as they focus on the primary speech act); and rhetoricians take both primary and secondary speech genres into account, but locate the endpoint of the transformation on a lower level of a hierarchy, and the various concepts of genre on a higher level (Miller, 1984; see also Gregersen (this volume)). What is new and different here is the view that the isolated utterance does count for Bakhtin as a communicative act, and the literary work does count as a speech genre, and so is a genre—but they have different values. I believe that there is evidence for this view in Bakhtin’s essay on speech genres; and so my close reading and reconstruction of the Bakhtinian conceptual apparatus will prove important for my overall argument.

SCHOLARS OF LITERATURE ON BAKHTIN’S CONCEPT OF GENRE

As mentioned previously, it is primarily scholars of literature who have taken an interest in Bakhtin. This applies also to his concept of genre. While not all such scholars find it important that Bakhtin’s concept of genre is anchored in the use of language, two who do are Jørgen Bruhn and Christian Christiansen. In his Romanens tænker: M. M. Bachtins romanteorier [The Novel’s Thinker: M. M. Bakhtin’s Theories of the Novel], Jørgen Bruhn states that all linguistic communication is subject to categorization by genre; with the concept of genre, he writes, Bakhtin “captures all linguistic expression” (2005, p. 120). While Bruhn thus perceives Bakhtin’s concept of genre as very broad, he draws attention to one of its most important features, namely, its potentiality or openness to possibilities, all while maintaining its rootedness in the concrete utterance: “[Bakhtin’s] claim that the genre is the potentiality for all utterances”. Similarly, Christian Christensen sees not only the linguistic anchoring of Bakhtin’s concept of genre as important—“The concept of genre concept has … gradually become an integral part of everyday language” (Christiansen, 2010, p. 1)—but also its anchoring in individual utterances: “Genres [are]
not something unique to literature [:] they [also] govern ... our daily thinking and speaking. Genres are the very condition for understanding every utterance” (p. 3). In his capacity as a scholar of literature, Christiansen draws attention to the fact that Bakhtin and Medvedev’s understanding of genre points literary discourse toward social, cultural, and historical issues, and makes room for new genres:

The link between artistic form and worldview that permeates Bakhtin’s and Medvedev’s thinking attests to an essentialist approach to the study of literature. But through the convergence of understanding and representation, the theory makes room for a historical dimension. The emergence of new genres is due to historical changes in human beings’ social life. New literary forms arise not because the old ones wear out ... but because human beings are creating new ways to understand their changing lives. ... For Bakhtin and Medvedev, genres become (...) the very link that connects literature to social history (p. 4).

The genres are historically associated with social life, with man’s self-knowledge and knowledge of the world, and particularly with the vehicle that conveys such knowledge, namely, language.

Generally speaking, scholars of literature have not adopted the concept of speech genre as a genuine genre concept (such that speech genres are transformed into work genres), that is, as a concept rooted in language. It is much more common for such scholars to speak of Bakhtin and genre only with respect to the concept of genre in play in his theory of the novel. An exception is Tzvetan Todorov, who does examine the whole transformation from utterance to work, albeit without mentioning Bakhtin explicitly (1978). Holquist, meanwhile, acknowledges the linguistic anchoring of Bakhtin’s concept of genre, and interprets literary works as forms of communication (1991, p. 68)—but does so without an eye for transformation. Finally, Ken Hirschkop rejects the distinction between primary and sec-
ondary speech genres that is fundamental to Bakhtin’s account of genre, calling it almost frivolous: “Hence the distinction between the novelistic and the everyday is presented as no more than the difference between ‘secondary’ and ‘primary’ genres, as if more chronology or spatial purview was the stake. In the ghostly form of secondary genre, lacking a distinctive ethical or social task, the novel is condemned to roam a somewhat barren and unchangeable discursive universe” (1999, p. 189).

LINGUISTS AND OTHERS ON BAKHTIN’S CONCEPT OF GENRE

The social and historical dimensions again loom large when the anthropological linguists Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman explain Bakhtin’s concept of genre: “His [Bakhtin’s] characterization of genre is particularly rich in that it sees linguistic dimension of genres in terms of their ideologically mediated connections with social groups and ‘spheres of human activity’ in historical perspective” (1992, p. 145). Briggs and Bauman also emphasize metalinguistics and intertextuality as genre-related (p. 147). In general, Bakhtin is used widely in language research, for example in classroom research (see, e.g., Dysthe, 1997), in dialogical linguistics (see, e.g., Linell, 1998; Wertsch, 1998), and within CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis), where Norman Fairclough, in particular, has adopted Bakhtin’s conception of genre while making it his own. Fairclough is the one who comes closest to Bakhtin’s overarching view of genre as a holistic conception that links language and action. He concretizes it as follows: “I shall use the term ‘genre’ for a relatively stable set of conventions that is associated with, and partly enacts, a socially ratified type of activity, such as informal chat, buying goods in a shop, a job interview, a television documentary, a poem, or a scientific article. A genre implies not only a particular text type, but also particular processes of producing, distributing and consuming texts” (1992, pp. 125-26). Fairclough is probably the one who comes closest to Bakhtin’s overall view, but he does not treat Bakhtin’s own texts closely; so his understanding of genre is better described as inspired by
Bakhtin (and Foucault). Like Fairclough and Bakhtin, the scholar of rhetoric Carolyn R. Miller also regards genre as social action, and defines genres themselves as “typified rhetorical actions in recurrent situations, [and] members of a genre are discourses that are complete, in the sense that they are circumscribed by a relatively complete shift in rhetorical situation” (1984, p. 159). While Miller comes closest of all to applying a speech-act-theoretical perspective to genre, she nonetheless locates the communicative act (corresponding to Bakhtin’s primary speech genre) in the middle of a hierarchy with genre above it (p. 162), whereas Bakhtin’s concept of genre follows the hierarchy all the way up from the level of isolated expressions (i.e., the level of speech acts), as will be explained later. In recent years, finally, Bakhtin’s genre concept has been used extensively in the field of sociolinguistics as a parallel to such concepts as crossing, stylization, voice, etc. This is the case, for example, within the growing research on youth language (Rampton, 2005; 2011; Pujolar, 2000; Agha, 2005), but here it must be said that the concept of genre is used quite broadly and in manifold ways.

One linguist who uses Bakhtin’s concept of the speech genre as an alias for the concept of the speech acts is Ole Togeby, in his 2014 book *Bland blot genrene—ikke teksterne: Om sprog, tekster og samfund* [Just Mix the Genres, Not the Texts: On Language, Texts, and Society]. In contrast to the present essay, however, Togeby does not adopt the dual transformation of the concept of the speech genre that was (it will here be argued) part of Bakhtin’s own understanding, and which is what makes Bakhtin’s concepts of genre so well-suited to genre analysis and genre research. Togeby draws a generic distinction (linguistic, sociological, historical, and cognitive) among speech acts (= speech genres), institution-

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3 In his article on genre, Todorov (1978) follows this transformation and documents it in detail; but his understanding of Bakhtin’s concept of genre does not reflect a speech-act-theoretical approach.
al texts, and literary works, and argues that the transformation takes place from speech act (speech genre) to textual act in such a way that the speech act (speech genre in a Bakhtinian sense) is abandoned. That is: Togeby believes that in the transition to text from such communicative acts as everyday dialogue, communicative acting ceases to take place.

MEDVEDEV’S CONCEPT OF GENRE

P. N. Medvedev (1892-1938) devoted an entire chapter to genre in *The Formal Method in Literary Scholarship* (1928/1978), his attack on the formalists of the day. Medvedev’s book was published in 1928, i.e., twenty years before Bakhtin’s article on genre, and it is quite clear that Medvedev’s and Bakhtin’s conceptions of genre have many features in common. It may even be presumed that Bakhtin “borrowed” some of his account from Medvedev, or at least was influenced by him. The main common features and constituent elements of their shared understanding of genre are the anchoring of genre in the utterance as a completed whole, the requirement of finalization, the work’s thematic unity, and the focus on the recipient and the situation.

With regard to the genre’s rootedness in the utterance, such that the whole work is regarded as a finished utterance, Medvedev writes: “Poetics should really begin with genre, not end with it. The genre is the typical form of the whole work, the whole utterance … Genre is the typical totality of the artistic utterance, and a vital totality, a finished and resolved whole. The problem of finalization is one of the most important problems of genre theory” (1928/1978, p. 129).

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4 Bakhtin’s understanding of utterances was similarly influenced by the linguist Voloshinov and his book *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, 1930/1973. In Bakhtin 1979, the editor addresses this matter on p. 399. I will not pursue Voloshinov’s influence further, however, as it is the conception of genre—and thus Medvedev’s influence—that is most important here.
Thematic content, for Medvedev, is also linked indissolubly with genre: “The thematic unity of the work and its real place in life organically grow together in the unity of the genre ... Genre is the organic unity of theme with what lies beyond it” (p. 133).

The orientation toward reality, i.e., toward listeners and their perception, and the validity of this orientation for any genre—and, in the second place, the orientation towards life, i.e., toward its thematic content—is described by Medvedev as follows: “In the first place, the work is oriented toward the listener and the perceiver, and toward the definite conditions of performance and perception. In the second place, the work is oriented in life, from within, one might say, by its thematic content. Every genre has its own orientation in life, with reference to its events, problems, etc.” (p. 131).

We can find the same prerequisites for the concept of genre in Bakhtin’s essay on genre twenty years later. Like Medvedev, Bakhtin regarded a work as a kind of utterance: “But the most complex and ultra-composite work of a secondary genre as a whole (viewed as a whole) is a single integrated real utterance ...” (1986/1994, pp. 98-99), and the close relationship between utterance, genre, and finalization [zavershenniye] is also found in Bakhtin: “Thus, the change of speaking subjects, by framing the utterance and creating for it a stable mass that is sharply delimited from other related utterances, is the first constitutive feature of the utterance as a unit of speech communication, a feature distinguishing it from units of language. Let us turn to this second feature, which is inseparably linked to the first. This second feature is the specific finalization of the utterance” (p. 76).

