Open Journal for

Anthropological Studies

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The Solution for Girls with No Sex Appeal: The Ironized Yeast – A Multi Modal Discourse Analysis of Vintage Advertisements

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Abstract

This paper presents a discourse analysis of three vintage advertisements for Ironized Yeast using Multi Modal Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis. Drawing on the concept of erotic capital by Hakim (2011), the study explores how these advertisements exploit women's insecurities about their body shape while offering a solution that goes beyond physical attractiveness. The analysis reveals that the advertisements promote the idea that women can leverage their erotic capital to enhance their sex appeal, thereby increasing their chances of success in the dating and marriage market. This research examines the construction and perpetuation of the seductive power associated with a curvy figure. The findings highlight the intricate interplay between discourses of attractiveness, power dynamics, and societal expectations, urging critical reflection on the influence of such representations on individuals and broader social dynamics.

Keywords: erotic capital, problem-solution pattern, advertisements, Multi Modal Discourse Analysis, beauty standards.

1. Introduction

Based on Kress and Leeuwen's (2006) Multi Modal Discourse Analysis (MMDA) and Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this paper examines three vintage advertisements for Ironized Yeast that were published in women's magazines. The analysis is guided by key concepts such as erotic capital (Hakim, 2011) and the problem-solution pattern in text images (Hoey & Winter, 1986; McCarthy & Hewings, 1988; Hoey, 2001; Mitchell, 1995). Through MMDA approach, the vintage advertisements are seen to tap into women's insecurities about their body shape and offer a solution that goes beyond mere physical attractiveness. The advertisements promise that women can leverage their erotic capital to enhance their sex appeal and achieve success in the dating and marriage market.

Ironized Yeast vintage advertisements, prevalent in the 1930s, fostered an inferiority complex among women with slender and angular body shapes, convincing them that consuming Ironized Yeast supplements was the key to achieving a fuller and more feminine figure. These advertisements not only promised a physical transformation but also claimed that by using the product, women would gain the admiration of men and find success in the dating market. The

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1930s decade was an era of economic prosperity in many Western nations, enabling the rise of consumerism and a shift in the portrayal of women. (Benjamin, 2008; Burke, 2005; Duby, & Perrot; 1993). They were no longer represented as shy and submissive but rather as vibrant and socially active individuals who sought to have fun, please men, and enhance their attractiveness (Eco, 2010). Consequently, the pursuit of sex appeal became a lucrative industry, with the cosmetic sector investing significant amounts in advertising campaigns.

- The notion that slender women do not deserve attention from men aligns with the negative associations often propagated, reinforcing the idea that individuals who deviate from hegemonic beauty standards must make extra efforts to conform.

- Both men and women engage in a continuous competition in order to have partners who possess high social and economic status.

- Women are pressured to constantly strive for (unrealistic) beauty standards in order to be perceived as valuable mates.

To conduct this analysis, I will begin with a theoretical framework in which I present the key concepts such as erotic capital (Hakim, 2011), and the problem-solution pattern in text images (Hoey & Winter, 1986; McCarthy & Hewings, 1988; Hoey, 2001; Mitchell, 1995). Fairclough' (1995) three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis and Kress and Leeuwen's (2006) multi modal discourse analysis. Moreover, this study provides the methodology employed for analysis, the research question, and the procedures steps to address the research objectives. Next, the analysis will explore how gestural, visual, and spatial modes were utilized in three vintage advertisements promoting ironized yeast. The objective is to shed light on the conveyed meaning and its influence on the intended audience, specifically regarding the portrayal of women's sexual attractiveness and strategies for achieving success in the dating market. Finally, I will offer a conclusion.

2. Theoretical framework

This section offers an overview of the major concepts that provide context for the Ironized Yeats vintage advertisement analysis; it addresses concepts such as erotic capital and the problem-solution pattern in text images. These concepts provide a foundation for the subsequent discourse analysis of the advertisements. They shed light on the underlying dynamics of power, desire, and persuasion within the advertisement's visual and textual elements. Delving into these concepts, can deepen our understanding of the Ironized Yeats advertisement's intended meanings and the strategies employed to convey them effectively to the target audience.

2.1 Erotic capital

British sociologist Catherine Hakim introduced the concept of erotic capital in 2011, which serves as a valuable addition to the capitals proposed by Pierre Bourdieu (1997) which are economic, social, and cultural capitals. She argues that erotic capital is equally significant and essential for understanding sexuality, social and economic relationships between men and women. The elements of erotic capital are beauty, sexual attractiveness, social abilities, liveliness, style, sexuality, and fertility (Hakim, 2011). In sum, the integration of natural attributes and social skills conforms to erotic capital that can be developed and used to enhance one's economic and professional success (Baumeister & Vohs, 2004; Green, 2012; Hakim, 2011; Valdés-Lucas, 2019). Baumeister and Vohs (2004) highlight those women, in particular, can leverage their erotic capital to achieve upward social mobility through the dating market. Relationships can serve as a pathway to social status and wealth, making it especially crucial for women within lower social status to

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nurture their erotic capital in order to gain access to higher social status. Women do not have the monopoly of erotic capital; however, they tend to possess a greater amount of sensual power compared to men, which grants them a substantial potential advantage in negotiations with men. It is. Nevertheless, it is commonly observed that advertisements for various products prominently feature beautiful and glamorous women, rather than men (Baumeister & Vohs, 2004; Crymble, 2011; Hakim, 2011; Negra, 2009). This pattern reflects the recognition of women's strong erotic capital and its potential influence on consumer's behaviors. Understanding the interaction between erotic capital, societal norms, and advertising strategies, it is possible to gain insight into the complex dynamics of gender, sexuality, and economic exchanges within the context of vintage advertisements.

2.2 *The problem-solution pattern in text images*

The problem-solution pattern developed in Text Linguistics (Hoey & Winter, 1986; McCarthy & Hewings, 1988; Hoey, 2001; Mitchell, 1995) has identified four main steps in the problem-solution pattern: introducing a situation, describing a problem arising from the situation, proposing a solution, and evaluating the proposed solution. The problem-solution pattern provides a structured framework that helps analyze and organize the information presented in advertisements. The use of this approach acknowledges the complex nature of meaning-making in visual communication (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006). Text and image work together synergistically, influencing and complementing each other to construct meaning. The integration of text and image within visual, spatial, and gestural modes, is crucial in understanding how the problem-solution pattern is constructed and the conveyed meanings in the Ironized Yeats vintage advertisement.

In the context of the Ironized Yeast vintage advertisements, the integration of text and image within visual, spatial, and gestural modes is crucial for understanding how the problem-solution pattern is constructed and the conveyed meanings. These advertisements strategically employ this pattern to establish a situation where women with narrow and angular body shapes face an implied problem of lacking desirability. The proposed solution, ironized yeast, is presented as the key to obtaining a luscious and fleshier figure, which is associated with heightened sexual attractiveness and success in the dating market.

3. Method

This section delineates the methodology employed for the analysis of the vintage advertisements. Firstly, the research questions that guided this study will be outlined. Subsequently, a comprehensive account of the critical and multimodal discourse analysis approach employed to investigate the advertisements will be explained. Lastly, a systematic procedure will be detailed, elucidating the steps undertaken to discern the specific messages communicated by the vintage advertisements and to comprehend the techniques utilized to effectively convey their intended meaning.

The analysis of the Ironized Yeast vintage advertisements was conducted through the application of CDA and MMCDA frameworks. The selection of the advertisements relied on randomization, ensuring an unbiased and representative sample of vintage advertisements related to Ironized Yeast, thus reducing the potential for selection bias and increasing the generalizability of the findings (Shaheen et al., 2019). The analysis proceeded in several steps. Firstly, a comprehensive collection of the Ironized Yeast vintage advertisements was gathered for examination. These advertisements consisted of visual images, textual elements, and various modes of communication. CDA approach in combination with the erotic capital concept and problem-solution pattern was employed to identify themes.

MMCDA framework was implemented to investigate the visual, spatial, and gestural modes present in the advertisements. This analysis focused on the visual images, layout, and bodily movements depicted in the advertisements. It aimed to explore how these multimodal elements interacted with the textual components to construct meaning and influence the audience.

This paper aims to discover how different modes in Ironized Yeats advertisements were used to persuade slim women to gain weight in order to obtain a curvy figure in order to success in the dating market. Therefore, the research question is the following:

- How were visual, spatial, and gestural modes were use in the Ironized Yeast vintage advertisements to persuade the audience to consume those supplements?
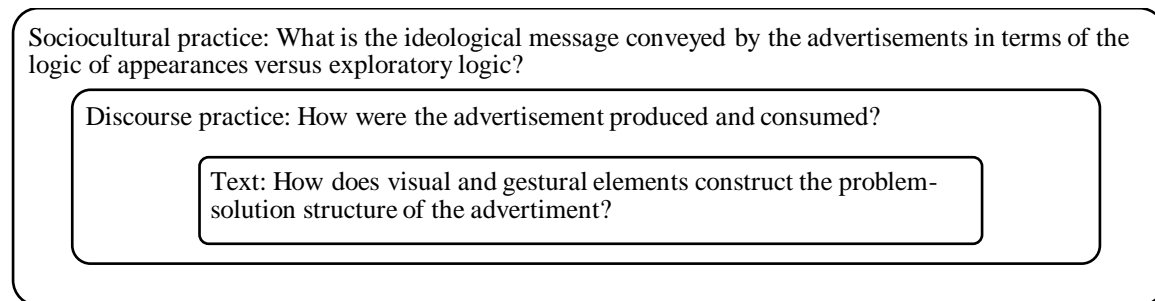
In the following section, I will describe the two approaches of discourse analysis I conducted for this research: Fairclough's (1995) model of three-dimensional framework and Kress and Leeuwen (2006) multimodal discourse analysis.

