ANTIRACISM AND RESTORATIVE JUSTICE IN CLASSICS PEDAGOGY:

RACE, SLAVERY, AND THE FUNCTION OF LANGUAGE IN BEGINNING GREEK AND LATIN TEXTBOOKS

by

KELLY P. DUGAN

(Under the Direction of RUTH HARMAN)

ABSTRACT

In Greek and Latin textbooks, verbal and visual discourses function together to construe Greco-Roman systems of enslavement. This dissertation is a critical discourse analysis of this construal based on the theories and methodologies of multicultural education and systemic functional linguistics. The findings illustrate how the linguistic resources of appraisal (feelings and character) and transitivity (agency and action) function to sanitize and normalize enslavement. The accompanying comparative analysis to 19th-century American discourses on enslavement demonstrates how the use of these linguistic resources are consistent across time and context. Therefore, although systems of enslavement in the Greco-Roman world were not race-based, the presentation of enslavement in Greek and Latin textbooks today engages in racist discourses that permeate the American education system.

The eight chapters of this dissertation examine the context, theoretical framework, methodology, findings, and implications of the research. I begin with a discussion of the current context of Classics in America including its connection to White supremacy. I then narrow the scope by examining the situational context of Greek and Latin classrooms in America. At the

center of this work is the analysis of Greek and Latin textbooks using multicultural education and systemic functional linguistics theory and methodology. After discussing the findings, I explore the pedagogical implications of this research. To conclude, the final chapter reflects on the research and offers a look toward future studies on enslavement discourses in American classrooms. Throughout the course of this work, the voices of formerly enslaved Black people such as Mary Prince, Harriet A. Jacobs, and Harriet Powers are featured in order to provide counternarratives to the commonplace racist and colonialist presentation of enslavement. The goal of the research is to present students and educators with antiracist methodology for deconstructing enslavement discourses and reforming Classics pedagogy in the spirit of restorative justice.

INDEX WORDS: racism, antiracism, restorative justice, pedagogy, Greek, Latin, Classics, educational linguistics, systemic functional linguistics, discourse analysis, appraisal, transitivity, critical language awareness

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2020

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DEDICATION

To those enslaved past and present.

To the Black lives who have survived and those that died in pursuit of liberation.

And to Mariah Parker.

VALETE ET RESISTE.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to my advisor, Ruth Harman, who taught me how to accept the cyclical revision process and made it possible for me to build on my knowledge of the material in a meaningful way. My sincerest gratitude goes to all members of my committee including Shelley P. Haley, Barbara McCaskill, Christine Albright, and Melissa Freeman. Your unending support made this a positive writing process and inspired me to keep going through the challenges.

Thank you to my colleagues and friends who worked together with me on other projects while this research was ongoing. Thank you to Shelley P. Haley for your decades of fighting for justice in Classics, inspiring me to change the direction of my career, and co-founding MRECC with me. Thank you to Barbara McCaskill for inviting me to join your project and help put together such an exciting international symposium on Black southern activism in England this summer. Thank you to Chase Hagood and Maria de Rocher for being exceptional leaders in higher education and allowing me to develop my student support skills. Thank you to Christine Albright, mentor and friend, who taught me pedagogical leadership and made the holidays happier. And huge thanks for everything to Dave Wright, my dearest friend in the field.

I want to also thank my family in Minnesota, especially my mom Sherri Faye, my little sister Staci Gastonguay, and my brother-in-law Kevin Gastonguay. Thank you to my roommates Robin, Rory, Zach, Sam, and Naga. Thank you to my Flicker fam and Richard Mikulka who always gave me a place to feel welcome. Thank you to Kirkland D. Bazemore who supported me with love, encouragement, food, and coffee throughout the dissertation writing process. And to all the many mentors I have had over the years including Clara Bosak-Schroeder. Thank you all.

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I was now under my own control...

I had always been under the yoke of oppression,

compelled to submit to its laws...

Now this constant fear and restless yearning was over.

- Mattie Jane Jackson, 1866 (p. 22)

Mattie J. Jackson (1847-1910) was an enslaved Black teenage girl in St. Louis, Missouri in the midst of the American Civil War. Using the Underground Railroad, she escaped on foot to take a boat across the river to freedom. The passage above is from her autobiography in which Jackson recounts the terrors of enslavement and reflects on the joys of freedom.

To self-emancipate, Jackson followed the plot of her allies and pled with her captors to allow her to go to church one Sunday. They reluctantly granted her permission as long as she took care of her assigned duties that day. Having finished her forced labor, Jackson used a cord to strap extra clothing to her skirt hoop under her dress and began her journey to freedom. Jackson walked to the church where her co-conspirators were waiting to guide her. She went to the shore of the river and boarded a vessel, sat in a dark corner in order to avoid attention, and arrived at freedom in Indianapolis by 9:00 pm that night (Jackson, 1866).

In the passage above, Jackson reflects on her first moment of freedom and writes “I was now under my own control.” She then described being enslaved as existing “under the yoke of oppression” and the “constant fear and restless yearning.” Her words are a counternarrative to the sanitized and even joyful presentation of enslavement in textbooks today. In freedom, Jackson married, had nine children, and spent the rest of her life in a liberated Missouri. The following research is informed by the lived experiences of Mattie Jane Jackson and all those who have suffered enslavement, past and present.

CHAPTER 1

ANTI/RACISM IN CLASSICAL EDUCATION

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine how language functions to construe enslavement in beginning Greek and Latin textbooks.[1] Using theories and methodologies of multicultural education and systemic functional linguistics (SFL), I identify the salient linguistic features in enslavement discourses. I argue that these linguistic features, and the patterns of their presentation, work together to sanitize and normalize ancient enslavement by emphasizing the positive feelings of enslaved people and the kind actions of enslavers. In my analysis, I draw parallels to the presentation of American enslavement in order to illustrate the similarity in linguistic content. In addition to identifying and analyzing the linguistic features in the construal of enslavement, I explore how this work can influence current and ongoing pedagogical reform in ancient language education.[2]

The eight chapters of this dissertation examine the context, theoretical framework, methodology, findings, and implications of the research. Chapter 1 discusses the current context of Classics in America including its connection to White supremacy. Chapter 2 narrows the scope by examining the situational context of Greek and Latin classrooms in America. Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework composed of multicultural education and systemic functional

[1] I have chosen to use 'enslaved' and 'captive' instead of 'slave' as well as 'enslaver' instead of 'slave master' or 'slave owner' and 'human trafficker' instead of 'slave trader.' For more information on this language choice and why it matters see Foreman et al. (2019).

[2] Some aspects of this research appear in my article that was published during the writing of this dissertation and is titled "The 'happy slave' narrative and Classics pedagogy: A verbal and visual analysis of beginning Greek and Latin textbooks" (Dugan, 2019).

linguistics. Chapter 4 details the data set and methodology. Chapter 5 analyzes the linguistic features that express feelings and character in the data set. Chapter 6 analyzes the linguistic features that express action and agency in the data set. Chapter 7 explores the pedagogical implications of this research. And to conclude, chapter 8 reflects on the findings and offers a look toward future research on enslavement discourses in American classrooms. Throughout this work, the voices of formerly enslaved Black people including Mattie Jane Jackson, Fanny Jackson Coppin, and Harriet Powers are featured in order to offer counternarratives to the commonplace racist and colonialist presentation of enslavement. The goal of the research is to present students and educators with antiracist methodology that can be used to deconstruct enslavement discourses and reform Classics pedagogy.

Each chapter has a preface that begins with a quote by a formerly enslaved Black woman such as the words of Mattie Jane Jackson (1847-1910) featured above. Pictures are also included next to the quotes wherever possible.[3] I chose to interweave texts in this way in order to actively engage in the #DisruptTexts movement (Torres, 2019) which aims to shake up the traditionally included literature which overwhelmingly favor the voices of White men and women. When enslavement is discussed in textbooks or in the classroom, the voices of enslaved people are often excluded, especially the voices of enslaved Black women (Broussard, 2013). While the works and words of Black men and women are featured throughout this research, the prefaces that set the tone for each chapter belong exclusively to Black women in order to highlight their unique, and often historically ignored, perspectives.

Racism and American education

The exclusion of Black voices in the American education system and curriculum is a manifestation of racism, the systemic oppression of people of color. The earliest known recorded

[3] I was unable to locate a verified picture of Mattie J. Jackson, Mary Prince, or Kate Drumgoold.

instance of systemic racism[4] can be found in the 15th-century biography of Infante Henrique (1394-1460), known as Prince Henry the Navigator. He was a Portuguese human trafficker who was the first leader in the industry of human trafficking to exclusively enslave African people. To justify the targeting of Africans, his biographer, Gomez Eanes de Zurara (1410-1474), compared Black people from Africa to "beasts" and classified them as inferior to White Europeans (Biewen & Kendi, 2017). Although there were abolitionists and antiracists that objected from the very beginning, this brand of European-based racism that was spread through colonialism is considered by many to be the most influential and visible form of racism throughout the history of the world (van den Berghe, 1967; Banks, 1995). In America today, racism can be found in all societal systems and governance including housing, employment, prison, and education.

Race is a social construction that changes shape based on the social context.[5] There are early concepts of race dating back to the ancient Greek civilization, but the exact origins remain unknown (Biewen & Kendi, 2017; Isaac, 2006). However, studies of children's behavior today provide evidence that race was and continues to be a social construct that changes in response to context. For example, studies have shown an ongoing pattern of behavior in young White children who, when they see a person of color for the first time, ask questions about why the person looks different (Noel, 2012). The children recognize the difference but do not make judgements on the value of the other person based on the perceived difference. However, once children experience racial socialization such as hearing their mother make racist comments, even children as young as two years old have the capacity to speak and act in intentionally racist

[4] Some scholars recognize the ancient origins of the philosophies that inform systemic racism and identify Greco-Roman foundations of racism as proto-racism (Isaac, 2006; 2004).
[5] Biologically, race does not exist (Kolbert, 2018; Nieto & Bode, 2018).

manners (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001). Racial socialization can happen wherever one interacts with others including at home or school.

Over the centuries, racist stereotypes and practices have become institutionalized in American education. Much of this discrimination originates from efforts to justify the enslavement of Black people and the genocide of Native Americans in the 18th and 19th century. For example, the notion that people of color are less intelligent and cumbersome to teach was used by many pro-slavery lobbyists in the mid-19th century to excuse keeping Black people enslaved and continue denying education to any racially marginalized people (Goodell, 1853; Simms et al., 1852). The obdurate perception of students of color as less intelligent has led to the continued practice of teachers and administrators labeling students of color 'learning disabled' overwhelmingly more than their White peers. Based on data from the Educational Longitudinal Survey of 2002, Dara Shifrer (2018) has identified a pattern of racial biases among educators including inconsistent and subjective labeling, particularly in predominately White institutions (PWIs). In addition to racial bias, emergent bilinguals are also more likely to be labeled as learning disabled even though status as a native or non-native English speaker is officially considered irrelevant for identifying a learning disability.

These patterns of racism in the American education system are a direct result of ongoing White dominance.[6] A recent report by the National Center for Educational Statistics (Taie & Goldring, 2017) stated that of the 3.8 million public school teachers in America, 77% are female and 80% are White. While racial demographics in the United States are shifting rapidly, and

[6] During the early construction of America and the American education system, White people were not unified as one race. Some "White" races (e.g. so-called Anglo-Saxons) were considered superior to others (e.g. so-called Alpines and Mediterraneans). White people classified as superior set the standard for knowledge and objectivity. The unified 'White Americans' terminology here reflects the modern conceptualization of the White race in the US and includes what was once called Anglo-Saxon Americans (an anachronistic classification that increasingly has fallen out of favor among scholars). For more information and resources on the construction of White race, whiteness studies, and current trends see DiAngelo (2018) and Kolchin (2002).

these proportions are expected to follow suit, currently White females still make up the majority of the teaching force. Whiteness therefore has controlled the historic construction of American education and continues to control its maintenance today.

A significant aspect of the maintenance of whiteness in American education includes regimenting epistemology. White American culture has determined what is objective and what is subjective knowledge, to the neglect of the variety of perspectives from members of other races and cultures (Banks, 1995). As White people established the nature of the subjective/objective divide that continues to guide the American education system today, they constructed race and the knowledge of race in the process. This pattern is especially visible in the history and culture classes in America where the education is dominated by the narratives of historical experiences centered on White people (Nieto & Bode, 2018; Saathoff, 2017; Westerlund, 2018). In textbooks, the experiences of people of color are often treated as supplemental to White experience or frequently not addressed at all.

Racism and Classics

The American higher education system as we know it today began at Harvard University in 1636 and was based on European models. The two main academic pillars of the institution were Classics and theology. This same institutional structure at Harvard University was picked up by subsequent colleges and universities including the College of William & Mary and Yale University (Bastedo et al., 2016). Since the inception of the American higher education system, the field of Classics has had a unique role in shaping its racist practices and policies. Because the early American education system exclusively gave access to wealthy White males, Classics operated as an educational gatekeeping tool that reinforced systemic racism as American society and government was being developed.

The term Classics derives from the Latin *classis* meaning 'class' or 'division' and, from the beginning, has been linked to the upper echelon of social hierarchy in the Greco-Roman world. The Greco-Roman world spanned the Mediterranean beginning from southern Europe to northern Africa and the Middle East over an estimated 2,000 years of history from the rule of Mycenaean Greeks (1600-1100 BCE) to the end of the Roman Empire (476 CE). In the earliest known Roman census, the men in the top economic class were known as *classici*. Respected authors were known as *scriptores classici* and often also officially held the *classici* social status separate from their identity as writers (Zuckerberg, 2018).

Over time, studying Classics narrowed from privileging certain members of society based on wealth and social status to adding racial privilege (after the advent of systemic racism). Until recently, an education in Greek and Latin in America was restricted to upper class members of society (especially White males). Since the term Classics bears with it this history of privilege and discrimination, as an act of anticolonialism, the remainder of this project favors phrases such as ancient Mediterranean, Greek and Latin, or antiquity studies in the place of Classics.[7]

Since the beginning of the American education system, the field of antiquity studies has remained overwhelmingly White. The depth of this whiteness is consistent throughout the faculty pipeline. According to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences Humanities Indicators (2017), 22% of bachelor's degrees in humanities in 2015 were awarded to racially and ethnically underrepresented students. In this same year, fields such as Gender Studies had around 48% of graduates identified as minorities whereas Communication had 28% and English 18%. Classics is included among the category titled "All other Humanities," meaning that an estimated 85-90% of Classics undergraduates were white in 2015. Continuing up the pipeline, 93% of

[7] The title of this dissertation includes the term Classics in order to draw in scholars who are accustomed to that label and increase readership among educators who would benefit most from the findings.

students awarded master's degrees in Classics were White. And 95% of PhD students who graduated in 2015 were White.

Based on the reported numbers from the Society for Classical Studies Departmental Census (2014) involving 250 departments nationwide, Classics faculty in the United States are reported to be approximately 94% White. From 2008 to 2014, 96% of reported tenured promotions went to White faculty. Classics thus is majority White at all levels of higher education. As a result, White people in Europe and America have benefited the most from a knowledge of classical languages and culture over the last five hundred years. Benefits include increased employment opportunities and income, greater access to global resources, and accumulation of social capital (The Princeton Review, 2019).

Since the 15th century, when scholars of other races have learned and taught Greek and Latin, their intellect and capability has been questioned or denied. In 1772, Phillis Wheatley was a nineteen-year-old enslaved African in Boston, Massachusetts. She had been educated in Greek and Latin but White people doubted her knowledge and questioned whether or not she was the author of her poetry. Prominent White men including Thomas Hutchinson, Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, were compelled to write in support of her abilities (Wilson & Frey, 2018).

On into the 19th century, many Black scholars of Greek and Latin continued to be denied opportunities. For example, Alexander Crummell and James McCune Smith, despite their education and knowledge, were rejected from medical schools solely based on their race (Malamud, 2016). To stifle the education of Black people in the early 20th century, an unnamed southern journal published the following opinion:

> The experiment that has been made to give the colored students classical training has not been satisfactory. Even though many were able to pursue the course, most of them did so in a parrot-like way, learning what was taught, but not seeming to appropriate the truth and import of their instruction, and graduating without sensible aim or valuable occupation for their future. The whole scheme has proved a waste of time, efforts, and the money of the state (DuBois, 1903).

These sentiments reinforced the idea the Black people were intellectually incapable, discouraged their further education in Greek and Latin, and continued to solidify the field's place in the system of White knowledge. Under these hostile conditions, some prominent Black scholars such as William Sanders Scarborough (1852-1926) and W.E.B. DuBois (1868-1963) still taught Greek and Latin and promoted its learning among the Black community. In his essay "The Talented Tenth" (1903), DuBois argued that knowledge of ancient studies would help elevate Black people. This line of argument, however, is an example "uplift suasion" discourse (Kendi, 2016). In uplift suasion, Black people are positioned as responsible for erasing the racism of White people by demonstrating their value and equal worth. Here, that value and equal worth is determined by one's ancient language skills because study of the Greco-Roman world holds an elevated place in White society.

In contrast to DuBois, Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) and others encouraged technical education over the study of Greek and Latin (Washington, 1911; Malamud, 2016). In *My Larger Education*, first published in 1911, Washington stated:

> There is just as much that is edifying, broadening, and refining in a cabbage as there is in a page of Latin. There is, however, this distinction: it will make very little difference to the world whether one Negro boy, more or less, learns to construe a page of Latin.

Classical education thus became a central topic in the DuBois v. Washington debate that shaped American higher education for decades to come. And the questioning of Black intellectual capability in Greek and Latin studies as well as its usefulness for Black people are ongoing today. In a 2018 interview, Jackie Murray, Assistant Professor of Classics at the University of Kentucky, described her experiences as an Afro-Caribbean-Canadian scholar stating:

> [White colleagues were] constantly downplaying anything I did…harassing me on racial grounds the whole time I've been here…I had already experienced this before…it's a constant theme in my career in fact…I know it's not just me, there's nothing particularly unique about me in that respect. Any other, certainly, woman of color is going to experience something like it so I'm not doing anything that's triggering this other than being who I am. So yeah that's kind of comforting to know it's not me, it's them (Lepisto & Murray, 2019).

In this passage, Jackie Murray reflects on the ubiquity of racism and states that her experiences with racism in ancient studies are not unique. This observation is supported by many studies, books, memoirs, blogs, and tweets by other scholars of color (Padilla Peralta, 2019; Posselt, 2016; Henderson, 2010). And these experiences are reflected at all levels of education. For example, in a recent interview, Shelley P. Haley, President-elect of the Society for Classical Studies, Edward North Chair of Classics, and Professor of Africana Studies at Hamilton College, shared one of her experiences with racism in graduate school (Catenaccio & Haley, 2020). Haley was the only person of color in her graduate seminar on Herodotus. Her professor had a policy of grading based on participation which was determined by how much he called on a student in class. Throughout the semester, he never called on Haley and she recalled:

> I would raise my hand. I was always prepared. But he never called on me. He just looked right through me, the whole semester. When I got my grade, it was bad. I went to his office and I said, "I don't understand this grade. I did really well on the exams. I never missed a class." And he said, "You didn't participate as fully as some of the other students."

Haley's experience reflects the exclusion that accompanies doubts of intellectual capability in people of color, especially women of color. This pattern of discrimination in ancient studies contexts occurs at local, regional, and national levels. In early January of 2019, multiple racist events unfolded at the Society for Classical Studies 150th Annual Meeting in San Diego, California - the largest gathering of Greek and Latin scholars in America. As caught on video, two Classics graduate students of color, Djesika Bel Watson and Stefani Echeverría-Fenn, were barred from entering the San Diego Marriott Marquis & Marina hotel where the conference was being held. The security officer stated that the students were not being allowed in out of fear from other attendees that they did not belong. The following afternoon, Dan-el Padilla Peralta, an Assistant Professor of Classics at Princeton University and an Afro-Latino scholar, was publicly accused of being unqualified by a White woman who, in front of the audience at the "The Future of Classics" panel he was presenting on, told him that he only had his position at Princeton because he was Black. In an article published just a few days after the experience, Padilla Peralta (2019) stated, "This wasn't the first and won't be the last time that I receive the "you got X because you're black" treatment; and if I had a dollar for every scholar of color with the same experience, I'd hum Cardi B's "Money" all the way to a safe-deposit box." These shared experiences reveal a deep and ongoing pattern of discrimination.

Antiracism and restorative justice in Classics education

In response to recent racist incidences in the field and the rise of overt racism in America, antiracism practices in Classics are gaining traction. Compared to other fields of study, such as education or Black studies, however, this pedagogical development is in its infancy. When asked what Greco-Roman studies scholars can do to combat racism, Rebecca Futo Kennedy, Associate Professor of Classical Studies at Denison University, answered, "When we do classical reception, we need to stop thinking about theatre productions, and we need to start thinking about American education, American science, the use of Classics as not just a gatekeeper but also as an actual tool for creating the structures of racism in our country" (Sundaram & McMaster, 2018). This research aims to answer such calls to action by developing a foundation for antiracism pedagogy in the field of Classics.

What is often missing from discussions of antiracist practices in Classics is the consideration of how these approaches relate to restorative justice. Restorative justice has two main areas of application currently: the prison system and the education system. The practice of restorative justice originated in the criminal justice system. In prison contexts, restorative justice is the regulation of a punishment for a crime in a way that embodies and increases healing for the victims. Examples of restorative justice practices include peer mediation and community service (Levad, 2012; Miller, 2008; Furio, 2002). However, this research uses the phrase restorative justice as understood in the context of the education system.

Restorative justice in education has two main purposes for application: managing behavior and nurturing development. For behavioral management in schools, stemming from the criminal justice perspective, restorative justice is a phrase a disciplinarian might use to refer to punishments for student behavior that address the pain caused by the crime. For example, a student caught writing profanity on a locker might be punished by cleaning said graffiti and

making amends with the person they insulted. However, restorative justice as a practice in nurturing development is not designed as a reaction to a student's perceived negative behavior. Instead, it is the intentional effort to foster an environment focused on building relationships which may include making amends for pain inflicted within the context of and directly by the education system. The purpose of restorative justice in education is the "creation of a restorative school culture in which people and relationships form the cornerstone of safety, belonging and learning" (Hollweck et al., 2019, p. 247).

There are three main categories of restorative justice practices: building relationships, maintaining relationships, and repairing relationships (Hollweck, 2019; Hendry, 2009). In a study on restorative justice in teacher education, Trista Hollweck (2019) and others examined teacher training in restorative justice and discovered that teachers benefited from gaining relationship-building competency and improved their connection to the students and the curriculum. Restorative justice practices in the classroom are rapidly being developed and currently there are a wide range of methods such as peer mediation, reflection essays, and the inclusion of counternarratives in the curriculum. Addressing injustice in school and society is central to restorative justice pedagogy.

To be in line with restorative justice practices, pedagogical development in Greek and Latin students must include building, maintaining, and repairing relationships. These actions necessitate the acknowledgement and discussion of Greco-Roman studies and its role in developing racism in the American education system. This includes efforts to address any crimes against marginalized people in the name of ancient language education that have occurred over millennia. In Greek and Latin studies, there is currently little discussion on the potential role of restorative justice in the field. I believe, however, that the research and analysis in this

dissertation can help encourage teachers and scholars to engage more directly with this fast-growing subfield of education. The following section concludes this chapter with a reflection on the current role of Classics in racist contexts today.

Summary of cultural context

The relationship between racism and Greek and Latin studies is not confined to the classroom. White supremacists around the world use Greco-Roman texts and imagery to propagate racism individually and as groups. This appropriation has had serious social and political consequences today. For example, SPQR is an acronym in Latin for *Senatus Populusque Romanus* meaning 'the Senate and the Roman people.' Recently, this acronym has been (mis)appropriated by White supremacists who now fly these words on a Roman legion flag as a symbol of their racist ideology (Bond, 2018a). A portion of a Roman legion flag branded with the letters SPQR can be seen in the left center of the advertisement for the "Unite the Right" White supremacist rally that took place in Charlottesville, Virginia August 11-12, 2017 in which a deadly attack on protesters ended with the murder of activist Heather Heyer.

Fig. 1 Poster from White supremacist rally

Scholars for the last several years have been working to fight such White supremacists use of ancient imagery and texts seen in the poster above (Bond, 2018a; Bond, 2018b; Bond, 2018c; Zuckerberg, 2017). In tandem with these efforts, others have been seeking new ways to distance

Greco-Roman studies from whiteness through teaching and designing inclusive critical pedagogy (Bostick, 2018; Kennedy, 2017; Robinson; 2017; Ryan, 2012). However, centuries of association between ancient studies and whiteness have created serious challenges. Chapter 2 explores the specific situational context of Greek and Latin classrooms and further elaborates on how ancient Mediterranean studies discourses in America today have a unique and violent role in the preservation of racism in and outside the academy.

When my aunt had finally saved up the
hundred and twenty- five dollars,
she bought me and sent me to New Bedford, Mass.,
where another aunt lived,
who promised to get me a place to work for my board,
and get a little education if I could.

Fig. 2 Fanny Jackson Coppin, 1913 (p. 14).

Fanny Jackson Coppin (1837-1913) was born enslaved in Washington, D.C. at the end of Andrew Jackson's presidency. When she was twelve years old, her aunt was able to pay for her freedom and so she moved north. Now in New Bedford, Massachusetts, she worked as a servant for writer and poet George Henry Calvert (1803-1889). Growing up, she spent her wages on a tutor and studied often. In 1865, Jackson Coppin earned a bachelor's degree from Oberlin College where she studied Greek and Latin. Afterward, she became the first Black teacher at the institution. She went on to teach Greek, Latin and mathematics as the principal of the Ladies Department at the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia (the first HBCU now known as Cheyney University of Pennsylvania).

In the passage above, Jackson Coppin recalls her plans for freedom and the work that her aunts put in to rescue her from captivity. From the beginning, education was a central aspect of her new life without captivity. What her words also reveal is the continued hard work necessary for so many after enslavement. Fanny Jackson Coppin chose to focus her future on teaching others and becoming a trail-blazing Greek and Latin educator. Inspired by her life's work and efforts, the following chapter explores the situational context of teaching Greek and Latin in classrooms today.

CHAPTER 2

TEACHING SLAVERY IN GREEK AND LATIN CLASSROOMS

My goal with this research is not to embarrass the authors of the textbooks featured but rather to equip myself and others with an awareness of internalized discrimination, how it manifests in language, and the very real harm this bias can do in the classroom. The hope is that with this knowledge available, authors, editors, publishers, scholars, and students will take action and stop replicating the harmful narratives. Action may include pulling the textbooks, revising curriculum, and creating new study materials. I hope that that the very same authors, editors, publishers, scholars, and students who encounter this research will not only put a halt to damaging practices immediately but also will take action with an antiracist and restorative justice approach fitting for each context.

There are three general approaches to teaching Greek and Latin in the American education system: the traditional grammar approach (Wheelock & LaFluer, 2011), the reading approach (Balme et al., 2016; Minkova & Tunberg, 2008), and the spoken approach (Maust et al., 2020). Although some maintain strict adherence to one pedagogical style, many ancient language educators today are experimenting with a mixed methods approach that combines the different styles in ways unique to each instructor (Nicoulin, 2019). No matter what approach to teaching Greek and Latin an instructor chooses, the methods tend to shift on account of the educator's perspective and the demands of the level of learning (e.g. elementary, intermediate, or advanced). For example, with the traditional grammar approach as found in *Wheelock's Latin* (Wheelock & LeFleur, 2011), at the elementary level, students are expected to learn in their first

year of study all the grammatical patterns that govern the eight parts of speech in Latin. However, after completing that grammar-centered coursework, students must rise to reading fluency at the intermediate and advanced levels.

In the reading approach that informs textbooks like the *Cambridge Latin Course* series (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015), complete paragraphs are presented to students for translation from the very beginning and grammar is scaffolded throughout the material (continuing at both the elementary and intermediate levels). Similar to the grammar approach, students at the advanced stage focus mostly on reading and translating with less emphasis on the grammar. However, under spoken approaches such as Comprehensible Input (Patrick, 2015), students are encouraged from the beginning to intuit the grammar and vocabulary of Greek and Latin by emphasizing speaking and listening over reading and grammar. The input of information for students in spoken Greek and Latin courses is largely controlled by the teacher and so the expectations vary widely at all levels depending on the individual instructor. Nevertheless, in all three approaches and mixed methods application, at some point, students are asked to focus the majority of their effort on improving their skills in reading and translating primary resources.

The various popular teaching methods in Greek and Latin classrooms are in need of empirical research on their effectiveness in student learning. Currently, most claims of effectiveness are supported by anecdotal evidence relying on small sample sizes and shared in the form of op-eds, blog posts, and tweets. However, there has been more research conducted on the teaching of enslavement specifically in ancient and modern contexts (Gold, 2014; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018). While chapter 7 dives deeper into today's popular teaching methods,

the following section narrows the scope of the situational context further by focusing on the enslavement discourses in Greek and Latin textbooks.

Ancient slavery in Greek and Latin textbooks

Enslavement is commonly introduced to students in the early chapters of Greek and Latin textbooks. These enslavement discourses are based on original primary sources from the ancient world. In comedies like Plautus' *Aulularia* or *Pseudolus* that were first written and performed in the 3rd-2nd centuries BCE, enslaved people are often depicted as "clever" and, at the same time, frequently threatened with or experience violence (Richlin, 2017; Gold, 2014). Both the threat of violence and violence itself are tools for eliciting laughter. Sometimes enslaved people are beaten on stage but many times the beatings are implied. In Plautus' *Pseudolus*, Ballio hits one enslaved person more for showing pain during a beating; in *Poenulus*, Agorastocles attacks a person he enslaved for showing interest in the woman Agorastocles desired; in *Aulularia*, Euclio beats an elderly enslaved female in addition to others (Richlin, 2017).[8] Although beatings were likely a common part of the daily lives of many enslaved people, comic playwrights did not use characterizations of enslaved people to reflect the experiences of captives but rather to communicate 'humorously' to the audience messages about authority, power, and order in society (McCarthy, 2000).

Many first year Greek and Latin texts use adaptations of these ancient comedies to tell stories of enslavers beating the people they held captive, including the modified version of Plautus' comedy *Aulularia* in the *Reading Latin* series (Jones & Sidwell, 2012, pp. 8-9). After the enslaver Euclio discovers a treasure in his home, he calls for his captive Staphyla and begins beating her as this excerpt shows:

[8] For violence against enslaved people in Roman comedy, see Richlin, 2017, pp. 90-104 and Stewart, 2012. In Greek comedy, see Hunt, 2016, pp. 136-158.

STAPHYLA quare me verberas, domine?

Why are you beating me, master?

EUCLIO tace! te verbero quod mala es, Staphyla.

Silence! I beat you because you are awful, Staphyla.

STAPHYLA egone mala? cur mala sum? misera sum, sed non mala, domine.

(secum cogitat) sed tu insanus es!

I am awful? Why am I awful? I am unfortunate, but not awful, master.

(She thinks to herself) but you are insane!

Staphyla responds to being attacked by asking Euclio why and, in an aside, she 'thinks to herself' that he is insane. This comment on her enslaver's mental stability is meant to be funny for the audience. Humor swiftly following violence links these actions and is a common feature of ancient comedy. In addition, throughout the story small visual depictions of enslaved people often appear in humorous situations. The following image of an enslaved man named Xanthias stealing a cake is pictured below the adapted Latin of Plautus' *Aulularia* that was quoted above from the *Reading Latin* series (Jones & Sidwell, 2012, p. 15):

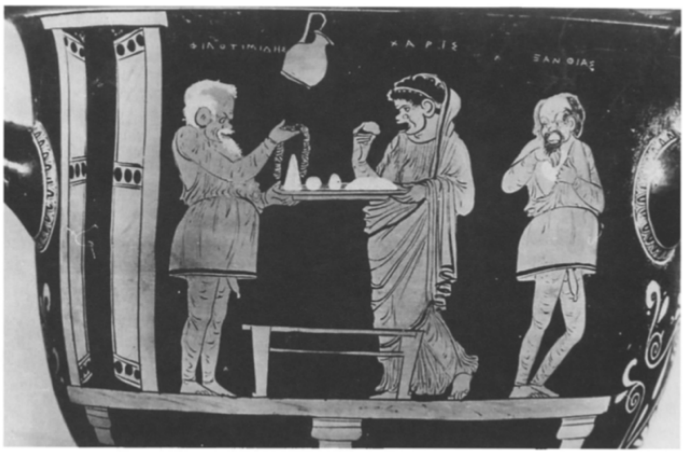

Fig. 3 Apulian red-figure bell krater, ca. 375 BCE, Milan, *Museo Civico Archeologico*

Plautus' *Aulularia* is the first story that students read in the *Reading Latin* series and the text offers no historical context for ancient slavery or the role of enslaved people in ancient comedy (Jones & Sidwell, 2012, pp. xiii-1). Thus, students read the text and see the images and there is no space created in the textbook to question the content. Without historical context, the instructor becomes evermore responsible for supplementing the material. As Barbara Gold contends, discussing intense and sensitive topics like slavery in ancient contexts can be distancing and not seem "real" to students because of the millennia of time between those experiences and the modern day. She also argues that White students may detach further because they think "this is not about me" (Gold, 2014, p. 210). To combat this disassociation, as a professor of Roman comedy, Gold plans to provide more historical background in the future and draw comparisons between Roman slavery and American slavery. However, even when such historical context is attempted, many efforts fall short as the next section demonstrates.

American slavery in Greek and Latin textbooks

In the first edition of *Athenaze*, the authors state:

> On the whole, it seems fair to say that slavery was less cruel and degrading in Greece than one would expect and that in an economy that did not have the benefit of machines society could hardly have functioned without it. One might also remember that there were over four million slaves in the United States in 1860, where slavery was not abolished until 1865 (Balme & Lawall, 1990, p. 14).[9]

The passage claims that ancient slavery was less brutal, a natural part of the economy, and did not impact as many lives for as long as American slavery. However, ancient slavery is no exception to the inhumanity and violence of the institutions of slavery past and present

[9] This paragraph does not appear in the second edition published in 2003. However, the impact of the earlier edition may continue because many learners do not have upgraded textbooks. See the report on the rising costs of textbooks by the US Public Interest Research Group (2014).

worldwide, especially for those who worked in the silver mines (Richlin; 2017; Hunt, 2016; DuBois, 2014; Konstan, 2013). Furthermore, these misleading statistics do not take into account the difference in population size from the ancient world to 19th-century America and the relative proportions of enslaved people compared to enslavers.