Bakhtin articulates the importance of thematic content for speech genres in the following passage (among others): “All three of these aspects—thematic content, style, and compositional structure—are inseparably linked to the whole of the utterance and are equally determined by the specific nature of the particular sphere of communication. Each separate utterance is individual, of course, but each sphere in which language is
used develops its own *relatively stable types* of these utterances. These we can call speech genres” (p. 60). This focus on the recipient and addressee (the receiver and perceiver) of the discourse itself, and the claim that these are important for understanding the genre, is not only Medvedev’s view, but also one of Bakhtin’s core claims. Bruhn states that this focus on the receiver is the most important factor in sending a message: “various different concepts of the addressee are constitutive, controlling properties of the different speech genres” (2005, p. 132).

**METALINGUISTICS: BAKHTIN’S VIEW OF LANGUAGE**

In Bakhtin’s essay on speech genres, the focus of his analysis of genre is on the utterance—and in this Bakhtin follows Medvedev. Bakhtin’s point of departure is always in language; but in another break with structuralism, it becomes the *use* of language that is interesting, rather than the language system itself.

Bakhtin draws a sharp distinction between the sentence and the utterance, i.e., between language system and language use: “An absolutely understood and completed sentence, if it is a sentence and not an utterance comprised of one sentence, cannot evoke a responsive reaction: it is comprehensible, but it is still not *all*. This *all*—the indicator of the *wholeness* of the utterance—is subject neither to grammatical nor to abstract semantic definition” (Bakhtin, 1986/1994, p. 76).

The sentence has no author, but the utterance does; the sentence is not responsive, but the utterance is; the sentence has no addressee, but the utterance does; the sentence is grammatical, but the utterance is not; the sentence has grammatical boundaries, but the utterance is bounded only by changes of speakers. It is precisely changes of speakers, however, that are crucial for understanding an utterance as finalized (Russian: *zaavershen-niye*). Accordingly, both a one-word reply and a novel can count as Bakhtinian utterances—and so the utterance, for Bakhtin, becomes the manifestation of a genre. Bakhtin (and Medvedev) regard the utterance (from the
one-word reply to the novel) as a finished whole in a chain of entities, a chain of utterances that reply to previous utterances, and await response by future utterances (Bakhtin, 1986/1994, p. 76). For this reason, the utterance and the concept of genre are determined by the specific communicative situation, rooted in time and context, as a communication from a sender (author) to a receiver (addressee). This is the core of Bakhtin’s understanding of language, which he himself calls translanguistics (in Russian; this word is frequently translated as “metalinguistics”). As Bakhtin explains, metalinguistics is “the study of those aspects in the life of the word, not yet shaped into separate and specific disciplines, that exceed—and completely legitimately—the boundaries of linguistics” (1984, p. 181).

SPEECH-ACT THEORY: AUSTIN AND SEARLE COMPARED TO BAKHTIN

The utterance in Bakhtin corresponds to the speech act of the Oxford School, i.e., Austin and Searle. Bakhtin defines the utterance as follows: “Any utterance [has] an absolute beginning and an absolute end: its beginning is preceded by the utterances of others, and its end is followed by the responsive utterances of others (or, although it may be silent, others’ active responsive understanding, or, finally, a responsive action based on this understanding). The speaker ends his utterance in order to relinquish the floor to the other or to make room for the other’s active responsive understanding” (Bakhtin, 1952-1953/1986, p. 71). This definition, focusing as it does on the receiver’s reaction as inherent in the utterance, corresponds to that of the speech act: an utterance is a communicative act, whether it be a one-word reply, a letter, or an entire novel. After all, the one-word reply, the letter, and the novel are all finalized wholes in a communicative situation with an author (sender) and an addressee (receiver)—indeed, finalized communicative wholes embedded within chains of such wholes: “The novel as a whole is an utterance just as rejoinders in everyday dialogue or
private letters are ... but unlike these, the novel is a secondary (complex) utterance” (p. 62).

Bakhtin thus goes further in his conception of the utterance qua communicative act: with his metalinguistic approach, he transgresses the borders of linguistics. He transplants the speech act into literature, into culture, even as his starting-point is the same as that of Austin and Searle: the communicative act, the speech act.

Bakhtin’s article on speech genres was published in 1952-1953. As I argue more closely below, Bakhtinian speech genres correspond to Austin and Searle’s speech acts. This similarity is nothing new; many have remarked that Bakhtin’s primary speech genres, at least, correlate broadly to speech acts (cf., e.g., Miller, 1984). But the similarities have never been demonstrated in detail; nor has it been pointed how remarkable they are, given that Bakhtin knew nothing of the Anglo-Saxon speech act theory. The latter is not surprising, since Austin’s lectures (How To Do Things With Words) were first published in 1961 (Austin, 1961), and Searle’s first work on speech acts appeared in 1969 (Searle, 1969). Bakhtin’s work on speech genres, then, appeared prior to the works of Austin and Searle; but studies to date have uncovered no evidence that Austin or Searle knew anything of Bakhtin’s work either. In other words, two parallel lines of research were conducted, yielding strikingly similar observations, within a single area of the study of language—speech-act theory—without there having been any contact whatsoever. Accordingly, the reasons for these similarities must be sought in the research and the research tradition that preceded both of these lines. Bakhtin obtained many of his ideas about language from the linguist Voloshinov, and Bakhtin researchers have referred to the fact that Volosjinov translated Bühler into Russian (see Brandist, 2004); Karl Bühler had created the Organon model (1934), in which inspiration can be found for the idea that we “act” with language when we communicate. Nevertheless, this cannot be the only explanation for such obvious similarities. A study of this would require a major research under-
taking, which I will not undertake here. What is important to emphasize here is not only that there are strong similarities, but also that Bakhtin developed his ideas before Austin and Searle came up with theirs.

Austin argued that a speech act is a three-in-one action: that is, it at once contains a locutionary act (the term itself / its utterance), an illocutionary act (its aim) and a perlocutionary act (its intended effect). In Bakhtin’s work on genre, we find three corresponding elemental acts—not identified as such, but paraphrased by means of descriptions of the acts themselves. Austin’s locution corresponds to Bakhtin’s dictum “We speak in utterances” (1952-1953/1986, p. 78); illocution corresponds to the Bakhtinian expression “the speaker’s speech plan or speech will” (p. 77), and perlocution corresponds to Bakhtin’s phrase “his [the other’s] active responsive understanding” (p. 75). Indeed, perlocution is expressed more clearly in Bakhtin than in Austin. Austin describes the effect of the speech act on the recipient as inherent in the speech act itself; but this ends up seeming somewhat paradoxical and unclear, since the actual effect may well be different from the intended effect—a fact that has led many to raise doubts about the coherence of Austin’s notion of the perlocutionary act. Bakhtin’s focus, on the other hand, is on the recipient’s “responsive understanding” (Russian: otvetnoye ponimaniye) and “responsive reaction” (Russian: otvetnoy reaktsii), corresponding to the perlocution, which is located in the very utterance or speech act itself: “… and its [i.e., the utterance’s] end is followed by the responsive utterances of others (or, although it may be silent, others’ active responsive understanding, or, finally, a responsive action based on this understanding)” (p. 71).

The utterance not only corresponds to a speech act, as shown above, but is also determined by Bakhtin as a speech genre: “Each sphere in which language is used develops its own relatively stable types of these utterances. These we may call speech genres.” (p. 60).
The consequence of this is that speech acts and speech genres are the same. Bakhtin speaks of relatively “stable types” of utterances, of speech genres, which he then classifies as primary and secondary (see below). In subdividing speech acts, communicative acts, or speech genres in such a way, Bakhtin is hardly alone. Austin (1961) introduced a complicated division into up to 20 types, while Searle (1985) revised this hierarchy, rendering it more useful and well-defined. Unlike Searle, Bakhtin did not give his types titles or names; instead, he exemplified them by their performative content. This makes it possible to compare Bakhtin’s and Searle’s types of utterances, and hence to see how Searle’s “representatives” (assertives) correspond to Bakhtin’s definition of “information about health”; how Searle’s “declaratives” correspond to Bakhtin’s account of “congratulations”; how Searle’s “directives” correspond to Bakhtin’s “military commands”; and how Searle’s “commissives” correspond to Bakhtin’s “promises”.

Utterances are products of the use of language, as opposed to sentences, which are products of language systems. The utterance corresponds to a speech act, and may be anything from a one-word reply to a novel; the various types of utterances are speech genres. In order to communicate, one must know and be able to guess the type of speech genre being used. To learn to speak, then, is to learn how to use expressions and categorize them into speech genres:

We are given these speech genres in almost the same way that we are given our native language, which we master fluently long before we begin to study grammar. We know our native language—its lexical composition and grammatical structure—not from dictionaries and grammars but from concrete utterances that we hear and that we our-

See also Andersen, 2002; 2003a; 2008; 2010; 2015.
selves reproduce in live speech communication with people around us. We assimilate forms of language only in forms of utterances and in conjunction with these forms. The forms of language and the typical forms of utterances, that is, speech genres, enter our experience and our consciousness together, and in close connection with one another. To learn to speak means to learn to construct utterances (p. 78).

**SPEECH GENRES: PRIMARY AND SECONDARY**

An utterance or speech act can be defined as a speech genre by sorting it by type and attending to its form and structure. Bakhtin regarded this structure as determined and relatively constant; unfortunately, he did not elaborate more closely on this view, for which he has been criticized. In the first stage of his argument, Bakhtin describes speech genres, these typical forms of utterances, as both oral and written: “We speak only in definite speech genres, that is, all our utterances have the definite and relatively stable forms of construction of the whole. Our repertoire of oral (and written) speech genres is rich” (p. 78).