3.1 *Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional framework for CDA*

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is rooted in a critical theory of language, which views language usage as a social practice that is intricately connected to specific historical contexts. These social practices play a role in reproducing or challenging existing social relations and serving various interests. Analyzing discourse in relation to power dynamics involves asking questions about positioning, interests served, interests negated, and the consequences of such positioning.

Fairclough (1995) presents a model for CDA that involves three interrelated dimensions of discourse analysis. The first dimension pertains to the object of analysis, which can include verbal, visual, or multimodal texts. The second dimension focuses on the processes through which these objects are produced and received by human subjects, encompassing writing, speaking, designing, reading, listening, and viewing. The third dimension involves the socio-historical conditions that govern these processes.

Fairclough suggests that each of these dimensions necessitates a different form of analysis: text analysis for description, processing analysis for interpretation, and social analysis for explanation. The present study focuses on the discussion of both the discourse practice and the sociocultural practice in which the advertisements were embedded. In relation to the discourse practice the focus is on the processes of production and consumption as well as on possible traces of intertextuality present in the posters. And in relation, to sociocultural practices, the focus is on the concept of logic of appearances and explanatory logic (Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2013) and the historical context. In Figure 1, I show the questions along with the model that guided this research.

Sociocultural practice: What is the ideological message conveyed by the advertisements in terms of the logic of appearances versus exploratory logic?

Discourse practice: How were the advertisement produced and consumed?

Text: How does visual and gestural elements construct the problem-solution structure of the advertisment?

Note: adapted from Fairclough, N. (1995). Media discourse. This approach provides multiple levels for analysis.

Figure 1. Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional framework and the questions for this study

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3.2 *Multimodal discourse analysis*

Kress and Leeuwen's (1996) Multi Modal Discourse Analysis (MMDA) approach offers a comprehensive framework for understanding discourse as a social practice that employs various modes of communication to construct meaning. In this approach, discourse is seen as a complex interplay between language, visual images, sound, and other semiotic resources within a specific context.

One key aspect of the multimodal discourse analysis approach is the recognition of ideology in communication. According to Kress and Leeuwen (2002), different modes of communication, including language and visual representation, are not neutral but rather shaped by cultural, historical, and social factors. They argue that these modes of communication convey and reinforce specific ideologies, reflecting power relations and social norms.

The MMDA approach distinguishes between various modes of communication, each contributing unique elements to the overall meaning-making process. The linguistic mode encompasses written and spoken language and conveys both literal and figurative meanings. The visual mode involves still and moving images, conveying information, emotions, and aesthetic qualities. The audio mode includes sounds and music, evoking emotions, atmosphere, and meaning. The spatial mode focuses on the arrangement and layout of elements, conveying organization, hierarchy, and emphasis. The gestural mode encompasses bodily movements, such as facial expressions and gestures, conveying emotions, emphasis, and meaning (Kress, 2003; Kress & Leeuwen, 1996, 2002). Analyzing the Ironized Yeast vintage advertisements using the MMDA approach, it is possible to uncover the intricate ways in which different modes of communication interact and contribute to the construction of meaning. This analysis allows to examine how language, visual images, sound, spatial arrangement, and gestural cues work together to shape the messages conveyed in these advertisements, shedding light on the broader social and cultural implications of their discourse.

4. Data analysis and discussion

In this section, MMCDA and a CDA were conducted to analyze the visual, spatial, and gestural elements present in three vintage advertisements of Ironized Yeasts. The aim of the analysis was to identify and discuss the persuasive strategies employed in these advertisements to encourage the audience to purchase the supplements with the promise of achieving success in the dating market. The advertisements are present below:

Note: Good news for girls who have no sex appeal. (2015, September 7). Twitter. https://pbs.twimg.com/media/COVzgdAXAAA9h29?format=png&name=small

Figure 2. Advertisement one: Good news for girls who have no sex appeal

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Note: Men wouldn't look at me when I was skinny. (2016, February). https://envisioningtheamericandream.com/ https://envisioningtheamericandream.files.wordpress.com/2016/02/diet-gain-weight.jpg

Figure 3. Advertisement two: Men wouldn't look at me when I was skinny

Note: I was ashamed of my figure. (2016, May). Buzzfeed. https://img.buzzfeed.com/buzzfeed-static/static/2016-05/10/18/enhanced/webdr06/original-grid-image-7754-1462919273-5.jpg?crop=472:708;0,3

Figure 4. Advertisement three: I was ashamed of my figure

Two themes were identified: the sexual appeal and physical appearance, and gender representation. Those themes shed light on the topics discussed within the theoretical framework. The findings prompt critical reflection on the impact of such representations may had on individuals and broader social dynamics. The exploration of these themes within the theoretical framework not only enriches our understanding of the specific advertisements but also contributes to a broader understanding of the complexities surrounding sexual appeal, physical appearance, and gender economic relationship.

4.1 *The sexual appeal and physical appearance: The seductive power of curvy figure*

The first theme that emerged during the analysis was the representation of sex appeal and physical appearance. This analysis aims to reveal the semiotic elements and gender dynamics within the advertisements, with a specific focus on the representation of sex appeal, body figure, and societal perceptions of beauty and attractiveness. By closely examining the portrayal of a voluptuous figure in the posters, the study seeks to provide insights into the ways in which societal roles and expectations were constructed and how they intersected with the conveyed notions of beauty, attractiveness, and body image.

4.1.1 *Enhancing curvy models: Discovering the gestural mode*

In the Figure 6, which is an excerpt of the advertisement one, a professional model is prominently featured, adopting a pose with her hands confidently resting on her hip. This deliberate positioning draws attention to the curvature of her body, effectively accentuating her voluptuous figure. The strategic placement of the camera, situated below eye level, contributes to the establishment of a seductive gaze within the viewer. This model' gesture perpetuates the prevailing notion that a fleshy and soft body possesses inherent allure and desirability.

Note: adapted from *Advertisement One: Good News for Girls Who Have No Sex Appeal* (2015). Model presented in a seductive pose accentuating her voluptuousness.

Figure 6. Photograph of model one: Embracing the beauty of voluptuous figure

In the Figure 7, another model in a similar position than the previous one, poses her hands on her hips. This pattern serves as a gestural mode that strategically emphasizes her curvy silhouette and directs the viewer's attention to this particular body part. Moreover, the joyful model's smile contributes significantly to the advertisement's overall impact, further accentuating the playful attitude of the women. Comparable to the previous analyzed picture, the camera angle

chosen for the photograph, positioned below eye level, adds an additional layer to the portrayal of the model. This specific perspective creates a sense of power dynamics and intimacy, as the viewer is visually positioned as looking up to the model. A gaze from a lower vantage point, the advertisement invokes a seductive and captivating effect, further enhancing the allure of the curvaceous figure presented.

Note: Adapted from: *Men Wouldn't Look at Me When I Was Skinny*, (2016). The strategic combination of the model's gestures, poses, and camera angle in the pictures effectively manipulated visual cues to shape societal perceptions of beauty and attractiveness. By accentuating the curvy figure and evoking a seductive gaze.

Figure 7. Photograph of model two: Shaping visual desirability

The seductive gaze established through the camera angle aligns with the cultural construction of sex appeal, perpetuating the idea that a voluptuous body is not only attractive but also evokes desire and admiration.

In sum, the strategic combination of the model's gestures, poses and the camera angle in the pictures, effectively manipulates visual cues to influence societal perceptions of beauty and attractiveness. Accentuating the curvy figure and evoking a seductive gaze, the advertisement perpetuates the notion that a voluptuous figure not only captivates but also embodies desirability.

4.1.2 *Exploring visual elements: bold typography and negative associations targeting skinny girls*

In the Figure 8, it is evident that bold typography has been employed to target skinny girls. The deliberate use of bold letters captures attention and implicitly suggests that being excessively thin is a matter of shame. By utilizing bold typography, societal beauty standards and their antithesis are juxtaposed. The association of desirability with thinness is negated. The application of this typographical technique serves to construct a problem description, wherein negative associations are utilized to evoke feelings of inadequacy and insecurity pertaining to body image. Through strategic emphasis on specific words or phrases using bold typography,

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advertisers effectively direct attention to the message while reinforcing a perceived urgency surrounding the identified problem.
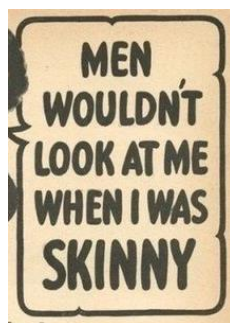

Note: Adapted from: *Advertisement three: I Was Ashamed of My Figure* (2016). The advertisement elaborated on women's negative perception of their figure impacted their self-esteem or confidence. It implied a problem that needed to be addressed or resolved, likely by introducing a solution product, Ironized Yeast.

