

**Language as an Apparatus for Influencing
Social Consciousness in Dystopian Fiction**

by

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For Mom and Dad

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Abstract

In the following essay, I explore a central theme in dystopian fiction: the influence of language in the conflict between the prevailing social order in a society and those individuals and groups that dissent against it. Using *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, by George Orwell, *We*, by Evgeni Zamiatin, *The Dispossessed*, by Ursula LeGuin, and *The Languages of Pao*, by Jack Vance, as my primary literary sources, I seek to establish a model for the conflict that accurately accounts for the different types of language in dystopian societies and the sociolinguistic affect they have on the members of those societies. A previous theoretical model devised by David Sisk, that divides dystopian language into a binary system with the language manipulated by an oppressive government on one side and the language manipulated by those who resist it on the other, serves as a starting point for my reasoning. Sisk's model, however, is primarily a taxonomy. It does not consider why both sides of the conflict have manipulative languages. I propose a new model based on the claim that both forms of dystopian language share a common function that enables them to be manipulative. This function is their ability to limit their speakers' awareness of the power structures of their government or social group – their ability to limit speakers' *social consciousness*.

To articulate this argument, my essay is organized into an introduction and three sections followed by a short conclusion. The **Introduction**, provides the basis for most of the literary and sociolinguistic theory from which my thesis stems. Dystopian fiction is here defined by its proponent role in social change, the association is drawn between different systems of language and different thought patterns via the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, and a modified model of Althusser's apparatus-centered society is superimposed over Sisk's dichotomy of dystopian language. These planks enable my model to account for ideology controlling components of society. **Section I**, entitled "Limitation by the Language of Thought Control," then compares the state-controlled language of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* to that of *We* to determine the differing levels of social consciousness limitation that each has been able to achieve. **Section II**, "Limitation by the Language of Resistance," follows and is divided into two subsections – the first positing that languages of resistance originate in the gaps left by instated languages, and the second showing how those languages in limit social consciousness in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, *We*, and *The Dispossessed* just like their antitheses.

In **Section III**, once my model is in place and the source of linguistic conflict is attributed to the limiting effect shared by each language in the conflict, I propose that the conflict can be resolved by expanding a society's social consciousness. The technique for this, according to my interpretation of *The Dispossessed* and *The Languages of Pao*, involves incorporating the ideal of linguistic multiplicity into the society. Finally, in the **Conclusion** I show that this expansion enables dystopian fiction to fulfill its role and promote social awareness and change.

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Introduction

David Sisk, who published the most recent large-scale survey of dystopian fiction in terms of its treatment of language, emphasizes that “issues of language are so closely intertwined with questions of power and freedom in dystopian literature that any criticism ignoring these concerns will inevitably produce less-than-comprehensive readings of the texts” (Sisk 11-12). Language issues, in fact, are the fundamental means by which dystopian fiction illustrates its purpose as a genre. Sisk defines this purpose with the explanation that “dystopias concern themselves with the moral structure of a fictive society. . . . A dystopian narrative tries to warn, didactically predicting a coming evil while there is still time to correct the situation” (Sisk 5-6). Within the framework of a fictional society, authors of dystopias conjure up possible outcomes (usually negative ones) for worrisome trends they observe in their own societies. Since they write dystopias and not anti-utopias, however, the authors suggest a recourse, often in the behavior of their novels’ protagonists, for preventing those outcomes. Sisk describes how “their political and moral missions are altruistic. . . . [D]ystopias . . . always reveal . . . attitudes and suggest actions that can prevent the horrors they depict” (Sisk 6). Dystopian fiction’s primary purpose is to serve as a pedagogical tool, increasing the readers’ awareness of subtle injustices in their own societies by depicting gross inequalities in fictional ones, and characters that must negotiate them.

Given the relationship between language and society, in terms of the manner in which language functions in the distribution of power in a society, which I will elaborate upon later in this introduction, it is no surprise that language is a central issue explored throughout the dystopian fiction. Another reason why dystopia features language so prominently is simply because of its ability to affect the reader. Again to quote Sisk: “. . . language remains perhaps

the most important means of quickly immersing the reader in an uncomfortably strange world while didactically forcing a comparison of the fictive society with the real world surrounding both the reader and text” (Sisk 109). Sisk’s primary example of this *Clockwork Orange*, by Anthony Burgess, a novel written in an invented dialect of English known as Nadsat which “titillates our morbid curiosity and coaxes us into multiple readings” (Sisk 64). If a reader has to negotiate an unfamiliar yet interesting form of his or her language in the text, he or she will use the language as a tool to help compare the dystopian society to the real-world.

The dystopian novelist must consequently solve two major problems. In his article comparing the affect of the languages in George Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty Four* and Evgeni Zamiatin’s *We*, Gorman Beauchamp argues that these problems are “to convey the stultifying effect that the rigidly controlled society would have on how its citizens think and speak, and to create an imaginatively valid language reflecting the specific social and technological realities of the projected future” (Beauchamp 464). As will be discussed in the second section of this essay, the latter is exceedingly difficult, especially in trying to satisfactorily account for the complexities of language acquisition and evolution. Most dystopian and science fiction authors therefore choose to incorporate narrative techniques into their works that discuss language use within the context of their societies without attempting to write in the language. Explicit discussion by an omniscient narrator of the language the characters use and are socialized to use in different situations is a common technique. This enables the author to create the illusion that the reader is actually experiencing all the characters’ interactions in the characters’ native languages without having to devise complete artificial languages. The narrator and, in the case of *Nineteen Eighty Four* and *The Languages of Pao* that have appendices and footnotes, the

structure of the book itself serve as a filter that translates and explains the nuances of the languages in these fictional societies that the author considers significant to his or her purposes.

The first problem noted above is exactly Sisk's first point (Sisk 11-12 above). He argues *additionally*, however, that language is used by the oppressed people in a society as a form of resistance (Sisk 2). The details of this claim, which I agree with, will be discussed in greater detail in Section II, but given this opposition and the involvement of the reader in the text, Sisk constructs a three-part taxonomy for dystopian language concerns: "[1] conscious manipulation of language by oppressors intended to control thought, [2] conscious use of language by rebels as a means of resisting thought control, and [3] conscious use of language by the writer of the dystopian fiction" (Sisk 175). This is an adequate model, but it begs the question: how can two opposing groups use language in similar ways to achieve opposite goals? And what does it mean that any dystopia is constantly feeling friction between these two language poles? Sisk very neatly circumvents the second question with the assurance that "the point is not to agonize over the language of obfuscation and oppression but to recognize it, defend against it and move on to confront the real issues of power and control behind the language" (Sisk 179). I disagree. I believe that in this statement he disregards his earlier assertion that language and issues of power and freedom are intertwined (Sisk 11-12, above) and disregards a large body of sociolinguistic evidence that supports such a claim. I do not think it is possible to confront the "real issues" without first coming to terms with the two disparate forms of dystopian language.

The relationship between a society and its language has long been grounded in a discussion analogous to the question, "Which came first, the chicken or the egg?" Is a language a product of a society's culture, or is a society's organization dependent upon the language of its

people? And on the level of the individual, is thought dependent upon language, or is language dependent upon thought? As Roger Fowler notes, “Even to set up the question with a simple dualism of ‘language’ on one hand and ‘thought’ on the other is liable to pre-structure the discussion” (Fowler 1995:31). Yet in the early twentieth century, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf spent most of their respective careers toying with a hypothesis for linguistic relativity based on these very terms. In his 1941 essay, *The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behavior to Language*, Whorf establishes through a comparison of the Native American Hopi culture and language with Western concepts that language patterns and cultural norms within a society “have grown up together, constantly influencing each other. But in this partnership the nature of the language is the factor that limits free plasticity and rigidifies channels of development in the more autocratic way. This is so because a language is a system, not just an assemblage of norms” (Whorf 156).

Whorf subscribes to what Fowler later terms a “nominalist” view of the relationship between language and reality (Fowler 1995: 31), in which there is no discrete empirical definition for reality except through linguistic structures, which are then wholly responsible for shaping the reality perceived by speakers of that language. An even stronger representation of this idea is a statement of Sapir’s that Whorf uses as an epigraph for his essay:

It is . . . an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the ‘real world’ is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. . . . We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation. (Whorf 134)

Sapir's claim represents the strongest interpretation of his and Whorf's hypotheses. But, as one can imagine, such an abstract assertion proved impossible to test scientifically. For a directly contrasting perspective, Fowler and Kress describe how M.A.K. Halliday's sociolinguistic theories based on communicative behavior (semiotics) oppose strong interpretations of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis: "The stronger claim made by Halliday is that, since language is learned in contexts of interaction, and since the structure of language in use is responsive to the communicative needs of these interactions . . . the structure of a language should generally be seen as having been formed in response to the structure of the society that uses it" (Fowler and Kress 187-88). As such, a society's worldview should embed itself in the different components of a language.

I believe, however, that Fowler's and Kress's suggestion that Halliday's "syntax can code world-view without any conscious choice on the part of a writer or speaker" (Fowler and Kress 185), which suggests that the word-order in a language is directly determined by a conceptual parsing of the world, is too extreme. Syntax is too variable within most languages to consider it to have direct symbolic associations with its speakers' worldview. What is more likely is a later statement Fowler makes that "the vocabulary of a language could be considered a kind of lexical map of the preoccupations of a culture" (Fowler 1985: 65). The important element of the first statement, though, is the idea that any effect society has on the way language is used is contained within the language itself and is not left to individual choice. As Fowler writes in an earlier essay that defined issues in linguistic criticism, "language . . . does not allow us to 'say something' without conveying an attitude to that something. . . . Our sentences chop up events and processes and people we refer to, analyze them according to certain models of how the world works which our culture, and our biologically given mental structure, make available to us"

(Fowler 1977: 76). This statement is a bit ambiguous still, because it seems that even with rigid cultural worldviews that may influence language, language has a built-in degree of control over its users – at least partially controlling their expression.

Thus, as to whether the origins of language are in society or vice versa, there is no clear answer. People in a society must naturally innovate their language in order to describe their changing experiences, but they must rely on language to enable interactions with each other that form their society. According to Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert, and Leap in the introduction to their recent textbook of sociolinguistics, most “linguists feel safer in accepting a ‘weak form’ of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis: that our language influences (rather than completely determines) our way of perceiving things. But language does not grip communities so strongly as to prevent at least some individuals from seeing things from different perspectives, from forming new thoughts and ideas” (Mesthrie *et al.* 7-8). In effect this perspective does not resolve the “chicken and egg” question but does validate the first part of Whorf’s claim above (Whorf 156), that language, thought, and culture are symbiotic. The fact that individuals are not completely controlled by their community’s language is incredibly important to the discussion of dystopian societies, because the one aspect of this interrelationship in which language can be clearly seen to influence society directly is in establishing and maintaining relationships of power.

Even though Fowler consistently indicates that society influences language, he also emphasizes that language affects the distribution of power in society. He and Kress state that “language serves to confirm and consolidate the organizations which shape it, being used to manipulate people, to establish and maintain them in economically convenient roles and statuses, to maintain the power of state agencies, corporations and other institutions” (Fowler and Kress 190). In this way, “language not only encodes power differences but is instrumental in enforcing

them” (Fowler and Kress 195). There are many processes through which language can enable social control in this manner. They can be organized into two categories: *directive* and *constitutive* (Fowler 1985: 64). Directive language is explicitly manipulative, including commands, requests, proclamations and the like. Constitutive language, on the other hand, repeatedly “articulates an ideology that is socially constructed through institutions, roles, and statuses that preserve the hierarchic structure of society, guarding the exploitive opportunities of the ruling classes and keeping the lower orders in voluntary or involuntary subservience” (ibid.). Such language involves what Dwight Bolinger terms “loaded words” to misdirect the meanings of words in a way that is advantageous for the ruling class in the society. Primarily these words are euphemistic symbols that depict what they designate in a favorable manner, but they can also be “dysphemistic” and depict negatively that which the rulers want their subjects to demean. (Bolinger 72-73)

While directive and constitutive language represent a duality in types of society-shaping language, two Gramscian terms represent the structures of power that can be shaped by language – *rule* and *hegemony*. Rule describes an exercise of power that is obvious or known, while hegemony describes an exercise of power disguised to make it seem as if subjects have consented to be governed by their rule (Mesthrie *et al.* 319). Rule needs only to employ directive language, but to achieve a hegemony rulers will most likely have to use both categories of manipulative language. In either case, language is used to express the power relationship; with a hegemony, though, wider use of constitutive language would represent an increasing level of deception, changing the actual nature of the power relationship. Constitutive language, then, has the ability to directly influence the power relationships in a hegemony. Both power establishments can be successful, however. As Mesthrie *et al.* paraphrase Max Weber’s *Theory*

of *Social and Economic Organization*, “successful rule involves the legitimization and acceptance of power. This legitimization involves the conversion of power to ‘bases of authority’” (ibid.). Essentially, this necessitates an organized social structure in which all power relationships are manifest – a government, or at least a state.

The question arises, now, as to how a controlling authority can legitimize its rule and gain the acceptance of the people. As noticed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in *The Social Contract*, this does not occur naturally:

He who dares undertake to give institutions to a nation ought to feel himself capable, as it were, of changing human nature; of transforming every individual, who in himself is a complete and independent whole, into part of a greater whole, from which he receives in some manner his life and his being; . . . it is necessary to deprive man of his native powers in order to endow him with some which are alien to him, . . . the more thoroughly those natural powers are deadened and destroyed, the greater and more durable are the acquired powers, the more solid and perfect also are the institutions . . . (Rousseau 43)

Rousseau is describing how a legislator attempting to impose the structures of a republic on his people must somehow act to exert the authority of those structures over human nature.