In the second stage of his argument, Bakhtin divides speech genres into primary and secondary speech genres. The former correspond to everyday speech acts as described above; the latter are transformations of these, and correspond to all utterances that are above this level in a Bakhtinian sense, that is, everything from the literary work to the scientific treatise:

The extreme heterogeneity of speech genres and the attendant difficulty of determining the general nature of the utterance should in no way be

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6 It must be maintained that Bakhtin’s definition applies to both oral and written genres. Bakhtin did not himself define the difference clearly; he uses a letter, for example, as an example of a written primary genre. This, moreover, further illuminates the fact that Bakhtin’s texts should be read in relation to their own period. “Letters” in Bakhtin’s day could be compared to text messages in ours, or to the short notes that were once called “billets” (from the French billet).
underestimated. It is especially important here to draw attention to the very significant difference between primary (simple) and secondary (complex) speech genres (understood not as a functional difference): Secondary (complex) speech genres—novels, dramas, all kinds of scientific research, major genres of commentary, and so forth—arise in more complex and comparatively highly developed and organized cultural communication (primarily written), that is artistic, socio-political, and so on (pp. 61-62).

FROM PRIMARY TO SECONDARY SPEECH GENRE

The terms primary and secondary may seem misleading—the term “primary” suggests something more important, the term “secondary” something less important—given that although Bakhtin spends much of his essay defining the primary speech genres, the everyday speech acts, his main mission is to describe the secondary genres, the complex that we find within literary fiction, for example. On closer scrutiny, however, the terms seem to be quite well-chosen. Bakhtin’s conception of genre has its starting-point in actual language use—“Each sphere in which language is used develops its own relatively stable types of utterances” (p. 60)—and it is these that Bakhtin initially call speech genres. Spoken language is the basic mold for these genres: “We learn to cast our speech in generic forms” (p. 79). What is more, the reason why we are always capable of determining genre is that we learned our native language by means of genre determination and the categorization of genre: “... and, when hearing others’ speech, we guess its genre from the very first word”. What we have absorbed with our mothers’ milk, so to speak, are the primary speech genres, which are then transformed into more complex genres, the secondary speech genres. The latter are secondary because they are not our starting point; but they are no less important for that: “A one-sided orientation toward primary genres inevitably leads to vulgarization of the entire problem” (p. 62). We thus find a transformation (“process of formation”) of the
primary into the secondary (“the novel as a whole is an utterance just as 
rejoinders in everyday dialogue,”), though it is important for Bakhtin to 
emphasize that the difference between them is “not … a functional differ-
ence”. In this transformation, primary speech genres come to be “ab-
sorbed” by secondary speech genres, and are thereby expelled from reality 
and robbed of their status as ordinary language: “During the process of 
their [secondary speech genres’] formation, they absorb and digest various 
primary (simple) genres that have taken form in unmediated speech com-
munication. These primary genres are altered and assume a special charac-
ter when they enter into complex ones. They lose their immediate relation 
to actual reality and to the real utterances of others” (emphasis added).

This means that, in principle, two processes take place, two acts of 
transformation.7 The first act of transformation is that an expression from 
ordinary language, a communicative act, a speech act, i.e., a primary 
speech genre—let us say, a statement of tribute (to construct an example: 
“What a wonderful wife you are!”)—is transformed into, into being, a 
secondary speech genre such as a tribute poem (to construct a correspond-
ing example: “Ode To My Wife”). This first transformation is based on the 
idea itself, on the utterance’s illocutionary force (i.e., what it counts as). 
The second transformation is a transformation of primary speech genres, 
utterances, communicative acts, speech acts, into literary works, for exam-
ple, as parts of them: e.g., commands in the form of arguments, congratulations in the form of letters, etc. In the course of such transformations, the 
primary speech genres lose “their immediate relation to actual reality.” 
They might, for example, go from being real to being art, thereby entering 
into another reality, e.g., the reality of art: “They [the primary genres] enter

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7 “Transformation” should be understood here as a change in utterance type or category, 
and not as involving a change in content. We could also say that what takes place is a 
“transfer” or “conveyance” to the next level.
into actual reality only via the novel as a whole, that is, as literary-artistic event and not as everyday life”.

The first of these transformations can be illustrated as follows, with the following two examples:

(I) **Transformation from primary to secondary speech genre—the idea:**

1. **Utterance:** Aren’t you just adorable!
   **Communicative Act:** Aren’t you just adorable!
   **Expressive:** Aren’t you just adorable!
   **Speech Genre:** Aren’t you just adorable!
   **Primary Speech Genre:** Aren’t you just adorable!
   **Secondary Speech Genre:** “Aren’t you just adorable!” = “Aren’t you just adorable!” (Illocution)

2. **Utterance:** Pay now!
   **Communicative Act:** Pay now!
   **Directive:** Pay now!
   **Speech Genre:** Pay now!
   **Primary Speech Genre:** Pay now!
   **Secondary Speech Genre:** Pay now! = “Pay now!” (Illocution)

The second transformation, i.e., the transformation of primary genres into secondary genres as, for example, artistic components of the latter, could be illustrated using novels as examples. Bakhtin himself uses the novels of Dickens, Thackeray, and others as examples of a secondary genre that may well include a reminder note, a tribute to a woman, etc. (see, e.g., Bakhtin, 1981/1994).
(I) Transformation from primary to secondary genre—examples for analysis:

To illustrate the transformation from primary to secondary genre, I have chosen (for obvious reasons) two ultra-short texts as examples. One is fictional—a short poem by Michael Strunge (1985/1995) —and the other is non-fiction: a notice from a denstist’s office. Here is the first:

HER ER EN PISTOL I ORD
TÆNK DEM EN PISTOL SE DEN FOR DEM
OG SKYD DEM SELV I TANKERNE
ELLERS DERES VÆRSTE FJENDE

HAR DE DET BEDRE NU

(HERE IS A PISTOL IN WORDS
THINK OF A PISTOL LOOK AT IT
AND SHOOT YOURSELF IN YOUR THOUGHTS
OR YOUR WORST ENEMY

ARE YOU FEELING BETTER NOW)
(Strunge, 1985/1995, p. 865)

The first transformation from primary to secondary genre in the poem, i.e., of what the poem counts as, can be illustrated as follows:

*Utterance:* I urge you to ... (wake up, do something, reflect, feel …?)

*Communicative Act:* I hereby urge you to ...

*Directive:* Exhortation

*Speech Genre:* I hereby urge you to ...
Primary Speech Genre: Invitation
Secondary Speech Genre: “I hereby urge you, my reader, to”
(Illocution)

= Hortatory Poem

Even in as short a poem as this one, we also find examples of the second transformation of primary speech genres into secondary speech genres (here the hortatory poem) as artistic components of the latter, in which, according to Bakhtin, we move away from reality and into art, “as literary-artistic event and not as everyday life.” There are five speech genres or communicative acts here: one declarative—HERE IS; three directive—THINK … LOOK … SHOOT; and one representative—ARE YOU FEELING BETTER NOW. Hence three primary types of speech genres are represented in the poem; and these three types bear significance for our interpretation of the poem, just as the overarching secondary genre type—the poem’s illocution, its exhortation—bears significance for its genre determination.

Next, here is the dentist’s reminder notice:

*It is now time for your regular cleaning.*

*Please contact the clinic for an appointment.*

*Sincerely,*

*Dentist X*

In this non-fiction text, the first transformation from primary to secondary speech genre can be illustrated as follows:

*Utterance:* We hereby urge you to contact us
*Communicative Act:* We hereby urge you to contact us
*Directive:* Exhortation
Speech Genre: We hereby urge you to contact us
Primary Speech Genre: Invitation
Secondary Speech Genre: “We hereby urge you to contact us” (Illocution)

= Hortatory letter from the dentist

The second transformation of primary speech genres into the secondary can also, in fact, be undertaken in this text. There are three speech genres here, three communicative acts: one representative—“It is now time …”; one directive—“Please contact …”; and one declarative: “Sincerely.” Put another way, there are three primary types of speech genres at work here: representative, directive, and declarative. Yet unlike in the case of the poem, this second transformation does not make the dentist’s reminder note into an artistic text, since here we do not lose the immediate relation to reality and to other utterances (“They lose their immediate relation to actual reality and to the real utterances of others”), as we do in an artistic text. There remains a direct relation to reality: we can, unfortunately, very well call the dentist’s office and make an appointment (“immediate relation to actual reality”), and we can respond to actual utterances: “Please contact …” “Hello! This is Y speaking. I would like to have an appointment with Dr. X [the dentist].” In the case of the artistic text—the poem—this second transformation is more interesting, as well as more useful with respect to genre determination, than it is in the case of the actual reminder notice from the dentist. For the transformation and its effects are all too obvious in the latter case, while in the former it can be one of the keys to interpreting the poem. Nevertheless, applying speech-genre analysis to this real-world text puts speech-genre analysis of the literary text into perspective, and demonstrates its operational value.
OTHER BAKHTINIAN CONCEPTS RELEVANT TO GENRE

\textit{Intonation}

Bakhtin links the primary speech genre to intonation, specifically in the context of the type of speech genres that correspond to Searle’s declaratives (salutations, etc.). Bakhtin understands intonation as variation of tone, writing: “The speech will is usually limited here [i.e., for this type of speech genre or communicative act] to a choice of a particular genre. And only slight nuances of expressive intonation (one can take a drier or more respectful tone, a colder or warmer one; one can introduce the intonation of joy, and so forth) can express the speaker’s individuality (his emotional speech intent)” (Bakhtin, 1952-1953/1986, p. 79).

Bakhtin’s account of intonation has attracted considerable speculation. Nevertheless, it does not differ essentially from the functional interpretation of intonation that has emerged in contemporary linguistics, on which intonation is a prosodic phenomenon tied to the utterance, i.e., to language use: “Utterances [as opposed to propositions] are prosodic domains to which intonation and intonation contours are tied” (Grønnum, 2007, p. 82).

