

THE POWER OF LANGUAGE: READING MARTIN CRIMP'S *THE COUNTRY* THROUGH BOURDIEU¹

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ABSTRACT

Contemporary British playwright Martin Crimp's plays have been posing vigorous interpretative challenges in various areas of drama such as plot, character, setting and language. The aim of this paper is to explore the relationships between language and power in *The Country* based on the terminology of Pierre Bourdieu. The paper argues that Bourdieu's theories on language and power facilitate one's understanding of Crimp's ingenious use of language which bears acts of verbal violence, chaos and cruelty. The stories veiled under the characters' intricate, desperate and tense bursts of utterances and banters can be decoded through Bourdieu's definitions of habitus, social institution, euphemism and symbolic power. As exemplified in *The Country*, Crimp believes that language is not a means of communication, on the contrary it functions as a screen preventing truth from resurfacing. Both Bourdieu and Crimp observe that language is used as a strong weapon to organize power relations among the interlocutors.

Keywords: Martin Crimp, The Country, Language, Power, Bourdieu

DİLİN GÜCÜ: MARTIN CRIMP'İN *THE COUNTRY* (KIR) ESERİNİ BOURDIEU İLE OKUMAK

ÖZ

Günümüz İngiliz tiyatro yazarı Martin Crimp'in tiyatro eserlerinin olay örgüsü, karakter, zaman, mekân ve dil gibi alanlarda okuyucu ve izleyicileri zorlamaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı Crimp'in *The Country* eserinde dil ve güç ilişkilerini Bourdieu'nun literatüre sağladığı kuramsal terimler aracılığı ile yorumlamaktır. Çalışma, Crimp'in dâhice kullandığı, şiddet, karmaşa ve zalimlik içeren dilini anlamada Bourdieu'nun dil ve güç ilişkileri ile ilgili teorilerinin önemli bir çözüm aracı olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Bourdieu'nun habitus, toplumsal kurumlar, euphemism, sembolik güç gibi kavramları çerçevesinde, karakterlerin karışık, gergin tartışmalarının arkasına gizlenmiş öyküleri ortaya çıkarılmaktadır. Crimp *The Country* metninde örneklendirdiği gibi diğer eserlerinde de dilin bir iletişim aracı olmadığını hatta gerçeğin ortaya çıkmasını engelleyen bir nesne olduğunu gösterir. Bourdieu ve Crimp dilin güç ilişkilerini belirleyen etkili bir silah olarak kullanıldığını savunur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Martin Crimp, The Country, Dil, Güç, Bourdieu

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INTRODUCTION

Martin Crimp, as one of the most innovative playwrights in Britain today, has established his exceptional place in the tradition of British playwriting with his world-renowned dramatic/text-based and postdramatic/non text-based plays. His reputation as a playwright has grown steadily since his alliance with the Royal Court where he was Writer-in-Residence in 1997. *No One Sees the Video* (1990), *The Treatment* (1993), *Attempts on Her Life* (1997), *The Country* (2000), *Fewer Emergencies* (2005), *The City* (2008) and *In the Republic of Happiness* (2012) were staged at the Royal Court with great success changing the character of contemporary British theatre. Aleks Sierz labeled Martin Crimp, along with Sarah Kane, Mark Ravenhill, Martin McDonagh and Anthony Neilson as an “in-ner-face” playwright, who emerged in the 1990s writing confrontational, provocative and sensational avant-garde plays (Sierz 2013). A number of critics such as Aleks Sierz (2007), David Barnett (2008), Philip Zarrilli (2009), Eckart Voigts-Virchow (2010), Mireia Aragay and Clara Escoda Agusti (2012), Heiner Zimmermann (2002, 2014) and Hans Lehmann (2006) have categorized Crimp as a “postdramatic” playwright whose plays deconstruct the elements of mimetic, naturalistic and dramatic plays.

Crimp maintains that “the theatre is the acid test of language, the test of language we use every day, and it exposes it, enriches it or reveals it” (Devine, 2006: 90). In almost all his plays, Crimp tests the use of words in the strictest sense and demonstrates that language is used as a weapon to exercise power, control and cruelty. Crimp is obsessed by depicting graphic portraits of the cruel dialogue. Similarly, Russian Formalist Roman Jakobson expresses that literature presents an organized violence committed on ordinary speech. Terry Eagleton also emphasizes that literature transforms and intensifies ordinary language, deviates systematically from everyday speech (2011: 17). In Lacanian terms, too, the process of language is slippery and ambiguous and one can never mean precisely what they say. In Eagleton’s explanation meaning is always an approximation, a near-miss, a part-failure, mixing non-sense and non-communication into sense and dialogue (2011: 169). Crimp is perhaps the most innovative British playwright who has used theatre as a medium for employing language in a slippery and ambiguous way, transforming everyday speech into organized cruelty and subjugation. His style consists of certain verbal expressions achieved through the choice of words. In this context, Bourdieu’s ideas on the language and symbolic profit prove fruitful in decoding the verbal strategies of Crimp’s characters. After presenting a synopsis of the selected text, the following part establishes a series of similarities between Bourdieu and Crimp and elaborates on Bourdieu’s definitions of symbolic power/profit, habitus, and euphemism.

I. A SYNOPSIS OF *THE COUNTRY*

The play has five scenes and each scene has two speakers. Although none of the speeches are attributed to the named characters, the doubles are clear: Richard/Corinne in the first two scenes,

Corinne/Rebecca, Rebecca/Richard and finally Richard/Corinne in the third, fourth and the last scenes respectively. The plot is clarified through a series of stories the characters tell each other, along with important characters – such as Morris, Sophie, the part-time nanny and the couple’s children kept behind the scenes.

The triangular relationship is designed around the children’s game of “scissors-paper-stone” - a circular and strategic game in which there is no winner. The game structure highlights the power games among adults; hence empowering the playwright’s innovative style once more. Regarding the use of children’s game, Middeke, Schnierer and Sierz claim that the five-scene structure of the play is “an ironical echo of the five-act structure of classical tragedy” (2011: 93). Crimp disrupts “the ostensible order and unity” with references to the children’s game (Middeke, Schnierer & Sierz, 2011; Escoda Agusti, 2013). Hence the play’s structure may be defined as a parody of the classical tragedy.