Figure 8. Bold types one: Suggesting skinny women to reshape their figures

The proposed solution in these advertisements are the Ironized Yeats supplements that promising to help women achieve the idealized hourglass figure. The integration of text and image within the visual, spatial, and gestural modes plays a pivotal role in constructing the problem-solution pattern. Images of attractive luscious models, combined with bold typography and negative language, work together synergistically to suggest that the solution lies in conforming to the depicted body shape ideal.

In the Figure 9, another combination of a bold font type is presented "*Men wouldn't look at me when I was skinny*". The statement conveys the notion that slender women did not deserve attention from men. This aligns with the negative associations often propagated, reinforcing the idea that individuals who deviate from the hegemonic beauty standards must employ additional effort to adapt themselves.

Note: Adapted from: *Men Wouldn't Look at Me When I Was Skinny*, (2016). The statement in the advertisement implied that having a thin figure resulted in a perceived lack of value in the dating market.

Figure 9. Bold types two: Suggesting how body shape affects attractiveness

The use of bold typography and negative associations in such advertisements contributes to the portrayal of thinness as undesirable or unattractive. Drawing attention to the message through bold letters and emphasizing the perceived problem of being skinny, these advertisements may reinforce societal beauty standards that associate desirability with a different body type.

4.2 *Gender representation: market value determined by desirability*

Attractiveness and desirability are influential factors in shaping an individual's value within the dating market (Baumeister & Vohs, 2004; Hakim, 2011). Both men and women engage in a continuous competition in order to have partners who possess high social and economic

status. In this context, the possession of considerable erotic capital can significantly enhance an individual's prospects of success in the dating market.

The possession of substantial erotic capital offers a distinct advantage upon women, enabling them to distinguish themselves and attract the interest of potential mates with a high social and economic value. This concept is evident in certain vintage advertisements, where strategic utilization of micro-comics seeks to convey the notion that women can enhance their personal empowerment through the consumption of the Ironized Yeats, increasing their dating opportunities.

4.2.1 *Spatial mode: Depicting Women's success in the competitive dating market*

Another significant semiotic element presented in the Figure 10 was a comic, that is positioned in the center, indicating its primary focus. The placement of an element in the center of a visual composition can carry various meanings such as emphasis or importance. The strategic placement of micro-comics served as an effective technique to captivate the audience's attention and engage them with the illustrations. These concise graphic novels succinctly conveyed the advantages and benefits associated with consuming the supplements. The micro-comics effectively summarized the benefits and the positive outcomes of Ironized Yeats. following the classic problem-solution pattern. In the initial sketch, a woman with an angular figure is depicted in a manner that highlights her perceived awkwardness. Furthermore, two men are shown gossiping about her figure, explicitly noting her lack of attractiveness. The negative representation of a slim shape reveals how various multimodal elements were utilized to instill insecurity in women. Emphasizing that angular body shape is problematic, the advertisements implied that women who do not address this "issue" will fail to achieve success in the dating market.

Note: adapted from *Advertisement One: Good News for Girls Who Have No Sex Appeal* (2015). The graphic novel suggested that possessing certain physical features, such as an attractive figure, may enhance a woman's ability to attract potential partners and navigate the dating market.

Figure 10. Comic one: You're the queen of the beach

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In the final panel of the comic, after consuming the Ironized Yeats supplements, the woman now possesses sufficient erotic capital in terms of attractiveness and desirability. The "solution" was reshaping her body with took the supplements. She is depicted alongside a male companion, symbolizing her newfound appeal, and indicating that she has achieved a higher status.

In the Figure 11 the advertisement strategically positions the comic draw attention and emphasize the significance of the narrative. The almost central placement effectively captures viewers' focus and highlights the importance of the story within the overall advertisement. This spatial arrangement serves to underscore the narrative's emphasis on body weight and its impact on enhancing feminine shape. The deliberate placement accentuates the significance of the narrative's focus, highlighting the connection between body weight and the attainment of a desired feminine silhouette.

Note: Adapted from: *Advertisement three: I Was Ashamed of My Figure* (2016). The concept of erotic capital acknowledges the impact of physical appearance within the dating market, and this idea was employed in the promotion of Ironized Yeast through advertising.

Figure 11. Comic two: You're the most gorgeous girl on the beach since you've gained weight

In the last panel of the comic, the female protagonist is depicted surrounded by men, symbolizing her success in the competitive dating market. This visual representation suggests that her increased desirability was attributed to weight gain and resulted in heightened attention and attraction from potential partners. a pivotal dialogue within the comic features a boy expressing

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the statement that *"you're the most gorgeous girl on the beach since you have gained weight."* This reinforces the idea that weight gain has directly contributed to the protagonist's new charm. The comic format effectively conveys the message that Ironized Yeats significantly increase women individual's value.

The comic also examines the underlying dynamics between men and women, as the semiotic elements employed reinforce gender roles. It portrays men as consumers of women's attributes and perpetuates the objectification of their bodies. Consequently, women are pressured to constantly strive for (unrealistic) beauty standards in order to be perceived as valuable mates.

The problem-solution pattern presented in the comics prompts us to question the underlying implications of these advertisements. While they appeared to offer a solution, it is important to recognize the potential harm they might have caused. The reliance on negative associations and the perpetuation a one hegemonic body shape as the beauty standard contribute to unrealistic body ideals and can have detrimental effects on individual self-esteem and well-being.

5. Conclusion

This analysis provides a comprehensive examination of the sexual appeal and physical appearance associated with a curvy figure through the lenses of multimodal discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, and the theory of erotic capital. By deconstructing visual and textual elements, we have shed light on the ways in which the seductive power of a curvy figure is constructed and perpetuated in media and society. Our findings highlight the complex interplay between discourses of attractiveness, power dynamics, and societal expectations, urging critical reflection on the impact of these representations on individuals and broader social dynamics. This analysis serves as a starting point for further research and encourages a more nuanced understanding of the complexities surrounding sexual appeal and physical appearance in contemporary society.

This article's originality lies in its interdisciplinary approach, combining multimodal discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, and the theory of erotic capital to investigate the construction and perpetuation of the seductive power associated with body shape. It contributes to both DA and applied linguistics research by offering fresh insights into the complex correlations between discourses of attractiveness, power dynamics, and gender economic relationship.

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Supplementary material

Advertisement one: Good news for girls who have no sex appeal

Note: Good news for girls who have no sex appeal. (2015, September 7). Twitter.
https://pbs.twimg.com/media/COVzgdAXAAA9h29?format=png&name=small

Advertisement Two: Men wouldn't look at me when I was skinny

Note: *Men wouldn't look at me when I was skinny.* (2016, February).
https://envisioningtheamericandream.com/
https://envisioningtheamericandream.files.wordpress.com/2016/02/diet-gain-weight.jpg

Advertisement three: I was ashamed of my figure

Note: *I was ashamed of my figure*. (2016, May). Buzzfeed.
https://img.buzzfeed.com/buzzfeed-static/static/2016-
05/10/18/enhanced/webdr06/original-grid-image-7754-1462919273-
5.jpg?crop=472:708;0,3

Bilingualism's Influence on Individual's Cultural Perceptions

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Abstract

This study aims to investigate the link between bilingualism, identity development, and language development is examined in this research study. It underlines the contrast between bilingualism and language acquisition and defines bilingualism as the usage of two languages within a linguistic community. The investigation of early and late bilingualism looks at how culture affects bilingualism. Additionally, it explores the idea of identity, taking linguistic and cultural ties into account. The study uses a case study design and a qualitative methodology with bilingual subjects. To collect data on language origins and cultural impressions, surveys and interviews are used. The study focuses on language development, responsibilities in the household and at school, and the cultural and linguistic identities of the participants. The purpose of the study is to comprehend how culture affects identity development, language learning, and bilingualism. In general, it advances knowledge of the complexity of bilingualism and its effects on both persons and societies.

Keywords: bilingualism, cultural perception, individual, identity development, language development.

1. Introduction

Talking about bilinguals, we use to relate the image of this person just to the linguistic features that are a person who is able of developing in two languages. Is not usual to see the connection between culture and language when an induvial develops more than one language. If this linguistic aspect influences an individual's self-perception of their culture and how they will identify themselves.

This paper will analyze the aspects that involve the perception of an individual according to the identity they feel more related to, based on the experiences and the context that these individuals have on the development of two languages and two cultures. The individuals will be compared according to their linguistic development. This paper will use a case study to analyze. The data through a micro and macro analysis of the themes and the identification of the patterns that those individuals experienced as bilinguals in different cultures.

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1.1 *Objectives*

This paper aims to achieve two objectives in order to have a better understanding of the topics that will be analyzed and also will work as a support for the research question. The objectives are:

Objective 1: To identify the connection between bilingual development and the adoption of a new culture.

Objective 2: To analyze the different perspectives about bilingualism between late and early bilinguals.