Bakhtin’s account of intonation as an expression of the speaker’s will and individuality is also strikingly consistent with the understanding of intonation current in modern linguistic research: “Intonation is at once both an integral part of our apparatus for linguistic expression and a signal for a variety of non-linguistic factors, such as the speaker’s mood, age, gender, personal identity, membership in regional and social groups, etc.” (Grønnum, 1998, p. 295).

The linguistic will, the illocution, the intent of the utterance, the type of speech genre—these are expressed through intonation (tone) and help to indicate the genre. Moreover, intonation reflects the individual, individuality. In the Strunge poem, we can say, on Bakhtin’s terms, that a “dry tone” (i.e., intonation) has been struck, and that this dry tone is indicative of the speaker’s—the narrator’s—individuality. This sounds quite straightforward, and is not particularly remarkable, but there is nothing more in
Bakhtin’s concept of intonation than that. What is remarkable is, perhaps, that Bakhtin’s conception is in such fine accord, as the above citation makes clear, with modern linguistics’ general perception of intonation as a “signal for” such non-linguistic factors as personal identity.  

Chronotope

Just as with the concept of intonation, Bakhtin connects the concept of chronotope with genre. In his major essay on the subject, published in English in 1981, Bakhtin defines the chronotope as “the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature. … What counts for us is the fact that it expresses the inseparability of space and time (time as the fourth dimension of space). We understand the chronotope as a formally constitutive category of literature” (Bakhtin, 1981/1994, p. 84). That the chronotope is a “constitutive category” also makes it a genre characteristic: “It can even be said that it is precisely the chronotope that defines genre and generic distinctions” (p. 85). As a genre characteristic, the chronotope can be used to distinguish between genres: “The chronotope [provides a] basis for distinguishing generic types” (pp. 250-51). In a remark that is of great significance to this language-oriented reading, Bakhtin proceeds to define the chronotope as fundamentally linguistic: “Language, as a treasure-house of images, is fundamentally chronotopic. Also chronotopic is the internal form of a word, that is the mediating marker with whose help the root meanings of spatial categories are carried over into temporal relations (in the broad sense)” (p. 251). Linguistically, then, the chronotope manifests itself in a combination of temporal and special markers, which are probably expressed most clearly by means of deixis. Strunge’s poem opens with a chronotopic marker, the deictic “HERE,” which expresses a combination of time and place. But

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8 See also Andersen, 2003b.
what is apparently this poem’s only chronotope is also what gives the whole poem meaning; time and place are established simultaneously, in a way that is always both current and imprecise, but is focused on introducing the poem, as its first word. The poem ends with a temporal deixis, “NOW,” which can be interpreted as a chronotopic marker: just as a “HERE” contains a “NOW,” so too a “NOW” contains a “HERE.” The closing “NOW” enters into dialogue with the opening “HERE,” and the two chronotope markers thereby frame the poem, jointly creating the poem’s sole and all-controlling chronotope.9

**Intertextuality**

Bakhtin’s notion of intertextuality has been popularized by Kristeva’s interpretation of his concept of dialogism (Russian: *dialogichnost*). At no point, however, does Bakhtin himself use the term “intertextuality,” even though it can certainly be used in Russian (*intertekstualnost*). Kristeva writes: “Bakhtinian dialogism identifies writing as both subjectivity and communication, or better, as intertextuality” (Kristeva, 1980, p. 68). In other words, Kristeva translates Bakhtin’s concept of dialogism into intertextuality. Fairclough takes Kristeva’s notion of intertextuality as his point of departure, and develops it in part as follows: “As for production, an intertextual perspective stresses the historicity of texts: how they always constitute additions to existing ‘chains of speech communication,’ consisting of prior texts to which they respond” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 84). This disclosure of chains of texts, in which each text is a reaction to previous ones, is one of Bakhtin’s main points in his article on genre:

> In reality, and we repeat this, any utterance, in addition to its own theme, always responds (in a broad sense of the word) in one form or

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9 See e.g. Andersen, 2002.
another to others’ utterances that precedes it. … We repeat, an utterance is a link in the chain of speech communication, and it cannot be broken off from the preceding links that determine it both from within and from without, giving rise within it to unmediated responsive reactions and dialogic reverberations. But the utterance is related not only to preceding, but also to subsequent links in the chain of speech communication. (Bakhtin, 1952-1953/1994, p. 94)

The core of the dialogical, and with it the intertextual, is that every utterance, i.e., every text and every text within a text, reflects prior utterances (texts) and contains implicit expectations for future utterances (texts). And this dialogicity, this intertextuality inherent in all texts, is necessarily also a key to the determination of genre. As Briggs and Bauman write, genre is “quintessentially intertextual” (Briggs & Bauman, 1992, p. 147).

Briggs and Bauman then add that Bakhtin’s view of intertextuality (i.e., Bakhtin’s conception of dialogicity) “can help us build an alternative approach to the study of genre” (p. 146). I would argue that Bakhtin’s account of speech genres, both primary and secondary, furnishes us in part with an alternative view of genre, and in part with an alternative tool for genre analysis. It provides an alternative view, inasmuch as genre must always be regarded as rooted linguistically/communicatively in utterances qua finalized wholes between senders and receivers; and an alternative tool, in the shape of the double transformation from primary to secondary speech genres.


Andersen, N. M. (2008). As I told Henning the other day. In M. Birkeland, M.-B. Mosegaard Hansen & C. Norén (Eds.), *L’énonciation dans tous ses états* (pp. 63-70). Bern: Peter Lang.


IN THIS CHAPTER I investigate the relation between genre and all other forms of categorization. Can genre ultimately be identified with other categorizations into higher- and lower-level concepts? Put another way: is the relation of novel to Ida Jessen’s *Den der lyver* [“The one who lies”] (2001), on the one hand, equivalent to that of car to the Toyota Auris, on the other? Such equivalence might at first seem unlikely. While genre has attracted intense research scrutiny, there is no corresponding interest, as far as I am aware, in the categorization of vehicles. This is not to say that the latter categorization is unproblematic; on the contrary, it is of vital consequence to society that we correctly distinguish among the various types of vehicles. One casual example of this is Denmark’s herostratically famous Ellert, which grew to be regarded as an automobile rather than the electric moped [*el-knallert*] that its name implies. In the end, however, such problems have mattered much more to advertisers and judges than to researchers studying the categorization of vehicles.

In what follows, I will examine the similarities and differences between genre *qua* categorization and other forms of categorization, restricting the latter to generic relationships among concepts, as opposed, for example, to temporal or mereological relationships (on this see Madsen 1999, chapter 3). I regard the concept of genre exclusively as a predicate: “*Den der lyver* is a novel”; “This is a letter to the editor/a recipe/a doctoral dissertation, etc.” Our capacity to form such predicates raises two interesting topics: the process of identification (i.e., what we need to know in order to assign such predicates), and the epistemic payoff (the knowledge
that we achieve by doing so). But before we turn to these, we must first set the concept of genre in relation to other concepts.

If genres are not like other concepts, then it is important to find out why not—to isolate what it is in the concept of genre that makes such a difference. If, on the other hand, the concept of genre is like other concepts, this will be a boon to genre theory: it will mean that we can use ordinary concept analysis to uncover the structure of the concept of genre.

WHAT ARE CONCEPTS?
In the philosophy of language—and particularly within the tradition of analytic philosophy—the point of departure for philosophical analysis is the *proposition*. A proposition is a sentence whose form is as follows:

1) \( a \text{ is } P \)

In proposition 1), \( a \) is the argument and \( P \) is the predicate. Taken as a whole, 1) articulates a predication: \( P \) is predicated of \( a \). Using our previous example:

2) *Den der lyver* is a novel

*Den der lyver* = \( a \) / argument

is a novel = \( P \) / predicate

Here various technicalities apply. Under normal circumstances, we would not include the copula in the predicate, but would take it as a given—particularly when we express it in formal language, as follows:

3) \( P (a) \)
3) conveys the same information as 1), namely, that \( a \) is \( P \). In similar fashion, 2) can be expressed as 4):

4) Novel (\textit{Den der lyver})

Yet another technicality: if we want our analysis of this predication to start from the very beginning, then we must address the complex phrase \textit{Den der lyver}, which itself includes a predicative element. In order to carry out predication analysis cleanly, we must start by replacing such a name bearing descriptive elements with a deictic unit designating the object of predication:

5) \textit{This} is a novel

Here we have a purely referential unit—\textit{this}—which identifies an object of \textit{which} one predicates that it is a novel. It thereby becomes clear that there are two fundamental linguistic mechanisms at play in predication: a referential unit (e.g., a name) and a predicative unit (cf. Searle, 1969). The latter has been analyzed as the concept that the referenced object falls under, or (expressed more mathematically) as a set. The object that we have identified can be equipped with a pure referential expression, like the symbol \( a \) above: a name that symbolizes the object without characterizing it. Hence what is expressed in 5) is that the designated object belongs to the set of novels, that it is an element in the “novel” set. What is distinctive in this analysis is that the concept “novel” comes to be defined by its elements, such that the set contains and all and only those objects that are novels. (Correspondingly, the concept “red” is defined by all of the objects that belong to the “red” set, i.e., the set of red objects). All of this is basic analytic philosophy of language, formal semantic analysis, or mathematical logic (Henrichsen & Prebensen, 2003).
This approach says nothing directly about how to determine which concepts an object falls under. We have concepts—sets containing elements—or, putting it in a more down-to-earth way, we have boxes of labels that we can sort items by, as when we are tidying up a child’s room. This box is for Legos, that one is for dolls, and the other one is for toy cars. What is of interest is not the boxes with their labels, but our very ability to find the right box to the right object. This ability rests (to put it quite abstractly) on two components: the definition of the concept and an application component.