Interestingly, a non-republican government must do the same in order to maintain power over subjects. From the Marxist tradition we can understand how a society can ensure that its ruling classes will maintain their governing status over the working classes through economic “surplus-value extortion” (Althusser 137). It thus seems that any state must act systematically to repress certain natural human tendencies that resist the artificial institutions necessary to the operation of a government. Althusser terms this system the “(Repressive) State Apparatus” (Althusser 143).

Althusser describes this (Repressive) State Apparatus as only being able to function by violence - enforcing its rule with physical force and a public show of strength. This, however, will not satisfy Weber's requirement that the rule be legitimized. For even if the people in a society accept violent rule (and most likely they will at least temporarily have to because they are weaker) it will be a begrudging and unstable acceptance. Rousseau's condition that the people be transformed from acting independently of the state to acting with the benefit of the whole society always in mind must be met. People must be socialized to accept the legitimacy of the State Apparatus, which, as a consequence, will become less overtly repressive. How is this possible? Althusser believes that a state maintains its power through what he calls Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs).

Ideology, Althusser argues, "represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (Althusser 162). If the ideology of the lower classes is shaped to conform to the wishes of the ruling classes, including the acceptance and even celebration of the social hierarchy, the upper class' rule will become legitimate. Again to quote Althusser: "ideology *acts* or *functions* in such a way that it *recruits* subjects among the individuals . . . or *transforms* the individuals into subjects" (Althusser 174). This is an operation Althusser calls *interpellation*, for which he gives the example of a policeman hailing a suspect with the phrase "Hey, you there!" (ibid.). For such a transformation, the State needs to interact on a personal level with individuals to convince them to accept its fabricated ideology, hence the ISAs. ISAs include any private institution that serves to reinforce the ideology of the state. They function not by violence, but solely by communicating an ideology to the people who participate in or use the apparatus. Althusser lists religious institutions, educational systems, political parties, mass communications and media, and culture (i.e. literature, art, sports, etc.) as examples of ISAs

(Althusser 143). None of these, however, establish the state ideology alone. Religions may preach obedience and subordination, while football unifies communities in friendly rivalries and idealizes physical strength, and media advertises individuals' connection to the state's economy. Taken together, the ISAs reinforce every aspect of ideology necessary for the State Apparatus to function and for the ruling class to exert itself over the lower classes.

The notion of interpellation, however, opens up Althusser's model for a modification. Interpellation is a communicative act that subtly indexes the structure of authority in the society as a whole. The language used in an interpellation requires both the speaker and hearer to be reminded of the ideology that each has adopted in order to be a social participant in the state. This ideology includes each person's awareness of their position of social authority relative to each other. The policeman hailing "Hey, you there!" at a suspect demands an appropriate response based on their position in society, otherwise both the officer and suspect know the consequences. In such a way language shapes an individual's social consciousness, while also being the means by which he or she responds to it. I claim, then, that language functions as an apparatus that is integrated into the ideology sculpting discourses of all ISAs in a society. Language is the means by which interpellation occurs, thus I propose that language ought to be considered a subordinate apparatus that both collects the ideology of the ISAs together and communicates the sum to people in the society. Language turns them into subjects of the state. For convenience, and to nod to its relationship with Althusser's model, I will call this the Language Apparatus (see Figure 1).

In light of the aforementioned necessity to revise Sisk's model to account for the opposition between the two forms of dystopian language, and the status of language as an apparatus that organizes people into a society by means of their ideology, I propose a new model

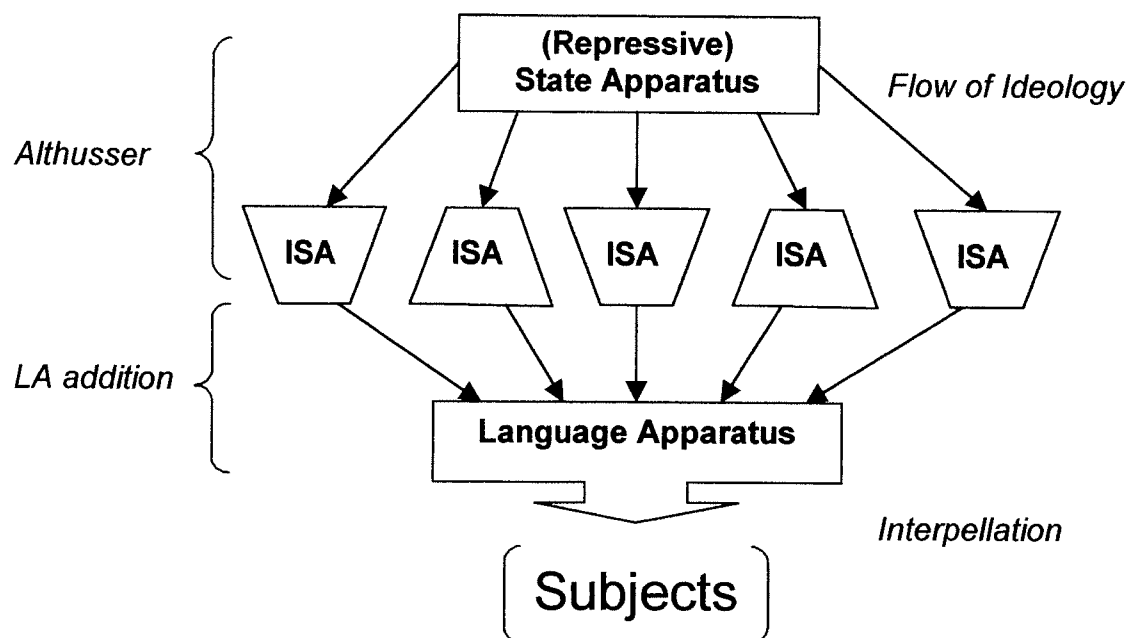


Figure 1: Schema for LA addition to Althusserian ideological hierarchy

through which we might analyze the language of dystopia that may prove to be more productive. The languages of oppression and resistance share the common property of being Language Apparatuses with the purpose of limiting ideological social consciousness in their users. By “social consciousness,” I mean the awareness that people have of the systems of control in their society. My analysis of representative dystopian fictions in the following paper will seek to prove how both the language of the oppressors and the language of the resisters constrain this awareness, and thus come into constant conflict. It is my proposal, thus, that when a member of a dystopian society extracts himself from the power struggle between the languages he can begin to grasp the nature of the conflict itself: the disparity and exclusivity in the respective languages. I then return to a moderate interpretation of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis to distill the solution, which is reflected in dystopias, that the only way to transcend this conflict in his society is to

promote its acceptance of multiple languages and dialects. This enables multiple worldviews to integrate into society, increasing internal tolerance and the ability to interact more effectively with other societies allowing for the society's economic and political advancement. Only through this multiplicity can a dystopia turn into a *utopia*.

The primary works of dystopian fiction I will discuss to demonstrate this thesis include *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, by George Orwell, *We*, by Evgeni Zamiatin, *The Dispossessed*, by Ursula LeGuin, and *The Languages of Pao*, by Jack Vance. All four of these provide excellent examples of linguistic differentiation that creates conflict in society. In the first of the following three sections, I will analyze how the states in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *We* attempt to impose languages on their citizens to control thought and limit their society's social consciousness. In the second section, I suggest sociolinguistic explanations to account for what I believe are the failures of thought controlling languages and I present evidence that languages of resistance are a natural consequence of this failure. I then propose that Orwell, Zamiatin, and LeGuin all show favor for these *antilanguages* despite the fact the languages limit their society's social consciousness just like languages of oppression and perpetuate the conflict between groups of language speakers. In the third section, I read *Pao* and *The Dispossessed* closely to show how the two works offer their protagonists a way to break through the language conflicts in their respective societies, by granting them access to the worldviews incorporated into multiple languages. This leads into my conclusion that a society privy to linguistic multiplicity will develop an expanding social consciousness, and that an expanding social consciousness will eventually resolve the society's ideological conflicts.

I. Limitation by the Language of Thought Control

As Myra Barnes notes, “all dystopian languages belong to Whorf. All dystopian languages involve a measure of thought control . . .”(Barnes 150-151). The particular languages to which she refers are the languages spoken or advocated by proponents of the prevailing social order or government in a dystopian fiction. This is because the term “thought control” indicates an aggressive act that requires those who desire control of others’ thoughts to have unlimited authority over those they wish to control. Considering the sheer complexity of the human mind, controlling a society of independent minds would seem to require technology and institutions that only governments, and more specifically totalitarian governments, have the resources to provide through a State Apparatus. The effect that thought control achieves in a society that is most desired by totalitarian governments is the limitation of individuals’ social consciousness, so that individuals will be unable to comprehend any way of life besides that which is enforced by the government – turning its repressive rule into an accepted hegemony. Without limiting the social consciousness of the people in its society, it is unlikely that a government would be able to achieve total control. And without constraining the language apparatus a society uses and building a system of ISAs to support such action, a state would be unlikely to limit its citizens’ social consciousness in the first place.

Dystopian totalitarian governments recognize the power of language and attempt to manipulate the languages their people speak to enforce their social order. Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and Zamiatin’s *We* are the primary examples in the dystopian genre that demonstrate the effect thought controlling languages have on society. The government in each book that instates the Language Apparatus, however, represents a totalitarian regime in one of two very different stages of development. The languages they each institute are consequently at

different levels of establishment in their societies. With regard to *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Gorman Beauchamp points out that “Orwell . . . sets his story in an immediate future, granting himself only the minimum time necessary to allow his nightmare world plausibly to develop out of the present: so that we encounter the first generation of Oceanians, whose language is but beginning to take the form the state will finally impose” (Beauchamp 465). Oceania’s Party is trying to impress the artificial language of Newspeak on its citizens, but the events of the novel take place before the language is fully integrated into the society. The final adoption of Newspeak, according to the novel’s appendix, entitled “The Principles of Newspeak,” is “fixed for so late a date as 2050” (Orwell 256), which is at least three or four generations in the future. The United State of *We*, on the other hand, has been established for over a millennium by the time the book’s events begin. Its logical and mathematical language has had the time to become deeply ingrained in the society. Therefore we should expect that the social consciousness of the people in *We* is more limited than in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

Since it is not yet fully established, Newspeak affords observers the opportunity to witness the process by which the explicit ideology of the state shapes language and how language in turn begins to affect society by limiting social consciousness. As indicated in the appendix, “the purpose of Newspeak was not only to provide a medium of expression for the world-view and mental habits proper to devotees of Ingsoc, but to make all other modes of thought impossible” (Orwell 246). Newspeak is created by the totalitarian regime not only to encourage people’s thoughts to align with its agenda but also to prevent people from having any alternative. Thus, when the language is fully developed,

A person growing up with Newspeak as his sole language would no more know that *equal* had once had the secondary meaning of ‘politically equal,’ or that *free* had once

meant ‘intellectually free,’ than, for instance, a person who had never heard of chess would be aware of the secondary meanings attaching to *queen* and *rook*. There would be many crimes and errors which it would be beyond his power to commit, simply because they were nameless and therefore unimaginable. (Orwell 255)

The government’s hope is that diminishing the range of thought through language will limit people’s social consciousness to the point where they will cease to be capable of resistance or rebellion, and that the social structure of Orthodox Ingsoc will naturally infiltrate every aspect of their existence.

Orwell’s inspiration for creating such a society was based in his observations of the post-war world in the 1940s. As Sisk notes, “the totalitarian society depicted in [*Nineteen Eighty-Four*] epitomizes everything that Orwell hated about his contemporary world and about the broad movements of repressive political culture that he feared might arise from it” (Sisk 49). Authoring a dystopia gave Orwell a chance to transmit a powerful warning against such political movements, exposing how they can attain power through language. Beauchamp argues that “Orwell clearly meant Newspeak to serve as a synecdoche for the totalitarian superstructure of his dystopian state: the violence done [to] language signals the violence done [to] the whole range of human emotions and experience that language expresses” (Beauchamp 466). But Newspeak is not just an abstraction. It does correspond with an actual artificial language proposed in the real-world. Fowler describes that “Orwell’s model was the system of *BASIC English* proposed by C. K. Ogden in 1930, which drew a lot of attention in the 1930s and 1940s. BASIC (British American Scientific International Commercial) English was designed as an easy-to-learn international English, its simplicity achieved by reduction of vocabulary to amazing 850 words” (Fowler 1995: 220). Ogden’s system, however, was well-intentioned, hoping to aid the

world's transition to an international economy. Orwell did not necessarily devise Newspeak to attack this system but to show how similar linguistic processes could engineer a language bent on thought control. BASIC English, as Fowler points out, "is used as an analogy, an aid to readers to imagine what kind of a linguistic system Newspeak might be" (Fowler 1995: 220).