Another comparison between ancient and American slavery can be found in the historical context section titled "Connecting with the Ancient World: Slavery in Ancient Rome" in *Latin for the New Millennium* which reads:

> Ancient slavery was by no means identical to slavery in more recent periods and countries, such as colonial America. The Romans did not reduce a single race or culture to slavery; rather, slaves came from all over the ancient Mediterranean world and typically fell into servile status by capture in war (Minkova, 2008, p. 51).[9]

This comparison emphasizes that Roman slavery was not race-based but instead determined by political and military circumstances and assumes that the students understand American slavery was race-based. Without that assumption, the purpose of the statement "The Romans did not reduce a single race or culture to slavery" would not be clear. The effort made to distinguish the American institution of slavery from the ancient implies a concern among educators that students by transference may erroneously think that slavery in the ancient world was race-based as well (a misguided presupposition among students that I've witnessed in my own classroom). Furthermore, colonial America traditionally refers to the era between 1492 and 1763. Enslavement lasted long past 1763 and continues today in other forms such as the American prison system. Referring only to colonial America here raises questions about how authors make choices to distance one ideology from another (e.g. distancing modern American society from slave-era America). The passages above, and others like it, indicate that any discussion of

slavery (particularly in an American classroom) bears with it a subtext of race and racism in slavery. A similar statement is found in the *Cambridge Latin Course* which proclaims:

> In the Roman empire, slavery was not based on racial prejudice, and color itself did not signify slavery or obstruct advancement. People usually became slaves as a result either of being taken prisoner in war or of being captured by pirates; the children of slaves were automatically born into slavery (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015, p. 78).

Acknowledging that American students bring with them an understanding of the link between slavery and racism as they approach their studies is important. But without greater critical discussion of the reason for this association, authors and instructors who emphasize that ancient Greek and Roman slavery was not race-based risk sending the message that race and racism should be understood separately from slavery in general. However, the link between racism and slavery likely remains embedded in students' minds because of their education and experiences in America and elsewhere. Students may then be left with a discordant understanding of the relationship between racism and slavery. The following section further explores the relationship between race and slavery as presented in Greek and Latin classrooms.

Teaching slavery in American Greek and Latin classrooms

Some instructors of antiquity studies make a discussion of race a clear part of classroom activities by having students draw comparisons between ancient and American slavery. Page DuBois describes one such lesson in which her undergraduate and graduate students compare ancient texts on slavery to the narratives of Black enslaved people in America. DuBois states that she is attempting to "undo white students' imaginary sense that their skin color protects them from slavery, convince students that in antiquity slaves were often Greeks, not the heroic founders of a new nation, but rather the tortured, beaten, short-lived victims of their masters"

(DuBois, 2014, p. 198). While having the voices of Black enslaved people in the classroom is powerful and should continue, one problem with her explanation for this approach to teaching about slavery is that it centralizes the experiences and feelings of White people, an issue addressed in the Southern Poverty Law Center (2018) report on the teaching of slavery in America titled *Teaching Hard History: American Slavery.*

Teaching Hard History: American Slavery details serious issues with the way slavery is taught in the American education system. This extensive report identifies seven key issues in the teaching of slavery in the American classroom including centralizing the White experience, not providing students with sufficient context, and the avoidance of connecting slavery to the underlying ideology, namely, White supremacy. Another key issue is the continued use of damaging pedagogy. For example, the study reveals disturbing common practices among educators including staging simulations. In her future courses on ancient comedy, in addition to providing more historical context, Barbara Gold considers having students reenact "scenes of beatings or threatened beatings" in order to make performances of enslavement vivid (Gold, 2014, p. 210). However, as the Southern Poverty Law Center report explains, this teaching approach would be traumatizing for students and therefore should not take place.

Working toward improving antiquity studies pedagogy in secondary education, there have been recent criticisms of the "happy slave" narrative in the form of op-eds on *Medium* and *Eidolon* (Bostick, 2018; Robinson, 2017). In his article, Erik Robinson brought to light a profound example of the "happy slave" narrative in the 5th edition of *Cambridge Latin Course* series where there is a drawing of two enslaved people smiling after beating away a dog that had violently attacked them. Below the image is the Latin phrase *servi erant laeti* "the slaves were happy" (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015, p. 71). As Robinson (2017) explains:

> Students love the characters in the Cambridge Latin Course, most notably Grumio, the somnolent kitchen slave who is depicted living a perfectly happy life in the Roman villa; there is no hint that Grumio could ever be subject to arbitrary beating, crucifixion, or torture. Grumio has developed something of a cult following among those who learned Latin with the CLC, yet I have never heard anyone ask about or acknowledge the fact that he was not living a life of his own choosing. While it is true that the CLC presents a brief historical sketch about slavery in the ancient world, it is little more than a sanitized cultural note, and does little to dispel the impressions created by the story itself.

The sanitation and normalization of slavery as exemplified by Grumio in the *Cambridge Latin Course* has allowed slavery to become a comfortable topic and to escape critical analysis where it is needed most. Danielle Bostick (2018) explains that the "sanitized view of slavery can inadvertently reinforce misguided beliefs that slavery was an acceptable part of life in other periods of history." And she goes on to advocate: "What we teach about slavery has implications far beyond our classroom. We have a responsibility to teach the difficult truth." Teaching the difficult truth means also understanding where the pedagogical issues are before developing new curriculum. The next section presents efforts at addressing the racism and discrimination that has been long recognized in Greek and Latin teaching methods.

Antiracism in American Greek and Latin classrooms

Since the 1990s, there have been articles calling for antiracist and multicultural pedagogy in ancient studies (Levine, 1992; McCoskey, 1999). However, the discourse is often general and neglects direct discussion of antiracism (though that is increasing in blogs and online forums). For example, evidence of engagement in antiracist practices and multicultural education in Classics appears on personal websites such as *Classics at the Intersections* by Rebecca Futo

Kennedy, Associate Professor of Classics at Denison University. And there are some educators who advocate for one particular teaching approach because they believe it is more inclusive than others (Patrick, 2015). However, there are no empirical studies that support this claim. In fact, the arguments for such a claim often, even if unintentionally, come from a deficit perspective and carry underlying racist discourses. For example, Robert Patrick (2015), a high school Latin educator and leader in the Comprehensible Input branch of spoken Latin stated:

> When we limit our classes to those who share our interests we enhance the false notion that Latin cannot be learned by the average person...If student retention and inclusion is important to us, we must reconsider what we do with and how we address grammar. The program at our high school is now filled with average learners as well as special learners at both ends of the spectrum (pp. 108-109, 128)

Patrick asserts that Comprehensible Input increases inclusion by appealing to the 'average person.' This statement bears with it the underlying assumption that the current members of Greek and Latin learning communities (i.e. White people) are exceptional and highly intelligent. The material therefore must be made more palatable for average and less intelligent people (i.e. non-White people). I am not arguing, however, that Patrick intended this meaning at all. Intentionally or not, this statement suggests that historically marginalized people (including people of color) need easier-to-digest-material because of their average intellect. In the final section below, I briefly conclude with a summary of the situational context and begin the discussion of applying inclusive teaching practices.

Summary of situational context

This chapter presented the ways that instructors have attempted to address racism and enslavement in Greek and Latin classrooms. There are many misguided efforts including a long

history of staging mock slave auctions at high school Latin conventions (Bostick, 2019). However, by learning and applying multicultural education practices, Greek and Latin educators can take a step toward restorative justice and change pedagogical direction. In the following chapter, I introduce the theoretical framework of multicultural education and systemic functional linguistics that informs this antiracist research.

And ain't I a woman?

Look at me! Look at my arm!

I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns,

and no man could head me!

And ain't I a woman?

- Sojourner Truth, 1851

Fig. 4 Sojourner Truth, c. 1870.

Sojourner Truth (ca. 1797-1883) was an enslaved Black woman who self-emancipated by fleeing with her infant daughter to the home of a nearby abolitionist family who bought her freedom. She was unable to take all of her children with her at the time but later successfully sued to get her five-year-old son Peter back from Alabama where he was enslaved (Michals, 2015). Truth was given the name Isabella Bomfree when she was born but changed it to Sojourner Truth after she was free and had become an itinerant preacher. As a preacher, Truth delivered speeches supporting abolition, temperance, and women's rights. Truth spent decades on the lecture circuit and, in 1850, dictated her autobiography *The Narrative of Sojourner Truth*.

At the Women's Convention in Akron, Ohio on May 29, 1851, Sojourner Truth delivered the famous "Ain't I a Woman?" speech quoted above. Although the exact words of her speech are up for debate, all report that she stated "Ain't I a woman?" and advocated for racial and gender equity. In the passage above, Sojourner Truth poses the question "Ain't I a woman?" to the audience and forces them to consider their theoretical and philosophical perspective on who is included and who is excluded from the fight for equity. In this spirit, the following chapter frames my analysis of Greek and Latin textbooks with theories on equity in education that actively seek understanding of inclusive and exclusive teaching practices and material.

CHAPTER 3

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of multicultural education and systemic functional linguistics (SFL) that informs the data analysis and findings in subsequent chapters. Multicultural education can be broadly defined as a social justice movement aimed at creating a more equitable society through education. One main purpose of multicultural education theory and methodology is to fight institutionalized racism in schools. This theory of educational equity arose in the 1960s and 1970s as a progeny of the Black Civil Rights Movement. Rooted in antiracism, the movement was at first focused exclusively on race and often housed in Black studies departments in higher education institutions across America (Adams & Banks, 2013). Although antiracism remains a core element of the theory, driven by calls for inclusivity over the last six decades, multicultural education has expanded to address the many individual identities and realities in a classroom as well as collective group experiences and the structures and systems in society that impact both (Banks, 1995; Nieto, 2005b).

Recently, the concept of intersectionality has pushed the field of multicultural education to even more inclusive heights. Scholars, educators, and activists focusing on gender, sexual orientation, disabilities, and other areas of identity in addition to race have become part of the multicultural education community (Clark et al., 2017; Hansen, 2015; Masunah, 2016). As a result, people are increasing their research of topics such as educational opportunities for women with disabilities (Tefera et al., 2018) and the experiences of Black gay men in higher education

(Means et al., 2017). Many scholars agree that the field will continue to expand in response to an increasingly global society. With this increase, researchers and educators will broaden their understanding and inclusion of the complex, ever-changing, and infinite possibilities of identities in humanity. Currently, multicultural education is found now in nearly all fields of study in American higher education and is expected to continue its expansion.

This chapter includes a review of how multicultural educators and systemic functional linguistics practitioners have conceptualized language arts and history curriculum design with an overt focus on the social construct of race. I cover the main tenets of multicultural education theory and systemic functional linguistics and their application in language arts and history. The goal of this chapter is to justify the application of multicultural education theory and systemic functional linguistics in Greek and Latin contexts. I conclude with a discussion on how this framework can be applied to Greek and Latin textbooks.

Tenets of multicultural education

Multicultural education aims at educational equity and social justice by critically examining and reconfiguring the education system at micro and macro levels (Banks et al., 2001; Nieto, 2018). Influential scholars in multicultural education from its earliest stages include James A. Banks (2004; 2008; 2009; Banks & Banks, 2010), Sonia Nieto (2005a; 2005b; Nieto & Bode, 2010; Nieto & Bode, 2018), and Paulo Freire (1970).[10] While these and many other scholars over the years have offered numerous definitions of multicultural education, the following list of properties compiled by Sonia Nieto (Nieto & Bode, 2018, p. 32) sums up the content of most descriptions that have been published:

1. Multicultural education is antiracist education.

[10] Paulo Freire did not use the term multicultural education in his works like *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). However, he was influential in the field and is widely recognized as a major figure in multicultural education today (Nieto, 2005b).

2. Multicultural education is basic education.
3. Multicultural education is important for all students.
4. Multicultural education is pervasive.
5. Multicultural education is education for social justice.
6. Multicultural education is a process.
7. Multicultural education is critical pedagogy.

A synthesis of the scholarship by those who subscribe to these definitions reveals three core principles on student learning, teacher training, and school structure: 1.) Through learning about race, ethnicity, and multiculturalism, students will gain empathy and understanding, improve interpersonal and intergroup relationships, and create a more just society. 2.) Training teachers in race, ethnicity, and multiculturalism, especially on the practices of critical pedagogy, is necessary in order to appropriately address these topics in the classroom and instill in students the global value of equity and social justice. 3.) School administration and governance should be structured in a way that fosters multicultural student learning, teacher training, and a socially just and equitable educational environment.

While the fundamental values of multicultural education such as equity and social justice have remained the same throughout the decades, because multicultural education is always evolving and responding to the changing sociopolitical environment, the expressed principles and approaches have not been static. With changing tides in mind, the following subsections on student learning, teacher training, and school structure offer a review of common guiding principles, goals, and approaches that inform multicultural educators today. Throughout each section, I pay special attention to a common pattern pervading the theory and application of multicultural education, the symbiosis of action and reflection.

- *Student learning*

One main tenet of multicultural education is that through learning about race, ethnicity, and multiculturalism students will gain empathy and understanding, improve interpersonal and intergroup relationships, and create a more just society. This process, like many others in multicultural education, is one of action and reflection. In a course designed with multicultural education in mind, it is common to build in activities that ask the students to reflect upon how their perceptions have changed. Using a tripartite model of cultural competence, Christina A. Patterson, Lesther A. Papa, Alexander K. Reveles, and Melanie M. Domenech Rodríguez (2018) conducted a study on multicultural competence in an undergraduate multicultural psychology course at a PWI.

The tripartite model of cultural competence categorizes three steps toward change: awareness, knowledge, and skills. For this study, the researchers focused on students' colorblind attitudes, multicultural experiences, and empathy. The two classes were composed of 76 students including 41 females and 35 men. The student body was 85 % White, 5% Asian, 2% Hispanic, and others were of mixed identity or unreported. The course included quizzes, individual activities, group projects, events, and reflection papers. Results showed that through research, community events, and reflection, students decreased their colorblind attitudes and increased their desire for multicultural experiences as well as increased their empathy for others from different backgrounds. Unfortunately, no samples of the reflection papers were offered in the article as the study was heavily focused on quantifying as opposed to qualifying the assessment to illustrate change in cultural competence.

While quantitative assessments can help illustrate growth, other studies with qualitative emphasis provide further insight into the process of gaining cultural competence and the impact

of multicultural education on student learning. Michelle L. Bryan, Brandy S. Wilson, Ashlee A. Lewis, and Lisa E. Wills (2012) used a focus groups on race and racism to conduct a study on the reflections of doctoral students in education departments at a university. The researchers concluded that creating a space to talk about race and racism increased the participants racial literacy. Through multicultural education pedagogy, students can grow in their cultural competence by unsilencing race and confronting colorblind attitudes. People who subscribe to so-called colorblind attitudes and 'don't see race' contribute to systemic racism and lack the awareness, knowledge, and skills to address race and racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Bryan et al., 2012; Nieto & Bode, 2018). Embodying the cycle of reflection and action, one graduate student remarked upon her experiences after discussing race in the classroom:

> I have been able to talk to other people about some of the things I've learned in class, sitting down one on one with people and just breaking it down for them, just educating them. Like, wait a minute, you are saying you are color blind, but let's look at this (Bryan et al., 2012, p. 131).

These focus group discussions revealed that not only does research and reflection help to change an individual student's perspective, but it also encourages that student to share their knowledge with others. In addition to engaging in conversations with peers to share their knowledge in these ways, students can also take action through civic engagement. As students improve racial literacy, they will gain greater empathy and understanding with others different from themselves (Moya & Hamedani, 2017; Patterson et al., 2018). When students empathize with the experiences of others, they are more likely to go to the voting polls and vote against issues such as redistricting and gerrymandering that would further racially segregate the community.

- *Teacher training*

Another tenet of multicultural education is that training teachers in race, ethnicity, and multiculturalism, especially on the practices of critical pedagogy, is necessary in order to appropriately address these topics in the classroom and instill in students the global value of equity and social justice. To capture the goals of multicultural education for teachers, James A. Banks (1995) created a five-dimensional model presented here as **Fig. 5**:

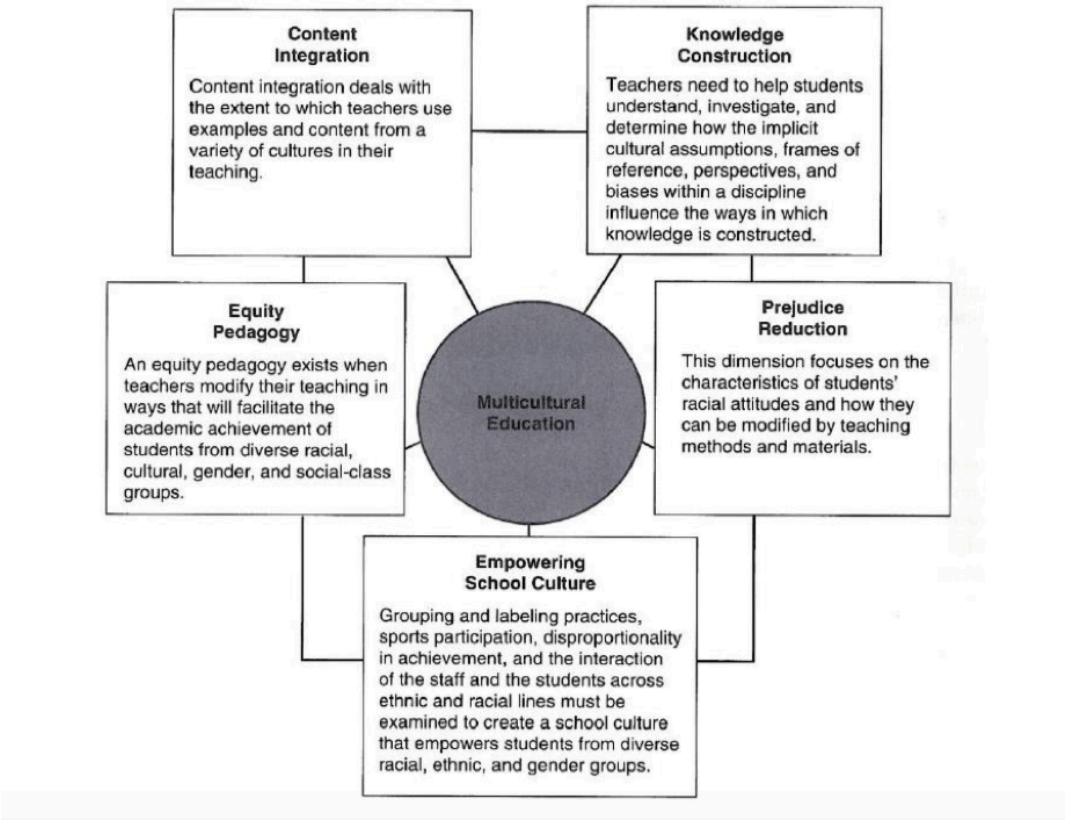

Fig. 5 Multicultural education theory chart (Todor, 2015, p. 215).

The figure above illustrates how multicultural educators are tasked with enacting equity pedagogy and consciously considering issues of content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, and empowering school culture. Banks (1995) labels his brand of critical pedagogy 'transformative teaching' which "is characterized by a curriculum organized around powerful ideas, highly interactive teaching strategies, active student involvement, and activities that require students to participate in personal, social, and civic action to make their classrooms,

schools, and communities more democratic and just" (p. 22). Although guidelines like these provide some direction for multicultural educators, there is a great deal of flexibility in curriculum design. As a result, it is up to an individual teacher to identify and create multicultural education-based approaches that are fitting to the unique context of each class, including considerations of subject matter and student demographics.

To address race and racism in the classroom, teachers are responsible for informing themselves on appropriate approaches. This training can occur in a number of ways including from an education class as part of a graduate school program for pre-service teachers or from seminars and workshops for in-service teachers. Most multicultural educators advocate for formal training as opposed to individual reading or autodidacticism because of the benefits of group discussion, guided reflections, and exposure to a variety of methods such as critical race theory (CRT) or systemic functional linguistics (SFL). For example, although CRT is sometimes applied generally to refer to any approach to discussing race in research and education, it has a tradition with specific methodologies such as counter-narratives, storytelling, and autoethnography that are used to attain particular goals (Delgado, 2017). Without proper knowledge and the skills to engage in CRT, in addition to failing to meet the aims of the theory, teachers risk causing greater harm to students. With a CRT approach to addressing damaging attempts at multicultural education, Michael E. Jennings (2015) provided an autoethnographic account of his experiences as a young Black boy in school. He shared a personal account of his first experiences being called racist names in school and the invisibility felt as a result of his teacher's approaches. Recalling his White teacher's sanitized lessons on the Black experience that mostly included small units featuring speeches like those of Martin Luther King Jr., Jennings (2015) shared, "This type of multiculturalism, rather than helping to eradicate racism, sought to

minimize the existence of racism by defining its existence as an unstructured set of individual acts of racial prejudice. This effectively ignored larger constructs of White supremacy and hegemony while rendering racism as an invisible entity that barely exists in a meritocratic society" (p. 30). Reflections like Jennings' demonstrate how important it is for teachers to receive proper training. Teacher training in multicultural education can help instructors to design appropriate courses and lessons with cause that engage more deeply in the material and value the lived experiences of students in the classroom, especially students of color.

To centralize students and their experiences in the classroom, Sonia Nieto (2005a; 2005b; Nieto & Bode, 2018) developed a model known as affirming diversity. Recognizing the power structure in the American education system where students are viewed as consumers of information and effaced of their individual identities, Nieto has dedicated decades of scholarship to helping educators understand themselves and their students as individuals with critical thinking skills that have the capacity to create change. One way to include the autonomy, identity, and individuality of students is to accept their language whether that means a dialect of English such as Black English or another language like Spanish. Teacher training in multicultural education can help educators design and practice ways to integrate language variation in general and specific ways. A broad approach is to permit translanguaging in the classroom where students are not punished or corrected for the use of their dialect or native language. Teachers can also design specific lessons that encourage students to reflect on their experiences with other dialects or languages and the experiences of others in their community. For example, Nieto suggests that teachers ask their students to do research on how many family members they know currently speak or used to speak other languages and dialects. The students can then select a family member or members to interview and learn about their language and history. In this way,

the teacher would show respect to the students and "honor and affirm their native languages, their families, their communities, and the resources they bring to their education" (Nieto & Bode, 2018, p. 200). In addition to being trained in culturally sustaining practices that affirm diversity, Nieto and Bode (2018) advocate for teachers to take active approaches for themselves such as studying a second language if they do not know one already.

In tandem with critical curriculum design and affirming classroom practices, teacher training helps multicultural educators reflect upon their own positionality and experiences. Erin Feinauer Whiting and Ramona Maile Cutri (2015) conducted a study on pre-service teacher reflections in a critical multicultural education course at a private university in the western United States. Whiting and Cutri discovered that through multicultural education training, White teachers demonstrated a significant increase in recognizing their own privileges and understanding how those privileges can contribute to structural inequity. In reflecting on what she had gained through this course, one White student stated "I feel that I am awarded more choices and opportunities in my life...Before this class, I did what most White people did, I felt that White was just average" (Whiting & Cutri, 2015, p. 17). When a White teacher recognizes their privilege in this way, they are more likely to empathize with their students who come from different backgrounds and readjust their teaching strategies accordingly. Given the dominance of White teachers in the education landscape of America, reflective training practices like this could have a wide-reaching impact on the education system. With teacher training, not only will the teachers themselves gain skills in reflecting on their own position, but they will be able to teach social justice issues to students more effectively and can influence their school on a system-wide level (Nieto, 2018).

- *School structure*

For multicultural education to be pervasive, school administration and governance should be structured in a way that fosters multicultural student learning, teacher training, and a socially just and equitable educational environment. Lately, there have been reforms framed as efforts to increase academic rigor and standards as well as save money. These reforms include cutting arts and music programs and making school days longer. In many cases, such reforms adversely impact school districts from areas with a lower socioeconomic status and higher population of marginalized people (Nieto & Bode, 2018). Without these opportunities for students to express and explore their identities and engage in social interaction, they are less likely to feel valued or connected to the educational experience. To engage in multicultural education on a structural level, schools need to offer inclusive and comprehensive programs in arts and music as well as after-school activities such as clubs and sports.

In addition to structuring in culturally engaging activities for students, to enact multicultural education on a systemic level, schools should adopt expectations for high levels of achievement. Schools that tend to have low expectations of their students are also located in school districts from areas with a lower socioeconomic status and higher population of marginalized people (Banks & Banks, 2010; Nieto & Bode, 2010; Noel, 2012). Sonia Nieto and Patty Bode (2010) also call for revision of the "at risk" label which is often ascribed to students based on their race, ethnicity, language, and economic class. These patterns combine to create an environment where students' identities are not respected. When students become aware that they are not expected to achieve, they lose confidence in themselves and with it goes the incentive to reach their potential.

School administrators have the power to control the success of multicultural education initiatives at local, state, and federal levels. For example, the growing trend of switching to block

scheduling, which allows for classes to be segmented into longer sections lasting two or even three hours as opposed to forty minutes, has had a positive effect on implementing critical pedagogy (Nieto & Bode, 2010). Although this may not be the intention of administrators, having these blocks of time has allowed multicultural educators to engage students in topics of race, ethnicity, gender, etc. for longer periods of time in which they can integrate more material and reflection activities.

School structure is not only determined by administrators and policy-makers but also by families in the community. In *Affirming Diversity*, Nieto and Bode (2018) recognized the challenges that parents and families may face in getting involved with their child's school. Parents may not speak English or may have to work so much that they do not have the time to be involved in the committees that steer the school culture and policies. However, most of these parents encouraged their children to take school seriously and demonstrated pride in the successes that their children achieved. To allow for greater involvement, teachers and administrators can create a more democratic community, asking for input through surveys, phone calls, or other means, even from families who cannot afford to dedicate much time to the PTA. Together, families, administrators, and teachers can collaborate to create a more just and equitable learning environment for students from all backgrounds.

Multicultural education and race in language arts

Multicultural education in language arts involves two major considerations 1) the diversity of characters and cultures featured in the texts and 2) the critical analysis of these texts. By 2055, researchers predict that there will be no racial or ethnic majority group in the United States. Despite the changing racial demographics in schools nationwide, texts used in K-12 classrooms across the country still mostly feature White characters (Moya & Hamedani, 2017).

Having majority White characters in the assigned readings limits the life experiences students are exposed to and therefore empathize or sympathize with. For White students, their worldview may remain unchallenged and biases unchecked. For students of color, having no characters that reflect them can create a dissonance in which they are learning about a world in which they do not exist. When students do not see themselves in the literature they are reading, they may conclude that their lives do not matter in school and in society (Saathoff, 2017). To combat the homogenous curriculum, multicultural educators in language arts classrooms, including language-learning and literature environments, critically consider how reading impacts the racial literacy of their students, choose texts that are racially diverse and feature people of color, and teach students how to contextualize the material through close readings.

In examining the approaches that teachers attempting multicultural education use, Banks and Banks (2010) identified four levels of inclusion: 1) The Contributions Approach 2) The Additive Approach 3) The Transformation Approach and 4) The Social Action Approach. The Contributions Approach emphasizes heroes and specific cultural holidays and events like Martin Luther King Jr. Day. For the Additive Approach, the structure of the curriculum remains the same while new content is added such as perhaps including *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* by Mildred D. Taylor which is narrated by a young Black girl named Cassie. In the Transformation Approach, the structure of the curriculum is changed so that students see content from different perspectives. And finally, the Social Action Approach takes place when teachers allow students to make decisions and take action regarding social issues. Examples of the Transformation Approach and Social Action Approach are provided below.

Developing a multicultural pedagogy in language arts classrooms as counter to the current White-centric curriculum present in most schools involves consideration of social

psychology. The texts that teachers choose to assign matter because their style and content have the power to shape students' perceptions of the world or schemas. Schemas are learned over a lifetime and refer to "frameworks that work as perceptual filters, shaping cognition, emotion, motivation, and behavior" (Moya & Hamedani, 2017, p. 10). Many people who have similar life experiences will have similar schemas which are shaped by their experiences based on their racial, gender, and socioeconomic status. There are two ways that schemas impact the literature classroom: 1) students bring schemas with them into the classroom through which they interpret the material that they read and 2) schemas are present in the texts that the students read. By exposing students to schemas different from those with which they enter the classroom, students can empathize with experiences different from their own.

Just as it is important for students to learn about the experiences of others from different backgrounds, it is important that students also read and analyze stories about people and places they relate to. These stories not only affirm the identities of students in the class but can be especially significant for students of color who may be used to hearing negative discourses about their community. Ernest Morrell and Jodene Morrell (2012) discussed the inclusion of *Smoky Night* by Eve Bunting in a third-grade social studies class. The book is a recounting of the 1992 Los Angeles riots after police forcibly arrested and beat Rodney King. The school is located in the Los Angeles area but the students in the class at the time were too young to have memories of the riots. While media and prevailing discourses of the riots focus on the violence and looting of Black people, this children's book takes the perspective of a young Black boy named Daniel and how the community came together to support one another. Engaging in transformative teaching, the students not only read the text but were then asked to take on the role of a character

and describe their feelings. To take a Social Action Approach (Banks & Banks, 2010), Jodene Morrell also had her students engage in discussions of power, social justice, and violence.

However, not all multicultural education practices in language arts are centered on texts. In July of 2016, police murdered at least two black men, Alton Sterling in Louisiana, and Philando Castile in Minnesota. After learning about these murders, Ting Yuan (2017) began to consider the White discourse on Black bodies. She called for the incorporation of narratives focused on the bodies of students of color. Practices included watching plays and dances as well as designing theatrical and musical performances. To fulfill the mission of affirming diversity and centralizing the student experience, Yuan saw "the importance of enacting embodied pedagogies not as "add-on" teaching activities but as the "new norms" of accepting and advocating students' bodily expression in their everyday school lives" (Yuan, 2017, p. 71). Embodied critical pedagogy can begin at very early stages when children are first being socialized and can also be reinforced by what materials they read as witnessed by Morrell and Morrell (2012) who described their child's love of the book *Busy Toes* by C.W. Bowie in which Black children playfully use their toes. If embodied expression became more normalized in language and literature classrooms, not only would students be able to express their identities more but this practice may also contribute to a greater understanding of how improvisation and play create learning opportunities. Physical movement is one way in which students, particularly students of color, are labeled as 'unruly' or having 'poor behavior.' If physical movement became integrated into learning in a language arts or any classroom, this dominate narrative of what defines poor behavior could shift.

Multicultural education and race in history

One of the most salient racist practices that persists in schools today is the diluting, silencing, and erasure of people of color in history textbooks and language arts course materials. Even when a person of color is centralized, their experiences are often sanitized and filtered through a White lens. A common practice in schools across America is to learn about the Black experience primarily through the stories and speeches of Martin Luther King Jr. (Jennings, 2015; Nieto & Bode, 2018). The most common popular speech that students learn about MLK Jr. through is his inspirational "I Have a Dream" speech delivered on August 28, 1963 during the March on Washington. What students do not often learn about is King's anti-Vietnam War activism and his criticism of capitalism (which he viewed as embroiled in racism and war). This reduction of his role in American society is a "sanitation of Martin Luther King, a man full of passion and life, [that] renders him an oversimplified, lifeless figure, in the process making him a "safe hero"" (Nieto & Bode, 2018, p. 33). Teacher training in multicultural education, however, educates people on how to design curriculum that is genuinely and thoughtfully multicultural.

As White people are frequently the core figures of history textbooks, their experiences are treated as the default human experience. There are often units in history courses which are centered on other racial groups besides White but designed only for short discussion. However, the message that this sends to students is that White is the default race that should be centralized and other racial identities such as Black or Brown need only be discussed overtly for a short period of time (Saathoff, 2017). Racial minorities then become supplements that are subordinate to the White experience featured in the main history lessons. As a result, White supremacy is perpetuated in the history classroom. Multicultural education, however, fosters racial literacy with the result that students "conceptualize race as a dynamic system of social distinction and economic control" (Moya & Hamedani, 2017, p. 11). Race is an action that racially literate

people recognize when it is happening and critically interpret how it relates to power. When students become more racially literate, they empathize with others different from them and reflect on the racial biases they carry with them.

When events involving or centering on non-White people are featured in history books, they are often misrepresented and explained from the perspective of Whites. Examples of common historical events heavily involving people of color that are written from the White perspective in textbooks include Black enslavement, Mexican land disputes, and the genocide of First Nations people. The presentation of the Treaty of Hidalgo in 1848 is one example. In American history books, the land acquisition is often presented as a positive action for both America and Mexico because America gained 525,000 square miles and Mexico made a profit of 15 million dollars (Saathoff, 2017). However, students do not learn about the continued land disputes and the horrific experiences of Mexicans who lived in the area at the time.

Scholarship on how to approach teaching history from a multicultural perspective differs in style from broad general guidelines (Banks, 1995) to offering specific step-by-step sample lessons (Davidman & Davidman, 1997) or reflections on their personal experiences in teaching (Westerlund, 2017). For example, Banks (1995) advocates for lessons that have students read primary texts and examine how otherness forms in- and out-group identity. In addressing the teaching of enslavement of Blacks, Columbus' view of Natives, and Spanish conquistadors' presentation of Aztecs, Banks does not direct the reader on specifics as to how to get students to examine the texts but focuses on sharing with the reader what the students should get out of these texts. For Banks (1995), the goal is for students "to understand the extent to which knowledge about race, and even the very idea of race (as well as about other social phenomena) is a social construction" (p. 23). The hope is that students will have the tools of examination to not only

understand the target material but also apply the concepts as they reflect upon their own experiences and subjectivity in other contexts so that they can effectively engage in the multicultural reality of the world. It is up to the educator to determine what methodologies they should use to achieve these ends.

Other resources, however, provide history teachers with guided lessons to help them practice multicultural education and directly address issues regarding race. For example, Davidman and Davidman (1997) provided a step-by-step lesson plan for teaching a lesson on Thanksgiving to grades K-2. They offer the reader specific objectives for the lesson: 1) to identify facts about Thanksgiving and 2) create storyboard about the first Thanksgiving to share with others. The objectives are followed by suggested procedures including prompt questions like "Who can tell me what this picture (a turkey) has to do with a holiday we will celebrate this month?" (p. 156). The authors then provide a sample text for the teacher to read to the students and follow up questions such as "What did you learn from the story that was new information for you?" (p. 157). After presenting this lesson, they reflect on ways in which it could be improved including increasing student participation and emphasizing that First Nations people had celebrations of thankfulness prior to 1621 (thus making the history lesson less Eurocentric). As Davidman and Davidman illustrate, multicultural education is an ongoing, iterative process that requires reflection and is always under constant revision.