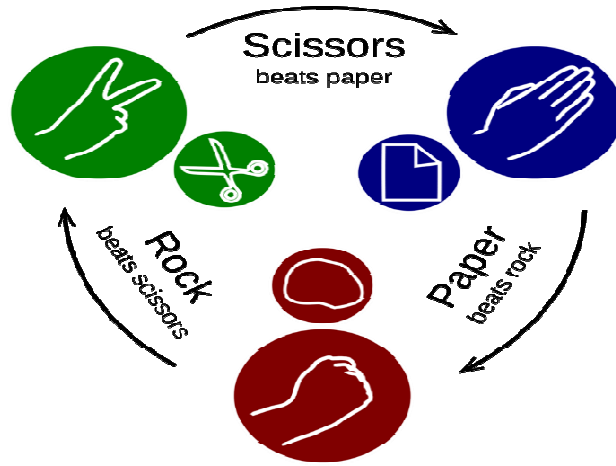


Image 1. Scissors, Paper, Stone

Scene I begins and ends with the image of the scissors. Corinne cuts pictures to go round the cot and at the end of the scene she cuts her hand with the scissors. Right from the beginning, a feeling of mystery, violence and abuse hover as Corinne asks if the person sleeping upstairs is alive. Richard intends to escape from answering Corinne’s suspicious questions about the sleeping girl and diverts the topic by asking her if she wants to drink some water (293). However, he reveals that the girl has been lying unconscious next to the road track, and thus he has to pick her up. Corinne keeps teasing Richard if this girl has “a bag a, purse” which “might simplify things” (297). Then, she moves onto another mysterious account of her afternoon when she spends watching the lovely countryside, the hills and the way she has felt like a goat-girl in a fairy tale. She goes on explaining that as she enjoys nature, Morris has arrived and following some conversation he speaks Latin to her and about Virgil making her feel ignorant. Those various topics only function as temporary diversions from the main

topic. Corinne cannot help asking Richard “if she had been a man” would he still have been “so solicitous” (304). She rephrases her question and asks her husband if this unconscious person was “a man lying there in his own sick and he’s wet himself”, would he have driven him home where his children are sleeping (304). The first scene which consists of doubtful and agitated conversation finishes on “...scissors” (305) as Corinne accidentally cuts her finger with scissors. The husband goes out to take a shower to get clean while the wife sucks her bleeding finger.

In Scene II, a series of tense events occurs: Corinne finds a golden watch which turns out to be Rebecca’s and she starts harassing Richard. At that stressed moment, Morris has phoned to tell Richard that the old sick man has died due to Richard’s negligence. Richard defends himself by telling Morris that he was going to die anyway “You know his history” (309). While Richard tries to convince Morris that it is “simply a thing that happens” (309), Corinne brings a woman’s bag and nags him to tell Morris about the unconscious girl. As they are arguing, Richard explains Morris the voices as “just a little domestic –” (310). Richard is in trouble and he is powerless because his negligence has caused the death of an old patient, a fact which would ruin his career. He strives to convince Morris simply to “put the events in some kind of intelligible order” (310). As the nervous telephone call finishes, Corinne empties the woman’s bag and on seeing the needles she attacks her husband by saying that “I thought you were clean” (311). Richard simply explains Corinne that she has got into the car to see a stone and that he has found her on the track. However, he has to urgently attend to another patient and leaves the house. The scene finishes with “stone” (315). In this scene, Richard is in trouble both in his professional and private life. The needles in Rebecca’s bag reveal that Richard is having an affair with this strange woman and that he is still on drugs.

In Scene III, Rebecca awakens and Corinne learns that she has been seduced and introduced to drugs by Richard as her doctor. Rebecca gives a bizarre account of a stone which has arms like a chair. She tells Corinne that she has rested her arms along the arms of the stone and felt “a kind of congruence” (316). She describes each trembling leaf while the cold of the stone is seeping into her, which may imply that Richard has given her drugs. She has felt as if she was dying. When Rebecca asks for her watch, Corinne becomes apologetic and defensive. She upsets Corinne more when she learns that Rebecca can speak Latin which makes her feel inferior. Rebecca comes to the countryside because of her interest in history. In response, Corinne explains that she is not interested in history and in fact they have come to the country for “the opposite” (323). Here, Rebecca insults Corinne by suggesting that “the opposite of History is surely – forgive me – ignorance” (323). In return, Corinne accuses Rebecca to be “sententious” (323). In order to protect herself and her family from Rebecca’s threat, Corinne insistently clarifies that “This is our home. We don’t want to ‘go back’. We are a family. We are here permanently” (324). However, when Rebecca with a sophisticated refined manner talks about “Virgil’s ideal of the country and the order of things” (324), Corinne prefers to speak sharply and tell her that “It has nothing whatsoever to do / with Virgil” (325), and she can only

respond naively that they have come to the country to be “happier” (325). In an articulate manner, Rebecca interprets that Corinne actually has to “strive for” her family’s happiness. She keeps patronizing and intimidating Corinne by giving examples from her friends’ corrupt lives in the city. Rebecca gets even more powerful when she tells Corinne that “Your ... husband has almost killed me tonight. Back there on the track. Or did he not mention that?” (326). Feeling humiliated by Richard’s acts, Corinne tries to repair by advocating her husband. She wants to dictate on Rebecca by her husband’s profession, and reminds her that she is in a doctor’s house. Realizing that Rebecca may ruin her husband’s professional life, Corinne apologizes for Richard's behavior. Indeed Rebecca is a double trouble and a threat for Corinne’s marriage and also for Richard’s job. She advises Rebecca to act intelligently and sensibly, and stops her when she intends to leave: “It’s just an afternoon, one night, from which you will soon recover. Whereas for us...it’s our life together...it’s his whole position here...that has been jeopardized...if you need money, or -” (329). Rebecca gets infuriated at Corinne’s explanations, apologies and tells her that “Because the more you talk, the less you say” (328). She reveals the truth to Corinne, and says that Richard has come to the country to be with her. In order to ignore the fact that her husband is betraying her, she asks Rebecca to leave immediately. The scene finishes on “paper” (330).