Working from modern English as a base language, Oceania's Newspeak creators compile and compound an entirely new lexicon, much like Ogden's, "chiefly by eliminating undesirable words and by stripping such words as remained of unorthodox meanings, and so far as possible of all secondary meanings whatever" (Orwell 246). This process is termed "underlexicalization" by M. A. K. Halliday (Halliday 166). Ambiguity in language is dissolved by reorganizing vocabulary into very rigid pairings of words with concepts or objects so that a word only signifies one thing. The word *free*, for example, exists only in the context of a phrase like: "the dog is free from fleas" (Orwell 247). Yet, to constrict the language further, words for unnecessary details are eradicated and their meanings lumped as a set into a single word. This reduces the number of paths of thought individuals can follow that originate with "details" and severs connections that an individual can make between the details and larger trains of thought that could be dangerous to the government.

Vocabularies of taxonomy, for instance, often have noticeable histories or ideologies attached to them and could be regarded as unnecessary details. The creators of Newspeak might consider the present state of the English language and discard the words *malamute*, *Labrador*, *terrier*, *poodle*, and *spaniel* (and names for all other breeds), replacing them in all contexts by the word *dog*. By eliminating such seemingly innocuous details about the identity of humanity's four-footed friends, the government actually destroys several significant thought paths. Because regions of the world are reorganized and renamed by the tenets of Ingsoc in the time of the

novel, breed names may invoke connections to a time when the regions in which they were bred still were referred to by their non-Ingsoс names. Such regional names invoked by breed names also subtly refer to a time when there was a peaceful exchange of culture between the regions of the world. The possibility for peaceful exchange must be eliminated from the language in order for the Party to create the illusion that Oceania has always been at war. On top of this, a taxonomy of dog breeds suggests a time of luxury when people had the time and means to breed and show dogs for their own profit and enjoyment instead of working to discipline themselves into becoming more orthodox citizens of the state. Creating the impression that Ingsoс has always been Oceania's government, that all information the Party claims to be true is absolute, and that social conditions in the nation have never been better are explicit motives for limiting the society's social consciousness. Limiting people's ability to identify a canine as anything but a "dog," shows how abolishing certain words and compressing their meanings into less meaningful but more versatile terms is just one step in achieving control over people's thought processes.

The farthest-reaching replacement word in Newspeak is *crimethink*, which encompasses "all words grouping themselves round the concepts of liberty and equality" (Orwell 251). Thus, any idea a native speaker of Newspeak conjures that has to do with what present-day English speakers consider political and personal freedom would be unconsciously labeled *crimethink*, and promptly disregarded since *crimethink* is punishable by death. In dealing with concepts, such as liberty, which are antithetical to Ingsoс, "greater precision would have been dangerous. What was required of a Party member was an outlook similar to that of the ancient Hebrew who knew, without knowing much else, that all nations other than his own worshipped false gods" (Orwell 251).

Some words that represent necessary aspects of Oceanic society but which have implications the Party wishes to change to its advantage are replaced one-for-one by Newspeak compound words. Just like in any language, compounding is a natural economizing morphological technique that allows new words to be created by combining two or more others (Crystal 90). Even in real-world artificial languages, including infamous Esperanto, compounding is one of the primary methods for word formation (Crystal 356). In Newspeak, however, compounding allows words to be infused with political meaning through euphemism and dysphemism – emphasizing Newspeak’s constitutive properties. The Newspeak name for the English language, for instance, is *Oldspeak* (Orwell 246). Contrasting the name for the currently spoken language directly with the language that is replacing it, creates an *old* versus *new* hierarchy that favors the new language, reinforcing its establishment in the society. Similarly, the Newspeak words *joycamp* and *Minipax* represent euphemisms formed by the act of word replacement that attempt to eschew the unpleasantness of their actual meanings. *Joycamp* means ‘forced-labor prison camp,’ and *Minipax* is a contraction of ‘Ministry of Peace’ which is actually the Oceanic ‘Ministry of War.’ Their meanings are nearly exact opposites of what they appear to mean, and this sometimes displays “a frank and contemptuous understanding of the real nature of Oceanic society” (Orwell 252) apparent only to the reader that can relate their meanings to the humanitarian values of his or her world.

Dysphemisms such as those represented in the above paragraphs are essential for socializing the people of Oceania into a society with unified goals. Newspeak employs what Dwight Bolinger calls the “rhetoric of the adversary” to unify its citizens in a collective bond that holds every other country in the world as an enemy. Bolinger describes how different societies use dysphemistic epithets to describe their enemies in a way that will ideologically unite their

members in feelings of animosity. “In a capitalist society, trouble is caused by ‘radicals’ and ‘outside agitators;’ in a communist society, by the ‘lackeys’ and ‘running dogs of imperialism’” (Bolinger 120). In a society concerned with its collective state of morality, even, there is an *axis of evil*. All of these labels clarify for the citizens of the state the distinction between *us* and *them* and the parallel dichotomy *good* and *bad* that functions as a device used by the state to convince its people to rally behind its cause without questioning it and at any cost.

In order to facilitate the transition from Oldspeak to Newspeak, the process of vocabulary reduction can be seen as it begins to act on various simple, but significant, aspects of speech and human interaction. One of these is a key element of language not only in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, but throughout the dystopian genre: personal titles. Their deviation from standard English reveals the social change that a society’s language either causes or emulates, and the acceptance of these deviations by the characters shows the extent to which the government has achieved control. In a parenthetical comment early in the novel, when Winston’s neighbor, Mrs. Parsons, implores Winston to unclog her sink, the narrator remarks: “‘Mrs.’ was a word somewhat discountenanced by the Party – you were supposed to call everyone ‘comrade’ – but with some women one used it instinctively” (Orwell 20-21). The party wants everyone to address each other as ‘comrade’ because the word puts every person on the same friendly terms with every other person, homogenizing society. But as the narrator suggests later, “you did not have friends nowadays, you had comrades; but there were some comrades whose society was pleasanter than that of others” (Orwell 43). ‘Mrs.,’ then, is both a term of familiarity and a term that indicates a reversion to an older pre-IngsoC time, since at this period in time a person could still have an instinct to use the archaic title to indicate a woman with certain characteristics. The Party would want to discourage either use to avoid upsetting the system of social uniformity they are trying to

establish. The uniformity that the Party wishes to achieve would make one expect a person raised with Newspeak as his primary language to have no intuition at all about how to use the title in his speech.

Just as ‘Mrs.’ is used as an example of a term that implies a personal relationship that the Party considers undesirable, and is thus “discountenanced,” the word ‘Grandmother’ serves a similar purpose in *We*. The woman who watches the door of the ‘Ancient House’ is described as “an old woman all wrinkles, especially her mouth, which was all made up of folds and pleats. . . . Her wrinkles shone, that is, her wrinkles diverged like rays, which created the impression of shining” (Zamiatin 25). This physical appearance and the endearing relationship that I-330 has with her inspires I-330 to address her as “Grandmother” (Zamiatin 25). To explain her reasons for doing so to D-503 she says, “I love her, that old woman. . . . Perhaps for her mouth – perhaps for nothing, just so” (Zamiatin 26). To I-330, the impression the old woman makes on her compels her to use an ancient personal title to express reverence. This intuition goes against the implicit code of personal address prescribed by the United State, however. D-503 reacts to her comment by thinking: “I felt very guilty. It is clear that there must not be ‘love, just so,’ but ‘love because of’”(Zamiatin 26). His feelings show how terms of purely emotional personal relationships are not only “discountenanced” by the United State, but have been made to seem absurdly illogical. The people of *We*’s society do not have to think about whether the words they use are deemed appropriate by the government, because over time their perception of the world has been completely shaped by the government’s rhetoric. This is evidence for how the language of *We* is much more strongly established and consequently has achieved a greater level of social consciousness limitation than Newspeak.

On top of the Party's desire to reduce the vocabulary in its Language Apparatus for specific political ends, the strongest supporters of the Party perceive reducing vocabulary to be an end to itself. True Ingsoc zealots revel in the confining aspects of Newspeak. Winston's "friend" Syme is one of them, and he is actually one of the philologists compiling the latest edition of the Newspeak dictionary. Over lunch he comments to Winston:

You don't grasp the beauty of the destruction of words. . . . Don't you see that the whole aim of Newspeak is to narrow the range of thought? In the end we shall make thoughtcrime literally impossible, because there will be no words in which to express it. . . . Every year fewer and fewer words, and the range of consciousness always a little smaller. Even now, of course, there's no reason or excuse for committing thoughtcrime. It's merely a question of self-discipline, reality-control. But in the end there won't be any need even for that. The Revolution will be complete when the language is perfect. Newspeak is Ingsoc and Ingsoc is Newspeak. . . . The whole climate of thought will be different. In fact there will *be* no thought, as we understand it now. Orthodoxy means not thinking – not needing to think. Orthodoxy is unconsciousness. (Orwell 46-47)

The true proponents of Newspeak, like Syme, understand and celebrate the language's power to limit the consciousness of its speakers. They see the limitation of consciousness as the method that will ultimately purify society from the infractions of unorthodox individuals. This allows Syme to connect Newspeak directly to Ingsoc. If Newspeak, completely revised, were to become established as Oceania's only language of interaction, the government would no longer have to impose its philosophy on its people because an orthodox adherence to the tenets of Ingsoc would be built into their social consciousness, and they would be incapable of imagining

any other possible state of existence. In that sense, the language would become its own government. The Language Apparatus would have completely hidden the repressive rule of the state. Since, at this point in its history, Newspeak is not fully assimilated by the people of Oceania, the only way to participate in the illusory utopia Ingsoc claims to offer is through a conscious change of personal ideology. This allows the individual to choose whether or not he or she wishes to be part of the society. The fact that the individual can still theoretically make this ideological choice in Oceania (though he takes a great risk in actually doing so) shows that the government has not yet reached the point where its worldview has become part of its citizens' unconscious belief structure. Because the Language Apparatus and worldview of Ingsoc are not fully incorporated into the ideologies of the citizens, a catalyst is needed to spark their acceptance.

This catalyst operates entirely within the realm of language and thought. It is called *doublethink* – an act of devotion to the Party, enforced by the penalty of death, that is so consuming that an individual can accept the Party's information about the nature of reality and believe it to be true even while knowing it to be false. As Syme said above, all it takes is a perception of reality control, and yet the key is accepting the truth the Party imparts without perceiving that reality is being manipulated at all. If the Party wishes to lie about an event in history, and all people in the society

accepted the lie . . . if all the records told the same tale – then the lie passed into history and became truth. 'Who controls the past,' ran the Party slogan, 'controls the future: who controls the present controls the past.' . . . all that was needed was an unending series of victories over your own memory. Reality control . . . [requires you] to be conscious of complete truthfulness while telling carefully

constructed lies, to hold simultaneously two opinions which cancelled out,

knowing them to be contradictory and believing in both of them . . . (Orwell 32)

Doublethink, in one word, describes the ideology that the Language Apparatus dispenses to its users. The Party, therefore, has established the extensive Ministry of Truth to constantly falsify records and rewrite history to its advantage, making its control of reality possible.

Winston Smith, the protagonist of the story, works in the Ministry as a record falsifier. Some of his regular tasks include altering previously published statements issued by individual bureaus of the government so that “every prediction made by the Party could be shown by documentary evidence to have been correct” (Orwell 36). Winston is in a difficult position, however, because his dedication to *doublethink* is not very strong, and yet every day as he changes the historical record, although he knows his changes are false, he tries to believe them anyway. This is not hard to do when his forgeries are merely economic figures because, as Winston thinks to himself at work one day, “statistics were just as much a fantasy in their original form as in their rectified version. . . . For example . . . [records could show] that astronomical numbers of boots were produced on paper, while perhaps half the population of Oceania went barefoot” (Orwell 37). Doublethink fails him, though, when he is charged to alter a piece of evidence that could have cleared the names of three men he knew who had recently been forced to confess to numerous crimes and were then publicly executed. That piece of text made him realize that “the confessions were lies. . . . This was not in itself a discovery. . . . Winston had not imagined that the people who were wiped out in the purges had actually committed the crimes that they were accused of. But this was concrete evidence. . . . It was enough to blow the Party to atoms if in some way it could have been published to the world and its significance made known” (Orwell 67). He adulterates statistics without concern, but when

human lives literally hang in the balance, it affects him deeply. Though for his own safety he destroys the evidence just like he is supposed to, he cannot doublethink it out of existence in his mind. This eventually contributes to his own independent thinking and dissent against Ingsoc. Doublethink represents the beginning of Oceania's attempt to limit its citizens' social consciousness, but its imposition is not yet extensive enough for the government to be able to rule without enforcing its ideals with constant fear and the threat of psychological torture.

While *Nineteen Eighty-Four* details the Language Apparatus and some of the ISAs that must be imposed upon a society in order to control the thoughts of its members, *We* shows the successful result of such an institution. The people of the United State generally do not need to be lied to, because they have accepted the ideals of the government. It can thus be assumed that just as Newspeak is shaping society to accept the ideals of Ingsoc, the language of the United State has already undergone the same manipulation to aid its ideological control of society. According to Barnes, "When the citizens of an obviously tyrannized society profess the belief that their world is near a state of perfection, and the language that they speak allows them neither to think nor utter contrary opinions, then it can be suspected that this situation is the successful result of an earlier period of language manipulation" (Barnes 151). This seems plausible, considering that those in Oceanic society who whole-heartedly support the totalitarian regime predict that exactly this state of perfection will result from the complete restriction of social awareness once they have finished manipulating their language into the perfect form of Newspeak. Barnes' theory suggests, then, that if the society of *We*, which has been established for a much longer period of time than that of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, has citizens that believe their society is perfect while their language is incapable of expressing any alternative forms of social

organization, that it is very likely that their language underwent similar manipulations to Newspeak in its inception.