In exemplifying close reading and critical pedagogy in multicultural education, Ruslana Westerlund (2017) recounted a lesson on American slavery that she did with a class of 7th graders for which they critically examined their history textbook. Using principles of systemic functional linguistics (SFL), she asked the students to read the text and identify who is responsible for what actions. After they formulated an understanding of the interpersonal interactions of the people in

the text, they had to discuss their thoughts with their partner. On account of thinking critically about the language used to describe the experiences of enslaved Africans in America, the students concluded that the story was sanitized. With the linguistic analysis as evidence, they also took their assessment a step further, recognizing authorial power in the construction of history narratives, and asserted that the authors did not want to present history in a negative way. For teacher training purposes, similar to Davidman and Davidman (1997), Westerlund included in her examination of this lesson plan fifteen questions to help guide teachers in leading their students in critical discussions. Sample questions include the following: How are events described and named? Whose histories and experiences are included or omitted? Who benefits from these portrayals? Other multicultural educators of history have also set a precedence for using SFL to combat racist textbook passages (Schleppegrell 2017; Westerlund 2017; de Oliveira 2010; Coffin 2005).

Multicultural education and systemic functional linguistics

Founded by the British linguist Michael Halliday (1925-2018) beginning in the 1950s, systemic functional linguistics (SFL) is a theory and methodology in educational linguistics that shares some basic principles and goals with multicultural education. Halliday specialized in Mandarin and earned his Ph.D. in Chinese Linguistics from the University of Cambridge in 1955. The origins of SFL are often traced to his seminal 1961 paper "Categories of the Theory of Grammar." His approach to language was influenced by theories on form and meaning that arose out of British, Danish, and Prague schools of linguistics. Halliday was chiefly inspired by the works of J. R. Firth (1957), his professor at the University of London, and Louis Trolle Hjelmslev (1961), co-founder of the Linguistic Circle of Copenhagen (Harman, 2018; Martin, 2016). Extending these schools of thought, Halliday added new considerations regarding

grammar and semantics in ways that centralized the social function of language and meaning-making patterns as well as promoted social action (Halliday, 2009; Martin, 2016; Martin, 2013). In 1976, after having held appointments at various institutions in England and the United States, Halliday relocated to Australia and instituted the Department of Linguistics at the University of Sydney which has served as a home base for SFL for the last forty years. He remained in Australia for the rest of his life until his passing in April of 2018.

By concentrating on social function, Halliday distinguished himself from other popular linguists of the last century including Noam Chomsky (2010; 1966) whose generative grammar language theory takes a rules-based approach, emphasizing the analysis of grammatical sentences. As a framework for understanding the social function of language, Halliday was, in part, influenced by Ferdinand de Saussure's conceptualization of the link between phonetics and semiotics where a sign (*signifié*) is inextricably yoked with thought (*signifiant*), a supposition taken up by the Linguistic Circle of Copenhagen (Martin, 2016). Growing from de Saussure's model, Halliday examined language as a network of meaning-making systems, frequently referred to as a semiotic system of language (Halliday, 2009; Halliday & Matthiesen, 2004). Over six decades, Halliday and other leading SFL scholars have developed a hierarchical and stratified understanding of language where expression and context are in communion with one another. This conceptualization of language is often depicted with imbedded circles or stacked levels representing the strata of language, its hierarchy, and its interconnectivity. One challenge for new learners of SFL is that many scholars, while influenced by the same or similar resources, reimagine the stratification in slightly different ways. For this research, I will rely on the stratification of language offered by Ruth Harman (2018) and adapted here as **Fig. 6**:

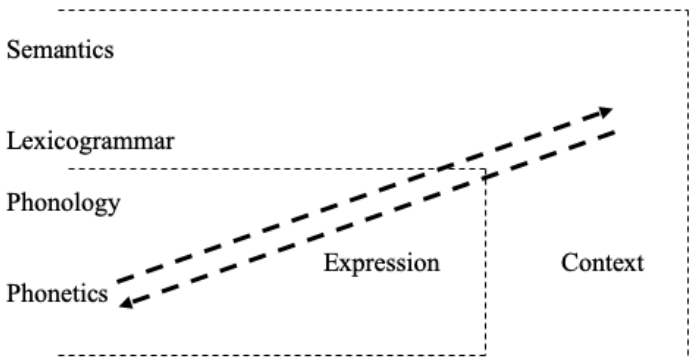

Fig. 6 Language strata in context (Harman, 2018 p. 4).

The figure above illustrates the four strata of language in SFL: phonetics, phonology, lexicogrammar, and semantics. In this structure, language is understood as a process where semantics (meaning) is realized through the lexicogrammar (grammatical choices) providing context and realized at the phonology (system of sounds/signs) and phonetics level (sounds/signs) through expression. Conceiving of language in this way brings social function into focus with context and expression consistently considered co-operational so that grammar is never interpreted in isolation. This is a top-down permeable structuring where each level is realized through the stratum below it (Halliday, 2009; Harman, 2018; Martin, 2016). Phonetics and phonology constitute the expression of context given in lexicogrammar and semantics and together they shape culture.

Culture and social function have been central to SFL since its inception. When Halliday first developed the language theory, he was concerned with addressing the language-based discrimination he witnessed occurring in institutional settings (Harman, 2018). SFL then developed as a field of educational linguistics with a distinct social justice perspective calling practitioners to action through critical language awareness. One of the main goals is to equip scholars, educators, and students with the tools to interpret language function and through this knowledge then combat oppressive power dynamics at all levels of education (Harman, 2018).

Since SFL helps guide practitioners "from text to discourse to ideology" (Thomas, 2016, p. 30), its impact extends beyond the classroom and teaches critical language awareness and recognition of power dynamics in other contexts of society, increasing empathy and understanding of others, and thus broadly encouraging equity and informed civic engagement.

Although SFL scholars can be found in China, Japan, Chile, and many other parts of the world, it remains most popular in Australia, New Zealand, and Great Britain. In the case of Australia, SFL is even part of the national curriculum guidelines (Thomas, 2016). Current leading SFL scholars in Australia include successors of Halliday at the University of Sydney such as Suzanne Eggins (1994; 1993), J.R. Martin (2016; 2013), and David Rose (Martin & Rose, 2003) who have all contributed significantly to the growth of SFL theory especially in the areas of discourse semantics and genre. In addition, Lens Unsworth (2014; 2013; 2006) at Australian Catholic University is known for his development of a multimodal analysis of texts and images. And at the University of New South Wales is Peter White (Martin & White, 2005) who is most known for furthering the appraisal system of SFL.

In America, the SFL community is smaller but has been steadily growing over the last two decades. In 2002, the North American Systemic Functional Linguistics Association (NASFLA) was established to create a regional network of SFL scholars. And in 2016, GradNASFLA was created to support graduate students in North America who are pursuing research in SFL. The most recent evidence for the spread of SFL in America is that Boston College hosted the 2018 International Systemic Functional Congress where SFL scholars from around the world gathered to share their research. Leading scholars in the United States include Mary Schleppegrell (Schleppegrell & Moore, 2018; Schleppegrell, 2016; 2013) at the University of Michigan, Meg Gebhard (2014; et al., 2013; 2010) at UMass - Amherst, Ruth Harman (2018;

Harman & Khote, 2018) at the University of Georgia, and J. Andrés Ramirez (2018) at Florida Atlantic University.

Using six recently published empirical studies (Achugar & Carpenter, 2012; Gu, 2016; Hardstaff, 2015; Nero & Stevens, 2018; Schleppegrell & Moore, 2018; Simmons 2018), the rest of this chapter explores what SFL tools are being used currently to address racial and socioeconomic inequity in education. Where relevant, I connect these practices to shared goals in multicultural education. The research presented here was conducted in a variety of contexts including English language learning (ELL) and literature classrooms in the United States, writing classes in Jamaica, and history classes in Japan and the United States. Although there are shared patterns, each study takes a unique approach suited to context. The purpose of this research is to demonstrate the breadth of potential for SFL in ancient language and literature classrooms. More information on recent scholarship and developments in SFL methodology are provided in the following section.

Cultural diversity and systemic functional linguistics

SFL holds that all students deserve equitable education regardless of language, race, gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status or any other aspect of identity. Valuing cultural diversity is a cornerstone of the field and practitioners of SFL are trained in educational methods that foster diversity and social justice in the classroom. Moreover, they strive for equity in the educational system and society at large (Harman 2018; Harman & Khote, 2018) because, to borrow from the multicultural education theory scholars Sonia Nieto and Patty Bode (2018), "unless language and cultural issues are viewed critically through the lens of equity and the power structures that impede the goals of social justice, these perspectives are unlikely to have a lasting impact in promoting real change" (p. 4). For example, Josephine Sedgwick (2018)

published an article in *The New York Times* on the horrendous conditions of US public schools including first-hand accounts from teachers like Elliot Glaser in Warren, MI who reported that the school budget could not fund textbooks for his students, 25% of whom are emergent bilingual English language learners. Many other teachers reported having texts that were twenty-five years old and teaching in classrooms with black mold, broken desks, and wasps living in the ceiling. While promoting and affirming diversity in these classrooms and supplying them with equal amounts of textbooks as other schools would help, because of the systemic issues related to funding and discrimination, it would not be enough achieve social justice and equity.

For real change to happen, there must also be advocates lobbying at local, state, and federal levels. To connect the activities in the classroom to this necessary activism outside of it, many SFL researchers follow a pattern in which they recognize inequity, design an educational approach to address it, reflect upon its impact, and then make recommendations and take action by engaging with the administration, policy makers, and other community members. Through this cycle of pedagogy and action, SFL practitioners bring awareness to the value of cultural diversity in education and create new ways to fight for change in society in and outside the classroom.

One of the primary ways that SFL educators support cultural diversity and advocate for social justice is by helping students and other teachers gain critical language awareness, the "ability to recognize that text is an object that can be analyzed, that authors make choices in the language they use, and that authors have points of view that can be considered, engaged with, and responded to" (Schleppegrell, 2018, p. 24). In addition to bringing attention to the language choices authors make, critical language awareness helps readers relate to characters in a text who may be of a different race, gender, socioeconomic status, etc. As a result, students experience

different perspectives and gain greater empathy and understanding of others. This is another way in which SFL shares similar goals with multicultural education. Multicultural education scholars like Paula M. L. Moya and MarYam G. Hamedani (2017) believe that all people have socially constructed learned schemas that shape their perceptions. When students experience schemas different from their own by reading, watching a film, or meeting someone new, for example, they are more likely to relate to others from different backgrounds. People who empathize with those different from themselves are more likely to fight for the rights of others.

Many SFL educators teaching critical language awareness also engage in culturally sustaining praxis where the linguistic, racial, ethnic and other elements of diversity of the students are integrated into the curriculum. For example, Ruth Harman and Nihal Khote (2018) recognized that testing practices and English-only policies in K-12 public schools in the southeastern United States negatively impacted the educational experiences of the increasing population of students who were emergent bilingual learners. In response, they designed, implemented, and critically analyzed a culturally sustaining SFL pedagogy that allowed students to use their bilingual skills in order to analyze and produce language in ways that would be helpful for meeting the restrictive Common Core State Standards. Students were welcomed to use their 'semiotic repertoires' (Harman & Khote, 2018, p. 72) and switched between English and Spanish during classroom discussion as they learned about formal register and essay writing. The success of this praxis was illustrated in the work of Veronica, a long-term English learner with extra challenges, who was able to write a persuasive essay on the deportation of her father. With this approach to curriculum, SFL was used to confront xenophobia and racism in the American education system and empower students to succeed while valuing their cultural and linguistic diversity from a non-deficit perspective.

While affirming cultural diversity and fighting for social justice, SFL and multicultural education scholars emphasize the importance of adequate teacher education. Although teachers may have in-depth knowledge of their subject area, many lack understanding of how the language is functioning within the texts they assign and are unable to communicate the disciplinary discourse effectively to students (Gebhard et al., 2013). This lack of awareness especially impacts language learners who, even after years of language training, can still struggle with discipline-specific discourse. In a study on training current and future educators in SFL, Meg Gebhard, I-An Chen, Holly Graham, and Wawan Gunawan (2013) analyzed the SFL learning of ten graduate students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds in a TESOL master's program. After learning SFL methodology, the graduate students designed lessons that reflected this growth which could be used to help their students. Juanita was a graduate student who had three years experience teaching ESL and herself had once been in English language learning courses growing up as a native Spanish speaker from Puerto Rico. She recalled experiencing discrimination and having a terrible time in these classes. As a student in the course, Juanita focused on learning genre analysis in SFL and then applied it in the ELL course that she was teaching. After, she reported, "my philosophy of grammar has changed tremendously...I was amazed to hear the students have discussions as they were trying to make meaning of what is a narrative" (Gebhard et al., 2013, p. 119). Results like these indicate that through SFL training educators can shift their understanding of grammar from form alone to form and function and bring this knowledge into the classroom in effective ways.

Fundamental principles of systemic functional analysis

Social function is at the core of language analysis in SFL. For this reason, researchers must understand the social context of any given discourse. In SFL, the term discourse refers to

any exchange of communication including written, spoken, gestures, images, etc. There are two main considerations of discourse context: context of culture and context of situation. When examining a discourse in an educational setting, SFL researchers consider the context of culture such as the country and community where the schooling is taking place. Expectations and experiences differ widely between say a private Japanese elementary school and a public university in Argentina. At the same time, researchers narrow the scope to consider the context of situation. An SFL educator with a homogenous classroom of White native English speakers experiences a different cultural and linguistic environment from a teacher with many students of color and a large population of native Spanish speakers. These contexts shape curriculum design choices such as the inclusion of Spanish in classroom discussion (Harman & Khote, 2018).

In addition to considering the scope of social context, SFL analysis calls on the researcher to converge context and function. As presented in the introduction, language is conceived of as a four-level stratification comprised of phonetics, phonology, lexicogrammar, and semantics. The social functions of language, however, fall into three categories: interpersonal, ideational, and textual. Each metafunction is enacted by each stratum and all three operate simultaneously. The interpersonal metafunction in language enacts relationships and refers to the exchanges between participants and expressions of attitude. It is prosodic in nature. The ideational metafunction represents experience, refers to content, and is particulate. The textual metafunction organizes text, is the structure of discourse, and is periodic (Bednarik & Martin, 2010; Martin, 2016; Martin & Rose, 2003).

Studies demonstrate how SFL researchers often enter analysis of the strata of language through the lens of a particular metafunction. The entry point into analysis depends on the context and content of the discourse. Once a fitting initial approach is discovered, given that the

metafunctions of language are simultaneously enacted through all strata of language, researchers follow the path that the discourse analysis leads in as many directions as are appropriate for the research questions at hand. For example, a study on the presentation of WWII in Japanese and US history textbooks examining the difference in the representation of interactions between the warring factions in battle, while primarily focused on the interpersonal metafunction, also took into consideration ideational patterns of agency and textual issues with nominalization (Gu, 2016). As a result, the researchers discovered a pattern of construal in which language resources distanced American soldiers and the American government in the agency and thus responsibility for the atomic bombs that devastated Japan.

Additional considerations of context include genre and register. In SFL, a genre is a classification of discourse based on its social function and pattern of meaning making (Martin & Rose, 2003). For example, a *Bildungsroman* 'educational novel' otherwise known as a coming-of-age story, such as *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* by Mildred D. Taylor (1976), in line with the genre, invites the reader to relate to the main character, Cassie Logan, as they learn through an arc of psychological and moral growth from youth to adolescence (Hardstaff, 2015). However, history textbooks are a different educational genre with the function of instructing the reader about events and people of the past. Genre can be the focal point of an SFL study or a supplemental means of providing context. While there are many variations within a genre, recognizing the genre of a particular text and understanding its overall predictability and meaning-making potential allows for SFL researchers to observe and explore new and different sociosemiotic functions. (Harman, 2018; Martin, 2016).

In addition to genre, SFL researchers also examine the context of discourse through variables of register. Unlike genre which crosses all metafunctions, register is split into three

categories (tenor, field, and mode) that are each associated with a particular metafunction. Since many scholars provide slightly varying explanations of these elements, the following is a synthesis of definitions offered in major SFL resources (Eggins, 1994; Halliday & Hasan, 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Harman, 2018; Martin & Rose, 2003). Tenor regards the status of participants and the relationship between the producer and receiver of a discourse and therefore falls under interpersonal metafunction. Field refers to the topic of the discourse and what actions are occurring, so it is ideational. Mode is the role of the language and the manner of transmission including whether it is written or spoken and as such is textual. To borrow an example from Harman (2018), when engaging with colleagues at a meeting "we usually have a topic to discuss (*the field*), a particular relationship with the people (*the tenor*) and a particular way of organizing the talk because it is face to face (*the mode*)" (p. 5). Taken altogether, context of culture, context of situation, strata of language, metafunctions, genre, and register constitute the major facets of language structure and social function.

As a final addition to this review of SFL, in the 1990s, multimodality emerged as another major development of analysis (Martin, 2016; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; O'Toole, 1994). Multimodal analysis takes into account images, film, gestures, and any discourse beyond the verbal and printed text. Lens Unsworth (2014) examined typography and language choice in the picture book *Stuck* by Oliver Jeffers (2011) and its Spanish translation *Atrapados* (Jeffers, 2012). Unsworth observed that while the drawings remained the same, the two translations differed in orthography. For example, the English translation had strategically placed capitalized letters seen in the phrase "but it woulDn't come UNSTUCK" whereas the Spanish translation has "*pero fue imposible hacerla caer"* (Unsworth, 2011, p. 119). Unsworth examined the changing use of capital letters as well as other features from interpersonal, ideational, and textual perspectives. In

regard to interpersonal metafunction, he concluded that in the English translation the capitalization functions in conjunction with the grammar to provide additional evaluative meaning that is lost in the Spanish with its disappearance. Unsworth's study revealed how authorial choices in text and image, including the style of lettering, can impact not only visual experience with a picture book but also the interpretation of the content.

Summary of theoretical framework

With the election of President Trump in 2016, White supremacists have amped up their visibility and use of Classics imagery, history, and literature to justify racism and hatred (Bond, 2018a; Bond, 2018b; Zuckerberg, 2017). This appropriation of ancient culture has sparked new awareness of racial inequity and a rising interest in social justice among Classics scholars, the vast majority of whom are White (De Bode, 2018; Feldblum, 2018; Zuckerberg, 2016). As a result, researchers have increasingly been examining the lack of racial diversity in the field and seeking out inclusive approaches to Classics pedagogy (Bostick, 2018; Kennedy, 2017; Robinson; 2017; Ryan, 2012). By including SFL in the Classics curriculum using methods featured in the language arts and history studies above, students and educators of ancient language and literature can increase their critical language awareness in new ways that foster cultural diversity and racial equity.

If the world are to judge her as I have judged her,
they must be introduced to the secret history of her transactions.
The veil of mystery must be drawn aside;
the origin of a fact must be brought to light with the naked fact itself.
- Elizabeth Keckley, 1868 (p. xiv)

Fig. 7 Elizabeth Keckley, 1861.

Elizabeth Keckley (1818-1907) was an enslaved Black woman and a captive dressmaker in the White House of President Abraham Lincoln and First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln. In 1868, she wrote an autobiography that detailed the private lives of the Lincolns titled *Behind the scenes: Or, thirty years a slave, and four years in the White House*. In her book, Keckley recounted First Lady Lincoln's sink into financial ruin after President Lincoln's assassination. According to her testimony, because of lavish spending, Mrs. Lincoln was forced to sell her belongings including her clothes. Keckley was criticized for sharing this personal information publicly but she stood by her convictions to the truth.

In the above passage, Keckley is responding to her critics and defends her choice to share with the public the private lives of the Lincolns by arguing that the truth must be revealed in order for the public to understand reality. To borrow this sentiment, I believe if the field of ancient studies is to work toward restorative justice, in the words of Elizabeth Keckley, "the veil of mystery must be drawn aside." This chapter therefore details the application of systemic functional linguistics methodology by scholars in language arts and history contexts in order to prepare the reader for analysis of Greek and Latin textbooks in chapters 5 and 6.

CHAPTER 4

SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine how a critical SFL analysis can help explore enslavement discourses in Greek and Latin textbooks. In this chapter, I first discuss previous applications of SFL in Greek and Latin contexts and demonstrate how my research differs on account of its critical lens. I then introduce the data set of Greek and Latin textbooks that is used for analysis and explain the selection process. Afterward, I define the parameters of SFL analysis featured in this research by discussing the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions and the standard processes of their examination. The research questions that guide my dissertation are the following:

1. How are interpersonal and ideational meaning systems being used to construe enslavement discourses within Greek and Latin textbooks?
2. What is the function of multimodality in construing enslavement discourses in Greek and Latin textbooks? How are images and texts together being used to construct enslavement?

Application of systemic functional linguistics in Greek and Latin studies

In the previous chapter, I introduced the theoretical framework of systemic functional linguistics (SFL). One challenge to applying SFL in Greek and Latin contexts is that the system was originally designed for the English language. Although expanded to Spanish in some

capacity, it is still in its early stages of development for Greek (Aerts, 2014). There have been no known published empirical studies using SFL in Latin contexts.

The bulk of SFL research on Greek centers on close readings of the New Testament which was originally written in the Koine dialect of Greek (also known as Biblical or Alexandrian Greek). Koine is an eastern Greek dialect used for six hundred years from 300 BCE to 300 CE. Scholars use SFL in this context to explore interpretations of religious texts and examine the meaning-potential of texts. For example, Ronald D. Peters (2014) examined the functions of the Greek definite article **ὁ** [ho] 'the' using SFL principles of appraisal and ideation analysis. He concluded that this grammatical element functions in two ways. First as a modifier such as in the noun phrase **ὁ θησαυρός** [ho thēsauros] 'the treasure.' However, the article also has structural value that extends and elaborates on the identities of the participants as seen in the following example in the New Testament from 1 Peter chapter 1 verse 14:

> **ὁ** καὶ [**τῆς** μελλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι **δόξης**] **κοινωνός**
>
> [ho kai tēs melloosēs apokaluptesthai doxēs koinōnos]
>
> And the [of the about to be revealed glory] partner...
>
> And the partner of the glory that is to be revealed... (Peters 2014, p. 269)

In the above example, **ὁ κοινωνός** 'the partner' is a part of the whole **τῆς δόξης** 'the glory.' Peters goes on to say that recognizing this structure is only the first step in the analysis. It is then the researcher's responsibility to interpret what the purpose of this structure is and how it indicates the author's attitude toward the content and the reader.

When applying SFL in New Testament research, scholars often conduct discourse analysis without considerations of social equity. Whether the study is an examination of ideation (Martín-Asesio, 2000), typology (Pang, 2016), or genre (Pitts, 2019; Porter & Pitts, 2013), New

Testament scholars tend to emphasize the process of categorization as the end goal. While these studies are examples of straight SFL analysis, they are not examples of *critical* SFL research because they do not include examination of social justice issues such as racism and ethnic discrimination. To fill this gap, I conduct a methodological analysis informed by straight SFL discourse analysis along with a critical exploration of the meaning-making that focuses particularly on how my interpretation of the data relates to constructions of race and racism in Classics classrooms.

Another challenge with turning to applications of SFL in Koine Greek contexts is the language evolution timeline. Koine is derived from an earlier eastern dialect known as Attic. Attic Greek was spoken in Athens and the surrounding area in the classical era from about 500 to 300 BCE.[11] Most Ancient Greek textbooks used in high school and college classrooms in America today do not teach Koine Greek but rather Attic or Attic-Ionic Greek.[12] Koine Greek is distinct enough from Attic and Attic-Ionic Greek that applications of SFL in Koine contexts cannot be used as direct models for application in Attic or Attic-Ionic contexts. Therefore, while it is informative to understand how SFL has been used in regard to Koine Greek, it is necessary to begin the analysis anew when examining the content of current Greek and Latin textbooks.

To articulate the linguistic construal of enslavement in these textbooks in SFL terms, I have chosen to focus on two main principles: appraisal (from the interpersonal metafunction) and transitivity (from the ideational metafunction). The reason I selected these two systems of analysis is because the grammatical data on how enslaved people are described and valued (appraisal) and how they interact with one another (ideation) are most salient for understanding

[11] It was during this time that the Athenian Empire rose to prominence and became a naval power until its defeat at the hands of the Spartans in the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BCE) and the subsequent invasion by Macedonians including Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE).
[12] Attic Greek is often expanded to Attic-Ionic Greek (Ionic being the one other eastern Greek dialect which was spoken from about 1000 to 300 BCE).

the meaning-making processes of the texts. It is not possible to discuss how a textbook author is framing the social structure of enslavement without considering how the language choices they make are functioning to describe the participants and their interactions with one another. Appraisal and transitivity analyses are fundamental for articulating the ideological representations in a discourse.

I have chosen to examine the data using appraisal analysis and transitivity analysis because these two meaning systems function in important ways to construe personhood in literary and informational texts as found in Greek and Latin textbooks. As an aspect of the interpersonal metafunction, appraisal analysis examines the evaluation and judgement of people and things. It also includes other considerations of engagement such as force (intensity such as the positive potency of the phrase "blissfully happy") and focus (precision such as the lack of clarity in the phrase "sort of difficult"). Appraisal is important because the attribution of feelings and dispositions to a certain person over another becomes the surfaced representation of the ideology informing the discourse. For example, describing enslavers as "caring" and enslaved people as "happy" suggests a foundational perspective that enslavement was a positive system that benefits all parties.

As part of the ideational metafunction, transitivity analysis is the examination of the lexicogrammatical realization of experience (Martin 1992). In other words, transitivity looks at how words in a text express an experience. An experience is referred to as a process. There are six processes (i.e. verb categories): material, verbal, mental, behavioral, relational, and existential. Examples of these process include "she drove the car" (material), "you said that" (verbal), "they think so" (mental), "ya'll rejoiced" (behavioral), and "We are here" (existential). Because SFL focuses on function, its analysis looks at how these processes (i.e. verbs) make

meaning. Transitivity is important because the attribution of a process to one character over another is also representative of the ideology informing the discourse. For example, the material process "came" in the statement "slaves *came* from all over the Mediterranean" suggests an understanding of enslaved people as immigrants that had agency and a degree of responsibility for their conditions in captivity.

Data set

This section discusses the textbooks and passages that formed the data set for my analysis. The data set is composed of selected passages that reference enslavement. This selection of data is representative of the ideologies informing each given textbook. The ideologies underlying the content are the sources of the salient narratives that construe enslavement. Within the selected passages, I focused my attention on words of enslavement. I searched for words that overtly connect to the system of slavery including the term "slavery" in English passages as well as *servus* "enslaved person" and *mangones* "human traffickers" in Latin passages. These words and phrases are examined for their lexicogrammatical information. What this means is that in my analysis of the interpersonal and ideational metafunctions, I am taking into consideration the definitions and translations along with the context and semantic function. A complete list of terms highlighted for analysis can be found in Appendix A.

The passages selected for analysis were sourced from five beginning Greek and Latin textbooks used at secondary and higher education institutions in America today: *Athenaze: An Introduction to Ancient Greek* (Balme et al., 2016)*, Latin for the New Millennium* (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008)*, Ecce Romani* (Lawall, 2009)*, Cambridge Latin Course* (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015)*,* and *Reading Latin* (Jones & Sidwell, 2012)*.* Currently, there is no resource available that provides comprehensive statistics on what ancient language textbooks are

most commonly used in the classroom. Instead, there are various regional reports including the claim that the *Cambridge Latin Course* (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015) is used by 85% of Latin teachers in the United Kingdom (Cambridge Latin Course, 2019). In order to select the most useful resources for analysis, I took these statistics into account. Furthermore, I listened to the personal suggestions of scholars and considered my own teaching experiences from the last fourteen years.

In addition to their frequency of use in American classrooms, these textbooks were chosen because they included at least one presentation of ancient slavery. Texts that did not address enslavement at all or minimally were not included in the main data set. Since SFL views language as the realization of choice and meaning, only those texts where authors chose to discuss or feature enslavement are relevant for understanding its construal. However, texts that have little or no mention of enslavement like *Learn to Read Latin* (Keller & Russell, 2003) or *Alpha to Omega: A Beginning Course in Classical Greek* (Groton, 2000) still have probative value because a major facet of SFL research is understanding the context of a discourse. It is equally important to consider who or what is left out of a text and what this implies about the context of culture and context of situation as discussed in chapters 1-3. This is addressed further in the pedagogical implications dialogue of chapter 7. As a final note on the selection of textbooks, there are more Latin textbooks in the data set because Latin is more commonly taught than Greek at both the secondary and college level in America. Therefore, emphasizing Latin textbooks is likely to be of greater relevance to most readers.

Coding the data

In SFL analysis, the researcher's interpretations of qualitative data rely on expert knowledge of the topic and verifiable conclusions. Central to this process is the gathering and

presentation of the data set. To develop a verifiable data set fit for an empirical study, researchers create codes (i.e. categories) to organize themes in a passage or passages. These codes ensure reliability and accuracy and allow for the data analysis and conclusions to be examined for intercoder agreement (Fernandez, 2018). In other words, the data set must be available and presented in a readable format for other researchers to examine and verify. It is standard to represent the coding in the form of a passage with bold, italics, and underlined categories or a chart as will be illustrated in the next section of this chapter. The reason for presenting the text either marked with categories or arranged in categorized charts is to present a reliable data set that supports evidence-based conclusions that could be examined by other scholars and students to ensure that material is understood as accurately as possible.

For this project, I coded the selected texts based on three main elements: genre, appraisal, and transitivity. I began by identifying genres of the selected passages because the genre of writing for any given text informs the pattern of lexicogrammatical features (i.e. textual, interpersonal, and ideational features) a reader is likely to encounter. The genre of a given text can impact the method of analysis because the purpose of the text often privileges either ideational or interpersonal metafunctions as the salient features for meaning-making. For example, in history chronicles, a transitivity analysis may reveal more about the underlying ideology than an appraisal analysis. In this genre of writing, there is an expectation that historians record descriptions and interpretations of people and events without inserting much personal opinion or judgement explicitly. An appraisal analysis does not provide as much insight when applied to texts with minimal expressions of feelings and judgement. However, although appraisal may not be a dominate system in history chronicles, an appraisal analysis may still reveal some underlying social functions in the language use. For this reason, each passage was

subject to both an appraisal and transitivity analysis as demonstrated in the findings chapters 5 and 6.

Greek and Latin textbooks are a macrogenre. In SFL, a macrogenre is a complex text that weaves together multiple genres (Hyland, 2002). These textbooks often include a combination of genres such as history, satire, speeches, and novels. To add to the complexity, each textbook has Latin or Greek passages with which to practice the language. The genre of these texts in the primary language varies and may include fictional and nonfictional works such as Ovidian epic poetry, Herodotean history, or Horatian satire. Any number of original texts or adaptation of original texts written in Latin or Greek could be included in a single textbook. In addition, many, though not all, Greek and Latin language learning textbooks for English speakers feature historical context sections written in English. These portions of writing are in another genre of writing known as historical analysis. There are also of course grammatical paradigms for verbs, nouns, etc. In this way, the textbooks fall under the informational nonfiction genre as well. The multiple genres of Greek and Latin textbooks thus include, but are not limited to, a mix of fiction and nonfiction along with the subgenres of epic, poetry, history, satire, and others. With this complex arrangement in mind, for each passage I discuss the implications of the genre on the salient grammar and vocabulary.

On account of the unique multilingual and multigenre context, no software was used to conduct the coding. Instead, all coding was conducted manually. After determining the genre of a text and its implications, I identified instances of enslavement and began to code each one. I created subcategories by which to classify the words and phrases. The subcategories include enslavement as a positive or beneficial system and enslavement as a negative or harmful system. I then coded the passages for appraisal and transitivity using SFL analysis techniques that are

detailed in the next section. The coding appears in Greek, Latin, and English contexts. Appendices B, C, D, E, and F feature the coded texts along with translations where necessary. Each appendix has a coding key to guide the reader through my interpretation.

I coded the instances of appraisal and transitivity using standard SFL analysis techniques. To establish precedence for my methodology, the remainder of this chapter will focus on typical practices for appraisal and transitivity analysis. I present more details on SFL methodology along with a series of studies to demonstrate how the analyses were conducted, the data were presented, and the conclusions were reached. The purpose is to further illustrate components of SFL methodology and justify its use in interpreting the construal of enslavement in Greek and Latin textbooks.

Appraisal analysis methodology

This section lays out the standard practices and procedures for appraisal analysis. The appraisal system refers to the discourse semantics realized by lexicogrammatical features that express feeling and judgement such as the adjective "happy" or the adverb "begrudgingly" (Martin & Rose, 2003; Eggins, 1994). However, appraisal goes deeper than simply recognizing expressions of feeling and judgement. The appraisal system includes considerations of engagement, attitude, and graduation as pictured in this diagram:

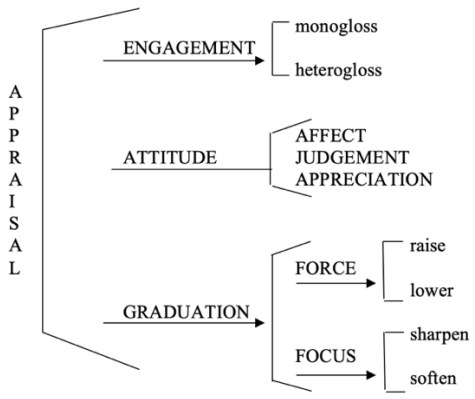

Fig. 8 Appraisal system chart (Martin & White, 2005, p. 38).

As the chart illustrates, engagement refers to the exclusion (monogloss) or inclusion (heterogloss) of other positions such as texts, opinions, and perspectives. Attitude is the evaluation of people and things and includes affect (feelings and emotions), judgement (character and behavior), and appreciation (valuation of things). Graduation has two main considerations: force (intensity and enhancement) and focus (scope and specificity). An appraisal analysis evaluates the use of these resources to construe meaning. The ability to discern when these resources are being used, how, and by whom, helps the reader to examine and discuss the language choice and function to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning of a text. For the remainder of this section, I present the methodology of empirical studies by SFL scholars of literature and language learning to establish precedence for the appraisal analysis of my data set (Hood, 2012; Harman & Simmons, 2014). I narrowed the subjects of the studies presented here to genres of writing that would likely also appear in Greek and Latin textbooks.