The research questions answered in this paper are:

(1) *How are language learning and the cognitive processes involved in language production different between early and late bilingualism?*

(2) *What cultural facets and elements influence the cultural identities of bilingual people?*

2. Literature review

In this section, the terms that are used in this paper will be defined and explained to provide a better overview of this study.

2.1 *Bilingualism*

Being bilingual is different from being a language learner because, although both terms are related in some way to the capacity of a person in a second language, the cognitive processes involved in language production are distinct. To be considered "bilingual," we must have already experienced the process of learning a second language. To further explain this, Hamers et al. (2000) state: "The concept of bilingualism refers to the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction". Therefore, it can be inferred that bilingualism is related to the way in which the individual behaves in his language production, considering the outcome of a language for a bilingual individual, following a different process that an English learning outcome.

This distinction in the term is also made by Bialystok et al. (2005), who mention that bilingualism is more frequently used when discussing a person's overall level of language proficiency. Which ranges from managing the use of language skills and its correct cognitive processes. Whether the person is expressing themselves in their mother tongue or if they do so with the same accuracy as a native speaker. Second language learners, on the other hand, are those who have specialized linguistic proficiency but are not as advanced in the language as native speakers.

2.1.1 *Early and late bilingualism*

For this study, two concepts that describe the participant's context will be used. The first one *early bilinguals* (EA) will be a different way to refer to early bilinguals, which will focus on a participant that for any reason was raised from an early age as bilingual. Individuals that grow developing Simultaneous Acquisition in the language that is when a children start the linguistics development of two languages at the same time at an early age. Lowry also describes that (2015) children who learn two languages simultaneously experience the same developmental stages as a child that is learning one language. This kind of EA will also present a different background for

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each individual because this may depend more on the parents of individuals and the decision of raising each child. This term is also a separate way to refer to childhood bilingualism described by Baker and Wright (2017).

On the other hand, there will be bilinguals who have developed this ability to speak two languages in late development. For the purpose of this paper, they will be named *late bilinguals* (LB) In contrast to the first kind of individuals described in this paper, there will be bilinguals that have acquired a second language by Sequential Acquisition. According to Lowry (2015), this process occurs when a second language is presented to an individual who has well-established a first language. In other words, these kinds of bilinguals have developed a mother tongue during childhood, and once those individuals have grown to be monolingual speakers, feel interested in learning a new language that usually is presented in school and creates to them this interest of learning.

2.2 *Identity*

Another aspect to analyze in this paper will be the identity that the participants perceive of themselves about the culture and language that is in their environment. Bustamante et al (2008) define identity as how individuals represent themselves in a social world. How an individual perceives the way in which they belong as part of society and in how they relate to people in their social and familiar background. Kidd and Teagle (2012) explain that "Identity is related to how we perceive ourselves as individuals, how we perceive those around us, and how we perceive others. Culture is another way that identity may be represented." How individuals perceive themselves as bilinguals and as people who belong to two cultures may also perceive a new culture that is not related to any of the backgrounds in their life. For a better understanding of this aspect and the relation it has, it has been decided to divide identity into cultural and linguistic connections.

2.2.1 *Cultural identity*

For this article, cultural identity will describe some of the cultural aspects that make the participants feel represented by a certain culture. For example, Clarke (2011) identifies some factors that are related to the cultural identities of individuals. Which are, race which can be defined as "a biological construct intended as a means of classifying different groups of people possessing common physical characteristics and socio-cultural affinities" (Wilson, 2003: 1). Chandra (2006) defines ethnicity as a concept that "identity categories in which eligibility for membership is determined by attributes associated with or believed to be associated with descent" (p. 397) and gender differentiates individuals in social roles.

This kind of aspect provides individuals with the social belongingness they may have to feel identified in certain social cultures in their environments. Mostly those aspects of identity are more visible in how individuals get related in the culture that is more present with them or by some culture they may feel more comfortable with because they have a loser relation with certain aspects of it.

2.2.2 *Linguistic identity*

This part of identity will be more focused on what is the language that individuals feel more comfortable when they are speaking or that they feel more practical because of the language they use the most. Bustamante et al (2008) define linguistic identities as "the language that individuals employ to represent themselves in society" (pp. 279-280). The language in this identity

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works as the principal factor that will describe who an individual is. This characteristic works to see how a person communicates with other people and is one of the principal factors that will describe the identity of a person because it will give an idea of the background of an individual.

Andrews (2010) mentions that "language is closely tied to our identity since it is connected to who we are as individuals," in this view of identity, it can be also considered the affinity that an individual has with the language that is predominantly involved in their environment. Another aspect that may influence this factor is the educational implications that certain schools integrate into their programs. Research conducted by De Mejía (2006) described the interrelation of language affects in how students tend to develop cross-language interaction facing the inheritance from some students. If a student is made to have an educational development in a certain language, this may affect the way they perceive their identity in order to feel a better connection with the language they interact with or tend to develop themselves the most.

3. Methodology

3.1 *Qualitative paradigm*

In this paper, to get the data that will be analyzed to determine the influences that present culture in bilingualism to the different contexts of individuals, the paper was based on a qualitative paradigm to get more precise data that will show us the different aspects that are involved in the connection between culture and bilingualism.

Heigham and Croker (2009) define qualitative research as "an umbrella term used to refer to a complex and evolving research methodology" (p. 5). This approach enables researchers to test out various data-gathering techniques, such as observation, interviews, diaries, etc. Additionally, this approach incorporates several research methodologies and tactics that have been established to gather data and evaluate it in a day-to-day conception that offers data that indicates how people behave naturally (Heigham & Croker, 2009).

As researchers, we can more easily understand how people who are learning a second language (SLA) develop their language skills depending on the various contexts in which they can acquire that knowledge by using interpretative analysis, which is made possible by the qualitative approach in applied linguistics (Heigham & Croker, 2009).

3.2 *Method: A case study*

The method that this paper is following to get information and create a research question that will answer the question of this work is a case study, this was decided because the information required to elaborate the analysis requires the study of how an individual may behave in a natural basis and a day to day behave, how those individuals interact with the environment that is surrounding them a how the individual behaves in his language production, considering the outcome of a language for a bilingual person, following a different process than as a method was decided to take into consideration what Flyvbjerg (2011) mentions that case studies focus on analyzing the behavior of the individual (as a person or community) based on the relation to the environment or context (p. 301).

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4. Context

4.1 *Participants*

The participants in this study are all bilinguals, and the difference between them is the way they get raised, on this study, we have already reviewed the concepts of early and late bilinguals. First, the early bilinguals for this paper were, Bruno who is 28 years old, he comes from a Mexican family that migrated to the U.S. He has to learn Spanish and English at the same time when he was growing up. In this same context, Luis is a man that is 23 years old he was born and grows in Canada, but his parents raised him as bilinguals due to the fact they were bilinguals and provide him with the same background a linguistic development from an early age.

The other two participants share the background of late bilinguals, first one is Sofia, a 20-year-old Mexican female that born and gets raised in Mexico as a monolingual that then started to get interested in learning a second language (English) once she developed his mother tongue (Spanish). Judith is a 24-year-old Austrian female that first develops a mother tongue (German) to then develop English as a second language, but this participant, in particular, has the quality of being Multilingual, she speaks 4 languages in total (German, English, Spanish, and French).

Even though these participants have different backgrounds in how they become bilinguals, they share the same characteristics of speaking more than one language and being able to identify some differences in the languages they speak, this allows me as a researcher to identify some of the aspects that differentiate them in the way they get raised with the language. My participants are aware about the information they share will be used for academic purposes and that their identities will be protected by providing them with a code name. These participants were selected having in mind first, that all of them share English as one of the languages they speak, and also, they were selected by knowing they were fully developed bilinguals.

4.2 *Data collection techniques*

4.2.1 *Questionnaires*

Dörnyei and Taguchi (2009) mention that the process of data collection can be fast and relatively straightforward. The data that will be acquired with this research tool can be acquired in a fast way from the participants due that the questions will provide you with direct answers that can be analyzed in a better way. Also, you just give the questionnaires to the participants and let them answer in their freedom. It can be easier to send the questionnaire to many participants at the same time and you can get data from several people in a short period.

These authors also mention that questionnaires can be successfully applied to a variety of people in a variety of situations targeting different topics. For me, applying this tool allowed me to apply the same questions to bilinguals even though they share the characteristic of speaking two languages, they have different linguistic backgrounds (early and late bilingualism) but those participants provide me with the same kind of answers that I needed to get the data and analyze it.

A crucial concern in the creation of this research instrument refers to the construction of useful questionnaire questions. It is necessary to carefully develop questions that avoid the possible danger of generating simplistic, quick replies or binary responses (such as yes or no). Such questions may obstruct the gathering of thorough and in-depth data that is consistent with the researcher's goals and requirements for nuanced insights. Therefore, the researchers that apply this tool in research, have to be aware of what are the kind of answers that are needed to get analyzed, and in that way, elaborate the questions that will be useful for the research.