For a typical citizen of the totalitarian United State in *We* who loves his state dearly we need look no further than the protagonist, D-503. In his third record, D-503 reports frustration: “Oh, why am I not a poet, so as to be able to glorify the Tables properly, the heart and pulse of the United State!” (Zamiatin 12). The Tables are similar to Ingsoc in that they serve as the philosophical foundation of the United State’s society, but they go as far as laying out a rigid schedule for every single moment of a normal citizen’s day. The entire society enacts this daily routine in near synchronization. D-503 is so reliant on this predicated custom that he “cannot imagine a life which is not surrounded by the figures of our Tables” (Zamiatin 12). He has been fully raised from birth thinking in the language of this system and it has successfully limited his social awareness to the confines of the State.

Since the language in *We* meets conditions Barnes sets, we can ascertain that it, as Newspeak is engineered to do, has undergone extensive manipulation over time, changing to initiate and reinforce social changes by imposing and maintaining the level of thought control over society necessary for the government to be successful. The ideology of the society depends on the absolute order and inflexibility of time-tables, thus objective organizational standards are superimposed over the language that the society speaks. Beauchamp notes that “while *We* dramatizes this rationalistic reduction of every aspect of life to its single ‘logical’ dimension, the language in particular reflects the results: emotions all expressed in equations, feelings are formulated in syllogisms, reactions are reduced to mathematics” (Beauchamp 470-471). Bolton would agree and believes that the author’s motivations characterize the novels’ language. Bolton notes that “Zamiatin’s artificial language is reductionist like Newspeak, but not obscurantist; . . .

Zamiatin was concerned with the encroachments of science, Orwell with the hybrid jargon of the Ministries” (Bolton 152). Thus we find that while the founding principle of Newspeak is deception, in *We* it is just the impersonal minimalism of machine-like efficiency.

The most powerful rationalization that ties the United State in with *Nineteen Eighty-Four*’s Oceania and all other successful totalitarian societies is the idealization of non-freedom. Just as Syme sees the restriction and systematic limitation of independent thought to be a positive goal for society, D-503 celebrates his society for having advanced out of a state of freedom, into a state of sheer unification enabled by absolute control and dissolution of liberty. He narrates, “I have had the opportunity to read and hear many improbable things about those times when human beings still lived in the state of freedom, that is in an unorganized primitive state” (Zamiatin 13). D-503 simply scoffs at freedom and its inherent disorder. Why does he scoff so? Because his society has successfully reduced his capability for understanding the merit of other belief structures, making him believe that his own system of social organization is vastly superior.

D-503 can believe that his society is superior because there is observable evidence to support that fact, at least based on the United State’s claims about itself. He has been taught that before the institution of the United State, there was hunger and poverty, social inequality and concern for the personal life of each individual that inhibited people from fully cooperating with each other – and that government in its present form has managed to triumph over all such adversity. In his journal he explains this – “an ancient sage once said. . . . ‘Love and Hunger rule the world’” (Zamiatin 21) – so first the United State had to provide for its people’s sustenance, which it did with “contemporary petroleum food” (Zamiatin 22). Next, “having conquered hunger . . . the United State directed its attack against the second ruler of the world, against

love,” and conquered it by organizing it and putting it “into a mathematical formula” (Zamiatin 22), where casual sexual encounters are substituted for loving relationships and families. Just as mentioned earlier with regard to D-503’s squeamishness at I-330’s love of the ‘Grandmother,’ the concept of love is shunned so completely in society that D-503 thinks it is a mental illness. When he tries to build an equation to define love he writes: “ $L=f(D)$, love is a function of death” (Zamiatin 127). The State equates love and death in its language to make meaningful relationships undesirable to the individual, so that once it has acquired the loyalty and devotion of its citizens by providing for them, it does not have competition.

The true state of the world thus impacts how well the language of limitation is actually received. Maintaining thought control and doublethink requires a lot of resources, both human and technological, that are not 100% reliable – so the more they have to be forced onto a population the greater the chances are for them to fail. A hegemony is more easily established when the population needs to be deceived less. The more content the people are the less control is needed over their thoughts to convince them that they are content, or that they should be. Oceania is clearly shown to harbor discontentment because it must constantly spin propaganda about its wars and fake economic reports in an effort to convince its citizens that they are as happy as they could be in their world. But, as an indication of the resounding contentment the citizens of the United State feel, the State is sponsoring a space exploration and missionary project to disseminate their methods for achieving social order to any and all extraterrestrial civilizations they can find. In a newspaper article addressed to the society at large, in reference to the space program, it is stated that the “mission is to subjugate to the grateful yoke of reason the unknown beings who live on other planets, and who are perhaps still in the primitive state of freedom. If they will not understand that we are bringing them a mathematically faultless

happiness, our duty will be to force them to be happy” (Zamiatin 3). A state would simply not be able to focus on spreading its beliefs outside of its realm of control unless it has achieved a hegemony within that realm, and its people were in fact convinced that they were happy.

Another gauge of the acceptance of a dystopian government’s limitation on society’s social consciousness is the trust that it puts in its citizens to think independently. If the government has successfully limited a society’s consciousness to the point where it does not fear insurrection, its people will only be able to formulate thoughts adherent to the ideology of the government. This trust can be exhibited through the freedom of expression allowed in the act of writing. In Oceania, public writing is entirely under the Party’s control; there is no self expression allowed. Novels, for instance, are produced in the Ministry of Truth in the “Fiction Department.” Julia, Winston’s lover during the second part of the book, works in that department: “. . . she worked . . . on the novel-writing machines. . . . She could describe the whole process of composing a novel, from the general directive issued by the Planning Committee down to the final touching-up by the Rewrite Squad. But she was not interested in the finished product. . . . Books were just another commodity that had to be produced, like jam or bootlaces” (Orwell 108). Books for the public are manufactured artificially, except for committee planning and editing, because individual creativity would require individuals to work with their thoughts in ways that the Party cannot control. As R. W. Bailey notices, “such literally mechanical writing fulfills an important purpose for the Party: the machines insure both orthodoxy and the withering away of the creative impulse that inspires even the most ordinary written materials. Documents produced by machines are harmless because they consist only of prefabricated elements” (Bailey 40). Oceania has very little confidence in its citizens’ adherence

to Ingsoc, therefore it has mechanized a creative process to ensure that ideas in the form of texts can be controlled.

The United State has more confidence in its citizens' minds. A regular occupation in the society is that of a poet, as in D-503's friend R-13, who encourages him to come over to his "trade" instead of staying in mathematics (Zamiatin 38). Poetry is encouraged because poets can be trusted to reflect the ideals of the United State in their work. Take for example R-13's poem entitled "Happiness":

Two times two – eternal lovers;
Inseparable in passion four . . .
Most flaming lovers in the world,
Eternally welded, two times two. (Zamiatin 63)

D-503 interprets the poem as a meditation on "the wisdom and the eternal happiness of the multiplication table" (Zamiatin 63), which is one of the simple, central foci of the United State – and also a rigidly unambiguous system to explore. Once a society has acquired a certain language for its limited social consciousness, it seems beneficial to the society for work to be produced creatively within the language, because it allows people constantly to reconfirm their belief in the State's ethics. A degree of creative freedom serves to maintain the State's ideology. The United State has so much confidence in the position of its citizens' social consciousness that in the article advertising the launch of the first ship in the State's space exploration missionary program, named the *Integral*, they call on the general population for support: "Whoever feels capable must consider it his duty to write treatises, poems, manifestoes, odes, and other compositions on the greatness and the beauty of the United State. This will be the first Cargo which the *Integral* will carry" (Zamiatin 3-4). Such freedom given to expression is risky, since it asks that people directly think about how the machinery of the government operates and turn

their thoughts into a creative form. In a less established state with less assuredly controlled social consciousness, like Oceania, even keeping a private journal is strictly forbidden. It was not expressly illegal, “but if detected it was reasonably certain that it would be punished by death” (Orwell 9). This is because, as will be discussed in greater detail later, the act of journal writing is beyond the scope of the Party’s thought control, and may allow the individual to keep independent records that could undermine the Party’s propaganda. In contrast D-503 is encouraged to keep his journal and submit it. There is no pretension to privacy in the United State either, however, and his journal ends up incriminating him and the people about whom he writes just as Winston’s journal contributes to his own arrest.

By comparing each dystopian government’s censorship of writing, we can see again the degree of success each has had in limiting the social consciousness of its citizens. Especially considering *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *We*, the longer a regime has been in place, the longer its language has been able to affect the members of its society and limit their social consciousness. Manipulation of a Language Apparatus thus enables a government to maintain its power by attempting to prevent the people it rules from having the capacity to rebel.

II. Limitation by the Language of Resistance

Newspeak's Failure, Antilanguages, and the Favored Dissenter

Despite the efforts of the prevailing social order to limit the social consciousness of its citizens with language, in every dystopia there is a character or group of characters that dissents against the regime in power. As Barnes notices, “protagonists are always unusual in relation to the society they represent; they are a little more rational . . . and they are possessed of a greater reasoning power, or instinctive knowledge, or whatever the nature of that quality that causes them not to behave with sheep-like obedience” (Barnes 164-65). It is an essential component of a dystopian fiction to show this resistance in individuals in order to illustrate the author’s motive for writing the novel. The languages dystopian states attempt to impose on their members are bound to fail to control these characters. Much of their reason for failing, however, is that in trying to create a plausible society, and a plausible Language Apparatus to accentuate the systems of control in that society, authors inevitably fail to account satisfactorily for aspects of that language’s existence. Sisk generalizes that “while . . . dystopian writers . . . foreground language as the central conflict in their novels, they rarely inform their fictions with accurate linguistic information” (Sisk 161). Since Orwell’s popularity has sparked volumes of linguistic criticism of *Newspeak*, such misinformation can be most easily examined in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

The prevailing evaluation of *Newspeak* is that its utter simplicity is a near impossibility. Bolton blames this on the fact that while “Orwell was alert to linguistic diversity in space and time . . . [he] knew no more about language . . . than the average Briton of his time and class might have known, and perhaps a trifle less” (Bolton 21). This comment can be made because Orwell could have had an opportunity to consult relevant linguistic theory that was being studied

in the academies of his time and incorporated them into the synthesis of Newspeak, but did not. Fowler, too, calls Newspeak “an absurdly projected nominalism, a false belief that language can be manipulated to channel thought absolutely” (Fowler 1995: 33), but emphasizes that it was Orwell’s own belief, and that Orwell did not know that the trend in mainstream linguistics had been contrary to that since Saussure (ibid.).

There is some evidence, though, that Newspeak’s faults as a language are meant to be a focus in the novel; that Newspeak is built by Orwell to show how it must fail and take the totalitarian government with it. Hodge and Fowler write that “if the rulers of Oceania really believed that words totally controlled thought, they would not need . . . the Thought Police and the brutal methods of the Ministry of Love” (Hodge and Fowler 20-21). This means that even the Party may not be fully confident in the ability of its reductive language to control thought. Additionally, when the “Appendix” of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is considered, it seems to be written from the narrative perspective of an encyclopedia that is preserving the details of Newspeak for their historical significance. Fowler hypothesizes that “the voice of the ‘Appendix’ may plausibly be attributed to a new, distinct and anonymous figure with Gulliver-like characteristics: a traveler, or in modern terms an anthropologist or a linguist, who studies a foreign society and its products and reports with apparent objectivity what he sees and hears” (Fowler 1995: 224). This narrator, however, is communicating to the reader using Oldspeak. It is possible to assert, then, that Newspeak never caught on and the regime of Big Brother eventually fell. Bolton makes this very claim: “Though the novel is ‘futuristic,’ its events are viewed from an even more distant future when *Ingsoc* and Newspeak have given way to a society and language more like our own. Newspeak did not, it seems, ever succeed in extirpating Oldspeak and its vocabulary of political morality” (Bolton 37).

Why, then, must Newspeak fail as a language? Because, the techniques that the Party uses to control language are unnatural and unlikely to have a major effect on the population. As Russel Hoban says in his “Afterward” to an edition of his novel *Riddley Walker*, “language doesn’t stand still, and words often carry long-forgotten meanings” (Hoban 225). The belief that words and thoughts could be eliminated from a language is theoretically unsound. For this reason, Fowler calls Newspeak “inherently impracticable. We are bound to wonder how it is proposed to abolish words, how you prevent the remaining words from having illicit meanings, how even a regime as powerful as that of Oceania can stop the normal processes of invention, semantic enrichment and natural change” (Fowler 1995: 226). Bolton relies on a similar understanding of the thought-language relationship: underlying thoughts cannot be destroyed merely by eliminating their signs in a language. He asks:

Would the disappearance of a word from the vocabulary, whether by its exclusion from the dictionary or otherwise, really leave the corresponding thought unthinkable? No, because language and thought do not have a 1:1 relationship. If the Greeks had a word for it and we have not we can still express what the Greeks did even though we may need more than one word to do so . . . a concept does not depend on a *specific* word for its existence. (Bolton 36)

It is a natural human behavior, therefore, when one does not know or remember the words to express a thought to do so anyway through a process of circumlocution. Such is the response to underlexicalization in a language,¹ and this circumlocution inevitably fuels language innovation. As linguist and psychologist Marilyn Shatz writes, “Newspeak is much like a pidgin language, with limited vocabulary and simple highly regular grammar. What happens when pidgins acquire a set of native speakers? They change, toward increasing grammatical marking, and

¹Idea from Fowler 1985: 69, responding to ch.9 of Halliday

extended vocabulary” (Shatz 5). Newspeak itself, in attempting to limit its users’ social consciousness by restricting its growth, in fact opens itself up for natural expansion. Orwell’s whole premise for Newspeak is that it must control all change and that all change must be towards the reduction of Newspeak itself.