In 2012, Susan Hood published an article exploring the application of appraisal analysis in examining academic writing. Academic writing, like textbooks, is a macro genre. Subgenres of academic writing include evaluative reports and descriptions. To demonstrate the potential of appraisal analysis, Hood presented sample applications in the context of previously published studies on academic writing. Through appraisal analysis, Hood identified graduation, a subsystem of appraisal, as one of the more salient discourse features shaping the register and perspective of academic writing. This diagram is a representation of the subsystem of graduation:

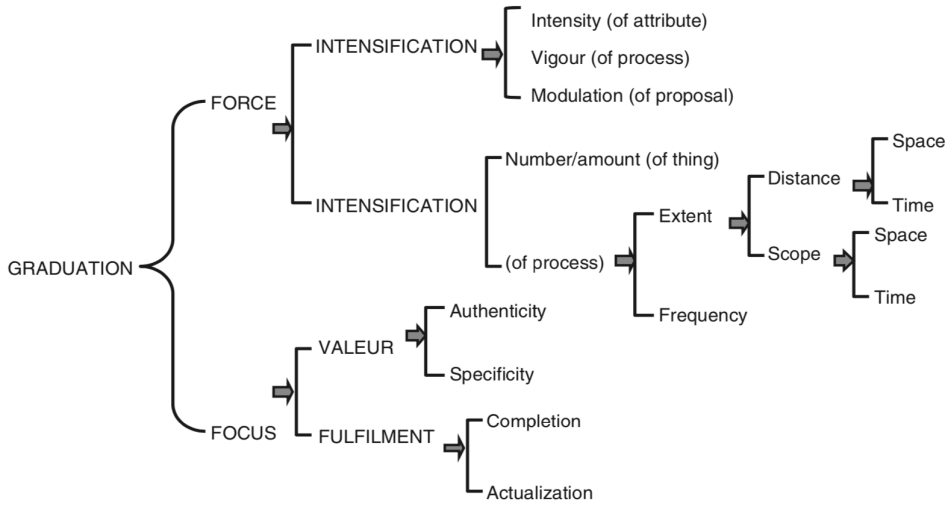

Fig. 9 Graduation system chart (Hood, 2012, p. 60).

The chart above illustrates how graduation governs force and focus. Force refers to intensification. For example, the statement "I worked and worked" compared to the simpler statement "I worked" has a raised force because of the repetition of the action "worked." Focus refers to the precision and scope in a statement. For example, the statement "They were kinda mean" has a more blurred focus and wider scope than the statement "The seventh graders at recess were mean." Susan Hood (2012) examined the perspective and voice of the academic writing genre by applying appraisal analysis to sample texts she selected because they were representative of the genre. This is a standard choice for gathering data in SFL analysis because it allows the researcher to go deeper into the construction of a discourse. The content beyond the selected passages, however, is taken into consideration and full texts are available for scholars to verify that the selected portions are representative and the interpretation verifiable.

In addition to the standard selection of data for analysis, my dissertation follows the expected practices in presentation and analysis. Ruth Harman and Amber Simmons (2014) developed an SFL language learning curriculum based on the understanding that "a functional

linguistic approach to language and literacy development in school settings allows scholars and teachers to analyze...and make the hidden assumptions and cultural values in the curriculum more transparent" (p. 75). Their study focused on Amber Simmon's application of critical SFL pedagogy in her two AP Language and Composition classes held in Spring of 2012. The authors concluded that the SFL pedagogy supported student's analyses of texts. I present their research here as a sample study exemplifying the presentation of SFL data for appraisal analysis.

The selected text for SFL curriculum development was J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* (1997). For the classroom activities, Simmons chose to focus on the interpersonal (via appraisal system) and textual metafunctions. For the appraisal analysis, Simmons included considerations of affect, judgement, and appreciation. The SFL activities helped students to understand how Rowling expressed views on race, class, and gender. To illustrate the categorization of the data, Harman and Simmons provide a key for the code with the accompanying marked text:

Student appraisal categories	Code
Affect	**bold**
Judgment	underline
Appreciation	*italics*

"Is it true." he said. "They're saying all down the train that Harry Potter's in this compartment. So it's you, is it." "Yes," said Harry. He was looking at the other boys. Both of them were thickset and looked *extremely* **mean**. Standing on either side of the pale boy, they looked like bodyguards.
"Oh, this is Crabbe and this is Goyle," said the pale boy **carelessly**, noticing where Harry was looking. "And my name's Malfoy, Draco Malfoy." Ron gave a slight cough, which might have been **hiding a snigger**. Draco Malfoy looked at him.
"Think my name's funny, do you. No need to ask who you are. My father told me all the Weasleys have red hair, freckles, and more children than they can afford." He turned back to Harry. "You'll soon find out some wizarding families are much better than others, Potter. You don't want to go making friends with the wrong sort. I can help you there." **He held out his hand to shake** Harry's, but Harry didn't take it.
"I think I can tell who the wrong sort are for myself, thanks," he said *coolly*.
Draco Malfoy didn't go red, but a **pink tinge appeared in his pale cheeks**.
"I'd be careful if I were you, Potter," he said *slowly*. "Unless you're a bit politer you'll go the same way as your parents. They didn't know what was good for them, either. You hang around with riffraff like the Weasleys and that Hagrid, and it'll rub off on you."(Rowling, 1997, pp. 108–109)

Fig. 10 Coding of *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* (Harman & Simmons, 2014, p. 83).

There are multiple ways that a researcher can choose to present the coding including tables, diagrams, and charts. In this case, Harman and Simmons chose to present the entire passage with affect bolded, judgement underlined, and appreciation in italics. The presentation serves to support the researcher's interpretation and validate their conclusions. The students modeled this method for an assignment they were asked to complete. Students had to read a scholarly article on Harry Potter and to examine the validity of the claims. In this case, the students read "Class and socioeconomic identity in Harry Potter's England" (Park, 2003). The students concluded that an appraisal analysis supported Park's claim that Hogwarts and the Ministry of Magic were characterizations of the empirical power of Britain. Here we see a sample of analysis conducted by her students Becca and Christy:

Analysis type	Coded analysis	Critical analysis of coding
Appraisal analysis coding: Inscribed and invoked Affect: **bold** Inscribed and invoked Judgment: underlined Inscribed and invoked Appreciation: *italics*	I heard he's sort of a savage—lives in a hut on the school grounds and every now and then he gets drunk, tries to do magic, and ends up setting fire to his bed. (Rowling, 1997, p. 78)	The judgments in the passage characterize Hagrid as dirty (living in a hut), stupid and uncivilized (savage), and irresponsible and worthless (drunk). The fact that Hagrid does not live in the castle makes the reader view him as an outsider and low in the class system.

Fig. 11 Student analysis of appraisal (Harman & Simmons, 2014, p. 86).

Becca and Christy identify instances of judgement that can be interpreted as reflected the caste system of Britain. On account of these types of sophisticated and nuanced understanding of the

material that the students demonstrated, Harman and Simmons concluded that students benefited from the activity and gained skills in critical thinking and language awareness. Similar to this research, in chapters 5 and 6 I also present the material in a variety of charts in order to bring the patterns of language choice and use to the forefront and justify my interpretation of the material. Harman and Simmons (2014) is revisited in chapter 7 to explore the potential efficacy of SFL in the Greek and Latin classroom.

Transitivity analysis methodology

This section provides further information about what transitivity analysis is and how it has been conducted by SFL scholars in historical texts and literature. Transitivity is concerned with who is doing or experiencing the action or state of being (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). In examining the process of meaning-making and discourse semantics, transitivity analysis conceptualizes how participants (i.e. who or what is involved in a discourse) are positioned in relation to one another. This type of analysis asks the questions: Who is doing or experiencing the action or state of being? And what is the impact of this language on societal systems?

The three main components in transitivity are: the process, the participants, and the circumstances. There are six different types of processes: material, verbal, mental, behavioral, referential, and existential. Distinguishing these processes helps to understand the social function and meaning of an action in a given passage. Material processes involve doing or happening such as "She was **typing** the novel." Verbal processes involve saying, expressing, and indicating like "I **told** you to watch out!". Mental processes involve feeling, thinking, and perceiving such as "They **were happy**." Behavioral processes refer to psychological actions that can combine other processes such as "They **gossiped** and **laughed**." Referential or relational processes has to do with inferred references in a clause such as the use of a pronoun in the following sentence: "The

dog was chasing the car but it never caught **it**." And existential processes refer to being and typically include a copular verb like "The singer **is** a star." Because material processes are concerned with *doing* and *happening*, these experiences are of particular interest for examining the role of enslaved people and enslavers. The participants in material processes include the Actor, Goal, and Recipient. The Actor is the one doing the action but not necessarily the subject of the sentence.

Zhihui Fang and Mary Schleppegrell (2008) created a pedagogical guidebook providing information on how to create classroom lessons using SFL and in doing so they exemplified SFL standard methodology. The purpose of this work was "to offer teachers explicit ways to focus on language itself to help students comprehend and critique the advanced texts of secondary schooling" (Fang & Schleppegrell, 2008, p. iii). The authors first considered genre and then went into discipline-specific methods including science, math, and history. For the purpose of this research, I will focus on their methodology for transitivity analysis of history textbooks.

Fang and Schleppegrell selected passages for analysis from a history textbook on the American Revolutionary War. Among these sections, Fang and Schleppegrell identified four types of texts: chronicling text, point of view text, primary source document, and explanation text. This research demonstrates how, much like Greek and Latin textbooks, history textbooks often shift between genres of writing sourced from primary and secondary texts. The textual, interpersonal, and ideational metafunctions are operating in every passage no matter what genre of writing or time period of origin. Therefore, all metafunctions could be valuable for analysis. However, as discussed above, the research question and also the genre dictate what metafunctions and what features within those metafunctions would be most valuable to analyze.

Since the historical analysis involves a chronological series of events, an ideational analysis focusing on transitivity and examining the processes involved in expressing the experiences is of significant importance. The next step is to code these processes, keeping in mind that processes and participants function differently depending on the process type (material, verbal, mental, behavioral, relational, and existential). For example, a material process has an action with an actor and a goal as shown in this coding from Fang and Schleppegrell (2008):

Clause	**Actor**	**Process**	**Goal**
5	These leaders	used	Enlightenment ideas
6	[Enlightenment ideas]	to justify	independence.
11	the Second Continental Congress	issued	the Declaration of Independence.
25	The document	ended by breaking ("broke")	the ties between the colonies and Britain.

Fig. 12 Material processes of Enlightenment ideas passage.

After coding the content of each clause in a selected text, it is the responsibility of the researcher to interpret the data as a patterned sequence of meanings. To share their interpretation, a researcher must clearly discuss their understanding of the meaning and function of the patterns of words, phrases, and clauses. And in doing so, they reach conclusions not only on what message is being construed but how that message is constructed through the lexicogrammatical resources. This is a similar pattern that my research takes: select passages, code pattern of discourse semantics as realized in the lexicogrammatical choices, present them in chart for interpretation, and discuss my interpretation.

Ángela Alameda-Hernández (2008) conducted a transitivity analysis on the presentation of Gibraltarian identity in Gibraltarian, Spanish, and British media. The purpose of her research was to understand how Gibraltarian identity was built and expressed linguistically. Alameda-

Hernández' research shows that the salient linguistic expressions limited the agency of Gibraltar and Gibraltarian identity. And the researcher shows how this ideological discourse in the press is reflective of the actual limited political power for Gibraltarian people.

To conduct her analysis, Alameda-Hernández selected texts from different media resources. For example, Alameda-Hernández included the following excerpt from the Gibraltarian site *El Llanito's Homepage*:

> Many people in other countries, when told that Gibraltar is in South Europe, and given the fact that we speak Spanish, automatically assume that we are in Spain. Others, when they hear us speaking in English, wonder whether we are English. Gibraltar is a British dependent territory on the southernmost tip of Europe, our nationality is British, however, we are neither English nor Spanish, we are Gibraltarians (Alameda-Hernández, 2008, p. 226).

In this passage, Gibraltarians express a desire to have their multicultural reality affirmed by others. For her data set, she selected editorial publications from October and November of 2002. She chose those dates was because a referendum on shared sovereignty with Spain took place in November. The resources for the data set such as *The Gibraltar Chronicle* were chosen among the options because of its popularity. Alameda-Hernández conducted an identification analysis which is the tracking of participants in a discourse. The purpose of this type of analysis is to illustrate the pervasiveness of specific narratives. Here Alameda-Hernández presents her results:

Gibraltar as political institution		Gibraltar as people		Ambiguous (both references)	
'Gibraltar'	11	'Gibraltarians'	0	'Gibraltar'	4
'Rock'	2	'We'	0		
Total	13		0		4

Fig. 13 Identification analysis of Gibraltarians (Alameda-Hernández, 2008, p. 231).

Through analysis of the data, Alameda-Hernández concludes that Gibraltar is treated as a passive entity with minimal agency. Her method of analysis is a process of assessing language use through identification analysis, charting the results, and then interpreting the data. To express her interpretation, Alameda-Hernández selected examples representative of the quantitative data and conducted a transitivity analysis. She chose examples that allowed her to explore varying perspectives and nuances. For example, Gibraltar is granted agency in *The Gibraltar Chronicle* with the statement "Spain should not be surprised that Gibraltar has reacted the way it has." However, Alameda-Hernández asserts that this statement has an underlying meaning that Gibraltar is responding to their suffering and so they are presented not as agents in control but rather as passive victims. Alameda-Hernández concludes that this construction of Gibraltarian identity as victims is intentional and realized through the transitivity properties of the editorials. Alameda-Hernández (2008) selected texts with purpose, presented the data in a verifiable format, and offered her interpretation of the function of the language through the transitivity system. The next very brief section is the final portion of this chapter and offers a road map for the next three chapters of this dissertation.

Application of systemic functional linguistics in Greek and Latin Textbooks

My analysis of each Greek and Latin textbook is presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 individually one after another with observations on the shared discourses between the textbooks. Chapter 5 is dedicated to the analysis of appraisal in the presentation of enslavement in the five selected Greek and Latin textbooks. And Chapter 6 is dedicated to the analysis of transitivity. The analysis is presented in the same order in both chapters: *Athenaze: An Introduction to Ancient Greek* (Balme et al., 2016)*, Latin for the New Millennium* (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008)*, Ecce Romani* (Lawall, 2009)*, Cambridge Latin Course* (Cambridge School Classics Project,

2015), and *Reading Latin* (Jones & Sidwell, 2012). As I present my observations on appraisal and ideation, I compare the material to the discourses of enslavement in Black freedom narratives and other contexts of American enslavement to demonstrate the connection between Greek and Latin textbooks and the modern racist narratives still operating today.

When he told me that I was made for his use,
made to obey his command in everything;
that I was nothing but a slave,
whose will must and should surrender to his,
never before had my puny arm felt half so strong.
- Harriet Ann Jacobs, 1861 (p. 29)

Fig. 14 Harriet Ann Jacobs, 1894

Harriet Ann Jacobs (1813-1897) was an enslaved Black woman who self-emancipated and in her freedom became an anti-slavery activist. Her autobiography, *Incidents in the life of a slave girl* (1861), recalls the brutality she experienced in enslavement. In the excerpt above, she expresses ways in which her value was appraised by her enslaver including its worth. He deemed her existence to be worth "nothing" beyond her status as a captive. And as she reflects on this dehumanization, she herself appraises her own body by describing how her "puny arm felt half so strong." Enslavement discourses such as this use the appraisal system to express the (perceived, projected, or real) feelings and dispositions of enslaved people and enslavers. An appraisal analysis reveals a great deal about the function and meaning of passages on enslavement as demonstrated in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5

APPRAISAL ANALYSIS OF ENSLAVEMENT

In this chapter, I present my appraisal analysis of the data set using systemic functional linguistics methodology detailed in chapter 4. This examination demonstrates how expressions of feeling and character function in the construal of enslavement. I argue that there are five distinct and reoccurring themes underlying the narratives of enslavement in Greek and Latin textbooks: enslaved people as immigrants, enslaved people as property and goods, enslaved people as happy and lucky, enslaved people as lazy and sluggish, and enslaved people as oppressed and suffering. I believe that understanding the linguistic features of these themes can equip teachers and learners with the tools to push back and make space for counternarratives.

To support this thematic interpretation of the data and demonstrate the widespread presence of these themes, I weave in a comparison with 19th-century pro- and antislavery enslavement narratives in American contexts. This engagement with more recent literature is also an intentional effort to increase the inclusion of the voices of enslaved people when examining systems of enslavement. There are few examples of first-hand experiences of enslaved people in the ancient world. However, we have hundreds of accounts by formerly enslaved Black people in America (University of North Carolina, 2020). These voices provide insight into the experience of enslavement and are counternarratives to the White supremacist dialogues on enslavement that continue today.

The enslavement discourses analyzed below illustrate the degree to which the five salient themes of enslavement are strikingly similar in ancient and American contexts. This commonality across time and distance indicates a persistent pattern in worldwide discourses on enslavement that has lasted for thousands of years and continues to permeate different communities with pro-slavery and racist sentiments. Since textbooks are multimodal (i.e. a complex text with multiple modes of communication including verbal and visual material), this critical discourse analysis integrates the drawings, mosaics, and cultural artifacts that accompany the texts. And while most ancient and modern themes in enslavement narratives suggest enslaved people had a generally positive experience, authors acknowledge, at times, the torture and violence inflicted. These nuances that complicate interpretation are discussed as needed throughout the following analysis.[13]

For the remainder of the chapter, I present my appraisal analysis of the data set. Most of the examples featured in this chapter will reemerge in chapter 6 where they undergo transitivity analysis in tandem with appraisal. This appraisal analysis addresses four out of the five common themes in enslavement narratives. Since the theme of enslaved people as immigrants relies less on expressions of attitude and judgement as it does on action, the appraisal system is a less salient discourse semantic resource. For this reason, the theme of enslaved people as immigrants is featured only in chapter 6. All other themes, however, are addressed first in this chapter. After a review of the appraisal system in the next section, I begin the thematic appraisal analysis with an examination of the theme of enslaved people as property and goods.

Attitude resources in the appraisal system

[13] The complete data set that I analyzed for this research can be found in Appendices B, C, D, E, and F. The passages in the appendices are grouped together by textbook. Each passage is presented first in uncoded format. Following each raw passage is a coded copy of sentences addressing enslavement with accompanying summaries of my analysis.

The following chart, first introduced in chapter 4, illustrates the three subcategories of appraisal: engagement, attitude, and graduation:

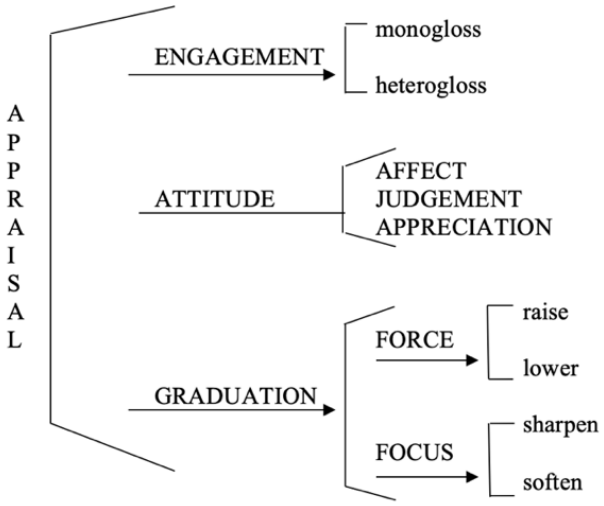

Fig. 15 Appraisal system (Martin & White, 2005, p. 38)

As a brief review of the material first introduced in chapter 4, engagement is the monoglossic or heteroglossic nature of a text (how many languages are included in the text and in what context); attitude is the evaluation of people and things within the text (affect, appreciation, and judgement); and graduation is the force and focus of the expressions within a text (the emphasis and scope as presented in a text). The attitude subcategory is the most relevant for this research because enslavement narratives rely more heavily on expressions of emotions and character than other appraisal features. As a result, much of this chapter centers on the system of attitude with discussion of engagement and graduation as needed.

The subfields of attitude are affect, appreciation, and judgement. Affect refers to expressions of an emotional state such as "I am happy" or "She walked excitedly." The following chart details the semantic parameters of affect with accompanying examples:

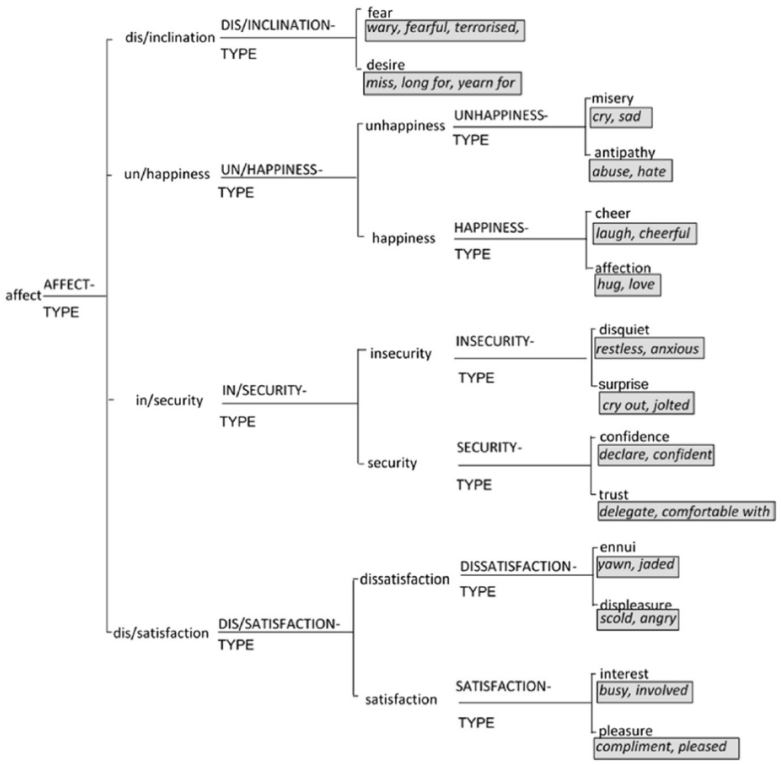

Fig. 16 Affect system (Martin & White, 2005, p. 51)

While affect spotlights emotions, appreciation highlights the resources used for discussing the value, style, and impact of someone or something. The chart below breaks down the appreciation subfield including examples and related questions:

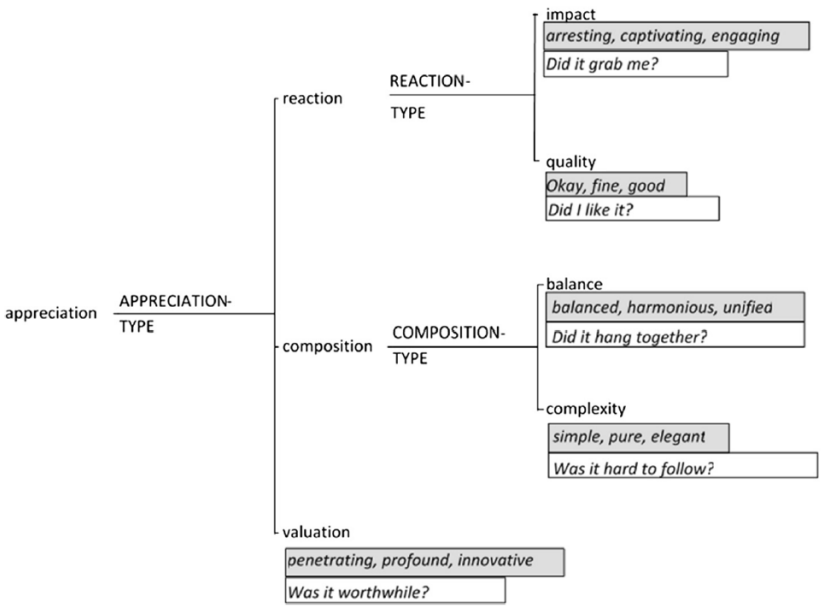

Fig. 17 Appreciation system (Martin & White, 2005, p. 56)

As the chart shows, appreciation includes reaction (impact and quality), composition (balance and complexity), and valuation (worth). For example, the statement "The apples were delicious" is an evaluation of the quality of the food and so it is a reaction type feature. On the other hand, the statement "The dissertation was cohesive" has composition type features because it addresses the balance of a text. Lastly, the subcategory of valuation refers to expressions of worth as seen in the positive statement “Her exercises were challenging” and the negative statement “That lecture was pointless” (Martin & Rose, 2003, p. 63).

Judgement, the last subcategory of attitude, is the assessment of morality or character. Expressions of judgement can be negative or positive and rely on an understanding of social norms and institutions. Judgement is split into two categories: social-esteem type and social-sanction. Social-esteem judgements have social impact for the person being judged and social-sanction type judgements have a more legal or official consequences. In other words, social-esteem type features are judgements of morality and character that have the potential to raise or lower one's reputation in a community, depending on if the person being judged is adhering to or violating social norms that do not necessarily have legal consequences. However, social-sanction type features are judgements of morality and character in a person that could have legal or authorial ramifications (the potential for violation of law or ethics). The following chart details the difference between these two types along with examples:

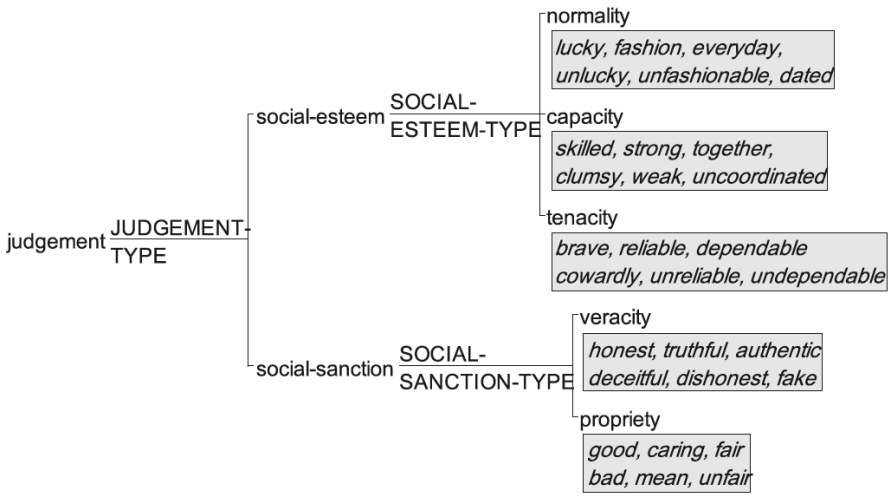

Fig. 18 Judgement system (Martin & White, 2005, p. 53).

As the chart shows, within the judgement system, social-esteem type features express normality, capacity, and tenacity whereas social-sanction type features express veracity and propriety. For example, the statement "The slaves were lucky" is a social-esteem type of judgement because to judge someone lucky is to identify them as socially outside the norm in a positive sense. That judgement, however, does not carry any legal or ethical assessment. On the other hand, the statement "The bosses treated the employees unfairly" is a negative social-sanction type because it suggests a violation not only of norms but of law and ethics. Together, the features of affect, appreciation, and judgement have a vital role in construing enslavement. The following section begins the thematic analysis of appraisal in enslavement discourses of beginning Greek and Latin textbooks with the theme of enslaved people as property and goods.

Enslaved people as property and goods

Ancient and modern texts commonly emphasize enslaved people's status as property and goods. For example, in the first book of the *Ecce Romani* series, one of the historical context sections on ancient slavery is titled “The Slave Market.” The economic reality of human trafficking is immediately apparent. The authors of *Ecce Romani* take a reading approach to

language learning. Like many others, the text begins with and centers on a Roman family (Gaius Cornelius is the paterfamilias) and enslavement is quickly introduced early on (chapter 3). With the textbook open to the “The Slave Market” section, readers see a full-page drawing on the left and the explanatory text on the right. The drawing features an enslaved man named Davus [Dawus] standing on a platform with another chained and enslaved man and an auctioneer. The auctioneer is gesturing to the curious and attentive crowd of six men below. Describing the experiences of enslaved Davus [Dawus], the text to the right states:

> He felt pretty uncomfortable standing there like an exhibit at the cattle-market, but he put the best face on it, looking around challengingly at the bidders.

This passage positions Davus as a slave "uncomfortable" about being sold to another human but proud of his ability to sell himself well seemingly in a performance of masculinity to enhance his appeal to the human traffickers. The following chart illustrates my interpretation of the attitude appraisal features in this sentence:

Key
Affect - **bold** Appreciation - <u>underlined</u> Judgement - *italics* Lexical Metaphor - [brackets]
Coding
He felt pretty **uncomfortable** standing there [like an exhibit at the cattle-market], but he put the **best face** on it, looking around *challengingly* at the bidders.

Fig. 19 Coding of attitude sample 1 (Lawall, 2009, p. 37).

In this passage, the authors make a direct comparison to animal food markets. Comparisons such as this are known as lexical metaphors that ‘provoke’ an attitude toward the subject of comparison (Liu, 2018). The affiliation created by the simile “like an exhibit at the cattle-market” positions Davus as a co-member of the cattle and animal group in society. This

association reinforces the understanding of enslavement and human trafficking as an economic exchange of desired goods. While the marketplace reality of enslavement is accurate, the choice to associate it with cattle sales does little to dissuade readers from associating enslaved people with farm animals which are treated as property to be bought and sold. The ubiquity of food and animal trade is thus transferred to enslaved people. As a result, language learners are not asked to question the normalcy of trading human beings. The focus on the inanimate economic exchange over the animate human experience is reinforced.

The description of Davus as "uncomfortable" shows how affect informs enslavement discourses. This feature is an expression of insecurity which is part of the insecurity type of affect. For Davus to be insecure as opposed to fearful (disinclination type of affect) or angry (dissatisfaction type of affect) positions him as a person concerned about how he appears to others not about his wellbeing. The follow-up statement that "he put the *best face* on" is another affect expression of in/security but here it is the security-type affect, an external pushback against his internal insecurity already stated. The adverb "challengingly" reinforces this attitude by displaying tenacity, a social-esteem type judgement. And so Davus is depicted as seeking a raised social position through a show of bravery and strength. This raised position (as a desirable slave) could only be granted by enslavers. Therefore, Davus is motivated by the validation of enslavers and his individual experiences and self-motivation are absent of his identity and expressions of emotions. This presentation of Davus' slave auction experience does not reflect the actual expressions we find of real slave auctions such as the following recollection from "What Became of the Slaves on a Georgia Plantation" (Thomson, 1863):

> The buyers were generally of a rough breed, slangy, profane, and bearish...The expression on the faces of all who stepped on the block was always the same, and told of

> more anguish than it is in the power of words to express. Blighted homes, crushed hopes and broken hearts, was the sad story to be read in all the anxious faces.

Mortimer Thomson (1832-1875) was a journalist who, in March of 1859, witnessed this sale of four hundred and thirty-six Black people, captives of the Major Butler plantations. He recalls the terrorizing traffickers and the sadness of those being trafficked. His record of the expressions and emotions of the enslaved people is likely to be more reflective of the painful reality than the fictive portrayal of Davus in *Ecce Romani*. But Thomson himself was a free White man and could speak from empathy not sympathy. The words of an enslaved Black person who experience the slave auction themselves provides even more insight. The following is a memory Mary Prince (1831) shared about her experience being sold:

> The black morning at length came; it came too soon for my poor mother and us. Whilst she was putting on us the new osnaburgs in which we were to be sold, she said, in a sorrowful voice (I shall never forget it!), “See, I am shrouding my poor children; what a task for a mother!”...[the other slaves] could only weep and lament with us. When I left my dear little brothers and the house in which I had been brought up, I thought my heart would burst.

Mary Prince’s first-hand account of the human auction block parallels the voices of thousands of others. She witnessed the end of her family unit as she knew it and experience the fear and sadness of herself and others she loved. Although we do not have first-hand accounts of ancient slave auctions from the perspective the enslaved people in Roman or Greek territory, we can turn to the voices of those who experienced similar systems of oppression at other times and places such as Mary Prince under the rule of American slavery.

Similar to *Ecce Romani* (Lawall, 2009), *Latin for the New Millennium* (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008) is a reading approach to learning Latin. In the context section on ancient enslavement titled "Slavery in Ancient Rome," the authors offer the following historical explanation on the marketing of enslaved people:

> White chalk on the feet indicated that the slave was imported...A tag around the neck gave the slave's name, nationality, and described his character, a guarantee for the buyer that he was making a good purchase

The language of this passage is that of economic exchange. Emphasizing the inanimate economic mechanism of slavery (and states' rights in the case of the U.S.) is another common way of deflecting attention away the brutality of slavery.

Key
Judgement - *italics*
Coding
White chalk on the feet indicated that the slave was imported. A tag around the neck gave the slave's name, nationality, and described *his character*, a *guarantee* for the buyer that he was making *a good purchase.*

Fig. 20 Coding of attitude sample 2 (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008, p. 51).

Describing enslaved people marked with white chalk as "imported" carries with it an underlying assumption that people can be imported just as food and property. This phrasing also deemphasizes the human agency (i.e. Roman enslavers) and is discussed further in Chapter 6. The narrative of enslaved people as imported goods occurs at two levels of discourse: the original ancient institution of slavery and the framing of this institution by textbook authors.

In the passage above, the semantic resource of judgement within the appraisal attitude system works to frame enslaved people as property and goods. There is implicit and explicit judgement. For example, the description of the tag on the neck of an enslaved person that

"*described his character*" does not actually state his character or provide the judgement in the statement but it does inform the reader that the enslaved person is judged explicitly by others. What is more, the drawing on the left page of the open textbook shows Davus with a placard around his neck identifying him as British, twenty-five years old, and able to write and read (Lawall, 2009, p. 36):

DAVUS BRITANNICUS

XXV ANNOS

SCRIBIT ET LEGIT

Although the adjective "young" is not explicitly included, labeling Davus as twenty-five years old qualifies this phrase as a meta expression of judgement. And the assertion in the passage that this tag is “a guarantee for the buyer" frames it as a positive and attractive practice. An alternative way that this could have been framed as "Roman enslavers placed tags on the necks of the enslaved that ascribed characteristics to the enslaved such as 'strong' or 'young' to appeal to the human traffickers." In this revised statement, the judgement of the tag system as a positive practice is removed and replaced with action statements that shift empathy away from enslavers and toward enslaved people. In this way, the system of enslavement is humanized and distanced from the conception that it is just an economic exchange of property and goods.

There is a prevalent emphasis on economy in discourses on slavery in America. In 2018, the Southern Poverty Law Center reported that only 8% of American students identify slavery as the cause of the Civil War. Instead, most students point to the economy and states’ rights as the causes of the war. However, the economy relied upon enslavement and Confederate generals themselves stated that the Civil War was fought over slavery. Diverting attention away from slavery by talking about the economy as a separate agent denies the violence inflicted upon

slaves by enslavers and clouds the racism. This position also suggests that economic systems such as capitalism that fueled the human trafficking are ideologically neutral.