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4.3 *Interviews*

The use of interviews in this paper was decided to be applied because it was necessary to expand some of the responses of the participants. The interviews were decided to follow the same questions as the questionnaires but modify them to make them more conversational in order to allow a similar discussion of the participant's answers but with more discussion about it.

Opdenakker (2006) mentions "The interviewer and interviewee can directly react to what the other says or does. An advantage of this synchronous communication is that the answer of the interviewee is more spontaneous, without an extended reflection" (p. 3). This claim supported the decision of using this instrument l in the paper. Also, the interview provides more "natural" answers due that it was more spontaneous responses by the interviewee.

One advantage of using interviews as a tool that I decided to use in this paper, is that it compensates for the data that was acquired before. Using interviews, data can be acquired in a more "natural" way because it can be seen as a conversation that can provide information for a specific purpose in research (Aksu, 2009). In this case, the information contained a vast quantity of details that work to see how the participants perceived bilingualism in a daily interaction with more than one language.

5. Data analysis procedures

The process on which the data collection was based was first the creation of a questionnaire for my participants, the questionnaire consisted of 8 open-ended questions that covers the topics of: (1) Participants' linguistic background; (2) Participants' language learning process; and (3) Cultural perceptions. The questions of the questionnaire were conducted in English because is one of the languages that all of the participants speak. It was requested to the participants extend the most they could in their answers to avoid "yes/no" questions. The questionnaires were sent to the participants, it was expected that participants do not spend more than one hour answering the questionnaire.

Some of the responses of this research required the participants to extend in order to get the correct context of their linguistic background. It was decided to apply an interview with some of the participants of this paper. They were one of each type of bilingual on this paper that at the same time present a peculiar characteristic in the language and culture that is around them. The interview itself covered the same questions as the questionnaire, but with the difference that this allows the participants a better explanation of the questions they have answered before in a discussion with the interviewer.

Then I started analyzing all my data collected at a micro level and organization, allowing me to identify the themes that my participants mentioned in their answers, then I put all that themes in a micro level organization to find the pattern that my participants have in common or the ones that present interesting data to discuss.

6. Data analysis

6.1 *Family and school roles*

The family plays the most crucial role in the development of linguistic skills for individuals. From birth, it is the family that exposes children to the language they will be speaking and developing. In the case of the participants, the role that family plays were focused to expose them to the language they were going to speak, but with a difference. For example, for Late Bilinguals, the presentation of a language was based on a monolingual context. In order to provide them with the development of just one language as their mother tongue, these participants have

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the facility to identify their mother tongue. The acquisition of a second language was presented once they have already developed their mother tongue. Late Bilingual participants share this same fact in the how they become bilinguals.

When those participants were asked in how they become bilingual they mentioned something similar. Judith mentions *"School and university, partner, friends."* And Sofia answered, *"By school and by myself."* For these participants seems that the role that school plays was most focused on awakening their interest in learning a second language, and due to that, a new language was introduced to them in the environment.

Early Bilingual participants described that their family has developed before as bilinguals, and this was the same development they perceive, even though they identify one of their languages as their mother tongue, they have had a bilingual development since early childhood, which makes them get an easier relationship in their social environment. Luis mentioned:

> *"My mom is English Canadian with a bit of knowledge of French. Dad is a French Canadian who moved to an English-speaking province and learned English there."*

He developed his bilingual skills due that his parents being bilinguals with an identified mother tongue, but they decided to move into a region that speaks a different language.

Bruno mentioned something similar that the development he acquires as bilingual was influenced by his parents even though they are not native speakers, he mentioned about his exposure to the language:

> *"I learn English because my mother taught me when I was a child and was learning to speak. even she gets stuck in some parts of the language, she taught me the basic to be prepared."*

In this case for these bilinguals, the school for them presents the role of being the principal environment in which they develop the second language that their family presents to them, but in this context, the use of the language was more frequent allowing them to have a development of the language by the practice they give it since an early age. This process of bilingualism to the participants presents to them with the adoption of a new culture as well that is more related to their social life, having the factor that maybe they feel identified with this culture because it could be the one that they relate to the most of the time.

6.2 *Language development*

As it was described before, for Late Bilinguals, the development of a second language comes once they have already developed their mother tongue almost in totality that they get raised in a monolingual family context, then the acquisition of a second language presented to them in advanced age, primarily at school, awakening to the participants the interest in acquiring a new language, Judith talked about her acquisition of her second language.

> *"I started to learn English in the last year of primary school so I think I was 8 years old or nine years old I wouldn't say that there was so early but that was only English, and French I started to learn when I was, I think 15."*

She mentions what was discussed, she acquires a second language in childhood, but the development of her mother tongue was completed.

Judith's experience fits with the commonly noticed pattern of early exposure to English, which might help explain why they are more proficient in it than they are in French. The individual's assessment of the difficulty and competency in these languages may have been

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impacted by the age difference between learning English (at roughly 8–9 years old) and French (at around 15 years old).

In a study conducted by Nittrouer and Burton (2005), it was described what are some characteristics of the process of becoming bilingual since early childhood. There are many factors that are involved in this development, some of them comprise personal motivation, language exposure, language learning techniques, and cultural immersion. Additionally, the results of language acquisition across different age groups are significantly influenced by linguistic aptitude, cognitive capacities, and individual characteristics.

6.3 *Language acquirement*

The process of learning a second language is one factor that considerably divides the participants; nonetheless, for the Late bilingual individuals, the process followed a similar trajectory. The participant Sofia mentioned for example about the time she learned a second language *"In the last year of primary school, English classes started. I would not say that that was early"* indicating that she had developed a mother tongue in totality before, and then she started the development of a second language.

As it was described before, for Late Bilinguals, the development of a second language comes once individuals have already developed their mother tongue almost in totality, once they get raised in a monolingual family context, then the acquisition of a second language presented to them in advanced age, primarily at school, awakening to the participants the interest in acquiring a new language, but presenting to them the problem being a new learning process that may have problematics due that the mother tongue should present some obstacles for appropriate development.

6.4 *Cultural perception*

The perception of the culture tends to seem to be related to the culture that my participants were more related to, this for my participants was due to the different contexts they experienced, for example, Luis, mentions that their family adopt a new culture as the main because in the place they live in, it is easier to communicate or to interact on a culture that is based on English.

> *"Yes, in the region of Quebec where I live, being bilingual is viewed as important for job opportunities since our region is neighboring Ontario, an English-speaking province. Even in slang, a lot of words are spoken in English instead of French, because most people are bilingual. It becomes a strange mix of French with a little bit of English here and there."*

This could be the same that one of the Sofia, that mention that the culture that she felt more comfortable with is the one present in their family, but this case maybe was based in that this participant has the same culture in their familiar and social environments and there was not an external factor that affects in a different perception.

On the other hand, I notice two factors that called my attention in my other two participants, for example, Judith more than being an NRB participant, has also developed herself as multilingual, she mentions that even though she has identified a mother tongue and a culture that is connected to this, she feels more comfortable and has a better identity with external cultures that her foreign friends present to her. She mentions:

> *"Right now I'll say Spanish and English and of course German because it's some other time but less and less because I catch myself making a lot of mistakes in*

> *German because I use it less and less especially when I have to speak the standard form of German because in my family, we speak a very harsh dialect so I'm for example more comfortable to speak Spanish or English than standard German."*

In this case, even with the development of a "mother culture" this participant feels more related to a foreign culture because it is the culture that she is relating the most actually.

The other case is based on Bruno's experience, he mentions that once he was growing up, he used to feel comfortable with aspects of the Mexican and American cultures, that was the ones that he related to his familiar and social life respectively.

This participant also mentions that he finds the combination of these two cultures that is the "Chicano" culture, that in his own words,

> *"I think that Chicano culture is a good mix of both cultures and I like to say that I am Chicano because it makes me proud of saying that I belong to both countries at the same time. this combination of the cultures makes me feel adapted to the American culture, but it also makes me to still feel connected to my heritage as Mexican."*

It is showing to me that the perception of the culture that this participant has, make the merge of a new culture that is a mixture of different aspect of two different cultures. Bruno mentioned one aspect that was claimed by Rothman and Rell (2005) when they mentioned that immigrants are always re-forming their dual identity in looking to assimilate the culture of the country, they live in. And to retain a part of their heritage in their familiar cultural background.

7. Conclusions

The data that was collected in this paper shows the different relations that each participant has with culture and the languages they speak, it shows that even though the background of bilingualism is the same for many people, it has different acquisition backgrounds, they present the same perception in some aspects for example, in how different are the cultures in their environments and that each culture affects them in the different environments that are around them. Also, this paper shows that the language of the participant has a strong influence on how they develop an identity, in how multilingual have an identity with more than one culture that is more present in their familiar background. Or a raised bilingual that have a comfortable connection with two cultures at the same time and perceives a culture that is a combination of both, giving him a different identity besides the two cultures in his environment. This investigation aims to show that language and culture have one strong relation and that even these aspects support individuals to create their identity. Some of the limitations that were presented in this research were that it was difficult to contact more participants who were able to expand their responses in an interview. Also, to find more participants of the raised bilingual context that provides more data.