Newspeak fails because individuals drive these natural changes in language towards expansion. Especially in an urban environment, much like Airstrip One, where there is social class stratification, people will have to interact with different social groups and speech communities within the city on a daily basis. People will necessarily need to rearticulate their speech and adjust their language to communicate across class boundaries almost every day. Halliday in his chapter about language in urban society writes:

An individual in an urban speech community is not, typically, imprisoned within one set of speech habits. He tends to have one linguistic identity which is unmarked, a speech range within which his speech typically falls. But he also has, very frequently, a range of variation above and beyond this, within which he moves about freely, in part at random and in part systematically. The variation is partly under conscious control; and so a pattern of variants can be used by a speaker either where the situation demands it, or where the situation does not demand it and hence its use as it were creates the situation. (Halliday 159)

People are naturally equipped with the ability to vary their linguistic production in order to adapt to new social environments. In linguistics this skill is called “code-switching” (Mesthrie, *et al* 349), and we can observe it in Winston in the different styles of language he uses at his office in the Minitrue, with Julia, in his writing, and among the proles. His only language variation that is remotely similar to Newspeak and sympathetic to Ingsoc is that which he uses at Minitrue. All

the others reinforce themselves through his daily interactions, and prevent him from being able to let Newspeak influence his language as it was designed by the Party to do.

The lack of control that Newspeak has over Winston's thoughts keeps him unreceptive to doublethink. Shatz suggests that this is because he has a window into a reality outside Ingsoc: "Much of what Smith clings to are memories of his childhood. It is these that assure him of a reality outside this new order, of a continuity with a private self; memories that are unassailable, not because they are true, but because they are not subject to the manipulation or revision of others" (Shatz 2). Even though Winston's memories about his childhood are never clear to him and his feelings associated with them are negative, Newspeak cannot eliminate their presence in his mind, and they give him an insight into what is outside the Party's realm of thought control. Shatz asserts that this represents "a view of human nature that may be a defense against the projections of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. . . . a view of an organism equipped with cognitive flexibility within limits, who learns in constrained ways even prior to societal influences and even before language" (Shatz 7). Thus, Newspeak attempts to rigidify language, which is inherently malleable and open to innovation to accommodate for people's changing ideas and experiences. Consequently, Newspeak fails to be fully acquired by people in the society. And in such a system of extreme control as Oceania's Party, this failure implicitly creates individuals who oppose the government.

Cognitive flexibility such as Shatz describes grants people the ability to resist the control the dystopian regime attempts to exert through its Language Apparatus, and they actually create their own variant of the language to aid them in their dissent. Sisk in 1997 was the first theorist to suggest that "dystopias . . . universally reveal a central emphasis on language as the primary weapon with which to resist oppression [as well as] the corresponding desire of repressive

government structures to stifle dissent by controlling language” (Sisk 2). These languages of resistance, as I have shown above, develop out of gaps in the imposed Language Apparatus, to account for concepts that cannot be expressed in the imposed language. Such concepts are usually portrayed as essential aspects of human behavior that the dystopian establishment tries to eradicate for the sake of control, such as love in *We* or notions of objective truth in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Dissenters create their antithetical language to oppose the ideologies that they think contribute to their oppression. M. A. K. Halliday calls this modified language an *antilanguage* (Halliday 164).

An antilanguage exists as a reaction to a repressive state apparatus or among a social group that upholds an ideology that opposes those held by the society. As Halliday describes, “the antilanguage arises when the alternative reality is a counter-reality, set up in opposition to some established norm” (Halliday 170). The characteristics of antilanguages, as Halliday describes them, “usually come [] to us in the form of word lists” (Halliday 164). This is especially true of dystopias where we can see them take the simplest form, outlined by Halliday, as new words substituted for old – a process he calls “relexicalization” (Halliday 165). As Meyers notices about a dystopian society, “new words for dissent may come from any of three sources” (Meyers 200). Paraphrased, these sources include (1) borrowings from another language, (2) attaching new rebellious meanings to innocuous words, and (3) coinage, which probably results from the process of circumlocution. Halliday believes that an alternative reality spawns its own language and that this reality manifests itself in the form of a subculture of the society, appropriately called an *antisociety*. Halliday’s primary examples include the criminal underworld of societies around the world today, and lead him to the definition that

an antisociety is a society that is set up within another society as a conscious alternative to it. It is a mode of resistance, resistance which may take the form either of passive symbiosis or of active hostility and even destruction. . . . An antilanguage [therefore] is not only parallel to an antisociety; it is in fact generated by it. . . . An antilanguage stands to antisociety in much the same relation as does a language to a society. Either pair . . . is . . . an instance of the prevailing sociolinguistic order. (Halliday 164)

An antisociety, thus, must rely on the society for its very existence, even as it acts against it, and its language is an apparatus in itself for conveying the ideology that supports its antagonistic relationship to the society. The antisociety's purpose is this antagonism; its ideology needs a focus for its opposition. Halliday thus concludes that "the antilanguage is the vehicle of . . . resocialization. It creates an alternative reality: the process [being] one not of construction but of reconstruction" (Halliday 170).

Since the dystopian state and its language apparatus thus represent oppression, and dissenters and their antilanguage necessarily represent the opposite, they are therefore portrayed more favorably by authors. Their authors make them heroes and their language isolates them from their oppressors to give them strength and solidarity. Such is the case with Oldspeak versus Newspeak. Newspeak is not even fully developed in Oceania but Orwell's portrayal of it as a destructive force "narrow[ing] the range of thought" (Orwell 46) year after year is obviously negative – intended to foster feelings of foreboding in the reader. What separates Orwell's hero from those who participate willingly in the society of Ingsoc is that he writes down his dissenting views, very simply expressing himself in a manner that cannot be cancelled out by principles of doublethink without canceling him out with it. This sets him up to become a martyr, not to the

society from which he will plead for mercy and probably still be killed, but for us – the readers who can point to him as a warning when reality control rhetoric bubbles to the surface in our real-world governments and media. His resistance uses Oldspeak communication in the one way that thwarts the founding structural principles of Newspeak. This resistance is considered ‘good’ and the freedom allowed when using pure Oldspeak is idealized. As Winston surmises in his personal writings, “If there is hope . . . it lies in the proles” (Orwell 60). The proles represent to Winston the group that has the power in sheer numbers to control society, despite their simple-mindedness, and they base their lives around principles grounded in the Oldspeak language.

Zamiatin gives the language of I-330 similar status over that of D-503. Her language is favored because it allows for an implicit understanding and acceptance of human emotion between people while D-503’s state-endorsed language does not. Additionally, Zamiatin bestows favor on I-330’s language by making D-503’s language the object of satire. For example, in “Record Two” of the book, he wonders why the “mechanical ballet” of industrial machines and workers coordinated across his construction space is beautiful to him (Zamiatin 6). He reasons that it is “because it is an ‘unfree’ movement” (ibid.) and describes the coordinated work effort. His description, however, takes his celebration of “unfree movement” to an extreme by means of problematic reasoning through an analogy to dance. “If it is true that our ancestors would abandon themselves in dancing at the most inspired moments of their lives . . . it means only one thing: the instinct of non-freedom has been characteristic of human nature from ancient times” (Zamiatin 6). Since it could just as easily be argued that ancient dancing was a means for self-expression and creative freedom, the basis for D-503’s assertion that non-freedom is a biological component of human existence is questionable at best. His emphatic expression of belief in it and exclusion of all other perspectives, betrays a limited awareness in his character

that becomes the target of Zamiatin's satire. E. J. Brown notes that this is Zamiatin's particular "ironic humor" (Brown 45) which distinguishes him from Orwell's later apprehensive style. The reader knows from the beginning of the book not to take D-503's zealous love language for the State seriously because it is satirical, and thus when I-330's much more natural language is introduced, sees it as a more favorable alternative.

In *The Dispossessed*, the situation becomes more complex because Iotic, the language of the critically portrayed people of Urras, is in a unique position to be challenged by two dissenting languages. Just as the book is subtitled "*An Ambiguous Utopia*," clear authorial favoritism towards any language is hard to discern. Both Pravic, the language of a faction that seceded from the Urrasti and moved to the planet's moon Anarres, and Niotic, a pidgin language among the lower classes of Urrasti society, originate from Iotic. The former was artificially created and the latter is supposed to have evolved naturally. LeGuin shows favor for Pravic and Niotic, by portraying their speakers as having a righteous cause in direct opposition to speakers of Iotic. Niotic could even be considered a parallel to Oldspeak, in that it is a language of the working class that sets the group apart from the rest of society. Niotic, however, is a slang-form of Iotic that maintains a regular structure because all its speakers share a worldview, whereas Oldspeak is the root language in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, and the clipped version is Newspeak. Though they are separated by an interplanetary distance, Niotic and Pravic both appeal to the reader for representing a unified and just cause when Shevek, the protagonist, publicly addresses a large demonstration of Niotic speakers: "It is our suffering that brings us together. . . . In pain, which each of us must suffer alone, in hunger, in poverty, in hope, we know our brotherhood" (LeGuin 264). The government of Urras promptly seals the readers' sympathy up for the

speakers of Niotic and Pravic when it breaks up the demonstration with attack helicopters and machine guns.

Limitation of Social Consciousness by the Antilanguage

An author's favoring the dissenters and portraying them heroically for resisting the limiters of social consciousness is problematic, though, because each of these dissenting languages inadvertently limits the awareness of its speakers just like the languages of prevailing social orders do deliberately. Halliday, himself, notes that "an antilanguage is, at one and the same time, *both* the limiting case of a social dialect (and hence the realization of one component in the hierarchy of a wider social order that includes both society and anti society), *and* a language (and hence the realization of a social order that is constituted by the antisociety itself)" (Halliday 179). The language of dissent is not as much a language of thought control, like the language of the social order, but a language geared to enforcing their dissenting ideals with a sense of uncompromising righteousness, purpose, and solidarity. The dissenting groups do not need to control the thoughts of its members explicitly because most members already wholeheartedly subscribe to the ideal of the group or at least have vested personal interest in its survival. They reshape and rebuild the Language Apparatus to counter the ideals it was originally designed to enforce, and this excludes all other possible ideals. As *Nineteen Eighty-Four*'s Syme would put it, the dissenters have a sort of built in orthodoxy to the values of their group. Dissenters' language is not exempt from Whorf's theory that "every language and . . . sublanguage incorporates . . . certain patterned resistances to widely divergent points of view" (Whorf 247). This resistance to alternatives is key. Just as the language apparatuses of repressive social orders seek to inhibit dissension by narrowing the possible perspectives its

people can consider, an antilanguage must necessarily exclude concepts from the consciousness of its isolated group that oppose the group's ideology. The identity of the group, for at least as long as it remains a subculture of the social order, is defined by that which it opposes in the society. And this is maintained by the groups' language, effectively limiting the social consciousness of those who speak the language.

The Dispossessed provides the most concrete example of this in the relationship between the Pravic language of Anarres and the Iotic language of Urras. The people of Anarres are descendents of Urrasti speakers of Iotic who wished to vanquish all ideas related to possession from their society to enable a state of utter equality. They created the Pravic language to reflect this. Any notions relating to ownership or property were simply excluded from the new language except in the form of idioms. This is evident when Shevek's future life partner, Takver, uses the expression "I'll bet you . . .!" to emphasize how strongly she feels about the truth of an opinion and an unnamed other character questions what the expression actually means (LeGuin 207). The confusion arises out of the fact that the expression is actually a borrowing from Iotic, there being no word that means "to bet" in Pravic. There is no personal property that one can wager, fear losing, or anticipate winning in their Spartan society, so "betting" is meaningless and the word cannot exist outside an emphatic context.

The strongest rule in Pravic grammar used to eliminate propertarian thinking in its speakers is the discouragement against using personal possessive pronouns. "Little children might say 'my mother,' but very soon they learned to say 'the mother.' [Likewise] instead of 'my hand hurts,' it was 'the hand hurts me'" (LeGuin 51). As innocuous as the words *my*, *his*, *her*, *your*, *our*, and *their* may seem to us, the effect of their being filtered out of the Anarresti's language is astounding. Simple family ties defined by possession, i.e. my mother, his daughter,

her son, etc., are virtually destroyed. This is the desired effect, despite its artificiality, because it fosters greater individual independence and wider respect among citizens.