In Scene IV, Rebecca reads some lines from Virgil to Richard and she criticizes Virgilian pastoral for not being innocent and she interprets that slaves actually run the farms which Virgil neglects to mention. Richard warns her to keep quiet. He is anxious to know whether the two women have met. Rebecca conceals that she has seen his wife. She lies to Richard and tells him that she has not seen Corinne. Rebecca was condemned to be prohibited by Richard. Like Corinne, Richard boasts about the house which was once a granary, and treats her in a condescending manner and suggests that he takes her back: “I left you, yes, but I didn’t *leave* you, and now I’m taking you back. I’ve *come* back, and I’m *taking / you back*” (336). Previously, Rebecca has challenged Corinne that she has nowhere to go back to and that she is trapped in the country, but now Rebecca herself has to go back. She strives to stay as she believes that Richard has brought her to the house to live with her. Richard cannot negotiate with Rebecca’s overwhelming speech, and diverts the conversation to his accomplishments in his profession, and begins to talk about a baby he has successfully delivered. He explains her how the baby’s father has thanked him, and how he is grateful that he has delivered his son (337). He proudly reveals that the baby’s father offers him to drink to celebrate, but he has not accepted it because he has to work (338). He struggles not to come to terms with his own faults by focusing on his professional achievements. It is immediately after Richard’s account of the birth the scene takes on a violent turn when Rebecca “grips his hand more tightly” (338) and deliberately stabs a pair of tiny scissors into his palm:

-You disappointed him. He wanted to celebrate.

-No. That’s just the thing. He looked relieved.

She grips his hand more tightly.

Don't hurt me.

-I'm not hurting you.

-I said: don't hurt me.

-What? Does that hurt?

-Yes (339).

She hurts his hand and cuts his hand intentionally with the scissors. This act of violence on Richard's body by stabbing a pair of scissors into his hand shows that Rebecca attempts to rescue herself from Richard's deception. Moreover, it also shows that it is in fact a verbal murder, a murder through language. Although Rebecca cuts Richard's hand, and makes "a hole" in it, the language she uses juxtaposes calmness and fierceness. The relatively placid conversation suddenly turns into a subtext of tension which ends in an act of violence (Escoda Agusti, 2013: 178): "I've made a hole in your hand? Is it deep? Are you in pain?" (339). She is also unconcerned about the pain Richard feels, "It's only the flesh" (339), which signifies the revenge of "her suffering body and that of his old patient" (Escoda Agusti, 2013: 197). Then, she insists on seeing Richard's children and asks their names. Richard wants to be brief by twiddling that they do not have names and reminds her of the agreement. However, Rebecca threatens him that she wants to tell his children a story about the corrupt relationship between Rebecca and Richard. He warns her that there is a limit to what they can achieve in words. Here Rebecca temporarily overpowers Richard by reminding him of his dishonesty and invites him to be honest by telling him that there can be only a limit to "how honest" they are prepared to be (343). Feeling powerless and tired, Richard refuses to have such a distressing conversation. Rebecca has a dexterity to use words in a powerful manner and traps Richard into confessing their relationship. Richard admits that he should have left her on the track for dead. In order to regain her power, she tells Richard that she has met his wife and that Corinne has left the house with the children. The scene finishes on "scissors" which may signify that although Corinne does not exist in the scene, she always hovers between Richard and Rebecca as the ultimate power.

Scene V takes place two months later. It appears that Corinne has forgiven her husband on condition that he keeps himself "clean" (347). The husband and wife have gotten rid of Rebecca, the family union is established and they are celebrating Corinne's birthday. Crimp has been fascinated with a paradoxical idea of presence and absence. Rebecca's sudden disappearance illustrates that she has been only a trace, a ghostlike, nightmarish figure, perhaps symbolizing Corinne and Richard's fears and complexities in their unconscious.

Corinne is happy because her husband is "solicitous" (348). Richard gives her a pair of high-heel shoes as a present. He thinks Corinne looks "transformed" in high-heel shoes, which may suggest that he wants Corinne to look young and attractive like Rebecca (353). At that moment Sophie, the childminder phones to tell Corinne that children are doing well. Richard wants Corinne to ask Sophie

if she has found the money that he put in the cup, however, Sophie is terrified with the amount of the money. Corinne jokingly asks Richard if Sophie flirts with him because her voice changes when she utters his name. Then they talk about unrelated subjects such as changing the design of the house and how Morris has a thirst for control. Corinne states that Morris has lied to cover Richard's guilt. However, Richard does not accept it and suggests that they go out for a picnic. The banal and repetitive dialogue actually hides the true emotions and opinions. Corinne's tag questions actually are a means of escape:

-It's wet.

-Is it?

-It rained.

-Did it? (360).

Richard understands that Corinne does not want to go out for a certain reason. Indeed Corinne talks about her trip the day before. She remembers looking "complicit" in the car mirror suggesting that her husband is guilty and unethical in many senses (362). She reminds him of his offence that he has left a man to die and that Morris has lied for him. In this scene, Corinne is transformed from a state of ignorance to a state of awareness. She learns that Richard discards the moral values in the pursuit of power, wealth and status. The following dialogue shows that words are powerful, not because of what they literally mean but because of the threatening manner in which they are delivered:

-I can assure you with Morris. Morris has been very good to us.

-Of course.

-To both of us.

-Yes. He lied.

-He defended my judgment. He did not / lie.

-Exactly. He lied. You left a man to die and Morris lied for you (359).

Then, she describes a stressful drive where the road is "coercing" her (363). Here she repeats Rebecca's previous account about sitting in the stone which has arms. Suddenly, she arrives at a ditch where she discovers the "track" (364). She looks for something human like a "needle" on the track (364). Then, she also talks about seeing Morris with the golden watch and describes the stone which "had arms, like a chair" (364) which actually "devoured" her heart (365). Morris tells her with authority that it is "only" a stone and that there is no need to scream (365-366). However, Corinne is afraid to get up from the stone in case she sees that her heart has gone and that she will have to spend the rest of her life "simulating love" (366). The audiences/readers are left puzzled as the expression "simulating love" has created a rather forceful and memorable image as to suggest isolation, alienation and simulation in matrimony. The play finishes with the phone ring and Richard's refusal to kiss Corinne. It is rather tragic for the characters to actually know the emptiness in their marriage but still the obligation to simulate love is even more catastrophic.