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C O A S

Ancient Sources about Hyperborea

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Abstract

Hyperborea is one of the most interesting and mysterious aspects in the history of the ancient world. In contrast with other mythical lands, there is a vast quantity of sources about it. Some authors, mainly poets, think of Hyperborea's existence as plausible, others, mainly scholars, do not. Many sources contradict to each other, of others we have only fragments or preserved accounts from other authors. This study focuses on ancient Greek and Roman authors who (in)directly talked about Hyperborea, starting with Hesiod and finishing with Claudian. Accounts of the Riphean Mountains are also included.

Keywords: Hyperborea, mythology, Ancient Greece, history of religion.

Neither Homer (born 8th century BC), nor Hesiod (accepted to be active 750-650 BC) specifically mention the Hyperboreans, in spite of what Herodotus (4.32) wrote about them:

> Hesiod however has spoken of Hyperboreans, and so also has Homer in the poem of the *Epigoni*, at least if Homer was really the composer of that Epic.

According to Bridgman (2005: 20), although the Hyperboreans are never mentioned by name in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, hints of isolated pieces of the Hyperborean myth do exist in Homer.[1] The poet must not have felt it essential to highlight the myth, as these pieces would have been self-evident to everyone in his audience. The Pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, however, does mention the "well-horsed" Hyperboreans.[2] Hesiod (*WD* 508), like Homer (*Il.* 9.5), placed the North Wind, Boreas, in Thrace, perhaps in Mount Haemus, and therefore Hyperborea should have been north of Thrace.

Aristeas of Proconnesus (second half of 7th century BC) wrote a poem *Arimaspea*, which remained for a long time the only detailed report of the further North for the rest of the Greek world. It is probably to be dated 615-595 BC (Dowden, 2019) or early-to-mid 6th century BC (Gagné, 2021: 246). It was widely known in the Archaic and Classical periods, especially among the worshipers of Apollo and became a rich new source about Hyperborea. The surviving

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[1] The chronology in this paper mainly follows Timothy Bridgman's groundbreaking *Hyperboreans: Myth and History in Celtic-Hellenic Contacts*.

[2] F 150 MW = F 63 Hirschberger = F 98–99 Most = F 40 Evelyn-White. Bolton believed this reference was an identification of the Scythians with the Hyperboreans. Gagné (2021: 236) thinks, that the cosmographic edifice of the *Catalogue of Women* was to remain a monument of reference for subsequent rewritings of the world. That poem is a Hesiodic text as ambitious and influential as the *Theogony* or the *Works and Days*.

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fragments of *Arimaspea* do not mention the Hyperboreans, and are very small and few in number. However, a number of borrowings from the poem are contained in the works of Pindar, Herodotus, Hellanicus, and possibly Hecataeus of Abdera, Alcman, Pliny, Aelian, Plautus, Ennius, Aeschylus (Bolton, 1962: 39-73). As Homer, Hesiod and Ananius, he does not mention the Riphean Mountains.

- Pytheas of Massalia was the first person to describe on record the Midnight sun phenomena.
- He also introduced the idea of a distant island, Thule – six days' sailing north of Britain.
- Hellanicus of Lesbos alludes that the Hyperboreans were vegetarians.

Alcman (second half of 7th century BC; Fleischer, 2019: 19) is a choral lyric poet from Sparta. It has been suggested that he used Aristeas of Proconnesus as his source, as they were writing at virtually the same time. The fragmentary source material for Alcman does not mention the Hyperboreans. Some fragments mention Scythian horses and remote peoples like the Issedones. He is the first attested author to mention the Riphean Mountains.[3] The association of Night with the Ripheans is a recurrent motif (Budelmann, 2013: 42-46).

Alcaeus (625/620-580 BC), a poet, writing about the same time as Alcman and Aristeas, mentioned a story in his *Hymn to Apollo* in which the newborn Apollo received a chariot drawn by swans from his father Zeus. Zeus gave Apollo the mission of going to Delphi to speak of "justice and law to the Greeks." Apollo, however, disobeyed his father and went to the land of the Hyperboreans, where he stayed for a year (Him. *Oratio*, 48.10).[4]

Ananius, a 6th century BC Ionian iambic poet, in a fragment[5] equated the Hyperboreans with the Scythians, perhaps following Hesiod's reference (Bolton, 1962: 189). Both Hesiod and Ananius may simply have thought that any people who lived in the north were Hyperborean.

Simonides (556-468 BC), a poet born at Iulis in Ceos, wrote that the Hyperboreans lived for a thousand years (Strabo, 15.1.57).

Hecataeus of Miletus (550-476 BC). Known as the "Father of Geography" his material for the most distant territories was partly drawn from the sources of Argonautic traditions and poems like the *Arimaspea*. For him the Riphean Mountains remain a reference of orientation, a matrice of rivers (*FGrH* 1 F 18a-b, 194). What form the land of the Hyperboreans would have taken there is impossible to ascertain with the evidence at hand, but there can be no doubt that the Hyperboreans were situated at the extremity of that cosmography (Gagné, 2021: 295).

Pindar (518-438 BC) portrays the Hyperboreans as a sacred race not subject to illness or aging, but who lived apart from any toil and battle, undisturbed by acting Nemesis – retribution for the sin of hubris: arrogance before the gods (*Pyth.*, 10.30). Their unique occupation was to sing, play music and dance, crowned in golden laurel wreaths in honor of Apollo.

Sophocles (497/6-406/5 BC), a tragedian, following earlier source material such as Hesiod, put Boreas' home in northern Thrace near the Sarpedon rock, where Cleopatra, Boreas' daughter, was brought up in her father's cave (Sophocles, *Antigone*, 980-987). He may have used

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[3] Gagné, 2021: 234. F 89 and 90 (Page, 1962).

[4] In the *Homeric Hymn to (Pythian) Apollo* (216-546), Apollo comes from Olympia seeking a site for his cult and oracle, ending in leading a population from Crete, in the form of a dolphin, *Delphinius*, to found the sanctuary of Delphi (Strauss Clay, 2006: 80-83). He does not come from the Hyperboreans as it is implied in Alcaeus. Cf. West 2003: 9-12 for the differences in the *Hymn of Apollo*. For Hyperboreans in Alcaeus works see Page, 1955: 247-252; Bowra, 1961: 165.

[5] West, 1972: 34-35, F 1-5.

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Alcman as a source too, as he mentions the mountains of the north shrouded in night (Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 1248).

Aeschylus (525/524-456/455 BC), often described as the father of tragedy, is the earliest of the three great Athenian tragic poets whose works are not entirely lost. He referred to the felicity of the Hyperboreans (*Choephori*, 372-374). Perhaps following Hesiod, Alcman, Simonides, Pindar, and Sophocles, he places Boreas' home in Thrace from where the northern blast comes (*Agamemnon*, 193, 651, 692, 1012, 1152-1153, 1418).[6]

Euripides (484/480-406 BC) came from an old and respected family who lived in Attica near Athens. His family possessed an ancestral priesthood of Apollo Zosterius. In his *Hecuba* (462ff), written about 424, Euripides mentioned the Deliades. These were choruses of young girls sent to the sacred island of Delos to worship Leto, Artemis and Apollo. They came from other Greek cities and especially from Athens. These girls symbolized the nymphs who were reported to have sung near Leto as she was giving birth to Apollo. They may have been drawn from old and privileged families, and sent to complement the choruses of young girls from Delos, and to stop the Delian monopoly on these cults. Since before the time of Euripides, the cults of Leto, Artemis and Apollo had become Panhellenic (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 157; Bridgman, 2005: 33).

Herodotus (484-425 BC). I cannot describe the importance of The Father of History better than the philologist Renaud Gagné (2021: 300). Prose opened the way to radically new experimentations with the composition of total space, which were brought to unprecedented heights of complexity by Herodotus. Herodotus is a cosmographer, just like Pindar is a cosmographer. But the compositions of worlds championed by each author are of qualitatively different scopes. Herodotus' cosmography contains a number of other worlds, without erasing them. It classifies and orders them. *The Histories* are, without a doubt, one of the most ambitious cosmographic texts of Antiquity. His work is conceived as a rival to the great monuments of epic, an encyclopedia of all knowledge, and a collection of memories. This is a text that appropriates, condenses and reframes all earlier relevant narrative. Herodotus (4.13) remains the main source of information about Aristeas and *Arimaspea*.[7] In 4.32-36 he depicts Hyperborean maidens bearing gifts in ancient times to the temple of Apollo on Delos.

Hippocrates of Kos (460-370 BC). Part of the collection of texts from the 5th century BC, which have commonly been placed under his authorship, is a treatise on *Air, Water and Places*. Paragraph 19.1-2 deals with the geography of the extreme north of the world known to the Greeks, as well as Scythia: Scythia lies under the Great Bear (Arctos) and to the south of the Riphean Mountains from where Boreas blows (see also West 1999). The Hyperboreans were never mentioned by name, but it is clear that the Riphean Mountains came from the Hyperborean myth. According to Gagné (2021: 298), "Hippocrates is particularly firm in his rejection of the

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[6] Regarding Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* see Dowden 2019 on 35 F 5 *BNJ*: "Thus, the role of Aristean geography has been to supply some part of an extreme and frightening landscape, accessible from where Prometheus is . . . Given that the text of Aristeas must surely have been available to Hekataios and certainly was read by Herodotos, there is nothing unlikely in supposing Pseudo-Aischylos to have had the text too. He has made impressionistic use of it, but enough key details poke through the fabric in the Commentary on the Text above. Of course, several details could have come indirectly from Hekataios, but the author obviously has a knowledge of mythological texts and there is no reason to exclude direct knowledge of Aristeas."