Enslaved people as lazy and sluggish

In addition to enslaved people as property and goods, the presentation of enslaved people as lazy and sluggish can be found frequently in ancient and modern texts. *Athenaze: An Introduction to Ancient Greek* (Balme et al., 2016) is another reading approach to learning language but for Greek instead of Latin. Despite the language difference, once again, the text centers around a family unit (with Dikaiopolis as the paterfamilias). The full story portrays the enslaver (Dikaiopolis) as wise and in control and the enslaved man (Xanthias) as stupid, lazy, and submissive. Here, Xanthias is begrudgingly being forced to work on Dikaiopolis' family farm (Balme et al., 2016, p. 30):

> ὁ οὖν Ξανθίας βραδέως προσχωρεῖ ἀλλ' οὐ συλλαμβάνει·
>
> [ho oun Zanthias bradeōs proschorei all' ou sullambanei;]
>
> And so Xanthias slowly comes but is not helping;

Just before this scene, the enslaver Dikaiopolis was yelling at his captive Xanthias for not working. The narrator then describes Xanthias' lazy response to his enslaver's demands. This prose narrative was constructed by the textbook authors and not an original ancient Greek text. The intention of this passage is to help students practice their vocabulary and grammar. The appraisal resources for this interaction are coded in the following figure:

Key
Judgement - *italics*
Coding
ὁ οὖν Ξανθίας *βραδέως* προσχωρεῖ ἀλλ' οὐ συλλαμβάνει· [ho oun Zanthias bradeōs proschorei all' ou sullambanei;] And so Xanthias *slowly* comes but is *not helping*;

Fig. 21 Coding of attitude sample 3 (Balme et al., 2016, p. 30).

The descriptions of Xanthias as moving "*slowly*" and "*not helping*" are social-esteem-type judgements of capacity. The judgement is negative and expresses a lack of capability. This is further realized later in the text when Xanthias fails to figure out how to move a large rock and the enslaver Dikaiopolis must intercede and help (see Appendix B for the full text). This savior narrative that emerges can be compared to the White savior complex in racist discourses of America as realized through "Jim Crow" laws. A more detailed discussion of this connection is offered at the end of this section. While a short and simple sentence, this sample passage of Xanthias as lazy is reflective of many enslavement narratives.

Although laziness is a frequent trait assigned to enslaved people throughout time, it occurs in explicit and implicit ways. In Greek and Roman literature, especially comedies, enslaved people are often presented as witty tricksters (Stewart, 2008; McCarthy, 2000). This storyline is known as the *servus callidus* “clever slave” narrative. In the play *Pseudolus* by Plautus, the title character is an enslaved man who helps unite lovers and finds a clever way to earn money (4,000 drachma) in the process. In the following excerpt, the role reversal occurs when the enslaver Calidorus behaves in an obedient and submissive manner toward his captive Pseudolus:

CALIDORUS	Ecquid imperas? What do you command?
PSEUDOLUS	Hoc ego oppidum admoenire, ut hodie capiatur, volo; ad eam rem usust homine astuto, docto, cauto et callido, qui imperata ecfecta reddat, non qui vigilans dormiat.

I want to sack this town, so that it could be seized today. And so I need of a sharp, educated, cautious, and clever man, who would do what he is told, not sleeping while he's on watch.

CALIDORUS Cedo mihi, quid es facturus?

Tell me, what do you plan to do?

PSEUDOLUS Temperi ego faxo scies. nolo bis iterari, sat sic longae fiunt fabulae.

You will know in time. I don't want it to be repeated because that's how stories become so long.

In this excerpt, Pseudolus is showing off his intelligence as he commands the strategy to connect Calidorus to his lover Phoenicium. I have included this passage from *Pseudolus* because it is a clear example of role reversal in a primary text (it does not appear in any beginning Greek or Latin textbooks that I am aware of). The social function of this role reversal, however, is not as clear. Understanding the status and experiences of enslaved people and enslavers helps to reveal the purpose of the role reversal. Kathleen McCarthy (2000) explains that "the point of audience identification with the clever slave, then, depends on both his lowliness and his triumph over that lowliness" (p. 29). This is a deficit perspective. The enslaved person is not being elevated as an antislavery statement but rather as a source of humor. Therefore, the social function of the role reversal is to entertain elite communities who could attend the performances.

An appraisal analysis shows how the lexicogrammatical resources including word choice and meaning are functioning to promote this deficit view of enslaved people. Within Greek and Latin textbooks, this narrative is found in the primary sources sections as well as the historical

explanations. In *Latin for the New Millennium* (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008), the section "Exploring Roman Comedy" features the following statement:

> There were two holidays that gave the ordinary people an opportunity for free entertainment at comedies, to laugh away their cares, and to identify with clever slaves who could outwit and out-talk their masters and bring a complex plot to a "happy ending."

In this description of comic performance in the Roman world, affect once again joins with appreciation and judgement but this time it is to paint a picture of enslaved people as a source of humor for others. What adds to this interpretation is that enslaved people themselves were often the performers of the comedies and so their existence as a source for fun and laughter occurs in the text and on the stage. Below is the coding of attitude appraisal in this statement showing how these lexicogrammatical resources are realized:

Key
Affect - **bold** Appreciation - <u>underlined</u> Judgement - *italics*
Coding
There were two holidays that gave the *ordinary* people an opportunity **for free entertainment** at comedies, to **laugh** away their cares, and to identify with *clever* slaves who could *outwit* and *out-talk* their masters and bring a complex plot to a "<u>happy ending</u>."

Fig. 22 Coding of attitude sample 4 (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008, p. 53).

This passage begins with a social-esteem-type judgement of normality in the phrase "gave the *ordinary* people an opportunity." Ordinary people are ordinary because they do ordinary things (e.g. go see a Roman comedy featuring witty slaves). By association and transference, this framing suggests that the comedies are commonplace in society and thus enslavement is once again common, ordinary, and ubiquitous.

The excerpt above is an example of how judgement, affect, and appreciation can function together to shape the discourse. The emotional joy of the theatre is expressed through the description of these "*ordinary*" people as able "to **laugh** away their cares." To laugh is an expression of positive happiness-type affect. Furthermore, appreciation resources describe the plays as coming to a "happy ending." This is an expression of appreciation for the story. In this context, the phrase is an expression of reaction and valuation. The authors are communicating that the comedy is worthwhile and audience members considered it a first-rate play. Together, judgement, affect, and appreciation resources compositions like those found in this passage emphasize a (perceived) humor in the presentation of enslavement. As a result, the system of enslavement stands as a source of joy for those not enslaved.

In addition to the lexicogrammatical resources, images also inform the narrative and often complicate and contradict the verbal messages. When you open *Latin for the New Millennium* (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008) and turn to the page with the section "Exploring Roman Comedy," the left side of the open book features a section on slavery titled "Connecting with the Ancient World: Slavery in Ancient Rome" which has images of enslaved people laboring including the following Carthaginian mosaic:

Fig. 23 2nd-century C.E. mosaic, Carthage.

On the page to the right of the open book is the beginning of the excerpt on Roman comedy titled "Exploring Roman Comedy: Roman Productions and Modern Renditions." This is the section the passage above is taken from and to the right above the statement on comic performances, the following comic mask is pictured:

Fig. 24 2nd-century B.C.E. theater mask, Athens.

The juxtaposition of the layout in this textbook reinforces a relationship between slavery and humor and is emblematic of the presentation of slavery in Classics textbooks. Both the lived experience and the comic performance of an enslaved person are dehumanized and conflated. The result is that the verbal and visual materials work together to construct a narrative of enslavement that neglects to understand it as a brutal system of oppressing other humans with real consequences, pain, and agency.

In America, there are also many performances, artistic creations, and texts by White people that consistently characterize Black enslaved people as lazy, sluggish, and thus humorous. And, just like the enslaver Dikaiopolis, White people are portrayed as the caretakers and saviors of Black people. For example, the first original American theatrical performances were blackface

minstrel shows. Minstrelsy was marketed as comic entertainment and often featured White men in blackface portraying unintelligent enslaved people singing and dancing in goofy manners. The following image features "Jim Crow," one of the most well-known blackface caricatures.

Fig. 25 1832 Jim Crow playbill, New York.

Jim Crow was created and performed by a White man named Thomas "Daddy" Rice in the mid-1800s. Racist caricatures like Jim Crow were the windows through which White audiences watched what they understood to be in some capacity an authentic expression of Black people and culture. Although the nature of the performances as fictional may have been understood to some degree, the stereotyping of Black people as lazy, mentally deficient, and goofy by consumers and producers of these shows persisted outside the realm of theatre with very real consequences in education, housing, politics, and all aspects of society. For example, the discriminatory "separate but equal" laws upheld by the 1896 Plessy vs Ferguson case were dubbed Jim Crow laws (Richardson, 2018). In the 2018 music video for his hit song "This is America," hip-hop artist Childish Gambino embodies the infamous Jim Crow movements illustrated above as he criticizes entertainment, social media, distraction, gun violence, racism, and the continued exploitation of Black people (Gambino, 2018; Rao, 2018).

Despite widespread awareness of the racism and offensive stereotypes minstrelsy and blackface perpetuates, nearly 200 years after their initial rise in popularity, minstrel shows

continue to appear in American entertainment and media. The 2010 Broadway production of Scottsboro Boys directed and choreographed by Susan Stroman drew criticism for its offensive inclusion of minstrelsy (Jones III, 2012). Like the beatings of enslaved people in ancient comedy, a product of pain and suffering had become the producer of laughter and happiness for the audience. In 2018, NBC cancelled the *Megan Kelly Today* show because Kelly defended blackface Halloween costumes (Blistein, 2018). And in 2019, two White female students at the University of Oklahoma were expelled from their sorority after they posted a Snapchat video of themselves in blackface making explicitly racist comments (Sacks, 2019). With incidences like these still happening today, it is all the more imperative that the relationship between slavery, comedy, and race be thoroughly and appropriately contextualized in Classics classrooms. If not, textbook authors and instructors may reinforce racist discourse by relying on the equivalent of minstrel shows (i.e. ancient comedy) to teach students about the lived experiences of enslaved people in antiquity.

Enslaved people as happy and lucky

Enslaved people are often depicted as happy and lucky. This portrayal frequently includes an emphasis on food, shelter, and dancing. An example can be found in the following passage from *Athenaze: An Introduction to Ancient Greek* (Balme et al., 2016):

> In the country, the slaves of farmers usually lived and ate with their masters. Aristophanes' comedies depict them as lively and cheeky characters, by no means downtrodden.

In this excerpt the authors interpret the dining and lodging experiences of enslaved people as a positive experience and support this interpretation by citing Aristophanes. Aristophanes was a comic playwright in the late 5th and early 4th centuries BCE, who famously parodied

philosophers and joked about bodily functions. His work is not a reliable historical source on the experiences and emotional life of enslaved people in the ancient world. Here, the appraisal resources are realized by the adjectives “lively” and “cheeky,” and the phrase “by no means downtrodden” and shown in coded format in the following figure:

Key
Affect - **bold** Graduation - CAPITALS Judgement - *italics*
Coding
In the country, the slaves of farmers *usually* lived and ate with their masters. Aristophanes’ comedies depict them as **lively** and **cheeky** characters, BY NO MEANS **downtrodden**.

Fig. 26 Coding of attitude sample 5 (Balme et al., 2016, p. 20).

In this passage, the adverb "*usually*" is a positive self-esteem-type judgement of normalcy. The statement suggests that good food and shelter are normal circumstances for enslaved people. In addition, the adjectives “**lively**” and “**cheeky**” and the phrase “BY NO MEANS **downtrodden**” are expressions of happiness-type affect. These terms are describing a (perceived) joyful emotional state for enslaved people. The placement of this Aristophanes quote right after a comment on the quality of food and shelter draws a direct connection between food, shelter, and a (perceived) happiness in enslavement. Food and shelter as sources of happiness for enslaved people is also a common trope in American racist discourse.

Happiness in enslavement discourses is also realized through the presentation of enslaved people as friends with their beloved enslavers. In *Ecce Romani* (Lawall, 2009), the authors center their fictional story around a Roman family said to be the descedants of Scipio Africanus (an actual historical figure). Although the invention of the authors, the intention is for this family to

represent a typical upper-class Roman household.[14] As introduced earlier, this family enslaves a man named Davus who is purchased and then rises in rank to become an overseer of other slaves. This is a common hierarchical system in enslavement also found in America that intentionally disrupts unity among enslaved people to prevent and put down organized revolts. However, this text does not critically examine this system of hierarchy forced upon enslaved people as illustrated in the following passage:

> Davus enjoys a high position among Cornelius' slaves and takes pride in his responsibilities. Of course he has the good fortune to work for a master who is quite humane by Roman standards.

In this sentence, the terms "good fortune" and "quite humane" are expressions of judgement that overtly claim a positive experience for enslaved people. The figure below breaks down all the appraisal resources are used to support this message.

Key
Affect - **bold** Judgement - *italics* Graduation - CAPITALS
Coding
Davus enjoys a HIGH position among Cornelius' slaves and **takes pride** in his responsibilities. Of course he has the *good fortune* to work for a master who is QUITE *humane* by Roman standards.

Fig. 27 Coding of attitude sample 6 (Lawall, 2009, p. 37).

Davus, just as is depicted as taking pride in his ability to be bought and sold in the passage presented earlier in this chapter, he now "**takes pride"** in being an overseer (once again, a positive security-type affect of confidence). This positive emotional state is supported by the judgement of his condition as "*good fortune*," a positive social-esteem-type judgement of

[14] These types of fictional texts are bridges for the students so that they learn vocabulary, grammar, and societal context. This is a common choice by textbook authors and is also found in the *Cambridge Latin Course* series (University of Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015) as well as many other texts.

normality. The assessment of his life as lucky is quickly followed by the description of his treatment as "QUITE *humane*," a social-sanction-type judgements of propriety. This judgement of his situation as "humane" is amplified through the graduation resources of appraisal realized by the adverb "QUITE." Graduation has two main considerations: force (intensity and enhancement) and focus (scope and specificity). Here is the chart for reference that was first introduced in chapter 4:

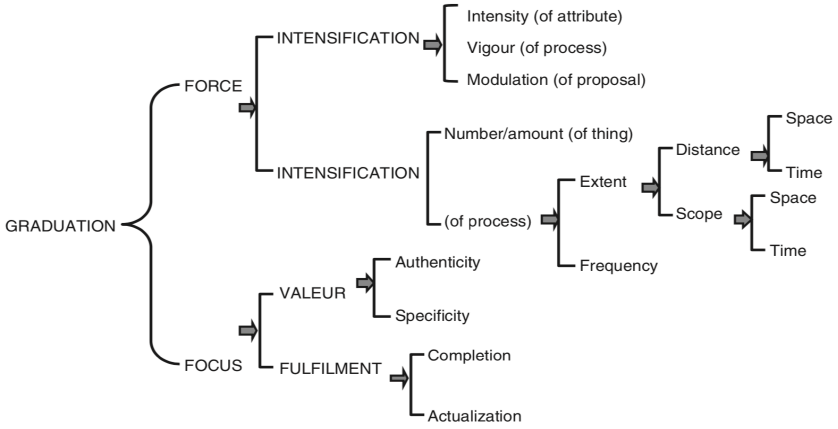

Fig. 28 Graduation system (Hood, 2012, p. 60).

Within the graduation system of appraisal as pictured above, the adverb "QUITE" in the phrase "QUITE *humane*" is an element of force that adds intensity to the attribute of "*humane*." Graduation of this type can be understood as a strengthening of the claim. In this case, enslavement is not simply a humane experience but can even be a higher degree of humane beyond expectation. Since humanity is a positive moral judgement, it stands that an experience that is "QUITE *humane*" is a greater and more positive experience than treatment that is "fairly humane" or "moderately humane." Therefore, appraisal systems are sourced not just to construct a positive image of enslavement but also to amplify this narrative.

Similar to the story of Davus in *Ecce Romani* (Lawall, 2009) is the reference to Terence in *Latin for the New Millennium* (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008). In the section discussing the historical context of slavery, the authors state:

> Slaves might be treated much like personal friends. Tiro, Cicero's secretary, friend, and former slave, invented a system of shorthand to facilitate taking notes...The playwright Terence himself was a freed slave, who apparently enjoyed close ties to his master. (Minkova & Tunberg 2008, p. 52).

In this section of the textbook, the authors offer multiple real-life examples of enslaved people and describe their lived experiences as successful, joyful, and full of friendship. These experiences are realized through the resources of appraisal as coded in this chart:

Key
Affect - **bold** Graduation - CAPITALS Lexical metaphor - [brackets]
Coding
Slaves MIGHT be treated [much like personal friends]. Tiro, Cicero's secretary, friend, and former slave, invented a system of shorthand to facilitate taking notes...The playwright Terence himself was a freed slave, who APPARENTLY **enjoyed** CLOSE ties to his master.

Fig. 29 Coding of attitude sample 7 (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008, p. 52).

The emphasis in this passage is on the status of enslaved people as happy friends with their enslavers. Here we find another lexical metaphor, this time used to make Tiro a co-member of the group “personal friends.” The friendship framing is explicit. The authors do make an effort to mitigate the strength of this claim through graduation resources as realized by the modal "might" in "MIGHT be treated much like personal friends" and the adverb "apparently" in the claim that enslaved people "APPARENTLY **enjoyed** CLOSE ties to his master." However, the quality of friendship is amplified and the graduation intensified by the adjective "close" in "CLOSE ties to

his master." In addition to graduation, attitude appears in the form of affect as Terence is described as enjoying his friendship with his captor.

In some textbooks, the appraisal of enslaved people as happy and lucky is even more explicit. Erik Robinson (2017) brought to light a profound example of this in the 5th edition of *Cambridge Latin Course* series. In the textbook, there is a drawing of two enslaved people smiling after beating away a dog that had violently attacked them. Below the image is the Latin phrase *servi erant laeti* "the slaves were happy" (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015, p. 71). Here the adjective 'happy' is the affect element of attitude within appraisal as it expresses the emotional state of enslaved people.

While textbook authors do occasionally address violence against enslaved people such as the case with Grumio and the dog attack, the violence is often sanitized with humor. In many cases, enslaved people centrally featured in textbooks like Davus, Tiro, and Terence do not appear to suffer such brutality. The frequent repetition of this storyline in textbooks implies to students and teachers that the experiences of Davus, Tiro, and Terence are representative of most enslaved people's experiences. The prioritizing of "positive" experiences for enslaved people in these fictional (Davus) non-fictional (Tiro and Terence) contexts deemphasizes and mitigates the systemic reality and atrocity of slavery by shifting focus away from the corrupt system and onto the perceived kindness and happiness of individuals. This narrative also sends the message that any "kind master" has substantial power to assuage the oppression of slavery.

The "happy" slave narrative exemplified by the examples above is also common in racist American proslavery discourses (Dugan, 2019). Appraisal features, similar to those in Greek and Latin textbooks, are found in works from the early 19th century known as *The Pro-Slavery Argument* (Dew et al., 1832) states:

> Every one acquainted with Southern slaves knows that the slave rejoices in the elevation and prosperity of his master; and the heart of no one is more gladdened...and has ever met from [their enslavers] all the kind treatment and generous sympathies of feeling, tender hearts...A merrier being does not exist on the face of the globe than the negro slave of the United States...Why, then, since the slave is happy, and happiness is the great object of all animated creation, should we endeavor to disturb his contentment by infusing into his mind a vain and indefinite desire for liberty—a something which he cannot comprehend, and which must inevitably dry up the very sources of his happiness.

In contrast, unlike in ancient Rome, there are hundreds of counter narratives by people enslaved in America that contradict this perception of happiness. For example, the formerly enslaved Frederick Douglass (1818-1895) once said:

> I have often been utterly astonished, since I came to the north, to find persons who could speak of the singing, among slaves, as evidence of their contentment and happiness. It is impossible to conceive of a greater mistake. Slaves sing most when they are most unhappy. The songs of the slave represent the sorrows of his heart; and he is relieved by its tears. At least, such is my experience.

Without the counternarratives by enslaved people in the ancient world, we are left only with the claims of enslavers and often the perpetuation of these claims by textbook authors. However, in the final analysis section of this chapter, I examine the theme of enslaved people as oppressed and suffering which does appear in these textbooks.

Enslaved people as oppressed and suffering

Many first year Greek and Latin texts use adaptations of these ancient comedies to tell stories of enslavers beating the people they held captive, including the modified version of

Plautus' comedy *Aulularia* in the *Reading Latin* series (Jones & Sidwell, 2012). After Euclio discovers a treasure in his home, he calls for Staphyla and begins beating her:

STAPHYLA quare me verberas, domine?
Why are you beating me, enslaver?

EUCLIO tace! te verbero quod mala es, Staphyla.
Silence! I beat you because you are awful, Staphyla.

STAPHYLA egone mala? cur mala sum? misera sum, sed non mala, domine.
(secum cogitat) sed tu insanus es!
I am awful? Why am I awful? I am unfortunate, but not awful, enslaver.
(She thinks to herself) but you are insane!

The passage above was first presented in chapter 2 as an example of how textbooks frequently feature adaptations of original Greek and Latin texts. In the chart below, I offer my analysis of the appraisal resources informing the discourse:

Key
Judgement - *italics*
Coding
STAPHYLA quare me verberas, domine? Why are you beating me, master? EUCLIO tace! te verbero quod *mala es*, Staphyla. Silence! I beat you because *you are awful*, Staphyla. STAPHYLA *egone mala*? cur *mala sum*? *misera sum*, sed *non mala*, domine. (secum cogitat) sed *tu insanus es*! *I am awful*? Why *am I awful*? *I am unfortunate*, but *not awful*, master. (She thinks to herself) but *you are insane*!

Fig. 30 Coding of attitude sample 8 (Jones & Sidwell, 2012, pp. 8-9).

The appraisal resource dominating this passage is judgement. Between beatings, Staphyla questions why she experiences the physical violence. The response her enslaver gives her is a judgement of her character as "awful." The term awful has a number of interpretations. This

could be a social-esteem-type judgement of capacity (e.g. unskilled) or tenacity (e.g. unreliable). In either case, it is a negative judgement of Staphyla. Staphyla in turn responds that she is "*unfortunate*" but not "*awful*." The term unfortunate is not as ambiguous in function and is a negative social-esteem-type of judgement of normality (cf. positive social-esteem-type judgment of normality in the example above of Davus having "good fortune"). The scene ends with her thinking to herself that Euclio is "*insane*!" The term insane is also an expression of negative social-esteem-type judgement of normality where Euclio is being described as abnormal. Although he receives some negative judgement, the source is the enslaved Staphyla. Here the role reversal of enslaver and enslaved in Roman comedy is embodied in the opportunity for the enslaved Staphyla to speak against Euclio seemingly without direct repercussion for calling him insane. However, just as in other examples of role reversal, the source of the humor is still largely the violence against the enslaved and their character (e.g. the beating of Staphyla and insults yelled at her).

Enslaved people are central characters often depicted as "clever" and, at the same time, frequently threatened with or experience violence (Richlin, 2017; Gold, 2014). Both the threat of violence and violence itself are tools for eliciting laughter. Sometimes enslaved people are beaten on stage but many times the beatings are implied (Richlin, 2017; Stewart, 2012; Hunt, 2016). In Plautus' *Pseudolus*, Ballio hits one enslaved person more for showing pain during a beating; in *Poenulus*, Agorastocles attacks a person he enslaved for showing interest in the woman Agorastocles desired; in *Aulularia*, Euclio beats an elderly enslaved female in addition to others (Richlin, 2017). Although beatings were likely a common part of the daily lives of many enslaved people, comic playwrights did not use characterizations of enslaved people to reflect the experiences of captives but rather to communicate 'humorously' to the audience messages

about authority, power, and order in society (McCarthy, 2000). At the core of the humor is the realization of judgement surfacing in Staphyla as "*awful*" or "*unfortunate*" and Euclio as "*insane*." The purpose of the text thus is not to address the brutality of enslavement but rather to use that backdrop to laugh at enslaved people judging and being judged.

In American slave narratives, there are countless first-hand accounts of brutal beatings, rapes, and murder perpetrated against Black people.[15] These all serve as counternarratives to the popular depiction of enslaved people as happy and lucky. As written records attest, there are cases in history when a formerly enslaved person recounts their experiences themselves and shares that they were not as brutalized as others. However, these same victims of slavery often make it clear that there exists no form of enslavement that could be preferred over freedom. Henry "Box" Brown (ca. 1815-1897), a Black man formerly enslaved in Richmond, Virginia, states in the preface of his freedom narrative:

> The tale of my own sufferings is not one of great interest to those who delight to read of hair-breadth adventures, of *tragica* occurrences, and scenes of blood:--my life, even in slavery, has been in many respects comparatively comfortable. I have experienced a continuance of such kindness, as slaveholders have to bestow; but though my body has escaped the lash of the whip, my mind has groaned under tortures which I believe will never be related, because, language is inadequate to express them...

Brown spends six chapters recounting beatings and abuse perpetrated by enslavers and human traffickers on others including the sale of his pregnant wife and three children whom he never saw again. He then reflects, "My master treated me kindly but he still retained me in a state of

[15] There is a long history of White people emphasizing and getting pleasure out of the pain and suffering of Black people through the recounting of brutally violent experiences. For this reason, I omit the details of such devastating recollections from this dissertation. See the narratives of Harriet A. Jacobs (1861) and many others (Documenting the American South, 2020) for details of their experiences.

slavery. His kindness however did not keep me from feeling the smart of this awful deprivation." Seven months after losing his family, Brown nearly died when friends helped ship him to freedom in a small box for twenty-seven hours by wagon, railroad, steamboat, and ferry from Richmond to Philadelphia. Lived experiences like Brown's stand in contrast to enslavers' efforts and the efforts of textbook authors to communicate a world of peaceful and fair co-existence between enslaved people and enslavers even under "kindly" circumstances.

Implications of appraisal analysis

As the passages from the textbooks attest, the appraisal system is a vital resource for the construal of enslavement. An examination of the data set reveals a pattern of positive expressions of the feelings and dispositions of enslaved people and their enslavers. These expressions are realized through the linguistic subsystems of graduation and attitude (affect, appreciation, and judgement) within the appraisal structure. Within the appraisal system, attitude is most salient. The two most prominent subcategories of attitude are affect and judgement. And the most prominent features in the construal of enslavement, as evidenced in this data set, are the un/happiness-type affect, the in/security-type affect, and the social-esteem-type judgement of normality. These linguistic features together construe an image of enslavement as generally good for all parties (enslavers and enslaved alike). The social function of this language then is to emphasize the positive gains from enslavement and deemphasize the brutality and negative impact. As a result, students and educators are presented with an imbalanced portrayal that favors the enslavers, proslavery arguments, and thus, ultimately, racism. This construal suggests a greater need for teachers, students, authors, editors, and publishers to critically examine the appraisal in the content of the textbooks in order to more accurately discuss and analyze enslavement in ancient and modern contexts. In Chapter 6, a transitivity analysis is added to the

same passages featured above in order to further examine the construal of enslavement in these Greek and Latin textbooks.

I shrieked with agony, and thought I was killed;

and I feel a weakness in that part to this day…

I cannot remember how many licks…

I was unable to stand. After this, I ran away...

- Mary Prince, 1831 (pp. 8-9)

Mary Prince (ca. 1788-after 1833) was an enslaved Black woman in Antigua and the earliest known Black woman to publish a freedom narrative (Madison-MacFadyen, 2018; 2017). As a captive of the Wood family, she was forced to travel to England in 1828. At that time in England, it became illegal to leave the country with enslaved people (although the system of enslavement within England was still legal). As a result, when the Wood family returned to Antigua in 1829, Prince was able to stay in England as a free woman. Although Prince was married to a free Black man in Antigua, she could not return out of fear of being re-enslaved. The Wood family had rejected her pleas to grant her freedom outside of England. In 1831, Prince published her autobiography *History of Mary Prince* about her experiences in enslavement. Since Antigua abolished slavery in 1838, scholars speculate that Prince may have moved back and reunited with her husband (Madison-MacFadyen, 2017). Despite the hopeful tenor of that narrative, it remains a mystery as to how she spent the later years of her life.

Prince's autobiography recounts her violent experiences while enslaved. In the passage above, Prince remembers a time that she ran from another abusive family who held her captive. I emphasized her first-person statements to highlight the power and agency she carved out under such hostile conditions. As she focuses on her actions and thoughts (screaming and believing that she had been killed) in response to the actions and behavior of her enslaver (beatings and brutality), she captures her first-hand social interactions in enslavement. At the end of this

narrative, she demonstrates the greatest degree of agency with the statement “I ran away.” In Greek and Latin textbooks, witness statements like these are often absent. In the absence of these first-hand accounts of Greco-Roman experiences in enslavement, the following chapter examines the linguistic framing of such interactions between enslaved people and their captors as presented by the textbook authors.

CHAPTER 6

TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS OF ENSLAVEMENT

In this chapter, I present my transitivity analysis of the data set using the systemic functional linguistics methodology detailed in chapter 4. This examination demonstrates how linguistic resources of agency and interaction function in the construal of enslavement. To conduct this analysis, I have returned to some of the same passages that were first introduced and analyzed in chapter 5. Adding to the previous chapter, I also include new passages from the data set. All material from the Greek and Latin textbooks are available in full as appendices B-F. The following transitivity analysis supports the interpretation of five distinct and reoccurring themes in the construal of enslavement in Greek and Latin textbooks: enslaved people as immigrants, enslaved people as property and goods, enslaved people as happy and lucky, enslaved people as lazy and sluggish, and enslaved people as oppressed and suffering. Just as in chapter 5, I discuss nuances and weave in a comparative analysis with 19th-century enslavement narratives in America in pro- and anti-slavery contexts. In the next section, I review the transitivity system as first introduced in chapter 4 and build on that understanding to discuss the role of participants and processes in the expression of transitivity.

Participants and processes in the transitivity system

As introduced in chapter 4, the transitivity system is a branch of the ideational metafunction of language. Examinations of ideation often seek to understand the linguistic choices that authors make in constructing interactions between participants. Linguistic resources

from the transitivity system such as actions and agents convey how participants interact with one another in a discourse. As Michael Halliday explains, "transitivity is a system of the clause, affecting not only the verb serving as process but also participants and circumstances" (Halliday 2014, p. 227). For example, in the statement “I am organizing the conference with my colleague” the participants are “I” and “my colleague” and their interaction with one another centers on the experience of “organizing the conference.”

There are three main pillars in transitivity: processes (verbal features), participants (nominal features), and circumstances (adverbs and prepositions). The verbal aspect of an experience is known as the process. There are six different categories of processes: material, verbal, mental, behavioral, referential, and existential. Examples of these processes include “she threw the pencil” (material), “I said that” (verbal), “he thinks so” (mental), “they celebrated” (behavioral), “I was the winner” (referential) and “there was a storm” (existential). Distinguishing these processes helps analysts to understand the social function and meaning of an action or an experience in a given passage. And examining these processes also helps to articulate what choices (i.e. syntagmatic and paradigmatic resources) are available to an author or speaker to construct an event or concept. The meaning potential can then be compared to the actual choices that the author or speaker has made. This type of analysis reveals the depth to which producers and processers of a discourse are engaging in the shaping of a message.

A material process involves doing or acting and thus the agent of the action is a central participant necessary for conveying and understanding the process. A statement like “she was cleaning the house with her sister” paints a different picture than “she alone was cleaning the house.” The inclusion of her sister shifts the meaning and message of the statement. An agent (or Actor in SFL terms), however, can be implicit or explicit. For example, the imperative material

process statement “pick up the ball!” does not have an expressed agent. However, the agent of the action does exist in the implied “you” of the sentence.[16] This Actor has a semantic role in the process. Understanding the semantic roles of each participant in a process is essential to comprehending the content of a text and its purpose in the social environment the interaction takes place in. It also helps reveal the breadth of other ways the message could have been conveyed. The following chart lists the standard semantic roles for each process:

Material	**Mental**	**Relational**	**Verbal**	**Behavioral**	**Existential**
Actor	Sensor	Carrier	Sayer	Behaver	Existent
Goal	Phenomenon	Attribute	Receiver	Behavior	
Recipient		Attributor	Verbiage		
Client		Identifier	Target		
Scope		Identified			
Initiator		Assigner			

Fig. 31 Semantic roles in transitivity (Bartley, 2018, p. 3; Halliday & Matthieson, 2014).

A transitivity analysis helps to deconstruct these roles and examine the meaning and hidden messages. For example, the statement “she was **typing** the novel” expresses a material process, a statement of doing or acting. Since it is a material process, interpreters of the statement are expecting certain types of semantic roles including, most often, the Actor and the Goal. In this simple sentence, the phrase “was typing” is the process. The pronoun “she” is the Actor (and thus the agent of the typing). And the phrase “the novel” is the Goal. Although there are multiple semantic roles present in the sentence, this example illustrates how not every semantic role must be filled in the expression of a process (e.g. there is no expressed Recipient, Client, etc.).

Any experience expressed in a statement may have the potential to be expanded in order to include other semantic roles and participants. The choice to include or exclude expressed semantic roles is up to the author, speaker, or creator of the message (consciously or subconsciously). For example, if the sample statement from the previous paragraph were revised

[16] Other languages such as Latin carry the 2nd person indicator in the morphology so the agent is expressed in imperative statements such as this.

and said, “she was typing the novel for her mom,” the sentence then has been changed to include an additional semantic role, the Recipient. The recipient of the process is expressed with the prepositional phrase “for her mom.” The categorizations in the table above therefore are not prescriptive. Instead, the table is provided as a way to understand the meaning potential, the spectrum of the linguistic resources available to choose from. It does not necessitate the expressed inclusion of every participant or semantic role.

Since transitivity expresses the interaction between participants and their semantic roles, a transitivity analysis includes an examination of the type of process featured as well as the participants and their semantic roles in the process. The purpose of conducting a transitivity analysis in this study, thus, is to understand what choices textbook authors are making (consciously or subconsciously) in order to construe the actions and behaviors of the participants in the system of ancient slavery. In so doing, this analysis reveals also what options are being excluded in the framing of enslavement in ancient language textbooks. In this chapter, I address the processes in the data set and analyze them as they appear in the enslavement discourses.

Throughout the chapter, processes and participants are discussed as they arise in the data set. All six types of processes in the transitivity system were discussed in chapter 4 along with examples. However, not all six types are equally represented in the construal of enslavement in Greek and Latin textbooks. The findings below demonstrate how transitivity system processes work together to sanitize and normalize enslavement particularly through the inclusion or exclusion of an expressed agent (Actor). The emphasis in this analysis is on the material and relational processes because they capture the majority of expressed interaction between enslaved people and enslavers in Greek and Latin textbooks in the data set used for this research. However, all processes will be discussed as they arise in the analysis below. The following

section begins with the analysis of the reoccurring theme in Greek and Latin textbooks of portraying enslaved people as immigrants.

Enslaved people as immigrants

In the historical context section titled "Connecting with the Ancient World: Slavery in Ancient Rome" in *Latin for the New Millennium* (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008), the authors write:

> Ancient slavery was by no means identical to slavery in more recent periods and countries, such as colonial America. The Romans did not reduce a single race or culture to slavery; rather, slaves came from all over the ancient Mediterranean world and typically fell into servile status by capture in war (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008, p. 51).