The definition of the concept is identical to its meaning. It is what tells us which objects fall under the concept. This analysis derives from the German logician and philosopher Gottlob Frege, who distinguishes between a concept’s intension and its extension (Frege, 2002). The extension consists of the elements that the set contains, while the intension refers to the concept’s way of putting a part of the world on display, its *Art des Gegebenseins* (mode of presentation). The easiest way to explain the difference is to use one of Frege’s own examples. The names “evening star” and “morning star” have different meanings, inasmuch as they are differently defined. The evening star is defined as the star that shines brightly in the western horizon when the sun has just set, while the morning star is defined as the star that shines brightly in the eastern horizon just before sunrise. The two names are thus equipped with definitions that make it possible to identify the two stars. These definitions include criteria by which one can identify the stars. The definitions thus make it possible to refer to the relevant stars as such. Such, at least, was the situation in ancient times; but later it emerged that the morning star and evening star have the same referent, namely, Venus. And this is not a star at all, but a planet. This example permits Frege to maintain a distinction between sense [*Sinn*] and reference [*Bedeutung*], intension and extension, inasmuch as this distinction is necessary to explain the difference between the statements “The evening star is equal to the evening star” and “The evening
star is equal to the morning star.” The first statement is a simple tautology; the second, by contrast, is informative, expressing an astronomical discovery and datum of knowledge. This difference, however, cannot be expressed (or maintained) when one operates solely with references or extensions: for both names refer merely to Venus.

The objects that fit the definition are those that fall under the concept, and are therefore elements of the set that the concept generates. If we have a definition of what “red” is, then this establishes the concept “red” and can be used to generate the set of red objects, which can be regarded in turn as the concept’s extensional correlate: “Frege uses the metaphor of a route from the name to the referent: names with different senses but the same referent correspond to different routes leading to the same destination” (Dummett, 1981, p. 96).

As noted above, we can use concepts to sort out the world. We have one bucket for green things and another for red things—the concepts “green” and “red.” But the buckets alone do not form the concepts, since they do not themselves do the sorting. Accordingly, we must assume that the definition works together with an application component, namely, an intelligent user of the concept who ensures that the buckets are filled with the right items. The intelligent user has the ability to apply the definition to concrete objects, and to determine whether they meet the definition’s criteria. This can be illustrated by Jerry Fodor’s playful representation, from back in 1968, of how we are able to tie our shoes (or, mutatis mutandis, how we can distinguish between red and green things):

Here is the way we tie our shoes:

There is a little man who lives in one’s head. The little man keeps a library. When one acts upon the intention to tie one’s shoes, the little man fetches down a volume entitled Tying One’s Shoes. The volume says such things as: “Take the left free end of the shoelace in the left hand.
Cross the left free end of the shoelace over the right free end of the shoelace,” etc.

When the little man reads the instruction “take the left free end of the shoelace in the left hand,” he pushes a button on a control panel. The button is marked “Take the left free end of a shoelace in the left hand.” When depressed, it activates a series of wheels, cogs, levers, and hydraulic mechanisms. As a causal consequence of these mechanisms, one’s left hand comes to seize the appropriate end of the shoelace. Similarly, mutatis mutandis, for the rest of the instructions.

The instructions end with the word “End.” When the little man reads the word “End,” he returns the book of instructions to his library.

That is the way we tie our shoes (1981, pp. 64).

With respect to cognition, concepts both produce and consume. A concept provides us with a cognitive resource; but we also need resources in order to be able to adopt and employ it. Fodor presents us with a cognitive competence in the form of a small man, a homunculus, who is capable of processing the data required to perform the operation of shoe-tying. And this also applies, mutatis mutandis, to the way in which we can use concepts. Fodor’s account illustrates the following point. It is not enough for us to have different buckets to sort the world into; we also need the homunculus to perform the operation. The little man needs not only to be able to read the buckets’ labels, but also to determine whether objects meet the criteria for being sorted into one or the other bucket. Cognitively, then, the meaning of “red” is less the label on the bucket of red objects than it is the “program” that directs the sorting mechanism. The homunculus is the algorithm that takes input data and ensures that it is treated in such a way that conceptual categorization of the phenomenon can take place (this, in abbreviated form, is the classic cognitive research program; see Bernsen & Ulbæk, 1993). In classical cognitive science, the point is to trade our ho-
munculi for the equivalent of computer programs—intelligence with mechanics—and thereby to explain the former.

Because the content of concepts is, as stated earlier, dependent on the criteria they set forth, and because we can construct all possible criteria, it follows that we can construct all of the concepts that we can possibly imagine. By definition, some concepts will have no members, e.g., contradictory concepts such as the set of objects that are both red and non-red; the empty set; the eighth day of the week; and, in a certain sense, the present king of France (found in Bertrand Russell’s famous analysis of definite descriptions in *On Denoting* (1903)).

Concepts differ from names in that concepts identify properties of things, whereas names designate things. So “the present King of France” is indeed an empty set, since no such thing exists; it is, rather, a name inasmuch as it is a definite description. It is a specific description containing concepts, since “current,” “French,” and “king” are all properties that can be attributed to an object. There just is no single object that satisfies all three conditions simultaneously!—and hence the set of objects that it describes is empty.

Concepts differ from categories. Or, rather, categories are concepts of a special kind: fundamental concepts that express the profound realities of which the world consists. Aristotle worked with ten categories, Kant with four. Kant’s are very abstract—quantity, quality, mode, and relation—while Aristotle’s are more recognizable:

(1) a thing [= *substantia*, substance]; or
(2) how many, how much [= *quantus*, quantity]; or
(3) how [= *qualis*, quality]; or
(4) what relationship; or
(5) where; or
(6) when; or
(7) how a thing is situated; or
(8) what a thing has; or
(9) what a thing does [actively];
(10) what a thing suffers [passively]

A category is thus a concept of a particular kind: one with a more fundamental meaning. Correspondingly, there exists a special category of concepts, namely, those that constitute natural kinds. Natural kinds are concepts that apply to objects independently of human behavior. Trees are thus natural kinds, while cars are not (on this see the excellent article in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Bird & Tobin, 2015). The concept of genre is obviously not a natural kind, and neither are plenty of others. Yet though it does not constitute a natural kind, there is nonetheless something natural to the concept of genre—as opposed, for example, to the concept that would arise if I were to use the books that I happen to have in my bookcase to define a set of genres. Or the concept under which all things fall that are either novels or bicycles.

Here we find a point of conflict between realists and constructivists. Both agree that concepts are man-made, but they part ways on the question of whether the world that is reflected in concepts is dependent or independent of them. I will not pursue this further here (but see Schaeffer, 1983).

ARISTOTELIAN CONCEPTS VERSUS Prototype CONCEPTS
Consider our concepts “spice” and “weed.” In both cases, there is nothing inherent in the entities that fall under these concepts that makes them fall under them. Both weeds and spices are defined in ways that require the plants at issue to fall under their respective concepts in virtue of their relationships with people. Spices are the herbs that we use in our cooking, whereas weeds are the plants that disrupt human control over nature, whether in gardening, forestry, or agriculture. Thus even though the plants
themselves constitute natural kinds, they are here transferred out of their natural communities and into a new, artificial context instead.

For Aristotle, the essential properties of a thing are the criteria for membership in the thing’s concept. Hence the horse and the cow are what they are by virtue of the animals’ essential characteristics. Because they have essential features in common, they share a common umbrella term or superconcept: they are land-dwelling mammals. In addition, they have certain distinguishing features—characteristics that prevent them from falling under the same concept. Taken as a whole, this marks the start of a conceptual hierarchy, of which the classical designations are genera (from genus proximum, the “nearest relatives”) and differentiae (differentia specifica). Nowadays we call these “subconcepts” and “superconcepts” (more commonly, “umbrella terms”), or hyponyms and hyperonyms (see also Johansen & Klujeff, 2009b, p. 7-10).

In his discussion of genres, Aristotle himself employs a genus proximum—the rhetorical genres—and subconcepts: the deliberative genre (the political speech), the epideictic genre (the festive oration), and the forensic genre (the juridical or courtroom speech). Their distinguishing characteristics are bound up with the parameter of time, inasmuch as the political speech concerns the future, the occasional speech concerns the present, and the courtroom speech concerns the past (Aristotle, 1984a). In the Poetics, Aristotle distinguishes the poetic genres along similar lines (Aristotle, 1984b).

The Aristotelian way of defining concepts and concept hierarchies is a kind of essentialism, as it is grounded in immutable essences. This befits a static universe that can be explained in terms of a unified system—a scala natura—in which everything has its place. And where everything has its place, everything also has an essential way of being understood: the conceptual hierarchy matches the ontological order. The true concepts and the true science are, accordingly, sharp. Things either fall under a concept, or
they do not. Each concept’s definition specifies the necessary and sufficient conditions for things to fall under it.

The Aristotelian definition of the concept, according to which all of the objects that fall under the concept are equally good examples of it, has been a target of critique in the prototype theory of the last half-century. Here several independent theories run together: Wittgenstein's notion of family resemblance (1953/2009); Berlin and Kay’s studies of color categories in different cultures (1969); and Eleanor Rosch’s studies of the Dani people’s categorization of color (1973) (for an excellent overview of all of these, see Lakoff, 1987). Though a St. Bernard dog and a dachshund are both dogs, and thus both meet the definition of the concept “dog,” they are not prototypical dogs. The latter might be a German shepherd, or a Labrador. Membership in a category (here I use the concept of “category” in a loose, everyday sense, as opposed to the narrow philosophical sense used previously) is not determined by whether a thing meets a definition, but by whether it matches a prototype. Numerous studies have demonstrated that the fewer features a thing has in common with a prototype, the less likely people are to categorize it together with the prototype. This implies that the category “dog” has more structure than merely being the set of all dogs. There are instead, as mentioned above, central and peripheral examples of the category.

This can also be of use in genre theory. The Danish writer Johannes V. Jensen’s Kongens fald [“The Fall of the King”] (1900-1901/2007) is a more prototypical novel than Per Højholt’s 6512 (1969); a scholarly article is a more prototypical example of the scholarly genre than a peer-review reader’s report (see Fowler, 1982, who argues that literary genre theory is based on Wittgenstein rather than Aristotle).