II. PIERRE BOURDIEU AND MARTIN CRIMP

Bourdieu (1930–2002) was a French intellectual with whom Crimp has substantial affinity. In terms of deciphering twisted meanings and deception in the *The Country* where each individual word has been exploited as a means of power and a way of demeaning one another, Bourdieu's theories on the relationship between language and symbolic power is practical. Bourdieu was a French sociologist whose work has been widely influential in both the social sciences and the humanities (Hitchcock, 2008: 89). In his work, *Language and Symbolic Power*, Bourdieu explores the ways in which language is used in the creation and maintenance of power relations (1991). He takes **language** to be not merely a method of communication, but also a mechanism of power. He argues that the language one uses is designated by one's relational position in a field or social space. Thus, different uses of language tend to reiterate the respective positions of each participant. Bourdieu observes that when individuals produce language, they implicitly adapt their expressions to the demands of the social field or market (1991: 15). Bourdieu uses the term "field" to mean a social space formed by a network of relations - network of power relations - existing among social positions. The social space structures the power relations, which eventually and intentionally determine the relations among the subjects of that particular field. Hence every linguistic interaction, however personal and insignificant they may seem, bears the traces of the social structure that it both expresses and helps to reproduce (Bourdieu, 1991: 30). Bourdieu argues that social patterns of behavior reproduce structures of domination. He extends the term "habitus" as a set of dispositions and organizing principles generating and structuring human actions and behaviors (Bourdieu, 1977: 72-87). Bourdieu describes habitus as one of informal, unconscious learning rather than formal instruction (Bourdieu, 1984: 170). Hence he argues that one's habitus is an unconscious internalization of societal structures, and it is unnoticed. His concept of habitus also takes into account the power relations that exist between social classes. It contrasts the different sets of dispositions such as the social expectations, and lifestyle choices that exist between different classes. The language one uses is designated by one's relational position in a field or social space. Different uses of language tend to reiterate the respective positions of each participant. Crimp's characters' linguistic interactions are manifestations of their respective positions in social space and categories of understanding, and thus tend to reproduce the objective structures of the social field. This determines who has a "right" to be listened to, to interrupt, to ask questions, and to lecture, and to what degree. In order to explain the relation between habitus and social class more fully, Bourdieu has reinscribed the economic term "capital" which does not necessarily refer to financial benefits, but evokes a sense of linguistic competence gained through status and social class as well as the (Bourdieu 1991). Bourdieu sees language as highly performative and creative. He argues that language has the power to produce existence. For Bourdieu, linguistic exchange is not simply a relation of communication between a sender and a receiver, but it is, first and foremost, an economic exchange (Bourdieu 1991).

Bourdieu contends that words acquire their meaning in terms of the relations to each other. He argues that the meaning of words is determined in the interplay between individual meaning and the social context in which language is expressed. For Bourdieu, language and words can be the source of symbolic violence in that they impose one meaning over another (1991: 24). Likewise, in Crimp's plays, words are the source of symbolic violence. The repeated words such as "scissors", "stone", "water", "high-heeled shoes" in *The Country* may be associated with cruelty. Bourdieu observes that it is not possible to secure the absolute meaning of the words both in the production and reception process of the language, because the speakers are endowed with different intentions and interests (1991: 40). He believes that there are not any neutral or innocent words, and that all words convey some form of ideology. In *The Country*, the characters use certain common words strategically to gain power. For Bourdieu as for Crimp, the structuring power of words, their capacity to prescribe while seeming to describe and to denounce while seeming to enunciate is important. For instance, Rebecca and Corinne occupy different positions in the social space, and on that account they are endowed with different intentions and interests in using the word "history" (323). This word does not secure the univocal meaning for Rebecca and Corinne. When Corinne asks Rebecca to leave the house, Rebecca aggressively responds "Shall I go to Morris? Shall I speak Latin? Shall I talk History?" (330). The use of the term "history" is strategic. Rebecca uses this word to underline Corinne's ignorance, and to make her feel threatened because of her inability to compete with Rebecca in the fields of history and Latin. The word "history" represents another threat because it also underlines Corinne's ignorance of Rebecca and Richard's shared past. Hence the word "history" is devoid of its neutral meaning and is used to express dominance and mastery on Rebecca's side. Certain words threaten to take on two antagonistic senses, reflecting the way in which it is understood by the sender and the receiver (Bourdieu, 1991: 40). In consequence, the utterances are not only signs to be understood and deciphered; they are also, in Bourdieu's sense, signs of wealth, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and signs of authority.

For Bourdieu and Crimp, language does not function as a pure instrument of communication; rather words are used to gain symbolic profit. Bourdieu analyzes the role of language use in establishing, reproducing, negotiating, and resisting power relationships (Hitchcock, 2008: 93). He argues that language should be viewed not only as a means of communication but also as a medium of power through which individuals pursue their interests and display their practical competence (1991: 16). Similarly, Crimp's characters pursue strategies which aim at dominating others by using words as a powerful instrument to discredit, criticize, or subordinate other persons. There is a fundamental link between the characters' linguistic utterances and their interests in pursuing power. For instance, the word "job" shows that characters carry desire to gain power. Corinne is suspicious from the start, and begins to question her husband about the mysterious stranger: "This ... person. Is she asleep? When will she wake up?" (292). However, Richard affirms that he has to save the young woman because of

his profession: “It’s my job to bring her here” (292). The word “job” is repeated in the same scene, and there is both direct and indirect accusatory questioning when Corinne advises him to inform Morris (Richard’s senior colleague) about this unconscious woman: “Your job is not to be concerned?” (294). Corinne’s utterances imply that Richard has broken the law and violated the rules of his job, so it is strategically used to make Richard feel threatened and uncomfortable. Moreover, Corinne’s revelations show that language is a vessel for meaning which may preexist as sensations but only gradually and cryptically become visible (Angelaki, 2012: 108). Before the exchanges between Richard and Corinne, the audiences/readers have only relied on the traces of truth in Richard’s elliptical communication. However, Corinne’s expressions change the judgements on Richard by providing Rebecca’s true story.

Clearly, the characters use language as an economic exchange in the sense of Bourdieu to emphasize that speakers who possess and performs linguistic competency have more chance to gain symbolic profit. In addition, Bourdieu argues that our way of speaking is a compromise between what is to be said and what we are allowed to in our discourses, which are called euphemisms (1991: 78). In other words, with an anticipation of the potential reward and penalties, the speakers tend to readjust the mode of their expression through euphemisms (Bourdieu, 1991: 77). At this point, Bourdieu asserts that it is the linguistic habitus which gives the individual a linguistic “sense of place” such as the sense of what is appropriate to say in each different circumstance and what is not, a “practical sense” (1991: 82). The speakers use euphemism which determines not only the manner of saying but their choice of words as well, and they tend to give a particular degree of sensitivity in their interactions with others by taking into account what will be possible or not possible to say (Bourdieu, 1991: 77). Euphemism is used as a strategy to soften, diminish or obscure the real meaning of words while still conveying the meaning. When domination cannot be exerted directly, it is “disguised under the veil of enchanted relationships” with the use of euphemism (Bourdieu, 1991: 52). The use of euphemisms is precisely the case in Crimp’s work. The characters use euphemisms to produce language based on the anticipation of profits. Thus, in *The Country*, euphemism enables readers to understand well preserved concealed aspects of the relations in which the words and expressions can be questioned as a readjustment, concealing the hidden but underlying specific interests of the powerful (Siisiainen, 2003). Rebecca calls her addiction which Richard has been feeding by supplying drugs as “treatment” and describes heroin as “medicine” (342).