In the passage above, the assertion that "slaves came from all over the Mediterranean" positions enslaved people as the agents of the action and suggests that they had a choice in moving to Rome (and thus, a choice in enslavement). The choice to use the migratory language conveys the underlying message that enslaved people are, at least in part, immigrants. This discourse is captured through the transitivity system analyzed in the following figure:

Key
Actor - square Goal - red font Judgement - *italics* Material process - gray highlight Recipient - purple font
Coding
The Romans did not reduce a single race or culture to slavery; rather, slaves came from all over the ancient Mediterranean world and *typically* fell into servile status by capture in war.

Fig. 32 Coding of transitivity sample 1 (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008, p. 51).

In the *Latin for the New Millennium* passage above, material processes dominate the construction of the message. The Romans are identified as Actors in a material process who "did not reduce a single race or culture to slavery." The emphasis is on what the enslavers are not responsible for.

This comment is followed by the statement that “slaves came from all over the ancient Mediterranean world” which positions enslaved people as Actors who are migrating around the world. The statement ends by explaining that at least some slaves “fell into servile status by capture in war” and were not immigrants. The enslaved people then shift to being the Goal who experience the action of servility brought on by the abstract Actor “capture in war.” Therefore, the responsible agent for captivity is expressed as the “capture in war” and not the human actors, i.e. the Romans, who were behind this capture. One could argue that the Romans are silent agents in a manner like the unexpressed agent “you” in the command “put that book down!” However, even if that argument holds water, this silencing of human agency in the institution of enslavement is a choice on the part of the authors that results in a distancing of the human Actors from the action.

Creating distance between Actor and action helps those exposed to the discourse to accept or normalize the existence of slavery. This distancing further pushes the notion that enslavement is an enigmatic inanimate system and thus not within human control to change. An understanding of enslavement as a nebulous self-controlled system with no human agency allows the presentation of enslaved people as immigrants to be more widely accepted and taken as fact. However, there are moments where the authors recognize the process of enslavement as an interaction between people in which one human purchases another human. This overt acknowledgement is found in the textbook *Ecce Romani* (Lawall, 2009) which states that “Davus had been captured in Britain and sent to Rome to be sold by auction in the Forum” (p. 37). Although it does not frame enslaved people as immigrants, it also does not express Roman human traffickers as responsible for this enslavement.

The perception of enslaved people as immigrants and the erasure of the human agency behind enslavement is also found in recent American contexts. In 2017, Ben Carson, the Housing and Urban Development Secretary of the United States, weighed in on the immigration debate in America by stating the following:

> That's what America is about, a land of dreams and opportunity. There were other immigrants who came here in the bottom of slave ships, worked even longer, even harder for less. But they too had a dream that one day their sons, daughters, grandsons, granddaughters, great-grandsons, great-granddaughters, might pursue prosperity and happiness in this land (Stack, 2017).

Carson's comments were widely criticized for labeling enslaved Africans as immigrants. In the same way, we should be critical of statements that suggest the enslaved immigrated or traveled or otherwise voluntarily landed their lot. Textbooks such as *Latin for the New Millennium* (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008) that position slaves as immigrants reinforce this false understanding of the enslaved experience and feed into racist narratives in an American slavery context. In the following section, I examine how transitivity functions in the framing of enslaved people as property and goods.

Enslaved people as property and goods

Since appraisal and transitivity resources are engaged simultaneously, all passages that are fitting for appraisal analysis can be subject to transitivity analysis as well. In chapter 5, I first presented the following passage from *Latin for the New Millennium*:

> White chalk on the feet indicated that the slave was imported. A tag around the neck gave the slave's name, nationality, and described his character, a guarantee for the buyer that he was making a good purchase (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008).

In this passage, the authors take creative license to place the reader in the shoes of the human traffickers and enslavers with the statement "a guarantee for the buyer that he was making a good purchase." The following chart illustrates my coding of this passage which allows for deeper analysis of the underlying message:

Key
Actor - square Carrier - blue font Judgement - *italics* Lexical metaphor - [brackets] Material process - gray highlight Relational process - purple highlight Verbal process - green highlight
Coding
White chalk on the feet indicated that the slave was imported. A tag around the neck gave the slave's name, nationality, and described *his character*, a *guarantee* for the buyer that he was making *a good purchase.*

Fig. 33 Coding of transitivity sample 2 (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008, p. 51).

The passage above describes a slave auction using the vocabulary of economic exchange. It is constructed of verbal, relational, and material processes that frame enslaved people as property and goods. [17] As we have seen in previous examples, the Actors who are responsible for the processing of kidnapped slaves in this passage are also inanimate. In this passage, it is the "white chalk" that indicates the enslaved person's origin and the "tag around the neck" that gives the description of the enslaved person. There is no mention of the human agency or the human trafficker who has placed the chalk and tag on the enslaved person. Thus, the event of slave auctioning is distanced from the human involvement in the system.

[17] Although categorized as expressions of judgement in chapter 5, the phrase "a guarantee for the buyer that he was making a good purchase" could arguably be interpreted as an expression of appreciation. Appreciation of value in SFL is typically reserved for inanimate things and concepts but since enslaved people are positioned as inanimate things, perhaps these types of phrases belong. This is a question outside the scope of this research but worthy of further analysis in future publications.

In the coding, I have labeled the attributive phrase “was imported” as a relational process with purple highlighter. Within the transitivity system, relational processes refer to expressions of being, becoming, or possessing. There are three types of relational processes: intensive (expressing sameness), circumstantial (expressing time, place, manner), and possessive (expressing ownership). There are two modes of relational processes: identifying (e.g. “I am the manager”) or attributive (e.g. “I am skilled”). I have interpreted the statement “that the slave was imported” as a circumstantial attributive relational process. The enslaved person is the Carrier, the Attribute is “imported,” and the Attributor is “white chalk.” Again, the human agency is missing and in its place the inanimate “white chalk” is in power.

In *Ecce Romani* (Lawall, 2009), a very similar description is found in the fictional story of Davus, an enslaved man from Britain. The following quote describes Davus and his experience on the block at a human auction as illustrated by the textbook authors:

> When his feet were whitened with chalk by the slave-dealer, Davus was mystified, but he soon discovered that this had been done to all new arrivals from abroad. A placard was hung around his neck indicating that he was British and could read and write. He was then put on a revolving stand, and bidding for him began.

The emphasis in this passage is on Davus’ surprise. He appears to be happy that he is being treated like all of the other slaves who were kidnapped (cf. “imported”). The following figure visualizes the function of the linguistic resources that express this message:

Key
Actor - square Judgement - *italics* Material process - gray highlight Mental process - red highlight Recipient - purple font
Coding

...Davus was mystified, but he soon discovered that this had been done to *all* new arrivals from abroad.

Fig. 34 Coding of transitivity sample 3 (Lawall, 2009, p. 37).

As the red highlights indicate, in this passage, the authors assign mental states to the enslaved Davus. He is "mystified" and "discovered" new information. One could argue that this not only positions Davus as a piece of property but also as a man who is curious about his new status as property. Just as we saw in chapter 5, the concern and fear we see in American slave narratives regarding the slave auction experience is absent here. And again, the human agency behind the white chalk and labeling of enslaved people's characteristics is absent. In these examples, a deeper look at the linguistic resources from the transitivity system is needed in order to bring to light the underlying resources shaping the message.

In some passages in Greek and Latin textbooks, there is explicit acknowledgement of enslaved people as property such as in the following statement from the "Slaves and freedmen" section in the *Cambridge Latin Course* series (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015):

> The law, in fact, did not regard them as human beings, but as things that could be bought and sold, treated well or treated badly, according to the whim of their master (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015, pp. 78-81).

In this passage, the authors use multiple processes in their acknowledgement that enslaved people were considered property by the enslavers. The following figure illustrates what processes are engaged and how:

Key
Behaver- green font Behavioral process - yellow highlight Lexical metaphor - [brackets] Material process - gray highlight Mental process - red highlight Phenomenon - dark red font Sensor - orange font

Coding
The law, in fact, did not regard them [as human beings], but [as things] that could be bought and sold, treated well or treated badly, according to the whim of their master.

Fig. 35 Coding of transitivity sample 4 (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015, pp. 78-81).

In this passage, "the law" fulfills the semantic role of Sensor in a mental process. The mental process is the regarding of enslaved people not as humans but "as things." The human agency behind this discrimination is not expressed. Although pro-slavery advocates are responsible for the mental process, the authors choose to express the Sensor of the process as "the law." This statement is then followed by a passive expression of a material process in which enslaved people "could be bought and sold." The enslavers, the Actors of this process, are omitted. In the final sentence of the passage from **Fig. 35**, "their master" (the silent Actor of the previous process) is the behaver in the behavioral process "treated well" or "treated badly." Therefore, the enslaver is entirely left out the expressed discourse but emerges in a context where it is possible that they could be acting kindly toward enslaved people.

The exclusion of agency and positive emphasis can also be found in US history textbooks covering a number of historical eras. In a study combining corpus linguistics and SFL, Xiang Gu (2016) examined the linguistic differences in how the Pacific War, particularly the battle at Pearl Harbor and the bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, are presented in four history textbooks from the United States and three from Japan. Gu conducted interpersonal, ideational, and textual analysis by examining appraisal, transitivity, and nominalization. He concluded that, while both US and Japanese textbooks conveyed ideological propaganda, Japanese textbooks offered more alternative perspectives and thus humanized participants on both sides. On the other hand, US history textbook authors construct their interpretation of the Pacific War in a binary manner

where Americans are brave winners and the Japanese are cowardly losers. However, Japanese textbooks "praise the luckiness of US aircraft carriers, the competence of the US troops, the bravery of Japanese troops, the honesty of Japan, and the unfairness of the United States" (Gu, 2016, p. 227) thereby giving multiple perspectives and humanizing Americans in dynamic ways. For example, one US textbook states that "a US plane, the Enola Gay, dropped an atomic bomb...the bomb hastened the end of the war" (Gu, 2016, p. 236). It is the bomb that is responsible for the end of the war (presumably a positive goal). The bomb takes the place of the American troops and government. As a result, it creates a dehumanizing distance between the US and the death and violence of the nuclear attack. In contrast, a Japanese textbook states, "the US dropped the first atomic bomb to Hiroshima…Due to the indiscriminate bombing and drops of atomic bombs by the US troops, an enormous number of casualties were inflicted" (Gu, 2016, p. 237). Here, the agency of the American people is emphasized thus agency is humanized.

Nominalization, an aspect of the textual metafunction, also plays a role in dehumanizing characters in historical texts. When an adjective like 'destructive,' for example, is made into a noun phrase as seen in this statement taken from a US textbook, "the realization of its awesome destructiveness would come later" (Gu, 2016, p. 236), the human agency behind the atomic bombing is further removed. The author's interpretation of history then becomes an abstract statement covertly disguised as fact. Nominalization is common in the history genre and can create a false sense of objectivity. Rather than being objective, this practice subtly conveys a particular ideology by erasing or creating distance between people within the text as well as between the reader and the topic (Coffin, 2005; Eggins, 1993).

With nominalization, there is little room made for alternative perspectives. When there is dehumanization and a loss of alternative perspectives, students are less likely to empathize with

other points of view. When considering the knowledge schemas this can create as described by Moya and Hamedani (2017), it is possible to argue further that the presentation of Japanese in the American history textbooks can have a negative impact on a student's perception of Japanese people and, more broadly, the Asian race. By presenting only one perspective on the Pacific War, students are not asked to consider alternative views or to empathize with Japanese citizens past and present. This may reinforce already existing racist schemas in a student or help to create them. Similarly, when the human agents, the enslavers, driving the violence of ancient enslavement are left out of the discourse and the violence itself is nominalized, Greek and Latin learners are encouraged to empathize with the enslavers and not recognize the choices and actions people made and continue to make in order to promote enslavement, discrimination, and racism. For example, the following passage from the textbook *Latin for the New Millennium* (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008) features nominalized violence and deemphasizes the culpability of enslavers and human traffickers:

> Maltreatment of slaves appears to have been common and those who tried to escape could be whipped, branded with the letters FUG (*fugitīvus*, runaway) on their forehead, or made to wear an inscribed metal collar. The condition of slaves, however, improved somewhat as a result of laws passed during the early imperial period (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008, p. 52).

In this passage, "maltreatment of slaves" is the nominalization of the action that could have instead been expressed with greater agency as "Literary evidence bears witness to Roman enslavers beating their captives under many different circumstances and without consequence." Unfortunately, I am not aware of any currently published and circulating textbooks that directly and consistently draw attention to the human agents of enslavement.

As part of the research on the depth of the discourse of enslaved people as property and goods, I looked to original material that may have inspired the textbook authors to include or exclude certain (representations?) messages. In the data set for this research, the textbook *Ecce Romani* has the most amount of original ancient material that is cited as supplemental evidence to support the historical interpretations. For example, the authors cite the following quote written by Cato the Elder (234-149 BCE):

> Let the farmer sell olive oil, if he has a good price, also his wine and his grain. Let him sell his surplus too: old oxen, old tools, an old slave, a sick slave. Cato, *On Agriculture* II.7 (extracts)

The authors contextualize this quote as an example of an enslaver who is not kind to those they hold in captivity. Although the Latin is not included in the textbook, I offer the original Latin text along with my translation This Latin text below reveals that the passage was longer than the adapted quote in the textbook:

> Pecus consideret. Auctionem uti faciat: vendat oleum, si pretium habeat, vinum, frumentum quod supersit vendat; boves vetulos, armenta delicula, oves deliculas, lanam, pelles, plostrum vetus, ferramenta vetera, servum senem, servum morbosum, et siquid aliut supersit, vendat. Patrem familias vendacem, non emacem esse oportet.

Here I offer my translation of the passage:

> [The farmer] should inspect their cattle. He should have an auction: he should sell his olive oil, if he can get a good price, his wine, and he should sell his extra grain; He should sell his aging oxen, defective tools, defective sheep, wool, hide, old wagon, old iron implements, elderly slave, sick slave, and anything else he has that's extra. The head of the household ought to be a seller, not a buyer.

In this passage, elderly and sick enslaved people are added to a long list of property and goods. Farmers are encouraged to get rid of their "elderly slave, sick slave" in the same collection of things to be discarded such as "aging oxen" and "defective tools." It is the enslavers themselves, not the laws, who are doing the grouping of enslaved people along with animals and inanimate tools. Since this text expresses human agency behind the selling of people, it captures more of the true mechanics in the system of enslavement than many other quotes cited in this research. However, the passage and many like it ask the reader to once again understand enslavement from the perspective of the enslaver, not the enslaved. The message is one of economy, profit, and international trade much like American discourses of enslavement discussed in chapter 5. The following section examines how the transitivity system also functions in the framing of enslaved people as lazy and sluggish.

Enslaved people as lazy and sluggish

In addition to enslaved people as immigrants or as property and goods, the presentation of enslaved people as lazy and sluggish can be found frequently in ancient and modern texts. The following passage from *Athenaze: An Introduction to Ancient Greek* was first introduced in chapter 5, I offer here again to reevaluate for its transitivity properties:

> ὁ οὖν Ξανθίας *βραδέως* προσχωρεῖ ἀλλ' οὐ συλλαμβάνει·
>
> [ho oun Zanthias bradeōs proschorei all' ou sullambanei;]
>
> And so Xanthias slowly approaches but is not helping;

In this scene, Xanthias has been commanded to come help his enslaver move a rock so that the oxen can continue plowing. I previously discussed how the appraisal resource of judgement was engaged to express Xanthias' character as lazy and sluggish saying that he "slowly approaches."

But the sentence is also apt for understanding how transitivity contributes to this degrading positioning as illustrated in this figure:

Key
Actor - square Judgement - *italics* Material process - grey highlight
Coding
ὁ οὖν Ξανθίας *βραδέως* προσχωρεῖ ἀλλ' οὐ συλλαμβάνει· [ho oun Zanthias bradeōs proschorei all' ou sullambanei;] And so Xanthias *slowly* approaches but [he] is *not helping*;

Fig. 36 Coding of transitivity sample 5 (Balme et al., 2016, p. 30).

In this passage, there are two material processes occurring with Xanthias as the Actor of both actions. The enslaved man is presented as behaving in a lazy manner as he "slowly approaches" and "is not helping" his enslaver move a rock. As a result, the message is that the Actor Xanthias is not fulfilling the expectations in the enslaved-enslaver relationship. This framing once again creates sympathy for the enslaver and positions the reader from the enslaver's perspective.

While the example above is a more obvious case of framing an enslaved person as lazy, the laziness narrative seeps into enslavement discourses in other ways as well. One aspect of the laziness messaging is the positioning of enslaved people as responsible for their freedom as seen in the following passage:

> It was possible for a slave to buy his freedom if he could save enough from the small personal allowance he earned; some masters gave their slaves their freedom in a process called manumission (**manūmissiō**), as a reward for long service.

The positioning of enslaved people as earners of freedom bears with a supposition that they do not inherently have the right to freedom in the first place unlike others who were born or are currently free. This type of discourse sets up a conditional situation whereby if the enslaved person works hard and acts right, then they can, and perhaps most likely will, earn their freedom.

Thus, it follows that if an enslaved person is not free, maybe that condition is the result of them not having worked hard enough to earn that status. The following table illustrates how transitivity resources contribute to this message:

Key
Actor - square Existential process - blue highlight Goal - red font Material process - gray highlight Recipient - purple font Relational process - purple highlight
Coding
It was possible for a slave to buy his freedom if he could save enough from the small personal allowance he earned; some masters gave their slaves their freedom in a process called manumission (**manūmissiō**), as a reward for long service.

Fig. 37 Coding of transitivity sample 6 (Balme et al., 2016, p. 30).

The textbook authors begin this passage with an existential statement on possibility. The enslaved person is the Recipient of this possibility. At the same time, the enslaved person is the Actor with the agency to buy their freedom after saving money. Therefore, it is within the enslaved person's power to earn their freedom. If they cannot earn their freedom, enslavers may grant them freedom. The authors relate this granting of freedom to the earning of the freedom by the enslaved with the relational intensive process expressed in the phrase "as a reward." This is a reduced adverbial clause that could also be understood as "manumission...which was a reward for long service." As a result, those who constructed this statement are doubling down on placing the responsibility of earning freedom on the shoulders of the enslaved.

In some cases, there are even more explicit claims of how widespread freedom was such as the statement "freedom was also very commonly given after the owner's death by a statement in the will" (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015, pp. 78-81). Despite these claims, however, there does not appear to be enough evidence to indicate how many wills were written and how

many enslaved people were freed. If the textbook authors provided more citations perhaps there could be some truth to these claims. However, they appear to be parroting one another and not stating demonstrable facts.

In America, a similar narrative has been woven about enslaved and their responsibility and opportunities available to earn their freedom. However, even when what was called "self-purchase" could happen, many and sometimes violent events would prevent their success. In the following quote, the former enslaved Venture Smith (1798) sums up his experience in attempting to buy his freedom:

> My master liberated me, saying that I might pay what was behind if I could ever make it convenient, otherwise it would be well. The amount of the money which I had paid my master towards redeeming my time, was seventy-one pounds two shillings. The reason of my master for asking such an unreasonable price, was he said, to secure himself in case I should ever come to want. Being thirty-six years old, I left Col. Smith once for all. I had already been sold three different times, made considerable money with seemingly nothing to derive it from, been cheated out of a large sum of money, lost much by misfortunes, and paid an enormous sum for my freedom.

Venture Smith had been kidnapped from Africa when he was six years old and thirty years later managed to finally purchase his freedom. His experiences reveal holes in the claim that purchasing freedom or achieving manumission was easy to obtain just as long as the enslaved person works hard. The third president of the United States, Thomas Jefferson, owned around six hundred slaves. He freed only a few in his life and his will (Wiencek, 2012). Many scholars have discussed how he vocalized his support for freedom but yet he never freed his own slaves even when given the chance. This inaction is likely reflective of many other enslavers of the time.

There is no clear evidence for how many Black people were able to "earn" or buy their freedom compared to how many seized their own freedom through self-emancipation. Even less is known about the number of enslaved ancient people. Despite the lack of evidence, because of the widespread presence of this narrative in textbooks today, many students perceive this opportunity for enslaved people as far more available than it likely was. In the following section, I examine how transitivity functions in the framing of enslaved people as happy and lucky.

Enslaved people as happy and lucky

Along with appraisal, the transitivity system is also sourced to position enslaved people as happy and lucky often with an emphasis on food, shelter, and dancing. The following passage is an example from *Athenaze: An Introduction to Ancient Greek* (Balme et al., 2016) that was originally introduced in chapter 5:

> In the country, the slaves of farmers usually lived and ate with their masters. Aristophanes' comedies depict them as lively and cheeky characters, by no means downtrodden.

In chapter 5, I emphasized the function of appraisal resources in the construal of enslaved people as happy and lucky. The following chart illustrates how the transitivity system is operating to construct this discourse as well:

Key
Actor - square Affect - **bold** Judgement - *italics* Material process - gray highlight Verbal process - green highlight
Coding
In the country, the slaves of farmers *usually* lived and ate with their masters. Aristophanes' comedies depict them as **lively** and **cheeky** characters, **by no means downtrodden**.

Fig. 38 Coding of transitivity sample 7 (Balme et al., 2016, p. 20).

The verbs “lived” and “ate” are material processes of doing. As discussed in chapter 5, this passage is particularly egregious in the way in which it paints enslaved people as happy beneficiaries of enslavement. The joy as described through the portrayal of enslaved people as “lively and cheeky characters, by no means downtrodden” is a direct response to their condition in which they get to live and eat with the enslavers happily. This belief that there is joy in living and eating under enslavement can also be found in American contexts. In 2016, Bill O’Reilly responded to Michelle Obama’s comment about how her family is living in a house built by enslaved Black people:

> Slaves that worked there were well-fed and had decent lodgings provided by the government, which stopped hiring slave labor in 1802. However, the feds did not forbid subcontractors from using slave labor. So, Michelle Obama is essentially correct in citing slaves as builders of the White House, but there were others working as well.

O’Reilly places emphasis on the positive support that enslaved people had by classifying them as being “well-fed” and having “decent lodgings provided by the government.” (Victor, 2016). This positive presentation occurs not only in the context of enslaved people being fed but also in depictions of enslaved people cooking food for others. A children’s book titled *A Birthday Cake for George Washington* by Ramin Ganeshram depicts enslaved people happily baking George Washington a birthday cake. The illustration on the cover is an older enslaved Black male and a younger enslaved female in the kitchen smiling, almost at the viewer, as they mix the batter. The message in text and image is that the enslaved people whom George Washington owned were happy, loyal, and enjoyed their experience in the kitchen. Amid criticism, Scholastic stopped distribution of the text, citing the misrepresentation of slavery.

Another relationship between food, lodging, and happiness often distinguishes between enslaved people in the house and the field. *Latin for the New Millennium* states the following:

> House slaves might be educated and assigned to train the master's children, or to act as literary or business assistants to the master himself; such slaves might be treated much like personal friends. Tiro, Cicero's secretary, friend, and former slave, invented a system of shorthand to facilitate taking notes. At the other end of the spectrum, however, slaves who worked in the fields and mines might have existences no better than those endured by beasts of burden.

This division between 'house slaves' and 'field slaves' has been challenged by scholars for simplifying and glossing over the experiences for all enslaved people, including the rapes and violence endured by those forced to work in the house. In his criticism of the house/field binary discourse in American slavery contexts, Hasan Kwame Jeffries (Jeffries & Owens, 2018) explains how the 'house slave' and 'field slave' divide oversimplifies the system of slavery and does not take into account the breadth of experiences including the type of forced labor, crops, the size of the land, location, gender, age, and origin (e.g. born in Africa or in America). For Jeffries, "Reducing the manifold experiences of enslaved African Americans to a simple binary might be good for making political points. But it obscures far more than it reveals." This same observation can be applied to the misrepresentation and simplification of enslaved people's experiences in the ancient world. The following section examines how transitivity functions in the framing of enslaved people as oppressed and suffering.

Enslaved people as oppressed and suffering

The nature of the violence against enslaved people was discussed in chapter 2 and chapter 5. In this section, I will examine how transitivity functions to construct a discourse of brutality.

Although I argue that the majority of enslavement discourses in Greek and Latin textbooks function to sanitize and normalize enslavement, there are exceptions. Despite representations of the terrors of enslavement, however, the material tends to remain more positive or neutral on enslavement rather than negative or anti-enslavement. In the play *Aulularia*, cited earlier, Euclio exclaims to enslaved Staphyla, "I **beat** you because you **are** awful!" (Jones & Sidwell, 2012, p. 8). Here we have both a material and relational process:

Key
Actor - square Goal - red font Judgement - *italics* Material process - gray highlight Mental process - red highlight Recipient - purple font Relational process - purple highlight
Coding
STAPHYLA quare me verberas, domine? Why are you beating me, master? EUCLIO tace! te verbero quod mala es, Staphyla. Silence! I beat you because *you are awful*, Staphyla. STAPHYLA egone mala? cur mala sum? misera sum, sed non mala, domine. (secum cogitat) sed tu insanus es! *I am awful*? Why *am I awful*? *I am unfortunate*, but *not awful*, master. (She thinks to herself) but *you are insane*!

Fig. 39 Coding of transitivity sample 8 (Jones & Sidwell, 2012, p. 8).

The material process is Euclio beating Staphyla. The Actor is Euclio, the enslaver, who is beating the Goal (experiencer of the action), Staphyla, an elderly enslaved woman. The Actor Euclio possesses the most power and as Changsoo Lee states, "the role of Actor is the strongest source of dynamism among all participant roles" (2016, p. 480). It is Euclio with the power not only physically as he beats her but also the power to judge the nature of her existence as "awful." Staphyla's existence as awful or not awful is an expression of an attributive relational process. She goes on to defend her existence as unfortunate not awful.

In this scene, the verbal and physical abuse is clear. However, the intention is to make audiences laugh and not to draw attention to the brutality of enslavement. The following description of enslavement from *Athenaze* (Balme et al., 2016) illustrates how textbooks authors sometimes address enslavement and its violence but still neglect to discuss agency:

> Maltreatment of slaves appears to have been common and those who tried to escape could be whipped, branded with the letters FUG (*fugitīvus*, runaway) on their forehead, or made to wear an inscribed metal collar. The condition of slaves, however, improved somewhat as a result of laws passed during the early imperial period.

Similar to the earning of freedom, the earning of beatings and punishment in this passage is positioned as a result of the actions of enslaved people. Furthermore, there is no human agency expressed in the control over the violence. The clause "those who tried to escape could be whipped" could be reframed as "Roman enslavers beat those who were recaptured." The revised sentence shifts the culpability of the violence from the enslaved to the enslaver. Therefore, although the violence of enslavement does appear in Greek and Latin textbooks, it is often couched in a comedy or sanitized and dehumanized.

The presentation of the oppression and violence of enslavement is complicated by the assigning of an enslaved overseer to be in control of their fellow enslaved people. This practice occurred in ancient Greco-Roman and more recent American contexts. The following passage is taken from a section titled "A Slave Runs Away" in *Ecce Romani* which tells the fictional story of Geta, an enslaved man who runs away from the Cornelius household.

> "Audite me! Quamquam dominus abest, necesse est nobis strenue laborare."
>
> "Listen to me! Since the master is away, it is necessary for us to work hard."
>
> Tum servi mussant, "Davus dominus esse vult.

Then the enslaved people muttered, “Davus wants to be an enslaver.

Ecce! Baculum habet. Nos verberare potest.

Behold! He has a rod. He is able to beat us.

Necesse est igitur facere id quod iubet.”

And so it is necessary to do what he commands.”

Redeunt igitur ad agros servi quod baculum vilici timent.

Therefore, the enslaved people return to the fields because they fear the rod of the overseer.

In the textbook, one storyline follows Davus who had been purchased on the slave market as discussed above but now, years later, is the overseer of the other enslaved people. Cornelius and the family have left the house and Davus is put in charge. Geta and the other enslaved people are upset about this dynamic. The following figure illustrates how transitivity resources are used to express their thoughts and concerns:

Key
Actor - square Goal - red font Material process - gray highlight Mental process - red highlight Relational process - purple highlight Verbal process - green highlight
Coding
Tum servi mussant, “Davus dominus esse vult. Then the enslaved people muttered, “Davus wants to be an enslaver. Ecce! Baculum habet. Nos verberare potest. Behold! He has a rod. He is able to beat us. Necesse est igitur facere id quod iubet.” And so it is necessary to do what he commands.”

Fig. 40 Coding of transitivity sample 9 (Lawall, 2009, p. 79).

Enslavers strategically assigned an enslaved person to manage the other enslaved people as a way to prevent rebellions and break up unity among enslaved people (Kendi, 2016). In this

passage, the textbook authors create a scene in which the enslaved people are upset with the hierarchy but mostly afraid and willing to be obedient from this fear. Davus, the enslaved overseer, is the Actor who has the tools to beat the others. The response to this situation is a figure with a relational process, expressing the necessity for the enslaved to do as they are told. In this way, the passage cedes even more power to the overseer and constructs an argument of logic that concludes with a material process of doing what Davus wants (and by transference, what Cornelius the enslaver wants).

In America, overseers were often enslaved people as well. On a large plantation, there might be both a Black overseer and a White overseer. Both overseers were in charge of controlling and managing enslaved people in different capacities depending on the structure of the plantation. Although White overseers are identified frequently as the perpetrators of violence, there are records of enslaved overseers committing acts of violence against other enslaved people. George Skipwith was an enslaved Black man who was assigned for a brief period to be the overseer on the three hundred and twenty acre Hopewell Plantation in Alabama. In a letter dated July 8, 1847, and addressed to his enslaver, John Hartwell Cocke, Skipwith writes:

> Suky who I put to plant som corn and after she had been there long anuf to hav been done I went there and she had hardly began it I gave her som four or five licks over her clothes I gave isham too licks over his clothes for covering up cotton with the plow.
>
> I put frank, isham, violly, Dinah Jinny evealine and Charlott to Sweeping cotten going twice in a roe, and at a Reasonable days worke they aught to hav plowed seven accers a peice, and they had been at it a half of a day, and they had not done more than one accer and a half and I gave them ten licks a peace upon thir skins I gave Julyann eight or ten

licks for misplacing her hoe. that was all the whiping I hav done from the time that I pitched the crop untell we comenced cutting oats.

In this letter, Skipwith describes the other enslaved people as lazy and gives details about how he punished them including their names and whether or not they had clothes on when he whipped them. These narratives demonstrate the pervasiveness of violence and the strategic structuring of enslavement in order to make this type of violence disruptive and prevent revolts or self-emancipation. This practice of placing oppressed people in positions of power and some degree of freedom is found around the world including at the concentration camps in Europe during WWII. At death camps like Auschwitz, Jewish people would be forced to (often violently) herd others into the chambers or clean up their bodies after the gassing. These horrific systems of brutality that create a hierarchy among the oppressed complicate the narrative but they do not contradict the reality that those with the most agency, the main Actors, are not the enslaved or imprisoned middle management such as Davus or George Skipwith but rather the enslavers like Cornelius and John Hartwell Cocke.

Implications of transitivity analysis

This transitivity analysis of the data set reveals a pattern of positive expressions of the feelings and dispositions of enslaved people and their enslavers. Within the transitivity system, these expressions are realized through all forms of processes including material, behavioral, mental, verbal, relational, and existential processes. The results demonstrate a pattern of minimizing the agency of enslavers and maximizing their positive treatment towards enslaved people. What also emerges is a narrative in which enslaved people are responsible for obtaining their freedom as well as responsible for obtaining their beatings.

In the *Cambridge Latin Course* series, the authors state, "Wherever you traveled in the Roman world, you would find people who were slaves, like Grumio, Clemens, and Melissa." (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015, pp. 78-81). This is a direct call to students and teachers to understand the material as representative of the enslaved experiences. The sentiment is strengthened by other statements such as:

> The Romans and others who lived around the Mediterranean in classical times regarded slavery as a normal and necessary part of life. Even those who realized that it was not a natural state of affairs made no serious attempt to abolish it" (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015, pp. 78-81).

Many comments on the ubiquity and acceptance of enslavement like in the passage above are made without citations in the Greek and Latin textbooks. Given the unknown of Greco-Roman life and the relatively small percentage of literature we have from the two thousand years of history, these claims are extraordinary and should be cited. As this research demonstrates, the content of the textbooks, the messages they send, and the treatment of these messages as widespread and acceptable are all equally important. The challenge for educators is to break down the sanitized and normalized perception of enslavement that allows the system and its many permutations that exist today (e.g. the American prison system) to survive under different names and institutionalized structures. The following chapter reflects on the suggested pedagogical steps to address these issues.

> ...every time that I saw the newspaper there was some one of our race in the far South getting killed for trying to teach and I made up my mind that I would die to see my people taught. I was willing to go to prepare to die for my people, for I could not rest till my people were educated. - Kate Drumgoold, 1898, p. 24

Kate Drumgoold (ca. 1858/59-?) was born a captive south of Richmond, Virginia. In 1865, when Drumgoold was seven years old, she moved to Brooklyn with her mother and sisters (Fleischner, 1994). In New York, Drumgoold worked as a domestic servant and became a teacher. She focused on teaching formerly enslaved Black people in New York. Her autobiography, *A Slave Girl's Story* (1898), reflects on her younger years in enslavement and emphasizes the importance of education and religion in her life.

In the passage above, Drumgoold recalls her motivation for dedicating her life to teaching fellow formerly enslaved Black people. In remembering what motivated her, she identifies the newspapers as a triggering source saying "every time that I saw the newspaper there was some one of our race in the far South getting killed for trying to teach." Inspired by the will and tenacity of Kate Drumgoold and all Black educators of 19th century America, chapter 7 dives into application of this research project in Greek and Latin classrooms. The goal of this chapter is to provide educators with actionable steps that can help them get started in teaching the theories and methodologies of multicultural education and systemic functional linguistics. I also address the challenges that may arise and solutions to those challenges.

CHAPTER 7

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

One reaction to the Greek and Latin textbook content analyzed in chapters 5 and 6 might be that pedagogically one just skip over the problem areas. This approach, however, risks students filling in the blanks themselves without an adequate understanding of slavery (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018). For example, if a teacher using the textbook *Latin for the New Millennium* (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008) told their students to skip the historical context sections on slavery (perhaps simply not assigning those pages or explicitly stating that those pages would be passed over), a curious student may read the material on their own and the discriminatory and racist discourses thereby may become further entrenched. On the other hand, if the student does not choose to read the unassigned pages, harmful stereotypes that they have been exposed to previously may carry on without contradiction.