The concept of prototype has also introduced structure into the hierarchy of concepts. The Aristotelian concept hierarchy is purely formal: there are superordinate and subordinate concepts, and relationships among sister concepts, but nothing more. Rosch (1973), however, identified a basic
level of concept hierarchies. You might say that you walk the “dog,” or come by “car” or “train,” bringing “wine” and “flowers”; but you cannot express the same by using superconcepts, i.e., saying that you have walked your “pet” (or, to use the biological genus, your *Canis*) or arrived in your “vehicle,” bringing an “alcoholic drink” and a “gift for the hostess.” This is not to say that you cannot speak in this way, or even that it is never done, but that the first formulations are the standardized, and so “unmarked,” expressions (meaning that they do not generate implicatures; see Grice, 1989). Subconcepts are equally unsuitable—e.g., walking one’s Cairn Terrier, or arriving in a sedan, bringing a Rhône and tulips. Again, this language is not impossible, nor even improper; but it is not the norm.

It is an open question whether genres are also organized in this manner, with basic concepts occupying the same status. Do we say—or we are more likely to say—that we are reading a “novel,” or a “mystery novel”? A “mystery novel,” or a “femet-crime,” or the latest Liza Marklund? On the other hand, we have such simple, solid designations as the novel, the short story, poetry, and drama—which are widely accessible, and of which the general public will, for the most part, be able to identify exemplars (prototypes). Nevertheless, if we consider the hierarchy of nonfiction works represented in the scholarly genres—i.e., the hierarchical sequence descending from nonfiction to scholarly nonfiction to the latter’s manifold subgenres and the concrete instantiations of these—then we find that the most natural way to speak is in terms of the concrete textual *kinds*: he is writing an “article”; she will have to hold a “lecture.” Here there is no (obvious or established) subconcept mentioned, but only the specific artifact, i.e., precisely the relevant article or lecture.

Although the classic definitional approach to genre can be contrasted with the prototypical approach by juxtaposing sharply defined and graduated concepts, commonalities between the two approaches can also be found. If one conceives of a prototype as containing the full set of characteristics against which potential genre members are to be matched up, then
one could call it the primary set of a classically defined concept, that is, the set of all entities that match the full set of characteristics displayed by the prototype. Less prototypical examples of the concept would then be differing subsets of the prototypical set. Now, what is curious about visualizing these two approaches in this way is that while one would normally set the prototype in the middle, as a central concept, and less prototypical examples along the concept’s periphery, here we find the opposite: the full set of characteristics encompasses the smaller sets, which in turn encompass the set or sets with the fewest characteristics. To see this, consider the following example:

Set A: (1, 2, 3) (the prototype, which includes the most features of the concept);
Set B: (2, 3) (a less prototypical example of the concept);
Set C: (3) (a peripheral member)

Here C is proper subset of B, which is proper subset of A. The three sets can therefore be described as three concentric circles: (1, (2, (3))).

This completes my purely theoretical account of what it means to have a concept of a thing, whether the concept is a genre or something else. I will now proceed to discuss whether the concept of genre is like all other concepts, and if so, what we can use this comparison for.

The remainder of this study consists of two parts. The first considers the hierarchical structure of concepts: it compares the super- and subconcepts relevant to genre with corresponding structures in other areas. The second part deals with the particular knowledge-content of the concept of genre, regarding it (once again) in light of other concepts and their knowledge-content.
GENRE HIERARCHIES

For this analysis, I will use a familiar genre cluster: the scholarly genres. Here the hierarchy starts all the way at the top, so to speak. A scholarly genre has in common with everything else in the world that it is an entity, a thing bearing both abstract and physical features. It is produced by people, and so is an artifact—and therefore stands opposed to natural kinds, to everything that does not originate in human creation. This dichotomy also reveals how close we stand to ourselves, since human beings after all only make up a tiny part of the fabric of the universe, and our products even less. Within the category of human products, the elements of scholarly genres belong to the specific category of communications products—that is, they are meaning-bearing products in some way or another. Within this category, in turn, scholarly genres distinguish themselves from meaning-bearing products that are not language-related, such as pictures, gestures, etc. Here we begin to approach more familiar territory with regard to genres, as we now can say that the scholarly genre cluster is writing-based, i.e., stands in contrast to spoken genres (see Ulbæk, 2005). This mainly has to do with the fact that scholarly genres involve planned language use. One may certainly object that scholarship also involves lectures, teaching, and examinations in scholarly institutions. But the scholarly speech genres differ from conversations in general in that the former are planned in written form, whereas conversations are spontaneous. Here, of course, there is a gradation: from lectures and conference presentations, which are more or less memorized, to spontaneous discussions associated with these, or to conversations during examinations or office hours.

Scholarly genres are nonfiction, and so we meet another dichotomy, another bifurcation from the parent node: the familiar divide between fictional and nonfiction genres. Now whereas previously, higher up in the hierarchy, we located the scholarly genres on the writing-based branch of communicative products, here we trace them further, past the split between writing-based fictional genres and writing-based nonfiction. In other contexts, of course, we might need to consider fiction irrespective of whether
it is writing-based or not. In that case, we could start by considering fictional genres, and only then subdivide that category into spoken and written fictional genres. In fact, if we wanted to, we could also do the same for scholarly genres: we could treat oral scholarly debate as an independent branch of them (as opposed to written scholarly genres).

But now we have reached the scholarly genres themselves. For it is here that nonfiction branches out into the diverse bevy of genres that constitute it: the great genres, such as the monograph (of every kind); smaller genres like the article and the note (again, of every kind and in every medium). If we further divide these genres according to the speech-act categories of pragmatism—such as Searle’s division among representatives (or assertives), directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives (Searle, 1979)—we find nonfiction genres in all of these categories. Scholarly genres are primarily representative; cookbook recipes are primarily directive; the commissive category is represented by party programs; the expressive category does not constitute a special text type; while legal documents can be said to do things with words, and so belong to the declarative category.

Once again, we must reflect on what the criteria for subdivision should be. I have mentioned the possibility of differentiating nonfiction genres according to Searle’s speech act categories. But they can also be subdivided in numerous other ways (see Togeby, 1993, §88, pp. 687-696). We can use sociological criteria, referring to segments of society; or we can divide up genres according to the institutions with which they are associated, and so obtain media texts, legal texts, scientific texts, etc. The classificatory criteria chosen depend in large part on the purpose of the division. This in no way implies that the concept of genre is “threatened,” or of a special character (as has been claimed by a veritable chorus in post-structuralist genre theory—for example, Derrida (1980); and see the review by Johansen & Klujeff, 2009b). Using a previous example as a parallel, one and the same herb could be regarded as a spice in regard to one division of the world, but a weed in another, and finally as a member of the
Apiaceae family in a third. This attests to the strength of the human power of conceptualization. On the one hand, it is probably impossible to imagine making genre definitions so arbitrary that *Kongens fald* could be classified as a historical novel according to one set of criteria, and as a legal document according to another; one the other hand, *Kongens fald* might very well fit into other genre categories besides “historical novel.” Similarly, the scholarly article can be classified not only as a kind of scholarly genre, but also as a kind of rhetorical text genre, where it joins the company of such unpretentious genres as the letter to the editor and the opinion piece.

Purely for the sake of illumination, I will assume that there exists some criterion that distinguishes scholarly genres from other forms of nonfiction, including not only such rhetorical close relatives as the editorial, the opinion piece, and the letter to the editor, but also texts of a pseudo-scholarly or pseudoscientific character (e.g., the *Dianetics* books of L. Ron Hubbard [e.g., 2007], or Eric von Däniken’s books about flying saucers [e.g., 1999]). This is not to mention all of the other nonfiction genres, such as travel books, cookbooks, and all the other keywords that libraries use to categorize their nonfiction.

Within the set of scholarly texts, we find the research reporting genres, which are flanked by genres directed either toward students (e.g., the textbook) or the public (research dissemination). The research article of course plays a central role here, since it is the genre in which individual research results are reported; and alongside it we find research survey monographs (which may themselves reflect primary research, particularly within the humanities), as well as Ph.D. dissertations (which can similarly reflect primary research). Another close relative of the research article is the conference presentation, which again reflects recently completed or ongoing research. Other significant mini-genres include the reader’s report and the abstract, while application materials—along with other forms of assessment pertinent to funding allocation and hiring—also play a part in the research community. Finally, there are research surveys and introduc-
tions to edited works, including lexica and other reference works of every variety.

In the sphere of teaching we find the assignment genres. These range from short tasks drawn closely from classroom teaching to term papers and ultimately to larger assignments like the BA paper and the master’s thesis. Here the producers are clearly not the researchers themselves but the researchers-in-training—along with the majority of students who are not themselves bound for the researchers’ profession. Actual scholarly training, meanwhile, has nowadays migrated to the Ph.D. thesis and to the particular research trajectory of which it is the culmination: it is at this level, as opposed to that of the MA thesis, that genuine research is expected. Thus once again we find a permeable boundary—here between teaching and research. As a teacher, the researcher also produces texts that support teaching; these range from overhead slides to guides to additional readings to actual research summaries, culminating in the central text type (prototype) of teaching texts, namely (and of course) the textbook.

In the dissemination of research, the prototypical text is the monograph, which illuminates a subject within a researcher’s areas of interest in a manner that is accessible to the layperson. Here too there may be a smooth transition from research to dissemination, depending on the field. Typical of this are works of literary history, which do have a proper research contribution as their basis, but are directed toward teaching, wider dissemination, and service to other researchers.