Eliminating possession in the language also changes people's approach to sexual relationships and the needs of the self. With respect to the sexual act, it makes no sense in Pravic to say that one has "had" another person. The word closest in meaning to such a structure is analogous to "fuck," which aside from its use as a curse, like in English, specifically denotes rape. The proper verb for sex, "taking only a plural subject, can be translated only by a neutral word like 'copulate'. . . something two people did . . ." (LeGuin 47). The mind of a Pravic speaker is geared so much towards being conscious of other people's needs and wishes that sex cannot be understood as a selfish act without being considered criminal. The social code to consider others' needs before those of oneself is so strongly reinforced by the language that even sickness is scorned. "Most young Anarresti felt that it was shameful to be ill: a result of their society's very successful prophylaxy, and also perhaps a confusion arising from the analogic use of the words 'healthy' and 'sick.' They felt illness to be a crime, if an involuntary one" (LeGuin 105). Further evidence of the social malice directed against self-indulgence by the Anarresti is the particular Pravic circumlocution Shevek uses to describe the concept of wallowing in self-pity. "The word he used was not 'wallowing,' there being no animals on Anarres to make wallows; it was a compound, meaning literally 'coating continually and thickly with excrement'" (LeGuin 292).

The Pravic language is thus essential in defining and enforcing the social ideals foundational to the Anarresti anarchy. It does so, however, by completely purging the concepts of luxury, egotism, and property from the society's explicit discourse. As Meyers asserts, "Pravic was designed to foster and protect their ideology [which emphasizes a lack of

compulsion]. . . . yet Pravic exerts both positive and negative social pressure on nonconformists: the same word means both ‘work’ and ‘play’ and a special term of opprobrium exists for those few people who drift from place to place refusing to accept ‘voluntary’ work postings” (Meyers 204). The Anarresti, thus, vilify commodity and possession to the point that they can only understand outside worlds with systems of commerce and definite governments as a threat to themselves. In a way, they become close-minded and xenophobic as a people. Besides Shevek and a small handful of others, those living in Anarres can speak, read, and understand only Pravic, causing a cultural isolation that prejudices them against anything otherworldly. Shevek eventually must breach this limitation in the Anarresti social consciousness in order to help them become a universally recognized people and to prevent their self-destruction by sectarian groups that begin to accumulate power.

Interestingly, the logical language of D-503 in the society of *We* also eliminates possession. Referring to his first regular female acquaintance O-90, D-503 parenthesizes, “if one of my long-haired ancestors were writing this a thousand years ago he probably would call her by that funny word, *mine*” (Zamiatin 7). The idea of possessing another person is absurdly illogical to D-503 in his society where “a Number may obtain a license to use any other Number as a sexual product” (Zamiatin 22). Yet since the possessive and passionately humanistic language of I-330 is portrayed more favorably than the stoic mathematical tongue of D-503 and the United State, the opposition of these two languages is almost a reversal of that between Pravic and Iotic.

The binary formed between the languages spoken by D-503 and I-330, however, is most similar to that between Newspeak and Oldspeak because each pair is locally exclusive. In *We* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* it is not possible to think in one language of the binary set without

excluding the other. The language of the United State prevents thinking about pure inexplicable human emotions because they cannot be governed by logical or mathematical equations. The language of I-330 and the Mephi resistance is the opposite, relying on emotion and common experience for the sole absolute, challenging any comfort derived from the routine of the society's logically mechanical lifestyle. To use Newspeak, or at least the tenets of *doublethink* that are manifest in Oceania during the era of the novel, one accepts as truth the reality propagandized by the Party, denying any reasoning to the contrary (the essence of doublethink). Communing in the tradition of Oldspeak, disregarding or circumventing Thought Police eavesdropping technology like Winston does during his affair with Julia, and keeping independent records like Winston attempts with his journal writing, creates a sense of immutable time and definite history in which Newspeak is powerless. Without being able to rewrite history into paradoxes explicable only in the language of doublethink, and without being able to prevent people from privately coming together to discuss events in a manner not sanctioned by the government, absolute control is not possible. In these societies, where the social order demands absolute submission and where resistance is *thought crime* punishable by death, the relationship between the language of the government and the language of dissent is polar. Disparagement of the opposite is necessary for establishing a bias crucial to the speakers' identities. It is this bias, however, which polarizes people's social consciousness and limits them to feeling righteous about the superiority of their own society.

Throughout their respective novels, D-503 and Winston teeter on the cusp between two different world views supported by the opposition of languages. Both undergo a conversion inspired by relationships to one or two other people that shift their sentiments between acceptance and active resistance to the social order. Eventually, however, through psychological

compulsion they are left wholly supportive of their totalitarian regimes. D-503 begins the novel completely participating in the social order, using its language, taking comfort in its rationality, and celebrating it as a remarkable human achievement. Beauchamp remarks on this that “Zamiatin has . . . created [a] . . . language that reflects the particular reality of his mechanized, mathematized future; yet one that allows for the expression of ‘the flaw in the perfection of the perfect.’ The very metaphors of rebellion are forced out of a discourse intended to deny the possibility of rebellion” (Beauchamp 473-4). And, sure enough, D-503 notices himself changing shortly after his first encounter with I-330 and fears her because she awakens irrational feelings in him that he does not have the language to describe. I-330 is very subtle in trying to expose him to the mere idea of loving something or someone just to love, without reason or cause (Zamiatin 26), but D-503 is frightened by the simple irrationality of it. He continually compares the abstract feelings she awakens in him and his trouble accepting them, to his fear and loathing of an inconceivable mathematical term that has haunted him since his youth:

One day Plappa [the teacher] told us about irrational numbers, and I remember I wept and banged the table with my fist and cried, ‘I do not want that square root of minus one; take that square root of minus one away!’ This irrational root grew into me as something strange, foreign, terrible; it tortured me; it could not be thought out. It could not be defeated because it was beyond reason. . . . Now that square root of minus one is here again. (Zamiatin 37)

Here, though, D-503 makes a very significant error. He claims he hates anything irrational, but since $\sqrt{-1}$ is *not* irrational (a number like π that can’t be expressed as a ratio between two integers), but rather imaginary (a number theoretically possible but not enumerable in our system of conventional mathematics except with the constant ‘ i ’), he actually leaves himself open to

exploring the nature of $\sqrt{-1}$ and other ideas that fall outside his traditional understanding (Rabkin 59). Hence, the possibility for real love can spring out of the mistakes D-503 makes in the formula " $L=(f)D$ " that he claims makes *love* a function of *death* (Zamiatin 135). This real love and the language D-503 must discover to express it become the seeds of his rebellion.

The longer D-503 carries on an affair with I-330, the more frequently he resists the mechanisms of the United State that he used to love for being so infallible. He feels guilty thinking he has cheated the government out of his service, and grows despondent over the square root of minus one, dreaming about it and thinking he is ill. But then he has a revelation:

My mathematics, the only firm and immovable island of my shaken life, was torn from its anchor and was floating. . . . That absurd thing, the 'soul,' is as real as my . . . boots, although I do not see them since they are behind the door of the closet. If boots are not a sickness, why should the 'soul' be one? I sought, but I could not find, a way out of the logical confusion. . . . My debris of logic . . . is filled with extraordinary, incomprehensible, wordless, but speaking beings. It occurred to me for a moment that through some strange, thick glass I saw *it*; I saw it at once infinitely large and infinitely small, scorpion-like, with hidden but ever perceptible sting; I *saw* the square root of minus one. Perhaps it was nothing else but my 'soul,' which, like the legendary scorpion of the ancients, was voluntarily stinging itself . . ." (Zamiatin 96-97)

D-503 realizes in this statement that his mathematics, his language for normal meaningful discourse, is insufficient to describe the square root of minus one, and consequently other abstract concepts, like the soul. He realizes that the language he has learned as a citizen of the United State limits his consciousness and hinders his understanding of the world, and so joins the

Mephis in their dissent. He hopes that this will bring him closer to I-330 and the love she communicates, which he still finds difficult to comprehend.

Later, however, when he is just about ready to assist the Mephi in hijacking the crowning achievement of his life's work for the State, an interstellar spacecraft, he realizes that by succumbing to I-330's values he has just become trapped in another social structure that threatens to limit his social consciousness. Says he at the helm of his ship: "It was clear to me that I was a stone, I-330 the earth, and the stone was under irresistible compulsion to fall downward, to strike the earth and break into small particles" (Zamiatin 187). This image symbolizes the power I-330 has over him in their relationship. He unquestioningly complies with the agenda of her political movement because she has convinced him that the changes that the movement could achieve will allow them to be together. I-330 immediately withdraws this expression of affection, however, when the hijacking is deterred by Guardians and she believes that D-503 was their informant. Her presumption exposes a lack of trust that through her language of irrational love she had never before shown to D-503, and his spirit breaks like the stone in his analogy. Without I-330 to ground his desires and provide him with a language for them, he becomes confused again and fatalistic. This explains his lack of resistance in the last record, when he is forcefully converted back to the mentality of the regime, and every aspect of human love and emotion that he had gained throughout the novel disappears. He narrates: "No more delirium, no absurd metaphors, no feelings – only facts . . . I cannot help smiling; a splinter has been taken out of my head, . . . there is nothing foreign, nothing that prevents me from smiling" (Zamiatin 217). He resolves his conflict with the indefinable, the "square root of minus one" in his human self, when his capacity to have conflict with it is physically destroyed by the government, and he is only able to conceive the government's social order.

Winston Smith's situation is similar to D-503's except that Winston begins the story in a position of ideological dissent against the government of Oceania which strengthens in conviction until he gets arrested for thoughtcrime. Like D-503, he works to understand his own dissent by writing in his journal. Bailey describes how "[Winston] has used writing to discover himself, to locate and anatomize the moral flow that led him to a furtive sexual encounter, and to realize his complicity in the corruption of his society: 'But I went ahead and did it just the same'" (Bailey 41). Writing by hand in Oldspeak reveals to him the depth of dissatisfaction that underlies his feelings and the frustration he experiences with the unwritten Party policies and doublethinking that he blindly adheres to every day. The act of expressing his thoughts in a concrete form enables him to grasp the independent continuity of self that Shatz observes him seeking (Shatz 2). Generally his interactions with other people are also displeasing, since they are caught up in the same web as he is, but do not realize it. Affirming his position is his chat with Syme, the zealous Newspeak dictionary editor who preaches the importance of destroying the language to reshape people's social conventions: "One day, thought Winston with sudden deep conviction, Syme will be vaporized. He is too intelligent. He sees too clearly and speaks too plainly. The Party does not like such people. One day he will disappear. It is written on his face" (Orwell 47). Despite the information Syme claims to understand about the Party, Winston scoffs at his true naiveté. As Winston foretells, Syme does disappear.

What keeps Winston going, however, despite the evidence of thought police activity near at hand because of Syme, are his interactions with Julia and O'Brien. By entering an affair with Julia he ceases to be alone in the world and gains confidence in his feelings of dissent. She asks him during one of their encounters: "Don't you enjoy being alive? Don't you like feeling: This is me, this is my hand, this my leg, I'm real, I'm solid, I'm alive! Don't you like *this*?" (Orwell

113). This type of encouragement lifts him out of a very distraught state of existence in which all he does is worry about himself and his writing getting discovered. It gives him the self-assurance to approach O'Brien, a member of the Inner Party who Winston seems to think helps lead a conspiracy, about joining him in the internal struggle. He fully admits everything he and she feel to O'Brien: "We are enemies of the Party. We disbelieve in the principles of Ingsoc. We are thought-criminals. We are also adulterers. I tell you this because we want to put ourselves at your mercy" (Orwell 140). O'Brien turns out to actually be an agent of the Thought Police and arranges for Julia and Winston to be captured at the apartment they keep for their affair.

After Winston's capture, O'Brien gets to work on converting him psychologically to accept the ideology of the Party. The role of the Miniluv in 'breaking' Winston unpacks its euphemistic name and shows the tactics by which it acts as an integral component of the Party's violent State Apparatus. These tactics involve torturing Winston to accept statements that can only be understood with the use of doublethink. These included: "Freedom is Slavery . . . [and] Two and Two Make Five. . . . He accepted everything. The past was alterable. The past never had been altered. . . . He remembered remembering contrary things but those were false memories, products of self-deception. How easy it all was!" (Orwell 228). This proves too easy, however, and does not represent a full commitment of his allegiance. O'Brien forces Winston to betray Julia by mentally placing her in between him and his worst fear. Doing so pushes him past an emotional breaking point that forces him to rely on the Party for support.

In the end, Winston is subjected to a psychological conditioning treatment that compels him into accepting doublethink, just like D-503 was eventually compelled to get surgery to remove the emotion "afflicting" his brain. Purely linguistic methods do not actually cause either man to accept the government, which adds further credibility to critics' theories that a state will

have a very hard time creating a Language Apparatus that will enable it to control all thought in its society. The failure of Winston's and D-503's antilanguages, however, to enable a successful resistance of the state brings about the much harsher psychological methods used upon them. O'Brien counts on the fact that Winston's language excludes all but objective reality and closes his mind to paradox. Unable to accept a paradox as an absolute truth without doublethink or Newspeak, he leaves himself open to be broken by his worst fear. Newspeak indicates how Oldspeak inherently limits one's consciousness to accept only a single reality at a time, and how that can be a disadvantage. But just like the language in *We*, the language of the regime alone cannot destroy him, and nor can the language of resistance alone save him, creating constant conflict. If it were possible for Winston's and D-503's social consciousness to not be limited by either their society's sanctioned language or their antilanguage, they might have been able to survive their respective stories with their psyches intact.