[7] Herodotus clearly does not believe in the existence of the Hyperboreans, but felt compelled to mention them, as they were such a part of Greek myth and literary history (How & Wells, 1936; Fehling, 1994; Bridgman, 2005: 60; Gagné, 2021: 314). Romm (1989) and Priestley (2014: 113-114) think the opposite. In 4.36 Herodotus laughs – it is the only place in the *Histories* where we are made to see him actually laugh at the arguments of his rivals.

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extravagant stories written over the edges of the world. No population can live beyond these inhospitable mountains. With such a statement, it is the whole idea of Hyperborea that is denied."

Hellanicus of Lesbos (480-395 BC) was an author of a vast body of work in the last third of the 5th century BC. In a fragment, preserved in Clement of Alexandria of 2nd century, He was reported to have written that the Hyperboreans lived to the north of the Riphean Mountains, learned Justice, did not eat meat, but only wild fruits.[8] He may have used Herodotus as his source, building on *Arimaspea's* matrix. In Hellanicus, the hexametric poetry turns into prose.

Damastes of Sigeum (fl. c. 400 BC), geographer and historian, was probably younger than Herodotus, as he was a pupil of Hellanicus. In a fragment of Damastes' work, preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium (*FGrH* 1 5 F1), he gave his knowledge of where the Hyperboreans were located:

> Hyperboreoi: a people. Protarchos affirms that the Alps received the name of Rhipaian Mountains, and those living beyond the Alpine mountains are all named Hyperboreoi. Antimachos says that they are identical with the Arimaspoi. But Damastes in the essay On Nations writes that the Issedones live beyond the Scythians and the Arimaspoi beyond them, and beyond the Arimaspoi there are the Rhipaian mountains, from which the wind of Boreas blows; and snow never abandons them. Beyond these mountains live the Hyperboreoi, until the other sea. Others report differently. Hellanikos writes Hyperboreioi, with the diphthong (Trans. Costa).

Damastes may very well have used a copy of Aristeas' Arimaspea, as the interval marking off Herodotus' writings from those of Damastes is comparatively short. It remains unclear how quickly Herodotus' writings were diffused in the Greek world. Bolton (1962: 40) thinks that Damastes might have obtained this information from texts written by Hecataeus of Miletus to which Herodotus had access. As modern scholars do not have access to an extant copy of the *Arimaspea*, and only indeed to minimal fragments of the works of Hecataeus of Miletus, the above only qualifies as guesswork (Bridgman, 2005: 46).

Dionysius of Miletus (5th century BC), ethnographer and historian, possibly reproduced similar templates as Damastes (Gagné, 2021: 297). According to Bolton (1962: 111-3), Dionysius reports that a range of lofty mountains, called the Riphean Mountains, ran in an east-west direction far to the north above the Tanais River and the Black Sea areas. Bridgman (2005: 33) does not agree (cf. Almagor, 2014), saying that Bolton bases his assertions on Pliny (6.19) and Mela (1.116ff), that do not confirm his hypothesis.

Protarchus, a sophist writing about 392 BC, says that he called the Alps the Riphean Mountains and that he called those peoples living to the north of the Alps Hyperboreans. According to the fragment preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium (op. cit.), Antimachus, writing about 405 BC, disagreed with his colleague Protarchus, but said they were Arimaspi. Protarchus and Antimachus had obviously identified the Alps with the Riphean Mountains.

Heraclides Ponticus (390-310 BC), a philosopher and astronomer, writing during the late 4th century BC, reported the Hyperboreans lived above the Alps, perhaps following the same tradition as Protarchus and Antimachus. He described the Gauls who sacked Rome as raiders coming from Hyperborea (Plutarch *Camillus*, 22.1). He wrote that Abaris came riding to converse with Pythagoras in the presence of Phalaris (F 51 Wehrli). This conversation is quite unhistorical, as Phalaris ruled Acragas in 570-554 BC, long before Pythagoras arrived in Italy. It is significant,

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[8] Cl. Alex. *Stromata*, 1.15.72.2: "Hellanikos narrates that the Hyperboreans live on the far side of the Rhipaian Mountains. They are educated in justice by refraining from eating meat, but consuming fruit from trees instead. They take those who reach sixty years of age outside the city gates and do away with them" (Trans. Pownall).

however, as the Hyperborean legend was being transposed from the eastern theater of Greek colonization to the western one.

Lycurgus (390-324 BC), the orator, a contemporary of Heraclides, in his speech *Against Menesaechmus* tells that as a result of a famine among the Hyperboreans, Abaris came and served Apollo. When he had obtained mantic power from him, he went around Greece prophesying, having as an attribute the god's arrow (F 85 Conomis).

Aristotle (384-322 BC) agreed with Aeschylus, accepting that the great rivers of Scythia had their sources in the Riphean Mountains (*Meteorologica*, 1.13.350b). He also made reference to Hyperborea in his *History of Animals* (6.35.1), which he wrote about 345/343 BC. According to a myth, a she-wolf can only give birth during a period of twelve days in the year, because of the twelve days it took Leto to be transported to Delos from Hyperborea, in the form of a wolf, when she was pregnant and fleeing from Hera's wrath. Aristotle dryly notes that this so-called fact has never been observed, just reported.

Pytheas of Massalia (born 350, flourished 320-306 BC) was a geographer, explorer and astronomer from the Greek colony of Massalia (modern-day Marseille, France). In about 325 BC he sailed from Massalia to the southwestern, northwestern and northern coasts of Europe, most probably to find new sources of metals and amber, and to cement direct links with older sources. He was the first known scientific visitor to see and describe the Arctic and the polar ice. The theoretical existence of some Northern phenomena that he described, such as a frigid zone, and temperate zones where the nights are very short in summer and the sun does not set at the summer solstice, was already known. But he is the first person to describe it on record. He also introduced the idea of a distant island, Thule, described as an island six days' sailing north of Britain, near the frozen sea (Strabo, 1.4.2). His work *On the Ocean* has not come down to us. What we do have is evidence of how different authors considered his information and how credible he was. Dicaearchus (fl. 326-296 BC), who had been Aristotle's pupil, seems to have started the reviling of Pytheas' work and information, while the issuing of his findings and indeed his book would have been extremely recent. It was revived during the 2nd century BC as a subject of open scorn, expressed by Polybius and continued by Strabo. Other authors such as Timaeus, Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Pliny and Mela took Pytheas seriously and used his information in their own works. This included a mention of the Hyperboreans by Pytheas, but his use of the name seems to be limited only to the directional sense north and does not constitute a reference to the traditional myth (Pliny, 6.39.11). If Pliny's report is accurate, he also located the Hyperboreans and the Riphean Mountains in Scythia, as Herodotus (4.13) had done before him (Bridgman, 2005: 99).[9]

Hecataeus of Abdera (360-290 BC), a Greek historian, in around 300 BC wrote *On the Hyperboreans* of which a few fragments have come down to us. It contained a detailed description of the mythical nation and the island where they lived, and also of its religious ideas. Under Hyperboreans, however, he understood a people which actually existed for him. He reported very accurately about the culture of the island Celts of Southern Britain, but he did not call them "Celts".

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[9] Bridgman (2005: 95) assumes by referring to a passage in Pliny 6.39.10 (parallel circuit through the land of the Hyperboreans and Britannia) that Pytheas mentioned Hyperboreans in his work. But that is highly debatable. On Pytheas' work and life see Hergt (1893), Wikén (1939), Mette (1952), Stichtenoth (1959), Hawkes (1977), Whitaker (1981), Wenskus (1985), Roseman (1994), and McPhail (2014). For reactions of different authors to Pytheas' voyage and information, as well as how they used it in their own writings see Mette, 1952: 10-11, 29-33; Roseman, 1994: 24-145.

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His work is a fictional travel novel in which Hecataeus wanted to teach his readers, but in this travel there are descriptions of the culture of a real people in a mythological guise (Joorde, 2016).[10]

Megasthenes (350-290 BC), a diplomat and historian, served on several embassies from 302 to 291 BC. He was sent by Seleucus I to the court of the Indian King Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya Empire in northern India Megasthenes transposed the Hyperboreans to the zone above the districts of the Indus and the Ganges and wrote that they lived for a thousand years, as Simonides and Pindar had done before him (*FGrH*, 3C 715 F27; see Connor, 1985: 463).

Callimachus (310-240 BC), a poet, scholar and librarian who was active in Alexandria, used Hesiod and perhaps Hecataeus of Abdera as sources for some of his mythological stories, specifically stated that Boreas lived in Mount Haemus in Thrace (*Hymn to Delos*, 65). He does mention (*Aetia*, Fr. 186) the Riphean Mountains, as Alcman, Alcaeus and Aristeas had before him and the Hyperborean offerings wrapped in cornstalks and holy sheaves of corn ears (*Delos*, 283, *Aetia*, Fr. 186). He referred to the tombs of the Hyperborean maidens on Delos, as Herodotus did, but used a slightly different tradition. Callimachus may have made use of Hecataeus of Abdera's description of the land of the Hyperboreans when writing his *Hymn to Delos*.