With such a hierarchy in place, we can now ask whether this differs significantly from other hierarchies—i.e., whether the way in which super- and subconcepts are embedded within the concept of genre truly differs qualitatively from the hierarchical embedment of other concepts. We can go some distance toward answering this question by asking whether we can construct a corresponding conceptual hierarchy for a randomly chosen second concept. To me, it seems fairly obvious that we can, simply and without further ado. Take, for example, the concept “car.” Its embedment
in a conceptual hierarchy follows the pattern of the concept of genre, and indeed starts with the same move: entity → artifact. The set of cars then distinguishes itself within the set of means of transportation, which can arguably be subdivided into powered (automotive) and unpowered means. Means of transportation can also be subdivided into vehicles and other forms of transport (such as airplanes and ships). Vehicles, meanwhile, can be subdivided further according to the surface over which movement takes place; this yields the difference between automobiles and trains. Finally, we can introduce a division between wheeled vehicles and those using other systems of propulsion, such as caterpillar track. Finally, cars themselves can be subdivided according to various criteria, so that we end up with differences between commercial vehicles and private cars, or among cars that run on gas, diesel, and electricity (or other fuels). Then there are differences among types of cars: the sedan, the coupe, the station wagon; front-wheel, rear-wheel, and four-wheel drive; etc.

One of the benefits of conceptual hierarchies is that they are built into concepts in such a way that, given the concept “novel” or “car,” we can infer all of its umbrella terms from the concept itself. In other words, the concept “novel” necessarily implies its superconcepts, so that to have a novel is to have something in a particular genre, something that is fictional, something that is an artifact, something that is an (abstract) entity, etc. We find an analogous set of implications for the concept “car” ... And what is more, we also know that there are specific characteristics that distinguish entities from sister entities; if we did not know this, then we would not be able to distinguish between novels and short stories, between sedans and station wagons, between a novel by Pontoppidan and one by Helle Helle, or between a Suzuki and a BMW.

Thus we may say that, irrespective of whether we are dealing with genres or vehicles, concept hierarchies encode information. I see no special difference on this point between genre qua concept and other concepts. Nevertheless, we cannot simply conclude that there is no difference be-
tween genres and other categorizations. I will shortly turn to epistemic structures in order to complete my analysis within this framework; but first I will take up a few objections. One could argue that the concept of genre is historical/dynamic, context-dependent, and non-essentialist (on this see also Rasmussen, this volume). But might that not be true of all other concepts as well?

At first glance, concept hierarchies appear static. There is no simple way to integrate time into them, and so they depict a synchronous reality. Nevertheless, one can easily add to them a dynamic element that tracks their development through pruning and grafting, whenever elements are added or removed from the hierarchy. In the case of genre hierarchies, we can easily conceive of them dynamically, as when we say that the kronik (a type of feature story now common in Denmark, normally written by an outsider to the newspaper) arrived in Denmark via the newspaper Politiken in the early 1900s. But we can also do the same for other hierarchies, whenever historical development forces us to alter our concepts—as when the electric car was introduced alongside the “internal combustion engine vehicle” (whatever that was!). Or when one must make room in the plant hierarchy for a new apple breed, or a new kind of rose. Thus receptivity to a dynamic element does not seem to be a feature specific to the concept of genre.

The issue of context-dependence and anti-essentialism arises when we consider the extent to which things are what they are depending on their context, and do not seem to have any essence—any inherent identity characteristics—that makes them be what they are independently of context. But the question is whether this is the correct way in which to formulate the problem. Are we claiming that it is only in the context of Politiken, or of Danish media after 1900, that the kronik has existed, or that the essay has been transformed into the kronik? Or do we mean that every genre is contextually contingent, inasmuch as genres emerge and disappear under specific historical conditions or historical periods? Essentialism is compat-
ible with both ways of looking at genres. That something is historically transient—that it comes and goes—does not mean that the phenomenon has no special definitional features that make it what it is. The Montaignian essay has its distinguishing marks as typical of the Renaissance period in which it was produced; the contemporary kronik has distinguishing marks associated with its own period. But in both cases, there are properties that apply to subgenres, and because we categorize both of these as subgenres of the essay genre, they also have common features that cut across periods. Thus we can think essentialistically about period-specific features, as well as about common historical features that are trans-historical in this sense—all while retaining the link to a context (but see Fowler (1982) for an account that does not fully mesh with this one).

THE CONCEPT OF GENRE AS AN EPISTEMIC STRUCTURE

The analysis that follows takes the shape of a kind of speculative cognitive science (though this does not make it groundless; on this see, e.g., Bernsen & Ulbæk, 1993; Eysenck & Keane, 1990). In my introduction, I sketched briefly how the act of genre predication presupposes both that one has the knowledge to carry it out and that one is carrying it out with a purpose, namely, to achieve an advance in knowledge. I will now embark on a detailed analysis of what this knowledge consists in, and whether it differs from other conceptual knowledge.

When we encounter a text, spoken or written, we meet a number of features that jointly serve as genre indicators. This is, in other words, an inductive process, in which a finite set of identifiers must converge so that one can pass judgment and declare: “This is genre X.”

This is a common process. It has been portrayed by philosopher of science Kevin Kelly as a machine that is fed a finite stream of data, and which uses that stream to guess the next datum. Kelly calls the rule that generates these guesses—“a rule that outputs a guess about what will hap-
pen next from the finite data sequence observed so far”—an “extrapolator” or “predictor” (Kelly, Juhl, & Glymour, 1994, p. 99).

See also this pedagogical drawing of the process (p. 100):
Here is Kelly’s caption: “Some $\varepsilon \in K$ is the actual data stream that $\pi$ will face in the future. $\pi$ reads larger and larger initial segments of $\varepsilon$ and produces an increasing sequence of guesses about what will happen next” (p. 99).

Now this is not philosophy of science, where this model can be said to be a perfect fit for meteorological knowledge, for example, where one hopes to predict the weather on the basis of an actual and limited data series. Nevertheless, there is a thoroughgoing resemblance between the two cases, inasmuch as genre knowledge does allow one to predict a text’s general structure, if not its content. And again, Kelly’s model has the advantage that it also accounts for convergence—the fact that data at one stage may have led to the selection of a theory that correctly predicted the next datum and then the next as well, leading a rational agent to maintain the theory. Put another way, one set of data can suffice for convergence on a specific theory that is successful at predicting future data.

As we know, however, induction is not a safe source of knowledge. Even if we converged on a particular theory on the basis of the data set received so far, there may well come future data that will not cohere with the theory, and in that sense will falsify it (or limit it, as in the case of Newton’s physics, which at near-light speeds no longer applies). New evidence can thus force a rational agent to switch theories in order to obtain a prediction that both accounts for this evidence and continues predicting new data. The shift in twentieth-century literary genre theory (as presented in the 2009 anthology edited by Johansen and Klujeff (2009a)) reflects the same inductive process: it emerges that the theory cannot rest content with Aristotelian concepts; that its categories are unclear; that particular genres do not exist (for an example of the latter, see Schaeffer, 1983).

Consider the following account of genre knowledge. We have a cognitive agent that knows genres, and which, given a text submitted sequentially, can use the data bits to determine what genre the text is (as well as, for the general reader, everything else that is determined by the purpose of
the reading). This “game” corresponds precisely to guessing a melody after just a few notes, or a text after hearing just the first phrase (“Whose woods these are...”). In parallel to the above model, the cognitive agent can converge after a receiving a given amount of data, and can determine that there is a text within a given genre. It will then be possible for further evidence to convince the agent of the rightness of this choice more and more. And in a further parallel, this convergence can be undermined by new evidence that raises doubt and leads to a recategorization of the text. Or perhaps doubts will remain, and the agent will decline to make a unique genre determination entirely.

The above should not be understood as implying that the agent reads with the aim of determining a text’s genre. Of course not! Texts are read for all sorts of reasons, and indeed the effort to determine a text’s genre through reading can derive from precisely these manifold reasons. Determining a text’s genre in fact helps to pinpoint its relevance to the reader. If we find the word “novel” on the cover of a book, or “editorial” above a newspaper text (or, more generally, if there is information in a text’s paratexts; on this see Anders Juhl Rasmussen’s article in this volume), then it usually will not take the agent much consideration to decide to categorize these texts as a novel or an editorial, respectively. And, indeed, apart from cases of deliberate deception, this will also be a sensible decision and the correct choice, which the texts themselves will not give reason to challenge. There will naturally be external indicators that assist the agent in genre determination: e.g., a Ph.D. dissertation is not four pages long, and editorials are not printed on the backs of wine bottles. But there will also be internal features that give the agent “cues” to assist them in determining the texts’ genres. This is not the place to try to explain what these cues are, or how the agent finds them. That is the task of empirical (and experimental) research, and indeed would require several new research projects—beyond those already completed. But it is well known that, as with the recognition of melodies and literary texts, the recognition
of genre features is a quick and automated affair, which can be performed by most trained readers without much information. This rapid recognition is due to the fact that what is stored at the beginnings of such texts is information—and it is information that sender is providing to the recipient from the start!

While it is not the aim of this article to determine the features of various genres, we can nonetheless construct a simple systematic scheme in order to illuminate the process of genre recognition. There may be text-external characteristics, text-internal characteristics, and relational characteristics pertaining to the relation between text and context. Within each group, there will be a number of more or less stable characteristics that count as evidence to the cognitive agent. These characteristics can be combined in all possible permutations, which together make up the evidence that leads the agent to converge on a particular hypothesis about the text’s genre. And as in the above description of the inductive process, we may find new evidence during the process—including the reading process itself—that overturns the previous hypothesis. Some such thing must have happened the first time readers encountered Morten Sabroe’s New Journalism style (Sabroe, 1994), the first “Nynne” texts in Politiken (Lind, 2000), etc. Readers’ genre expectations were bounded by the newspaper (external evidence), the lead paragraph, the illustrations (relational evidence), and their initial reading (internal evidence), so that the hypothetical categorization of these texts as normal pieces could no longer could be sustained. It follows that someone had creatively (abductively) invented a genre category (or rediscovered one, in the case of Morten Sabroe, through his knowledge of American journalism) that was able to incorporate the features that did not fit with the normal pieces of the day.