Bourdieu also points out that linguistic relation of power is not solely determined in linguistic terms, but it depends upon the social structure present in the interactions as well (1991: 40). Especially, the speakers’ possession of authority is also related to their social properties. As a result, the linguistic relation of power is defined by the institutions and their linguistic practices. In Bourdieu’s terms power does not stem from the words alone; on the contrary, it was ascribed to individuals by the social institutions. He clarifies the term institution as follows: “An institution is not

necessarily a particular organization - this or that family or factory, for instance - but is any relatively durable set of social relations which endows individuals with power, status and resources of various kinds” (Bourdieu, 1991: 8). Thus, one of the reasons for the unequal linguistic exchanges between the characters in the play may arise out of the social institutions which grant some individuals with more authority than others in conversations. The power the characters possess is the power ascribed to them by the social institutions. In *The Country*, each character is empowered by certain institutions: while Corinne as a married woman has the power coming from the marriage institution, Richard as a doctor gets his power from his profession; he also works as a General Practitioner so he receives the power of the state, too. Rebecca, the mysterious single young woman, acquires her power from her knowledge of history and Latin, and at times her power comes from her status as Richard’s mistress. The characters’ social positions have unavoidable effects on the power relations. The power relations change depending on the different positions in social fields. The authority is usually invested by the characters with high social position, which in turn constraints the other characters’ access to power. The characters’ social positions give characters certain power and authority but also responsibility and obligation. In the awkward narratives shaped by external pressures, there is no space for individuals in their own right. Rather, everyone’s identity is socially imposed and defined. This is visible in *The Country*, where Corinne attempts to provide her children domesticity in the family. Likewise, the source of Corinne’s unhappiness is the socially imposed family model she conforms to. In the opening scene, the readers learn that Corinne takes the children to the childminder Sophie to allow some time to herself. Similarly, in the final scene, Corinne spends her birthday alone with Richard, and she thanks Sophie for allowing her time. However, she feels uncomfortable, and admits that how much she is looking forward to collecting her children later. Moreover, when she talks to Rebecca, she asserts that this is the house where her children have set roots. She feels that she has to provide a permanence and stability for her children. Hence it shows that Corinne conforms to the society which rewards the simulated constructs of happiness. Simulation is a key theme in the play which refers to Corinne’s commitment to maintaining domesticity for her children in spite of feeling guilty of staying in her doomed marriage.

Evidently, both Bourdieu and Crimp believe that language is not merely an instrument of communication, but more importantly language and especially certain words are used to convey symbolic power. The characters are continually preoccupied in reproducing and resisting power relationships. As Bourdieu contends, characters’ utterances and the way they carefully repeat certain words with specific tactics display signs of wealth and authority. The use of euphemisms, readjustments and rephrasing is applicable to understand the characters’ motivations in their power games.

III. A BOURDIEUSIAN READING OF *THE COUNTRY*

This section benefits from Bourdieu's descriptions of habitus and social institution, euphemism, symbolic power and how these notions give power to the interlocutors.

A. Habitus and Social Institution

Habitus is an unconscious internalization of societal structures (Bourdieu, 1984: 170). It is also related with the term "field" which determines the network of power relationships in a social space. Habitus is related with social institutions from which the characters derive power: Corinne is empowered by the institution of marriage, Richard is given power as a doctor, and Rebecca is powerful because of her knowledge of history and Latin and thus uses Corinne's lack of knowledge in history and language to her advantage. She is also powerful as Richard's mistress. Corinne wants to dominate Rebecca by her house, her children and her husband's profession and reminds her that she is in a doctor's house. Rebecca could actually possess the power temporarily through her resourcefulness and her ability to be "sententious". She tricks Corinne into a dangerous game revealing that she has had a long relationship with Corinne's husband. However, Corinne's habitus gives her power. As a married woman who has children, a country house and a doctor husband Corinne's repossessing power is easier than Rebecca's. Thus she feels that she has more power than Rebecca who does not own a family. Before the full realization of Richard's constant lies, she defends her husband by blaming Rebecca for accepting Richard's help: "A girl - a woman - a young woman accepts a ride from a man she's never met" (328). Similarly, Richard, with his social position as a doctor, attempts to exchange both Corinne and Rebecca's silence regarding his duplicity both at home and at work.

B. Euphemism

Euphemism is a manner of adjusting and appropriating speech in certain conditions. It is used as a tactic to soften, pacify, lessen or camouflage the real meaning of words (Bourdieu, 1991: 78). In the play there are many instances where the characters use euphemisms in order to conceal hostile intentions and wrongdoings. Denial is a way of disguising the truth and thus using euphemism. Aloysia Rousseau claims that language is used for "denial and repression, rejection of an outer reality" (2014: 343). Corinne refuses to accept her husband's betrayal. And the telephone interruptions may actually help to disclose the denied elements. Here the denial is thus achieved through minimization. Certain adverbs are used to obscure the painful reality. The characters constantly use limiting focusing adverbs such as "only", "just", or "simply". When the old patient dies because of Richard's nonattendance, he minimizes the seriousness of the event in his telephone conversation with his colleague Morris: "Because it's simply a thing, Morris (thank you), simply a thing, a thing that – unfortunately – yes – happens" (309). The repetition of "simply" betrays Richard's attempt at playing down his responsibility for the death of one of his patients. Again as husband and wife argue, Richard

explains Morris the voices as “just a little domestic” (310). Similarly, when Richard wants to have Morris’s support, he says it is not lying but “it’s simply a matter of putting these events in some kind of intelligible order” (310). Richard both minimizes and adjusts the order of events in order to get rid of his problem. Similarly, in Scene IV when Rebecca realizes that Richard does not want her in the house and wants to take her back, she grips his hand and hurts him. While he pulls his hand out of her grip, the scissors drop to the floor and cut his hand making a hole in it. Here Rebecca minimizes the violent act by saying “it’s only the flesh” (339) and she sucks Richard’s wound. Rebecca uses euphemism to take revenge and hurt Richard by giving him physical harm.