III. Expansion Through Linguistic Multiplicity

At this point it can be seen that neither a language specially constructed for a government to attempt to control the thoughts of its citizens, nor a language that is developed to directly resist such totalitarian goals interacts with its speakers without limiting their social consciousness. The ruling regimes are not successful because, in trying to achieve control over all their citizens there are always loopholes in their Language Apparatuses that allow dissenters and factions that support them to proliferate. The dissenters and their factions are not successful either, because they lack the resources to establish themselves as a competitive alternative to the prevailing social order. Their rebellion rarely can have influence beyond the scope of language, and the rhetoric supporting it. Even Anarres in *The Dispossessed*, whose existence is the result of a successful rebellion against and the ensuing compromise with the systems of oppression on Urras, is portrayed as being stuck in a rut where no development can naturally occur. Both sides of the struggle for power in a dystopia use a Language Apparatus to limit the social consciousness of the same group of people, but neither ideology completely eliminates the other, constantly perpetuating conflict.

My proposal, in this essay, is that the Language Apparatus' duality represents the underlying moral message inherent in all dystopian fiction: limiting a society's social consciousness with language does not allow total control, nor will it make a society successful or keep its citizens content, and there will be a constant conflict between the system of social order and people that oppose it. The only way distinct languages can be utilized to aid in a society's success in dystopian fiction, resolving the conflict, is if they and the cultures they represent are learned in conjunction with each other, expanding social consciousness by idealizing and advocating a level of multiplicity for linguistic and cultural understanding.

Since the fundamental concepts in dystopian language issues rely on the theories of Whorf, it is not surprising that towards the end of his career Whorf began to reach the same conclusions about language relativity that I reach about dystopian language. In *Language, Mind, and Reality*, originally published in 1941, Whorf states that “linguistic knowledge entails understanding many different . . . systems. . . . The world as seen from the diverse viewpoints of other social groups, becomes intelligible in new terms. Alienness turns into a new and often clarifying way of looking at things” (Whorf 264). Given that all languages represent a slightly different method of dividing up and symbolizing the physical and social universe, and that people in a dystopia are limited by the single worldview attributed to them by the Language Apparatus of their social group, it is not only desirable for people in a dystopian society to expand their social consciousness, but it is necessary. As I will demonstrate using *The Languages of Pao* and *The Dispossessed*, societies with expanding social consciousnesses acquired through linguistic multiplicity carry out successful relations internally and are able to succeed externally in relationships with other societies.

The Languages of Pao and *The Dispossessed* are two representative dystopian novels that illustrate the progression from limited social consciousness to expanding social consciousness in their societies through linguistic multiplicity. It is apparent that the expansion of social consciousness must happen first on an individual level, with language learning. In these books, an individual character learns all the language forms that are in conflict in the society when he is thrust outside or between the confines of each linguistic community. The multiple languages afford him diverse perspectives about the society and therefore expands his social consciousness. The character becomes aware of the conflict between the language groups and can act to resolve it. To do so, the character advocates the acceptance of multiple languages

and a pluralistic ideology into society, or, as in *The Languages of Pao*, even the incorporation of the disparate languages that otherwise maintain conflict into one language that serves as a compromise.

It is important to note that their societies have an advantage over those in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* or *We* because the power relationships between languages are in a multidimensional instead of binary context (see Fig. 2). In *Pao* and *Dispossessed*, societies outside the realm of

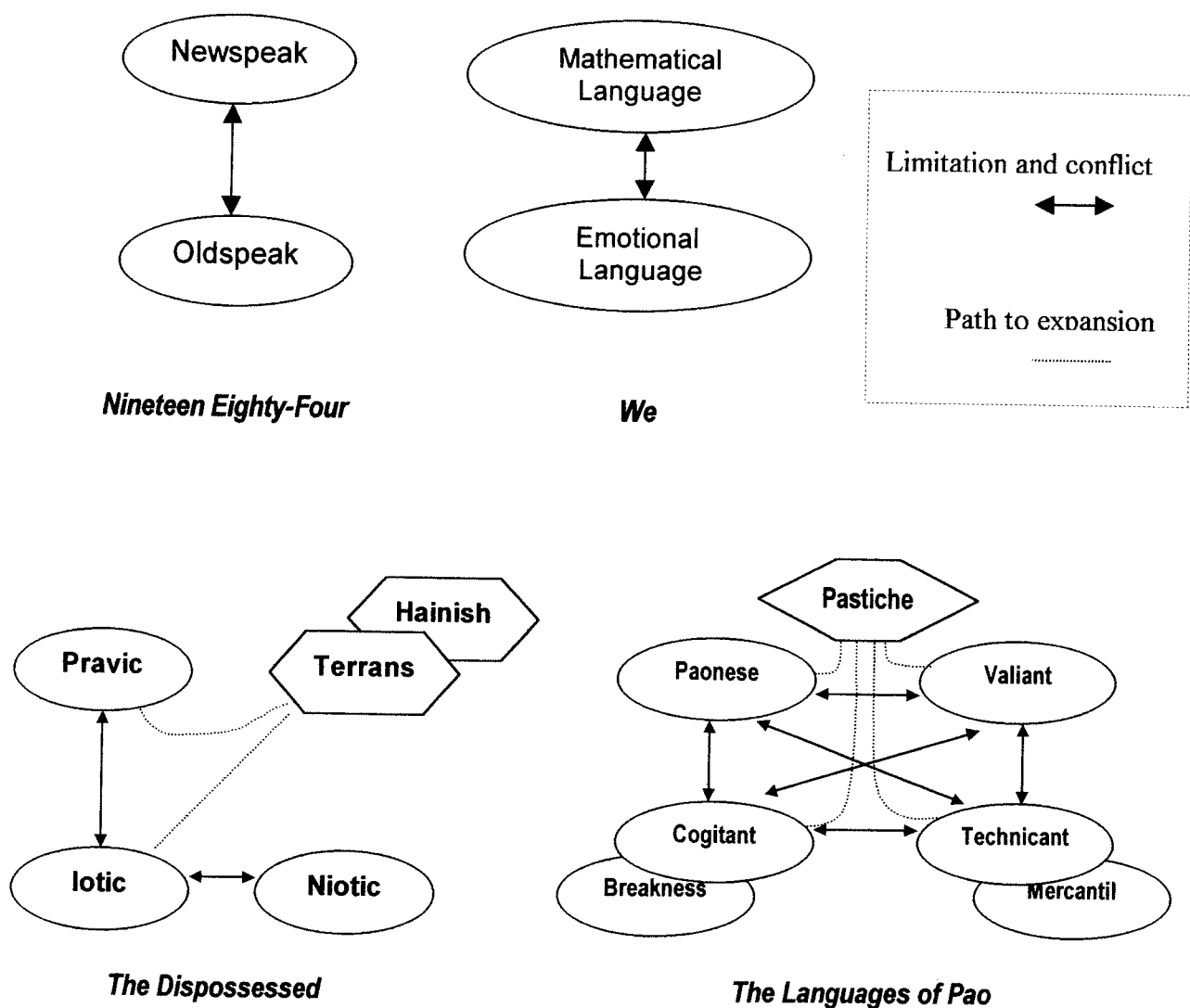


Figure 2: Language Conflict schema for the four dystopias

conflict create the possibility for expanding social consciousness. As is illustrated in Figure 2, however, *The Dispossessed* has language conflicts that are fundamentally binary, just like the language-antilanguage, society-antisociety conflicts in *We* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. The protagonist, Shevek, moves definitively between each language community – understanding its limitations and then, once outside the major realm of conflict with the Terrans and Hainish, begins to perceive that linguistic multiplicity can lead to an expanded awareness of social structures.

Pao's conflicts, though, which I will discuss first in the following pages, can be represented by a web-like network where the limited consciousnesses of each language group contribute more or less equally to the conflict. There is thus no clear language-antilanguage dichotomy in *Pao* between which we can see a competition for power. What is clear, however, is that each language does limit its respective speakers' ability to succeed on their own. The only way for them to circumvent this limitation is to adopt an intermediary language that gives them access to the worldviews afforded each other group by their languages. The protagonist, Beran, in his position as the young Panarch, or absolute ruler, of the planet Pao, is educated outside Pao culture in the profession of an interpreter. We can see how this gives him the opportunity to learn the whole gamut of languages that influence Paonese society and settle on a diversified perspective of social order that enables him to eventually transcend the conflicts between the language groups on Pao.

The Languages of Pao is entirely Whorfian in theme and based on very strong interpretations of his hypotheses. The novel subscribes to the idea that language can directly manipulate social behavior and thought, much like in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Vance reveals this

clearly through Fanchiel, one of Beran's tutors, as he explains the need for Beran to study multiple languages:

Each language is a special tool, with a particular capability. It is more than a means of communication, it is a system of thought. . . . Think of a language as the contour of a watershed, stopping flow in certain directions, channeling it into others. Language controls the mechanism of your mind. When people speak different languages their minds work differently and they act differently. (Vance 70)

Fanchiel is describing Whorf's basic notions of linguistic relativity that make it exceedingly important for a society to incorporate into its language a self-broadening worldview. Instead of Beran's metalinguistic and multi-linguistic education being intended for the altruistic goal of expanding his social consciousness beyond that granted him by Paonese, though, Fanchiel tells him that "In the College of Comparative Culture . . . [he] will study the races of the universe, their similarities and differences, their languages and basic urges, [and] the specific symbols by which [he] can influence them. . . ." (Vance 68). Beran's educators encourage him to wield his language skills as a tool to exert social control over people instead of as a technique for expanding his and his people's social consciousness. As I have shown in the other texts, though, exerting control through language involves a limited social consciousness. Since Beran's social consciousness has to expand in order to be receptive to new and multiple languages, he can see the potential benefits of expansion, and does not succumb to his teachers' negative influence. His multi-lingual perspective throughout the novel keeps him from accepting that language ought ever be used in a manner that narrows its users' social consciousness or takes advantage of their ideological limitations.

While Beran is being educated, Pao is being forcefully transformed from a homogenous, monolingual society into segregated one that can be represented with a schema like that in Fig. 2. The engineer of this transformation, Lord Palafox, is motivated to establish different castes with different languages and worldviews because the native language of Pao gives the Paonese people an extremely narrow social consciousness which makes them an apathetic people, vulnerable to forces from other worlds. Palafox describes that, "Paonese is a passive, dispassionate language. It presents the world in two dimensions, without tension or contrast. A people speaking Paonese, theoretically ought to be docile, passive, [and] without strong personality development . . ." (Vance 86). A very Whorfian explanation for such passivity is Paonese's status as an aspectual language that organizes the world into various states of existence and relates all action back to those states, instead of having a verb system with tenses and cases. The example Vance's narrator gives is of a Panarch negotiating a trade agreement with a member of the Mercantil society:

The Panarch, making the statement, 'There are two matters I wish to discuss with you,' used words which, accurately rendered, would read: '*Statement of importance* (a single word in Paonese) – *in a state of readiness* – two; ear – *of Mercantil* – *in a state of readiness*; mouth – *or this person here* – *in a state of volition*.' The necessary paraphrasing makes the way of speaking seem cumbersome. But the Paonese sentence, 'Rhomel-en shrai bogal-Mercantil-nli-en mous-en-nli-ro,' requires only three more phonemes than, 'There are two matters I wish to discuss with you.' (Vance 10-footnote)

The language therefore makes its users perceive everything in relation to a sense of continuity. As can be seen when warriors from the nearby planet, Batmarsh raid Pao, if that sense is betrayed, their morale as a society drops, and they become completely ambivalent. Palafox's

plan is to “alter the mental framework of the Paonese people” (Vance 85), or at least portions of them, by altering their language so that their society can be self-sufficient.

Three castes with three new invented languages are thus established in isolated parts of Pao and a small portion of the population is siphoned into each. Corresponding with the Technicant, Cogitant, and Valiant languages as illustrated in Figure 2, these castes represent a standing army of capable fighters, a corps of engineers that will stimulate Pao’s industrial productivity, and a class of merchants that can launch Pao’s economy into interplanetary markets. Each new language is designed to define a pattern of thought for its users through the manner by which they must use it to interact socially with each other. The warrior language “will be based on the contrast and comparison of strength, with a grammar simple and direct. . . . The syllabary will be rich in effort – producing gutturals and hard vowels. A number of key ideas will be synonymous; such as *pleasure* and *overcoming a resistance*, *relaxation* and *shame*, *out-worlder* and *rival*” (Vance 87). The industrialist language will have a “grammar . . . extravagantly complicated but altogether consistent and logical. The vocables would be discrete but joined and fitted by elaborate rules of accordance” (Vance 87-88). And the merchant language will be “a symmetrical language with emphatic number-parsing, elaborate honorifics to teach hypocrisy, a vocabulary rich in homophones to facilitate ambiguity, a syntax of reflection, reinforcement and alternation to emphasize the analogous interchange of human affairs”(Vance 88). It is accepted in the novel that each of these new social groups will take on the characteristics that their language is constructed to subliminally embed in their consciousness.

The intended effect that these new languages are to have on those who acquire them may seem implausible to many linguists. It has been an accepted principle in linguistics since Saussure, for instance, that phonetic systems cannot be directly mapped onto the behavior

patterns of a group of people (Crystal 411). Having guttural sounds that are difficult for native English speakers (such as Vance) to pronounce in a language will not necessarily make people in a society any more or less docile than they are otherwise naturally socialized to be. Those language affects that function on a more cognitive level, however, are more likely to change a person's worldview. The morphological, syntactic, and lexical systems in each language, may contribute to an overarching pattern of thinking for an individual and encourage certain styles of discourse among members of each linguistic community that reinforce that pattern. This would be evident in the semantic cognates in each language. For example, Palafox cites the phrase, 'successful man,' which "to the military segment, . . . will be synonymous with 'winner of a fierce contest.' To the industrialists, it will mean 'efficient fabricator.' To the traders, it equates with 'a person irresistibly persuasive'" (Vance 88). In such a way, given some fictive license, each new social group's perspective of the world will be shaped by their language. Even though, as Palafox admits, "such influences . . . will not act with equal force upon each individual" (Vance 88), the individuals grouped together do in fact create a rigid stratification in Paonese society based on language and the roles each language group are meant to have.