By not assigning the section in the hopes of avoiding pro-slavery sentiment, instructors are betting on students to lack the initiative to read beyond what is expected of them (a detrimental gamble on multiple fronts). Instead of avoiding the problem, educators can lead classroom activities that engage students in discussion and bring about a better understanding of the issues. This chapter discusses what the findings of this research could mean for teachers of Greek and Latin and offer examples of ways in which SFL has been applied in the classroom. I also address continuing issues in Classics pedagogy and scholarship and conclude with a reflection on the future of Greek and Latin teaching.

Appraisal and transitivity classroom activities

In viewing language as a pliable resource of linguistic features that have social function, systemic functional linguistics scholar J.R. Martin summarizes the nature of language with these three principles (Martin, 1992, p. 3):

1. Language is a network of relationships.
2. Description shows how these relationships are inter-related.
3. Explanation reveals the connection between these relationships and the use to which language is put.

Informed by this understanding, I have examined Greek and Latin textbooks in order to understand how the linguistic features are functioning to construe enslavement discourses. As the third principle above states, this examination of the data set reveals how authors are constructing the relationship between enslaved people and their enslavers. The findings demonstrate how these discourses on enslavement have shared patterns of language use that sanitize and normalize enslavement, present the experience of enslavement predominately from the perspective of enslavers, and avoid identifying the human agency behind the institution of enslavement. This is similar to how concepts of race and racism were established as social systems that became embedded in the government and community first through the institution of enslavement and then expanded to seep into all areas of society. One of the central environments where White supremacy continues to control the discourse today is the American higher education system. And within this system in the United States, Greek and Latin educators continue to propagate pro-slavery and racist narratives (consciously or subconsciously) when not critically examining the messages that are communicated in their textbooks and classroom discussions. In this section, I offer a few sample activities for students based on the appraisal analysis presented in

chapter 5 and the transitivity analysis presented in chapter 6. In lieu of waiting for an adequate textbook that addresses these topics, these activities can be incorporated immediately and until textbooks are constructed with antiracism and restorative justice in mind.

Identification analysis

For many new to SFL, the metalanguage, or terminology, can seem daunting. The complex metalanguage has also received criticism from other scholars (Bourke, 2005; Fang et al., 2014; Macken-Horarik, 2008). However, a number of studies have demonstrated the value of this metalanguage for both students and educators (Gebhard, 2014; Gebhard et al., 2013; Macken-Horarik & Unsworth 2014; Harman, 2018; Schleppegrell, 2018). Gebhard et al. (2013) acknowledged the challenge that metalanguage presents and remarked on its potential as a burden for teachers stating, "its use in L2 teacher education represents significant shifts not only in conceptions of grammar but also in demands on teachers and teacher educators" (p. 123). For this reason, many SFL scholars support modified use of metalanguage for teachers and students unable to dedicate the time to be fully trained in the theory (Gebhard et al., 2013; Macken-Horarik, 2008). While some degree of metalanguage is necessary for the successful application of SFL, the potential for flexibility in terminology allows for educators to use the tools in ways that are most effective for their students depending on specific classroom needs and context.

One of the simplest ways to engage students in critical language awareness and not risk overloading them with jargon is through identification analysis where students are asked to identify participants and track their experiences and feelings throughout a text. This process helps students get comfortable with making critical observations. Using SFL to help young elementary emergent bilingual learners develop critical language awareness skills, Mary Schleppegrell and Jason Moore (2018) conducted a study involving twenty-three teachers and

literacy coaches for 2nd to 5th grade classrooms from five different American schools in an Arabic-speaking community. The majority of students at these schools were Middle Eastern and many were ELLs. Results showed that through engagement with SFL these students gained valuable critical language awareness and writing skills.

The first stage of the study involved professional development for teachers to understand the interpersonal metafunction of language. Teacher training occurred over the course of three years and centered on equipping them with the metalanguage to use SFL in their respective classrooms. This study took a design-based research approach involving cycles of designing, testing, adjusting, implementing, and then studying the application of the curriculum. The outcome of this cycle was two reading and writing units in English language arts and two reading and writing units in science that use SFL to guide students' understanding.

Once teachers began to implement SFL in their classrooms, Schleppegrell and Moore observed the classes, discussed the work with the teachers, and analyzed the children's writings. For the English language arts units, the linguistic focus was on interpersonal metafunction. Within the interpersonal metafunction, the researchers honed in on the appraisal framework. Appraisal analysis is a popular tool in language arts and history contexts because it helps students to articulate the evaluation of characters, a common task students are called upon to do in order to demonstrate reading comprehension in classrooms around the world.

In one unit, students read and responded to the 4th grade reading text *Pepita Talks Twice/Pepita Habla Dos Veces* by Ofelia Dumas Lachtman (1995). Pepita is a bilingual girl who grows tired of translating for her family and members of her community. For a time she would only speak English until the moment came that she had to speak Spanish in order to save her dog. After that experience, Pepita realized the value of bilingualism. Over four days, the students

in class were tasked with reading the text and writing a character analysis answering the following questions: How do Pepita's feelings about speaking two languages change throughout the story? Does she handle the situations well? To help the students write their analyses, the teacher led close reading activities using the appraisal framework.

In teaching the students appraisal methods, they emphasized two elements: polarity and force. Polarity refers to the positive or negative attitudes of language. Force refers to the strength of the emotions expressed (i.e. raised or lowered). In one classroom activity, students engaged in appraisal analysis by tracing the changes in Pepita's attitude through observing the authors repeated use of the word "grumble." As students progressed from reading comprehension to writing the essays, teachers continued to help students understand the text as well as the genre of character analysis by imbedding SFL metalanguage in their teaching. For example, when a student shifted their analysis from "Pepita was tired" to "Pepita was REALLY REALLY tired of speaking two languages" the teacher openly celebrated this change in understanding, describing to the class that the student had "turned it up…He felt that that matched his evidence better because his evidence was that *her grumble exploded*" (Schleppegrell & Moore, 2018, p. 33). The use of the phrase "turned it up" by the teacher is akin to 'raise' or 'strengthen' and subtly introduces the SFL appraisal concept of force. This is an example of how an SFL practitioner can initially modify the metalanguage to help students process the concept.

After observing the interactions and activities in the classroom, Schleppegrell and Moore analyzed the written essays that students submitted. Nada, a student in the class, evaluated Pepita by explicitly connecting the language of the text to the nature of the character including statements like "Her reactions tell me what kind of person she is because when it says "without a grumble." So she is fine with helping people. I know now that she is a nice and helpful person"

(Schleppegrell & Moore, 2018, p. 34).[18] Nada shows awareness that Pepita's nature is conveyed through the author's choice to state "without a grumble." Based on the classroom interactions and writing samples, students demonstrated an increase in critical language awareness and ability to understand, evaluate, and relate to the attitude and emotions of the main character.

While there were successes in the use of SFL in this class, Schleppegrell and Moore also noted that there were missed opportunities. In this lesson in particular, the teacher could have also examined the interpersonal relationships not just in the text but also between the author and the reader by asking students questions about why the author might choose to raise the force of the term "grumble" from the first time it appeared to when it was used again as in "her grumble exploded." Despite room for improvement, this SFL study illustrates how metalanguage provides students with ways of articulating what they are observing about language use and how it is functioning. In this context, educating students on appraisal analysis was particularly useful for preparing them to write character analyses. Although I have so far emphasized the value of SFL as a tool for creating empathy, Schleppegrell and Moore (2018) point out that it is not just empathy that emerges from these practices but also "a 'meta-task' of coming to understand how to arrive at interpretations that are defensible" (Schleppegrell & Moore, 2018, p. 29). With SFL, teachers can help emerging bilingual students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds not only to engage with the meaning of the texts that they read but also feel more confident in their own meaning-making skills.

In another study, Amber Simmons (2018) helped her students apply an SFL analysis in a high school English language arts class. To cultivate agency in her students, help them build "alternative epistemologies" (p. 72) including perspectives on race, and assist them in preparing for high stakes testing, she designed an SFL curriculum scaffolding texts from three different

[18] Punctuation and grammar of the student essay is as it appears in the article.

genres: fantasy narrative, tragedy, and nonfiction. Simmons demonstrated how students can effectively explore the configuration of lexicogrammar and discourse semantics choices to understand the ideological construct of race, gender, and class. The readings she assigned to achieve this end were excerpts of J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series, Shakespeare's *Othello*, and President Barack Obama's speech in Cairo. Her curriculum focused on interpersonal ideation and tenor. Students were asked to examine the language choices of the authors and consider how they are used to persuade and manipulate the audience. Students gained critical language awareness and demonstrated their growth in understanding the language choice and evaluation through their writings and discussions.

Like many SFL studies, as researcher, teacher, and co-constructor of knowledge, Simmons was a participant-observer. She designed the curriculum, taught the students in the study, and participated in the discussions. The data collection occurred over the course of four months at a school in southeastern United States in a classroom of 60 students with 41 females and 19 females. The racial demographic was 60% White, 15% Black, 18.3% Asian, and 6.7% Latinx. While Schleppegrell and Moore (2018) used simplified appraisal analysis with elementary students, since Simmons' students are in high school, she assigned more difficult tasks that increased in complexity as the students gained experience with SFL and moved to more challenging texts.

The activities included appraisal analysis, identification analysis, and modality analysis. For example, students conducted an appraisal analysis of *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*. The students had to code a section of the text bolding affect (emotions), underlining judgement (character), and italicizing appreciation (evaluation) as seen in the affect acknowledged in the statement "Harry was **relieved** to see that he was **smiling**" (p. 76). Dumbledore smiling indicates

to the reader that he is not upset with Harry despite Harry's fears that he would be. The purpose of the appraisal analysis is to get readers to understand the emotional positioning of the characters.

For identification analysis, students tracked participants (characters) in order to see how they are constructed and perceived by the author, characters, and society. Whereas the appraisal analysis used coding of the text as the primary mode for students expressing understanding, the identification analysis was represented by a table listing the characters and the pronouns used to address them. What emerged was a pattern whereby the closeness between Dumbledore and Harry could be quantified in the number of familiar pronouns used between one another in comparison to other characters. This identification analysis helps students comprehend the impact of tenor on communicating the nature of interpersonal relationships.

The students were then taught modality analysis, the judgment of probability and obligation through the use of modals ranked from high to low like 'must,' 'would,' and 'might.' The students once again coded the text and thought critically about high modal statements like Dumbledore speaking to Harry, "I **expect** you've realized by now what it does" (Simons, 2018, p. 77). With this activity, they recognized and were able to articulate how Rowling expressed the authority in knowledge that Dumbledore has compared to Harry. By practicing these activities, students grew more comfortable with the SFL approach and could take these tools and apply them to other more complex texts.

While terms like cycle and scaffolding are commonly used in SFL curriculum design to describe the building nature of the pedagogy, Simmons aligned her approach explicitly to the 'spiraling method' where material is presented in simpler terms and then increased in difficulty with the aim of students conducting their own successful independent work (Bruner, 1968). In

the beginning, to demonstrate their grasp of SFL, students were given a writing assignment for which they had to choose an article on a critical issue in *Harry Potter* such as racism or sexism. The students then had to conduct an SFL analysis of the original text to make an argument as to whether or not Rowling's language choice supports the position in the article. Two students, Grace and Isabelle, chose the article "Accepting Mudbloods: The Ambivalent Social Vision of J.K. Rowling's Fairy Tales" by Elaine Ostry (2003) which was critical of the color-blind approach in Rowling's writings and argued that it contributes to stereotyping of others. Despite the students' initial belief that the article was misleading, the students did an appraisal analysis of Draco Malfoy describing Hagrid and found that the use of terms like "savage" supported the thesis (Simmons, 2018, p. 82). Throughout this process, the students confronted topics of otherization, race, and language choice and thought critically about how language conveys meaning. By the time students were analyzing Obama's Cairo speech, they had demonstrated a growing confidence in using SFL, citations, persuasive speech, and critical perspective.

At the end of the semester, Simmons found that 80% of students were using SFL analysis unprompted. After the course was finished, some students remained in touch with Simmons, including Clara who was then in college and emailed Simmons to share with her how, because of her SFL training, she had recognized patterns of language while writing essays for her English class. Simmons' study illustrates the importance of curricular design in SFL praxis, the effectiveness of SFL tools in addressing difficult topics of race and gender, and the lasting impact of critical language awareness.

In the Greek and Latin classroom, students can conduct identification analyses in a number of ways. For example, a teacher can split students up into groups and ask each group to trace the activities and experience of a particular participant in a discourse. For example, if

students had been asked to translate the ancient Greek in the section titled *The plow* in Athenaze (Balme et al., 2016), one group may trace the actions of Dikaiopolis the enslaver while another group traces the actions of the enslaved man named Xanthias. With this activity, students are likely to recognize on their own a pattern of Dikaiopolis commanding and directing action (solving the issue of the oxen not being able to plow the field) while Xanthias rejects or is incapable of action (he moves slowly and is unable to lift the rock in order to give space for the plow to be drug accross the field by the oxen). Alternatively, the students can be asked to count up how many times Dikaiopolis is the agent of an action compared to Xanthias. After a quantitative assessment, then the class can come together to discuss with one another the nature of these actions and what messages are being communicated to the reader. These types of analysis also create space to read, translate, and consider the language choices made in Greek as well as the English content of the textbook. As a result, this type of pedagogical work can be used to support heightened awareness of linguistic patterns within Greek and Latin. Therefore, these activities can support language development and critical language awareness at same time.

Coding in the classroom

In addition to identification analysis, students can engage through more complex coding of a passage. The degree of complexity is up to the instructor. For example, a Greek or Latin teacher could select a passage written in English, Greek, or Latin, and have their students indicate the appraisal features and then interpret their social function. This is a practice that I often do in my courses taught in language and in translation. Any passage and even any single clause or sentence are apt for analysis. For example, an instructor can present students with a passage from the Latin such as the following from the *Cambridge Latin Course* series (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015, pp. 70-71):

i. servi per viam ambulabant.

ii. canis subito latravit.

iii. Grumio canem timebat.

iv. "pestis!" clamavit coquus.

v. Clemens erat fortis.

vi. sed canis Clementem superavit.

vii. Quintus per viam ambulabat.

viii. iuvenis clamorem audivit.

ix. canis Clementem vexabat.

x. Quintus canem pulsavit.

xi. servi erant laeti.

xii. servi Quintum laudaverunt.

Each line represents a panel in a series of cartoon images much like a comic strip. For copyright reasons, I cannot include the illustrations here but they are images of enslaved men with comic faces similar to the Greek comic mask featured in chapter 5. The first part of the lesson could be to ask students to translate the sentences and consider how the characters are being drawn in the panels. Students can work together in groups and come up with a translation for some or all of the panels. The translations may look similar to the following:

i. servi per viam ambulabant.

Enslaved people were walking through the street.

ii. canis subito latravit.

A dog suddenly barked.

iii. Grumio canem timebat.

Grumio was afraid of the dog.

iv. "pestis!" clamavit coquus.

"Pest!" the cook shouted.

v. Clemens erat fortis.

Clemens was brave.

vi. sed canis Clementem superavit.

The dog, however, overcame Clemens.

vii. Quintus per viam ambulabat.

Quintus was walking through the street.

viii. iuvenis clamorem audivit.

The young man heard a shout.

ix. canis Clementem vexabat.

The dog was terrorizing Clemens.

x. Quintus canem pulsavit.

Quintus beat the dog.

xi. servi erant laeti.

The enslaved people were happy.

xii. servi Quintum laudaverunt.

The captive people praised Quintus.

Once the students have translated the sentences and shared their observations about the images in the panels, the instructor could then teach the students what appraisal and transitivity are in simple terms. To scaffold this learning even further, teachers can ask students to circle or underline words that describe the particpants like *laeti* “happy” or *fortis* “brave” and circle

actions such as *pulsavit* "beat" or *laudaverunt* "praised." This activity could be timed for three minutes, ten minutes, or however long the instructor wishes for students to engage in the coding process. After the coding, the class can have a group discussion including the features, nuances, and contradictions of the passage. In a more advanced class, teachers and students can work together to code the passage in a more complex fashion as illustrated here:

Key
Actor - square Affect - **bold** Carrier - blue font Goal - red font Judgement - *italics* Material process - gray highlight Mental process - red highlight Phenomenon - dark red font Relational process - purple highlight Sensor - orange font
Coding
Grumio canem timebat. Grumio was afraid of the dog.
Clemens erat fortis. Clemens was *brave*.
Quintus canem pulsavit. Quintus beat the dog.
servi erant laeti. The enslaved people were **happy**.

Fig. 41 Coding of transitivity sample 10 (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015, pp. 70-71).

Students and instructors may interpret some of the descriptions and actions differently and so this type of coding activity has the ability to open up discussions of interpretation and translation theory, which are essential aspects of study in the learning of Greek and Latin. For example, I first coded "was afraid" as a behavior but then on second thought realized that in this sentence, the phrase is expressing a mental process with a Sensor, the enslaved "Grumio," and a Phenomenon embodied by "the dog." Again, the degree of complexity for such an assignment is

up to the instructor. A teacher may decide that, due to time constraints, students will only look at material processes or examples of judgement. On the other hand, in a discourse analysis class at the graduate level, the professor may choose to teach the entire transitivity system so that students can be equipped to apply its analysis beyond a specific classroom activity.

Composition in the classroom

Another activity that teachers can assign is for students to compose their own sentences in Greek, Latin, or English. This can be done after the identification analysis and coding activity or it can be simply assigned on its own. I personally encourage group work to foster communal engagement with the material, but the format is entirely up to the instructor. Through composition, students can consider other ways that interactions between slave traders, owners, and the enslaved people could be framed. For example, sections that draw comparison to American enslavement but seem to distance the enslavement discourses from one another could be rewritten to say something like the following:

> Unlike American enslavement of Africans, enslaved people during the time of Roman rule were not subjugated based on the color of their skin. Romans captured men and women of many races (including both white and black) whom they conquered in war. Romans forced captives into slavery, bringing them back to Rome and other provinces to serve Roman owners. For example, Barathes was a Syrian merchant who enslaved a Celtic woman he re-named Regina. He later manumitted and married her. Regina's tombstone has Latin and Aramaic inscriptions (BBC, 2014).

Once students construct their own historical assessment, they can be asked to explain why they made the word choices that they did. For example, I chose the vocabulary and clausal constructions in the paragraph above in order to have the word choice and syntax illustrate

greater agency on the part of slave traders and owners. I believe that this more accurately depicts the capture and involuntary nature of slavery while also distinguishing race-based from non-race-based systems. When I have students engage in these practices, I often like to take a moment to share with them the etymology of the word history as it derives from the Greek ἱστορία [historia] meaning "investigation." Adding information like this not only tends to pique the interest of students who enjoy linguistics and etymology but also empowers them to consider themselves historians capable of interpreting and expresses events of the past.

In a language classroom, educators can give out composition assignments asking students to rewrite the content of the textbooks in the English, Greek, or Latin. This practice can help students understand the grammar and vocabulary as well. For example, in discussing the transitivity of a statement, teachers can point out how the agent of an action does not have to be the subject of the sentence nor does the agent even have to be mentioned in the text at all. This practice can be seen in the absence of the Roman enslaver as the subject of sentences in so many passages such as those analyzed in chapters 5 and 6.

Summary of pedagogical implications

Studies demonstrate how classroom activities centered on critical language awareness such as identification analysis, coding, and composition can help teach students critical thinking skills. The purpose of this dissertation has been to illustrate how SFL methodology can assist in developing these skills in Greek and Latin classrooms. The task now is to teach current instructors these practices so that they can learn how to engage in the analyses themselves and introduce the methodology to their students. Those who learn critical language awareness skills such as SFL methodology can experiment and development new methods that fit their own unique classroom environment. In the coming years, I hope to be an integral part of fostering a

growing community focused on language use and its relationship to antiracism, antidiscrimination, and restorative justice in Greek and Latin studies. Influenced by Paolo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), I call this combined practice "solidarity pedagogy" (Dugan, 2019) and in the final chapter I discuss what solidarity pedagogy could mean for the future of Greek and Latin education in America.

Fig. 42 Photograph of Harriet Powers, 1910. **Fig. 43** *Bible Quilt*, Harriet Powers, mixed media, 1885-1886, National Museum of American History in Washington D.C. **Fig. 44** *Pictorial Quilt*, Harriet Powers, mixed media, 1898, Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Massachusetts.

Harriet Powers (1837-1910) was born enslaved in Clarke County, Georgia. Powers became a free woman with the end of the American Civil War. She and her husband, Armstead Powers, had four acres of land and at least nine children. It is speculated that Harriet Powers had learned to sew when she was enslaved as a child. She became a skilled quilter using the African style of applique combined with European stitching to create story quilts. She finished her first quilt (**Fig. 43**) when she was forty-nine years old and displayed it at the 1886 Clarke County (Athens) Cotton Fair (Georgia Women of Achievement, 2016). By 1895, Armstead Powers had left Harriet and sold off their land in the wake of financial ruin. After her death in 1910, Powers was laid to rest in Gospel Pilgrim Cemetery in Athens, Georgia. In 2009, Harriet Powers was named a Georgia Woman of Achievement. Following that honor, Heidi Davison, former mayor of Athens-Clarke County, named October 10, 2010 Harriet Powers Day.

Both of the quilts pictured above were made by Harriet Powers and still survive today, over one hundred and twenty years after she first constructed them. These quilts have now become national treasures. The *Bible Quilt* is currently housed at the National Museum of American History in Washington D.C. and the *Pictorial Quilt* is in Boston at the Museum of

Fine Arts. The following final chapter concludes my project by reflecting on how this research relates to the legacy of enslavement discourses in ancient and modern contexts and the future of Greek and Latin education in America.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Through systemic functional linguistic analysis of the verbal and visual content of beginning Greek and Latin textbooks, this dissertation has demonstrated that their linguistic patterns participate in a problematic construal of enslavement. The five most prominent themes are: enslaved people as immigrants, enslaved people as property and goods, enslaved people as happy and lucky, enslaved people as lazy and sluggish, and enslaved people as oppressed and suffering. As the examples provided throughout this research illustrate, although not all themes paint the picture of enslavement as happy, most do. Furthermore, if and when the brutality of slavery is addressed in a textbook, the violence is often sanitized. This also appears to be a pattern across discourses of enslavement and is prominent in American society, particularly across all levels of the education system.

If the violence of slavery is discussed in a Greek or Latin textbook, it is often juxtaposed with a positive conception of enslavement. For example, "some masters were cruel and brutal to their slaves, but others were kind and humane" (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015, pp. 78-81). Linguistic structures like this binary framing suggests that enslavement is equal parts evil and equal parts good. This is strengthened when authors equivocate the experiences of enslaved people with the experiences of free people as seen in the *Cambridge Latin Course* statement that "foreign visitors to Rome and Italy were sometimes surprised that there was so little visible difference between a slave and a poor free man" (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015, pp.

78-81). With language choices like these, the content of these textbooks functions in part to neutralize the deadly reality of enslavement. And as enslavement is neutralized, sanitized, and normalized, the agents of enslavement are made invisible or nearly invisible. For example, the "maltreatment of slaves appears to be common" uses nominalization instead of naming the human agency behind the maltreatment, the Roman enslavers and human traffickers (Minkova & Tunberg, p. 51). As a result of such linguistic choices, the authors of these textbooks and other materials like them engage in a legacy of minimizing and concealing enslavement.

Invisibility has had an insidious role in keeping racism and pro-slavery sentiments alive in America and around the world today. In examining modern politics, Kendi (2016) discusses what is known as the "southern strategy" whereby politicians like Nixon appeal to White supremacists through coded language and dog-whistling. Instead of making statements about how great White people are and how bad Black people are, Nixon would talk about crime and the need for order in America (i.e. his administration will control the Black and Brown problem). These indirect language choices created a thicker cloak for racism and helped usher in a new era of plausible deniability for White supremacists and their allies. Although perhaps not always consciously, this pattern of behavior is pervasive in ancient studies. In the next section, I summarize what the findings in this dissertation mean for Greek and Latin studies today and how it relates to ongoing research in other fields.

Critical language awareness and solidarity pedagogy

These findings lay the foundation for a new direction in Greek and Latin pedagogy that focuses on critical language awareness. Currently, ancient studies scholars are wrestling with the legacy of White supremacy in the field as discussed in chapters 1 and 2 (Bostick, 2019; Zuckerberg, 2018). However, there are still practices ongoing today that need to be reexamined

with an informed understanding of current trends and theories in fields such as education, Africana studies, and sociology. For example, there is a popular photography installation titled *Black Classicists* by Michelle Ronnick (2006) that has been on the touring circuit since 2003 (originally *12 Black Classicists*). Harvard University's Center for Hellenic Studies describes the installation in the following way:

> In the aftermath of the American Civil War, people of African descent, hungry for the "bread of knowledge," to quote Frederick Douglass, wanted to learn Greek and Latin... The African American men and women featured in this installation taught Greek and Latin at the college or university level and made groundbreaking achievements in education. Their academic accomplishments bolstered a new tradition of black intellectualism and resulted in greater opportunities for future generations of African Americans.

While attempting to engage in counternarrative, this description lacks sufficient contextualization. On the Harvard University website, along with this caption are images of eighteen Black classicists are displayed along with biographical information. For example, there is a photograph of Frazelia Campbell (1849-1930) who studied at the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia and graduated in 1867. Afterwards, she taught Latin and other classes in the Female Department of the Institute. The description of this event quotes Frederick Douglass and describes Black people as "hungry for the 'bread of knowledge'" after the Civil War. What appears to be missing from the exhibit is the explicit acknowledgement of the White supremacy mechanisms in Classics and how the field functioned to prevent Black education despite the hunger for it for so many centuries. Therefore, it is unclear as to whether or not the exhibit is asking the viewer to understand the dynamic and intersectional larger context. Instead, the

prominent message appears to be that these are out-of-the-ordinary Black people who succeeded even though Greek and Latin languages are challenging.

Although bringing attention to Black scholars is in line with efforts of equity in education, the manner of the *Black Classicists* exhibit arguably engages in the "extraordinary Negro" trope of uplift suasion (Kendi, 2016). In his seminal book *Stamped from the beginning: The definitive history of racist ideas in America*, Ibram X. Kendi (2016) titled chapter 37 "The extraordinary Negro." In this chapter, Kendi provides examples of the many ways that prominent Black people have been and continue to be treated as exceptions to an otherwise unextraordinary and unteachable people. One example he cites is when Joe Biden, former Vice President of the United States and now presidential candidate, stated in regard to former President Barack Obama "he's the first mainstream African American who is articulate and bright and clean and a nice-looking guy" (p. 489). Emphasizing articulation and cleanliness in this way suggests that the speaker may not believe there are many Black people who fit this description. This is an example of how a White person such as Joe Biden, who may in some cases be an ally for the community and support antiracism, can still propagate racist ideas.

In order to minimize bias and implicit racism, multicultural education and systemic functional linguistics theory and methodology asks practitioners to consider their positionality and identities as they conduct and display research. This includes awareness of the history of discourses between members of different races. For this reason, as a White woman, I chose in this study to be hyper aware of my language choice at all times but especially when I was relating the history or thoughts of Black people (e.g. Harriet A. Jacobs, Mattie J. Jackson, Kate Drumgoold). Many identify this type of work as inclusive. I shy away from that word because it emphasizes my position as one of power and dominance. Instead, I call my work "solidarity

pedagogy" (Dugan, 2019) because that phrase construes an equitable relationship between myself and others whom I am learning with, learning from, and teaching.

My working definition of the approach is that solidarity pedagogy refers to curriculum development and teaching methods that engage students in learning about societal systems of oppression while minimizing the long-standing hierarchical structures of knowledge and power in education and society. The knowledge and experiences of students in the classroom are equally as valuable as the knowledge and experience of the teacher. For a teacher to disrupt the notion that they are the preeminent possessors of knowledge takes a dedication to self-reflection and an active effort to design activities and curricular materials that optimize the potential for students to share their own knowledge and interpretation of the material. In this way, the teacher, while informed on the topic, is co-learning, co-creating, and co-growing with their students. My belief is that such cooperative strategies to learning create more space for people to express their lives and thoughts who have historically been excluded from the American education system. This approach is characterized by its awareness of ongoing research in fields of social equity including the scholarship of antiracism, antislavery, and education scholars. However, what solidarity pedagogy can look like is still under construction and I imagine it is a term I will often be revising in response to social changes here in America and around the world. As a final thought, the next section concludes with a discussion on future research related to this work.

Future research

Based on my findings from this current research, going forward, I would like to explore more about how enslavement has been engrained in ancient societies. What can we learn about earlier erasures of the Actors of enslavement prior to today's textbook authors? How has enslavement historically and discursively become an invisible social structure? And what can the

examination of the linguistic features in these discourses reveal about their social function and evolution? My current hypothesis is that there is more ancient literary and material evidence than is traditionally cited to support the claim that the very early efforts to minimize enslavement and erase agency and culpability for enslavement in Greco-Roman contexts have fed directly into the structures for entrenching racism in American society today. In the spirit of Angela Davis' oft-cited words "In a racist society, it is not enough to be non-racist, we must be antiracist" (Teaching Tolerance, 2019), the aim of this project then goes beyond stopping harmful teaching practices to include reforming and revolutionizing ancient language teaching.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Sample terms of enslavement from data set

English
barbarians
beat
bought
buy
citizens
colony
comedy
commerce
enslave
escape
foreign
foreigners
freedman
freedom
freedwoman
gladiators
industry
job
labor
law
maltreatment
manumission
master
merchant
metics
mines
mistress
own
overseer
population
property
punish
purchase
race
rights
runaway
served
slave
slave auction
slave market
slave-woman
slavery
sold
state
status
strike
traveled
treated
violence
wealth
whip
work

Latin
dominus/a
fugitivus
liberta
libertus
mangones
manumissio
peculium
pilleus
Saturnalia
serva
servus
vilicus

Greek
δέσποτα
δοῦλος
μέτοικοι

Appendix B Data from Athenaze: An Introduction to Ancient Greek

Slavery (Balme et al., 2016, pp. 19-20)

The adult male population of the city-state of Athens in 431 BC has been calculated as follows: citizens 60,000, resident foreigners 30,000, slaves 100,000. The resident foreigners (metics, μέτοικοι) were free men who were granted a distinct status; they could not own land in Attica or contract marriages with citizens, but they had the protection of the courts, they served in the army, they had a role in the festivals, and they played an important part in commerce and industry.

Slaves had no legal rights and were the property of the state or individuals. The fourth-century philosopher Aristotle describes them as "living tools." They were either born into slavery or came to the slave market as a result of war or piracy. They were nearly all barbarians, i.e., non-Greek (a document from 415 BC records the sale of fourteen slaves; five were from Thrace, two from Syria, three from Caria, two from Illyria, and one each from Scythia and Colchis). It was considered immoral to enslave Greeks, and this very rarely happened.

The whole economy of the ancient world, which made little use of machines, was based on slave labor. Slaves were employed by the state, e.g., in the silver mines; they worked in factories (the largest we know of was a shield factory employing 120 slaves); and individual citizens owned one or more slaves in proportion to their wealth. Every farmer hoped to own a slave to help in the house and fields, but not all did. Aristotle remarks that for poor men "the ox takes the place of the slave."

It would be wrong to assume that slaves were always treated inhumanely. A fifth-century writer of reactionary views says:

> Now as to slaves and metics, in Athens, they live a most undisciplined life. One is not permitted to strike them, and a slave will not stand out of the way for you. Let me explain why. If the law permitted a free man to strike a slave or metric or a freedman, he would often find that he had mistaken an Athenian for a slave and struck him, for, as far as clothing and general appearance go, the common people look just as slaves and metics. (Pseudo-Xenophon, *The Constitution of the Athenians* 1.10)

Slaves and citizens often worked side by side and received the same wage, as we learn from inscriptions giving the accounts of public building works. Slaves might save enough money to buy their freedom from their masters, though this was not as common in Athens as in Rome.

In the country, the slaves of farmers usually lived and ate with their masters. Aristophanes' comedies depict them as lively and cheeky characters, by no means downtrodden. We have given Dicaeopolis one slave, named Xanthias, a typical slave name meaning "fair-haired."

Sample semiotic features of Slavery

Key
Actor - square Affect - **bold** Judgement - *italics* Material process - gray highlight Verbal process - green highlight
Coding
In the country, the slaves of farmers *usually* lived and ate with their masters. Aristophanes' comedies depict them as **lively** and **cheeky** characters, **by no means downtrodden**.

Fig. 45 Sample semiotic features of *Slavery* passage

Ο ΑΡΟΤΟΣ [*O AROTOS*] (*The plow*) (p. 30)

ὁ μὲν Δικαιοπόλις ἐλαύνει τοὺς βοῦς, οἱ δὲ βόες ἕλκουσι τὸ ἄροτρον, ὁ δὲ Ξανθίας σπείρει τὸ σπέρμα. ἀλλὰ ἰδού, μένουσιν οἱ βόες καὶ οὐκέτι ἕλκουσι τὸ ἄροτρον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Δικαιόπολις τοὺς βοῦς καλεῖ καὶ, "σπεύδετε, ὦ βόες," φησίν· "μὴ μένετε." οἱ δὲ βόες ἔτι μένουσιν. ὁ οὖν Δικαιόπολις, "τί μένετε, ὦ βόες;" φησίν, καὶ βλέπει πρὸς τὸ ἄροτρον, καὶ ἰδού, λίθος ἐμποδίζει αὐτό. ὁ οὖν Δικαιόπολις λαμβάνει τὸν λίθον ἀλλ' οὐκ αἴρει αὐτόν· μέγας γὰρ ἐστιν. καλεῖ οὖν τὸν δοῦλον καί, "ἐλθὲ δεῦρο, ὦ Ξανθία," φησίν, "καὶ συλλάμβανε· λίθος γὰρ μέγας τὸ ἄροτρον ἐμποδίζει, οἱ δὲ βόες μένουσιν."

ὁ οὖν Ξανθίας βραδέως προσχωρεῖ ἀλλ' οὐ συλλαμβάνει· Βλέπει γὰρ πρὸς τὸν λίθον καί, "μέγας ἐστιν ὁ λίθος, ὦ δέσποτα," φησίν· "ἰδού, οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν αἴρειν αὐτόν."ὁ δὲ Δικαιόπολις, "μὴ ἀργὸς ἴσθι," φησίν, "ἀλλὰ συλλάμβανε. δυνατὸν γὰρ ἐστιν αἴρειν τὸν λίθον." ἅμα οὖν ὅ τε δεσπότης καὶ ὁ δοῦλος αἴρουσι τὸν λίθον καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ.

Transcription and translation of The plow

ὁ μὲν Δικαιοπόλις ἐλαύνει τοὺς βοῦς

[ho men Dikaiopolis elaunei tous bous,]

Dikaiopolis drives the oxen.