The overarching process of genre categorization is, therefore, an inductive process in which a cognitive agent looks for identifiers (that is, indicators of a particular genre) in order to be able to pass judgment on a text with a certain degree of confidence.
As far as I can see, the only thing that distinguishes this process from other forms of categorization are the specific genre characteristics—the identifiers—that are used in genre determination. Put briefly, we find the same cognitive process at work in genre categorization as in other categorizations.

Here, for example, is how the Danish tv-host Soren Ryge identifies trees:

[My] many years in the horticultural industry have meant, among other things, that I cannot see a tree without immediately identifying it. I can look at its size and shape, or I can go further and look at its trunk, branches, and buds to make sure. Here I stood outside a small cozy house in Møgeltønder and gazed at a large tree in a garden, just twenty yards away. Three seconds passed, and I didn’t know what it was. So I went closer, looked at the leaves, and started to get the idea. Finally I looked at the grass under the tree, and the solution lay shining right in front of me: thousands of small crabapples, autumn yellow, no doubt overpoweringly sour (Ryge, 2010, p. 28).

Soren Ryge lists his identifiers by availability. First comes “size and shape”; then “trunk, branches, and buds,” which validates the initial identification. Ryge himself reports astonishment at not having identified the tree after three seconds and at close range. Convergence takes place only when he sees the fruits: crabapples in their thousands. These turn out to be conclusive for Ryge; and that shows, first of all, that he believes he should have identified something this simple a long time ago, and conversely that the tree in its grandeur was so far from a prototypical apple tree that its identifiers could not possibly supply the necessary characteristics of an apple tree.
As I remarked previously, while there is no doubt that the identifiers at issue are different, genre identification can nonetheless be viewed as a process similar to other identification processes.

**GENRE CATEGORIZATION AS CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE**
What do we gain by coming to know a text’s genre? Here I think I can predetermine the answer; for it must be true of genre categorization, just as of any other categorization, that significant information is to be found in disclosing a concept’s umbrella term or superconcept. There is, simply put, a vast amount of knowledge in the concept of genre, when we consider its many dimensions or parameters!

These many dimensions can be represented in many ways. In the humanities, the classical method is to make a list with bullet-points. But there is also a more formal method, which we may recognize from the Cartesian coordinate system, in which each point has two values, an $x$- and a $y$-value, corresponding to its location on the $x$ and $y$ dimensional axes. Consider, for example, the point $p$ in the Cartesian coordinate system that has an $x$-value of 1 and a $y$-value of 2. Instead of representing $p$ graphically, we can express it as a **2-tuple** value as follows: $p = <1, 2>$. Within the tuple’s angled brackets, the first position corresponds to the $x$-value, and the second to the $y$-value. Note that there must be two parameters, corresponding to two dimensions, to represent this two-dimensional point. A point in three-dimensional space has an additional dimension, the $z$-axis, which means that the tuple must be expanded with an additional parameter $<x, y, z>$ (2-tuples are also called ordered pairs, 3-tuples triples, 4-tuples quadruples, etc.; for an arbitrary number $n$ we speak of an $n$-tuple. (See Maegaard, Prebensen, & Vikner, 1975, p. 57). Our ability to express arbitrarily large tuples mathematically means that we can both think and count in space in dimensions beyond the three that we know from everyday physical space. We can thus imagine space mathematically beyond the three known dimensions, even though we cannot visualize them. And this has had impli-
applications for physics, most notably by allowing us to integrate time, as the fourth dimension, by adding it to 3-tuple space coordinates to yield a 4-tuple. Then there are special physical theories that operate in more dimensions—such as so-called superstring theory, which operates with 10 dimensions. 10-dimensional coordinates can be represented simply via 10-tuples, though it is no doubt a convoluted affair to make calculations in so many dimensions at once.

Where am I heading with this? To start with, I hope to point out a similarity here to the ordinary way in which humanists treat concepts as parameters, and to their employment of lists; but I am also rather curious as to whether one can use conceptual tools like the tuple to compare complexity across concepts, and so to continue the study of differences and similarities with which this article is occupied.

The concept of genre can be regarded as multi-dimensional, that is, as containing many parameters and so also as an $n$-tuple—at least informally, as a cognitive tool rather than a mathematical one. In fact, the same can be done with all other concepts when we think about them cognitively, that is, when we consider the information that they encode.

As I have mentioned, my aim here is not to create an exhaustive list of the concept of genre’s cognitive dimensions. My goal is to illustrate what such an analysis might look like. To this end, I have been considering the different knowledge domains that are involved in the concept of genre. Here we can use the above tripartite division—among text-external, text-internal, and text-relational characteristics—in order to systematize the concept’s cognitive dimensions, as follows:
Text-external characteristics
1) social use: the social conditions under which the relevant textual forms are used (produced and consumed)
2) physical design: how the various texts physically appear
3) anchoring in history
4) other?

Text-internal characteristics
1) the text’s overall speech act (see Ulbæk, 2009)
2) norms
3) structure
4) other?

Text-relational characteristics
1) the text’s communicative situation (see also Sunesen, this volume)
2) state of affairs
3) purpose
4) other?

We thus have three overarching dimensions, a triple, which can be represented as follows:

\( <e, i, r> \)

If we ignore the “other” in each of the three dimensions and regard them all as exhausted, then we can say that each dimensions contains three further dimensions in turn, which we can represent as three 3-tuples within a 3-tuple:

\( <<s, f, h>_{e}, <o, n, t>_{i}, <k, a, m>_{r}> \)
Alternately, we can just list them directly as a 9-tuple:

\[ <s, f, h, o, n, t, k, a, m> \]

If we assume that every text is involved in all nine dimensions, and that knowledge of the text accordingly includes knowledge of these dimensions, then every text is an evaluation of the parameters in this 9-tuple. Put another way, every text is a point in nine-dimensional space. This gives figurative meaning to the idea that they are neighboring points in this space.

Yet it is also here that the process of formalization breaks down. The prerequisite for proper execution of this formalization is that we can re-encode the qualitative parameters as quantitative ones, so that we can assign a number to each parametric value. If it is the norm for a novel that it is long, and the norm for a short story that it is short, then they must both be assigned a number. But this number must reflect the qualitative aspects of both, whereas it is arbitrary to assign one genre a 1 and the other a 2. The situation is still worse it comes to structure, for how can we put structures in order such that numerical values reflect this scheme? And if that cannot be done, then the numerical assignment makes no sense if our goal is to use it to indicate positions in nine-dimensional space. Thus we cannot proceed from the intuitive concept of genre relatedness to a more formal concept (at least not in this context).

The present study has investigated the possibility that the concept of genre has a special status. So far, however, we have not found that the concept “genre” distinguishes itself essentially from other concepts in general. We have shown that the concept of genre is complex and multidimensional qua epistemic structure; but we can convince ourselves with-
out difficulty that this applies to many other concepts as well. To take a familiar example, let us return to the concept “vehicle.” This concept also has social and historical content; its use involves an understanding of vehicles’ physical structure, purposes, operations, and more. In short, concepts besides genre can also be complex and multidimensional.

It is my claim—an uncontroversial one, I am assuming—that it is this complex epistemic structure that makes the concept of genre useful for end-users of texts. It is also my contention that even the relatively abstract concept of genre includes the epistemic structure examined above, which it inherits from and shares with subordinate genre concepts such as the novel or the newspaper editorial. On the whole, these subconcepts are more knowledge-intensive than the superconcepts; but the latter are knowledge-intensive too! This is an essential complement to the analysis of concept hierarchies, where we need relatively little information in order to classify a concept in a hierarchy.

CONCLUSION
This article has had a classic aim: to say something about something by comparing it to something else. Here it is the concept of genre that has been analyzed in this manner (namely, by comparing it to concepts in general) in order to determine whether it has specific intrinsic properties that distinguish it from other concepts, whatever they may be. The idea was to explore what concepts are, in general, and to distinguish between the concept itself (understood via the container metaphor), on the one hand, and our categorization ability, on the other. In the foregoing, I considered the contemporary discussion about the nature of concepts—about whether they are Aristotelian or prototypical—and advocated for a synthesis: we have need of both conceptual understandings, even if they are, in a sense, complementary.

My detailed comparison between the concept of genre and other concepts was grounded in concept hierarchies, i.e., in the fact that concepts are
connected via umbrella terms/superconcepts, and sister relationships. When we take the scholarly genre cluster as an example, the matter appears relatively simple: this kind of structure does not differ from other conceptual forms. Accordingly, I continued my investigation by examining the concept of genre as an epistemic structure.

This study was twofold, since genres are partly something to be recognized in texts, and partly something that contributes to text comprehension. In the first case, I analyzed genre recognition as an inductive process, in which the cognitive agent converges on a particular genre by identifying a number of characteristics that count as evidence for the genre identification. Inasmuch as the generation of inductive knowledge is a general process, and can again be shown, with a simple example, to be utilized in spheres other than text comprehension, I concluded once again that it partakes of common cognitive structures and processes of conceptual handling. Furthermore, the same appeared to be the case with regard to the contribution to knowledge that the application of genre categories represents for text comprehension.

In this context, I analyzed the concept of genre as complex and multidimensional. To show how this complexity can be conceived, I used the terminological device “tuple” as an illustrative and pedagogical tool. This was based, in turn, on a division of the concept of genre into text-external, text-internal, and text-relational characteristics that themselves exhibit gradations. Comparison with a random alternative concept—“vehicle”—revealed that the same complexity is present there as well.

My overall conclusion is, accordingly, that the concept of genre is no different from other concepts. It involves the same kind of hierarchy and the same sort of structure. This means that we can apply the same theories about the concept of genre as we do to other concepts—and we must assume that we handle this concept with the same cognitive processes that we apply to other concepts. Whether this undermines the power of the concept of genre as such must be up to the individual. Personally, I have a
liking for unitary sciences, in which different knowledge domains—different terms, theories, and methods—can all be gathered under the same scholarly hat. That too is scholarly progress.


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