This rigid system, however, is direct evidence that these new languages limit the social consciousness of their individual users. In fact, it is even their purpose to isolate each group of new language learners from each other and the rest of Pao so completely that "no tincture of the old language or the old ways" (Vance 101) can enter into their consciousness. Each group's purpose is implicitly defined by its language and members are not allowed to be exposed to any other worldview until after they fully acquire the language and are completely socialized to the group's standards. "Children [are] guided by a spare cadre of linguists who under pain of death

[speak] only the new language” (Vance 130). And this produces the excellently qualified groups in society that Palafox deems necessary for Pao’s survival.

There is a catch, though, to integrating independent and limited language systems into Paonese culture. It is noticed by Beran as he begins to understand what it is like to have an Interpreter’s expanded social consciousness. He remarks to Palafox about the program of language reforms: “. . . It may bring benefits, but I feel there is something abnormal and unnatural at work” (Vance 110). What Beran notices is that the language changes affecting Pao are being integrated into society first through a violent State Apparatus that clears an area of outside linguistic influence, and then through artificially constructed ISAs that attempt to convince each language community that its role in society is naturally ordained. From Beran’s perspective outside the oppressive system, he sees how the system works, and how each language restricts its speakers’ worldview. Even though the isolation of each linguistic community makes them interdependent, creating what seems to be a functioning domestic economy, their linguistic differences and accompanying mentalities come into conflict when they each realize that Paonese society depends on them and want more power to reflect their importance.

To help stave off the inevitable consequences of each group’s limitation, an Interpreter Corps is created to help guide their interchange. When the people in this Corps, including Beran, become exposed to all the different languages of Pao, however, they create a pidgin language from scraps of all of them to use among themselves, which is based on the wider frame of knowledge they all share about society and its languages. Linguists identify as a *pidgin* language, “a system of communication . . . grown up among people who do not share a common language, but who want to talk to each other, for trading or other reasons”(Crystal 336). A

pidgin is the natural means by which disparate language groups can find common ground to satisfy their different needs. They call this language *Pastiche*, and by “its relative universality” (Vance 208), it catches on with all the linguistic groups as a means of communicating with each other when an Interpreter is not on hand. I agree with Walter Meyers’s observation of *Pastiche*, that “its speakers, Beran among them, remain free agents because they can compare and contrast the worldviews provided by all the languages at their command” (Meyers 169). Speakers of *Pastiche* obtain an expanded social consciousness that gives them the ability to eventually tear down the repressive social structures that divide society. Beran, himself, negotiates a truce between the social groups on the planet that is contingent upon the decree that *Pastiche* be made the official language of Pao (Vance 248). As such, all people on the planet will have an equal opportunity to enjoy the language capacity for participation in any social group that they wish, and by the diverse worldviews implicit in the language, will also encourage the perpetual expansion of social consciousness whenever the opportunity arises. *Pastiche*’s status as a pidgin language will change to that of a *creole*, because it will become the native language of the Paonese, and it will continue to broaden and expand as a natural language does in order to meet the changing needs of the people of Pao. Beran’s actions stemming from his expanded social consciousness changes language from being “the impetus of division” (Barnes 163), to being the impetus for the reunification of his people.

As described in Section II, the Pravic-speaking Anarrestis of *The Dispossessed* represent the antilanguage in their linguistic and ideological conflict with the Iotic-speaking people of Urras. This conflict is much more like the binary relationships between society and antisociety in *We* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* than the network of mutual limitation in *Pao*, but its main character, Shevek, follows a very similar path to Beran – leading his people into a state of

expanding social consciousness through language learning. For Shevek, who learns Iotic, interacts with and eventually visits the Urrasti for the sake of his work as a physicist seeking a Unified Theory of Time, he must break out of the isolationism patterned into the Anarresti behavior and build himself a bridge between the two cultures and languages. Just like Beran, he builds that bridge by expanding his social consciousness through language learning.

Shevek first discovers the potential benefits of expanding his social consciousness at the beginning of his adult academic life when his supervising professor, Sabul, makes him learn Iotic to read books by important Urrasti physicists. Before this time he did not believe that anyone on Anarres knew the Iotic language. But “by the time he had worked his way to the middle of the book . . . he understood why Sabul had had him read the Urrasti physicists before he did anything else. They were far ahead of anything that had been done on Anarres for twenty or thirty years” (LeGuin 95). Shevek realizes that the disdain and grotesque wonder he had been socialized to hold for the Urrasti people might be misinformed. The work their society produced was brilliant and gave him the impetus to pursue original work of his own in the Anarresti tradition. But along with this realization, he learns how secretive Sabul is about their studying Iotic. Since sharing information is a founding principle in the Anarresti society, it is hard for Shevek to understand why he must keep silent. Sabul explains with the anecdote: “If you found a pack of explosive caps in the street would you *share* them with every kid that went by? Those books are explosives” (Le Guin 93). Sabul is interested only in advancing his own status in the field of physics and in maintaining Anarresti nationalism, but he does have a point. The society of Anarres is so insular that it is practically xenophobic. People would not like having outsiders’ ideas infiltrating their society’s academic work.

This first experience Shevek has treating Urrasti ideas and language with an open mind exposes the Anarresti's incredibly limited social consciousness to him. His peoples' isolationistic ideology is reinforced by public opinion in such a way that is reminiscent of a repressive social structure, much like an Althusserian Ideological State Apparatus. An observant friend of Shevek's named Bedap accurately describes *public opinion* as "the unadmitted, inadmissible government that rules the . . . society by stifling the individual mind" (Le Guin 147). And like any ISA, it enforces the ideology of the society through a Language Apparatus that limits the social consciousness of its users. Examples of public opinion acting through the Language Apparatus are phrases in Pravic such as "stop egoizing" and "you're acting like a profiteer" that are used for admonishment throughout an Anarresti's life, whenever he or she acts with any personal ambition. To avoid disapproval, the people of the society are socialized against asserting their individuality. As Walter Meyers notes, "if the [Anarresti] have become great, . . . it is in spite of a language designed for propaganda" (Meyers 208). He might agree with me in thinking that any real success they achieve as a society is because there is a loophole in their Language Apparatus, the lack of compulsion and the lack of explicit power symbols, that allows Shevek to challenge the implicit state apparatus of public opinion, once his social consciousness has expanded.

From a distance, Shevek comes to admire the Urrasti physicists for their apparent open-mindedness and willingness to communicate with other societies and other worlds. Yet when he visits them, he discovers that the Urrasti have a much more limited worldview than he had come to give them credit. His primary sponsor Atro attempts to include him in this perspective by appealing to his Anarresti sense of brotherhood: "what defines brotherhood but non-brotherhood? Definition by exclusion, my dear! You and I are kinsmen. . . . To know it one only

has to meet – to hear of an alien. . . . If there has to be an interstellar civilization, then by God I don't want my people to be low-caste members of it! We should come in like noblemen, with a great gift in our hands. . . .” (Le Guin 126-7). The gift that Atro wishes to bring to the interstellar civilization is the Shevek's Unified Theory, which has very important technological applications. Atro's language invokes images of feudalism and dominating power relationships that shows how his social consciousness is too limited by his culture's desire for power to see any advantage to giving Shevek's theory freely, which is what Shevek ultimately wants. Ironically, Atro's sense of brotherhood is the exact opposite of Anarresti sensibility of egalitarian relationships, and at the same time represents the isolationism that Shevek is most critical about in his own society.

Once Shevek understands that the Urrasti have as limited a perspective as his own people, he becomes conscious of the disparity between the two and tries to extricate himself from the conflicting ideological systems. This signifies the expansion of his own worldview beyond the confines of the worldviews afforded by either language group in the realm of conflict. Partially for survival, because of his participation in an anti-authoritarian demonstration, and partially for his intellectual freedom, he seeks asylum in an embassy from another world – Terra, the representation in this novel of Earth. The ambassador Keng gives him the opportunity to see outside the realm of conflict, and gives him the resources to be able to transmit his completed theorem to all civilizations simultaneously in all known languages, so that the Anarresti cannot ignore it and that the Urrasti cannot use it as a tool for exploitation. Shevek even predicts that the first application for his theory will be a device called an “ansible” that will enable real-time communication across interstellar distances (Le Guin 303). This device would force different societies to acknowledge their relationships on equal-footing with each other and to develop

expanded senses of social awareness that take into account the variety and multiplicity of worldviews enabled by different languages. Keng believes that this communicative faculty will make a federation between the nine Known Worlds possible, ushering in a new era of interstellar cooperation. She tells Shevek, "it's as if you invented human speech!" (Le Guin 303-4).

As Shevek and Beran and their respective dystopias show, the process of acquiring multiple languages enables the expansion of social consciousness on an individual level. With enough individual expansion like this, the conflict between groups with opposing worldviews can be resolved. Expanding social consciousness benefits the individual greatly because it equips him or her with the tools for understanding more about the world in which he or she lives as well as the universe at large. And beyond this Whorfian ideal, it also conveys the knowledge that it takes to identify, elude, and eventually overcome a power system's oppressive and limiting Language Apparatuses. The dystopian society benefits as well, because the collective social consciousness expansion breaks the cycle of violence between the languages of oppression and resistance, potentially ushering in an era of domestic peace. This peace and an expanded attitude towards growth and diversity will consequently make a society more viable for communication, the exchange of knowledge, and trade with other societies - potentially other worlds should there be any. But most importantly, by suggesting that the expansion of social consciousness through language is the path to society's redemption, a dystopian fiction fulfills its defined purpose: to create awareness of the power structures and conflicts between them in society in order to better correct them.

Conclusion

In this essay, I have shown how dystopian fiction accomplishes what it is designed to do as genre by illustrating the ways in which language affects a society's distribution of power. By expanding Sisk's deconstructive taxonomy for dystopian language with an expansion of an Althusserian model for the ideological legitimization of state rule, I have proposed that a Language Apparatus functions in each dystopian society to limit the social consciousness of its citizens. My primary examples of this have been *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, *We*, and *The Dispossessed*, in which oppressive Language Apparatuses bent on thought control are opposed by equally limiting Language Apparatuses of dissenters acting both individually and in groups. In *The Dispossessed* and *The Languages of Pao*, however, I have shown that it is possible for Language Apparatuses to actually expand the social consciousness of a society through an individual who gets the opportunity to experience a multiplicity of them outside the realm of conflict altogether. By offering a method by which a society may expand its social consciousness through language, dystopia accomplishes its goal to promote social change.

Even though the method for expanding social consciousness includes the learning and acceptance of many languages and the different perspectives each offers on the universe, dystopian fiction does not necessarily advocate that every individual in a society must become a polyglot in order to achieve social progress. Rather, it advocates that an understanding and acceptance of the differences between languages and the ways they shape different peoples' worldviews is essential for the propagation of tolerance and patience that is beneficial to any society. Ultimately, it must even be conceded that the social consciousness of an individual or a society will *always* be limited in some respect, because the number of languages and cultures that can be known or appreciated by any individual or any society will *always* be finite. Under

the assumption, however, that in the vast universe there could be an infinite number of possible languages and possible perspectives of the universe, the social consciousness of any society or individual will also be perpetually expanding, as long as the expansion is not resisted by closed-mindedness.

The expansion of social consciousness is an ongoing process. It can have an initiation, a point when the limiting nature of conflicting languages in a society is discovered and reversed; but expansion should never cease. It is a state of awareness, an understanding that one's own perception of the universe can never be complete, but that supplemental information and additional perspectives will continuously refine and clarify that perception. It requires a dedication to principles that may pit one against one's society if that society has power structures in place which are meant to limit the social consciousness of its members. As Shevek learns in *The Dispossessed*, "Sacrifice might be demanded of the individual, but never compromise: for though only the society could give security and stability, only the individual, the person, had the power of moral choice – the power of change" (LeGuin 293-4).

Such a message is an appropriate moral conclusion for a type of fiction that satirizes reality through critical parodies of human behavior and of society's institutions. After all, to paraphrase David Sisk, dystopian fiction *is* a hopeful genre. It is always set in the future to suggest that there is time to reverse the trends in society that concern the author. It scares us for our own good, presenting what are often frightening visions of what might transpire from events we can see in our contemporary world (Sisk 167). Because it operates on such a level, and because language issues are foundational to the genre, dystopia is the perfect vehicle for relaying important sociolinguistic information to the people of the world. Especially compared to *Nineteen Eighty Four*, "not many books by linguists have been able to alter a whole society's

understanding of the role of language in its basic political and social processes” (Hodge and Fowler 25). Thus, dystopian authors have a great responsibility to their readers, to linguistics, and to society at large. They are forecasters and their works are like meteorologists’ maps, predicting possible future societies based on their observations of current tendencies, and by demonstrating political and linguistic recourses to us that we can use to facilitate change.

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