οἱ δὲ βόες ἕλκουσι τὸ ἄροτρον,

[hoi de boes helkousi to arotron,]

and the oxen drag the plow,

ὁ δὲ Ξανθίας σπείρει τὸ σπέρμα.

[ho de Zanthias speirei to sperma.]

and Xanthias sows the seeds.

ἀλλὰ ἰδού, μένουσιν οἱ βόες καὶ οὐκέτι ἕλκουσι τὸ ἄροτρον.

[alla idou, menousin hoi boes kai ouketi helkousi to arotron.]

But look, the oxen are standing still and no longer pulling the plow.

ὁ μὲν οὖν Δικαιόπολις τοὺς βοῦς καλεῖ καὶ,

[ho men oun Dikaiopolis tous bous kalei kai,]

And so Dikaiopolis calls the oxen and,

"σπεύδετε, ὦ βόες," φησίν· "μὴ μένετε."

["speudete, ō boes," fēsin; "mē menete."]

he says, “hurry up, oxen; stay with me."

οἱ δὲ βόες ἔτι μένουσιν.

[hoi de boes eti menousin.]

But the oxen still stayed in the same spot.

ὁ οὖν Δικαιόπολις, "τί μένετε, ὦ βόες;" φησίν,

[ho oun Dikaiopolis, "tī menete, ō boes?" fēsin,]

Then Dikaiopolis said "Why are you staying still, oxen?"

καὶ βλέπει πρὸς τὸ ἄροτρον, καὶ ἰδού, λίθος ἐμποδίζει αὐτό.

[kai blepei pros to arotron, kai idou, lithos empodizei auto.]

And so he looks at the plow, and behold, a stone is blocking it.

ὁ οὖν Δικαιόπολις λαμβάνει τὸν λίθον ἀλλ' οὐκ αἴρει αὐτόν·

[ho oun Dikaiopolis lambanei ton lithon all' ouk airei auton;]

So Dikaiopolis grabs the stone but does not lift it;

μέγας γὰρ ἐστιν. καλεῖ οὖν τὸν δοῦλον καί,

[megas gar estin. kalei oun ton doulon kai,]

The stone is huge. And so he calls his captive and,

"ἐλθὲ δεῦρο, ὦ Ξανθία," φησίν,

["elthe deuro, ō Zanthia," fēsin,]

"Come here, Xanthias," he said,

"καὶ συλλάμβανε· λίθος γὰρ μέγας τὸ ἄροτρον ἐμποδίζει, οἱ δὲ βόες μένουσιν."

["kai sullambane; lithos gar megas to arotron empodizei, hoi de boes menousin."]

"And help; A large rock is blocking the plow and so the oxen are not moving."

ὁ οὖν Ξανθίας βραδέως προσχωρεῖ ἀλλ' οὐ συλλαμβάνει·

[ho oun Zanthias bradeōs proschorei all' ou sullambanei;]

Xanthias slowly came but was not helping;

Βλέπει γὰρ πρὸς τὸν λίθον καί,

[blepei gar pros ton lithon kai,]

For he is looking at the stone and,

"μέγας ἐστιν ὁ λίθος, ὦ δέσποτα," φησίν·

["megas estin ho lithos, ō despota," fēsin;]

"The stone is large, master," he said;

"ἰδού, οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν αἴρειν αὐτόν."

["idou, ou dunaton estin airein auton."]

"Look, it is not possible to lift it."

ὁ δὲ Δικαιόπολις, "μὴ ἀργὸς ἴσθι," φησίν,

[ho de Dikaiopolis, "mē argos isthi," fēsin,]

Dikaiopolis responded, "Do not be lazy!"

"ἀλλὰ συλλάμβανε. δυνατὸν γὰρ ἐστιν αἴρειν τὸν λίθον."

["alla sullambane. dunaton gar estin airein ton lithon."]

"But help. Because it is possible to move the stone."

ἅμα οὖν ὅ τε δεσπότης καὶ ὁ δοῦλος αἴρουσι τὸν λίθον

[hama oun ho te despotēs kai ho doulos airousi ton lithon]

Then together the captor and the captive move the stone

καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ.

[kai ferousin auton ek tou agrou.]

and they carry it away from the field.

Sample semiotic features of O APOTOΣ (*The plow*)

Key
Actor - square Judgement - *italics* Material process - grey highlight
Coding
ὁ οὖν Ξανθίας *βραδέως* προσχωρεῖ ἀλλ' οὐ συλλαμβάνει· [ho oun Zanthias bradeōs proschorei all' ou sullambanei;] And so Xanthias *slowly* approaches but [he] is *not helping*;

Fig. 46 Sample semiotic features of *The plow* passage

Appendix C Data from Latin for the New Millennium

Slavery in Ancient Rome (Minkova & Tunberg, 2008, pp. 51-52)

In the readings for Chapters Two and Three, slaves play a large role in the dialogue. Roman comedy, from which these two readings passages are taken, often features slaves who take charge and solve problems - a comic inversion, perhaps, of the way Roman society actually was. Slavery was extremely visible in ancient Rome, and assumed many forms. Ancient slavery was by no means identical to slavery in more recent periods and countries, such as colonial America. The Romans did not reduce a single race or culture to slavery; rather, slaves came from all over the ancient Mediterranean world, and typically fell into servile status by capture in war. The prices of

slaves depended greatly on their qualifications. Many slaves were skilled and educated, often more so than their masters. Slave dealers (*mangōnēs*) both sold and rented out slaves at public auctions. White chalk on the feet indicated that the slave was imported. A tag around the neck gave the slave's name, nationality, and described his character, a guarantee for the buyer that he was making a good purchase.

The experience of slavery differed for different individuals. House slaves might be educated and assigned to train the master's children, or to act as literary or business assistants to the master himself; such slaves might be treated much like personal friends. Tiro, Cicero's secretary, friend, and former slave, invented a system of shorthand to facilitate taking notes. At the other end of the spectrum, however, slaves who worked in the fields and mines might have existences no better than those endured by beasts of burden. Slavery was ordinarily a hereditary condition; children of a slave mother would remain slaves. However, slaves might liberate themselves by accumulating savings (*pecūlium*) and buying their freedom, or be liberated by their masters as a reward for good service (*manūmissiō*). Freedmen were granted citizenship and so were any subsequent children born to them. The playwright Terence himself was a freed slave, who apparently enjoyed close ties to his master. Maltreatment of slaves appears to have been common and those who tried to escape could be whipped, branded with the letters FUG (*fugitīvus*, runaway) on their forehead, or made to wear an inscribed metal collar. The condition of slaves, however, improved somewhat as a result of laws passed during the early imperial period.

Each year around the time of the winter solstice in December, the Romans celebrated a festival called *Sāturnālia*. Some say that this happy holiday was the best day

of the year. Rules of social conduct and distinctions of social class were reversed on that day, and slaves not only behaved as if they were masters but also acted disrespectfully towards their own masters.

Sample semiotic features of Slavery in Ancient Rome

Key
Actor - square Affect - **bold** Goal - red font Graduation - CAPITALS Judgement - *italics* Material process - gray highlight Lexical metaphor - [brackets] Recipient - purple font Relational process - purple highlight Verbal process - green highlight
Coding
The Romans did not reduce a single race or culture to slavery; rather, slaves came from all over the ancient Mediterranean world and *typically* fell into servile status by capture in war.
White chalk on the feet indicated that the slave was imported. A tag around the neck gave the slave's name, nationality, and described *his character*, a *guarantee* for the buyer that he was making *a good purchase.*
...such slaves MIGHT be treated [much like personal friends]. Tiro, Cicero's secretary, friend, and former slave, invented a system of shorthand to facilitate taking notes...The playwright Terence himself was a freed slave, who APPARENTLY **enjoyed** CLOSE ties to his master.

Fig. 47 Sample semiotic features of *Slavery in ancient Rome* passage

Exploring Roman Comedy (pp. 53-55)

While Roman armies were struggling in Spain and Italy with Hannibal (220-200 BCE), in the city people were developing theatrical forms adapted from Greece, and particularly Roman Comedy offered rich distraction from the anxieties of war. There were two holidays that gave the ordinary people an opportunity for free entertainment at comedies, to laugh away their cares, and to identify with clever slaves who could outwit

and out-talk their masters and bring a complex plot to a "happy ending." One of these holidays came in March, as Spring was starting: it was called the *Megalensia* and honored the goddess Cybele. The other was the Roman Games or Lūdī Rōmānī, celebrated in September in the Fall. The plays were chosen in competition by junior officials called aediles and staged at public expense. We know the names of several early comic poets (the plays were in verse), but the works of only two have survived: Plautus and Terence.

Plautus (about 254-184 BCE) freely adapted Greek comedies and added song (*cantica*) and dance to the more sober and "artistic" originals. This combination of dialogue (*diverbia*) interspersed with song is reminiscent of the Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. In the *Menaechmī* there are five such song interludes. Plautus' Latin was colloquial; he made fun of the Greek plots, and he only pretended to be showing a Greek production. The fun for him and the audience came in the obvious Romanization and Latinization of non-Roman situations and half-Roman characters. The crowds loved this kind of theatrics, so much so that we still have twenty-one of his comedies, which were studied and imitated by the first writers of the Italian Renaissance and then by European dramatists like Shakespeare and Molière. The plot lines of Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors* are likewise built on coincidences and complications.

One of the most successful modern adaptations of a Plautine comedy is *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1966). A combination of two plays (*Pseudolus* and *Mīles Glōriōsus*), this entertaining theatrical play, later made into a movie, combines the favorite characteristics of Roman comedy; disguises, lovers at a

loss, deception, slapstick, the clever slave, recognition and recovery, and a happy, if not realistic, ending.

Every time the plot of an ancient play like the *Menaechmī* contains twins, there is an automatic opportunity for one twin accidentally to substitute for the other in good or bad luck, until finally they recognize each other. In the Chapter Two passage chosen from the *Menaechmī*, the twin brothers work out their identity and decide to return home to Sicily.

Even more recently, the movie, *The Parent Trap*, first produced in 1968 and later remade into a modern version in 1998, is another example of mistaken identity and role reversal whereby twin girls try to make their parents reunite rather than rewed. Part of the plot of this movie was reworked into the 2002 TV show "So Little Time," the second TV show in which the Olson twins starred. Likewise in the TV show "Sister, Sister" the twins Tia and Tamera Mowra were separated at birth but at age fourteen met by chance in a Detroit department store. Thus modern TV situation comedies and theatre plays owe much to the continuous comic tradition that runs from Plautus to today.

Terence's dates are uncertain, but we are told that he started life in Rome as a slave, gained his freedom as a young man, and staged his six comedies 165-160 BCE. He too used Greek originals, but he adapted them with different methods and goals than Plautus. He did not try to make his plays more funny and animated than the Greek, and he often focused on the human emotions felt by the characters. The Chapter Three selection from *Adelphoi* (*Brothers*) would seem from its title to offer humorous opportunities to Terence. Demea, the father of Aeschinus and Ctesipho, has let his brother Micio adopt Aeschinus. The two sons and Micio conspire to fool him and pursue

their own pleasures, but that is not so funny now, because Demea is really fond of Ctesipho and anxious to bring him up well. And he disapproves of the way Micio is raising Aeschinus, who in fact has gotten his girlfriend pregnant and not consulted either father about his responsibilities. So we watch a scene here where the slave Syrus is having fun deceiving Demea about where Ctesipho is and what he is doing. Yet what is "fun" for Syrus is sad for Demea, and the audience sees both the fun and the sadness and tends to feel sorry for Demea. This is not simply a trite situation comedy. Both sets of brothers are differentiated by Terence, not exploited for ridiculous games. An audience would come away from a play like this, after two hours, either bored stiff or talking over the moral themes of the comedy: they would not simply be tickled and guffawing at Syrus' confident deceptions. Terence won great success with the crowd that attended his *Eunuch*. On the other hand, he could not hold the audience for either of the first two performances of his *Mother-in-Law*. The Brothers was staged at the expense of his friend Scipio Africanus, to honor Scipio's father on the occasion of his death in 160 BCE.

The comedies of Terence were much admired for their moral sentiments, the realistic characters, and the urbane Latin that they spoke; and as a result the plays made him a "school author" throughout antiquity and then in the Renaissance. He had an early admirer and imitator in the nun Hroswitha of Gandersheim, who wrote six pious plays in his manner in the tenth century. Dante quoted and admired Terence; so did Petrarch, who even wrote a biography of him and left an annotated manuscript of the comedies in Florence. In Florence in 1476, the first Terentian play to be staged since antiquity was the *Andria*. In the fifteenth century, continuing to be a "school author," Terence inspired

most of the Latin comedies that the humanists attempted. He was read and admired throughout Europe. Molière staged a version of the *Phormio* in 1671.

To conclude, Plautus was more popular with audiences and continues to be performed and performable today, but Terence dominated Roman and Renaissance culture as a "school author." He won the respect of teachers, orators, and religious leaders (like Luther) until late in the nineteenth century. The twentieth century saw Plautus reclaiming dominance (in spite of the adaption in 1930 of *The Woman of Andros* [*Andria*] by Thornton Wilder), but there are signs in this new millennium that students of Latin comedy are beginning to see that Terence and Plautus each has dramatic and literary merits. The two of them together combine into a superior variety of eminent comedy.

Sample semiotic features of Exploring Roman comedy

Key
Affect - **bold** Appreciation - <u>underlined</u> Judgement - *italics*
Coding
There were two holidays that gave the *ordinary* people an opportunity **for free entertainment** at comedies, to **laugh** away their cares, and to identify with *clever* slaves who could *outwit* and *out-talk* their masters and bring a complex plot to a "<u>happy ending</u>."

Fig. 48 Sample semiotic features of *Exploring Roman comedy* passage

Appendix D Data from Ecce Romani

The Slave Market (Lawall, 2009, pp. 37)

Slaves, who were in the early days mainly prisoners of war, were plentiful, and even the poorest Roman household might own one or two. Davus had been captured in Britain and sent to Rome to be sold by auction in the Forum. When his feet were whitened with chalk by the slave-dealer, Davus was mystified, but he soon discovered

that this had been done to all new arrivals from abroad. A placard was hung around his neck indicating that he was British and could read and write. He was then put on a revolving stand, and bidding for him began.

He felt pretty uncomfortable standing there like an exhibit at the cattle-market, but he put the best face on it, looking around challengingly at the bidders. Titus Cornelius, father of Gaius Cornelius, was in the Forum that day with the overseer (**vīlicus**) of his farm to purchase some new slaves. He did not pay much attention to the placard - **mangōnēs**, as slave-dealers were called, were notorious swindlers - but when he saw Davus' fine physique, fair hair, and blue eyes he made a bid of 5,000 sesterces, and Davus soon found himself beside the overseer and his new master.

By this time Titus was offering 10,000 sesterces for a Greek from Rhodes. This puzzled Davus because the fellow was pale, half-starved individual who looked as if a hard day's work would kill him. The overseer, too, looked annoyed at this extravagant bid but said nothing. But when he heard Titus being forced up to 20,000, then 30,000, he could contain himself no longer and muttered angrily, "He's not worth half that, master!" But Titus ignored him and finally paid 35,000 for the Greek Eucleides. The odd qualifications on the placard, "skilled in geometry and rhetoric," must, the overseer thought, have had something to do with the record price!

As Davus, along with the strange Greek, was packed on a cart with some tough-looking Thracians also bought that day, he was filled with fear and doubt as to what might happen to him. But he needn't have worried. Old Titus proved to be the kindest of masters, and now, thirty years later, Davus, himself a grizzled fifty-five, was overseer of the farm. On some of the neighboring estates, he knew, things were not so good.

Sample semiotic features of The slave market text

Key
Actor - square Affect - **bold** Appreciation - underlined Judgement - *italics* Lexical Metaphor - [brackets] Material process - gray highlight Mental process - red highlight Recipient - purple font
Coding
...Davus was mystified, but he soon discovered that this had been done to *all* new arrivals from abroad.
He felt pretty **uncomfortable** standing there [like an exhibit at the cattle-market], but he put the *best face* on it, looking around *challengingly* at the bidders.

Fig. 49 Sample semiotic features of *The slave market* passage

Treatment of Slaves (p. 75)

Even though in Davus's homeland in Britai his own family had owned a few slaves, it had been difficult for him to adjust to being a slave himself. Adjust he did, however, perhaps by taking advice similar to the following given by an overseer to newly captured slaves:

If the immortal gods wished you to endure this calamity, you must endure it with calm spirits; if you do so, you will endure the toil more easily. At home, you were free, so I believe; now as slaver has befallen you, it is best to accustom yourselves and to make it easy for your master's commands and for your own minds. Whatever indignities your master commands must be considered proper. Plautus, *The Captives* 195-200

Davus enjoys a high position among Cornelius's slaves and takes pride in his responsibilities. Of course he has the good fortune to work for a master who is quite humane by Roman standards. Other slaves had more insensitive masters, who saw their

slaves not as human beings but as property. Cato in his treatise on agriculture gave advice to Roman farmers on how to make a profit from their slaves. Notice that he feels no sympathy for his slaves who have grown ill or old in his service; they are "things" just like cattle and tools that a farmer should get rid of when they are no longer of use:

> Let the farmer sell olive oil, if he has a good price, also his wine and his grain. Let him sell his surplus too: old oxen, old tools, an old slave, a sick slave. Cato, On Agriculture II.7 (extracts)

Some masters treated their slaves well and were rewarded by loyalty and good service, but, even when conditions were good, slaves were keenly aware of their inferior position and by way of protest sometimes rebelled or tried to run away. If they were recaptured, the letters FUG (for **fugitīvus**, *runaway*) were branded on their foreheads.

Some owners treated their slaves very badly. Even if the owner were not as bad as the despised Vedius Pollio, who fed his slaves to lampreys, slaves were liable to be severely punished, often at the whim of their master:

> Does Rutilus believe that the body and soul of slaves are made the same as their masters? Not likely! Nothing pleases him more than a noisy flogging. His idea of music is the crack of the whip. To his trembling slaves he's a monster, happiest when some poor wretch is being branded with red-hot irons for stealing a pair of towels. He loves chains, dungeons, branding, and chain-gang labor camps. He's a sadist. Juvenal, Satires XIV.16

Female slaves also were often subjected to ill-treatment by self-centered mistresses. Juvenal tells how a slave-woman was at the mercy of her mistress:

> If the mistress is in a bad mood, the wool-maid is in trouble, the dressers are stripped and beaten, the litter-bearers accused of coming late. The rods are broken

> over one poor wretch's back, another has bloody weals from the whip, and a third is flogged with the cat-o'-nine-tails. The slave-girl arranging her mistress's hair will have her own hair torn and the tunic ripped from her shoulders, because a curl is out of place. Juvenal, *Satires* VI. 475

On the other hand, Pliny the Younger speaks of owners who treated their slaves fairly and sympathetically. In a letter to a friend he writes:

> I have noticed how kindly you treat your slaves, so I shall openly admit my own easy treatment of my own slaves. I always keep in mind the Roman phrase, "father of the household." But even supposing I were naturally cruel and unsympathetic, my heart would be touched by the illness of my freedman Zosimus. He needs and deserves my sympathy; he is honest, obliging, and well educated. He is a very successful actor with a clear delivery. He plays the lyre well and is an accomplished reader of speeches, history, and poetry. A few years ago he began to spit blood and I sent him to Egypt. He has just come back with his health restored. However, he has developed, a slight cough. I think it would be best to send him to your place at Forum Julii where the air is healthy and the milk excellent for illness of this kind. Pliny the Younger, *Letters* V. 19

It was possible for a slave to buy his freedom if he could save enough from the small personal allowance he earned; some masters gave their slaves their freedom in a process called manumission (**manūmissiō**), as a reward for long service. A slave who had been set free was called a **lībertus** and would wear a felt cap called a **pilleus**. Many who were freed and became rich used to hid with "patches" the marks that had been made on their bodies and faces when they were slaves.

I am very upset by illness among my slaves. Some of them have actually died, including even younger men. In cases like this I find comfort in two thoughts. I am always ready to give my slaves their freedom, so I don't think their deaths so untimely if they die free men. I also permit my slaves to make a "will," which I consider legally binding. Pliny the Younger, *Letters* VIII. 16

Sample semiotic features of Treatment of slaves text

Key
Actor - square Affect - **bold** Existential process - blue highlight Goal - red font Graduation - CAPITALS Judgement - *italics* Material process - gray highlight Recipient - purple font Relational process - purple highlight
Coding
Davus enjoys a HIGH position among Cornelius' slaves and **takes pride** in his responsibilities. Of course he has the *good fortune* to work for a master who is QUITE *humane* by Roman standards.
It was possible for a slave to buy his freedom if he could save enough from the small personal allowance he earned; some masters gave their slaves their freedom in a process called manumission (**manūmissiō**), as a reward for long service.

Fig. 50 Sample semiotic features of *Treatment of slaves* passage

A slave runs away (p. 79)

Omnes Cornelii iam sunt in raeda. Romam per Viam Appiam petunt. Interea in villa Davus est sollicitus. Davus est vilicus Cornelii et, si dominus abest, vilicus ipse villam domini curat. Davus igitur omnes servos in aream quae est prope villam venire iubet. Brevi tempore area est plena servorum et ancillarum qui magnum clamorem faciunt

Tum venit Davus ipse et, “Tacete, omnes!” magna voce clamat. “Audite me! Quamquam dominus abest, necesse est nobis strenue laborare.”

Tum servi mussant, “Davus dominus esse vult. Ecce! Baculum habet. Nos verberare potest. Necesse est igitur facere id quod iubet.” Redeunt igitur ad agros servi quod baculum vilici timent.

Sed non redit Geta. Neque vilicum amat neque iram vilici timet. Illa nocte igitur, quod in agris non iam laborare vult, cibum parat et e villa effugit. Nemo eum videt, nemo eum impedit. Nunc per agros, nunc perviam festinat. Ubi dies est, in ramis arboris se celat. Ibi dormit.

Interea, quamquam nondum lucet, Davus omnes servos excitat. In agros exire et ibi laborare eos iubet. Sed Getam non videt. Ubi est Geta? Davus igitur est iratus, deinde sollicitus. Ad portam villae stat et viam spectat; sed Getam non videt.

Translation of A slave runs away

Omnes Cornelii iam sunt in raeda.

The entire Cornelius family is now in the wagon.

Romam per Viam Appiam petunt.

They seek Rome via the Appian Way.

Interea in villa Davus est sollicitus.

Meanwhile in the villa Davus was bothered.

Davus est vilicus Cornelii et, si dominus abest,

Davus is the overseer of Cornelius and, if the enslaver is gone,

vilicus ipse villam domini curat.

the overseer himself cares for the home of the enslaver.

Davus igitur omnes servos in aream quae est prope villam venire iubet.

Davus thus commands all the enslaved people to come into the area near the home.

Brevi tempore area est plena servorum et ancillarum

After a short time, the area was full of enslaved men and women

qui magnum clamorem faciunt.

who were making a lot of noise.

Tum venit Davus ipse et, “Tacete, omnes!” magna voce clamat.

Then Davus himself came and, “Be quiet, everyone!” he shouts with a loud voice.

“Audite me! Quamquam dominus abest, necesse est nobis strenue laborare.”

“Listen to me! Since the master is away, it is necessary for us to work hard.”

Tum servi mussant, “Davus dominus esse vult.

Then the enslaved people muttered, “Davus wants to be an enslaver.

Ecce! Baculum habet. Nos verberare potest.

Behold! He has a rod. He is able to beat us.

Necesse est igitur facere id quod iubet.”

And so it is necessary to do what he commands.”

Redeunt igitur ad agros servi quod baculum vilici timent.

Therefore the enslaved people return to the fields because they fear the rod of the overseer.

Sed non redit Geta. Neque vilicum amat neque iram vilici timet.

But Geta did not return. He did not love the overseer nor fear his anger.

Illa nocte igitur, quod in agris non iam laborare vult,

And so that night, because he does not wish to work in the fields,

cibum parat et e villa effugit.

he prepares the food and flees from the house.

Nemo eum videt, nemo eum impedit.

No one sees him, no one stops him.

Nunc per agros, nunc per viam festinat.

Now through the fields, now through the road he hurries.

Ubi dies est, in ramis arboris se celat. Ibi dormit.

When it was day, he hid in the branches of a tree. There he slept.

Interea, quamquam nondum lucet, Davus omnes servos excitat.

Meanwhile, although it was not yet daybreak, Davus woke up all the enslaved people.

In agros exire et ibi laborare eos iubet. Sed Getam non videt.

He commands them to go out into the fields and then to work. But he does not see Geta.

Ubi est Geta? Davus igitur est iratus, deinde sollicitus.

Where is Geta? Davus thus was angry, then worried.

Ad portam villae stat et viam spectat; sed Getam non videt.

He stands at the gate of the villa and looks out onto the road; but he does not see Geta.

Sample semiotic features of A slave runs away

Key
Actor - square Goal - red font Material process - gray highlight Mental process - red highlight Relational process - purple highlight Verbal process - green highlight
Coding
Tum servi mussant, “Davus dominus esse vult. Then the enslaved people muttered, “Davus wants to be an enslaver. Ecce! Baculum habet. Nos verberare potest.

Behold! He has a rod. He is able to beat us. Necesse est igitur facere id quod iubet." And so it is necessary to do what he commands."

Fig. 51 Sample semiotic features of *A slave runs away* passage

Appendix E: Data from Cambridge Latin Course

Slaves and Freedmen (Cambridge School Classics Project, 2015, pp. 78-81)

Wherever you traveled in the Roman world, you would find people who were slaves, like Grumio, Clemens, and Melissa. They belonged to a master or mistress, to whom they had to give complete obedience; they were not free to make decisions for themselves; they could not marry; nor could they own personal possessions or be protected by courts of law. The law, in fact, did not regard them as human beings, but as things that could be bought and sold, treated well or treated badly, according to the whim of their master. These people carried out much of the hard manual work but they also took part in many skilled trades and occupations. The did not live separately from free people; many slaves would live in the same house as their master, usually occupying rooms in the rear part of the house. Slaves and free people could often be found working together.

The Romans and others who lived around the Mediterranean in classical times regarded slavery as a normal and necessary part of life. Even those who realized that it was not a natural state of affairs made no serious attempt to abolish it.

In the Roman empire, slavery was not based on racial prejudice, and color itself did not signify slavery or obstruct advancement. People usually became slaves as a result of either being taken prisoner in war or of being captured by pirates; the children of slaves were automatically born into slavery. They came from many different tribes and countries, Gaul and Britain, Spain and North Africa, Egypt, different parts of Greece and

Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine. By the time of the Emperor Augustus at the beginning of the first century AD, there were perhaps as many as three slaves for every five free citizens in Italy. Most families owned at least one or two; a merchant like Caecilius would have no fewer than a dozen in his house and many more working on his estates and his businesses. Very wealthy men owned hundreds and sometimes even thousands of slaves. A man called Pedanius Secundus, who lived in Rome, kept four hundred in his house there; when one of them murdered him, they were all put to death, in spite of protests by the people of Rome.

The work and treatment of slaves

Some slaves were owned privately by a **dominus** like Caecilius. Others were owned publicly, by the town council, for example. Slaves were employed in all kinds of work. In the country, their life was rougher and harsher than in the cities. They worked as laborers on farms, as shepherds and ranchers on the big estates in southern Italy, in the mines, and on the building of roads and bridges. Some of the strongest slaves were bought for training as gladiators.

In the towns, slaves were used for both unskilled and skilled work. They were cooks and gardeners, general servants, laborers in factories, secretaries, musicians, actors, and entertainers. In the course of doing such jobs, they were regularly in touch with their masters and other free men; they moved without restriction about the streets of the towns, went shopping, visited temples, and were also quite often present in the theater and at shows in the amphitheater. Foreign visitors to Rome and Italy were sometimes surprised that there was so little visible difference between a slave and a poor free man.

Some masters were cruel and brutal to their slaves, but others were kind and humane. Common sense usually prevented a master from treating his slaves to harshly, since only fit, well-cared-for slaves were likely to work efficiently. A slave who was a skilled craftsman, particularly one who was able to read and write, keep accounts, and manage the work of a small shop, would have cost a large sum of money; and a sensible master would not waste an expensive possession through carelessness.

Freeing a slave

Not all slaves remained in slavery until they died. Freedom was sometimes given as a reward for particularly good service, sometimes as a sign of friendship and respect. A slave might also buy his freedom. (Although the law said that slaves could not own personal possessions, a slave might amass assets such as money, goods, and land.)

Freedom was also very commonly given after the owner's death by a statement in the will. But the law laid down certain limits. For example, a slave could not be freed before he was thirty years old; and not more than a hundred slaves (fewer in a small household) could be freed in a will.

The act of freeing a slave was called **manūmissiō**. This word is connected with two other words, **manus** (hand) and **mittō** (send), and means "a sending out from the hand" or "setting free from control." Manumission was performed in several ways. The oldest method took the form of a legal ceremony before a public official, such as a judge. This is the ceremony seen in the picture at the beginning of this Stage. A witness claimed that the slave did not really belong to the master at all; the master did not deny the claim; the slave's head was then touched with a rod and he was declared officially free. There were other, simpler methods. A master might manumit a slave by making a declaration in

the presence of friends at home or merely by an invitation to recline at the couch at dinner.

Freedmen and freedwomen

The ex-slave became a **lībertus** (freedman). He now had the opportunity to make his own way in life, and possibly to become an important member of his community. He did not, however, receive all the privileges of a citizen who had been born free. He could not stand as a candidate in public elections, nor could he become a high-ranking officer in the army. He still had obligations to his former master and had to work for him a fixed number of days each year. He would become one of his clients and would visit him regularly to pay his respects, usually early in the morning. He would be expected to help and support his former master whenever he could. This connection between them is seen very clearly in the names taken by a freedman. Suppose that his slave name had been Felix and his master had been Lucius Caecilius Iucundus. As soon as he was freed, Felix would take some of the names of his former master and call himself Lucius Caecilius Felix.

Some freedman continued to do the same work that they had previously done as slaves; others were set up in business by their former masters. Others became priests in the temples or servants of the town council; the council secretaries, messengers, town clerk, and town crier were all probably freedmen. Some became very rich and powerful. Two freedmen at Pompeii, who were called the Vettii and were possibly brothers, owned a house which is one of the most magnificent in the town. The colorful paintings on its walls and the elegant marble fountains in the garden show clearly how prosperous the

Vettii were. Another Pompeian freedman was the architect who designed the large theater; another was the father of Lucius Caecilius Iucundus.

A female ex-slave was called a **lĭberta**. Like freedmen, many freedwomen earned their living using the skills they had learnt as slaves. Some stayed in the house where they had been slaves and may have worked as hairdressers, seamstresses, or nurses. Some freedwomen married their former masters. Others are known to have worked as shopkeepers, artisans, and even moneylenders.

Sample semiotic features of Slaves and Freedmen

Key
Behaver- green font Behavioral process - yellow highlight Lexical metaphor - [brackets] Material process - gray highlight Mental process - red highlight Phenomenon - dark red font Sensor - orange font
Coding
The law, in fact, did not regard them [as human beings], but [as things] that could be bought and sold, treated well or treated badly, according to the whim of their master.

Fig. 52 Sample semiotic features of *Slaves and freedmen* passage

Felix (pp. 70-71)

i. servi per viam ambulabant.

ii. canis subito latravit.

iii. Grumio canem timebat.

iv. "pestis!" clamavit coquus.

v. Clemens erat fortis.

vi. sed canis Clementem superavit.

vii. Quintus per viam ambulabat.

viii. iuvenis clamorem audivit.

ix. canis Clementem vexabat.

x. Quintus canem pulsavit.

xi. servi erant laeti.

xii. servi Quintum laudaverunt.

Translation of Felix (pp. 70-71)

i. servi per viam ambulabant.

Enslaved people were walking through the street.

ii. canis subito latravit.

A dog suddenly barked.

iii. Grumio canem timebat.

Grumio was afraid of the dog.

iv. "pestis!" clamavit coquus.

"Pest!" the cook shouted.

v. Clemens erat fortis.

Clemens was brave.

vi. sed canis Clementem superavit.

The dog, however, overcame Clemens.

vii. Quintus per viam ambulabat.

Quintus was walking through the street.

viii. iuvenis clamorem audivit.

The young man heard a shout.

ix. canis Clementem vexabat.

The dog was terrorizing Clemens.

x. Quintus canem pulsavit.

Quintus beat the dog.

xi. servi erant laeti.

The enslaved people were happy.

xii. servi Quintum laudaverunt.

The captive people praised Quintus.

Sample semiotic features of Felix

Key
Actor - square Affect - **bold** Carrier - blue font Goal - red font Judgement - *italics* Material process - gray highlight Mental process - red highlight Phenomenon - dark red font Relational process - purple highlight Sensor - orange font
Coding
Grumio canem timebat. Grumio was afraid of the dog.
Clemens erat fortis. Clemens was *brave*.
Quintus canem pulsavit. Quintus beat the dog.
servi erant laeti. The enslaved people were **happy**.

Fig. 53 Sample semiotic features of *Felix* passage

Appendix F Data from Reading Latin

Aulularia (Jones & Sidwell, 2012, pp. 8-9)

STAPHYLA quare me verberas, domine?

Why are you beating me, enslaver?

EUCLIO tace! te verbero quod mala es, Staphyla.

Silence! I beat you because you are awful, Staphyla.

STAPHYLA egone mala? cur mala sum? misera sum, sed non mala, domine.

(secum cogitat) sed tu insanus es!

I am awful? Why am I awful? I am unfortunate, but not awful, enslaver.

(She thinks to herself) but you are insane!

Translation of Aulularia (Jones & Sidwell, 2012, pp. 8-9)

STAPHYLA quare me verberas, domine?

Why are you beating me, enslaver?

EUCLIO tace! te verbero quod mala es, Staphyla.

Silence! I beat you because you are awful, Staphyla.

STAPHYLA egone mala? cur mala sum? misera sum, sed non mala, domine.

(secum cogitat) sed tu insanus es!

I am awful? Why am I awful? I am unfortunate, but not awful, enslaver.

(She thinks to herself) but you are insane!

Sample semiotic features of Aulularia

Key
Actor - square Goal - red font Judgement - *italics* Material process - gray highlight Mental process - red highlight Recipient - purple font Relational process - purple highlight
Coding
STAPHYLA quare me verberas, domine? Why are you beating me, master? EUCLIO tace! te verbero quod mala es, Staphyla. Silence! I beat you because *you are awful*, Staphyla.

STAPHYLA egone mala? cur mala sum? misera sum, sed non mala, domine.
(secum cogitat) sed tu insanus es!
I am awful? Why *am I awful*? *I am unfortunate*, but *not awful*, master.
(She thinks to herself) but *you are insane*!

Fig. 54 Sample semiotic features of *Aulularia* passage