Corinne rephrases Richard’s attitude toward Rebecca to compromise with her. She emphasizes that her husband’s primary concern has been Rebecca’s safety: “I don’t know what you want. I do know—and listen to me—I do know that his primary concern has been for your safety” (326). In part, Corinne is well aware that her husband will be publicly criticized when the facts are revealed. As a deduction, she presents an alternative interpretation in which the unpleasant facts could be viewed less critically. In this way, by re-framing her husband’s actions, the focus is shifted from her husband’s illegal and immoral actions to his concern for Rebecca’s safety. At another moment when Corinne apologizes on her husband’s behalf and tries to rationalize the incident, she tells Rebecca that when a young girl gets into a man’s car, he may interpret it in a wrong way. She belittles the event as “just one afternoon, one night” (329); here Corinne uses euphemism to soften the seriousness of the event. In Scene V, too, euphemism is used in the form of rephrasing and readjustment when Corinne suggests that “Morris lied”, Richard readjusted the word and said “He defended my judgement. He did not / lie” (359). However, Corinne will not be convinced: “Exactly. He lied. You left a man to die and Morris lied for you” (359).

Richard uses superficially polite language as euphemisms. His politeness strategies lighten the immoral relationship with Rebecca: “Please, I’m just asking you” (334), “No, I’m terribly sorry no (333)”, “I’m sorry, but you will make a noise” (332), “This is not- I’m sorry- your home” (336). However, Richard is still distressful and threatened.

C. Symbolic Power

Words are never neutral or innocent and they can be the source of symbolic violence and power (Bourdieu, 1991: 24). Indeed the characters use certain single words insistently such as “solicitous”, “clean”, “track”, “rock”, “history”, “lying” to create cruelty, ambiguity and confusion in both the characters’ minds and the audiences’/readers’ minds. These words are used to convey different meaning by the sender and the receiver. Characters’ utterances are not only signs to be interpreted, but they are also signs of wealth and authority. For example, when Richard tells Corinne that Rebecca has been “lying” next to the track, Corinne wants to be more exact with the word “lying”, and questions more deeply and intentionally “sprawled next to it?” (293). She keeps asking for more

connotations and concludes that she has been “partying” (293). Here Corinne unveils secret information by accumulating word power such as “sprawl”, “partying”, “love” in order to assert symbolic power on Richard, and to provoke him. Indeed in Bourdieu’s sense, language is not used for communication but for symbolic power.

Similarly, when Corinne teases Richard if this girl has “a bag”, “a purse” (297), Richard asserts that purse is not English so she cannot use it. She insists on the bag because it “might simplify things” (298). Corinne actually has already found the bag but she prefers to assail Richard with Rebecca’s bag in order to gain power. The childminder Sophie as a diegetic character who does not appear on stage but only referred to also gives power to Corinne to defeat Richard when at the end there is a reference that Richard might have made advances at her. Richard pays Sophie “far too much” (300), he is also quiet familiar with Sophie’s neat and clean house, and the flowers in her kitchen.

Words give their interlocutors wealth and authority. When Rebecca speaks in an eloquent and sophisticated manner about Virgil and the order in the countryside, Corinne speaks in a simple way to clarify the fact that they have “come to the country to be happier” (325). Here, Rebecca powerfully rephrases Corinne’s utterances “To strive, you mean, to strive for your / family’s happiness” (325).

At the end, there are a series unresolved matters such as the sudden disappearance of Rebecca, and the eventual happy reunion of Corinne and Richard. Such loose ends, ambiguity and Morris’s quotations in Latin challenge both Corinne and the audiences/readers. Indeed language does not function as a facilitator of meaning and communication; on the contrary, words can be confusing and misleading. Angelaki argues that “verbal exchanges in *The Country* are so distinctively acerbic that they give language itself the role of a fourth protagonist” (2012: 99-100). Language in the play has a magical power to wound and destroy.

CONCLUSION

This paper claims that Bourdieu’s ideas on language and power provide a valuable perspective in interpreting the personal relationships between the characters’ utterances and how they use power in *The Country*. This paper has aimed at applying Bourdieu’s theory of language to Crimp’s play.

After justifying a series of affinities between Crimp and Bourdieu, the reasons behind the choice of certain words in *The Country* have been explored through Bourdieu’s notion of the symbolic power/profit which authorizes the interlocutors with a degree of power. Notably, Bourdieu’s argumentations about the idea that words are not innocent and that they carry a certain amount of ideology, have proven to be highly relevant in Crimp’s characters’ command of language. Crimp’s affiliations with Bourdieu especially the hypothesis that each individual word as a means of power, have been detected through extracts from the text. It is proven that the language is not employed as a

means of communication but as a means of symbolic power. The use of euphemisms and the characters' habitus and institutions endow them with authority, wealth and power.

The paper has accredited Crimp as a revolutionary playwright in terms of articulating the dynamic and complicated relationships between language and power. His experimental theatre has been assigned as an alternative to the conventional theatre which is limited by mimesis and representation. It has been argued that theatrical language is perhaps the most significant change that the playwright imposes on the great tradition of British playwriting. His language has been detected as creating an impression of chaos making theatre "strange" and uncomfortable for the audiences/readers. *The Country* has been exemplified as a text in which the playwright negates the audiences'/readers' expectations by subverting theatre conventions. He assesses and analyzes the power of the everyday language in theatre and manifests that language is used not as a means of communication but as a weapon to exercise power, control and cruelty.

As a satirist Crimp depicts the superficiality and dishonesty of the middle-class lifestyles through cruel and ruthless relationships. His language is assertive, violent, but at the same time lyric and loaded with subtextual suggestions. The characters receive wealth and authority from their habitus and social position. However, the wealth and authority of certain repeated words such as "job" and "stone", to name but a few, may unexpectedly turn against the person talking. Crimp is vigorously preoccupied in finding new ways of depicting the contemporary existence truthfully. Evidently he does not write in a vacuum; in a broader sense his playwriting links itself to artistic and ideological context of the recent period. In structure and content Crimp has explored innovative formal and narrative possibilities. In a way, Crimp, as a practicing artist, explores the ways in which art should be critical and interrogative of the world rather than explaining it.