Simmias, writing in the early years of the 3rd century BC, in a fragment of his work *Apollo,* situated the rich land of the far-off Hyperboreans, where the princely Perseus once feasted, near the land of the Massagetae, to the east of the Caspian Sea on the Great Steppe. For him there were also islands in the land of the Hyperboreans.

Eratosthenes (276-195/4 BC), a pupil of Callimachus, was a man of learning and the head of the Alexandrian library: a mathematician, geographer, poet, astronomer, and music theorist. Strabo (1.3.22) reports that controversy about the existence of the Hyperboreans still raged in the time of Eratosthenes, as the latter criticized Herodotus (4.36) for his statement there are no Hyperboreans because there are no Hypernotians. He adds that although the Hyperboreans occur in myth and legend, those who expound the poetic should know that by "Hyperboreans" were meant the most northerly peoples.

Apollodorus of Athens (180- after 120 BC) gave a version of the Hyperborean myth that agreed with one strand of Pindar's work. As Pindar had done, Apollodorus (2.5.11) connected the Hyperborean myth with the adventures and labors of Heracles, and wrote that the Hyperboreans lived in the Atlas mountain range in northern Africa.

Posidonius of Apamea (135-51 BC) was a stoic philosopher born in Syria, educated in Athens and became known as a learned man. He channeled a longstanding trope, following the tradition starting with Protarchus and Antimachus by placing the Hyperboreans in the Alps of northern Italy, where he knew perfectly well Celts lived (*FHG*, 2.290 F XC; *FGrH,* No. 87 F 103J).

Strabo (64/63 BC – 24 AD) perfectly captured the dismissal of Hyperborea from the economies of knowledge that sustained major strands of history in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Hunter, 2016: 255-258; Patterson, 2017). He thought (7.3.1, 1.3.22) that it was "because of man's ignorance" and the *muthopoiountes*, those who make myths, that people believed the Riphean Mountains and the Hyperboreans really existed to the north of the Scythian lands. He clearly did not believe in the Hyperboreans, but felt compelled to mention them, just as Herodotus before him, as they were such a part of Greek myth and literary history.

Pomponius Mela was the earliest Roman geographer, who wrote the short geographical essay *de Chorographia* sometime during the reigns of Gaius and Claudius (37-41). He took material from previous authors, especially Herodotus. For him the Hyperboreans lived

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[10] For the Hyperboreans in the works of Hecataeus of Abdera see *FGrH* 3A 264 T6, F7 (1), (4-5), (7a), (8-12), (14), (20), Kommentar 3A 264 30-35, 52-60; Diels and Kranz, 1966: 240-241 1-6, 241-245 F1; Murray, 1970: 145, 148, 159, 165; Meister, 1990: 137-142; Lendle, 1992: 269.

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beyond the Sea of Azov on the Asian coast under the North Pole, beyond the North Wind and the Riphean Mountains (1.116-2.1, 3.5.36). He continued consciously, or because he was simply reporting older traditions, to mix the real world of expanding geographical knowledge to the east and the Greek mythical parallel world, some features of which had become Roman by the time he was writing.

Pliny (23/24-79) wrote that Hyperborea had six months of daylight and a single day of the sun in retirement. He was perhaps using Pindar and Hecataeus of Abdera as sources, presenting the land of the Hyperboreans as a mythical golden-age utopia which had a region with a delightful climate, not effected by any harmful blast, a remote otherworldly paradise located at the edge of the world. He insisted that we are not "at liberty to entertain any doubts as to the existence of this race" (4.26).[11]

Ptolemy (100-170), a Roman mathematician, astronomer, astrologer, geographer, and music theorist, did not contest the existence of the Hyperboreans or the Riphean Mountains. Following the ideas put forward by Aristeas in Herodotus (4.13), he placed the Riphean Mountains in the middle of the Russian Steppe (3.5.5). He also mentioned a sacred isle and a Hyperborean Ocean to the north of it. This may be an isolated reference to Hecataeus of Abdera's island in the extreme north of the world.

Pausanias (110-180) was a traveler and a geographer, who gave information about the gift route of the Hyperboreans (1.31). Just as in Aristeas (Hdt. 4.13), the Hyperboreans were pictured as living to the north of the Black Sea, but no other information is given about them. He does report that young girls in Delos used to cut a lock of their hair and offer it up on the tombs of the Hyperborean maidens while they were still virgins (1.43.4). This matches Herodotus' information, but Pausanias called the Hyperborean maidens Hecaerge and Opis, instead of Arge and Opis. We learn also that a woman of the district of Delphi named Boio wrote a Delphian hymn which said Olen and the Hyperboreans founded the oracle of Apollo at Delphi (10.5.7).

Maximus of Tyre (fl. late 2nd century), a rhetorician and philosopher, told with relish (38.3) how Aristeas' soul could leave his body, fly into the air, and traverse sea and land until he came to the Hyperboreans.

Dionysius Periegeta (*Orbis Descriptio* 315) thought the Riphean Mountains were the source of the Borysthenes River. Pseudo-Plutarch (*De Fluviis* 5.3), at the end of 2nd, or at the beginning of the 3rd century, qualified the Caucasus as the bed of Boreas, thereby identifying them with the Riphean Mountains and the mythical edge of the world. He has taken the opportunity to insert the Pythagorean doctrine of the immortality of the soul in a Plato-like dialogue in the mouth of Socrates. He then used the attributes of the utopian aspect of the Hyperborean myth to illustrate a mythical utopian existence in life after death.

In the 3rd century Priscian (307, 570-575), again essentially following Herodotus, wrote that the Riphean Mountains were located to the north of the Black Sea, but taking Pindar into account, he thought the Hyperboreans in previous times had been neighbors of the Ethiopians. Avienus (4th century), also following Aristeas in Herodotus, located the Riphean Mountains to the north of the Borysthenes (*Descriptio* 451). Marcian (4th century) entered the Sea of Azov and the Sarmatic Ocean and located the Hyperboreans to the east of the Vistula (*Periplus* 2.39). Eustathius (12th century), also using Herodotus and Damastes of Sigeum as sources, wrote that the Riphean Mountains were actually Scythian (*Commentary on Dionysius Periegeta* 663). The Caucasus Mountains were thought of as going as far as India, on one hand, and the Urals on

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[11] For bibliography concerning the Hyperboreans in the works of Pliny see Beagon, 1992: 79-79, 239.

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the other. They were northerly and reported to hold the cave of the North Wind, transplanted from its original location of Mount Haemus in Thrace (Bridgman, 2005: 68).

Iamblichus (245-325) was a neoplatonic philosopher of Arabic origin who studied under Porphyry in Rome or Sicily. In his *The Life of Pythagoras* (*Vita Pythagorae*) he drew heavily on the works of Porphyry, Heraclides Ponticus and Hermippus. He mentioned Abaris, but calls him a Scythian who came from the land of the Hyperboreans. As in the text of Pseudo-Plato, the Hyperborean myth has become a part of Pythagorean beliefs, used to illustrate their philosophy.

Himerius (315-386), a Greek sophist and rhetorician, in his 358 oration (*Oratio* 48) to Hermogenes, proconsul of Greece, had relatively recently revived the theme of Apollo's cyclical travels between Delphi and Hyperborea. His long paraphrase of Alcaeus' *Hymn to Apollo* served as the template for his celebration of the Roman official's arrival in Greece (Gagné, 2021: 396; Penella, 2007: 210).

Claudian (370-404) was a very learned Latin poet, making full use of the Hyperborean nexus in his creative reappropriations of the archive (Webb, 2018: 44-46; Gagné, 2021: 394). In *Against Rufinus* (2.5.220-227, 239-245) Claudian shows the army of Stilicho refusing to disband. As the army expresses its loyalty to the general, it gamely asserts its resolve to go to the ends of the world for him even "as far as Thule lying ice-bound beneath the Hyperborean star." In his 396 AD *Panegyric on the third consulship of the Emperor Honorius* (7.51-58), Claudian describes the young emperor being regaled with tales of his father's exploits at the end of the world and in Thule, "where no ship can sail". He "broke the Hyperborean waves with his courageous oars."[12]

For thirteen centuries – from 8th century BC until 5th century – many ancient people perceived Hyperborea as completely real and having significant impact on their lives. By the end of Antiquity, the former reverence for Hyperborea was replaced by skepticism and irony. In the Middle Ages, the subject of Hyperborea was almost completely marginalized in both public consciousness and scientific thought. One of the last mentions of Hyperborea is in the Byzantine encyclopedia *Suda* from 10th century. It looks like Christianity has generated new interests, patterns, ideals and doctrines.

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[12] For Claudian see Christiansen 2009; Gualandri 2013; Bureau 2014; Kelly 2016; Wheeler 2016; Coombe 2018.

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AIMS AND SCOPE

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