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Credits

“Scissors, Paper, Stone” image. Accessed April 12, 2016 from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rock-paper-scissors>



GÜMÜŞHANE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ ELEKTRONİK DERGİSİ

Gümüşhane Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Elektronik Dergisi yılda en az üç kez yayınlanan hakemli bir dergidir. Dergimizde yayınlanması arzu edilen çalışmaların aşağıda belirtilen yazım kurallarına ve diğer koşullara uygun bir şekilde hazırlanarak dergimiz sayfasında yer alan "Makale Gönder" kısmından sisteme yüklenmesi gerekmektedir. Yayınlanmak üzere dergimize gönderilen çalışmaların tüm sorumlulukları yazarlara aittir.

1. Yayınlanmak üzere dergiye gönderilen yazılar daha önce yayınlanmamış ya da yayınlanmak üzere başka bir yere gönderilmemiş olmalıdır.

2. Dergimizde Türkçe ve İngilizce dillerinden herhangi biri ile yazılmış yazılar yayınlanır.

3. Dergimize gönderilecek çalışmalarda yazar (lar)ın Adı-Soyadı, Kurum ve E-posta bilgileri, ana başlık altında sağa yaslı olarak verilen isimlere dipnot eklenerek **9 punto** ile yazılmalıdır.

ÖNEMLİ NOT: Sisteme ilk yüklenen çalışmalar, yazar kimlik bilgileri çıkartıldıktan sonra hakem değerlendirmesi için ikinci kez sisteme yüklenmektedir. Yazarlara ulaşan hakem düzeltme talebinden sonra yazarların düzeltilmiş çalışmalarını üçüncü kez sisteme yüklerken kesinlikle yazar bilgileri eklenmemelidir. Bu bilgiler Yayınlanmaya hak kazanan çalışmaların yazarlarından talep edilecek olan SON şekli verilmiş olan çalışmaya eklenecektir. Hakem değerlendirmesi aşamasında yazarların çalışmalarına yazar bilgilerini belirtmeleri durumunda devam eden hakem değerlendirme süreçleri sonlandırılıp yeniden hakem ataması yapılır ve süreç yinelenir.

4. Ana başlık altında Türkçe özet ile altında İngilizce başlık ve Abstract verilmelidir. Türkçe özet 9 punto ile yazılmış ve 150 kelimeyi aşmayacak şekilde olmalıdır. "ÖZ" başlığı (9 punto) ortalanarak **bold** yazılmalıdır. İngilizce Abstract Türkçe özeti tam karşılığı olmalı "ABSTRACT" başlığı (9 punto) ortalanarak **bold** yazılmalıdır. Metin dili yabancı dilde olan çalışmalarda yabancı dildeki özeti altında Türkçe özet yer almalıdır. Özeti altında, çalışmanın alanını tanımlayabilecek en az üç en fazla beş adet "anahtar kelime" (keywords) bulunmalıdır. Özette denklem, atıf, standart dışı kısaltmalar, vb. yer almamalıdır.

5. Keywords'ün altında Ekonomi literatürü ile ilgili makaleler için mutlaka en az 3 adet **JEL (Journal of Economic Literature) Kod Sınıflandırması** kodları bulunmalıdır. Diğer alanlarda yazılan çalışmalar için Jel kodu zorunlu değildir.

6. Yazılar, MS Word 97 veya üzeri sürümlerde A4 kağıdı boyutunda, "Times New Roman" yazı stili, 1.5 satır aralığı ve (11) punto ile yazılmalıdır. Paragraflarda ilk satır girintisi 1.25 cm olmalıdır. Paragraf geçişlerinde satır atlanmamalıdır.

7. Çalışmanın Türkçe ve İngilizce ana başlıkları ortada olacak şekilde, büyük harflerle **bold** ve (11) punto ile yazılmalıdır. İlk sayfada ayrıca, dipnot olarak çalışmayı destekleyen kuruluşlar, hangi tezden

türetildiği, hangi sempozyumda daha önce sunulduğu ya da hangi proje kapsamında desteklendiği gibi bilgiler de mutlaka belirtilmelidir.

8. Yazı, çizim veya grafiklerin yazım alanı içinde olmalarına dikkat edilmelidir. Yazılarda sayfa kenar boşlukları şu şekilde olmalıdır:

9. Sayfa kenar boşlukları şu şekilde ayarlanmalıdır.

Üst ve Sol	: 3 cm	Üstbilgi	: 1 cm
Alt ve Sağ	: 2 cm	Altbilgi	: 1 cm

10. Çalışma, şekil, ekler ve tablolar dahil 25 sayfayı geçmemelidir.

11. Yazılardaki resim ve şekiller "Şekil" adı altında gösterilmeli; şekil ve grafikler bilgisayar ortamında çizilmelidir. Tablo, şekil ve grafiklere sıra numarası verilmeli, başlıklar tabloların **üzerine**, şekillerin ve grafiklerin ise **altına** her sözcüğün ilk harfi büyük olacak şekilde ve ortalanarak **bold** karakterler ile yazılmalıdır. İhtiyaç halinde tablo için karakter büyüklüğü minimum 9 puntoya kadar düşürülebilir. Ayrıca tablo ve şekillere ait kaynaklar, alt tarafta 9 punto ile verilmelidir.

12. Sayfaların altına (sağa yaslı olarak) sayfa numarası konmalıdır.

13. Yazılar, Giriş bölümü ile ikinci sayfadan başlamalı ve uygun bölümlere ayrılmalıdır. **GİRİŞ, SONUÇ VE DEĞERLENDİRME** ve **KAYNAKÇA** başlıklarına numara verilmemelidir. Yazıda yer alan birinci derece alt başlıklar I,II, III, ... gibi Romen rakamlarıyla sınıflandırılmalı, tamamen büyük koyu harflerle ve paragraf ile hizalı bir şekilde yazılmalıdır. İkinci derece alt başlıklar A,B,C, ... gibi büyük harflerle sınıflandırılmalıdır. Bu başlıklar her sözcüğün ilk harfi büyük olacak şekilde koyu harflerle ve paragraf ile hizalı bir şekilde yazılmalıdır. Üçüncü derece alt başlıklar 1, 2, 3, ... gibi rakamlarla sınıflandırılmalıdır. Bu tür başlıklar her sözcüğün ilk harfi büyük olacak şekilde, koyu ve paragraf ile hizalı yazılmalıdır. Dördüncü derece alt başlıklar ise a, b, c, ... gibi küçük harflerle sınıflandırılmalıdır. Dördüncü derece alt başlıklar küçük harflerle, koyu ve paragraf ile hizalı yazılmalıdır. Birinci ve İkinci derece başlıklardan önce 1 (Bir) satır boşluk bırakılmalı, Üçüncü ve Dördüncü derece başlıklardan önce boşluk bırakılmamalıdır.

14. Kaynaklara yapılan atıflar, dipnotlar yerine metnin içinde parantez arasında yapılmalıdır. Parantez içinde sırasıyla yazar(lar)ın soyadı, kaynağın yılı: sayfa numarası yer almalıdır. (Aaker, 1991: 101). Birden çok kaynak noktalı virgül ile ayrılmalı, 3 veya daha çok yazar isimli bildirimlerde "vd" kısaltması kullanılmalıdır. Eğer, yazarın aynı yıl içinde yayınlanmış birden fazla eserine atıf yapılıyorsa, yıllar harfler ile farklılaştırılmalıdır. Yapılacak atıf bir internet sitesinden alınmışsa ve atfın yazarı belli değil ise, parantez içerisindeki ifadeler şu şekilde sıralanmalıdır

15. Yabancı dilde yazılan makalelerdeki atıflarda kullanılan bağlaçlar, metin dili ile uyumlu olmalıdır. Kaynağa yapılan atıf dışında, yapılacak açıklamalar, "Notlar" başlığı altında yazının sonunda ayrı bir sayfada verilmelidir.

16. Metin içerisinde atıfta bulunan kaynaklar, eğer varsa notlardan sonra ayrı bir sayfada "**KAYNAKÇA**" başlığı altında alfabetik sıraya göre verilmelidir. Kaynakçada yer alan eserler kitap,

makale vb. şekilde sınıflandırılmamalıdır. Kaynakça başlığı paragraf başı yapılmadan tamamen büyük harflerle **bold** yazılmalıdır. Yazar soyadlarının gösteriminde tamamen büyük harf kullanılmalı ve yazar isimleri açık bir şekilde belirtilmelidir. Her kaynağın **ikinci ve diğer satırları** 1,25 cm içerden başlamalıdır.

METİN İÇİ ATIF & KAYNAKÇADA GÖSTERİM

KİTAPLARDA	
Tek yazarlı	
Metin	... (Aaker, 1991: 12).
Kaynakça	Aaker, David A. (1991), <i>Managing Brand Equity</i> , New York: The Free Press.
2 yazarlı	
Metin	... (Nunnally ve Bernstein, 1994: 24).
Kaynakça	Nunnally, Jum C. - Ira H. Bernstein (1994), <i>Psychometric Theory</i> , Third Edition, New York: McGraw-Hill.
3 ve daha fazla yazarlı	
Metin	... (Friedman vd., 2004: 196).
Kaynakça	Friedman, Daniel - Dan Driedman - Alessandra Cassar (2004), <i>Economics Lab: An Introduction to Experimental Economics</i> , United Kingdom: Routledge.
KİTAP İÇİNDE BÖLÜM	
Metin	(Yıldız ve Kurtuldu, 2013: 435)
Kaynakça	Yıldız, Salih; Kurtuldu, Hüseyin Sabri (2013), "Factors Affecting Electronic Service Brand Equity", in Transcultural Marketing for Incremental and Radical Innovation , B. Christiansen, S.Yıldız ve E.Yıldız (Edt.), (434-492), USA; IGI Global.
MAKALELERDE	
Tek yazarlı	
Metin	... (Marion, 1999: 476).
Kaynakça	Marion, Nancy P. (1999), "Some Parallels Between Currency and Banking Crises", <i>International Tax and Public Finance</i> , 6 (4), pp.473-490.
2 yazarlı	
Metin	... (Craig ve Douglas, 2000: 354).
Kaynakça	Craig, C. Samuel - Susan P. Douglas (2000), "Building Global Brands in The 21 st Century", <i>Japan and The World Economy</i> , 12(3), pp.351-359.
3 ve daha fazla yazarlı	
Metin	... (Cengiz vd., 2005: 132).
Kaynakça	Cengiz, Ekrem - Hasan Ayyıldız - Fazıl Kırkbir (2005), "Yeni Ürün Geliştirme Sürecinin Başarısında Etkili Olan Faktörler", <i>Erciyes Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi</i> , 24, ss.128-147.

ÇEVİRİ KİTAPLARDA

Metin	... (Perry ve Wisnom, 2004: 26).
Kaynakça	Perry, Alycia - David Wisnom (2004), <i>Markanın DNA'sı</i> , Çev: Zeynep Yılmaz, Birinci Baskı, İstanbul: MediaCat Kitapları, 167.

DERLEMELERDE

Metin	... (Methibay, 2003: 145).
Kaynakça	Methibay, Yaşar (2003), "Avrupa Birliğinde İhale Sistemi ve GATT İhale Kodu", iç. Binnur Çelik ve Fatih Saraçoğlu (Ed.), <i>Maliye Seçme Yazıları</i> , Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesini Geliştirme Vakfı Yayını, ss. 125-142.

BİLDİRİLERDE

Metin	... (Pınar, 2005: 258).
Kaynakça	Pınar, Abuzer (2005), "Türkiye'de Net Mali Yansıma: DİE Hanehalkı Verileri İle Bir Tahmin Denemesi", <i>20. Türkiye Maliye Sempozyumu</i> , 23-27 Mayıs, Denizli, ss. 245-283.

TEZ ve RAPORLARDA

Metin	... (Yıldız, 2007: 61). ... (Ramalho, 2013: 43).
Kaynakça	Yıldız, Salih (2007), <i>Tüketici Tercihlerinde Marka Değerini Belirlemeye Yönelik Bir Model Önerisi: Trabzon Örneği</i> , Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Trabzon. Ramalho, Palma (2013), <i>Portuguese Labour Law and Industrial Relations During the Crisis</i> , International Labour Office Working Paper No. 54, November, Geneva.

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Metin(Acemoğlu ve Johnson, 2006: 16)(www.rekabet.gov.tr, 2007).(Hazine Müsteşarlığı, 2006).
Kaynakça	Acemoğlu, Daron - Simon Johnson; (2006), <i>Disease and Development: The Effect of Life Expectancy on Economic Growth</i> , http://www.nber.org/papers/w12269 , (06.06.2006). Rekabet Kurumu, "Giriş Regülasyonları", http://www.rekabet.gov.tr , (12.02.2005). Hazine Müsteşarlığı (2006), <i>Kamu Borç Yönetimi Raporu</i> , http://www.hazine.gov.tr/duyuru/basin_KBYR.Mayis06.pdf , (06.06.2006).

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